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WHITE UNTO HARVEST¹

By HUBERT McNEILL POTEAT

We may be very sure that there are in North Carolina many solid, substantial citizens who when they note in their newspapers the announcement of the annual meeting of the State Literary and Historical Association will be moved to satirical reflection and utterance. They will remark with fine scorn that the highbrows are at it again, that the professors have escaped from their cages, that the lobby of the Sir Walter is sizzling with four-dollar words, that Fayetteville Street is no place for ordinary folks, that there's an exhibit of bald domes in Raleigh, that Wake County air seems unusually stuffy, that such a gathering entails a scandalous waste of time and money, and so forth and so forth and so forth. The wretched professor, indeed, has long been a particular and favorite target of editors, cartoonists, and wags. He is habitually presented as a sort of vague and ineffectual booby, wandering abstractedly about, with glasses perched precariously on the end of his nose and a mortarboard teetering on his head; or as an absent-minded and wholly unrealistic imbecile, utterly unconcerned with actual life; or as a sort of wretched mole, burrowing about in his musty books and never coming up into the light of day. His title, too, is often an object of mirth—only partly because it has been borrowed by astrologers, ventriloquists, and performers upon the xylophone.

Whether we like to do so or not, we may as well admit frankly that this sarcasm, directed at us as an Association or as individual professors and devotees of culture, is not without foundation. I therefore choose to depart this evening from the *mos maiorum*—the precedent set by my predecessors—and to address you very practically, on the subject, "White Unto Harvest."

¹ Presidential address delivered at the annual session of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina, Raleigh, December 7, 1944.

A year ago, when you did me the high honor of electing me to the presidency of this Association, the distinguished editor of *The News and Observer* graciously invited me to make that journal the organ of the Association. I thanked him, period; there was nothing further I could do. During the year I have suggested to our able secretary and to the members of the executive committee that in my opinion this Association and its affiliated societies ought to exert a more active and positive influence upon the life of our great state; that we should not content ourselves with an annual meeting, no matter how learned or brilliant the papers presented for our edification may be; that it is high time for us to descend from the remote and inaccessible Everests of our alleged intellectual aristocracy, that we may walk the streets and the byways and minister to the needs of men.

In 44 B.C. Marcus Tullius Cicero published his essay *On the Nature of the Gods*. In the introduction he writes thus: "If anybody would like to know what consideration impelled me to literary tasks of this sort so late in life, I can explain the matter to him with the greatest ease. . . . I decided that for the good of the state, philosophy ought to be presented to our citizens, for I felt that the honor and reputation of our city were vitally concerned in having matters at once so important and so stimulating set forth in the Latin language."

Late in the same year he published his *De Officiis*, characterized by Frederick the Great as "the finest work on morals which ever has been or ever can be written," and recently described by President Butler as "the best textbook for the statesman of today and tomorrow." I quote a striking passage: "Let us agree, therefore, that those duties which arise out of fellowship are in more intimate accord with nature than those that owe their origin to cognition. This can be proved as follows: if it should fall to the lot of the wise man to live, in affluence, a life of leisurely contemplation of things thoroughly worthy of his painstaking consideration, but if, meanwhile, he were absolutely denied the society of his fellow men, he would perish. . . . That wisdom, then, which I have called the highest wisdom is the knowledge of things human and divine, in which is included

the apprehension of the fellowship of gods and men and the ties which unite man to man. If these ties are strong, and their strength cannot be questioned, then those duties which spring from fellowship must be loftiest of all. For the contemplation and comprehension of nature, if one's life be destitute of action, is, as it were, defective and inchoate. Now the fairest consummation of action is attained in the bringing of happiness to mankind; it is therefore vitally connected with the bonds of fellowship which unite the human race. Ergo, *communitas* must be placed on a higher level than *cognitio*. Every good man believes this and proves his belief by his deeds. For there is nobody so strenuously occupied in the investigation and observation of nature but that, in the midst of his reflections upon matters in the highest degree worthy of his thoughtful attention, if tidings were suddenly brought him of some impending national disaster, or of the need or danger of a relative or a friend, he would put down and cast from him all those intellectual exercises, even though he fancied he was numbering the stars or calculating the magnitude of the universe."

But, say some of us in reply to Cicero, we love the gracious domains of art and literature, of music and history and philosophy, and we would walk therein undisturbed by the howling world and its demands; we would slake our thirst at quiet, brimming fountains, for we believe with Keats that

"Beauty is truth, truth beauty,"—that is all

Ye know on earth, and all ye need to know;

we find the ways of men filled with unseemly din and strife, and our spirits are disquieted within us; we much prefer the lovely gardens where the great minds of all the ages pour out their treasures upon us and we are at peace. So, precisely, said the Epicureans—whom Cicero heartily despised for their categorical and dogmatic egocentrism, their *ataraxia*—complete and utter freedom from care and worry and from the importunate claims of altruism and patriotism alike.

Those erudite pundits who write fat books on the history of philosophy are fond of setting Epicureans against Stoics, like two opposing football lines, usually to the great advantage of the Stoics. But whereas the Epicureans, strangely enough, displayed genuine missionary zeal in the propagation of their system, the

Stoics were content to discuss virtue, the supremacy of the will, obedience to the inner voice, within their own learned societies, with little or no interest in Fayetteville Street. Thus all their eloquent diatribes against slavery got the slaves exactly nowhere, for, following time-honored philosophical precedent, they began at the top and stayed at the top. Compare that procedure with the method of the Man of Nazareth who went straight to the oppressed, exploited dregs and pariahs of humanity with the sublime doctrine of the brotherhood of man. We need not wonder that, as St. Mark tells us, "the common people heard him gladly." Moreover, His example and His teaching are still, after the passage of the long centuries, the hope and inspiration of our wretched, war-racked world, while Zeno and Chrysippus and Cleanthes and Epicurus are names in textbooks.

Well, here we are in this pleasant room. We have come from homes of culture, blessed with carefully chosen libraries; from college and university campuses, where we revel in stimulating intellectual fellowship; from the secluded sanctum of the historian, the poet, the novelist, the playwright, the philosopher, where Pallas Athene, Apollo, and the Muses speak softly and persuasively to our eager ears. Presently we shall return to our ivory (or Gothic) towers, grateful for the blessing of communion with kindred spirits, and happily immerse ourselves once more in nirvana—like the gods in Tennyson's *Lucretius*, who dwell in

The lucid interspace of world and world,
Where never creeps a cloud, or moves a wind,
Nor ever falls the least white star of snow,
Nor ever lowest roll of thunder moans,
Nor sound of human sorrow mounts to mar
Their sacred, everlasting calm!

Pray do not misunderstand me: I revere as profoundly as you those towering souls who have forsaken the joys of human society in their utter devotion to scientific research; to their sacrifices at the fragrant altars of literary and artistic inspiration; to patient, self-obliterating meditation upon the high mysteries that lie beyond the reach of our human vision. I am trying to say to you that we who know and love these giants who, in *Lucretius*'s great phrase, have ranged "far beyond the flaming

bastions of the universe," must acknowledge and strive more fully to discharge the inescapable obligation that is ours to mediate to our less fortunate brothers and sisters the priceless treasures which have stirred and warmed, inspired and guided our own minds and hearts. If greed is the fundamental sin, then selfishness, its blood brother, wallows hard by. "He who lives only to benefit himself," writes Tertullian, "confers on the world a benefit when he dies."

The day of the ivory tower is no more, if, indeed, it ever was, save in the imagination of men and women who out of vanity, indifference, sloth, or sheer aversion consider themselves so far above hoi polloi as to be perfectly content to sit like sculptured Buddhas in splendid—and tragic—isolation, grandly undisturbed when the man in the street feeds his soul on husks, confuses (in Hugo's words) the constellations of profundity with the stars which the duck's feet make in the soft mud of the pond, gulps the lethal pills of demagogy, or prostrates himself in worship before a horrid anthropomorphic monster.

There are three fields especially in which I believe our influence, as individuals and as an Association, ought of right to be felt mightily—public taste, politics, education. I shall speak with utter conviction, but not, as Cicero once wrote of a certain philosophical bigot, as if I had just descended from a council of the gods.

The good old Latin maxim, *De gustibus non est disputandum*, is perfectly familiar to me. I am not suggesting that we should dispute about the tastes of our fellow citizens, but that we should patiently and tactfully avail ourselves of every possible opportunity of improving, elevating, and refining them. The great American game is neither football nor bridge; it is the highly lucrative sport of feeding the great public what it wants or can be beguiled and cajoled into thinking it wants. For example, I never fully comprehended Isaiah's words, ". . . precept upon precept, precept upon precept, line upon line, line upon line, here a little, and there a little," until the manufacturers of tablets, salves, lotions, pills, and other such truck took to the air waves. The endless and exasperating reiteration of their supposedly alluring patter is a frank and disturbing indication of

their estimate of the intelligence of American citizens. And the programs which are so unceremoniously and so frequently interrupted by silky-voiced apes (in Nell Battle Lewis's precisely descriptive words), caroling, "Buy our medicine; you'll be glad you did," and the like drivel—the programs, I say, are in large measure pitched on the same level and addressed to the same fifth-grade mentality—skilful build-up by the announcer, synthetic applause, and all the rest of the shoddy devices with which we are all, to our sorrow, only too familiar.

The accursed saxophone, illegitimate progeny of the clarinet and the trombone, came out of Germany, as did many another evil thing; it is surely one of the grimmest of all the ironies of fate that its inventor, one Saxe, died in abject poverty and was buried in the potter's field. But when the saxophones moan and the music gets sweet or hot, as the case may be, we behold female adolescents of all ages squealing and swooning, we stare in amazement at the appalling antics of rug-cutters and jitterbugs and hepcats, we contemplate sadly the devastating carnage wrought upon infantile humanity when the crooners begin to moo and bleat, and we wonder whether life is really worth living. It will surprise most of you, and I sincerely hope it will shock all of you, to learn that the love of God, the life and crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus, the glories of Heaven, and other such subjects, are being widely dealt with on exactly the same plane. If you don't believe me, listen some Saturday evening to a pair of whining hillbillies, gargling, to the accompaniment of a guitar, "Tune in on JESUS, the only radio station that's never off the air," hearken to the stamping of feet, the whistling, the yelling that follow the rendition of the blasphemous rubbish, and give thanks that the longsuffering of the Deity is infinite.

Public taste in the matter of periodical literature may well be examined for a moment. You have seen the popular and pulp magazine statistics—and in all conscience they are disheartening and disturbing. If catering at the lower levels is the great American game, then boredom is unquestionably the great American malady. H. L. Mencken, indeed, goes so far as to say that the "basic fact about human existence is not that it is a tragedy, but that it is a bore." It was Matthew Arnold, I believe, who

defined culture as "the ability to perceive and the capacity to enjoy what is excellent." If that fine statement is true, then boredom, like any other weed, springs from untilled, neglected soil. He who in the morning of life has failed to establish the habit of feeding his soul with good things will go through the whole of his little day with boredom clinging to him like an evil spirit from the realms of nether darkness, and his energies will be devoted chiefly to a frenzied search for something—anything—that will kill time. Horace, wise and gentle observer of men, asks pertinently, "What exile from his native land has ever succeeded in escaping from himself?" Seneca echoes the Horatian inquiry: "You wish to know why your flight helps you not a whit? Because you take yourself along." Even Emerson once packed his trunk and sailed to Naples, only to discover that there beside him was "the stern fact, the sad self, unrelenting, identical, that I fled from."

Now one of the most highly favored avenues of refuge from boredom leads straight to cheap reading matter. Every month millions of copies of magazines that present "true" stories are sold, and I am told that most of the readers who gulp the sorry trash so avidly actually believe that the stories *are* true. Vicarious excitement and vicarious thrills thus help to fill dull hours with a pathetic, specious glow of happiness. For the same reason there is an enormous market for those pictorial journals which record in palpitating detail the goatish capers of the morons of Hollywood.

Too long, ladies and gentlemen, far too long, have we sipped the nectar of the gods in our ivory towers, sublimely indifferent to the fact that the vast majority of our fellow men are contentedly guzzling swill and garbage. The time has come for us to admit, sorrowfully but frankly, that part of the blame is ours and to begin to discharge the obligation which our love of the best and finest achievements of humanity lays upon us inescapably—the obligation to be channels through which these blessings may reach "the wilderness and the solitary place," so that "the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose."

In the second place, I suggest to you that the members of this Association ought to make their influence felt in the field of

politics and government. Once upon a time there was a certain tinpot tyrant named Benito Mussolini; his most famous recorded dictum was to the effect that the people haven't sense enough to govern themselves. In order to introduce some measure of truth into the statement, let us rewrite it thus: "At times the people act as though they lacked sufficient intelligence to govern themselves." For example, at the polls, where with tragic frequency they elect to office tub-thumping alley cats, slick peddlers of economic tripe, cavorting vaudeville clowns, and downright crooks and criminals. And why? Simply because great numbers of our fellow citizens have never taken the trouble to cultivate the fine art of doing their own thinking and thus fall an easy prey to every faker who appears with his wares and his patter. Once upon a time there was a Roman emperor who drove all the philosophers out of the capital city. There can be no doubt, I think, that the principal reason for this piece of highhanded cruelty was that Domitian knew that the chief business of philosophers was to teach men to think, and he no more wanted to live in an atmosphere of independent intelligence than does Adolph Schickelgruber today.

I wish some member of this Association would write a book on "The Peril of the Plausible." Time and again in the history of our country the people have gone a-whooping after some persuasive rascal, adept in all the tricks of the great American game, referred to above, who was selling gold bricks so artfully put together as to defy detection by any save the keenest eyes—isolationism, for example. Well, we need more keen eyes looking level and steadfast out of keen, trained minds which habitually do their own thinking. No matter what subject you teach in your classroom, my professorial brethren and sisters, your great task, your magnificent opportunity, your heaven-blessed duty is to train the boys and girls before you to think straight. Woodrow Wilson once asked a Princeton student a tough question. The lad replied hesitantly, "Well, er, professor, I think. . . ." "Thank God!" said Wilson.

One further point, please, in the political field. That grand old romancer Livy has reminded us that the primary reason for the study of history is that we may learn how other men and na-

tions dealt with their problems and solved their difficulties and thus may see our own way more clearly. Polybius deemed the Roman republic to be almost a perfect realization of Aristotle's ideal commonwealth; certainly it was one of the most remarkable of all man's achievements in democracy; yet, it gradually slipped into oligarchy, then stumbled and fell into anarchy, and finally plunged into its grave, mainly because the citizens had lost interest in it. Cicero, writing to a friend during the tense and terrible opening days of the civil war between Caesar and Pompey, remarks that he has been moving about the country, talking to the farmers and to the people in the small towns; they care not a whit, he discovers, which of the two great political gladiators wins, so long as they, their fields, their little homes, and their miserable bank accounts are unmolested. A hundred sixty years later the greatest of all the world's satirists, Juvenal, snarls sardonically that Romans are interested in only two things: food and amusement.

Now history has the disquieting habit of repeating itself. We Americans have a firm foundation for our faith in the future of our mighty Union; but if that faith ever opens the door to complacency and indifference, no man can tell how soon our republic, too, will pass into the shadows. I am not urging that we abandon our cultural pursuits and rush into the political arena; I am insisting that our country has every right to expect and indeed to demand that you and I shall take an alert and intelligent interest in public affairs ourselves and, so far as in us lies, strive to impress indelibly upon the rising generation, in home and school, an unshakable conviction that this nation will remain great and free only so long as its citizens are ready, willing, and equipped to contribute each his share to its unfolding glory.

In conclusion, I invite your attention to some problems presented by contemporary educational ideas and practices. During the past few years the Progressive Educators have emitted such a vast volume of noise that even the most secluded recluse must be aware that they have taken over American grammar school and high school education, lock, stock, and barrel. In his address at the opening of Columbia University on September 27, President Butler dealt vigorously with their tenets and their pseudo-

scientific monkeyshines. "We face," said he, "an extraordinary situation due to that most *reactionary* [italics, mine] philosophy. How any such preposterous doctrine ever received a hearing by intellectual minds is difficult to understand, but its effects are evident in the reports of undisciplined youth. This plan of action or rather non-action would . . . first of all deprive the child of his intellectual, social and spiritual inheritance and put him back in the Garden of Eden to begin all over again the life of civilized man. He must be asked to do nothing which he does not like to do. He must be taught nothing which he does not choose to learn. He must not be subject to discipline in good manners and sound morals. In other words, he must be let alone to do what he likes in this amazing twentieth century in order that what has been called his individuality may grow naturally and without guidance or discipline." No clearer statement, ladies and gentlemen, of the fatuous folly of progressivism could possibly be made.

The fundamental racial virtue on which the greatness of Rome was securely founded was *pietas*, which means primarily obedience to law. The progressives will have none of it. In a certain school in New York City recently a bright little lass tripped into her classroom one fine morning and said, "Please, teacher, do we have to do what we want to do today?" An instructor in one of our army camps—a man who was decorated for bravery in the First World War—made a few weeks ago this statement: "I had a fine time until the new 18-19-year-old draftees came along. My life is now in constant danger. . . . These boys have never had 'No' said to them. They have never been made to obey an order." Precisely. And so the average boy or girl of today steps out of the high school with only two permanent possessions—the habit of superficiality and an astounding ability to dodge difficulties.

The most brilliant piece of satire I have read in a long time comes from the gifted pen of Dr. Edgar W. Knight and was published in the April 1 issue of *School and Society*. I recommend it to you, ladies and gentlemen. Knight deals devastatingly with those holy progressive shibboleths, "the integration of personality" and "the co-ordination of experiences"; pours a

withering fire upon the contempt of the progressives for such antiquated subject-matter courses as grammar, spelling, and mathematics; and rakes mercilessly their everlasting and generally silly experimentation. Incidentally, Dr. Thomas H. Briggs once told me that he had published an offer of a prize of fifty dollars to anybody who would give him a sensible definition of the integration of personality; Dr. Briggs added that he still held the prize money.

One of the more interesting results of the progressive theory and practice is that the government finds it necessary to spend many millions of dollars for the training of young soldiers and sailors and airmen in fundamentals which should have been acquired in school and which were not acquired because the wretched little boys had to have their experiences co-ordinated and their personalities integrated, and so there simply wasn't time for the three R's.

Since September, 1942, no foreign language, ancient or modern, has been required for graduation from North Carolina high schools. In days such as these that fact is surely amazing enough in itself; but the explanation offered by a member of our State Department of Public Instruction is almost beyond belief. He is reported to have said: "Foreign languages are the chief cause of failure among high school students; they are therefore too difficult for our boys and girls and will henceforth be omitted from the requirements for graduation." That statement goes straight down the progressive line: make the pathway smooth and easy for young feet; never require any child to study a subject which he finds either dull or difficult; let him "express himself" by choosing what he will do and what he will not do; let there be no law for anybody. Small wonder the terrifying increase of juvenile delinquency haunts our dreams at night.

One further point, please: our current system of grammar and high school education lives and breathes on tests and measurements, surveys and projects, graphs and curves, charts and statistics. Now all these elaborate and mystical devices for the utter confusion of the judicious not only consume a vast deal of time and effort and a staggering amount of money; they also implant in the mind of youth a profound and disturbing respect for pen-

cil, ruled paper, and percentage table. Moreover, during the past twenty years there has been a heavy emphasis laid upon science, at all educational levels. Our boys and girls have learned the importance of analysis and synthesis, of exact verification, of detailed reports on observations, of irrefutable proof. Thus the study of real science, which has produced so many magnificent results, has united with constant exposure to pseudo-science to develop and foster in young people a conviction that nothing is real, nothing desirable, nothing even tolerable, which cannot be presented in a graph, examined through a microscope, and duly described and classified, or subjected to the scrutiny and evaluation of the mathematician or the chemist or the physicist. In other words, the young men and women of today are quite apt to shrug their shoulders at goodness as a vague and nebulous will-o'-the-wisp; to regard morality as a purely relative matter, dependent upon too many environmental and hereditary considerations to be of genuine importance; and to sneer at ideals as so much transcendental buncombe.

They are ready to believe in the presence of proof, but they are losing faith—the willingness to accept as true the unprovable (and Tennyson has reminded us that nothing really worth proving can ever be proved), the inner perception of unseen realities, the “deep-lying capacity to apprehend the eternal world and to respond to its appeal.”

Surely one of the sublimest concepts that ever took form in a human brain was Plato's doctrine of ideas. Material things which are grasped by the senses, said that mighty philosopher, are neither real nor permanent; the only realities are qualities which speak to the mind and soul—love, mercy, justice, beauty, truth; thoughts are greater than things—which are only “the shadows of ideas thrown upon the screen of experience.” St. Paul restates this grand concept thus: “For the things which are seen are temporal; but the things which are not seen are eternal.”

Our young people need to ponder a blazing passage in the second chapter of Zechariah: “I lifted up mine eyes again and looked, and behold a man with a measuring line in his hand. Then said I, Whither goest thou? And he said unto me, To measure Jerusalem, to see what is the breadth thereof, and what

is the length thereof. And, behold, the angel that talked with me went forth, and another angel went out to meet him, And said unto him, Run, speak to this young man, saying, Jerusalem shall be inhabited as a city without walls for the multitude of men and cattle therein: For I, saith the Lord, will be to her a wall of fire round about, and will be the glory in the midst of her." In other words, you can't measure Jerusalem. No, and neither can you compress George Washington into a chemical formula, or weigh Abraham Lincoln, or compute Robert E. Lee, or put Martin Luther into a test tube, or set up an equation for Jesus of Nazareth.

I say to you again, ladies and gentlemen, the day of the ivory tower has passed. Come ye out into the ways of men, bearing your precious gifts of culture and intelligence, courage and faith. "Lift up your eyes, and look on the fields; for they are white already unto harvest."

THE HISTORY OF THE EASTERN CAROLINA INDUSTRIAL
TRAINING SCHOOL FOR BOYS, ROCKY MOUNT,
NORTH CAROLINA

By SAMUEL EDWIN LEONARD

The Eastern Carolina Training School for Boys is truly a "war baby." History repeats itself following a war in that crime is on the increase until adjustments from war times to peace times are made. Soldiers are taught just the opposite of civil peace time pursuits. They are taught to fight physically and mentally. They are taught to kill. In peace times a man's life is forfeited when he commits murder. In war times, he is decorated by the government. A soldier's method of living is not conducive to honesty and he thinks little of the value of property whether it belongs to him or to the other fellow. When the war ends, these men with this type of training and indoctrination are scattered through the populace of the entire country. They are our heroes. They not only can do almost as they please, but their examples are quickly taken up by the boys and girls in their communities. Thus we have Army-taught men teaching and being imitated by the rising generation. It is but natural that adult crime and particularly juvenile delinquency should increase by leaps and bounds. This condition caused the legislature of 1923 to expand the facilities for handling delinquents by creating a new school.¹

North Carolina was slow in getting started in its juvenile institutional program. While it was one of the original thirteen colonies, many of the states thought of today as young in comparison to North Carolina had training schools long before this state. For instance, a training school in Iowa opened in 1868; in Kansas, 1881; in Missouri, 1889; in Nebraska, 1881; and in South Dakota, 1887. North Carolina had no training school until 1909 when Jackson Training School² was opened and then it existed as a very small unit for several years.

¹ *Public Laws of 1923*, chap. 254.

² *Public Laws of 1907*, chap. 776.

During and following World War I the state made tremendous strides in welfare work. In 1917 the legislature passed a state-wide welfare law³ and in 1919 this law was strengthened by making county welfare organizations compulsory in most of the counties in the state.⁴ It was during this time that Jackson Training School was building rapidly to take care of the increased demands and by 1920 no less than 500 boys were being trained there. This could not meet the demand of the welfare agencies and the state either had to increase the capacity at Jackson or establish a new school. Upon a careful study and with expert advice from leading sociologists of the country, it was very wisely decided to establish a new school rather than carry the old school above the 500 mark. Thus a bill was drawn up and passed in the 1923 legislature establishing Eastern Carolina Training School.⁵

It was also during this period (1918) that Samarcand, a school for girls, was established.⁶ This came about also on account of war conditions. At the same time, (1921) the Morrison Training School, a school for Negro boys, was established,⁷ not because of war conditions necessarily, but because of the growing demand for many years for a school for Negro boys.

The statute establishing the new school for white boys was somewhat different from that of the Jackson Training School in that boys between sixteen and eighteen could be committed to this school from superior and other courts having jurisdiction. This was to take the place of an intermediate institution generally known in the North as a reformatory. Later this age was raised to twenty.⁸ It, however, would accept boys from juvenile courts as well and most of its boys have been received from these courts. The older boys and the younger boys are separated as to housing arrangements and, to a large extent, in their education and work.

The school was definitely established in eastern Carolina by the bill which states that "The Board of Trustees shall select a suitable site not farther west than 20 miles of the main line of the Atlantic Coast Line Railroads."⁹ The initial appropriation

³ *Public Laws of 1917*, chap. 170.

⁴ *Public Laws of 1919*, chap. 46.

⁵ *Public Laws of 1923*, chap. 254.

⁶ *Public Laws of 1917*, chap. 255.

⁷ *Public Laws of 1921*, chap. 150.

⁸ *Public Laws of 1937*, chap. 116.

⁹ *Public Laws of 1923*, chap. 254.

was \$5,000 for maintenance and \$25,000 "for the purpose of purchasing a suitable site and for the erection of the necessary buildings."

A Board of Trustees was appointed by the governor and on February 8, 1924, this Board held its first meeting in Rocky Mount with all members present. The Board consisted of R. T. Fountain, Rocky Mount, who was named chairman; S. C. Sitterson, Kinston, named secretary; J. C. Braswell, Rocky Mount, treasurer; C. F. Strosnider, Goldsboro; and W. G. Lamb, Williamston. The Board, upon its organization, decided to give publicity to the desirability of obtaining a site for the school and to ask that cities and communities make bids for its location. Offers were received from New Bern, Delway, Wilmington, Wilson, Goldsboro, and Rocky Mount. A committee was appointed to visit all of these sites and report to the next meeting of the Board which was held in Goldsboro, April 21, 1924.¹⁰ In an executive meeting at which time all sites and offers were freely discussed, the Board decided to accept the offer made by Rocky Mount of 117.58 acres of land representing approximately \$12,000 in cash. The site was three and one-half miles north of Rocky Mount on United States Route 301, and the double-track main line of the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad actually runs through the property, thus fulfilling the conditions laid down in the statute. The building site is well drained being approximately sixty feet higher than Tar River a short distance away and rolling enough to lend itself to beautification. Wilson, Berryman, and Kennedy were selected as architects and not only a building itself was planned but the entire quadrangle of a completed campus was also blue-printed. The contract price for the building was \$26,280 and the building was finished in the spring of 1925, and was named the Fountain Building in honor of the chairman of the Board of Trustees.

With the completion of the first building, the next responsibility of the Board was the selection of the superintendent. The selection was made without publicly asking for applications. Samuel E. Leonard, at that time with the State Board of Charities and Public Welfare, was asked to be the first superintend-

¹⁰ Minutes of Board, Feb. 8, 1924.

ent.¹¹ He had had two years' experience with the State Board, four years as a county superintendent of public welfare, and eight years in the public schools. He was a graduate of the University of North Carolina. Mr. Leonard reported for duty August 10, 1925.

Much had to be done before the first boy could be accepted. There were no screens, no water, no electricity, no sewer connection, and no furniture or furnishings for the building. There were no barns or stables, sheds or shelters of any kind. There was no stock or farm implements. The superintendent had no assistance, so the staff had to be selected and employed. The Board stood back of the superintendent in all of his plans and urged dispatch in getting ready for the opening. A contract was let for a septic tank for sewage disposal. Another contract was let for the complete screening of the building. Still another contract was let for the drilling of a deep well. The superintendent was the chief carpenter and with what help he could get he renovated a pack-house for a barn and stables. Another small building found on the place was moved to a proper location and converted into a shop and tool shed. A new poultry house was built.

While this was going on, orders had been placed for household and kitchen furniture and furnishings and for the necessary farm implements, and two fine Percheon horses were bought. All this took time and it was January 18, 1926, when the first boy arrived.¹² Even then the water system was not in operation, for the contract for drilling a deep well ended without a water supply. There was no electric line near enough to supply current and to add insult to injury the couple employed two months before resigned and left the day before the first boy arrived. The superintendent and his wife were in full charge of the training school at its opening. Water for drinking purposes was gotten from a spring nearby and water for flushing stools and other purposes was hauled from a nearby branch and placed in barrels. For lights, we used kerosene oil lamps. Truly the Eastern Carolina Training School, although less than twenty years old, reaches back to the pioneering stage.

¹¹ Minutes of Board, April 8, 1925.

¹² *First Report of the Eastern Carolina Industrial School for Boys* (1927), p. 8.

As has been noted, the school was really one building. The capacity of this building was thirty, but with the handicaps of no water, no lights, and no staff the boys were ordered in very slowly. Eight boys composed the first group and it was more than two months before any other boys were received. In fact, the population was held at this number until after the drilling of a second well at which time water was obtained in sufficient quantity for the one building.¹³

There was little or no program. The superintendent had full charge and directed the work from day to day. A farm worker and a matron were employed to assist with the boys. But the work planned from day to day consisted largely of doing the work necessary to keep the family going. With our two horses, we did farm work on a small scale and raised many vegetables during the first summer. Two cows were purchased which gave us our milk supply. A hog was purchased to be fattened and killed in the fall for pork. A small flock of chickens furnished eggs and meat for the tables. There was no laundry and much time was spent washing and ironing in the old-fashioned way. There was a large pot in which the clothes were boiled and tubs were made by sawing barrels in two. A small shop was maintained for the purpose of sharpening and repairing simple farm tools, but there was no thought of operating it for training purposes. As the site selected was in an open field, planting of shrubbery and general landscape planning had to be done from the start. Some shrubbery was given by the people of Rocky Mount, but much of the shrubbery now seen on the beautiful campus was started in a propagation nursery at the school. Seedlings were purchased from nurseries, cuttings were planted and in many cases seed; and in the course of a few years, we had all the shrubbery needed to beautify the campus. Religious instruction was emphasized and from the arrival of the first boy to the present time, Wednesday night prayer meetings have been conducted by the boys themselves and Sunday School has been conducted each Sunday morning. The local churches contributed to a fund with which to purchase a bus which for several years took our boys to town each

¹³ *First Report* (1927), p. 9.

Sunday for church services.¹⁴ The citizens of Rocky Mount have always taken much interest in the boys at the training school.

For the first year it was necessary for the superintendent to live in a two-room apartment in the Fountain Building. Though a small appropriation had been made with which to build a cottage for the superintendent, the amount was not sufficient to erect a suitable home, and only by drafting the plans and building the house himself did the superintendent have enough funds with which to purchase the materials. So during the first year, the superintendent and his boys built the superintendent's cottage.¹⁵ This job, consisting of carpentering, painting, brick laying, electric wiring, and plumbing, made a very nice project for the training of the boys. The house stands today as the superintendent's home and as an example of what can be done in an emergency. Even to this day only the brick dormitories, the central building, and the shop building have been built by contractors. All other buildings on the campus, consisting of barns, stables, granaries, tool houses, and other structures, have been erected by the boys under the supervision of the staff members. Furthermore, most of the wooden buildings on the place are constructed of lumber from trees cut on our own farm, sawed at our own sawmill, and prepared for use at our own planing mill. Incidentally, this has saved much money to the state, but it was not done entirely for a money-saving purpose. Some of the finest training that can be given to boys is the natural work that comes to hand in the operation of a farm home.

There were few trained social workers at that time as there was little demand for them. The great school of social work at the State University had not started turning out its well trained graduates, so that we were running the training school, to a large extent, on a trial-and-error method. It is quite interesting to note that most of the boys who first came to the Eastern Carolina Training School have turned out very well, the percentage making good being higher than at a later date. This leads me to make the statement that it is not always fine equipment that makes for the best training. The foregoing has shown that we

¹⁴ *First Biennial Report of the Eastern Carolina Industrial Training School for Boys*, p. 13.

¹⁵ *First Biennial Report*, p. 8.

had little or no equipment. By that very fact, we had to depend on ourselves to make up for the physical tools that we wanted so much. The few people, whom we called our "staff," were selected with great care. In fact, to the present day the men and women who work with the boys at the Eastern Carolina Training School have been selected for their interest in and ability to work with boys. Experience in teaching, in scouting, in recreation work, and in "liking" and "getting along" with boys have been considered important attributes. But there has always been one "must" in connection with the employing of anyone, man or woman, and that is that the applicant must be an active Christian worker. These boys have been sent to us because they haven't had Christian homes and Christian parents. If the state is going to take charge of them and place them in a training school by court order, then the state should maintain a home of high Christian ideals which give the boy the training that he missed in his own home and by missing caused his downfall. We have often spoken of the training school as a "heart training school" and it is quite a proven fact that unless the heart of a boy is reached, the training is usually of a superficial nature and does not last. From the beginning, it has been the superintendent's privilege to give a Bible to each boy upon entering the school. To most of these boys, this is the first Bible they ever had and to many of them, upon their release, it was the first Bible in their home. A large number of our boys have joined one of the churches in Rocky Mount during their stay at the training school.¹⁶ Upon release, church letters are sent to the home pastors and the boys are placed in the right environment with the right kind of people taking interest in them. Most boys make good at the training school. Most boys, upon release, go home with a firm belief that they will make good. Few boys realize that when they get back to the home communities many people have little or no confidence in them and are ready to give them a kick instead of a helping hand. It is with this thought in mind that the training school tries to put the boy in a helpful environment and the home pastor and his church people should be the ones to be helpful to the boy.

¹⁶ *Biennial Reports, passim.*

When the state legislature of 1927 assembled, the training school was filled to its capacity of thirty and applications were piling up. With this pressure, the legislature appropriated money for the erection of two more dormitories which would make room for a population of ninety boys. The maintenance appropriation was increased in proportion. As soon as this money was available, architects were employed and a contract was let for two new dormitories.¹⁷ When they were finished and equipped, one was opened immediately to care for the applications on hand. With the opening of this building, an unexpected problem presented itself and that was a water problem. The well, which had been furnishing water for one building, was found not to have a sufficient flow for the second building, and we found ourselves without water again. This was doubtless a blessing in disguise, for with this emergency the governor made available money from the Contingency and Emergency Fund and permitted us to negotiate a contract for an eight-inch water main to be connected with the city of Rocky Mount, three and one-half miles away.¹⁸ The cost of this contract was more than \$28,000 but that solved the water problem for all time to come and substantially decreased insurance rates, since hydrants were placed on the campus. With an abundant water supply, the third building was soon opened and filled with boys. It is to be noted that although we had dormitory space for ninety boys, the legislature had not yet taken into consideration any training program, only providing eating and sleeping space and a farm on which to work. Temporary arrangements were made in one of the dormitories for some classroom work, a small room for an office, and a small room for an infirmary containing two beds. At this time an office secretary was employed and the superintendent was relieved of some of the detailed work in the office.

With the capacity now at ninety and with a staff of twelve men and women including the superintendent, some semblance of a program could be devised and certain departments of work could be set up. There were a farm supervisor, a dairyman, and a shopman. The farm acreage was increased by the purchase of

¹⁷ *First Biennial Report*, p. 8.

¹⁸ *First Biennial Report*, p. 8.

a farm lying next to the training school farm.¹⁹ Tools were still extremely limited but with a cooperative staff and with frequent staff meetings, we were giving the boys everything we had. Evidently the Raleigh authorities were quite well impressed with the work done, for the next General Assembly appropriated enough funds for three more dormitories making the capacity 180.²⁰ The appropriation this time included enough for a small shop and laundry building. Still there was no thought on the part of the legislature for administration, health, school, recreation, or an assembly room for entertainment and religious services. The little shop and laundry building was the first step beyond the mere dormitory thinking and this little building was used in a big way. Modern steam laundry equipment was purchased and simple shop tools were acquired that would permit us to care for our meager farm machinery and also teach the boys some mechanics. It was at this time that an excellent builder was added to our staff and with the purchase of a small sawmill (there was much timber on the place), we were able to prepare lumber in quantities sufficient to erect our barns, sheds, and a wood-shop building. A hammer and saw are always attractive to a boy and we had no trouble giving the carpenter and manual training instructor all the help he could use. With the erection of these necessary farm buildings, the training school began to take on the appearance of an active and useful institution. Still there was no activities building and the Board and management decided to work for a central building before any more dormitories were requested.

The beautification program for the campus and buildings was continued along with the building program. The "campus" was now shaping itself into a quadrangle with a beautiful open center for grass and shrubs. The Work Projects Administration constructed for us concrete sidewalks and curbs for the quadrangle of the campus. Shortly thereafter the State Highway and Public Works Commission surfaced our roadways, thereby eliminating dust and mud. The State Budget Bureau provided funds for campus lighting and an underground system of cables was laid giving a beautiful white-way effect for the campus.

¹⁹ *First Biennial Report*, p. 8.

²⁰ *Second Biennial Report*, p. 23.

The Eastern Carolina Training School is located in an excellent farm section. Since North Carolina is largely an agricultural state, a large percentage of our boys come from farms. Much of the training naturally falls in general farming, the handling and keeping up of machinery, and stock raising. A 500-acre farm adjoining our tract became available and the legislature appropriated sufficient money to purchase it, which added to our present tract made 675 acres.²¹ Likewise, appropriations were made to fence this farm, and this became a project within itself. Reinforced concrete posts were made in our shop. Fifty-seven-inch woven wire of number nine gauge with stays six inches apart was used for all outside fencing. With this increase in acreage and the ability to grow feed stuffs, stock raising was expanded to include dairy and beef cattle, hogs, and sheep. Besides being a fine training program in farming and stock raising for the boys themselves, the farm has reduced tremendously the cost of maintenance of the school. The boys are always given from two to three pints of milk a day and much milk is sold to the Southern Dairies. No meat has been purchased for more than twelve years either in the form of fresh meat or salt pork. The gardener arranges it so that there is not a month in the year that we do not eat vegetables from the garden. The summer months furnish the tables almost entirely with vegetables, and sweet and Irish potatoes and molasses are made in sufficient quantities to last the entire year. Grain, feed, and hay are stored each year in sufficient quantities to take care of all our needs. An excellent cold-storage system is used to preserve meats and vegetables in large quantities and a quick-freezing and hardening room is used in a small way for meats, fruits, and ice cream.

It was not until 1938 and 1939, through the help of the Public Works Administration, that we were able to erect our fine central building which filled the long-felt needs for our well rounded program. This handsome building, erected at the cost of \$100,000 and occupied in August, 1939,²² completes the quadrangle of the campus and stands at the head of it centrally located to the dormitories, the shops, and the barns. With the erection of this

²¹ *Public Laws of 1935*, chap. 306, sec. 1.

²² *Seventh Biennial Report*, p. 21.

structure and with the large addition to the shop building, the construction program at the Eastern Carolina Training School is complete unless additional room is needed for increased population. This building has large, airy, and pleasant offices for the administration department. All records of the institution from its beginning are housed and kept in a vault. There are an infirmary ward and a clinic room equipped with first-aid materials and also an excellent fluoroscope. There is a nurses' room in connection with the infirmary. The building is in the form of an H and in the connection center is the auditorium with windows on the two sides. This is comfortably arranged with seats and stage and all services are conducted here. The further wing of the H is the gymnasium, which is equipped with modern apparatus, a basketball court with parquet floor, and bleachers permanently built in on one side which will seat all the boys for any performance. Under the bleachers there is ample room for storage of playing equipment. Showers and team rooms are in the basement as are also the storage room for commodities for the kitchens and the sewing room. Opening from the lobby is the staff's library which contains books on a wide range of subjects with a shelf pertaining to work with delinquents.

On the second floor there are beautiful and commodious classrooms. These have polished hardwood floors and slate blackboards, and are equipped with chair desks and the necessary teaching equipment. There is also a chapel with piano for morning programs as well as for use in practicing for plays. The most beautiful room on this floor is the library museum. This room has shelving space for countless thousands of books, a librarian's desk, and reading tables. The museum exhibit is housed in nine large glass cases and contains a rather complete exhibit from World War I and various relics of bygone days and articles picked up here and there. The museum part of this room makes the library much more attractive to the boys and they are always glad to go there even if they are not interested in reading a book or a magazine. There is a well appointed, fully furnished apartment on this floor for the assistant superintendent, consisting of living room, breakfast room, kitchenette, bedroom, and bath. This building, in use constantly for the various activities

connected with the training school, is the structure that has been needed since the beginning of the school. All the equipment needed for every angle of training school work is now provided at the Eastern Carolina Training School. There is now a question of employing a sufficient number of well trained people to give the necessary training for the boys sent there.

It might be well to describe one of the dormitories. We are proud of the fact that no two are alike either outside or inside. Each building was constructed from an individual blueprint and yet each building houses the same number of boys and is used for the same purpose.

Each building is supervised by two men and one woman known as cottage officers and matron. The matron has charge of the housekeeping and the kitchen and is on duty during the day. The men divide their duties in looking after the boys during the morning, afternoon, and night. There are no night watchmen on the campus, no lights are left burning, and everybody goes to bed. From this standpoint the place is run just as any farm home. The staff members are housed in apartments and single rooms in a section upstairs in the building. A call bell with a buzzer is available to the boys if an official is needed during the night.

The boys sleep in four bedrooms containing from six to nine comfortable beds. During the evening they have a reading room with books, magazines, and radio and in the basement a large play room containing ping pong tables, card tables, and other play apparatus. Each boy has a steel locker and there are toilet and shower facilities in the basement. Each building is heated with a furnace and hot water system, the furnace being fed by a stoker. Thus we see a dormitory as a complete unit generally known as the "cottage system." Boys are selected for these buildings according to size and mental ability. Since this school takes boys up to twenty, division is made at sixteen and all boys below that age are on one side of the campus and all boys above are across the campus. The programs of the two groups are considerably different. One outstanding difference is that boys sixteen and above are permitted the privilege of smoking while in the building. Each dormitory has an open playground in the back

which the boys use freely without hindrance or supervision during the mornings and in the evenings until dark.

A little more than four years ago a mimeographed school paper was started by the staff for the encouragement of the boys. This paper was named "The Tar Heel Boy" and usually runs from six to ten pages.²³ It is bound in red covers with a cover design appropriate to the season. The red covers with the white sheets inside correspond to our school colors of red and white. It is generally known among the boys as the "Red Book." It has been published monthly since its beginning and is now in its fifth volume.

In addition to an editorial prepared by a member of the staff, there are school notes, building notes, work notes, and alumni notes most of which are written by the boys themselves. One of the significant features is the monthly honor roll of boys published in the back. This list includes all boys who have been on the weekly honor roll each time during the month. These boys whose names appear in the list are given a copy of the Red Book in a little ceremony conducted at the Sunday School hour the first of each month. Those boys having missed an honor roll during the month do not get their names published in the book, neither do they get a copy of their own to send home to their parents.

This Red Book has proved its worth many times over. The boys like to see their names in print. They like to have their little articles published whether it be a description of their work, a little poem, or a joke. It instills pride when they can make the monthly honor roll and get a book of their own. Occasionally a boy completes his course at the Eastern Carolina Training School and has to his credit as many Red Books as there have been months that he has spent at the training school. Those are the records we hold up to all the boys and we believe many have been inspired by such records.

It has been the purpose of the management at the Eastern Carolina Training School to impress on everyone connected with the school that the whole set-up is for the boy. All the boys sent to the school are sent by courts, which means that these boys

²³ Staff Meetings Minutes, Apr., 1940.

have made mistakes and in some instances mistakes which they could not possibly overcome in their home communities. They are sent to the school not for punishment for what they have done, but for a chance to learn to live. Accordingly, the school is organized as nearly on a home basis as is possible for an institution. The building of thirty boys is broken up into groups much like a family. The cottage parents are urged to stand "in loco parentis" and as such should enter into the life of the home as a father and mother. The boys are taught to be natural and normal in this cottage life. They are not regimented but are permitted to go about the building almost at will. They talk all they want to and if they desire rough and loud play, they are permitted to carry it on in the basement. If they desire to sit quietly, a reading room is provided. If it is daylight, the yard is open to them.

The boys have a chance to select their work. Twice a year boys are given the privilege of signing up for their preference in work and, generally speaking, the boys are given their first choice. There is a wide range of work available. The biggest job, naturally, is the farm and more boys are occupied there than anywhere else. They carry on the work in all departments, however, and no hired labor has ever been employed at the training school. The boys do the cooking, the sewing, the laundry work, the dairy work, the shop work, both mechanical and wood work, the feeding of stock, in fact, every type of work to be found at a farm home. Much of our work is by machinery, for we have three tractors. There are a dozen horses in the barn and during the cultivating season boys have an opportunity of learning to plow in the old-fashioned way. Even the milking is done by electricity and the milk is handled in a modern way by pasteurizing and bottling. In the shop all repair work is done including lathe work and acetylene welding. In the laundry there are modern machines for washing, drying, and ironing. Thus when a boy leaves the Eastern Carolina Training School he has learned to do things by doing. Too, he has learned to do things the modern way, the mechanical way. When he starts working in a laundry or dairy or shop, he knows the machines and can run them.

Another thing of great importance to a boy coming to the training school is his health. Many of these boys are considerably

impaired in health brought about, to a large extent, by dissipation. They have no regular habits of eating and sleeping. Their diet consists of what they want instead of what they need. They eat candy and drink soft drinks to excess and many of them know the taste of whiskey and cigarettes. While the boy may have been picked up for stealing a bicycle for a little ride, it isn't often realized that the stealing of the bicycle was the result of something that went before. It is this something that we work on at the training school. It isn't unusual for a boy to gain ten pounds during his first month at the training school. A large percentage of the clothing the parents send their boys has to be returned because it is too small. One boy who had been away from the training school for a while wrote me and stated that I could make a good living by advertising the training school for a health resort. The place is a health resort not by virtue of its location, but because of the regular routine which the boys follow. They eat three meals a day at the proper time and composed of the proper food. When night comes, they go to bed and sleep through the night. When day comes, they are ready for a day of outdoor work. That is the best twenty-four-hour prescription any doctor can give. As a result we have had few health problems, and since the school was established we have had only one death from natural causes and that was a boy who came with rheumatic fever which was a death warrant before he arrived.²⁴

We feel that the triangle is not complete until we can touch the boy's life in a spiritual way. That does not mean in a goody-goody or sissy way but in a way that will cause him to want to be a real man. Ambition is the spark that causes many a man to accomplish his goal. We try to fire our boys with an ambition to be somebody, to be individual to think things out for themselves, and to be right always. We insist on their doing their jobs well even though it takes them a long time to do it. We want them to be helpful and not only do their part but be willing to help the other fellow. That is Christianity in its highest state and that is the Christianity that we want to get the boys to accept. If we can teach a boy something to do with his hands, build up his body to be strong and well, and imbue him with a

²⁴ *Fourth Biennial Report*, p. 4.

control which we call Christianity, we feel that he is safe anywhere.

We do not reach all boys. Some are mentally unable to grasp the vision. Most of those who are mentally alert can be reached, but occasionally there is a boy who seems physically and mentally fit for life but who seems to have in his very nature something that disqualifies him for decent living. I have always felt that somewhere there is somebody who could reach that particular boy, so instead of the boy failing, I have always felt that I failed. But work as we will there seems always to be a small class of our boys doing post-graduate work in our state prisons.

The school has handled in these years more than 1,400 boys. Fifteen per cent of these boys are now in the armed forces of their country. At the present time we have six gold stars on our service flag representing six known casualties. The number of gold stars may grow. It is a fine thought, however, to realize that a large percentage of these boys are in these services or in other places of trust and industry on the home front and that they are there by virtue of the Christian influences brought to them in their year or more of training at the Eastern Carolina Training School. It can be imagined that many of them instead of following such a life could have been criminals and incarcerated in the prisons of our country. Fortunate, indeed, have been many of the boys who because of mistakes were committed to the training school where they really learned to live. Because of that training, many have gone home and improved the home life. Surely the Eastern Carolina Training School, along with the other training schools of the state, are really character-building agencies.

The legislature of 1943 passed a bill which combined all the correctional institutions of the state under one board known as the Board of Correction and Training.²⁵ This bill automatically repealed the bills setting up the several schools of the state as to Board management. The new set-up called for a Board of eighteen members, twelve men and six women. The Board members were to be selected from the eastern, middle, and western sections of the state on a proportional basis and the length of term

²⁵ *Public Laws of 1943*, chap. 776.

was arranged so that three appointments would be made each year.

The bill further provided that upon the organization of the Board a paid executive should be employed by the Board known as the Commissioner of Correction. This Commissioner was to have a headquarters office in Raleigh and would be the executive officer who would keep in direct touch with all the schools and with the Board.

The Eastern Carolina Training School, as one of the correctional institutions of the state, came under this new Board. At its organization meeting held in Raleigh, October 7, 1943, the Board unanimously selected Samuel E. Leonard as Commissioner of Correction.²⁶ This meant the first break in the line of management since the beginning of the Eastern Carolina Training School in 1925. The Board immediately selected William D. Clark, the efficient assistant superintendent, to take over the management of the school. Mr. Clark came to the training school in 1928 and has been with the school ever since. Because of this long service, he was familiar not only with the physical plant but also with the program in its entirety. Mr. Clark took charge of the school December 1, 1943, as its second superintendent.

²⁶ Minutes of Board of Correction and Training, Oct. 7, 1943.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY NEW BERN

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

By ALONZO THOMAS DILL, JR.

PART III
REBELLION AND INDIAN WARFARE

¶ There hath by ye permission of Allmighty God for our sins and Disobedance bin a most horred Massecre Committed by ye tuskarora Indians.

—Neuse Settlers' Petition, 1712.

In 1709 the Reverend William Gordon observed that all three of the precincts on the Neuse and Pamlico contained only as many inhabitants as any one of the older and better settled precincts of Albemarle County.¹ Therefore there could have been, at most, no more than 1,500 inhabitants in all of Bath County, and by far the majority of these were on the Pamlico River.² The town of Bath, which had been founded in 1705 as the first in the province, consisted of twelve houses or perhaps sixty persons.³ Although the Neuse region at this time was so inconsequential in its own right as to be almost a part of the Pamlico settlement, it was nevertheless showing signs of acquiring the institutions of English civilization. By 1708 the Neuse settlers were represented in the assembly, for William Hancock was listed in that year as a member of the lower house.⁴ But despite this legislative recognition, the Neuse region remained dependent on the Pamlico River colony for its judicial, religious, and perhaps economic life as well as for its contact with all the intangible qualities of civilized habitation.

With the arrival of the more than 400 Swiss and Palatines in 1710, this situation changed overnight. The Neuse became al-

¹ *Colonial Records*, I, 715.

² Pasquotank Precinct contained at this time about 1,300 and Chowan about 1,400 persons. Connor, *History*, I, 82-83.

³ *Colonial Records*, I, 715.

⁴ *Historical and Genealogical Register*, I, 304; II, 225. Under the law of 1705 each of the Bath County precincts had been given two members. It is not certain who the other member for Archdale was.

most as populous as the Pamlico, and New Bern, with its twenty families, or perhaps 100 persons, sprang up to rival if not outstrip the town of Bath. The need for improved communication arose, and the inhabitants of the Pamlico, in a petition of about 1711 requesting the council for better road-maintenance, admitted the activity of the Neuse region in "continually having Inhabitants coming thither" and even in attracting strangers, who, owing to the obscurity of parts of the road, were "in a great deficulty to finde [their] way thither without a guide."⁵ About this time the settlers of the Neuse, desirous of having their own religious establishment, petitioned the council for the appointment of a vestry.⁶ Still another petition sought the setting up of a court.⁷ This petition for a court, which is signed by twenty-eight names, is the oldest list of Neuse settlers in existence. It bears the names of George Bell, William Brice, John Clark, Francis Dawson, Christopher Dawson, Randolph Fisher, John Fulford, Edward Gatling, Richard Graves, Farnifold Green, Titus Green, George Groves, William Hancock, Lewis Johnson, Bryant Lee, John Nelson, Jr., Francis Shackelford, John Shackelford, John Slocumb, Josiah Slocumb, John Smith, Richard Smith, Stephen Sweetman, Edward Ward, Enoch Ward, James Woodard, Peter Worden, and Thomas Yeates.

This "humble petition" for a court—which must have been acted on favorably by the council, for a court was meeting on the Neuse at least by January, 1713, if not earlier—gives us an interesting picture of these early colonial times and of the discomfort suffered by the Neuse settlers in their periodical journeys to the assizes at Bath Town. They asked the council

. . . to Ease us of that long and tedgous [tedious] journey to bath town where we are foret to Expose our Selves and our neighbours to a great deale of Charg and inconveniance for passage over y^e River and when wee with a great deale of hardship doo cum there y^e ordinary [inn] keepers have not beads to Lodge us in which constrains us either to be burthinsum to y^e gentel-men in town or Else to lay by y^e fire side which y^r Hon^{rs} Cannot Chuse but imagine to be great Hardship.

⁵ Undated petition of not later than 1711 signed by Levi Truewhitt, James Leigh, Thomas Durham, Humphrey Legge, and John Lawson. *Historical and Genealogical Register*, III, 286-287. This is reprinted from the original now in Albemarle County Records, vol. II, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

⁶ Undated petition of not later than 1711, unsigned. *Historical and Genealogical Register*, I, 442. Albemarle County Records, vol. II. The first vestry was not appointed until 1715.

⁷ Undated petition of not later than 1712. It may be found in full in the Albemarle County Records, vol. II, though the *Register* mentions it in only an abbreviated form and has one of the signers as Thomas instead of Christopher Dawson.

Such were some of the difficulties faced by the inhabitants of the Neuse in maintaining touch with their law and government. With the coming of the Palatines and Swiss and the growing influx of new English settlers, they must have indeed welcomed the prospect of becoming a populous, well-to-do, and (to some extent) self-sufficient colony instead of a mere outpost on the Indian frontier.

Such a dream was not to be realized for many long years. Misfortune and tragedy of the most terrible sort visited the Neuse just when its people saw before them the promise of growth and progress. The development of the region was cruelly retarded. The reasons for this were manifold, but they all developed from, first, the international dissension known as Cary's Rebellion and, second, the Indian uprisings called the Tuscarora War.

Cary's Rebellion grew out of the lords proprietors' first attempts, beginning in 1702, to set up the long-neglected established Church in North Carolina.⁸ In 1705 Colonel Thomas Cary, a prominent South Carolinian, was appointed deputy governor of North Carolina. Upon protest of the Quakers and other dissenters, who found him too inclined for their taste toward the Church party, Cary in 1707 was ordered by the proprietors to be removed from office. Cary, however, suddenly deserted the Church party and secured the support of the Quaker-controlled assembly of 1708. He defied the removal order and continued in office, while his rival for power, William Glover, fled to Virginia, leaving Cary to be denounced as a "usurper" by the Church faction. Not until the arrival of Edward Hyde in Virginia in August, 1710, did the Church party feel its chance had come to strip Cary and the dissenters of power. Unfortunately, the governor of Carolina, under whom Hyde was to be the deputy administering the northern province, died before Hyde's arrival from England, so Hyde had no commission from him, although he did have private letters confirming his appointment.⁹ These the Cary party refused to recognize.

⁸ This discussion of the rebellion is based on Connor, *History*, II, chap. VI, and S. B. Weeks, *The Religious Development in the Province of North Carolina*, John Hopkins University Studies, Tenth Series, V-VI (Baltimore, 1892).

⁹ On December 7, 1710, the proprietors decided to name Hyde the first governor of North Carolina independent of the South Carolina administration. His commission as such was not issued, however, until January 24, 1712. Connor, *History*, I, 97.

In such a heat of factionalism did Graffenried and his Swiss arrive in the fall of 1710. No sooner had he reached the North Carolina border than a delegation of Quakers, seeking to attract him to their cause, visited him and besought him as a landgrave to take over the government during this dubious interregnum.¹⁰ Graffenried replied he did not wish to meddle in the dispute. He said he himself recognized Hyde as the rightful head of government—an answer which only angered the Quakers.¹¹ By then betaking himself to the home of Thomas Pollock, an ardent Church adherent, Graffenried still further stamped himself as an establishmentarian, though, he makes clear, he refused to join any connivance against Cary. He did, however, threaten Cary by letter that he would throw his support to his opponents if he did not come to terms. Such a precarious “neutrality” resulted in Graffenried’s irritating both factions. Meanwhile, the Palatines were in dire need. Hyde was unable to help them, and Cary, who held the revenues of the province, refused to pay out the funds which had been promised by the lords proprietors for their support.¹²

Graffenried solved his dilemma by borrowing from Pollock to buy the provisions which he ordered from the northern provinces. To his impecunious company he explains eloquently his decision:

If in the beginning when I saw that everything was failing, I had left these poor people in the lurch and retired elsewhere, or had let them die of hunger, I should have lost the five thousand pounds [his bond to the Royal Commissioners] and should have been hanged without mercy; and where would my conscience have been as I did it? Could I do differently than I did? . . . Now it is a question of how to work myself out of this labyrinth that I may not come to disgrace, and we all be compelled to lose together. . . . Colonel Pollock, as the strictest creditor, could take possession of everything.¹³

He goes on to implore his associates to raise by some means, even by the sale of additional shares, the funds to which they had committed themselves. Of the £7,200 capital, a total of £2,400, or an entire third, still had not been raised.¹⁴

¹⁰ German Version, p. 228; French Version, p. 370.

¹¹ German Version, p. 229.

¹² *Colonial Records*, I, 780, 791; French Version, p. 371.

¹³ Report to Georg Ritter and Company, p. 286.

¹⁴ Todd and Goebel, intro., p. 48.

Such a situation was certain to produce discontent among the colonists and to weaken their confidence in Graffenried's leadership. He was unable to obtain for them the livestock which they had been promised.¹⁵ Pollock for some reason could not supply the colonists' needs in this respect.¹⁶ By May, 1711, Graffenried had obtained a few head of livestock, but these were far short of the number needed, and there was talk among the Palatines of complaining to the royal commission.¹⁷ So outspoken did their threats become that Graffenried said at one time he feared for his life. He considered deserting the colony and taking, as he called it, "the shortest way out."¹⁸

In his despair a false hope came with the visit to New Bern of Cary himself, who evidently was seeking to strengthen his position. Cary was indeed in need of allies, for when the assembly had met in March many of his followers had left him, thus enabling Hyde to obtain a small majority, who proceeded to enact legislation designed to repress the Quakers and nullify the effects of the "usurpation." Over a bottle of Madeira wine at Graffenried's lodging, Cary craftily promised his host £500 worth of provisions and cattle, pretending to expect nothing in return and to leave the issue regarding Hyde *in status quo*.¹⁹ All the while (so Graffenried charges) Cary was working to align the neighboring English and Indians against the Swiss and Palatines. Cary's promised goods and cattle never arrived, and soon after Cary's visit Governor Hyde peremptorily summoned Graffenried, as if he were dubious of his loyalty, to sit in the council (as befitted a landgrave) and consider how to end the continued resistance of the dissenters. Emboldened by Hyde's failure to come and attack him on his fortified Pamlico River plantation, Cary on June 30 sailed up the Chowan in an armed brigantine and laid siege to Hyde, Graffenried, and all the attending Hyde faction. A lucky shot from ashore clipped off the brigantine's mast and put Cary to flight.²⁰ Hyde then dispatched Graffenried to Lieutenant Governor Alexander Spotswood in Virginia,

¹⁵ German Version, p. 228.

¹⁶ Report to Georg Ritter and Company, p. 233.

¹⁷ Report to Georg Ritter and Company, pp. 287, 288.

¹⁸ Report to Georg Ritter and Company, pp. 287, 288. ". . . the shortest way out would be to withdraw into some island or into the mountains, or even go over into Canada to the French."

¹⁹ German Version, p. 230.

²⁰ German Version, p. 231.

and Spotswood promptly sent a company of marines to Cary's stronghold on the Pamlico.²¹ At the sight of the Queen's soldiery, Cary fled, later to be apprehended in Virginia, tried in England, and freed. Thus ended the rebellion in July, 1711, three years after the beginning of this tangled "usurpation."

Graffenried had every reason to believe that upon the ending of the rebellion the province would take some steps to succor his failing colony. Hyde seemed willing to help, but the revenues at his disposal were very limited.²² Graffenried appealed to the assembly to assist the colony by a loan upon the same terms as that promised by the proprietors, but his request was refused, he says, "under pretext that this civil war had made it impossible for them to do it."²³ He returned sadly to New Bern. There a new misfortune awaited him. Yellow fever was raging among the colonists. Many were ill and several were dead, including two Swiss servants Graffenried had brought from Bern.²⁴

Without doubt [writes Graffenried] it was the great heat which came the three months of June, July, and August that was the cause of it; our people coming from a cold and mountainous country were not yet accustomed to this flat country and this hot air. Yet there was no lack of physicians and surgeons who took care of them. These afterwards also became sick. But the principal cause of it was that in my absence they had neglected my orders for diet which I had given at first on my arrival in America when I found the Palatines so ill. It was by the good advice of persons who had made a long stay in Carolina that I had instructed them not to drink too much fresh and cold water, but to boil it with some sassafras, of which the woods are full, and afterwards to let it cool off and to drink as much of it as they wished. I used it in the morning with a little sugar in place of tea and it did me much good.²⁵

Graffenried's advice to drink boiled water was a sensible enough precaution and one that must have saved his colony from the ravages of typhoid, but his prescription for yellow fever was not so instinctively correct:

When this fever attacks you [he advises] the best remedy is, in place of going first of all to bed, to run until you sweat in great drops and

²¹ German Version, pp. 232, 233.

²² German Version, p. 234.

²³ German Version, p. 234.

²⁴ French Version, p. 372.

²⁵ French Version, p. 372.

even fall over from weariness. You must not stop there but arise and continue until you can go no farther.²⁶

If many of the colonists followed this well-intentioned though fatal advice, the toll of the fever must have been considerably higher than it would have been otherwise.

At the end of this harrowing summer, the Indian massacre broke in all of its fury. Before describing the causes of this greatest of all the tragedies that were visited upon the people of the Neuse, something should be told of the New Bern colonists' attitude toward the red men prior to the outbreak of open warfare between them. There seems to have been absolutely no inherent, instinctive animosity between the red men and the Europeans. The Swiss found them "clever and sociable" (*verstandig und vertreglich*).²⁷ They did not regard them as "wild," for they were fond of coming to the New Bernians and buying clothes from them, in return for which the natives supplied venison, leather, bacon, beans, and corn.²⁸ Indeed it is probable that without help from the Indians the settlers would have starved. The English must have shared this ability of the Swiss to get along with the natives. If Lawson can be regarded as in any sense their spokesman, his understanding and even admiration of the Indian character—their patience, willingness, and sense of justice—should be ample proof that there was no natural hatred between these aborigines and the white men who came to live in their ancestral lands.²⁹ The hostility that arose was the result of several conditions—conditions which might have been avoided by the whites.

When the Indian massacre came without apparent warning on September 22, 1711, the attitude of the North Carolinians was, in the words of Thomas Pollock, that the Indians had struck "without any cause that we know of."³⁰ It was believed widely not only in North Carolina but beyond the bounds of the province that the massacre was entirely unprovoked. In Virginia Spotswood wrote, in some indignation, that the blow had come "without any previous declaration of War or show of discon-

²⁶ French Version, p. 373.

²⁷ Letter of Samuel Jacob Gabley, p. 308.

²⁸ Letter of Christen Janzen, p. 317.

²⁹ Lawson, *History*, passim.

³⁰ *Colonial Records*, II, 24.

tent.”³¹ From the injured innocence implied in such a view of the massacre, and no doubt believed sincerely by those who like Pollock and Spotswood either did not know or did not take the trouble to find out conditions on the North Carolina frontier, one would guess that there had been no previous Indian trouble along the Neuse and Pamlico. Such was not the case, for in 1703 there had been much Indian unrest culminating in a minor uprising of the Corees.³² Even then the Tuscarora and Bay River Indians, allies in the wars beginning in 1711, were said to be “in more than ordinary familiarity of late.”³³ An effort was made to stop the sale of ammunition and rum to the natives, but it met with no success.³⁴ In view of this recent history of Indian trouble, it is hard to see why Spotswood and Pollock should have regarded the 1711 massacre as an event without a cause. Obviously the Indians, not being an articulate people, had made little impression by this previous “show of discontent.” Their temperament was that of men slow to anger, and it was therefore deceptive to the unobservant. “They will endure a great many Misfortunes, Losses, and Disappointments,” writes Lawson, “without showing themselves, in the least, vexed or uneasy.”³⁵ But accompanying this stoical forbearance was another trait which was to prove for the whites a terrible one. “The Indians are very revengeful,” says Lawson, “and never forget an Injury done, till they have received Satisfaction.”³⁶

What were the grievances of the Indians? First, there was the steady encroachment of the whites on their territory. As early as 1701, the Tuscarora were complaining that the Pamlico settlers were threatening them for hunting near their plantations.³⁷ This was a serious matter for this tribe, who were so numerous (Lawson himself having seen 500 “in one hunting quarter”) that they were hard pressed to feed themselves. Meat was scarce in their villages and frequently corn was all they could provide for themselves. Though the growing influx of the whites was sufficiently alarming to the Indians, the fact that their land

³¹ R. A. Brock, ed., *The Official Letters of Alexander Spotswood* (Richmond. Virginia Historical Society, 1882), I, 116.

³² *Historical and Genealogical Register*, II, 204.

³³ *Historical and Genealogical Register*, II, 194.

³⁴ *Historical and Genealogical Register*, I, 437. Lawson, *History*, 214.

³⁵ Lawson, *History*, p. 208.

³⁶ Lawson, *History*, p. 212.

³⁷ Lawson, *History*, p. 57.

claims were frequently disregarded gave them greater cause for indignation. Pamlico Precinct court records show that the white man's expressed willingness to pay the Indian for his land did not always mean willingness to pay the red man's price.³⁸ According to Graffenried, even the fair-minded Lawson advised that the natives might be chased off the site of New Bern without payment.³⁹ The fact that Graffenried did pay them for this land probably saved his life when the Indians struck; and the fact that they did not execute him is a good indication that the blame for the Indian outbreak lay elsewhere than on the Swiss-German colony.⁴⁰ Graffenried maintains strenuously, and probably correctly, that the Indians had no grievance against him or his settlers.⁴¹ Of course, the arrival of over 400 colonists at one time may have made the Indians apprehensive over this mass colonization. They may have feared that unless they resorted to force they would in a short time be crowded out of the few hunting grounds that were left to them in eastern North Carolina. In principle, however, the Swiss and Palatines were no more to blame for the massacre than the English. They were only the latest evidence of a trend that had been going on for years, a trend which meant the gradual occupation of all Indian lands by the ever-increasing white men.

This encroachment gave rise to countless petty disputes. Many of them arose because of the proximity of white and Indian settlements. Quite frequently an English colonist would claim land on or very near the site of an Indian village. Farnifold Green owned land near the Tuscarora town Nonawharitsa.⁴² William Hancock took up a tract near another Tuscarora village, Heeruta.⁴³ There are several examples of English claims on or near the Corees' territory, including one of Governor Hyde himself.⁴⁴ In cases where the whites lived near the Indians,

³⁸ Minutes of November 22, 1704: "Henry Hoborn says he owes the Indians for his land and would pay them in Reason, but they will not take less than 7 pounds 13 shillings and 6 pence and noe less." *Historical and Genealogical Register*, I, 441. "The people are all willing to pay the Indians for the lands, but they demand such great prices, that they cannot buy of them." *Historical and Genealogical Register*, I, 441.

³⁹ French Version, p. 373.

⁴⁰ Graffenried's Letter to Hyde, p. 275.

⁴¹ Graffenried's Letter to Hyde, p. 275.

⁴² Beaufort County Deeds, I, 9.

⁴³ Craven County Deeds, I, 285.

⁴⁴ *Colonial Records*, II, 316-317. Richard Graves patented land near Coree Town in 1714, presumably after the Indians there had been decimated in the bloody fighting that began in 1711. Land Grant Office, II, 367.

there were disputes over strayed livestock, cattle wounded by Indian hunters, and damaging brush fires started by native woodsmen.⁴⁵ In addition to these, there were many other sources of quarrels. The natives accused Hancock of taking a gun from an Indian by force, and complained that William Brice "dealt too hard" with them.⁴⁶ Often such disputes arose out of stupid disregard for Indian customs. Graffenried tells of an incident which nearly cost him the Neuse Indians' friendship. At Chattooka there was a dome-like shrine woven of twigs, in which the Indians placed offerings before two grotesquely carved wooden idols—one painted red and white, the other black and red.⁴⁷ "They represented thus by the first image a good divinity, and by the other the devil, with whom," observes Graffenried dryly, "they are better acquainted."⁴⁸ One of the Swiss, seeing the black and red colors of his native Bern on the evil idol, clove this image in two with his axe and boasted to his family that he had split the devil at one blow. Graffenried placated, with a gift of brandy, the angry Indian who came protesting, and used all his tactful persuasion to assure the natives that such a thing would not have happened if the idol had not been an evil divinity!

From the complaint that William Brice "dealt too hard" with the Indians, one gathers that Brice, in addition to being a planter, was also a trader—and traders had acquired an unenviable reputation for dishonesty among the Indians. Frequently the natives were cheated or ill-used. Byrd mentions the "dictatorial Authority" of these men. "These petty Rulers," he writes, "don't only teach the honestest Savages all sorts of Debauchery, but are unfair in their dealings, and use them with all kinds of Oppression."⁴⁹ Cheating an Indian, a heathen, was regarded by many settlers as a perfectly justifiable right, even perhaps a Christian privilege. Such an attitude doubtless grew out of the feeling expressed so ingeniously by the Swiss settler who learned that the Indians bought trinkets "for as much as one desires!"⁵⁰ That the Indians regarded the tricks

⁴⁵ Compare *Historical and Genealogical Register*, I, 441; also suit of William Brice against an Indian who failed to return his mare, *Historical and Genealogical Register*, III, 81-82. Indian treaties tell of many sources of dispute. Compare Graffenried's *Treaty*, pp. 281-282.

⁴⁶ *Colonial Records*, I, 990. Compare German Version, pp. 234, 235.

⁴⁷ Letter to Hyde, p. 277.

⁴⁸ Letter to Hyde, p. 278.

⁴⁹ Byrd's *Histories*, p. 302.

⁵⁰ Letter of Christen Engel, p. 315.

of the trader as a grievance is proved from the treaty they concluded with Graffenried after the outbreak of the war. It provided specifically that goods should be sold to them "at a reasonable and cheap price."⁵¹ In addition to blankets, kettles, and innocuous ornaments, the traders sold the savages guns, ammunition, tomahawks, and knives.⁵² To add danger to these deadly wares, there was the white man's habit of supplying the Indian with rum—which of course made all quarrels worse.⁵³

Perhaps the greatest of all the Indians' grievances was the native slave trade, which flourished on the frontier. On the pretext of teaching the young braves a trade the white men sold many of them into bondage. The Indians' hatred of this barbarous custom is amply shown by Lawson's statement that they would part with anything for *roanoke* or *wampum* "except their Children for Slaves."⁵⁴ The Indian was not averse to hiring himself to the white man. "Some of them hunt and fowl for us at reasonable Rates," wrote Lawson.⁵⁵ But the kidnapping of their young for a lifetime of alien servitude was regarded by them with understandable bitterness and indignation. This infamous trade reached such proportions that in 1705 Pennsylvania forbade the further "importation of Indian slaves from Carolina" because it had "been observed to give the Indians of this province some umbrage for suspicion and dissatisfaction."⁵⁶ That the Neuse settlers engaged in this despicable practice is a matter not of speculation but of fact. Like an accusing witness, there has survived a document which proves this and which is dated ironically only a few months before the Indian massacre:

North Carolina. This my noat shall oblige Mrs. Will Brice my Heirs or Execrs to pay unto Will Lewis or his orderes by the last of this Instant one Indian aged between 20 and 35 and to bee delivered at his one plantation being in Pamlicough River.

In consideration hereof this Indian not being delivered By the last of this Instant I the said Brice doe oblige mee Selfe to pay unto Will

⁵¹ Graffenried's Treaty, pp. 281-282.

⁵² Byrd's *Histories*, p. 298.

⁵³ Byrd's *Histories*, p. 290. An interesting letter written by Lawson in 1701 tells of an incident in which some Englishmen gave a party of Indians "3 clay potts full of Rum" despite one native's warning, which was fully realized, that if they made the Indians drunk "they would be rude." *Historical and Genealogical Register*, I, 598.

⁵⁴ Lawson, *History*, p. 206.

⁵⁵ Lawson, *History*, p. 87.

⁵⁶ Quoted by O. M. McPherson, compiler, *Indians of North Carolina*, Senate Document No. 677, 63rd Congress (Washington, 1915), p. 183.

Lewis or his orders fourteen pounds one halfe in Corrant Silver money and the other halfe in drest Skinnes at two shillings per pound the the said money and skinnes to be delivered at the said Lewis plantation in Witness hereof I have seat my Hand & Seal Anno Domini 1710-11 March ye 5th. Thestes, Will Harris; Swan Swanson.

[signed] Wm. Brice.⁵⁷

Even among the whites, Brice and William Hancock, two of the most prominent inhabitants of the Neuse, had the unsavoury reputation of being motivated in their dealings with the Indians chiefly by considerations of financial gain.⁵⁸ Though there is no evidence that Hancock like Brice was a slave trader, it is practically certain that Brice was not the only hard-fisted frontiersman who was guilty of this "business." So firmly established and apparently irrestible was this practice in Bath County that after the massacre one Prichard Jasper is recorded as having sold into slavery one of the very friendly Indians who had spared and helped to protect the lives of him and his people!⁵⁹

Certain contemporary observers name still another cause for the massacre which must be discussed along with those already mentioned. It was believed by prominent North Carolinians that the Indians were actually incited to murder and pillage by white men themselves, though this charge is directed at the followers of Cary and (what is even more suspect) comes from their opponents in the rebellion. Pollock hints at such a grave accusation.⁶⁰ So does Graffenried, who mentions as a cause of the outbreak "the slanders and instigations of certain plotters against Governor Hyde."⁶¹ Spotswood, who probably received his information from either Pollock or Hyde, writes as follows:

I will not affirm that the invitation given these savages some time ago by Col^o Cary and his Party, to cutt off their fellow subjects (tho that heavy charge is proved by divers testimonys and firmly believed in Carolina) has been the only occasion of this Tragedy. . . .⁶²

Yet, says Spotswood, it is reasonable and plausible that the civil dissensions should have encouraged the Indians—which with-

⁵⁷ *Historical and Genealogical Register*, III, 270.

⁵⁸ Compare letter of Thomas Pollock, *Colonial Records*, II, 298.

⁵⁹ *Colonial Records*, II, 55.

⁶⁰ *Colonial Records*, II, 40.

⁶¹ German Version, pp. 230, 234.

⁶² Spotswood's *Letters*, I, 116, 117. See also *Colonial Records*, I, 810, 811.

out doubt they did. One can only be extremely reluctant to believe that Cary or his adherents encouraged the Indians to such a pitiless massacre. Fortunately, there is evidence that speaks in their favor. First, there is the lapse of time between ending the rebellion and the outbreak. If Cary wished to bring down the Indians upon his political opponents, why did the natives not attack before their alleged ally was stripped of power? Second, it is very difficult to believe that any sect so earnest and opposed to violence as the Quakers would have joined in such an incitation or even abetted it by standing aloof and silent. Surely these dissenters, who in many ways were more God-fearing than their political opponents, would not have failed to warn their fellow inhabitants if there had been any league between Cary and any warlike coalition of savages. Third, there is testimony from the Indians themselves that no white man urged them to the massacre. Colonel John Barnwell, of South Carolina, who commanded the force from that province which came to North Carolina's rescue, writes as follows concerning his questioning of Indian prisoners taken by his men:

I inquired whether any white men had incited them to it, they unanimously answered no, only that y^e Virginia traders told them that the people Massacred were outlandish [i.e., foreigners—the Swiss and Palatines] and not English, and so they doubted not but soon to make peace with the English and that they were then about it.⁶³

Such evidence, recorded by an impartial observer, seems effectively to clear the dissenters of the charge proffered against them by Spotswood and others, who were too remote from the scene of the Indian troubles to know the true situation. There is, however, in Spotswood's observation this fragment of truth, that the civil dissensions did provide an opportune moment for the Indians to strike. With factionalism still smouldering, the natives saw their chance to sweep down upon a divided province.⁶⁴ Furthermore, this costly internal quarrel, together with a drought during the summer of 1711, resulted in short crops

⁶³ "Journal of John Barnwell," Ludwell MSS., Virginia Historical Society, Richmond; *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, V, 398. The journal is printed in vols. V, pp. 391-402, and VI, pp. 42-55.

⁶⁴ *Colonial Records*, II, 40.

throughout the country.⁶⁵ Ill-provisioned and tragically at odds, the North Carolinians fell an easy prey to the tomahawks of the savages.

So secret did the Indians keep their plans that a few days before the massacre Graffenried and Lawson, accompanied by two Negroes and two natives and loaded with fourteen days' provisions, began a trip of exploration up the Neuse and into the heart of the Tuscarora country.⁶⁶ Christopher Gale was to have accompanied them but fortunately failed to do so because of the sickness of his wife and brother.⁶⁷ One of the Indian guides, either losing his way or deliberately informing the savages of the white men's coming, wandered off to Cotechney, the chief town of the Tuscaroras on Contentnea Creek.⁶⁸ After three days' journey, Graffenried and Lawson were taken prisoner. Mistaking Graffenried for Governor Hyde, the Indians were so jubilant with what they believed was this important capture, that they ran for hours that night, forcing their panting prisoners to keep up with them, so they might reach Cotechney as quickly as possible.⁶⁹ At the Indian town the next morning, the two captive white men were brought before the Indian king Hancock, who ordered them not to be bound since they had not yet been tried.⁷⁰ That night envoys from allied Indian villages came into Cotechney for a grand council over which Hancock presided. With great dignity the Tuscarora chief appointed a young brave as "prosecutor" to represent and defend the interests of the Indian people.⁷¹ Hancock himself, according to the ritual of Indian justice, formed the questions to be put to the captives, and upon their answers the merits of the issue were solemnly debated. Graffenried could not help admiring the dignity of this native court:

I have seen many notable assemblies, have myself been present at some; but I have wondered at the gravity and good order of these heathen, their silence, obedience, respect toward those in authority; no contradiction except by turn, and that only once and with great decency.

⁶⁵ Spotswood's *Letters*, I, 137.

⁶⁶ Letter to Hyde, p. 263.

⁶⁷ *Colonial Records*, I, 825-826.

⁶⁸ Letter to Hyde, p. 264. This town is shown on a map in the work of John Brickell, *The Natural History of North-Carolina* (Dublin, 1737).

⁶⁹ Letter to Hyde, p. 265.

⁷⁰ Letter to Hyde, p. 265. Chiefs like Hancock and Taylor assumed an English name in their dealings with the whites.

⁷¹ Letter to Hyde, p. 266.

One could not in the least observe any passion, and there was time enough given for reply. In fine everything was done with a propriety which would bring conviction and put many Christian magistrates to shame. The trial was conducted also in as orderly a manner as could ever be with Christian judges, and I have heard such sensible reasons given by these savages and heathens that I was amazed.⁷²

The first question put to the white men was concerning the object of their journey, and on receiving the answer that it was a trip of exploration, the king then asked why they had not paid their respects to him and communicated their project to him before coming.⁷³ (From this one gathers that Graffenried had failed to make friends with the Tuscarora as he had with the Neuse and Corees. In his writings he mentions no previous contact with this important tribe.) After this the general question of Indian treatment at the hands of the whites came up. The Indians maintained that they had been "very badly treated and detained [as slaves] by the inhabitants of the Pamtego, Neuse, and Trent Rivers, a thing which was not to be longer endured."⁷⁴ Lawson was accused of abetting this ill-treatment, but after considerable deliberation it was decided to release both captives.

The next day Graffenried and Lawson prepared to return down-river, but just before they were to leave, some newly arrived chiefs requested to hear the white men's defense and to question them further.⁷⁵ Accordingly, another examination was held in Hancock's hut two miles from the village. Unluckily for Lawson, King Taylor was present and reproached the surveyor general for some wrong. Whereupon (says Graffenried) Lawson became excited and quarreled heatedly with the Indians. Immediately both of them were seized and bound, stripped of their hats and wigs, and relieved of their pocket effects.⁷⁶ A council of war was held, and the two captives were condemned to die. At daybreak they were led back to the great open space upon which the council had gathered once more. Seeing an Indian who could speak English, Graffenried asked him the cause of the condemnation. The Indian answered that it was because Lawson

⁷² Letter to Hyde, pp. 275-276.

⁷³ Letter to Hyde, p. 266.

⁷⁴ Letter to Hyde, p. 266.

⁷⁵ Letter to Hyde, p. 266.

⁷⁶ Letter to Hyde, p. 266.

had quarreled with Coree Tom, the chief of the Coree, and because Lawson and he, Graffenried, had threatened to get revenge on the Indians.⁷⁷ Graffenried pleaded with the Indian to tell the other natives that he was not involved in the quarrel and had made no threats. The Indian went his way, with Graffenried anxiously waiting and hoping he would intercede for him.

That afternoon the war dance began, with the white men bound and bareheaded and seated in the middle of the council clearing.⁷⁸ An old gray Indian, a conjurer-priest, hovered about a large fire, and near by stood another savage who from his dignified and terrible visage and keen axe looked to be the executioner. At intervals the natives dropped out of the wild dance and ran into the forest, emerging with faces daubed by paint. Two Indians sitting on the ground beat incessantly on a drum "and sang so strangely to it," says Graffenried, "in such a melody, that it would provoke anger and sadness rather than joy."⁷⁹ When darkness fell the dancing stopped, and the Indians went into the forest and gathered fuel for the great fires which they lighted. Once more the solemn council assembled, and Graffenried made a short speech in English, telling the natives that he was under the protection of the great queen of England, who would certainly avenge his death.⁸⁰ Thereupon one of King Taylor's subjects spoke in behalf of Graffenried. The council seemed impressed and sent messengers to consult with neighboring villages. Graffenried passed the night in prayer.⁸¹ Just before dawn the messengers returned. Graffenried's bonds were removed, and one of the captors whispered in his ear, in broken English, that he was to be spared but that Lawson must die. He was then led into a hut, while his companion was put to a secret and perhaps agonizing death.⁸²

The day after Lawson's death Graffenried was told that the Tuscarora, the Mattamuskeet, Bay River, Pamlico, Neuse, and

⁷⁷ Letter to Hyde, p. 267. Compare Barnwell: "I examined several of the prisoners (as to) who provoked the Enemy to commit these Murders, and all agree in one story that the beginning of the Quarrel arose about an Indian that the White men had punished for a small fault committed in his drink." "Journal of John Barnwell," *Virginia Magazine*, V, 398.

⁷⁸ Letter to Hyde, p. 267. A sketch by Graffenried, very crude, which shows the scene during his captivity, is reproduced in T. P. DeGraffenried's family history.

⁷⁹ Letter to Hyde, p. 268.

⁸⁰ Letter to Hyde, p. 269.

⁸¹ Letter to Hyde, pp. 268-269.

⁸² Letter to Hyde, p. 270. Gale believed Lawson died by having pine splinters stuck all over his body and lighted. *Colonial Records*, I, 836. One of the Negroes, according to Graffenried, said Lawson's throat was cut with his own razor. Letter to Hyde, p. 270.

Coree tribes, having mustered 500 warriors, intended to make war on the whites. Powerless to warn his colony, Graffenried could obtain only a promise that those in the town would be spared although no mercy would be shown to settlers on the plantations up the Trent.⁸³ A few days later, the Indians returned with prisoners, among them a young Swiss or Palatine boy whose family, like many another, had been wiped out. Frantic to know what had happened, Graffenried begged for his freedom, promising a ransom of valuable goods and signing a treaty of neutrality for the Palatines and Swiss. This treaty provided that the colony should take up no more land and should allow the Indians to hunt where they pleased except near livestock or houses.⁸⁴ It guaranteed them merchandise "at a reasonable and cheap price." At this time there arrived by a trader a letter from Governor Spotswood demanding Graffenried's release.⁸⁵ At length, after they had consulted with the northern Tuscarora villages, the Indians released Graffenried from his six-weeks' captivity.⁸⁶ Footsore and exhausted, he stumbled into the little settlement to the amazement of his colonists, all of whom believed him dead.⁸⁷

Warfare of the cruelest sort had broken out between Indians and whites. At dawn on September 22 the Indians, dividing into small parties, had swooped down upon the settlers' plantations, scalping, murdering, and taking prisoners, burning houses and fields and destroying livestock, leaving behind them sixty English and more than sixty Swiss and Palatines dead and mutilated.⁸⁸ Twenty or thirty prisoners were taken, among them fifteen Palatines.⁸⁹ All normal activity came to a standstill as the terrified survivors deserted their fields and shut themselves indoors in fear of the marauding Indians. One Neuse inhabitant, Farnifold Green, wrote to friends in Virginia, "we are forc'd to keep garisons and watch and Gard, day and Night."⁹⁰ The leaderless Swiss and Palatines, thinking like Spotswood that Graffenried had been "Tomahawk'd and tortured at the first

⁸³ Letter to Hyde, p. 270.

⁸⁴ Letter to Hyde, p. 271. Graffenried's Treaty, pp. 281-282.

⁸⁵ Letter to Hyde, p. 272. Spotswood's Letters, I, 118. *Colonial Records*, I, 808.

⁸⁶ Letter to Hyde, pp. 271, 275.

⁸⁷ Letter to Hyde, pp. 261, 262.

⁸⁸ Letter to Hyde, p. 262. Spotswood's Letters, I, 116. *Colonial Records*, I, 810, 924.

⁸⁹ German Version, p. 235. *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, I, 151.

⁹⁰ *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, I, 151.

Public War Dance,"⁹¹ joined the English in making a costly and futile attack on the Indians, who repulsed them easily in their disorganized state and thus gained confidence that they could perpetrate fresh horrors with impunity.⁹²

When Graffenried returned like one from the dead, he found New Bern deserted. The surviving Palatines and Swiss had left the town and crossed the Trent to the plantation of William Brice, under whose protection they had placed themselves.⁹³ Brice was one of the few settlers who had built a fort on his plantation, and into this stronghold he gathered a garrison of Swiss, Germans, and English.⁹⁴ Some of the colonists returned to Graffenried's leadership, but he never again won his former position of authority. What was worse, he became an object of suspicion for refusing to make war on the Indians.⁹⁵ He would not yield up to the vengeful settlers the Indian who came to obtain the ransom, and he advised against declaring war on the natives as long as provisions were lacking and the fifteen Palatines remained in enemy hands.⁹⁶ Aided by Brice, a blacksmith whom Graffenried had punished for stealing and whose effects he had impounded, some of the Palatines raised an open mutiny against the landgrave and drew up twenty articles accusing him of various malfeasances⁹⁷ The blacksmith's tools, so valuable for repairing firearms, were the object of a plot begun by Brice, who was evidently as determined to have them for the use of his garrison as Graffenried was to retain them for the defense of the town.⁹⁸ Backed up by thirty or forty settlers, twenty of whom were Palatines, Brice approached the town and demanded its surrender. Graffenried, however, had been warned by a Palatine boy who had overheard the plot, and he was ready for the mutineers. He threatened boldly, as a landgrave of Carolina, to see that they were punished by the next assembly.⁹⁹ He refused to yield the blacksmith's tools or to join Brice's men in

⁹¹ Spotswood's *Letters*, I, 118.

⁹² Letter to Hyde, p. 274. Compare *Colonial Records*, IV, 955.

⁹³ Letter to Hyde, p. 262.

⁹⁴ In a deed of 1770 this fort is referred to as being near a graveyard on the east side of the mouth of Brice's Creek. Craven Records, XVIII, 165.

⁹⁵ Spotswood's *Letters*, I, 142.

⁹⁶ German Version, p. 235.

⁹⁷ German Version, p. 236. Graffenried does not specify the charges against him. Undoubtedly one was his failure to furnish livestock.

⁹⁸ German Version, p. 236. French Version, p. 382.

⁹⁹ German Version, pp. 236-237. French Version, p. 382.

attacking the Indians. So far, says Graffenried, the Indians had respected the treaty of neutrality, but when Brice began his reprisals, among them the roasting alive of a Bay River chieftain, they refused to spare the New Bern colony and slew "outlanders" and English alike.¹⁰⁰

This was the death blow to Graffenried's venture. Impugned by his own colonists, he went before the assembly to defend himself from the accusing articles. The governor and council supported him, but the lower house, in which there were dissenters who still resented his opposition to Cary, met in stony silence his explanations and gave him no satisfaction to his demands that his honor should be cleared, though indeed, as he points out, no accuser came to face him in the legislature.¹⁰¹ Beset by Indians, hopelessly in debt, and with provisions dwindling, Graffenried and his loyal settlers fortified themselves throughout the winter in New Bern while he laid plans to resettle the colony in Virginia and begin again.¹⁰²

The story of the progress of the Indian war is one that belongs to the history of the whole province, whose condition at this period was one of shameful abjectness. Due to the short crops and Indian forays, food was lacking and ammunition was scarce. It was literally true that the savages, thanks to the Indian traders, were better armed than were the whites.¹⁰³ The militia of the colony showed an inglorious apathy toward the call to put down the uprising, and desertions were common, "to ye great weakening of its strength."¹⁰⁴ It was a task to feed the civilian inhabitants, much more an armed force. Farnifold Green, as an emergency measure, was appointed commissary of Bath County to "supply the army with anything that is to be had."¹⁰⁵ Debts piled up—private ones contracted by the colonists, who were forced to suspend their planting, and public ones which resulted in the province's first issue of paper

¹⁰⁰ German Version, p. 238.

¹⁰¹ French Version, pp. 382-383.

¹⁰² German Version, p. 240. Spotswood's *Letters*, I, 143. Spotswood recommended that the Board of Trade encourage Graffenried to bring his colonists to that province.

¹⁰³ *Colonial Records*, I, 811, 843.

¹⁰⁴ German Version, p. 240. *Historical and Genealogical Register*, I, 438. *Colonial Records*, I, 873. A curious fact is that militiamen were actually known to send substitutes to fight for them. In 1715, upon testimony of William Brice, Edmund Ennett proved that he had been promised a cow and calf by David Wharton in return for fighting in Wharton's stead. Craven County Court Minutes, session of January, 1715, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

¹⁰⁵ *Colonial Records*, I, 879.

money.¹⁰⁶ Except for pitch or tar, exports nearly ceased, for all grain and pork were needed to feed the population.¹⁰⁷

But although the whole province felt the effects of the Indian war, the Neuse and Pamlico settlers suffered most intensely. "The people of this country," writes Pollock, "are greatly impoverished: them at news and Pamlico having most of their houses and household goods burnt, their stocks of Cattle, hogs, horses &c, killed and carried away and their plantations ruined."¹⁰⁸ As the months of violence wore on, the plantations became not peaceful farms but armed forts with garrisons.¹⁰⁹ One after another the settlers fell beneath savage bullets or tomahawks. Robert Shrieve was "dangerously wounded."¹¹⁰ Farnifold Green was murdered with one son, one white servant, and two Negroes, though another son mercifully escaped with only a wounded shoulder.¹¹¹ Peter Foundgill perished with all his family at the hands of the blood-crazed savages.¹¹² It is no wonder that the outbreak was spoken of as "almost depopulating a whole County."¹¹³

Sunk in misery and hopelessness, the stricken province appealed for aid to Virginia in a petition of which Graffenried was one of the signers.¹¹⁴ The "pore distressed inhabitants of Neuse River" themselves requested the sister province for troops in a separate petition.¹¹⁵ There is a note of pitiful contriteness in their admission that the catastrophe had befallen them "by ye permission of Almighty God for our sins and Disobedance." A "Mr. Ferguson and Mr. Graves"—Adam Ferguson and Richard Graves—were delegated to go before the Virginia council to request assistance.¹¹⁶ Spotswood, however, refused to go to the aid of the proprietary province with crown troops unless the troops could be guaranteed provisions, and this the North

¹⁰⁶ Connor *History*, I, 108-110.

¹⁰⁷ *Colonial Records*, I, 873.

¹⁰⁸ *Colonial Records*, I, 873.

¹⁰⁹ *Colonial Records*, II, 2. This mentions a garrison at Shackelford's plantation in 1713. Brice's garrison has already been mentioned.

¹¹⁰ *Colonial Records*, II, 200.

¹¹¹ *Colonial Records*, V, 653-654.

¹¹² *Colonial Records*, I, 864.

¹¹³ *Colonial Records*, I, 837-838.

¹¹⁴ *Colonial Records*, I, 837-838.

¹¹⁵ *Colonial Records*, I, 819-820. *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, I, 154-155. The signers: Benjamin Sim(p)son, John George, William Hancock, John Slocumb, Martin Hopkins, William Brice, Richard Hill, Robert Bruse, Thomas Dawson, Francis Hill, Roger Hill, Farnifold Green, Thomas Wilson, James Blount, Adam Ferguson, Jr., and Robert Watson.

¹¹⁶ *Colonial Records*, I, 836.

Carolinians were unable to do.¹¹⁷ At length, South Carolina came to the rescue, dispatching thirty white soldiers and nearly 500 friendly Indians under command of Colonel John Barnwell.¹¹⁸ Early in 1712 Barnwell marched on Hancock's stronghold near Cotechney. Eager for vengeance, the Palatines and other Neuse militia, sixty-seven strong, joined Barnwell's force. "I exhausted all Pamlico garrisons to procure them 10 shott a man," writes Barnwell, "leaving not a single Bullet I could hear of."¹¹⁹ According to Barnwell, however, the desire for revenge outran the Palatines' courage, for when Indian shot began to hail about them they ignominiously turned about and fled.¹²⁰ Because of the presence of captives in the fort, whom the Indians began torturing within the white men's hearing, Barnwell was unable to smash the stronghold but instead, after a ten-day siege, agreed to a peace for which he was ungratefully criticized.¹²¹ Yet, even as his critics admitted, if Barnwell had not come to North Carolina, "in probabillity News and pamtico had been deserted."¹²² The treaty of peace stipulated that the Indians should plant only on Neuse River and abandon their claim to lands between the Neuse and Cape Fear.¹²³ It also provided for delivery to the whites of King Hancock, who was summarily executed.¹²⁴

Graffenried, meanwhile, during the terrible winter of 1711-1712, had written to Spotswood that he would be "constrained to abandon the Swiss and Palatines' Settlement, without speedy Succours, the people being already in such despair that they have burnt their own houses rather than be obliged to stay in a place exposed to so many hardships."¹²⁵ When all the provisions stored in New Bern had been exhausted, Graffenried went to Albemarle County and obtained a shipload of corn, powder, lead, and tobacco.¹²⁶ As fate would have it, this ship caught fire on

¹¹⁷ German Version, p. 243. Spotswood's *Letters*, I, 171.

¹¹⁸ Desertions reduced this force considerably after it had arrived. "Journal of John Barnwell," *Virginia Magazine*, V, 393; VI, 44.

¹¹⁹ *Virginia Magazine*, VI, 43.

¹²⁰ The Indians, says Barnwell, "deservedly shott Sevll of them in their arses." *Virginia Magazine*, 45. His opinion of Graffenried and Michel was quite different from the evident contempt in which he held their colonists. He refers to the former as "the wise Baron" and to the latter as "a Swiss brave gentleman," probably referring to Michel's conduct of himself in the attack on the Cotechney fort. *Virginia Magazine*, p. 48.

¹²¹ *Virginia Magazine*, pp. 46, 51. Spotswood's *Letters*, I, 147. *Colonial Records*, I, 875.

¹²² *Colonial Records*, I, 875.

¹²³ "Journal of John Barnwell," *Virginia Magazine*, VI, 52-54.

¹²⁴ *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, I, 156-157.

¹²⁵ Spotswood's *Letters*, I, 133, 137.

¹²⁶ German Version, pp. 240, 242. French Version, p. 383.

the return trip. Graffenried then went to Virginia, intending to explore the falls of the Potomac and settle there with a handful of loyal Swiss, who were to follow him under the guidance of Michel.¹²⁷ From Spotswood he obtained assurance that Michel and his band, who were to come up in the little sloop, would be convoyed from North Carolina to Virginia, but Michel failed to meet the warship sent out by Spotswood, pleading that the sloop had gone aground and was unseaworthy.¹²⁸ Fearing, and correctly so, that Michel too was deserting him, Graffenried returned to North Carolina to confer with Governor Hyde. He arrived just in time to fall ill, with the members of the governor's household, of yellow fever, which during the summer of 1712 raged throughout the province. "The people there," writes Spotswood, "have been so harrassed by the Indian Enemy, that their Fatigues have brought among them a Pestilential Distemper, which sweeps away great numbers, and so many of the Council have suffered therein that Collo. Hyde writes he cannot find a member to advise with . . . nor Assembly that will meet to do business."¹²⁹ Hyde himself died of the fever, and Graffenried was again offered the governorship *pro tempore*. He refused it, however, and Thomas Pollock assumed the office instead.¹³⁰

On his return from Virginia, Graffenried was being watched impatiently by his creditors.¹³¹ An English merchant, to whom a resident of Carolina, probably Pollock, had sold one of his notes, wished to have him arrested, and the Baron was forced to hide himself from the bailiffs in the house where he was staying.¹³² Disquieting suspicions came to him regarding Michel, who quite understandably seems by this time to have lost all confidence in Graffenried. He heard that his associate was planning to desert him and lead the rest of the settlers to a new location in South Carolina.¹³³ He began to suspect, too, after his explorations in Virginia, that the silver mines were purely imaginary.¹³⁴ Worst of all, the Indian warfare broke out again.

¹²⁷ German Version, pp. 242, 246.

¹²⁸ German Version, p. 248.

¹²⁹ Spotswood's *Letters*, I, 137.

¹³⁰ German Version, p. 252.

¹³¹ As early as July, 1711, Urmstone wrote that Graffenried "had no credit in England." *Colonial Records*, I, 775.

¹³² German Version, p. 254.

¹³³ German Version, p. 250.

¹³⁴ German Version, p. 251.

Barnwell's force of Indians and whites, getting nothing but criticism in return for their peace with the Tuscarora, determined to reap what profit they could from that thankless expedition, and so proceeded to take prisoner, as slaves, a large number of peaceful natives whom they enticed to Coree Town.¹³⁵ Upon this provocation, the Indians committed two fresh massacres and continued their marauding through the autumn of 1712.¹³⁶ So critical was the situation that Spotswood thought the Carolinians "must be forced to abandon all their Settlements on Neuse and Pamlico Rivers."¹³⁷ The New Bern colony was hopelessly scattered and estranged from Graffenried's leadership. Unable to go anywhere unshadowed by the bars of debtor's prison, Graffenried made up his mind to sail for Europe. The Palatines bitterly complained long afterward that in his packing he "carried off from our Settlements all that he could conveniently come at."¹³⁸ He proposed to seek money from his associates with which to pay his notes. He even pretended to hold out some hope of returning to the colony, though he must have known in his heart it was an irreparable failure.¹³⁹ "I had scruples," he confesses, "about abandoning the colony."—

When I considered how much I owed to God, especially for such a marvelous rescue, and how disastrously and adversely everything had gone with me, I could well guess that it was not God's will that I should remain longer in this land. And since no good star shone for me I finally took the resolution to go away, comforting myself that my colonists would probably get along better among these Carolinians who could help them better at the time than I. Herewith, and because I had no great hopes in myself, I departed, for what I did was not with the intention of entirely abandoning them, although a greater part had given me cause to, but in case I received favor of an audience with her Royal Majesty the Queen of England, also more assistance at Bern, I could with joy and profit come to them again.¹⁴⁰

On Easter, 1713, after a stay with Spotswood in Williamsburg, Graffenried sailed for England.¹⁴¹ In London, where he visited Sir John Colleton, the lord proprietor, he met the forty German

¹³⁵ German Version, pp. 244-245.

¹³⁶ Spotswood's *Letters*, I, 169; II, 1.

¹³⁷ Spotswood's *Letters*, I, 171.

¹³⁸ *Colonial Records*, IV, 955.

¹³⁹ German Version, pp. 254-255.

¹⁴⁰ German Version, p. 255.

¹⁴¹ German Version, p. 256.

miners whom he and Michel had engaged some time previously. To ease his disappointment over the abandonment of the project, Graffenried busied himself that winter to obtain employment for them, which he finally secured through Spotswood, who engaged them to work some newly discovered iron mines on the Rappahannock River.¹⁴² Not until late in 1714 did Graffenried reach Bern.¹⁴³ Bankrupt and broken in spirit, he did not summon courage to speak to his old father for ten days after arriving.¹⁴⁴

Meanwhile, the Indian savageries dragged interminably on. In December, 1712, a second force from South Carolina arrived on the Neuse under command of Colonel James Moore, who in the following spring led some thirty-three whites and about 1,000 friendly Indians against the stubborn Tuscarora.¹⁴⁵ The savages had fortified themselves at Cotechney and particularly at another stronghold, Nohoroco, which at length yielded to assault. Moore took Nohoroco on March 23, 1713. No fewer than 800 natives were killed or captured, and 200 of these were roasted alive in a single flaming redoubt.¹⁴⁶ At this frightful loss the Tuscarora surrendered Cotechney, and in fear of their lives began to migrate back to New York, whence they had come, to rejoin the Five Nations of the Iroquois, of whom they had previously been the Sixth. The power of the Tuscarora was thus broken, but even that did not end the Indian troubles. In May of 1714 their allies, the Coree, returned to the warpath and continued desultory forays throughout the following year.¹⁴⁷ Constant patrol had to be kept between the Neuse and Pamlico rivers.¹⁴⁸ Brice's plantation was again garrisoned, and for a time all the weary horrors of the Tuscarora uprising were resurrected.¹⁴⁹ For three more years the province was kept in this discouraging state of uncertainty and alarm.¹⁵⁰ As late as 1718 parties of rangers were maintained to police the Neuse region against the maurauding Indians. These rangers were stationed not only on the lower reaches on Neuse River, Bay River, and Core Sound but actually

¹⁴² Spotswood's *Letters*, II, 70. The settlement was named Germanna.

¹⁴³ German Version, p. 260.

¹⁴⁴ DeGraffenried, *Graffenried's Treaty*, p. 141.

¹⁴⁵ S. A. Ashe, *History of North Carolina*, I (Greensboro, 1908), 190.

¹⁴⁶ S. A. Ashe, *History of North Carolina*, I (Greensboro, 1908), 190. German Version, p. 245. *Colonial Records*, II, 30.

¹⁴⁷ Ashe, *History*, I, 193-195.

¹⁴⁸ *Colonial Records*, II, 180.

¹⁴⁹ *Colonial Records*, II, p. 200.

¹⁵⁰ *Colonial Records*, II, p. 289.

upon and about the site of New Bern itself¹⁵¹ Small wonder it is, under these circumstances, that many years had to elapse before Graffenried's "little city" began to prosper.

The Indian uprisings were a blow from which the Neuse-Pamlico region was a long time in recovering. Indeed, they nearly proved the death knell of all settlements there. The suspension of trade and farming and the accumulation of debts were well-nigh disastrous, but there was yet another handicap under which the hapless settlers labored. This was the uncertainty and trouble involving land titles, a situation which dated from Cary's Rebellion and which was greatly intensified by the Indian wars. The use of blank patents was one grievance. These orders for land were frequently signed by the governor before being issued and the blanks were later filled out with the name of the owner and the amount of acreage by the surveyor general or his deputy. This practice, which sometimes resulted in patents being issued twice for the same land, was bad enough.¹⁵² But when the Church party gained control of the assembly in 1711, they added another complication. One of the acts passed to nullify Cary's administration provided that all persons who had bought land of Cary were required within two months after the passage of the act to swear to their holdings before certain appointed commissioners, who in Craven (Archdale) Precinct were Lionel Reading and William Brice.¹⁵³ Because most of the Neuse lands had been patented under Cary's "usurpation," this provision of the law was irksome, if not actually burdensome, to the settlers, who were put to the trouble of re-establishing their lawful claims under penalty of dispossession. That some lost their lands is not unlikely. There seem to have been a few settlers who, arriving during the Cary troubles and finding no unanimously recognized government, simply squatted on the lands of their choice without title from Cary or anyone else.¹⁵⁴

The unsettled state of things during and following the Indian wars naturally affected land-holding and especially land-hold-

¹⁵¹ *Colonial Records*, II, pp. 309, 316.

¹⁵² Albemarle County Records, vol. II, contains an undated petition by Farnifold Green complaining of such a dual claim, for which Green blamed John Lawson, deputy surveyor. Compare *Colonial Records*, III, 51-52.

¹⁵³ *Colonial Records*, I, 791-794. Weeks, p. 60.

¹⁵⁴ *Colonial Records*, I, 786.

ing in the newly settled Neuse area. Recognition of this was taken by the government, which, on account of the Indian troubles, extended the length of time in which settlers might pay for their lands.¹⁵⁵ Furthermore, there were cases where the Indians' pillaging had destroyed private and public land records. The "office" of Craven Precinct, the first courthouse, was burned down by the savages, and the Craven court minutes show that legal action was necessary in one case for a landowner to establish that his deed had been recorded but destroyed.¹⁵⁶ Possibly there were other similar cases of which no evidence has remained. The Beaufort County deed records give another instance of how the Indian troubles confused land titles. In about 1718 the widow of a Neuse settler, seeing that the papers of the rightful owners had been burned in their dwellings by the Indians in September, 1711, attempted to withhold from them a tract of 2,000 acres, contending it had never been sold by her deceased husband.¹⁵⁷ Fortunately for the true owners, they were able to produce records from the court at Bath Town which foiled the scheming widow in her effort to regain the property her husband had sold.

Since the uprisings had borne so heavily upon the families of the Neuse, it was only natural that the work of reconstruction should center in that area. Some years afterward, "the General Court House in Craven Precinct"—which seems to have replace the "office" burned by the Indians—was made headquarters for commissioners who were directed to settle "the public accounts which have since the yeare of the Massacre in 1711 have been unadjusted."¹⁵⁸ This act of assembly was designed to rectify the result of local officials' laxness in not keeping correct account of supplies they had issued from public storehouses. Nothing could show more vividly the demoralization in government which the Indian hostilities brought to Bath County.

The Indian wars left deep wounds, and the scars were long in healing. The horrors of September the Twenty-Second and the

¹⁵⁵ *Colonial Records*, II, 125, 204.

¹⁵⁶ John Slocumb, one of the justices, was required to swear to the existence of the deed from John Keaton to Adam Ferguson, Sr., which was destroyed in the fire. Craven Court Minutes, Session of June (?), 1715, p. 17 of rebound minutes. A copy of this item also appears in the Craven County Deeds, II, 626.

¹⁵⁷ Beaufort County Deeds, I, 315-317.

¹⁵⁸ *Historical and Genealogical Register*, III, 279-281. This act is undated and badly worn.

years of terror that followed were not to be soon forgotten. By a law of 1715 which remained in force until 1741, that awful date was appointed as a Day of Humiliation, to be kept each year with fasting and prayer.¹⁵⁹ Such was the contriteness of the settlers. Such was the chastening visited upon them for their "sins and disobedience."

¹⁵⁹ *Colonial Records*, XXIII, 3.

THE SOUTH CAROLINA DISPENSARY SYSTEM

By ELLEN ALEXANDER HENDRICKS

Part II

A month after the closing of dispensaries in response to the Supreme Court decision declaring the law under which the system operated unconstitutional, Governor Tillman announced that the act of 1893 would go into effect on August 1, 1894. A review of the act of 1893 shows the two acts (that of 1892 and that of 1893) to be almost identical in content. The case of *McCullough v. Brown* had not, however, included the latter act in its decision. That was a loop-hole for Tillman and he used it. The dispensaries opened, as Tillman had planned, on August 1.

In October there was an effort to close the dispensaries again by court decision. The case arose in Aiken when J. V. George, county dispenser, and G. T. Holley, his clerk, applied to Judge Aldrich for a writ of prohibition "to restrain the mayor and aldermen of Aiken from proceeding further in the trial of petitioners on the charge of violating an ordinance prohibiting the sale of liquors without a license."⁶³

Judge Aldrich held under authority of the decision rendered in the case of *McCullough v. Brown* that the act of 1893 was a violation of the state constitution and therefore null and void. He ruled, however, that the act was not in violation of the Constitution of the United States, the amendments thereto, or the interstate commerce laws of the United States.⁶⁴

Both relators and respondents appealed; the former, on the grounds that the judge erred in holding the act of 1893 null and void, and in permitting respondents to question the constitutionality of the act; the latter, on the grounds that the judge erred in not holding the Dispensary act null and void as in violation of the Constitution of the United States and the national interstate commerce laws.

When the testing case was thus forced before the Supreme Court, Judge Samuel McGowan, a conservative, had been replaced by Lieutenant Governor E. B. Gary, Tillman's right-hand

⁶³ *The State*, August 19, 1894.

⁶⁴ *State v. Aiken*, 42 S. C., p. 222.

man and a reformer. The act was declared constitutional, Judges Pope and Gary concurring, Chief Justice McIver dissenting.⁶⁵

In delivering the decision of the court, Judge Gary pointed out that the conclusions arrived at in the case were in conflict with the decisions rendered in the case of *McCullough v. Brown*.⁶⁶ The principles governing the case, he declared, were: First, that liquor in its nature is dangerous to the morals, good order, health, and safety of the people, and is not to be put on the same footing with ordinary commodities of life, such as corn, wheat, cotton, and potatoes. Second, that the state, under its police power, can itself assume entire control and management of those subjects, such as liquor, that are dangerous to the peace, good order, health, morals, and welfare of the people even when trade is one of the incidents of such entire control and management on the part of the state. Third, that the act of 1893 is a police measure; that there is nothing to show its primary object is raising revenue; and that as a police measure a tax levied for its enforcement would be as lawful as a tax to raise funds to build a state house or a railroad. Fourth, that under a decision of the United States Supreme Court, liquor was held to be a subject of commerce, and the state was given the power to legislate until Congress saw fit to interfere and supersede the state law; that since the Wilson Act of Congress was intended to deprive liquor of its national character as a subject of commerce, making it local in its nature and subject to the police power of the state, the act did not violate the Constitution of the United States.

"These conclusions," said Justice Gary, "are in conflict with the case of *McCullough v. Brown*. That case, therefore, and those decided upon its authority, are overruled in so far as they are antagonistic to the principles upon which this case is decided."⁶⁷

In spite of the relentless warfare so constantly and vigorously waged against the dispensary, it gained rapidly. By the end of the Tillman-Traxler administration, the dispensaries had increased in number to sixty-nine. The total profit for this period of operation was \$125,328.60,⁶⁸ of which \$110,348.80 had gone

⁶⁵ *State v. Aiken*, 42 S. C., p. 222.

⁶⁶ *State v. Aiken*, 42 S. C., p. 228.

⁶⁷ *State v. Aiken*, 42 S. C., p. 253.

⁶⁸ *Reports and Resolutions*, 1894, p. 532.

to the state and the remaining \$14,979.60 to the counties and municipalities.

On February 1, 1895, the administration of the law was placed in the hands of F. M. Mixson, commissioner, and John Gary Evans, governor. A great deal of the hostility that had surrounded Tillman as administrator died out.

One of Governor Evans's most successful moves to control the system was made in Charleston. From the moment the Evans bill became law, Charleston had fought the dispensary, first, because it was Tillman's plan, and, second, because it interfered with the established methods of dealing with drink. Her attitude had been manifested when on the day that the dispensary began operation, July 1, 1893, an effigy of Tillman had been suspended from a lamppost at the corner of King and Calhoun streets, a dispensary bottle tied around his neck. "When the dozen retail dispensaries opened, unlawful saloons by fifties and hundreds slaked the thirst by the drink," said Ball.⁶⁹

The disregard of the law and the failure of the police authorities to cooperate with the state constables forced Governor Evans to place Charleston under a system known as the "metropolitan police system." Three Charleston citizens were appointed commissions of police, and they in turn appointed J. Elmore Martin chief. The city council likewise appointed men of their choice. The conflict weakened the system and the citizens of Charleston, resenting the outside authority by a governor who was obnoxious to them, strove to regain control of the local government. The result of this conflict appears to have been more law and order in Charleston and fewer "blind tigers," as illicit liquor dealers were called. "The increase in the volume of the business in the past three months or more seems," said *The State*, "to indicate that the 'blind tiger' has at last been driven back into his lair."⁷⁰

For the first time in the history of the institution several writers and newspaper editors came out in praise of the operation of the system. In an article submitted to *The Arena* on "The South Carolina Dispensary," R. I. Hemphill said:

⁶⁹ Ball, *The State That Forgot*, p. 249.

⁷⁰ *The State*, March 12, 1895.

But after two years of firm enforcement the saloon-keepers have lost heart and are leaving all sections of the State. . . . The seventy-five constables at first appointed have been reduced to thirty-five . . . stationed on the border line of South Carolina and Georgia to seize incoming contraband whiskey. . . . The dispensary is a great improvement on any solution of the liquor question that has ever been known in this section of the country. It has diminished drunkenness, decreased crime, reduced court expenses, promoted morality, rescued many of the fallen and restored happiness to many homes. Every day the law grows in popular favor. . . . It is one of the coming reforms and South Carolina is leading it.⁷¹

One correspondent of *The Greenville Mountaineer* proclaimed it "one of the best statutes enacted yet by a State of America or Europe for the prevention of excess in the use of alcoholic beverage."⁷²

While some of the friends and converts were singing praises, many were indignantly demanding reform lest both the dispensary and the Reform party fall into ill repute.⁷³ As a result of this repeated request "to do something," the legislature appointed an examining committee. Their investigation revealed a shortage from a number of county dispensaries.

Investigation likewise revealed that the accusations directed toward the Board of Directors were not without grounds. Commissioner F. M. Mixson had turned down an offer of \$30,000 from the Lanahan Liquor Co., and Columbia was found swarming with liquor drummers lobbying the legislature or the Board.⁷⁴ Some few years before this time when M. C. Butler had accused Tillman of accepting rebates, Tillman had publicly scoffed at the idea. "When I used to go hunting varmits," he had said, "and the dogs would run around in a patch and nothing would come out, the darkies would say 'they's just running h'ants.' Well, Butler has just been running h'ants."⁷⁵ The investigators were on a much better trail than one made by h'ants.

The legislature made provisions for heavier fines for violations, provided for compulsory weekly as well as monthly reports, and made solicitors, constables, deputy constables, deputy sheriffs,

⁷¹ R. I. Hemphill, "The South Carolina Dispensary," *The Arena*, XII, 414.

⁷² Tillman Scrapbook, No. 11.

⁷³ *The State*, May 5, 6, 7, 1897; B. L. Coughman in *Columbia Register*, May 4, 1897.

⁷⁴ Official Reports, 1895-1897.

⁷⁵ T. J. Kirkland, "Tillman and I," *The State*, June 21, 1929.

sheriffs, and trial justices subject to suspension for failing to perform any duties designated by the Dispensary act. Affidavits to be acceptable were to contain a statement setting forth the facts and grounds and belief upon which the affiant based his belief.

The law also ran into conflict on the question of interstate commerce in 1895. Early in the year Judge Nathan Goff issued a temporary injunction restraining "all State authorities and their employees, officers and agents from interfering in any way with liquor shipped into the State from points outside the State either in transit, at the point of destination, or in the hands of consignee."⁷⁶ The ground for the injunction was that the Dispensary law was unconstitutional in many particulars and essentially because of its violation of the interstate commerce laws of the United States.

Governor Evans declared that Judge Goff's injunction would be disregarded, and that the state would continue to seize every gallon of whiskey that arrived within the state.⁷⁷ Commissioner Mixson sent circular letters on April 25, 1895, to state constables containing three kinds of certificates, "one to carry goods out of the State, and one to bring goods into the State, the other to ship goods from point to point in the State." He gave special instructions to the constables to be particularly vigilant to catch any package going from place to place in the state not bearing the proper certificate and in taking packages shipped into or out of the state unless properly stamped.⁷⁸

This disregard of Judge Goff's authority was halted by a decision rendered by federal Circuit Judge Simonton in the case of *Donald v. Scott, Holly, and other state constables*. The complaint in the case was that state officers were seizing liquors intended for personal use, on the grounds that such action was in conflict with the United States Constitution in that it discriminated against citizens and interfered with free commerce. The complaint, further, sought to prove that the act was not lawful exercise of police power.⁷⁹ Judge Simonton declared null that portion of the Dispensary law prohibiting the importation

⁷⁶ *The State*, May 7, 1895.

⁷⁷ *The State*, May 8, 1895.

⁷⁸ *The State*, May 7, 1895.

⁷⁹ *Reports and Resolutions*, I, p. 221 (report of Attorney General for year ending October 31, 1895).

of liquor for personal use. He concluded that the sale of liquor could not be regulated or controlled because being merchantable in itself, it was beyond the scope and power of police laws, and that the dispensary law being neither a prohibition law nor a law for inspection was not enacted in the lawful exercise of the police power and was therefore invalid as to imported liquor, by virtue of the Wilson act of 1890. The decision allowed the importation of liquors into the state for personal use. The writ of injunction was modified by Judge Simonton to the extent of allowing the state constables to seize liquors imported pretensively for personal use, when it was actually for sale, and when there were any suspicious circumstances connected with the importation.

The courts tried case after case where constables were charged with seizing liquors intended for personal use. In most of the cases the accused were dismissed on the ground that the facts connected with the importation were such as to show that the liquors in question were intended for sale and not for personal use.

Commissioner Mixson and Constable Beach were ordered arrested under a warrant issued by United States Commissioner Reid, charged with a conspiracy to defeat the Interstate Commerce act of July 2, 1890. Commissioner Reid rendered an opinion that the people had rightly interpreted Judge Simonton's decision, that those people were entitled to their liquor without interference, and that he held the defendants in contempt of Judge Simonton's order of injunction and required a bond for their appearance at trial.⁸⁰

Mixson was also involved in several cases in an effort by complaints to bring perpetual injunction restraining state dispensary authorities from carrying on business. Governor Evans, too, was charged with conspiracy to defeat the interstate commerce laws by establishing a monopoly in the whiskey business in restraint of trade.⁸¹

Judge Simonton next held the provisions of the act of 1895 that prohibited the taking of orders for liquors to be shipped into

⁸⁰ *The State*, June 6, 1895.

⁸¹ Numerous newspaper reports, June 5-December 13, 1895.

the state to its citizens as unconstitutional.⁸² The effect of this decision was to allow traveling salesmen of liquor dealers outside the state to come into the state to take orders, and to fill them by shipment of the liquors.

The Dispensary act of 1896, enacted on March 6, sought to evade Judge Simonton's decision by requiring that all liquors entering the state be purchased by a board of control to be elected by the Legislature for the term of five years and that such liquors as entered the state be tested by the State Chemist for purity.⁸³ The Attorney-General ordered that all seizures of imported drinks for private use cease until the law should be acted upon. On June 4, 1896, Judge Simonton rendered a decision that "so much of the Dispensary law as refers to the seizing, testing and confiscation of liquors, ordered for personal consumption by the residents of this State is in conflict with the Constitution of the United States, and is therefore null and void." He held that a resident had the right to order his liquor from beyond the state, and to receive it without having it interfered with in any manner.⁸⁴

Governor Evans immediately issued orders to the constables to make no more seizures under the new Dispensary law until the ruling could be tested by the United States Supreme Court. On January 18, 1897, Chief Justice Fuller of the United States Supreme Court closed the question of the individual's right when he announced the Court decision to be "that the prohibition of the importation of the wines and liquors of other states by citizens of South Carolina for their own use is made absolute and does not depend on the purity or impurity of the articles."⁸⁵

In Washington Benjamin Tillman, who had been elected to the United States Senate in 1894, was making an effort to force through an amendment to the Wilson act in order to enable the Court to maintain the right of the state to regulate the liquor traffic as it saw fit. He met with bitter opposition among his own state delegation, so hostile were they towards any plan advocated by Tillman.⁸⁶

⁸² *Reports and Resolutions*, 1897, p. 40.

⁸³ *Acts of South Carolina*, 1897, p. 40.

⁸⁴ *The State*, June 5, 1896.

⁸⁵ *The State*, January 20, 1897; *Scott v. Donald*, 165 *United States Reports*, p. 58.

⁸⁶ Wallace, *History of South Carolina*, III, 381.

Decision after decision was handed down by the United States Supreme Court and circuit court weakening the Dispensary law. In the case of *Vandercook Co. v. Bahr* the right of non-resident manufacturers and dealers to import into the state their liquors and to sell them in original packages was the issue at stake. Judge Simonton held "That, as the State engaged in the liquor traffic and sold liquor as a beverage for profit and the sale of liquors was not declared to be against the health and morals of the people, the Dispensary law did not come within the provisions of the Wilson Act of Congress, passed in 1890, as it was not lawful exercise of the police power insofar as it prohibited such sale in original packages."⁸⁷

In the same month, May, 1897, the question of the right of non-resident manufacturers and dealers to store and sell liquors and the right to do so through citizens of the state as agents was decided in the case of *Moore v. Bahr*; it was held that they enjoyed both rights.⁸⁸

Under authority of this decision a horde of outside liquor dealers opened up liquor businesses known as "original package" stores. The Dispensary law was paralyzed through the constables' fear of imprisonment for contempt, and all liquor agents operated unmolested.

Many cases in court attempted to test the validity of these "original package" stores. Some of the questions involved were: What is an original package? Do the contracts under which residents are selling create lawful and bona fide agencies? Are the importers required to observe the provisions of the Dispensary law regulating the sale of liquors as the valid exercise of police power, such as selling not less than one-half pint, allowing liquors opened and drunk on the premises, and selling on Sunday? Are the principals responsible for the acts of the agents in violating the lawful police regulations? Can liquors be sold by non-resident manufacturers and dealers in original packages in towns in which the sale of liquor was prohibited by law?

Judge Simonton held an "original package" to be the package delivered by the importer to the carrier in that place for shipment in the exact condition in which it was shipped. If a single

⁸⁷ *Reports and Resolutions*, 1897, p. 14 (report of Attorney General Barber).

⁸⁸ *Reports and Resolutions*, 1897, p. 18; *The State*, May 1, 1897.

bottle was shipped, or if in packages of three or more bottles, or if in jugs, these were the original packages.⁸⁹

He held that a contract between the importer and person selling in the state by which the seller was to get a portion of the profits as his compensation constituted a lawful and bona fide agency; that any agent appointed in this state must conform to such requirements of the Dispensary law as that no sales could be made between sundown and sunrise, and none in less than packages of one-half pints; that no liquor was to be drunk on the premises, to be sold to minors or drunkards, or to be sold on Sunday; that no liquors could be sold by agents of importers in original packages in towns in which the sale of liquor was prohibited by law.

As to the responsibility of principals for the acts of their agents, Judge Simonton held that when the agents violated any of the provisions of the Dispensary law which were enacted in the lawful exercises of the police power, such as the restrictions listed above, the circuit court of the United States would not interfere by law of injunction.⁹⁰

Owing to the adverse decisions of the courts, the State Board of Control took advantage of an "implied right" in Section 4 of the Dispensary law of 1897 and established beer dispensaries to contest the field of the illegitimate traffic in "original packages."⁹¹

The beer dispenser divided a storeroom with a flimsy partition into two rooms with an open door between them. In one he sold beer. In the other were cheap pine tables and chairs provided for the purpose of drinking. "This," says Ball, "was virtually a reopening of the saloons."

The state took an appeal to the United States Supreme Court to determine whether the provisions of the Dispensary law, approved March 5, 1895, and amended March 6, 1897, were in lawful exercise of police power of the state. That is, whether the terms of the Dispensary Act, as amended, providing for the inspection of all liquors brought into the state for use or sale were lawful exercise of the police power of the state.⁹²

⁸⁹ *The State*, August 8, 1897.

⁹⁰ Summary by Wm. A. Barber, Attorney-General, in *Reports and Resolutions*, 1897, p. 44.

⁹¹ Ball, *The State That Forgot*, p. 253.

⁹² *The State*, March 8, 1898.

On May 9, 1898, the Supreme Court at Washington handed down its decision, sustaining the constitutionality of the Dispensary law in all its features with the limitation only as to importation for personal use.⁹³ All doubts as to the future legal status was thus removed. The constabulary was reorganized and "original package dealers" closed their shops.

The second big problem to be met by the State Board of Control came in February, 1898, when the federal court of appeals decided the *Vance v. Wesley* case against the state. The case, commonly known as the "Agriculture Hall" case, had arisen when the state took possession of the Agriculture Hall in Columbia in February, 1893, for the purpose of establishing a state dispensary there. Edward B. Wesley, a citizen of the state of New York, instituted his action in the Circuit Court of the United States for the district of South Carolina against J. E. Tindal and J. R. Boyles, citizens of South Carolina, to recover the possession of the lot on which the Agriculture Hall was located. The Attorney General filed a suggestion that the property belonged to the state, and that the suit was, in effect, a suit against the state; and thereupon moved that the court dismiss the plaintiff's suit. The court overruled the motion, and the state obtained a writ of error from the Supreme Court of the United States. The court affirmed the judgment of the court below.⁹⁴ The defendants, Tindall and Boyes, sued out a writ of error for this court to the judgment so entered against them. The judgment of the lower court was again affirmed.⁹⁵

The mandate of the Supreme Court was then filed in the circuit court, and Wesley caused to be issued a writ for the delivery of the possession of the property to him.

Commissioner S. W. Vance tendered his petition asking for a stay of the writ of possession on the grounds that he was in possession of the property in question as Commissioner; that he did not acquire the property from Tindal and Boyles; and that the alleged sale of the property was made under power conferred by an act of the General Assembly of South Carolina, approved December 24, 1890.

⁹³ *Vance v. Vandercook*, No. 1, 170 U. S. p. 438.

⁹⁴ *South Carolina v. Wesley*, 155 U. S. p. 542.

⁹⁵ *Tindal v. Wesley*, 167 U. S., p. 204.

The plaintiff, Wesley, in answer to the petition said, in substance: First, that the petition did not state any fact which would justify the court in granting the relief prayed for. Second, he denied that Commissioner Vance was there as a state commissioner, and alleged that the petitioner's possession was wrongful, having been derived by succession from Tindal and Boyles.

Judge Goff rendered the following decision in the case:

The claim of the petitioner is absolutely without merit, for the property, the possession of which he claims, was by direction of the General Assembly sold, and the proceeds of the sale appropriated by law to a special purpose. The petitioner, by his own showing, was not the lawful tenant. . . . So far as we can see from the record, and from the statutes of South Carolina, he is a mere interloper. . . . The judgment of the court below is affirmed.

The effect of the decision was to deprive the state dispensary of a plant in which to operate. There was no building in Columbia near the railroad tracks, either for sale or for rent, efficiently equipped in which to handle the business of the dispensary. The Board was forced to accept the terms offered by Wesley. They paid him \$10,000 for back rent, and made temporary arrangements to pay one hundred and seventy-five dollars per month for rent so long as the dispensary operated from the building. Perceiving that the expenses thus incurred amounted to more than an out-and-out purchase, the board bought a warehouse on Gervais Street on April 1, 1898, for the sum of \$18,000, to which the state dispensary was removed.⁹⁶

In the face of these difficulties the prohibitionists put on a special drive against the dispensary in 1897 and 1898. The state executive committee sent to over 20,000 people the following letter:

Dear Sir: The executive committee after a careful survey of the conditions in our State, regard it a favorable opportunity to urge the claims of prohibition to the attention of our people. The existing system, inaugurated in direct opposition to the expressed will of the majority, having utterly failed to meet the expectations of its friends, and proven successful as a promoter of lawlessness, fraud and crime, has sealed its

⁹⁶ Reports of State Board of Control, in *Reports and Resolutions*, 1899, II, 487; also *The State*, February 17, 1898.

own doom, and the next Legislature will be called upon to deal with the problem.

We confidently ask your active personal cooperation in securing names to petitions asking the Legislature for prohibition. . . .

Respectfully,

L. D. Childs, chr.

The petition enclosed was as follows:

The undersigned voters of _____, S. C., believing that the continuance of the sale of alcoholic liquors as a beverage within this State, under the sanction of its laws, is the source of its pauperism, misery and crime which exists, a positive hindrance to all material and industrial prosperity, and a foe to morality and religion, would respectfully petition the General Assembly at its next session to enact such legislation as will prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors as a beverage.⁹⁷

They introduced a forceful bill into legislature in 1897 and again in 1898.⁹⁸ In the campaign of 1898 they put out a strong ticket, headed by C. C. Featherstone, and applied to state Democratic executive committee to be allowed to run their convention ticket in the primary.⁹⁹ The privilege was refused and Featherstone continued in the campaign as an independent. He was strong enough to cause Ellerbe to bargain with N. G. Gonzales, editor of *The State*, to favor as a solution to the liquor problem local option between high license, dispensary, or prohibition in return for the support of *The State*. When elected, Ellerbe only feebly fulfilled his promise, and *The State* published the details of the whole affair including letters from Ellerbe.¹⁰⁰

The question had reached a climax and as Governor Ellerbe stated in his annual message in 1899, "Nothing connected with the administration of the government" at the time was "of so much interest and importance as the Dispensary law." Furthermore he stated, "It must be firmly and permanently established or completely done away with."¹⁰¹

Judging from the letters made public by *The State* in reply to a circular letter sent to the members of the General Assembly on

⁹⁷ *The State*, August 20, 1897.

⁹⁸ *House Journal*, 1897, 1898.

⁹⁹ Wallace, *History of South Carolina*, III, 392.

¹⁰⁰ *The State*, January 11-June 3, 1899.

¹⁰¹ *The State*, January 11, 1899; *House Journal*, 1899, p. 20.

the question of the opinion of the people on dispensary, prohibition, or high license, sentiment during this period was about equally divided between the dispensary and prohibition. There was very little support given to high license.¹⁰² The prohibitionists, fearing a return to high license and the barroom, addressed the Assembly to the effect that they preferred the dispensary to local option.¹⁰³ All action on the question was therefore postponed for another year.

Again in 1900 the chief issue of the campaign was the liquor question. The contest was waged between Col. James A. Hoyt, who stood for general prohibition, and Governor Miles B. McSweeney, who stood for a reformed dispensary. (Governor McSweeney, a country editor from Hampton, had gone into office to fill Governor Ellerbe's unexpired term on June 2, 1899.)¹⁰⁴

Benjamin Tillman was the greatest force in the campaign. He wished reelection to the Senate, the endorsement of the dispensary, and the election of McSweeney for governor. He took an active part in the campaign in order to defend as forcefully as might be the dispensary. He associated high license with "blind tigers" and accused the high license people of using prohibition as the "Trojan horse." He urged the people to quit voting for personal preference and to settle the issue.¹⁰⁵

Characteristic of the manner in which he conducted the fight for the dispensary were his remarks to a delighted audience at Barnwell: "You love your liquor and you are going to have it. You love it just as you do your girls."¹⁰⁶

Sermons, editorials, and open letters made public by the press, especially *The State* and *The News and Courier*, condemned the dispensary as a scheme "to break the hearts of wives and daughters, to blacken and ruin homes and to make vagabonds and outcasts of the sons." These opponents argued that the dispensary had put illegal sale of liquor as well as legal sale, in excess; that the law had always been and would continue to be unduly violated; that dispensers' salaries, being proportioned to the volume of sales, offered an incentive to push sales; and that the dispen-

¹⁰² *The State*, October 2-October 10, 1898.

¹⁰³ *The State*, February 9, 1899.

¹⁰⁴ Wallace, *History of South Carolina*, III, 392.

¹⁰⁵ *The State*, July, 1900 (broadly discussed during the whole month).

¹⁰⁶ *The News and Courier*, September 4, 1900.

sary failed to give promised returns in revenue and should, therefore, be replaced by a more satisfactory system.

McSweeney was reelected, chiefly because of Tillman's influence. In his annual message to the General Assembly he took the stand that prohibition was not practical and that local option was even worse.¹⁰⁷ During his administration he directed his attentions toward reforming the dispensary system, and the hostilities towards it diminished temporarily. In his annual message of 1902 he was able to review with satisfaction the operations of the system during the first year of his administration and to state his belief that the dispensary might be considered the fixed policy of the state for dealing with the liquor problem.¹⁰⁸

There were, however, forces still at work with the purpose of ultimately destroying the prestige of the system. These opponents sought to place its defects before the public. They attacked the 1901 amendment¹⁰⁹ which permitted the establishment of distilleries and breweries in Columbia and Charleston as another tendency towards monopoly, and the amendment that raised the bonus to communities by using surplus funds for school purposes as a bid to get the people to accept and patronize the system.

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, organized in South Carolina in 1880, was by this time wide awake and active while other opponents seemed on the wane. Mrs. Lillian M. N. Stevens, of Portland, Maine, president of the National Temperance Union, made a visit to South Carolina to speak on the subject of the dispensary. She condemned the system as a compromise with evil and placed it in the same class with other license systems. Carrie Nation, the famous prohibitionist, noted chiefly for her power to destroy liquor shops with a hatchet, made a visit to the Columbia "blind tigers" (illegal liquor shops), but no windows were smashed as was expected. *The State* reported that "The illicit liquor dealers only suffered the cuttings of a sharp tongue."¹¹⁰

In the latter part of 1902 the church conventions endorsed the criticisms that were being made by the prohibitionists. The

¹⁰⁷ *House Journal*, 1900, p. 32.

¹⁰⁸ *The State*, January 15, 1902.

¹⁰⁹ *Acts of South Carolina*, 1901, p. 85.

¹¹⁰ *The State*, February, 1902.

Methodist Conference held in Greenville, in the late fall adopted a suggestion made by one of its bishops that no member of the Methodist Church could become a dispenser without violating the church discipline. The Baptist convention adopted the criticism of a special committee on temperance and decided to go on record as approving prohibition. They determined, however, to treat the issue as a political and not a religious question.¹¹¹

Weary of professional politicians, the public welcomed the candidacy of Duncan C. Heyward in 1902. For the first time since 1892, the liquor question was not made the chief issue of the campaign. Theoretically, Heyward was opposed to the liquor business. "This sentiment of the best people," according to the new governor's concept, was not for violation of the law as it was written. He, therefore, planned a strict enforcement.¹¹²

In his annual messages Heyward spoke of "smooth operation" of the law, but the corruption and violations told another story. "Social clubs" flourished as drinking places with liquor imported by members under interstate commerce protection.¹¹³ Charleston in 1903 developed the practice of fining the blind tigers twenty-five dollars every three months, or six times as high if they hindered the public revenue by purchasing their supplies elsewhere than at the dispensary. "On these terms," says Dr. Wallace, "the tiger and the law lay down together, barring occasional spats, with a virtual license income to the city of about \$7,500 a year."¹¹⁴

In the face of violations that the state could not or did not prevent, the people became more desirous of adopting a local option plan. The legislature met the demand by passing the amendment known as the Brice act. The amendment provided for twenty days notice to be given to the inhabitants for a vote of "dispensary" or "no dispensary" before establishing one in any county.¹¹⁵ By a majority vote a dispensary could be voted out. The primary purpose of this act was to provide the method by which counties might remove dispensaries already established and to provide the means of enforcing the law in such counties

¹¹¹ *The State*, November 28-December, 1902.

¹¹² *The State*, February 9, 1902.

¹¹³ Wallace, *History of South Carolina*, III, 419.

¹¹⁴ Wallace, *History of South Carolina*, III, 420.

¹¹⁵ *Acts of South Carolina*, 1902, p. 1105.

by levying a tax of one-half mill. The Blake amendment to the Brice act further provided that any county voting out a dispensary "should not thereafter receive any part of the dispensary school fund."

The constitutionality of the Brice act was questioned in court by several counties on the grounds that it violated the laws of a uniform and equal rate of taxation, and that it violated the constitutional provisions in depriving any county voting out the dispensary from receiving any portion of the surplus funds that remained of the dispensary school funds. Ira B. Jones, chief justice, rendered a decision, applying to all suits, that the act did not violate the constitutional provision requiring a uniform and equal rate of taxation. The Blake amendment with regard to school funds he declared unconstitutional.

The Brice act was the first of the fatal blows to the Dispensary law.

Many of the farmers and mill workers who had supported the dispensary at first had become disgusted by 1904 and supported the Brice law. Ball relates the following amusing and enlightening story:

'How is it that you are working for prohibition?' I asked Dunk Watts, planter, when a Brice-law election was to be held in Laurens. 'You who though an anti-Tillmanite, were, to my disgust, a dispensary man a year ago—and you have a demijohn in your sideboard now?'

'Yes,' he said, 'I was a dispensary man; when the bars closed there were not nearly so much whooping and hollering and shooting by men riding by my house at night and I thought it was a good thing. That was ten years ago, cotton was worth six cents a pound; my negroes had about a quarter apiece. When they went to town on Saturday evenings, they were all right Sunday morning for they could not buy more than half a pint of 'fuss x.' Now cotton is worth fifteen cents a pound and be d— if I can get my darkies sober before Wednesday.'¹¹⁶

The situation had become so very bad that even Tillman declared that he would go over to the other side if the legislators did not provide for reforms. This extract from a letter written to the Hon. Theodore D. Jervay, Charleston, December 29, 1904, conveys his sentiment:

¹¹⁶ Ball, *The State That Forgot*, p. 256.

I am very disgusted with the present situation in Dispensary matters and I do not feel very much confidence in seeing things bettered at the coming session of Legislature. The enemies of the law have set about to destroy it by putting it in the hands of men who have not kept themselves above suspicion, and the demoralization now evident is due to this fact. If we can not lift the system to a better level and restore confidence among the people it is doomed.¹¹⁷

Leading citizens began to feel more keenly the moral influence of a state institution run by men who deliberately and willfully violated the mandates of the law. The chief criticisms were directed toward the increase in crime and the demoralization of character. The churches again took up the controversy and made it a chief topic at conferences and a favorite subject for sermons. Bishops W. A. Chandler of Georgia condemned the system "as a force that pours liquor down the people to come out in two streams—one negro education, the other white ignorance."¹¹⁸ Rev. J. C. Brunson proposed a plan to the state Baptist convention by which the people could get rid of the Dispensary law. He advocated voting out the dispensary, submitting local option to the people, and disfranchising any man who should get the habit of drinking in excess.

The anti-dispensary newspapers referred the people of the state to beer dispensaries,¹¹⁹ hotel privileges, and clubhouse violations as a stream of deliberate disregard of the principles for which the Dispensary law professed to stand. They further emphasized the fact that taxes had not been reduced as dispensary advocates had promised.

There was nothing tangible upon which to base the belief of corruption and graft in the operations of the system until 1905. Reports, chiefly by press agents, of the handsome presents, samples of fine liquors, and rebates being accepted by officials, and of the handling of contraband liquors by dispensers brought numerous requests to the legislature for a thorough investigation. On January 31, 1905, a resolution was passed by the General Assembly providing for the appointment of three senators and four members of the house "to investigate the affairs of the

¹¹⁷ Tillman manuscript, University of South Carolina, library, Columbia.

¹¹⁸ *The State*, July 14, 1905 (taken from a speech delivered at the District Conference of the Methodist Churches at Columbia).

¹¹⁹ Numerous press notices during the years 1905-1906.

State Dispensary." The committee was empowered to send for papers and persons, to swear witnesses, to require attendance of any parties whose presence should be deemed necessary, to appoint an accountant and a stenographer, and to investigate all transactions concerning the dispensary and its management. The committee might take testimony within or outside the state, and were to have access at all times during their services to all the books and vouchers and other papers of the dispensary.¹²⁰

The following questions were to be used for a basis of the investigation:

First, had the houses represented by agents who were near relatives of the members of the Board of Directors received large orders at each purchase?

Second, was it a fact that members of the Board of Directors were, or had been, agents for certain wholesale houses from which large purchases were made?

Third, was it a fact that parties to whom large orders were given were not wholesale dealers but brokers, and that the orders were filled by third persons, thus making the state pay the commission of the middleman?

Fourth, was it necessary to purchase the large quantity of liquors ordered in December, 1904, to fill demands, and especially the new and fancy goods purchased which were unknown to the trade?

Fifth, were the extraordinarily heavy purchases made, necessary to the best interest of the dispensary system?

Sixth, what was the financial standing of the business, and was it run on the best principles for the interest of the law as originally passed and amended?

Seventh, was it a fact that the state through the dispensary was violating the constitution of 1895, in that it was selling whiskey in less quantities than one-half of one pint?

Eighth, was it a fact that the state was selling five's in case goods to its customers and charging them for one quart?

Ninth, was it a fact that certain agents were traveling over the state and offering special inducements to county dispensers to "push" certain brands of liquors, and if so, was it a fact known to the members of the State Board of Directors?

¹²⁰ *Reports and Resolutions, 1905, p. 467.*

Tenth, was it a fact that certain requirements of the law were dispensed with by the county dispensers by order of, or with the consent of, the members of the State Board of Directors?

Eleventh, had the whiskey recently purchased been ordered out from the dealer, or had it been held in reserve for future delivery?

Twelfth, what was the indebtedness of the dispensary for liquors which had been bought but not delivered?

Thirteenth, was it a fact that excessive freight had been paid to railroads for transportation of liquors into the state, when said liquors could have been shipped into the state for less?

Fourteenth, was there any warrant of law or authority for the establishment and conduct of what is commonly known as "beer dispensaries" as they have been conducted?¹²¹

The committee was composed of Senators J. T. Hay, chairman, Cole L. Blease, and Neils Christensen, Jr., and Representatives T. B. Fraser, A. L. Gaston, D. A. Spivey, and J. Fraser Lyon. Christensen and Lyon, young men of twenty-nine and thirty-four serving their first terms, took the lead and uncovered a state-wide system of graft.

The investigation was begun at Spartanburg on August 8, 1905. The intention of the legislature had leaked out and the majority of the dispensers were prepared. Persons who were called as witnesses in a number of cases were advised as to what course to take and were obstinate about bringing out facts that would prove violators guilty.

Sufficient evidence was produced, however, to convince the committee that members of the county board, with C. C. Smith taking the lead, had elected the dispensers who were willing to pay most for the job. Dispensers testified to having paid from \$275 to \$450 for appointments, and of having been advised by the county board to make as much money as possible in disregard of the law.¹²² The beer dispensers had been offered attractive inducements to purchase from The Atlanta Brewing Company; Dunwoody was manager of the company and Smith was receiving ample compensation for the business. It was dis-

¹²¹ *Reports and Resolutions*, 1905, p. 468.

¹²² *Reports and Resolutions*, I, 1906, p. 973 (testimony taken at Spartanburg, Sumter, and Columbia).

covered also that dispensers had not only accepted but actually solicited complimentary liquors, and in many instances, personal gifts from dealers. They had often sold the liquors thus received from the dispensary shelves for their own profit. Liquors were being sold to "blind tigers" from the dispensaries.¹²³

The corruption in Spartanburg had involved the editor of the *Spartanburg Journal*, Charles H. Henry, who though he gave "the lie" to all who accused him, was declared to have sold for \$400 a section of his paper to the dispensary officials. A number of dispensers testified to having contributed twenty-five dollars each for that purpose.¹²⁴

The testimony taken at Sumter, beginning on September 5, 1905, told practically the same story of corruption and graft among the persons operating the dispensaries.¹²⁵

The committee concentrated the greater part of its investigation on the financial conditions of the system and the methods used in the general management by officials. This testimony was taken in Columbia from August 22, 1905, through January, 1907.¹²⁶ It was during these hearings that Commissioner F. M. Mixson testified that one liquor house had offered him a bribe of \$30,000. It was further revealed that this same concern had employed one of the State Senators as its attorney. It was revealed that the State Board had not purchased liquors entirely on bids, sealed and opened at board meetings as required by law; instead single members had made purchases from houses that offered the greatest personal gains.

It was found that bottles and labels as well as liquors had been purchased at a great loss to the state, through either carelessness or premeditated dishonesty. Labels had been purchased in lots of 21,000,000 and there were enough on hand to last eight and a half years. There was an overstock of at least \$266,000 worth of liquors when inventory was taken on January 15, 1907. Bottles had been contracted for, rather than purchased by bids. A certain Packman of the Bodine Glass Works produced records to prove that the Carolina Glass Company was guilty of a conspiracy with a Board of Control to defraud the state; he showed

¹²³ *Reports and Resolutions*, I, 1906, p. 1056.

¹²⁴ *Reports and Resolutions*, I, 1906, pp. 979-1076.

¹²⁵ *Reports and Resolutions*, I, 1906, pp. 1385-1391.

¹²⁶ *Reports and Resolutions*, I, 1906, p. 1121.

where the Board had made purchases from the Carolina Glass Company in preference to other companies which had offered considerably lower bids.¹²⁷

The proof of these corruptions was not easy. The members of the investigating committee, particularly Neils Christensen of Beaufort, J. Fraser Lyon of Abbeville, and D. A. Spivey of Horry County, had worked diligently and relentlessly, visiting liquor houses in various cities and gathering information from every available source. Those who attempted to bring out the truth about the grafters were threatened with violence. The most outstanding of these threats were directed towards Lyon. On one occasion a director went so far as to threaten murder. B. R. Tillman had termed Lyon a "liar, infamous slanderer, and blackguard" when an effort had been made to prove that he, Tillman, had accepted rebates and a gift of a piano while connected with the Dispensary.¹²⁸ An editor who had dared to contrast the poverty of one Dispensary official before his connection with the system with his prosperity after had a severe beating.¹²⁹

With such facts as these staring the public in the face, some definite action was bound to result from the election that was pending. The campaign issue was "Dispensary" or "no Dispensary." The results of the election would speak for the people. Tillman pled for the life of the system as the only sane solution of the whiskey question.¹³⁰ He urged that the institution be controlled by the governor, Attorney-General, and Comptroller-General, with bids once a year in triplicate deposited with the Chief Justice, the Speaker of the house, and the Directors, to be opened in the presence of the Dispensary committee of both legislative houses, the year's purchase being ordered from the lowest bidders. He pointed with pride to the system as a sure means of reducing taxes. He appealed to the tendency of many to regard drinking as a necessity, and pointed to prohibition as an undue restriction on personal liberty. He opposed the Brice law as unfair, condemned the high license system, and placed the alleged mismanagement of the dispensary upon the

¹²⁷ *Reports and Resolutions*, 1906, III, p. 453 (tesimony taken at Columbia).

¹²⁸ *The State*, July 10, 1906.

¹²⁹ Wallace, *History of South Carolina*, III, p. 420.

¹³⁰ *The State*, April 1, 12, 13, 26; May 17; July 10, 11, 12, 14, 18, 20, 25, 26, 29; August 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 1906; Tillman Scrapbook, No. 11.

shoulders of the conservatives in the legislature. He emphasized the benefit to education derived from the revenue feature, quoted favorable treasury reports to show that the system was a success financially, and read to his audiences reports from clerks of court indicating a decrease in crime, thus proving that the system was not a moral detriment as its opponents claimed. As election day drew near, he warned the people that a conspiracy had been formed against them to get rid of the Dispensary so that high license and the old barroom elements might gain control.

Tillman's opponents emphasized, in turn, the general tendency toward crime while the system was incorporated within the state, pointed out the lack of enforcement of the law and the corrupt administration, and declared that "even the money obtained for the support of schools corrupted the morals of the children and thereby lost its usefulness."

The following extract from the *News and Courier* is typical of the condemnation by the foes of the dispensary:

Gross corruption festers everywhere; it is too palable and too impudent; and to prate of cleansing and rehabilitating this thing, born as a make-shift and subterfuge, nourished for partisan advantage, and through all its years reeking with ever increasing offence, is to trifle with facts, to deny the obvious, and to fight on the side of a public crime.¹³¹

Martin F. Ansel had adopted in his platform as candidate for governor the following statement of his views on the question: "I am in favor of local county option. I am opposed to the system of a state dispensary. Let each county speak for itself whether it desires that liquor be sold in that county or that liquor shall not be sold therein."

The election returns not only were in favor of Ansel, anti-Dispensary candidate for governor, but also brought to the legislature a majority anti-Dispensary legislators. Governor Ansel urged the legislature to enact a law abolishing the state Dispensary system, and to give the people the right to decide for prohibition or county dispensary. The Carey-Cothran local option bill was introduced and passed by both branches of the General Assembly without a great deal of opposition. It be-

¹³¹ *The News and Courier*, December 5, 1906.

came the established law on February 16, 1907. The state Dispensary was abolished and provisions were made for "winding up" the business.¹³²

The Board of Directors were dismissed and a commission was appointed and empowered to sell all property except real estate belonging to the State Dispensary, to collect assets, to return liquors illegally bought, to determine the legality of purchases by investigating contracts for liquor, to employ counsel, accountants, etc., to take testimony in such proceedings and inquire into the past management and control, and to take unto themselves all powers conferred on the investigating committee of 1906. After deducting expenses, the commission was to turn over to the state any surplus funds together with a full report of proceedings, a listing of all properties, and a statement of all liabilities.

The first step taken by the commission was to employ the American Audit Company to check the books of the system. It was found that the books were in a chaotic condition. Arbitrary entries or entries which were unsupported and unauthorized had been distributed throughout the journals amounting to approximately \$100,000. A great number of invoices covering purchases had not been entered on the books. Shipments had gone to dispensers for which the dispensers had not been charged. There were duplicate invoices amounting to \$3,523.32. "While the omission can easily be accounted for in an absolute lack of system, carelessness and neglect," said the committee in submitting the report, "these reasons would hardly apply to the year 1905, when in our opinion, invoices aggregating over \$200,000 were omitted from the books with intent."¹³³

It was estimated that county dispensaries owed the state \$40,976.76 for unpaid accounts. Counties which had voted out the dispensary under the Brice law were in arrears \$22,880.89 for law enforcement. Houses with which the Board had carried on trade were due the state \$612,968.86 for overcharges on liquors and supplies.

There were fifty-one liquor houses filing claims against the state for credits to the Board amounting to about \$600,000.¹³⁴

¹³² *Acts of South Carolina*, 1907, p. 480.

¹³³ *Reports and Resolutions*, 1907, III, p. 586.

¹³⁴ *The State*, May 22, 1909.

Not being satisfied to pay these claims without further assurance that the State owed the debt, the commission undertook to make a thorough investigation of the circumstances and conditions of the sales of liquors to the Dispensary officials. Letters were sent to liquor firms requesting that books, invoices, and other papers be turned over to the commission, pending payment of claims. Certain liquor concerns, especially the Wilson Distilling Company and the Fleishman Company, protested against this proceeding and refused to produce their books. The two companies complained to Judge J. C. Pritchard of the fourth United States district and petitioned for an injunction against the commission's further procedure and also for a receiver to take charge of the affairs of the Dispensary.¹³⁵

Both of these petitions Judge Pritchard granted, and orders were made enjoining the respondents, except by order of the court, from disposing of the fund of \$800,000, which came into their possession as the commission appointed and organized by the legislature on February 16, 1907. The banks in which the commission had deposited the Dispensary funds, as well as the commission, were restrained from paying out any of the Dispensary money except upon the order of the receivers appointed by Judge Prichard.

The commission in obedience to this order refused to pay over to Attorney-General Lyon the \$15,000 ordered by the Legislature to be paid for the purpose of prosecuting cases against those charged with fraud in connection with the Dispensary.¹³⁶ Lyon appealed to the supreme court of South Carolina.¹³⁷ His petition asked for a writ of mandamus requiring the commission to comply with his demand for payment of the funds as appropriated. He alleged that the custody by the commission of state funds was sufficient to make the payment of the sum. The commission admitted the refusal to make the payment, and gave as justification of the refusal the decision of the United States circuit court.

Judge C. J. Woods rendered the decision of the supreme court. He said that "the State has not consented that any court should

¹³⁵ *Wilson Distilling Co. v. Murray and Fleishman Co. v. same*, 161 Fed. Rep. p. 162

¹³⁶ *South Carolina States at Large*, 1909, no. 568.

¹³⁷ *State v. Murray*, 60 S. C., p. 928.

adjudicate the debt set up against it for liquor sold to it, nor has it consented that \$800,000 of its public funds held by its fiscal officers shall be administered by any court, and hence the federal court had no jurisdiction to pass the order restraining the respondents from paying out such funds. . ." and that the petitioners were entitled to the writ of mandamus requiring the respondents to pay the sum of \$15,000, for the use of the attorney-general.

The commission asked the United States circuit court in Richmond to dissolve the injunction.¹³⁸ Judge James F. Boyd, of Greensboro, North Carolina, denied the petition. In giving the opinion of the court he stated that, although the legislature had given both title and possession of the funds in question to the commission, the state had no authority over so much of the funds as were necessary to pay the just debts. He further declared: "While it is true that the commissioners were empowered to investigate the transactions connected with the management and control of the State Dispensary before its abolishment, they were not empowered to determine any issue of fact, enter any judgment or conclude any part that might be investigated as to any right or interest involved."

The case was finally appealed to the United States Supreme Court and received a hearing in April, 1909.¹³⁹ The decision rendered by Judge E. D. White stated that the commission as created by the legislature was a direct representative of the state. To sue it or to proceed against it in a court was, therefore, a proceeding against the state and a violation of the eleventh amendment to the federal Constitution. In conclusion, Judge White declared: "Deciding as we do that the suits in question were suits against the State of South Carolina, and within the inhibition of the eleventh amendment, the decree of the Circuit Court of Appeals is reversed, and the cause remanded to the Court with instructions to dismiss the bills of complaint."

The commission was thus left free to proceed with investigations that would enable it to determine the overcharges due by whiskey dealers to the state, and to settle accounts. The difficulties encountered in getting the whiskey houses to turn over

¹³⁸ Murray v. Wilson Distilling Company, 164 Fed. Rep., p. 1.

¹³⁹ Murray v. Wilson Distilling Company, 213 U. S. p. 151.

books continued, and the commission was unable to complete its work in the time allotted by the legislature.

The report to the governor in 1910 showed a grand total of receipts from February, 1907, to January 12, 1910, of \$974,586.55. The amount received from sales and collections was \$845,368.48; of this amount \$153,386.50 had been refunds on overcharges.¹⁴⁰ The commission had cost the state \$7,077.54. The committee ended this period of its work with a spirit of rejoicing that its task was over. "In coming to the close of this unfortunate business," they wrote, "we desire to express our satisfaction of having reached the end of a business that has been burdensome in detail and responsibility, annoying in the extreme, in that we were compelled to go contrary to the wishes of the claimants, and we were frequently unjustly misrepresented by the public prints, and disgusting in the revelations of corruption which had so deplorably permeated the business that it renders fumigation, figuratively speaking, necessary to approach the subject with comfort. . . .

"We congratulate you [Governor Ansel] and the State on being delivered in your administration from baneful effects of the most corrupt institution which ever existed in this State as a part of the State Government while our own people were controlling public affairs."¹⁴¹

On February 23, 1910, the legislature passed a measure providing for the continuance of the commission, authorizing and empowering it to "pass upon, fix and determine any and all claims of the State against any and all persons, firms, or corporations heretofore doing business with the State Dispensary," fully to investigate transactions, to make settlement of all claims in favor of the state, to collect, and to receipt claims. All funds owed to sundry liquor houses by county dispensaries should first be applied to the payment of claims in favor of the state found by the commission to be due.

The excellent work of the commission ended when in March, 1911, Cole L. Blease, as newly-elected governor, appointed a new commission to take the place of the old one. The chief duty

¹⁴⁰ *Reports of the State Dispensary Commission of South Carolina, January 12, 1910.* In *South Carolina Dispensary Pamphlets*, University of South Carolina library.

¹⁴¹ *Report of the State Dispensary Commission of South Carolina, January 12, 1910, p. 8.*

devolving upon the new commission was to settle the Richland Distilling case involving judgment of about \$750,000. Their first action was to dismiss the law firm that had aided the old commission in gathering information on overcharges, and to pass a resolution whereby the firm by agreement of 1907 was to turn over all information. The firm refused to comply with the resolution. The commission next demanded that ex-commissioner W. J. Murray turn over vouchers for disbursement of money taken by the former commission. Murray refused to comply. Now the act of 1908 had empowered the state Dispensary commission to investigate the past conduct of the officers of the dispensary and had conferred on the commission the right to require the production of papers relevant to any investigation, and provided that any person refusing to act on notice of the committee to produce the books should be guilty of contempt. By authority of this act, Murray was adjudged guilty of contempt and ordered imprisoned. He applied to the supreme court of South Carolina for writ of habeas corpus.¹⁴² The court ruled that the vouchers claimed were private property, and that under the provision of the act of 1908 stating that an order must not deprive the custodian of the papers of his possession and control except for examination in the particular investigation, the vouchers could not be taken from the old commission. Murray was discharged.

Having failed to command the cooperation of the persons in a position to furnish information necessary to successful operation, the new commission was unable to function. It was dissolved by joint resolution of Legislature in 1912.¹⁴³ The final report showed that the total cash received by both commissions amounted to \$1,091,338.86. Total expenses of the commissions were \$285,506.84, and total cash paid to liquor and beer dealers was \$388,640.23.¹⁴⁴

Attorney-General Lyon had succeeded in bringing a number of true bills against officials charged with mismanagement of Dispensary affairs. Among the cases tried were those charging James S. Farnum with bribery in the sums of \$1,575 and \$1,125,

¹⁴² *State v. Murray*, 71 S.E. p. 465.

¹⁴³ *S. C. Stats. at Large*, XXVII, p. 1093.

¹⁴⁴ *Reports and Resolutions*, 1912, III, p. 747.

the bribe being alleged to have been given to Joseph B. Wylie, a member of the State Board; the case against Farum, Rawlinson (a Director), Wylie, and Black for a conspiracy to cheat and defraud the state out of \$4,800; and indictments for conspiracy on the parts of Dispensary officials and dealers to defraud the state of \$22,500 in "the label deal," and \$133,000 in acceptance of and payment of rebates.¹⁴⁵

Attorney-General Lyon had a great deal of difficulty in securing witnesses, and convictions were rare. On November 4, 1910, an editorial in *The State* struck the keynote of the situation in the following editorial extract: "The officers of the law are doing their duty and doing it well. If they do not succeed it will not be their fault. The fault will lie with the people. If the grafters go scot free, the reason will be that this commonwealth ("Grand Old South Carolina") is without the virile honesty to put them in stripes." Action against the offenders gradually died out after Cole L. Blease became governor. "South Carolina," said Mr. Ball, "had experienced no more than a spasm of virtue."¹⁴⁶

As a kind of anti-climax to the disturbances that had surrounded the dispensary and its "winding up," came the back-firing of Governor Cole L. Blease. A notice by one of the papers that the commission had discussed in a special meeting the new governor's attitude had incurred his disfavor to the extent that he advised the General Assembly to appoint a committee to investigate the actions of the commission. "If they have done no wrong" he said, "I see no reason why they should fear any harm from me. If they are guilty of wrong doing, it is up to you to investigate them."¹⁴⁷

The General Assembly responded by passing an act "to provide for an investigation of the State Dispensary Commission, of the Attorney-General, of the investigating committee of 1905, and any other persons in any way connected with the investigation and winding up of the State Dispensary."¹⁴⁸ The governor vetoed the act after the adjournment was too near to pass it over his veto. In the next session the act was passed over his veto by a vote of thirty-six to three in the senate and unanimously in

¹⁴⁵ *The State*, September 11, 1909.

¹⁴⁶ Ball, *The State That Forgot*, p. 258.

¹⁴⁷ *House Journal*, 1911, p. 190.

¹⁴⁸ *Stats. at Large*, XXVI, p. 1041.

the house.¹⁴⁹ The governor refused to present grounds for criticizing the commission.

Meanwhile Governor Blease, supported by the commission which he had appointed in 1911, sought to indict T. B. Felder, the Atlanta attorney who had helped Attorney-General Lyon to unearth the legal proof of corruption and graft, on the grounds that he had sought to encourage one of the Board of Directors to practice a policy of graft¹⁵⁰ Felder, in turn, charged Governor Blease with a series of crimes and challenged him to sue for damages. "The disgusting exhibition," says Dr. D. D. Wallace, "dragged through the campaign of 1912, and culminated in a legislative committee of Governor Blease's enemies, aided by Felder and Burns' detectives, failing to fasten any crime upon the Governor."¹⁵¹

Returning briefly to the laws governing the traffic of liquors, we find that county after county had voted out the dispensaries under the local option plan, until, by 1909, there were only twenty-one counties in which dispensaries were in operation; there had been one hundred and twenty-two dispensaries open in 1906. The counties retaining the system were almost all in the lower part of the state: Abbeville, Aiken, Bamberg, Barnwell, Beaufort, Berkeley, Calhoun, Charleston, Colleton, Dorchester, Fairfield, Florence, Georgetown, Hampton, Kershaw, Lee, Lexington, Orangeburg, Richland, Sumter, and Williamsburg.¹⁵² In 1909 the legislature passed a law providing for state-wide prohibition, but permitting counties in which the dispensaries were in operation under local option to vote on the question of whether or not the system would be retained. Six counties, i.e., Charleston, Beaufort, Georgetown, Richland, Aiken, and Florence, voted to retain the dispensaries. Charleston went five to one for the dispensary, while the other five counties had a bare majority.¹⁵³ A popular state-wide referendum in 1915 abolished the county dispensaries by votes of 35,000 to 15,000 in favor of state-wide prohibition.¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁹ *Senate Journal*, January 11, 1912, pp. 809-814.

¹⁵⁰ *Reports and Resolutions*, 1912, III, p. 745.

¹⁵¹ Wallace, *History of South Carolina*, III, p. 431.

¹⁵² *News and Courier*, November 4, 1908.

¹⁵³ *The State*, August 31, September 4, 8, October 15, 1909.

¹⁵⁴ Wallace, *History of South Carolina*, III, p. 423.

It is difficult to point out the causes for the failure of the Dispensary system. The offense to the moral sense of the people of the state more than any other was the cause of its death. Had the system operated as its originators declared it would, for the purpose of limiting drink, instead of as a business monopoly, it would have benefited the state by helping to destroy the political influence of local whiskey rings in towns and cities, by reducing disorderly conditions in saloons, gambling dens, and houses of ill fame. Even considered from its most objectionable angles, it was a step forward, and there are men still living who declare it a better solution to the liquor problem than any other tried by the state, while others shake their heads and declare that the state never fell into graver error than when she presented men with such an opportunity to line their pockets with public money.

LIFE OF ALFRED MORDECAI IN MEXICO IN 1865-1866
AS TOLD IN HIS LETTERS TO HIS FAMILY

Edited by JAMES A. PADGETT

Part II

IMPERIAL MEXICAN RAILWAY.

Chief Engineer's Office.

Mexico, Aug 10th 1865.

My dear Wife

I sent you a letter by the ordinary mail, enclosing the First of a Bill of exchange for £40: In this which will go by the extraordinary I enclose the *second* of the same bill, which you will ask Mr Levy or Robinson to negotiate for you— for that purpose both copies will be required— The *Third* I shall not send unless these are lost—

You may read the accompanying letter to George, if you choose, & forward it— Nothing new since I closed my first letter. Did I thank you, (or one of the girls) for the pretty watch case sent by Mr Davison?⁵² I nailed it up this morning by my bedside. This looks like a very meagre thing to send so far, but I hope the contents will make some amends—

Ever truly & faithfully

Yr. Afft husband

A. Mordecai

Tell Rosa I am picking up some stamps for her— does she continue to collect them?— If Augustus is not on his survey, I hope he is taking lessons in riding & swimming, or in swimming now & riding in cooler weather. I enclose also a note for R. M. for you to send him— I cannot say, to *forward*— I send the letter under cover to you, to save postage here— this letter with its enclosures, by the “extraordinary,” costs 83 cts to N.Y. & each of the enclosures, if sent separately, would cost 57 cts— by the ordinary mail 25 cts less—
E. stands for Escandon

Aug 11— The mail by the French steamer is in, but not letters or news from the U.S.— The N.Y. steamer is due to-day at V.C. but this letter

⁵² George Davidson was born in England on May 9, 1825; came to the United States in 1832; and became an outstanding astronomer. He was superintendent of the coast survey on the west coast, in which branch of the government he spent much of his time, even remaining for years after 1850; did the same work on the Atlantic coast from 1861 to 1867; was made chief engineer for a survey of a ship canal across the Isthmus of Darien in 1866; was sent to Alaska in 1867 to make a report of the resources and geography of the country pending purchase; and spent most of his life in astronomical, coastal survey, and geodetic work. From 1877 to 1884 he was regent in the University of California; was professor there for years; and was well known as an authority on astronomy, as well as a scientist and orator. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, II, 86-87.

must go this morning— our two midshipmen have gone to join a party of eng^rs on the R. R. Judge Perkins, of Louisiana, a very intelligent gentleman, apparently, takes their place at our little mess—

It is remarkable how little need I have had for my poncho; the rainy season is less regular than usual, & the rain is either over or has not yet come on generally when I go to my lodging at 5 o'clk. & I do not go out afterwards unless it clears up— Did I mention that young Newton is a cousin of Nina Newton, who went to the girl's school, being the son of Major Newton's⁵³ brother—

This beautiful bright morning the therm. about 8 o'clk was at 61°— I can't get over the charm of the climate—

Once more adieu, my dearest,

Y^r affte Alfred

N^o 3

Mexico, July 28th/65

Having some time to-day I commence my letter to you, my dear wife, tho' I have nothing very particular to say & it will be a fortnight before this can go. The N. Y. packet was announced by telegraph yesterday & I shall get my letter tomorrow; not *quite* so promptly as Montezuma⁵⁴ used to get his fish from the Gulf, but still very well at this season of bad roads— I am still without my baggage, tho' I have heard that it is, like John Gilpin's hat & wig,⁵⁵ "upon the road."— I took a room two days ago at the San Carlos Hotel, which is nearby a lodging house, but a new one opened by a man who went from here as a servant to an offr of our army & spent some time in the U.S.. My room is the one which Genl Stone left, & is quite comfortable: I pay \$35 a month for it. At present I take my meals with a little mess in Maury's room close to mine, where they are brought to us from a Mexican eating house

⁵³ John Newton was born in Virginia on August 24, 1823, and died in New York City on May 1, 1895. He graduated from West Point in 1842; and spent much of his early life teaching there and assisting in the construction of forts on the Atlantic coast. He became captain on July 1, 1856; was made chief engineer in Pennsylvania in 1861; and was soon transferred to the same kind of work about Washington and in Virginia. He became a brigadier-general of volunteers on September 23, 1861; was raised to the rank of major-general of volunteers on March 30, 1863; took part in many battles in Virginia, Georgia, and Florida; was mustered out of service in January, 1866; and received many honors such as major-general in volunteer service by brevet, and brigadier-general and major-general in regular service by brevet. On December 28, 1865, he was made lieutenant-colonel in the regular service and continued in the army after the close of the war until he retired on August 27, 1886. On August 31, 1887, he was made commissioner of public works in New York City, which position he held until November, 1888. He was well known as an engineer and scientist. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, IV, 508-509.

⁵⁴ Montezuma or Motezuma was called Montezuma II. He was born in 1477 or 1479 and died on June 30, 1520. He was the Aztec chief and emperor of Mexico at the time of the Spanish conquest. This cruel warrior was held as a hostage by Cortéz after the Indians had received the Spanish conqueror royally and given him presents. After his captivity he was deposed by his men and when he appeared on the walls to plead to his men he received stones and arrows and died four days later from wounds received at the hands of his own people. Soon he became a mythical personage, almost a god, and principal deity, but the people never worshipped him. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*, IX, 702.

⁵⁵ John Gilpin was a ballad by William Cowper, published in 1785, but was anonymously printed in 1782. John Gilpin was the hero who rode a wild horse, lost his hat and wig, and could not stop his horse at the right town going or coming back. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*, IX, 549.

at the reasonable rate of \$19 a month; nothing very sumptuous, as you may suppose, but sufficient, with good bread & coffee, at breakfast & dinner— Our mess consists of Maury & two young men, Newton & Wilkinson of Norfolk, who room with him, Genl. Wilcox & myself— I rise at my usual hour, being unable to sleep late, & take a stroll, as the mornings are always fine, calling at a coffee house for a cup of coffee or chocolate with a roll, to last me until our 9 o'clk breakfast— after returning to my room I have still an hour or two to read (Prescott's Mexico at present,) By 10 o'clk I am at the office where I remain until 5 P.M. when we have dinner— It is dark before we rise from table, & my evenings are rather solitary— I read as late as I can & go to bed early— In my walk yesterday morning I entered the market, but having on my shoes, I was debarred from going through its filthy lanes until I had my thick boots— This morning I went through it, but the place is not attractive enough to induce a frequent repetition of the visit— A stranger cannot avoid, however, being struck with the variety of vegetable productions which you have often heard me speak of— oranges, bananas, pine apples coca nuts, mangoes, guavas, ahucates (a substitute for butter) Lapotes, maumea apples, mixed with pears, peaches, strawberries, & all our usual garden vegetables; but the three first named fruits are nearly all that I can care much about here; those of our kind are large, but tasteless, & I would not exchange fruits with the Tropics by any means—

Since I last wrote to you the Am. force here has been increased by the arrival of Genls Preston, Magruder, Walker⁵⁶ & some others— Genl. W. is the gentleman whose wife & child came with me in the Liberty & returned to N.Y. He went this morning with Preston, to V. Cruz, to embark for Havanna— Col. & Mrs T. were both very kind in expecting me to go back before long to Tacubaya, which I suppose I shall do, as Host of the Col's family (ladies) are going abroad, i.e. to U. States & England) in Sept— I have never seen a more united & afte family— It consists, at present, besides Col and Mrs T., of their daughter (Harriet) Mrs Southgate & 4 small children, 3 other daughters, Mary, Anne & Fanny, & three sons, Charles, Richard, & George, all engineers— Charles left his wife & children in Geo. Town. They will come out, I suppose, with the youngest son Randolph & his wife, in the autumn— Mr Southgate is a subordinate on the R. Road, working not very far from here—

⁵⁶ Francis Amasa Walker was born in Massachusetts on July 2, 1840; graduated from Amherst; joined the Massachusetts volunteers on August 1, 1861, as a sergeant-major; became assistant adjutant-general on September 14, 1861, with the rank of captain; became adjutant-general with the rank of major on August 11, 1862; and was made colonel on December 23, 1862. He was captured on August 25, 1864, and sent to Libby prison; due to broken health, after being restored, he resigned on January 12, 1865; became brigadier-general of volunteers by brevet on March 13, 1865; was a teacher for two years; was assistant editor of the *Springfield Republican* from 1867 to 1869; became chairman of the Bureau of Statistics in the Treasury Department in 1869, a position which he held for some time, and then other offices in Washington in the government; became president of Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1881; and held many other offices of profit and trust. He was a famous scholar, author, and writer. He died in Massachusetts on January 5, 1897. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, VI, 325.

July 29th— The “extraordinary” has arrived with your welcome letter to the 12 inst. one from Sister E. to the 5th & a few lines from R. M. He has no doubt that the missing was purloined at the Phil^a office; I think the P. Master in Phil^a ought to be informed of the matter & enquire into it— ask some one who knows him to do so— I am much pleased to know that you had a visit from Alfred & that you are all well— You need not trouble yourself to send me extracts of newspapers— I am only too glad to forget or to be ignorant of such things as would be contained in them, & I shall get as much of the public news as I care about from the papers which are rec’d here or from the gossip among our people— Your letters will tell me of anything of personal interest to me— Write as fully as you please about yourself, our children & my personal friends— I am very glad that you saw Edmund & that he is employed: “Whom the Gods love (in the U. S.) die young.” Sister E’s letter is on one sheet, but written with her usual closeness & fullness: I shall write to her by the next steamer, so you need not send any extracts from this. When Alfred is settled, if he has good arrangements for housekeeping, I see no objection to your lending him the silver he may want.

I called last evening to see M^{rs} Iturbide & saw also M^r I’s two brothers & sisters one sister is living at a boarding house in Green St— M^{rs} I. desired her love to you—

Aug. 7th— When I went to spend the day (Sunday) yesterday at Col. T’s I was able to put on my *new* blue suit, my baggage having arrived in good order, by *express* wagon, in less than 20 days from where I left it, near V. Cruz.— Nothing was injured by the rough journey, except my *windsor* soap, which got a little mashed between my writing case & the side of the trunk— Since my last date I have been going on as regularly as I used to do in Wash all day in the office; contented & even cheerful— You talk of therm. at 95°—when I went to the custom house for my baggage about 12 o’clk, the sun shining brightly right over head, the therm. at the opticians stood at 75°— Chas. Talcott’s family & probably Randolph & his wife are coming out in the steamer of 1st Sept^r— Can’t you come with them? You can at least communicate with Char’s wife in Geo Town & send letters to N.Y. for her; tho’ the mail will be quicker from V.C. I wish you could send me your photograph & those of all the children by her— If you have a good opportunity you may send me Sam Esting’s gold chain, in case I should be invited out, which I have not been & don’t care to be— I do not think of anything necessary in the way of clothing— My new suit being a little thicker than the old, is just the thing—

In enclose with this the *first* of a bill of exchange on London for £40, which in your “elastic currency” as Col T calls it ought to produce you at least \$300 Mr Robinson & Mr Levy will negotiate it for you— I shall send the *second* of the same bill by the extraordinary & the *third* by the

next steamer— it is merely a commercial form, to provide fr accident.

Kiss & bless our dear children for me— If you were only all with me how happy I could be here; but as I said before, we must not think of that just now— Try to keep up your spirits & theirs, & believe always in the true love of Y^r affectionate husband, A. Mordecai

Having my writing case I shall write at my room & not feel hurried by neglecting official business. send enclosed to M^r Neel.

IMPERIAL MEXICAN RAILWAY,
Chief Engineer's Office.

Send the enclosed to George— after reading it if you choose.

Mexico August 12th 1865.

N^o. 4

My dear Wife

Immediately after sending off my note to you yesterday, I went out to a grand breakfast given by my traveling companion, Mr O'Sullivan,⁵⁷ at the "Tivoli del Eliseo," The garden where I breakfasted with him on the day of my arrival— We sat down about 12 & I did not get back to my office until 3— there were about 20 persons; half of them being confederate refugees of distinction, & the rest, persons of some note; among them Gen. Urago, Comdg the Mex army proper— He had been more than once an exile in the U. S. & in a toast, he gracefully acknowledged the kind reception he had met with there— Odd enough, the next man to him was Magruder, who had entertained him at Newport, in one of his exiles. I sat next to Judge Perkins & am much pleased with him— His wife was M^{rs} Bailey (formerly Miss May of Petsbg,) the widow of Judge Bailey, whom you remember when we were at the arsenal at Washⁿ— That remarkable daughter of hers lived just to grow up— the mother is now in V^a— In comparing notes about Mexico, Judge P. said that after he had written his letter to his wife he was almost afraid to send it, lest she should think that he is too happy here— I told him that was exactly my case, & that I fully expected to find some remarks of that kind in your letters, after you received mine from here— In the evening we had another social meeting at the house of M^r Maseras, who was formerly an editor of the "Courier des Estats Unis" at N.Y. & now of the "Ere Nouvelle" here— He is a member of the Com-

⁵⁷ John Louis O'Sullivan was born on a British man of war in the Bay of Gibraltar in November, 1813. His father was the United States consul to the Barbary States at the time of his birth and his parents resided at the garrison, but on the outbreak of a plague they moved on board the ship. John was educated at a military school at Lorize, France, at Westminster School, London, and at Columbia College, New York, where he tutored for two years. He was a member of the New York legislature from 1841 to 1842; carried on a fight to abolish capital punishment; was a regent of New York University from 1846 to 1854; was minister to Portugal from 1854 to 1853; became associated with the magazine literature of the country; and had a fine knowledge of ancient and modern languages. *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, XII, 337.

mission to consult about the colonization, & one object of the meeting was to talk over that subject, after which we had a pleasant game of cards, & he invited us to meet at his house every Thursday evening, which will be quite pleasant, as the evenings are the hardest times— One of the young gentlemen who have just come in with an engineering party, from the field, is Mr Lambert of Alexandria, whose father is or was a partner of McKenzie you may mention him to the Eveleths, tho' I suppose he writes home

Aug. 14th— The N. Y. steamer was announced yesterday by telegraph— My friend Gregory promised a quick trip but it seems he has been disappointed— We shall get letters to-morrow— Having been engaged yesterday (Sunday) morning, with a few other gentlemen, in trying to aid the Govt in preparing its colonization measures. I did not get out to Tacubaya until afternoon— It was a bright day & the therm. in the sun soon rose to 115°, but the Plaza was crowded with people waiting to see a man walk across it, in the air, on a tight rope two or three hundred yards long; & in the walking there to take the car (without an umbrella,) I scarcely felt the moisture on my forehead— This is the third day without rain, & the sun makes itself felt the more, but at 9 o'clk my optician's therm was at 64°— Whenever "three or four are assembled together" the wonders of the climate are apt to be discussed, as on Saturday evnning— One gentleman who has lived here 24 years said that since, he had known but one gale of wind— That are no mosquitoes or other troublesome insects, so far as I have found yet, & no flies— Maury says he counted 13 in his room; but his room is a large one, one of the street cries is: "Flies for birds,"— I shall regret the rainy season, when it is over, I believe; for the rain does not annoy me, & the dust, I fear, will, as it did on Saturday, when there was a little breeze as I went to my lodgings in the afternoon— I am afraid you will be tired with my frequent subject of the climate, so I will say no more about it until some new phenomenon presents itself; such as an earthquake, for instance— But I wished for you & the girls yesterday afternoon, to enjoy the lovely landscape & soft air at Tacubaya. Wilcox & I came in, under a bright starlight, at 9 o'clk.

My messmate, Judge Perkins, is intimately acquainted with the Ingrahams—⁵⁸ Alfred was at his house in Rich^d last winter, & although in private the effect of his losses & sufferings would be seen, he never

⁵⁸ Duncan Nathaniel Ingraham was born in Charleston, South Carolina, on December 6, 1802, and died in Charleston on October 16, 1891. He entered the United States Naval Academy in 1812; served in the War of 1812 and in the Mexican war; became commander at the Philadelphia Navy Yard, in 1850; became commander of the *St. Louis* in 1852 and went to the Mediterranean, where he made himself famous in the Martin Koszta affair, for which Congress voted him a medal and South Carolina a sword, and his admirers in New York a medal. Austria demanded an apology from the United States, but it was not given. He became chairman of the Bureau of Ordnance and Hydrography of the Navy Department. He commanded *The Richmond* in 1860. When South Carolina seceded he returned to New York, resigned his commission, and entered the Confederate Navy; became a commander and was assigned to duty at Richmond as chief officer of ordnance; later he was in charge of the naval forces about Charleston; and after the war he retired to private life and took no active part in public affairs. *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, VIII, 336-337

saw him appear to more advantage in company. (He(Alfred) said that the enemy had done him about as much injury as they could & that with the remnant of his property he could still live at home— his pigs had somehow escaped death & he had cows & chickens— his wife cooked & his daughters washed &c— three girls all that are left of their children— Aug. 15th — The “extraordinary” has made an extraordinary trip, or else the newspaper misstated the time of his departure from V.C., for I had the pleasure this morning, on coming to the office, to find my letters, from you, my dear wife, & from our sweet Laura, & to hear that you are all doing well & I hope enjoying yourselves— I hope Laura went with M^{sr} W. to Newport; it would be such a pleasant excursion for a couple of weeks— You have found out by this time why I did not write by the last steamer from Hav; I was afraid you would *guess* the reason, but I think if you will read attentively my letter by the preceding steamer, you will see that I did not intend to write again from there— If it had not been for alarming you about the yellow fever I should not have hesitated to tell you that I was unwell; but I asked M^r Miles not to mention it— I was afraid that you would be hurt by my remarks on your letter rec’d at V. C. & I am very glad you took them so amiably— *Consequently* I am going to make another disagreeable request: that you will write a little more *legibly* & not in such a hurry— You used to write so neatly, & now there are some words that I cannot make out at all— I hope my writing does not give you the same trouble— I have had almost to learn a new hand, for my *offl* letters being copied by the press require a large hand & plenty of ink— Last Sunday as I sat, in my usual place, next to M^{rs} Talcott at dinner, I was very much gratified by her telling me how much the Col. is satisfied with my assistance— “Just the man for the place”— If your letters are in danger, as you say, of running into too great length, how will it be with mine, when I am on the 3^d page & the steamer a fortnight off— I must say a word more about postage &c— Your letter & Laura’s, coming separately, were each charged in V.C. with 62½ cts postage; what for I can’t make out; not the postage up here, for they come under cover to Col. T. *One* letter under half an ounce is the same— My last to you cost only 57 cts instead of 83 as I expected— Letters cannot be sent by any other steamers than the U. S. unless consigned to some one in Hav. to forward— I am sure you had a pleasant visit to my good & charming friend M^{rs} Ingersoll,⁵⁹ & I hope you said something kind to her & her husband for me: Do the

⁵⁹ She must have been the widow of Charles Jared Ingersoll (October 3, 1782-May 14, 1862), who was a lawyer, Congressman, United States district attorney, legislator, and author. She could have been the wife of the brother of the above named man, Joseph Reed Ingersoll (June 14, 1786-February 20, 1868), who was a noted Congressman, lawyer, minister to England, and writer. Two other members of the same family, but of the next generation, were famous writers. They were Edward, the son of Jared Ingersoll and Edward, the son of Charles Jared Ingersoll. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, III, 347-348.

same to Mrs Biddle⁶⁰ when you see her & to all the kind friends who enquire about me— I shall be quite curious to see how you take my first letters from here — Tell Laura, with my love & thanks for her letter, that she must take this as an acknowledgement for the present— I am very glad Aug. has got to work & hope he had a chance to go to the Mtns also— But tell the children not to let my silence to them prevent them from writing to me, whenever they fell inclined.

This is double fête day: one of the church holidays & Napoleon's⁶¹ day, which Louis Nap. has adopted— So there has been Mily. Mass & review; There is to be a dinner at Chapultepec, & a ball at Marshal Bazaine's—⁶² I merely saw the troops assembled before breakfast— Col T. & some of the ladies are going to the ball; so is "my friend Maury"— Tell Laura, (I was going to say before,) with thanks for her offer, that I cannot think of any thing wanting to my comfort— except the company of all of you— When I was putting on Rose's neck ribbon for the first time on Sunday, I looked into my work bag to see if perhaps you

⁶⁰ She must have belonged to the noted Biddle family of Philadelphia. Clement Cornell (October 24, 1784-August 21, 1855) was an outstanding soldier, sailor, and lawyer. James Biddle (1783-October 1, 1848) was an outstanding naval officer and patriot. John Biddle (March 9, 1789-August 25, 1859) was a soldier, delegate to Congress from Michigan, and register of the Detroit land office. Nicholas Biddle (January 8, 1786-February 27, 1844) was known as a financier and business man. Richard Biddle (March 25, 1796-July 7, 1847) was known for his legal ability. Charles John Biddle (1819-September 28, 1873) was a soldier. Thomas Biddle (November 21, 1790-August 29, 1831) was also a soldier. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, I, 255-258.

⁶¹ Napoleon III (Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte) was born in Paris, on April 20, 1808, and died near London, on January 9, 1873. He was Emperor of France from 1852 to 1870. He was the son of Louis, King of Holland, and the nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte, Emperor of France. He lived in exile from 1815 to 1830; took part in a revolt against the Pope in Romagna in 1830-1831; tried to start a revolt among the French soldiers at Strasbourg in 1836; sought to invade France in 1840, for which he was imprisoned, but escaped in 1846; and returned to France in the revolution of 1848. He was a member of the National Assembly in 1848; became President of France in 1848; by a *coup d'état* on December 2, 1851, he became President for ten years; and, on December 2, 1852, after a plebiscite in November, he was made Emperor. He took part in the Crimean War on the side of Turkey against Russia, 1854-1856; helped Italy against Austria in 1859; was the instigator and main force in the war in Mexico to institute a monarchy from 1862 to 1867; was the main instigator of the Franco-Prussian War, 1870-1871; but he was captured on September 2, 1870, at Sedan, and was held prisoner until 1871. He retired to England where he lived a retired life and continued his writing. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 722.

⁶² François Achille Bazaine was born at Versailles, France, on February 13, 1811, and died in exile in Madrid, Spain, on September 23, 1888. For years he fought in Algeria and Morocco, and by the time he was in the Crimean War he was a general. He was also in the thick of the battles in the war between the Italians and Austrians when Napoleon III backed Italy. In 1862 he commanded in Mexico the first division of the French army, and, by defeating Comonfort, compelled the surrender of Puebla, on May 18, 1863, shortly after which the French entered the capital. On October 1, 1863, he succeeded Forey as commander-in-chief, acting as civil administrator of the occupied districts; and the rank of marshal was conferred on him in 1864. In February, 1865, he captured the town of Oaxaca, together with an army of 7,000 men under Diaz. He is generally believed to have been plotting with the enemies of the Emperor for personal ambitions. He married a rich Mexican lady whose family espoused the cause of Juarez. In February, 1867, he withdrew with his force from the capital, declaring Maximilian's position untenable, and soon embarked at Vera Cruz. On his arrival in France, though exposed to violent public denunciations, he took his seat in the senate, and was appointed commander of the third army corps, and in October, 1869, he became commander-in-chief of the imperial guard at Paris. At the beginning of the Franco-Prussian War in 1870 he was placed in command of the third army corps, near Metz. He soon became commander of the main army and hoped to retreat, but he was attacked before he had time to get away and was forced to retire into the fortifications. Finding escape impossible and annihilation or capitulation inevitable he surrendered his army of 173,000 to the Germans on October 27, 1870. He was charged with treason, defended himself, but was condemned to degradation and death, but all the members of the court signed an appeal for mercy, and President MacMahon commuted the sentence to twenty years seclusion. He was sent to the fortress in the island of St. Marguerite, but through the efforts of his wife he escaped at midnight on August 9, 1874. He took residence in Spain where he resided in very reduced circumstances. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, I, 202.

had put in my black pin, Miss E's present; wanting something to fasten my ribbon with, & you had all been so thoughtful for me— The fan has never been unrolled & I don't know that I have seen one— I knew nothing of Am. Levy's affair— it could hardly have occurred before I left you—

Sunday Aug. 20th A presentation at court, even in this one-horse empire, is I suppose worth mentioning— Maury, who is very thick with the Imperial family, told me, the other day, that the Chief of the Mily Cabinet had asked him for the names of our people who wished to be presented to the Emp^r, & he & Judge Perkins asked me to put down my name; Talcott also thought it was well; so I consented. Consequently, on Friday evening we had notice that we would be rec'd the next day at 10½ A.M. So, putting on my Saturday evening club suit, I went on foot with Genl. Price⁶³ of Missouri, (a quiet, modest gentleman, of fine presence) Genl Wilcox⁶⁴ & five others— Maury had gone before, to a consultation on emigration, & was ready to introduce us, when we were ushered into the reception room, where there were only the Emp^r & Empress— The Emp^r shook hands with each of us (quite republican) & then made a little address in French, welcoming us to the country, & hoping that we should find a residence here agreeable; that he was doing all he could to make it so & to facilitate the settlement of those who should wish to emigrate; asking nothing of them but to obey the laws & to improve the lands, &c. As most of the party did not understand French, the Empress interpreted his remarks, & after a few more friendly expressions, he dismissed us: His manner is easy & pleasant; he is tall, but not very handsome; The Empress is quite pretty, (for one of her rank,) & of very pleasing manner— No nonsense about either of them; dressed like any other lady & gentleman— *She* speaks English very well indeed, also German; French of course; & Spanish, no doubt, well. She says that she *thinks* in Eng. Germ. or french, according to the subject matter—

I wish you would have seen a cage of about a dozen beautiful hummings birds, of various kinds, which a man offered for sale, as we re-

⁶³ Sterling Price was born in Virginia on September 11, 1809, and died in St. Louis, Missouri, on September 29, 1867. He was educated at Hampden-Sidney College; became a lawyer; moved to Missouri; served in the state legislature in 1840-1844; was a member of Congress from 1844 to 1846; was in the Mexican War; was left in charge of New Mexico by General Kearney; and was governor of Missouri from 1853 to 1857. He was bank commissioner from 1857 to 1861; became a major-general of Missouri state guard on May 13, 1861; and with aid from the Confederacy and the State of Arkansas he won over Nathaniel Lyon, but later had to retreat. He continued to fight in the Southwest until the close of the war, after which he went to Mexico, but returned to Missouri in 1866. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, V, 118-119.

⁶⁴ Cadmus Marcellus Wilcox was born in Greene County, North Carolina, on May 29, 1825. He graduated from West Point in 1846; participated in all the battles fought by General Quitman in the Mexican War; fought in Indian wars in Florida and Texas; was an instructor in West Point; traveled in Europe for a year inspecting military institutions; and returned to publish some of his observations. He was in Arizona when his state, Tennessee, left the Union. He immediately resigned his commission; was made colonel in an Alabama regiment; and rose rapidly to brigadier-general. From Appomattox he went to Mexico where he received social courtesies from Maximilian and Carlotta; and returned to the United States in 1866, and engaged in the United States War Department. He left the manuscript of the "History of the Mexican War" and notes for a history of the American Civil War. He never married and died in Washington, D. C., on December 2, 1890. *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, XI, 512-513.

turned to our lodgings; I told him we had no women to take care of them & declined the purchase— They live caged but a few days, I believe—

Col. Talcott has gone down the road, so that I am left in charge of the office, & find myself using the very same designation (Ast. to Chf Eng^r) that I did nearly 40 yrs ago, under Genl Gratiot!⁶⁵— The boys are all away too, at their work; so that when I went out to Tacubaya this morning to breakfast, with my mess mates, there was no gentleman in the house but Mr Southgate, the Col's son in law—

Tuesday Aug. 22^d— I am going to send this by to-morrow's (ordinary) mail, & will not write by the "extraordinary" unless something new occurs— I have nothing to add, except to suggest a subject for some reflection of which you, no doubt, have never thought— That of your coming out here— I do not like the thought of taking the boys away from school, especially Augustus, at this important time for them; but it occurred to me that you might possibly make some arrangement so that you & one of the girls could join me, if only for a *visit* of a year— If the girls have a school worth keeping up— you might leave them in the house, & why should not Uncle Henry stay there to take care of them? If their school is not worth while, perhaps you could break up & sell the heavy furniture; the house you could readily rent. If you should do this, you might bring 2 girls or one & Gratz— I think we shall take a very nice house for the office, in which I shall furnish a room & could have two— You would get meals from a restaurant. You ought not to leave U. S. until middle of Octr, when the roads will be good—

Ever truly & afftly

Y^{rs} Alfred.

Mexico, August 29th 1865.

No 5.

My dear Wife

The "extraordinary" brought me this morning your welcome letter to the 13th, with several others— I am delighted to find that my first letters from here have removed the unpleasant feelings caused by others written when I was unwell, anxious & dispirited; & also that you do not, as I had anticipated, scold me for being too happy here. All remains with me as when I closed my last to you by the regular mail; except that, Col. T. being absent, I have rented & moved into our new office,

⁶⁵ Charles Gratiot was born in Missouri in 1788, and died in St. Louis on May 18, 1855. He graduated from West Point in 1806; became a second lieutenant of engineers; served in the War of 1812 as captain and chief engineer of Harrison's army during 1813 and 1814; was brevetted colonel; defended Fort Meigs in 1813 and other places in the Northwest; and became a major of engineers in 1815. He superintended the erection of forts on the Delaware; later superintended the erection of forts at Hampton Roads, Virginia; became lieutenant-colonel in 1819; was made colonel in 1828, and was placed in charge of erecting forts about Washington; and was brevetted brigadier-general on May 24, 1828. The same year he was made inspector at West Point, which position he held until December 6, 1838, when he was dismissed for failure to pay into the treasury certain balances of money placed in his charge for public purposes. He was clerk in the land office in Washington, D. C., from 1840 to 1855, and died in destitute circumstances in St. Louis. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, II, 726-727.

a very nice cheerful suite of rooms— The other half of the same floor is at present occupied by Mr Soule⁶⁶ & his family; but as we have different stairs, it is just like living next door, with you. I wrote you to think about coming here & I hope you will really consider the matter carefully & see whether it is not possible— I did not at first, think of your doing so for a year; but I do not now relish the idea of so long a separation from you & all our children. Thank my dear Laura for her kind offer to pay the draft for me to R.M., The first letter that I saw was one from kind Mrs Butler, sent to R.M.: on the outside of the envelope he mentioned George being in N.Y. so that I was not so much surprised as I should otherwise have been at your mention of his visit; but I was very much pleased that he made it & that you found him so cheerful. The only disappointment that I felt to-day was that none of my letters say anything about the probable arrangements of the family in Raleigh; but from Sister E's silence on that subject I conclude that no change is contemplated at present— Mrs Butler's letter is in her usual affectionate style— I cannot characterize it in any other way— She begins: "Your kindness Dear Mr. M. should never surprise me, but no one except you or your sister would have thought, the very day before your departure, of writing to friends 3000 miles away. On the eve too of the beginning a new phase of life. How generous & how worthy of all we have known of you & yours is your beginning life anew, in so very laborious a profession & in a new country for the sake of your family. I need not say with what deep interest we shall hear of your welfare & success in Mexico"— Her letter, by the bye, & a neatly written note from Mr J. F. Fisher,⁶⁷ are great contrasts to *some* of my

⁶⁶ Pierre Soulé (August 31, 1801-March 26, 1870) was born in the French Pyrenees, was destined for the church, but left college and turned to politics. He was exiled because he was anti-Bourbon; returned to college and studied law; and became a Republican representative. He was arrested in April, 1825, and sentenced to prison, but escaped and made his way to England, then to Haiti on September 5, 1825, and to Baltimore in October of the same year. After trying Baltimore and New York he went to New Orleans; then travelled through Tennessee and Kentucky; was a gardener for a while; and then trekked back to New Orleans, where he rose to prominence in several fields. He was a member of the state convention in 1844; served in the state senate in 1846; was a member of the United States Senate for three months in 1846-1847; was elected again in 1848, but resigned on April 11, 1853; and became minister to Spain on April 7, 1853, in which capacity he continually made errors. He sought to acquire Cuba; made himself very obnoxious by joining James Buchanan and John Y. Mason on October 18, 1854, in signing the famous Ostend Manifesto, which said that the United States should purchase Cuba from Spain and if she refused to sell it we should take it if we possessed the power; and was forced to resign on December 17, 1854. He returned to his legal practice; defended William Walker, the noted Nicaraguan filibuster in 1857; and became interested in a canal at Tehuantepec, Mexico. He opposed secession, but went with his state when it left the Union; was arrested in June, 1862, by Benjamin F. Butler, but was paroled in November; returned through the blockade to New Orleans; and assisted the Confederacy in Richmond from September, 1863, to June, 1864, in the face of strong opposition from Jefferson Davis, who would not promote him any further than honorary brigadier-generalship. In 1865 he and ex-Senator William M. Gwin of California united in a project to settle Confederate veterans in Sonora, Mexico, but he lost his mind so completely that in 1869 he was declared insane, and died on March 26, 1870. *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVII, 405-407.

⁶⁷ Joshua Francis Fisher was born in Philadelphia on February 17, 1807, and died there on January 21, 1873. He graduated from Harvard in 1825; studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1829, but never practiced; helped incorporate the Pennsylvania Institute for the Blind; and was its president for one year. Three times he toured Europe and reported on the care of the blind there; was one of the most noted and proficient members of the Pennsylvania Historical Society; was one of the earliest leaders in proposing minority representation; and became an outstanding political thinker and orator. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, II, 466.

letters— One from brother Sol; written by Susan it was almost impossible to decypher, & I cannot at all make out the Name of the Engineer to whose kindness for Augustus is indebted for his trip to the mountains— I hope he has enjoyed it; by the time this letter reaches you he will be again at his studies, with renewed zest, I hope. Mr Wimmer⁶⁸ from whom I have heard twice, enquires after him, & whether he is not coming here— I shall be very glad to get Rosa's letter, & Miriam's & the boys' too— It is my bed time & I hear the rain falling copiously, which reminds me that this has been one of the few days when I have had to use my waterproof arrangements— They make me feel very independent. Remember me kindly to the Brinleys⁶⁹ & congratulate them for me on the young Farley. Tell Mr B. I am not without a cheerful game of whist or euchre, with some very pleasant Southern gentlemen in the same Hotel— I am very much struck with their quiet, unassuming manners, correct conduct & unaffectedly religious tone of thought. Judge Perkins was quite surprised to hear of M^{rs} Ingraham's being in Phil^a— Good night—

Friday Sept 1st— At length the weather has distinguished itself sufficiently to demand special mention— On the two days before yesterday, the afternoon rains had been unusually copious & in fact had hardly confined themselves to the afternoons, & some uneasiness was expressed as to the effect of them on the embankments which retain the water of the higher lakes to the north of the city; but last evening the flood surpassed all my former experience— Having got through the business of the day I fortunately left the office about 4 o'clk, to see about the photographs which I enclose; The rain had just commenced, but at 5, the man who brought our dinner had to wade, through an "trocious pour," as he expressed it, with the water half leg deep even on the side walks— By the time we has finished dinner I called my companions to see from my balcony the whole street converted into a river, with the people splashing through it nearly or quite knee deep; the water soon began pouring into the doors of the house & our little "patio," or court yard, was converted into a lake: Two of our gentlemen, the oldest after me, had gone out as usual to their dinners &

⁶⁸ Sebastian Wimmer was born in Bavaria on January 5, 1831; received his education there in engineering; arrived in New York on June 2, 1851; and migrated to Pittsburg, where he studied bookkeeping. He was assistant engineer on the Allegheny Valley Railroad from 1853 to 1857; held the same position on the Minneapolis and Cedar Valley Railroad from 1858 to 1859; and worked on other roads including the Philadelphia and Erie Railroad. In 1865 he was engaged in building the Cumbres de Maltrata division of the Imperial and Mexico City Railroad for an engineering company, having been sent there by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company. After 1868 he was back in Pennsylvania and environs constructing railroads. He was elected to the Pennsylvania legislature in 1874. In 1882 he was sent to Mexico by a New York syndicate to examine the Mexican Central Railroad, and for years after this he continued to survey and act as chief engineer of various railroad projects. In 1904 he was associate chief engineer of the Wabash Railroad. *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, XII, 365-366.

⁶⁹ Francis Brinley was born in Massachusetts on November 10, 1800; took great interest in railway building and other national improvements; served in the state legislature, five terms in the house and one in the senate; was a writer on various subjects; and died in Rhode Island on June 15, 1889. George Brinley was born in Boston on May 15, 1817; was educated in the best schools of his city; spent much of his life collecting rare books; and died in Bermuda on May 14, 1875. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, I, 377.

came home with their boots & stockings in their hands & their trousers rolled above the knee, in true Mexican style— Wilcox had to content himself with a sofa in Maury's room for the night; but about bed time the rain had ceased & this morning the sun is again shining out & the water has run off so that the streets are passable, thought not tempting for my mornnig walk— Tell Rose that the first thing I do in the morning, after cleaning my teeth, is to use her fruit knife to cut an orange, which I reserve from my dinner— I eat very little fruit, notwithstanding its abundance; it is better to be careful of it— One annoyance I must, in candor, admit against Mexico: that of *fleas*, which it seems almost impossible to escape from, even in our new & clean house, One or two of these pests getting inside of a stocking actually excoriate my ancles [*sic*], & almost recall my experience of a Crimean camp— I am told they have a great aversion to *pennyroyal*, & I am going to see if I can find some of the essence of that herb here—

I gave my waterproof arrangements a pretty severe trial on the day before the great rain, having left my office just as the afternoon rain commenced— I did not get wet under my poncho, but I could feel that it was not dry inside when I took it off, although it was alright next morning after hanging a little while on my balcony which looks to the east, & the window of which *invariably* admits the morning sunshine— Probably the cloth is not of the very best kind, but I am told that these heavy rains sometimes permeate even the india rubber coats— such was not my experience with the one I wore on my former journey— I sent you a photograph of my aspect in rain costume, & also another which I hope you will not find quite as sad as the one I left with you— You must not think me extravagant in this matter of photographs; they are made without charge, by a photographer who works for the Railway Office—

Wednesday, Sept 6th— Col. Talcott returned on Sunday, looking very well— His family were getting very impatient for his return, for Miss Nannie has engaged herself, in his absence, to an Austrian officer, about the Emperor: Major Boteslawski, an agreeable & clever person, well connected, &c, as it appears— he is unfortunately very hard of hearing, in consequence of a wound in the neck, received in the Italian campaign— It has been a sudden affair, the acquaintance having been formed since I came here, & they expect to be married in a couple of months— Mrs T's trip to U.S. & Europe, with the other two single daughters, is therefore put off until November.

Sept 7th— I close my letter for to-morrow's mail, as there is none on Saturday & Sunday *may* be too late; I can always write again by the extraordinary if there is anything to require it— I shall send you a remittance by the steamer at the end of this month, hoping, in the mean time, to hear of the receipt of that which I sent the middle of August— I enclose a note for Mr J. F. Fisher, in answer to one from him; read it if you choose & send it to him—

My children must not suppose, from my little mention of them that [I do not] often & anxiously think of them - Let me know all about them- how [Augustus got] his engineering trip & how Gratz likes his school & what he is studying: & ho[w the girls] are getting on- about this time I begin to count the days to the arrival [of the] N.York steamer, which I trust will continue to bring me favorable news fro[m y]ou all- God bless you all, my Dear Wife & children & restore again to you

Your loving husband & father

The photographs may look better when mounted.

A Mordecai.

M^{rs} Alfred Mordecai
1825 DeLancey Place
Philadelphia Pa United States.

Vapor Mexico- Americano.

No 6.

Mexico, Sept 14th/65

My dear Wife

This letter comes a little out of place, for we have a great disappointment this month on both sides; the despatch from V. Cruz yesterday, instead of announcing the arrival of the N. Y. steamer stated that she was detained in N. Y. & would not arrive until after the 18th- Charles Talcott was there expecting his family- My letter of the 7th will therefore probably go out with this, as it was directed for the Vapor Americano- Nothing special has happened in the mean time, & I am as well as usual- When I was dining at Tacubaya on Sunday M^{rs} T. asked me to accompany them on Tuesday to the opera, where they have a box, & the Col. never goes: so I went, but I must say that the principal pleasure was that of escorting the ladies- The house is a *very good* one; the troop a second rate Italian one, I should think, & the piece was the unpleasant & unnecessary opera of Rigoletta- Yesterday I received, through the politeness of Miss Nannie's fiance, a ticket for Saturday evening the 16th, the anniversary of Mexican Independence, when the Emperor takes the house, & I believe all the theatres, & distributes tickes gratis- There will be also a grand mass, Military procession, &c- On Sunday morning, before going to breakfast (11 o'clk) at Tacubaya, I went with Judge Perkins to hear the Mily mass in the Cathedral, which is always attended by a large body of French troops, & is a very interesting & striking performance; rather better than the opera, I think- The building is a very large one; a side church attached to is larger I believe, than the Catholic Cathedral in Phil^a- it is rather gorgeous with guildings &c, but impressive on the whole & the fine large band, the troops & officers making an imposing service, & I wished for you to see & hear it-

I don't know whether our newspapers copy the stories about robbers which are circulated here. The country is certainly in an unsettled state; but you must not believe all the stories, if you see them; this morning's paper contains a contradiction of one of the worst which we have had lately— Still they do occur, & I was amused at first to see even the railway conductor to Tacubaya carrying a belt with a pistol— When I came in on Sunday evening the only other passenger was a man with a musket, who I suppose was there for a guard, as he slept all the way to town— You have heard me speak of the habitual courtesy of these people of all classes: I was a little puzzled the other day with a manifestation of it in a letter which Maury received from a gentleman having a request to make to him— The letter was headed "At your house, 11th Septr," and at the close of it: "your house" is N^o so & so in such a street— This it seems is the usual form of polite address— putting your house at the disposal of your correspondent— In my walk this morning I saw a man, who was driving a lot of donkeys, loaded with manure, stop to speak to a servant who was standing at the door of a house: "Beunos dias, Senior," (Good Morning, Sir) said the donkey driver. The other took off his hat, and whilst holding it off his head, answered: "How do you do, Sir; how have you passed the night;" with as much politeness as if the fellow's blanket on a stone or earthen floor had been a "thrice driven bed of dawn"—

Another telegram from V. Cruz to day informs us that the steamers have changed their days of leaving N. York to the 8th & 23^d, so I suppose your letter to me will be up to date, when it comes; there was no notice given here— Col. Talcott told me this morning that he was coming in with Mrs T. to the opera to-night & that there was a place for me, so I think I shall go, as Wilcox declines taking my place— It is sometimes a little hard getting through the evening until bedtime; there are few good books to be had here, & reading by a single candle, as I am now writing, is at best rather trying— The girls, I suppose, would think three evenings a week well spent at the opera; but when the troop came here I had not the slightest idea or inclination to enter the theatre—

I must tell you of a report in circulation, apparently on good authority, which if true will produce a curious example of the ups & downs of life— It is said that the Emperor & Empress of Mexico, who have no children, have adopted the little son of Angel Iturbide & —queen, so that he is to be regularly announced at some Imperial! M^{rs} I told me a week or two ago, that her sister in law, Miss Iturbide is to reside, as a Princess of Mexico, at the Palace, where they are fitting up handsome apartments for her — The rest are to leave here soon— If the report is true I suppose the son goes to Europe to be educated under proper auspices. Wilcox who has just come in from a visit to M^{rs} I. confirms the story: the son is to remain here & the mother is to have \$30,000 a year! as I understand it—

Sunday, Sept 17th— Yesterday was quite a brilliant day— I did not get up at 5 o'clk to hear the music on the Plaza, but strolling out at my usual hour for a morning walk I was just in time to see Marshall Bazaine attended by his staff & escort, going to the Cathedral— The large Plaza, was occupied by the troops, French Austrians Belgians & Mexicans (to make them in order of importance) chiefly cavalry— After a short time the train of handsome Imperial carriages came along bringing the ladies of the court, & the Empress in grand state coach— Very much like that which the Mayor of London parades in on Lord Mayor's day— Then the Emperor & suite on horseback all in grand costume— We all entered the Cathedral where a short mass was said by the Archbishop & c in niche & crosier & full toggery, & a hymn was played & sung by the opera (I thought)— Altogether such a spectacle as cannot be seen any where else in America, & really very grand— What struck me more than anything else, or as much, was the absence of *people*— The plaza is very large to be sure, but it was strictly reserved for the Mily, & yet the streets & balconies around were by no means crowded & I moved about & got into the church without difficulty. There were various amusements in the day in which I did not participate; but in the evening I put on my best clothes, with a *white cravat*, (or one that passed for white,) & went to the Opera— I found Col. T. waiting at the entrance for the carriage — Miss Nannie was taken sick the previous night at the opera, & altho' better she was not able to come; so her fiancé remained behind also & her mother kept them company— Miss Fanny altho' better & more cheerful, does not go out; so there were only M^{rs} Southgate & Miss Mary— After escorting them to the box I took my place for the first act in the pit to get a better view— The house was brilliantly lighted, with extra chandeliers & Chinese lanterns, & decorated with flowers & colored lamps— It was soon filled up, but not crowded inconveniently; The pit occupied entirely by gentlemen, in uniform or full dress & the ladies in the boxes very handsomely dressed, with diamonds & c; diplomats in coats stiff with gold embroidery, & they & the Military with all their orders & decorations— When the Emperor & Empress were announced the curtain rose & presented the whole troop; the audience stood up & remained standing, while the troops sang the National Hymn, & at the same time showers of various colored papers came fluttering down from the upper tier, containing a political address to the Empress— The whole effect was the most beautiful I ever saw in a theatre— The performance consisted of an act of *Traviata* & one of *Ernani*, & was over before 10 o'clk, when with perfect politeness & decorum, & without any rush or pressure the pit was emptied & the ladies retired to their carriages— No applause, except a little on the entrance of the Sovereign, no noise or confusion— just a genteel large party of ladies & gentlemen assembled for amusement— I have said little about the Mexican ladies, for I have

seen little of them, except in this way— Some handsome, rather oriental looking, not to say Jewish, faces; but generally not much beauty in Native women or Men— Edmund Myers would pass very well for one of the better looking Mexicans— I was at a small birth night party, the other evening, given by an Englishman (Mr Gibbon) who has lived a long time here, so his wife, a good specimen of Mexican women— The son is a clerk in our office— It was a very nice party, with dancing &c, very much as in N.Y. or Phila^a— The Talcotts were there & also the British Minister & his daughter who is, I believe, the only lady among the diplomats; apparently a very “nice young person”— There were many *bald* heads in the pit of the theatre, but mine was the *only white* one.

The 16th was further celebrated by the publication of several important decrees; one establishing a Hospital for Invalids; one for a Military school, & one recognizing the grand children of Iturbide— one in Paris & one here— as Princes of Iturbide, & the daughter, a princess— The Emperor takes charge of the education of the young princes & the princess lives in the palace, as one of the guardians of Angel’s child— The brothers & Angel’s wife go away; not to return, I understand— I should like very much to sell the Mily School my books, as the nucleus of a Library, & shall offer them, if I can— I thought of this before I came away & ought to have made a catalogue of them— I wonder if Augustus & Gratz could not do it for me— on Sundays— Mr Ingersoll would let them have a room in one of his offices, which he offered me, where the books could be taken & unpacked for the purpose—

I send you the first N^o of an English Newspaper just started here, in which you will find a short notice of the railroad, prepared by me, & other interesting things— Show it to Mr Reed⁷⁰— The Editor is Govr Allen,⁷¹ late of Louisiana— I am going to send this by a gentleman formerly of Mobile, Dr Massey, who is making a visit to U.S., leaving his family here— I send a copy of the Papaer also to George— I enclose two copies of my photographs, for M^{rs} Ingersoll & Mr Reed, who were

⁷⁰ William Bradford Reed was born in Philadelphia on June 30, 1806, and died in New York City on February 18, 1876. He graduated from the University of Pennsylvania in 1825; was secretary in Mexico to Joel R. Poinsett; studied law; became attorney-general of Pennsylvania in 1838; became professor of American history at the University of Pennsylvania in 1850; became minister to China in 1857; was a strong anti-Democrat, but favored James Buchanan to the extent of supporting him and his party in 1860; moved to New York later; was a regular contributor to the press; was American correspondent for the *London Times*; contributed to the *American Quarterly Review* and the *North American Review*; and published many addresses, orations, and articles, and also several books. *Appleton’s Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, V, 209-210.

⁷¹ Henry Watkins Allen was born in Virginia on April 29, 1820, and died in Mexico City on April 22, 1866. His father, a physician, moved to Lexington, Missouri, when Henry was young and placed him in a shop, but he got his father to send him to college. He ran away and taught school in Mississippi; studied law; took a company of soldiers to Texas in 1842 to assist Sam Houston; entered the legislature in 1846; was elected to the legislature of Louisiana in 1853 as he had moved to Baton Rouge; studied law in Cambridge University for a year; in 1859 went to Europe to help the Italians in their fight against Austria, but arrived too late; and joined the Confederate army in 1861 as a lieutenant-colonel. By 1864 he was a brigadier-general; was wounded several times; opened up a route so as to take cotton to Mexico and trade it for medicine, clothing, and other much needed articles; and after the close of the war he settled in Mexico City where he edited an English paper known as *The Mexican Times*. *Appleton’s Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, I, 53.

on my list for distribution— Send them both to Mr Reed to see; but the full length is for him— My companion in my walk yesterday was a German, who after being employed by the Austrian Loyd Co⁷² in Germany, Switzerland, Italy & Turkey emigrated to New Zealand! & has come here from there, with a large family— what queer mutations a traveller meets with?—

I must now close to leave this for Dr Massey, who goes to-morrow before I go to breakfast at Tacubaya— Farewell; my dearest wife & children— I hope to have the pleasure of hearing from you this week— Farewell—
Your loving husband & father

A. Mordecai.

I have written a note to Josephine by Dr M. I forgot to mention that the visit of Mrs Talcott & the young ladies to the U.S. & Europe is postponed indefinitely— Miss Nannie is to be married next month or early in Nov, & Miss Fanney is better, the journey is given up—
By A.M.

THE MEXICAN TIMES. RAILWAY

From Vera Cruz to the City of Mexico.

This Railway, now known as the "Imperial Mexican Railway," was commenced under a grant made by President Comonfort, in 1857, to Don Antonio Escandon, of the *exclusive privilege* of making a railway from Vera Cruz to any port on the Pacific which he might select. On obtaining this grant, Mr. Escandon employed, in 1858, Col. Andrew Talcott, a distinguished engineer in the United States, to make a general survey of the route for the railway between Vera Cruz and the city of Mexico, and it was on the basis of the plan presented by Col. Talcott, so far as respects that part of the road, that the grant was renewed by President Juarez in 1861. The line then proposed, and which has been followed very nearly in the location of the road, passes through or near the following places: Vera Cruz, Soledad, Paso del Macho, the Chiquihuite Pass, Cordova, Orizaba, Maltrata, Boca del Monte, San Andres Chalchicomula, Nopalucan, Humantla, Apan, Otumba, between lakes Tuzcuco and San Christobal, Guadalupe, and Mexico. It was found impracticable or inexpedient to run the main line through the city of Puebla, and the charter, therefore requires that city to be served by a

⁷² Lloyd's is an association at the royal exchange in London, and is composed of underwriters, merchants, shipowners, and brokers for the furtherance of commerce, especially for maritime insurance, and the publication of shipping news. The company originated at a meeting at Lloyd's Coffee House about 1688. It now has a restaurant accessible only to the members of Lloyd's and their friends. The Lloyd's of Austria was founded at Triest in 1833 for the furtherance of trade. It has three branches: (1) insurance, (2) steamship lines in the seas about that area and (3) publication of periodicals. The Lloyd's of North Germany is a company in Bremen, founded in 1857 for the purpose of establishing steamship lines between Bremen and New York and lines between New York and the Mediterranean ports. *Lloyd's List* is a shipping periodical issued in London since 1716, and as a daily since 1800. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*, IX, 617.

branch road, which joins the main line near Apixaco. The length of the main line is about 265 miles, and that of the Puebla branch 30 miles. Of this distance the road is in operation from Vera Cruz to Paso del Macho about 48 miles, over the low grounds, or the *tierra caliente*, and also from Mexico to Guadalupe, four miles. A great part of the remaining portion of the work is marked out on the ground, and the entire location will be completed before the end of this year. The location and construction of some parts of this great work present engineering difficulties as formidable, perhaps, as those offered by any other work of the same kind in the world; especially through the Chiquihuite Pass, where it has to cross the elevated range of mountains known, in that part, as the Cumbres.

From Orizaba to Boca del Monte, the highest point on this portion of the road, the ascent, in 28 miles of the line, is more than 4,000 feet—Orizaba being 4,025 feet above the sea, and Boca del Monte 8,089 feet. From the latter point the changes of elevation are not very great; The highest point on the line, at the hacienda of Acocotlan, about eight miles west of Huamantla, being about 8,333 feet high, or 1,000 above the city of Mexico. The highest grade in the road is one in twenty-five, or 212 feet to the mile.

While Mr. Escandon was engaged on this great enterprise in 1861, the French intervention interrupted his operations, and, after the establishment of the Empire, they could not be resumed by him until the charter was confirmed by the Imperial Government; but in expectation of this confirmation, and in order to provide the large capital required for the execution of the work, he found in England, in 1864, a company called the "Imperial Mexican Railway Company," commanding a capital of nearly six millions of pounds sterling— thirty millions of dollars— and the primary arrangements for the work were resumed in the autumn of that year, under the joint direction of Mr. James Samuel, as chief engineer in England, and Col. A. Talcott, as chief engineer resident in Mexico. The grant made by President Juarez was confirmed by the Imperial Government in January, 1865, and active measures were immediately taken to proceed with the location and construction of the road. Engineers were brought from England and the United States, and the work of location commenced simultaneously on each of the great divisions of the road. At the time of the formation of the railway company, a contract was made by them with Messrs. Smith, Knight & Co., men of great experience in works of this kind in South America and elsewhere, to build the road, and to furnish everything necessary for putting it into complete operation in the course of four years. As soon, therefore, as the engineers were prepared to turn over any part of the line to the contractors, workmen were placed upon it, and the construction of the road is now vigorously prosecuted on each of the *ten [d]ivisions* of the road.⁷³ It is proposed, however to

complete first the line from Mexico to Puebla, which is the easiest part of the work, in order to put it in operation in the course of the year 1866, and the energy with which the work is prosecuted justifies the expectation that this will be accomplished.

MEXICO, September, 16th, 1865.

IMPERIAL MEXICAN RAILWAY,

Chief Engineer's Office.

Mexico, Sept 19th 1865.

N^o. 7.

My dear Wife

As the extraordinary goes to-day I send you a Draft on London in duplicate for £70, which you can get one of your commercial friends to negotiate for you— as Col. Talcott's name is not a *commercial* one perhaps the best way will be just to deposite it in a bank, or in the Insurance office for collection— This will only cause a delay, in the time of your receiving the money, of the time to send to London & back— I hope you can get on with this until the end of the next quarter, (last of December) when I can send you £100, & the same every quarter after; but if you want it before that, let me know—

I wrote to you by a private hand, (gentleman who goes by the next steamer to N. York,) & also by mail— so I hope you will get one of them, as well as this—

The steamer from N.Y. which should have sailed on the 8th is not yet announced in Vera Cruz; but I hope to hear of her to-day— All well—

Ever affectionately & truly

Yr loving husband

A. Mordecai

P. S. The N.Y. packet is this morning announced, with the family of Chas. Talcott— our letters by extraordinary will be here day after to-morrow.

[There was no No. 8].

IMPERIAL MEXICAN RAILWAY,

Chief Engineer's Office.

Mexico October 3^d 1865.

N^o. 9.

My dear Wife

Having despatched my last, to Laura, a few days ago, here I am to begin another to you— the office is very quiet, for this is the wedding

⁷³ In February, 1866, Mordecai sent his wife a blank map with the road marked in red ink, giving the distance between the various towns and other information. He also sent a picture of the bridge to be erected over the Barranca de Metlac. The length of the bridge was to be 1000 feet, supported by two piers, which were 350 feet high.

day & Col. Talcott did not come here: I returned an hour or two ago from the Palace, after seeing the wedding party off for Tacubaya— That is the immediate family & Miss Scarlet, the daughter of the English Minister, the only person out of the family who took part in the ceremony, as an attendant, except perhaps one or two of the groom's brother officers— I went with Wilcox to the chapel of the palace an hour before the ceremony, to sign a certificate, before the priest, that we knew all about the bride, that she had never been married before, that she was not related to the bridegroom, &c; in short there was no impediment to the marriage— We returned to our lodgings to put on dress coats & white cravats, & at 11½ were again in the anteroom of the palace, waiting for the party from Tacubaya— They did not arrive until 12, (having been detained, as ladies are by the hair dresser,) & after a few minutes we formed a little procession to the nice little chapel, adjoining— The Austrian Ambassador took in the bride, & I offered my arm to Mrs T.— only the bride & groom & the Amba^{dr}. who stood father to the bride, went on the platform before the altar; The rest of the company, including father & mother, occupied the pews— The service was said in Spanish, with prayers in Latin; The only awkward thing about it was to get the groom to speak the first part which he had to say after the priest; he being deaf & not understanding Spanish— After the ceremony we returned to the reception room, where the bride & groom received the congratulations of their friends, & the registers were signed, when the party went down to their carriages— There were about thirty persons present I suppose; mostly Austrians, English & Americans; only two or three ladies besides the family— The bride was dressed in rich white silk made high in the neck with some gauze stuff over it; white flowers in her hair— The two unmarried sisters & Miss Scarlett in light violet silk, with lace things hanging from their heads— It was understood that, after the ceremony, the bride was to be presented with a diamond bracelet from the Emperor; but I saw nothing of it & forgot to ask about it— I spent \$6½ yesterday with as much reluctance as I have paid any money for a long time— unless it was my hotel bill in Havanna— for a high hat & a white cravat— I had hoped that I was done with both, especially the former, for the rest of my life; but I have been obliged to yield to the dominion of fashion, which, with regard to hat, weighs here, & more absurdly still in the hot climate of Havanna; where men think it necessary, in full dress, to cover their heads with ridiculous, stiff black or white hats: it is more remarkable because women wear nothing at all on their heads, except their own black hair, & a lace shawl, &c—

I have had some odd scenes as interpreter between the col. & his new son-in-law, in arranging the terms of the marriage contract, & as well as on some other occasions— The last time of interpreting was on Sunday evening when a french Doctor came in to see Charles. Neither

he nor his father or mother speaks french or Spanish, & interpreting would have been awkward for the young ladies, if I had not happened to be there— Charles came in, with his family, on Saturday evening, soon after I had closed my letter to Laura— He has been quite sick down below & was not able to come in to-day, or to leave his bed, altho' better— On Sunday M^{rs} T— gave me Laura's note & M^r Reed's letter; but no photographs— If you really read my letter you have a very cool way of ignoring my request; but I suppose you had not sufficient notice of it— I hope to get M^r Levis's drawing by the steamer which ought to arrive to-morrow— An odd accident happened to some Dyer sent to S. V. Talcott for me— M^{rs} Chas, T's brother in law took them to give to her & they were stolen from under his hand at the boat— I hope Dyer will replace them.

It is past three o'clk & the sun is still shining brightly; for three days we have had no rain, & as this is about the time for it to stop, (to-morrow being St Francis's day,⁷⁴) I really believe we are going to have it clear, & I fear dusty—

Friday, Octr 6th— The clerk is just going to the postoffice, in hopes to find our letters from the N. Y. steamer, which sails to-day on her return— The rains seem to be over, sure enough, & the paper this morning contains the municipal instructions with the regard to the cleaning & precautions, to guard against the fevers (typhoid) which often follow the cessation of the rains— You would hardly imagine it possible that disease could arise in this delightful season— The ground is not yet dusty, there is no wind, & the temperature is, as it always is, perfect— The thermometer this morning about 8 was at 56°; I wear still my flannel suit, often without an overcoat, even at night— I am afraid you will be tired of the climate & the weather; but it is a subject which forces itself constantly on the attention here— I am sure if the author of the Book of Genesis had been acquainted with America, this would have been the Garden of Eden, & the Ark would have touched Popocatepetl long before it got down to Aearat—

I had some wedding cake yesterday, but the new married couple have not yet received company & no entertainments have followed as yet. You will be glad to hear that I am well pleased with my new dining the General, used to be— he intends taking another trip down the road this week, if Chas, continues to improve— I have just come from Maury's room, where he has been confined some days, with the gout, & he is not

⁷⁴ Saint Francis of Assisi (Giovanni Francesco Bernardone) was born in Italy in 1182, and died in Assisi on October 4, 1226. After a serious illness in his youth he turned to the life of ascetic devotion, and in 1210 founded the Order of Franciscans, whose rule was confirmed in 1223 by Pope Honorius III. After a visit to Egypt in 1219, in which he preached before the Sultan, he retired as a hermit to Monte Alverno, where he experienced the miracle of the stigmata. He was canonized by Gregory IX in 1228 and is commemorated on October 4. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*, IX, 407.

much better. I suppose brother George⁷⁵ did not tell you that his business in Washtⁿ, in which he succeeded through the assistance of Mr Seaton,⁷⁶ was to procure what they call a pardon, by which his property is saved from confiscation— He says that he does not see at present any way to dispose of it, so as to enable him to leave the Country; it is equally difficult to get rid of the negroes on his plantations & to make them work— All the families in Ral. except his own had suffered from jaundice. I am glad to hear such good accounts of Augustus, & hope he goes back to his studies with renewed interest— Dear little Gratz! I trust that his trip to W. Pt has improved him, & that he too is again at his studies by the time you get this. Tell me what school he is at & what he is studying— & mention some of his friends if there is anything to say about them— Do you know anything of the Huger's?⁷⁷

⁷⁵ George Mordecai was born in Warrenton, North Carolina, on April 27, 1801, the son of Jacob and Rebecca (Myers) Mordecai, and the half brother of Moses Mordecai (1874-1824). This distinguished lawyer of Raleigh, North Carolina, was educated in the classical school of Marcus George of Warrenton; studied law in the office of his half brother Moses Mordecai, in Raleigh; was admitted to the 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; became president of the Bank of North Carolina in 1845; was known far and wide for his benevolence and public spirit; and was interested in everything that pertained to the welfare, progress, and prosperity of his city and state. After a most useful life he died in Raleigh on February 19, 1871. *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, X, 442-443.

⁷⁶ William Winston Seaton was born in Virginia on January 11, 1785, and died in Washington, D. C., on June 16, 1866. He was educated by a brother of the Earl of Finlater, a Scot, who for several years kept an academy at Richmond. At the age of eighteen he entered politics and became the assistant editor of a Richmond paper. For some time he edited the *Petersburg Republican*; purchased the *North Carolina Journal*, published at Halifax, and then connected himself with the *Raleigh Register*, edited by Joseph Gales, Sr., whose daughter he married. In 1812 he moved to Washington, and joined his brother-in-law, Joseph Gales, Jr., on the *National Intelligencer*, a partnership which lasted until the death of the latter in 1860. From 1812 to 1820 they were the only Congressional reporters, one in senate and the other in the House, and published the debates in their paper. They also published the *Register of Debates*, a notable work. Seaton continued to edit the *National Intelligencer* until a short time before his death, when he sold out. He was mayor of Washington from 1840 to 1852. They also published the *Annals of Congress*, *American State Papers*, and other state documents. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, V, 448.

⁷⁷ Benjamin Huger of South Carolina was born in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1806, and died there on December 7, 1877. He was appointed to West Point on July 1, 1821; was brevetted second lieutenant and became second lieutenant on July 1, 1825; became captain of ordnance on May 30, 1832; was made major on February 15, 1855; and was brevetted major on March 29, 1847, lieutenant-colonel on September 8, 1847, and colonel on September 14, 1847, all for bravery and meritorious conduct in the Mexican War. On April 22, 1861, he resigned; became a major-general in the Confederate army in 1861, which position he retained until 1865; and spent much of his time in ordnance work. From 1832 to 1839 he commanded at the Fortress Monroe arsenal; was a member of the ordnance board from 1839 to 1846; went to Europe on a military mission in 1840-1841; was again commander at the Fortress Monroe arsenal from 1841 to 1846; and became chief of ordnance in the army under General Scott in the Mexican War. For his noble conduct South Carolina presented him with a sword; was again in command of the Fortress Monroe arsenal from 1848 to 1851; was on a commission from 1849 to 1851 to devise a complete system of instruction for siege, garrison, sea-coast, and mountain artillery; commanded the armory at Harper's Ferry from 1851 to 1854; was made major on February 15, 1855; and commanded the arsenal at Pikesville, Maryland, from 1854 to 1860. He was in command of the Charleston arsenal from 1860 until his resignation to enter the Confederate army. He entered as a brigadier-general, but was soon raised to major-general and put in command at Norfolk before it was taken by the Federal forces on May 10, 1862; led his division in the Seven Days' Battle in 1862; was relieved of his command on July 1, 1862, and sent to the department of the Trans-Mississippi, in the ordnance department, where he remained until the end of the war; and then retired to a farm in Virginia. Heitman, *Register*, I, 551; *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, III, 302.

Gus Maynadier⁷⁸ has reached V. Cruz, but that is all I have heard of him— I forgot to say that the ladies showed me the “gauze stuff” which the bride wore & I found that it was very deep & handsome lace— She wore it to-day, over blue silk at a dinner at the Palace; with her diamond bracelet from the Emperor, & a almond comb from Mr Escandon—

Mr Maury is very kind about the letters, but there ought to be no necessity for troubling him with them, altho’ I have no objection. A 10 cent stamp ought to put it on board the steamer from Phila or any other place, just as well as from New York— Your last letter & the one, (rather two in one,) from Ral. were both sent up by the extraordinary, altho’ simply directed to me here— The post master made a blundering excuse for keeping them a day, because they were directed in English; the direction which I have given you above will remove this excuse—I do not *complain* of the postage, which I pay very willingly; but I do not wish to pay *uselessly* — It is not necessary to write on thinner paper than this— If yu continue to send to R.M. enclose your letters to him in a very thin envelope, which may be left unsealed, so that he can put all my letters under one cover, to save postage—

When you see Mr Robinson tell him that I have not yet been able to dispose of his instruments; they are at Puebla & I will have them up here when the roads are better, & will write to him about them— Can you tell me anything about Mr Evan’s oil speculations? Bobby Reed asked his father to remind me that he is a Stamp Collector— I wish Rosa would send him a Sample of each kind from those I sent her & let him take his choice of them— Please thank Mr Levis for his kindness in sending me the drawings I asked for. I do not expect to receive them for some time yet, as they will remain in Vera Cruz until Col. T. goes down— When I shall have seen them I will write him myself— Direct the enclosed note to the Engineer whose name I have not made out to thank him for his kindness to Augustus—

Saturday, Oct^r 14th I close my letter to-day for the ordinary mail— I am glad to tell you that Chas. Talcott is much better, & his father will go on Monday— I have written by this mail to sister Ellen & also to Ned Myers who I wish was out here— With much love to my dear children, always faithfully Y^r affectinate husband A Mordecai

⁷⁸ Doubtless he was the son of General William and Sarah Eveleth Maynadier, who served in the Black Hawk War and in Florida wars and spent years in the Ordnance Bureau. Their daughter Katherine Eveleth married the noted lawyer Causten Browne. William Maynadier (1806-July 3, 1871) graduated from West Point; rose to the rank of colonel by 1863; and was brevetted brigadier-general in 1865. He was frequently assigned to ordnance duty; was captain of ordnance in 1838, and was assigned to Pikesville, Maryland, where he remained as chief of ordnance until 1842; became then the principal assistant to the chief of ordnance; and had great influence in the ordnance affairs of the United States. *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, X, 349; *Appleton’s Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, IV, 276.

M^{rs} Alfred Mordecai
1825 DeLancey Place Philadelphia Pa^a

IMPERIAL MEXICAN RAILWAY.

Chief Engineer's Office.

Mexico, October 9th 1865.

Miss Ellen Mordecai

My dear Sister

This is that unusual phenomenon in Mexico, a rainy *morning*, & whilst waiting for my breakfast hour I will commence a letter to you— I thought that the rains were over, for they have intermitted during the last week, & the usual sanitary police directions have been published, to clean the city & provide against the typhoid fevers which are apt to occur, in the wettest places, after the cessation of the rains— This is, I suppose the finest season here; the ground is not yet dusty: The air is cool without *requiring* a fire; although a fire was pleasant yesterday at Tacubaya, after the rain commenced, & there is *one* fire place in the house— Before going further I must thank you & our dear George for your letters which I received two or three days ago: Your N^o 3 & George's of the 5th ult— I hope my August letter turned up, for I try not to repeat myself; (except about the climate;) My Sept^r one was sent under cover to Ruston, with some photographs; I hope Emma will acknowledge hers, & let me hear something from Richmond. I told you that you need not *cramp* yourself so much in writing: The paper George wrote on is very serviceable, & by using a convenient set of lines, you can allow yourself more room & still get a great deal on a sheet— Your Letters are the wonder & admiration of those who see their general appearance, when I read anything from them— Do not concern yourself about postage any further than to send your letters to N. York, & continue to write once a month, by the steamer of the 23^d— I shall ask R.M. by this mail to keep a postage mem. for me & send it occasionally to Sara for settlement; so don't send him any more money. I am very glad that George has saved his property, in spite of enemies; I hardly anticipated any other decision than the one he has made with regard to emigration, hard as the condition of things is— I still hope, however, for the sake of your people & of this country, that a good many of them may find it possible to come here— The Govt have continued in good faith & earnestness their measure to encourage colonization; but they are embarrassed by great difficulties, the principal of which is that the lands have been generally granted, in immense tracts, by the former Govts, to great proprietors, & there are few "public lands," in our sense of the term, altho' the greatest part of those in the Empire are wild or unimproved— Maury has been appointed "Astronomer Imperial," & "Commissioner of Colonization," with the Honorary title of "Counsellor of State"— The Salary (\$5000) is attached to the appointment

of Astronomer, but the *duties* are those of colonization: he has taken the other half of the house (story) where our office is & his residence & office will be there— His family have sailed for England, but he expects his son, with wife & child, by the next steamer or the one after— He is, I am sorry to say, laid up now with a pretty bad attack of the gout in his lame leg.

Evening. Genl. Magruder, who by the bye has the gout too, to which *he* is fully entitled, is, I am sorry to say, appointed surveyor General. Active measures will be taken to give the plan of colonization a fair chance— A party of confederates went, under the sanction & with the assistance of the Govt. to examine the lands about Cordova, & they write that it is the finest country they have ever seen— They will be back in a few days to make their report: Maury is authorized to appoint paid Commissioners in most of the Southern states, & he will have the decrees & other information published in the U.S. I sent George the first N^o of a newspaper published here in English, by Ex-Gov^r Allen of L^a— It contains a short article of mine on the R. Road. The Talcotts had an anxious & busy time, last week— On the Saturday before, Charles came up with his family, just arrived from U.S.; he met them at Vera Cruz & came back quite ill, with fever & congestion of the lungs; I saw his mother to-day & she said the D^r thought him decidedly better, but he has been very dangerously ill. On Tuesday Miss Annie was married to an Austrian officer, Major Boteslawsky— It has been quite a sudden affair, the acquaintance having commenced since I came here— He is a man of good family, originally Polish, as you might guess; with no fortune, but gentlemanly & well mannered; unfortunately very deaf, from a wound received in the last Italian Campaign— He is attached to the Emperor's Cabinet, & the marriage— at least the Catholic ceremony— for they were married twice, took place in the Chapel of the Palace, before a "Select company," as the newspapers say— I had to certify various things about the lady, before the priest, & before the ceremony— that there was no lawful impediment to the marriage, from consanguinity, &c— The Emperor was not present, but he sent the bride a diamond bracelet, & M^r Escandon gave her a diamond comb— Just as I left the house last evening the bride & groom went off to a grand dinner at the Palace—

You ask me to tell you what I am reading. I am ashamed to say, *almost nothing*: I am not even studying Spanish, but I really think I will take it up. There are very few facilities of getting books here— New ones none at all— & scarcely any without buying them— My evenings are sometimes heavy & I go to bed early, after a visit to Maury's or a neighbor in the hotel— I have a comfortable room, still at the San Carlos, & I sleep well— If some of the Talcotts should not occupy the spare rooms at our office I think I shall furnish one for myself being cheaper in the long run— I take my coffee, or more frequently chocolate

with a roll, at some coffee house, at about 8½, & my dinner at 5 or 6, at a very good French restaurant, where I meet several acquaintances, Confederates & others. The custom here is to take an intermediate meal, very like the dinner, at 12 or 1; but I do not require it; one hearty meal of meat being sufficient for me, I weighed today, as I came from the office, about 165, with a light overcoat on. Washing is very nicely done here; but not very cheaply— 12½ cts for a shirt; small pieces half price— fortunately one does not require a great deal, on account of the climate; at least at this season; in dusty weather it will probably be otherwise— I now pay \$35 a month for my room: a “real,” (12½ cts) for my breakfast & \$18 a month for my dinner; & I have very few other expenses; so I can send more than two-thirds of my pay to my family— Sara does not see how she can come, with one or two of them, to make me a visit this winter; & I hardly expected it, for I see the difficulty of leaving any of them, or of breaking up the house— Gussie has been Employing his vacation very usefully, by joining a surveying party on a rail road in the mountains of Pennsylv^a, & the day Sara closed her letter he had just returned to Phil^a, improved in health, with his earnings of \$75 in his pocket— Gratz had gone on a visit to Alfred At W. P^t. where I hope he will get stronger, as he is rather delicate—

Wednesday, Octr 11— I spent last evening, along with Ex-Gov^r Reynolds of Missouri, at the house of M^{rs} York, a lady whom I met in Paris during my last visit there— She is here with 3 daughters, one of whom has lately married— a French officer— M^r Y. has returned from N.Y. what brought them here I have not learned— They formerly lived in N.Orleans & there was some trouble about his affairs with a bank, “or some d—d thing or other,” (as the man defined dispepsia,) I never can remember these things— I have had a rather pleasant resource for some of my . . . in Sept^r: there is a pretty good Italian opera troop here; the theatre is large & handsome, [the] Talcotts had a box last month, to which they generally asked my escort; as the Col does not [ca]re for the trouble— Every thing is well conducted & the people clean & well dressed— On the 16th Sept^r which is the anniversary of Independence, there was a very fine Mility Mass in the Cathedral; all the court & all the garrison in full dress, large band, & I believe the opera troop to sing the Te Deum, which was not at all *te-dious* [*sic*] for the whole ceremony lasted a very short time— In the evening the Emperor hired all the places of public amusement & threw them open to the people, except the opera, where only invited guests, were admitted— Major Boleslawsky was kind enough to procure me a ticket, & it was the most beautiful & agreeable entertainment of the kind I ever saw— Every body was in full dress; Officers & Diplomats in uniform, with all their decorations; ladies in diamonds &c, citizens in dress coats & white cravats— The theatre was extra lighted & decorated; colored lights, Chinese lanterns, &c— When the audience all stood up, on the entrance

of their Majesties, & remained standing while the National Hymn was sung by the whole opera troop, I thought it the prettiest looking assemblage of "featherless bipeds" I ever saw— when they took their seats, showers of various colored papers came fluttering down from the highest tier, with an ode to the Empress printed on them— There was no crowd or confusion, but every place occupied, & all was over before 10 o'clk—

Saturday— Octr 14th— I have nothing special to add to-day, but the novel subject of the lovely weather we are having after the rains— like your own Octr weather, but perhaps softer— I am still wearing my summer dress of thin flannel cloth, but with a thick flannel undershirt— I close this for the ordinary mail to-day, to be, like you, in ample time for the steamer— Did I mention that Genl Price & Govr Harris⁷⁹ (of Tenn) have returned for a few days, from their exploring trip, perfectly delighted with the country about Cordova & ready to run the risk of buying & colonizing all the land there which the Govt has to dispose of, if the *squatters* can be driven off, which is the object of their present visit to the city— These are a bad set & would be a great, almost insuperable, obstacle to colonization if permitted to remain on

Maury is much better & was in the parlor last evening.

Genl. Wilcox, with whom I take my morning walk, & chocolate, requests me to say that he has written to his cousins Miss Whites & Miss Hayward & hopes they got his letters— He is very well

I write by this mail to invite Edmund to come out here—

The bonds, as the Govt. was inclined to permit— Chas. Talcott is a great deal better & his father is going next Monday, expecting to be absent a month or so on the line—

Give my best love to George & his wife & sister & Ellen & her children—

As ever truly Yr affte brother

October 9, 1855 N° 3.

A. Mordecai

Miss Ellen Mordecai

Raleigh N° Carolina.

⁷⁹ Isham Green Harris was born in Franklin County, Tennessee, on February 10, 1818, the son of Isham and Lucy (Davidson) Harris. He received a public school education and at the age of fourteen became a merchant's clerk in Paris, Tennessee. Five years later he engaged in business on his own account in Tippah, Mississippi; and studied law at night and was admitted to the bar in 1841. He entered the Tennessee legislature in 1845; served in Congress from 1849 to 1853; refused to stand for nomination and located in Memphis, Tennessee, where he practiced law; was an elector in 1856 on the Democratic ticket and put up such a hard fight that the success of the party in the state was largely due to his efforts; was elected governor in 1857 and twice re-elected; and was one of the Southern war governors with strong convictions on secession. He often had to change his residence during the war, often following or with the army in the field; Albert Sidney Johnston after receiving his death wound at Shiloh fell into the arms of Harris when he fell from his horse; and after the surrender of Lee he fled to Mexico, and from there to England, but returned to Memphis in 1867 and resumed the practice of law. He was a Tilden elector in 1876, but the flood of adverse criticism caused him to resign; and was elected to the Senate in 1877, 1883, 1889, and 1895. He received almost every honor which could be bestowed on him while in the Senate, even serving on the leading committees and president *pro tempore*; was a member of the committee to put the Wilson-Gorman tariff act into shape; and was the parliamentarian who steered it through the Senate; and was one of the famous Senatorial Triumvirate in the convention of 1896, which gained control of the convention and nominated Bryan on the Democratic ticket. By his wife, Martha M. Travis, whom he married at Paris, Tennessee, on July 6, 1843, he had eight sons. He died in Washington on July 8, 1897. *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, II, 209.

BOOK REVIEWS

Pitchfork Ben Tillman: South Carolinian. By Francis Butler Simkins. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1944. Pp. 577. \$4.50. Southern Biography Series, edited by Fred C. Cole and Wendell H. Stephenson.)

The first question that will naturally occur to the professional student of Southern history concerning this book is: Does it add anything significant to its author's earlier work on the Tillman Movement? The reviewer is happy to report that his answer to this question is an unqualified "Yes." In the first place the new work is much ampler in scope. It not only extends the story to cover Tillman's activity from 1895 to his death, but it gives a much fuller and more satisfactory treatment of his movement before 1895 than is contained in the earlier book. In the second place the author has made use of a wider range of sources than previously exploited, and if the reader will share to some extent the disappointment the author expresses in his preface concerning the quantity of private letters he has found, the reader will also be impressed by the skill with which available material was used. "Millions of words have been recorded by and about Ben Tillman," as the author says, and he can conscientiously add, "they were diligently digested." In the third place the new book has about it the greater maturity and sagacity that might rightly be expected of additional years of study and research on the part of the author.

The fact that this book is a full-fledged biography would, if nothing else, justify its publication. Moreover, its subject was in many ways an unsympathetic and perverse character that undoubtedly presented his biographer with some tough problems. Misconceptions and prejudices regarding Tillman abounded among his contemporaries and have flourished in a later day. Mr. Simkins has weighed the pros and cons with scrupulous impartiality and has written a balanced report of his findings. He has unearthed nothing sensationally new about his subject, but the total effect of his admirably rounded and well conceived biography is a considerable revision of the accepted estimate of Ben Tillman. It is at present difficult to believe that Mr. Simkins's

book will be supplanted by any work on Tillman of greater authenticity or completeness.

C. Vann Woodward.

Navy Department,
Washington, D. C.

Lusty Wind for Carolina. By Inglis Fletcher. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1944. Pp. 509. \$3.00.)

This is Mrs. Fletcher's third novel of early North Carolina. In contrast to *Raleigh's Eden* and *Iron Men of Albemarle*, this volume deals largely with the Albemarle and Cape Fear regions during the latter part of the proprietary period, and particularly the years 1718-1725. This very interesting and readable book introduces the reader to most of the significant English and Carolina personalities who were interested in the development of this struggling colony. One reads about the eight Lords Proprietors, Joseph Addison, Richard Steele, and many British officials, as well as Governor Charles Eden, William Byrd of Virginia, Edward Moseley, Maurice Moore, James Moore, John Urmston, and other well known names in the early history of North Carolina. Throughout the volume one encounters pirates, a host of them, Blackbeard, Vane, Rackham, Bonnet, and half a hundred others, including the two women pirates, Mary Read and Anne Bonney.

The story centers around lovely Gabrielle Fontaine and the quest of her French Huguenot family for freedom which it had not found either in England or France. The Fountaines obtained a large grant of land on the Cape Fear and departed from England for their new home in the wilderness. Hardly had they started when they encountered and fought pirates. In Nassau they were forced to flee before more pirates, and in Carolina they were always conscious of the proximity of these bands of sea-robbers, who sacked and stole and burned. In beautiful language Mrs. Fletcher portrays the struggle of the Fountaines and others along the Cape Fear against loneliness, against the terror of the deep forest, against secret voices of dark swamps, against pirate attacks and Indian raids. In skillful fashion she handles the stormy and romantic love affair of Gabrielle Fontaine and David Moray, and throws in some minor love affairs

for good measure. But most important of all historically is her description of individual pirates and their attacks on Carolina commerce.

The book makes good reading, but there are some historical slips which should be noted. Governor Charles Eden did *not* live in the Cupola House (p. 270); it was built after his death. The focal point in the Tuscarora War was New Bern; the book implies that it was Bath (p. 202). Joseph Addison died in 1719, and he was secretary of the Board of Trade, *not* Secretary of State (p. 244). The Grand Model or The Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina was not a great democratic document as it is described by the author when she says that it "gave men more freedom and liberty than common men had ever before enjoyed in the history of the world" (p. 48). It is very doubtful if the settlers ate "Brunswick stew" (p. 181) or smoked "bright leaf tobacco" (p. 260). One also wonders if there were "coffee houses" in the Carolina colony (p. 277).

One of the most interesting features of this volume is the frontispiece which reproduces a map of "The Pirate-haunted Carolina Shore" redrawn from the famous map by Edward Moseley.

Hugh T. Lefler.

University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Historical Societies in the United States and Canada: A Handbook. Compiled and edited by Christopher Crittenden and Doris Godard. (Washington, D. C.: The American Association for State and Local History. 1944. Pp. v. 261. \$1.75 for members and \$2.50 for non-members of the Association.)

An impressive picture of America's interest in its history is afforded by this handbook. No state in the Union is without an agency devoted to the preservation of its history, and most states possess many agencies. A comparative table in the foreword contrasts the number of historical societies as listed in the 1936 *Handbook* (published by The Association's predecessor, the Conference of Historical Societies) with the number in the present compilation. The increase, 1936-1944, is fifty-six per cent in the United States and eighty-seven per cent in Canada.

In part the increase reflects more complete coverage by the present edition, yet there is tangible evidence of a dynamic momentum of historical interest which finds expression in historical organizations. In Missouri, for example, where only nine historical societies were listed in 1936, there are now listed thirty-one — nineteen of them founded within the last eight years. There can be no doubt that we are witnessing a development of historical interest of considerable vitality.

Work on the *Handbook* was begun in 1941 by Dr. Sylvester K. Stevens, secretary of the Pennsylvania Historical Commission. After Dr. Stevens's resignation as editor of the *Handbook*, the work was taken over by Dr. Christopher Crittenden, editor of the American Association for State and Local History, and secretary of the North Carolina State Department of Archives and History. In little more than a year, Dr. Crittenden's industry has brought to a conclusion this extensive task of compilation and editing and has enabled the Association to place this much-desired reference directory in the hands of an historically minded public.

The *Handbook* furnishes an indispensable reference directory. Its arrangement is logical and convenient. After an alphabetical listing of national and general societies in the United States, the state and local societies are grouped according to the states in which they are located. Under each state the listing is alphabetical by title of the organization. National and general societies in Canada are followed by provincial and local societies, arranged alphabetically by provinces.

Individual listings give brief but well selected data regarding the institutions. The address of the organization, its principal officers (with a convenient starring of the individual to whom correspondence should be addressed), the character and extent of its holdings and their availability through various copying processes, are probably the data which will be most frequently used. But the listings include other helpful information, notably the titles of serials and other publications and the activities in which the institutions are engaged. Enough additional information as to the number and classes of memberships, the number of staff on salary, and the housing of the institution to indicate its operational resources is included in most cases.

Detailed information which an excellent index makes quickly available is furnished for more than 900 societies in the United States and Canada. Supplemental lists of about 500 other societies (concerning which full information was not made available by the societies) are also furnished. It is to be regretted that so many institutions lacked the self- and national-interest to return the questionnaires furnished them.

Possibly the *Handbook* itself will aid in combating the ostrich-like proclivities of some of the historical societies. It would seem impossible for any historical society to survey this panorama of varied and vital historical activities in the United States and Canada without a renewed sense of inspiration and stimulation, and a feeling of fellowship in endeavors.

Virginia Leddy Gambrell.

Dallas Historical Society,
Dallas, Texas.

The Church College of the Old South. By Albea Godbold. (Durham: Duke University Press. 1944. Pp. xi, 221. \$3.00.)

Amid the current critical discussion of American education the place of the church-related, liberal arts college has, very fittingly, not been entirely ignored. As we consider these days the probable and possible future of such institutions it is not altogether inappropriate to review as well something of the past. In such a quest this book will help, for it traces the rise and development of the church colleges in Virginia, the two Carolinas, and Georgia before 1860.

The four major religious denominations in the Old South held varied views of education. From the beginning the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians were interested in education and sponsored it. They held that education was a proper function of religion. The Baptists and Methodists were at first prejudiced against it and were antagonistic or indifferent, with a few exceptions, until about 1830, when they too became very active in establishing colleges. In point of time the Episcopalians led with the establishment of the College of William and Mary in Virginia, though this was their only permanent accomplishment in the field of higher education before 1860. The Presbyterians from

their beginnings in the South were perhaps the most deeply interested and the most active, establishing and maintaining both colleges and seminaries. For the South as a whole the period of greatest accomplishment was between 1820 and 1860, during which period about 25 denominationally controlled colleges were established. The first part of this book is devoted to an account of the founding and early struggles of these schools, together with those which were established somewhat earlier.

The motives for the founding of church colleges were much the same among all denominations. Most important was the need for a better trained ministry, but it was also claimed that because such education was cheaper than secular training it could be more widespread. This sense of obligation was strengthened by denominational pride, loyalty, and rivalry, as well as by the often expressed fear of the effects of secular education upon character.

These claims were not always borne out by the facts. A surprising number of the students at church colleges were not members of any church. Though a certain code of honor was everywhere in evidence and much attention was given to morals and conduct, the same could be said of most secular institutions of the period. The church colleges were generally poor and usually did not demonstrate very high academic standards. The libraries were usually meagre and the curriculum was restricted, especially in the field of the sciences. For such reasons many prominent teachers identified with particular churches preferred to remain in state schools, though there were also examples of the reverse. The church college usually reflected the dominant attitude of the South on slavery and sectionalism, and a noticeable interest in things military.

In spite of evident shortcomings there seems no reason to doubt that most of these schools justified themselves by their educational contribution to the life of their state or section. Certainly fewer young men would have received any sort of higher education had not the churches nurtured their colleges. There was continual rivalry and frequent conflict with state schools; each, when first in the field, tried to prevent the establishment of the other sort of school. But cooperation and understanding were established and have largely prevailed since.

Such conclusions as have been summarized are derived from the evidence presented by the mass of detailed facts which make up this book. While the general results of this survey sustain conclusions already accepted, rather than advancing new ones, the fresh study of original sources of a wide variety adds authority to the verdict. The picture presented is sometimes confused because of the plethora of detail included, and for the same reason the style is undistinguished and, at times, even monotonous. But the information is valuable and the work must be considered a useful contribution to the history of higher education in the Old South.

Frontis W. Johnston.

Davidson College,
Davidson, N. C.

HISTORICAL NEWS

The S. S. *Duke Victory*, named for Duke University, was launched on February 21 at Richmond, California.

The S. S. *Davidson Victory*, named for Davidson College, was launched on February 27 at Portland, Oregon.

The S. S. *Wake Forest Victory*, named for Wake Forest College, was launched on March 31 at Richmond, California.

The University of North Carolina's sesquicentennial research conference was held at Chapel Hill, May 9-11, "to consider needs and opportunities for research and creative effort in advancement of general human welfare in the southeastern region." One session was devoted to the topic, "The Humanities and Social Sciences," and the speakers were Dr. D. C. Allen, professor of English at Johns Hopkins University, and Dr. Avery Craven, professor of history at the University of Chicago.

On May 16 in Fayetteville a marker was unveiled with appropriate ceremonies at the residence site of the Scottish heroine, Flora Macdonald.

On June 10 there was dedicated at Camp Lassiter, near Winston-Salem, a memorial to the late Edward M. Holder, who was drowned on June 14, 1944. Holder was born on July 1, 1904, at Bethania, also near Winston-Salem, received his B.A. degree from Guilford College and his M.A. degree in history from the University of North Carolina, and since 1936 he had been a member of the history department of Salem College. He was especially interested in the Boy Scouts, and it was while at Camp Lassiter with the boys that he was drowned in saving the life of a boy in distress. The memorial, an open-air chapel adjacent to the lake, was constructed by the Boy Scouts.

The late Mrs. Nellie Waddell Brenzeir of Washington, D. C., and Smithfield, N. C., has bequeathed \$50,000 for the endowment of a history fellowship at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

It is reported that the grave of Thomas Harvey, proprietary governor of Albemarle, has been located at Harvey Point, Perquimans County.

Henry McGilbert Wagstaff, professor of history at the University of North Carolina, died at a Durham hospital on May 28. Born in Roxboro on January 27, 1876, the son of Clement McGilbert and Sara Elizabeth (Paylor) Wagstaff, he received his Ph.B. degree from the University of North Carolina in 1899 and his Ph.D. degree from Johns Hopkins University in 1906. In 1900-1902 he taught mathematics at Rutherford College and in 1906-1907 history and economics at Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa. In 1907 he joined the history department of the University of North Carolina, where he remained until his death. His chief field of teaching was English history, but he published several works on the history of North Carolina. He is survived by his wife, one daughter, and one grandson.

Dr. Benjamin B. Kendrick has retired as head of the history department of the Woman's College of the University at Greensboro. For two years he has been on leave of absence because of serious illness.

Dr. Eugene E. Pfaff, who has been on leave for two years to serve as director of the Southern Council on International Relations, will return in the fall to the Woman's College of the University at Greensboro with the rank of professor.

Dr. J. H. Taylor of the North Carolina College for Negroes has been elected to membership on the advisory committee of the Association of Social Science Teachers in Negro Schools. This summer he will spend six weeks at the University of Chicago for special work in international relations and geography.

Dr. John Hope Franklin of the North Carolina College for Negroes has received a grant-in-aid from the Social Science Research Council to enable him to make a study of "The Martial Spirit of the Old South." Dr. Franklin will work in research centers in Washington, Nashville, Montgomery, and Baton Rouge. The College has granted him a leave of three months.

Dr. R. Clyde Minor of Lincoln University of Missouri is visiting professor of sociology at North Carolina College for Negroes for the first session of the 1945 summer school.

Dr. George R. Coffman, Kenan professor and head of the English department of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, has been elected president of the Mediæval Academy of America.

Mr. Virginius C. Hall, native North Carolinian and graduate of Duke University, has been elected acting director, on part time, of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, Cincinnati.

Miss Margaret McDowell Douglas has resigned as assistant professor of history and social science at Queens College, and on June 2 she married Mr. Arthur Link, who has done graduate work in history at the University of North Carolina and Columbia University. Mr. Link will teach American history at Princeton University next year.

Mrs. Dana Fulcher Robinson of Dayton, Ohio, has been appointed assistant professor of history and social science at Queens College.

Among the twenty-five graduate fellowship awards for 1945-1946 recently announced at the University of North Carolina, the three in history go to Ellen Fairbanks Diggs of Northampton, Mass., candidate for the A.B. degree at Smith College; Margaret E. Kinsman, Peoria, Ill., A.B., MacMurray College, A.M. Duke University; and William Dureil Miller, Jacksonville, Fla., A.B., University of Florida, A.M. Duke University.

The following addresses have been made by Dr. Christopher Crittenden: March 17, National Genealogical Society, Washington, "The North Carolina State Department of Archives and History and its collections"; April 6, Chapel Hill Woman's Community Club, "A Historical Tour of North Carolina"; April 16, Lewis School Parent Teachers Association, Raleigh, "What Can

We Do About World Peace?"; April 18, John Penn Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, Oxford, "Historic Sites in North Carolina"; April 25, Citizens' Council for the United Nations, Raleigh, "The Background of the San Francisco Conference"; April 26, American Legion Luncheon Club, Raleigh, "Preserving North Carolina War Records"; April 30, student body of Meredith College, Raleigh, "The San Francisco Conference and History"; May 1, Woman's Association of the United Church, Raleigh, "The San Francisco Conference"; May 7, Altrusa Club, Raleigh, "The Meaning of the San Francisco Conference"; May 22, American Legion Auxiliary, Raleigh, "On Making War Scrap Books."

Dr. Maude H. Woodfin of the University of Richmond is the editor of "The Missing Pages of William Byrd's Secret History of the Dividing Line," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, II (1945), 63-70. Here is given the rough draft of pages missing from William K. Boyd, editor, *William Byrd's Histories of the Dividing Line betwixt Virginia and North Carolina* (Raleigh: The North Carolina Historical Commission. 1929).

An article about a leading North Carolinian is J. Herman Schauinger, "The Domestic Life of William Gaston, Catholic Jurist," *The Catholic Historical Review*, XXX (1944-1945), 394-426.

The University of Florida, Gainesville, announces the establishment of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, presented to the University by Julien C. Yonge as a memorial to his father.

During the week of March 18 Dr. Louis Round Wilson, professor of library science at the University of North Carolina, and Dr. Christopher Crittenden, at the invitation of Louisiana State University, surveyed the archives division at that institution in its relationship to the library and made a report on the subject to the University administration.

Patriotic societies and individuals throughout the nation are being asked to contribute to a movement to reconstruct "Red

Hill," the home of Patrick Henry, in Charlotte County, Virginia. Address the Patrick Henry Memorial Foundation, Murphy's Hotel, Richmond 19, Va.

Dr. Charles G. Smith, native of Chatham County, graduate of Wake Forest College in 1913, and now professor of English at Baylor University, has contributed \$1,000 to the Wake Forest College Library to start a collection of books in honor of his wife, Cornelia Marschall Smith.

The program for collecting North Carolina war records, conducted by the State Department of Archives and History, continues to arouse interest and to accomplish results. Among recent acquisitions are a special collection of V-E Day editions of leading North Carolina newspapers, a two-year file of church bulletins issued by the First Baptist Church of Raleigh, nearly 150 typed releases from the United States Marine Corps on heroic deeds of Tar Heels in the Marine Corps, several hundred photographs of North Carolinians in training for service in the armed forces of the United States, radio recordings and transcriptions, and records from the Wake County Office of Civilian Defense. Miss Charlie Huss, collector of records for the State Department of Archives and History, has spoken on the war records program as follows: February 23, Laurinburg Rotary Club; April 4, Raleigh Junior League; April 10, Reader's Guild Book Club of Raleigh; April 17, Duke University Alumnae, Raleigh Chapter; April 26, Education Committee, Asheville Junior League; May 8, Knightdale Parent-Teacher Association; May 11, Education Committee, Charlotte Young Women's Christian Association; June 4, Raleigh Rotary Club.

With the end of the war in Europe, there has been a noticeable increase in the number of registrations in the search room of the Department of Archives and History. The number for March, April, and May, 1945, was 369, compared to 312 for the same months in 1944 and 314 for those months of 1943.

Acquisitions of the State Department of Archives and History include eighteen additional transfiles of the correspondence of

J. Melville Broughton, governor of North Carolina, 1941-1945, received from the governor's office; microfilms of the Rudolph-Ney manuscripts in the custody of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, throwing light upon the question as to whether Peter Stuart Ney, Tar Heel school teacher of a century ago, may possibly have been Marshal Michel Ney of France or Captain Michael Rudolph, Revolutionary army officer from Maryland.

Books received include Jane Simpson McKimmon, *When We're Green We Grow* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. c. 1945); Earl Chapin May, *Principio to Wheeling, 1715-1745: A Pageant of Iron and Steel* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1945); Claude G. Bowers, *The Young Jefferson, 1743-1789* (Cambridge, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1945); and Ella Lonn, *The Colonial Agents of the Southern Colonies* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1945).

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