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THE SALT SUPPLY OF NORTH CAROLINA DURING THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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Salt was as essential to the armies of 1776 as gasoline is to the armies of 1945. When it was not obtainable the horses of the quartermaster's corps and of the cavalry became weak, meats spoiled, and soldiers mutinied. The Continental Army occasionally incurred a great expense in time, wagons, and money to secure an adequate supply of the precious commodity.

Salt was also necessary for the maintenance of the morale of civilians. It was their chief preservative for fish and meats. Fishing was a highly important industry in the New England colonies. The Middle Atlantic and Southern colonies raised huge quantities of beef and pork. Salted fish and salted meat were foods frequently seen on the tables of the American colonist. Besides, salt was needed for their livestock, for the curing of hides, and as a condiment. When pioneers were selecting spots for a new settlement one of the first questions they asked was: Where can we get salt?¹ Glass canning jars and tin cans had not been invented; and artificial refrigeration was still a dream out of fairyland.

In no other colony was beef and pork as important in the economic life of the people as in North Carolina. Great herds of hogs and cattle were raised there during the late colonial and revolutionary periods. Cowpens were scattered over the back-country. Grazing ranges were extensive. When the governor summoned the colonial assembly to meet in Wilmington in November, 1749, legislators protested because November was the beginning of the slaughtering season. He was informed that "their Livelihood depended upon the Beef and Pork Season."² Also, the packing of

¹ *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, V, 3. (Hereafter referred to as *Colonial Records*.)

² *Colonial Records*, IV, 196.

herring was an important occupation there. During 1774 three times as many barrels of fish as of pork and beef, combined, were exported from Edenton to other American and the West Indian ports.³

Yet North Carolina was seldom able to obtain an adequate supply of salt of satisfactory quality. John Harvey, John Ashe, Cornelius Harnett, James Davis, John Brevard, Richard Caswell, Samuel Cornell, and other prominent North Carolinians protested in 1755 to the Board of Trade against the imperial restrictions which compelled the colonies south of the Delaware River to import salt exclusively from ports in the British empire. They stated that the breeding of cattle and hogs had increased greatly in the province of late and that a "great Trade might be carried on to the West Indies by Beef and Pork, if they had proper salt for curing and packing the same at the cheapest Hand." They also informed the Board that North Carolina was compelled to purchase more than 20,000 bushels of Spanish and Portuguese salt yearly from New York and Pennsylvania, at great expense, because the salt manufactured in the empire was not satisfactory for the curing of beef and pork. New York and Pennsylvania were allowed to obtain salt directly from Europe and the North Carolinians thought the same privilege should be extended to them. They stated that English salt was too mild for meats destined for the tropical climate of the West Indies and that from the Isle of Man, Tortuga and Turks Island was too strong and corrosive. They declared, moreover, that because of the lack of an adequate, cheap supply North Carolinians were obliged to drive "the largest part" of their herds to Virginia and Pennsylvania, at great expense and loss of time, to be slaughtered and cured there. They contended, in conclusion, that if the restrictions were lifted North Carolina would be able to cure beef and pork well enough to send them to the West Indies, where they could be exchanged for sugar, molasses, rum, cocoa, coffee, and some bullion, with which debtors of the province could pay obligations they owed to British merchants.⁴

Governor Arthur Dobbs supported this petition in a dispatch to the Board of Trade in which he stated that the Bay and Portu-

³ Griffith J. McRee, *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell* (New York, 1867), I, 565.

⁴ *Colonial Records*, V, 322-4.

gal salt had been found to be "the only proper Salt to cure Pork and Beef for the sugar Islands." He appealed to the Board again in 1764.⁵

In a treatise entitled *The Art of Making Common Salt*, the eminent scientist William Brownrigg, M.D., F.R.S., admitted in 1748 that most English salt was inferior to the salt of France, Spain, Portugal, and Holland. He attributed this inferiority to carelessness in the separation of the salt from impurities. Much of the English salt was not fit for the preserving of meats, he declared, because it contained a "calcarious earth," "approaching too near to the nature of lixivial salts and quicklime." The Dutch made the best salt to be found anywhere because they carefully separated the salt from the "bittern" and added a mild acid or whey to the brine to precipitate the "calcarious earth" or calcium alkali. To secure large-grained salt they and some other foreign salt makers evaporated the brine very slowly when the crystals were forming. Large-grained salt was a better preservative of meats and fish than the small-grained salt, because it absorbed less moisture from the atmosphere, having less surface exposed. The superior quality of Dutch herrings was due largely to the use of the best, large-grained, boiled salt, refined from the more impure bay salt from Portugal. The Dutch called this strong salt Saint Ubes or Lisbon salt from its resemblance to the pure bay salt brought from those places.⁶

In Virginia, and probably in North Carolina, hams were generally cured during the late colonial period with bay salt, and rubbed with the ashes of hickory wood to make the meat red. The weak English salt was quite unsatisfactory for the preserving of pork, herrings, and other kinds of oily fish. Oily fish required a stronger salt than cod and other white fish.⁷ Hence the fisheries of Virginia and North Carolina were, in a sense, more dependent upon foreign salt for their prosperity than were the fisheries of New England, for herrings abounded in the former area.

In 1771 and 1773 the assembly of North Carolina instructed the colonial agent in England to work for the removal of the restric-

⁵ *Colonial Records*, V, 317; VI, 1030.

⁶ William Brownrigg, *The Art of Making Common Salt* (London, 1748), pp. 141-2, 148-9, 152-4, 248, 251-2.

⁷ Brownrigg, *Common Salt*, pp. 162-3.

tions on the salt trade; ⁸ and Governor Josiah Martin attempted to persuade Hillsborough to see the advantage of direct trade by declaring that no province in the empire, except Newfoundland, required more salt than North Carolina for the preservation of its products.⁹

The British government, however, refused to grant relief. Hillsborough informed Martin that the Board of Trade was resolute in its determination to retain the restrictions on the southern colonies because the lifting of them would discourage the manufacture of salt in the British Isles and would open the door to illegal trade.¹⁰ In a dispatch to Hillsborough shortly afterwards Martin carefully explained the circumstances under which he had allowed a distressed vessel to land a cargo of Portuguese salt in North Carolina. He apologized for failing to mention the incident in an earlier communication.¹¹

Thus North Carolina depended on Great Britain; the British West Indies—particularly Turks Island; Tortuga, one of the Leeward Islands; ¹² and the northern colonies for its supply of salt throughout the entire colonial period. There was practically no smuggling of this commodity into the colony.¹³ Though of inferior quality, the British product was better than any the colony could hope to obtain from sea water with the crude means at its disposal. Besides, the British discouraged the establishment of salt works in the colony through placing restrictions on the manufacture of iron articles, such as evaporating pans. Moreover, the price of the British product was probably less than would have been the cost of manufacturing it in the colony. In the Moravian settlement of Bethabara, in the interior of the province, salt sold for twelve shillings per bushel in 1756 and nine shillings per bushel in 1774. In 1763 wheat was traded for salt, bushel for bushel, in the Cape Fear. Its price at the port of entry in 1774 was hardly more than three shillings a bushel.¹⁴ It was used sometimes as ballast for ships coming into the colony.

⁸ *Colonial Records*, IX, 132, 208-9, 214, 215-6, 578.

⁹ *Colonial Records*, IX, 348.

¹⁰ *Colonial Records*, IX, 309.

¹¹ *Colonial Records*, IX, 340.

¹² Charles C. Crittenden, *The Commerce of North Carolina, 1763-1789* (New Haven, 1936), p. 81; Brownrigg, *Common Salt*, p. 26.

¹³ *Colonial Records*, VI, 611.

¹⁴ Adelaide L. Fries (editor), *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1922-1943), I, 44, 54, 86, 124, 168, 276, 307; II, 777. (Hereafter referred to as *Moravian Records*.)

The decision of the Continental Congress to call upon all friends of the colonial cause not to import into British America from Great Britain or Ireland any goods or merchandise, directly or indirectly, after December 1, 1774,¹⁵ caused North Carolina to be faced with the danger of a serious salt famine in 1775. "In many harbors no British ships were allowed to enter; in others they were permitted to come in and take a load of American products back to England, but were obliged to throw the cargoes from England overboard, and under no pretext were allowed to land them,—for instance in March an English ship reached Charlestown, and its cargo of salt, potatoes and brick was thrown into the water, not by a mob but by the sailors, to make room for the return load of rice. This wanton waste of salt cost the colonists dearly enough, for during the war many were for a long time without salt, and had to substitute hickory ash, which made them first hoarse and then speechless; others paid twelve to fifteen times as much for salt as before the war, and then had to be content with a very bad quality."¹⁶

The revolutionary government of North Carolina at first undertook to cope with the situation in three ways: first, by establishing ceiling prices; second, by rationing the supply; and third, by offering bounties to encourage the manufacture of the commodity within the colony. When these measures failed, certain friends of liberty were permitted to import additional salt from British possessions in exchange for meats and staves. After the battle of Moore's Creek, the stocks of the Loyalists of Cross Creek were requisitioned by the state government. The merchants of Cross Creek had contributed largely to the failure of ceiling prices and rationing by ignoring the regulations of the government on these matters.

These experiments of the eighteenth century in wartime regulations reveal that human nature has not changed greatly in the last one hundred and seventy years. They are worthy of detailed consideration.

It was foreseen in the colony before the continental non-

¹⁵ *The Journals of the Continental Congress: 1774-1789* (Washington, 1905-1937), I, 75 ff.

¹⁶ *Moravian Records*, II, 846. Scientists had not distinguished clearly between sodium chloride and other kinds of salt. A distinguished authority wrote in 1748 that the inhabitants of some countries obtained muriatic salt from duck weed, Adam's fig tree, and other vegetable and animal substances. Brownrigg, *Common Salt*, pp. 3-7.

importation association became effective that a price ceiling should be placed on salt. Hence, acting under article nine of the continental nonimportation agreement, many county and town committees of the province immediately proceeded to establish price ceilings on it, without waiting for the revolutionary provincial authorities to prod them. This article of the association provided that any merchant or dealer in goods who sold at prices above those prevailing for the twelve months last past should be boycotted completely in business affairs by the friends of American liberty.¹⁷ On December 17, 1774, the committee of safety of Pitt County placed a ceiling price of three shillings and four pence on salt at Gorham's landing with variations elsewhere in the county in accordance with the cost of freight from that point.¹⁸ The procedure of Pitt County's committee in allowing for freight costs within the county seems to have been typical. Counties farther from the seacoast or removed from navigable rivers had higher basic ceiling prices because of the additional costs of transportation.

On February 13, 1775, the committee of safety of Wilmington tried Jonathan Dunbilrie for taking four shillings a bushel when the ceiling price fixed by the committee was three shillings and six pence for quantities under five bushels and three shillings and four pence for lots of more than five bushels. Dunbilrie confessed the over-charge was a mistake and refunded it to the purchaser.¹⁹

The local committees undertook the rationing of salt for a two-fold purpose: to cause a better distribution of the available supply among the families that supported nonimportation, and to prevent Loyalists from obtaining it. They required that a man must show a certificate from a committee that he was a "good Liberty Man" before he could buy it at any landing place.²⁰

In the counties of the interior, where Loyalism was strong, the regulations pertaining to a certificate and the ceiling price were generally ignored in the fall and early winter of 1775-1776. Cross Creek was the center of these "black-market" activities, and the Moravians of Wachovia were important customers there and

¹⁷ *Journals of the Continental Congress*, I, 75 ff.

¹⁸ *Colonial Records*, IX, 1100.

¹⁹ *Colonial Records*, X, 424; IX, 1113, 1126.

²⁰ *Moravian Records*, II, 851.

at Charleston, where they secured goods at a much higher price than formerly. On November 11, 1775, they were informed that they could purchase salt in Cross Creek without a certificate. Eight days later two wagons returned from Cross Creek to a Moravian settlement with loads of it. In spite of higher prices several other wagons were sent there soon afterwards for an additional supply. Commenting on the situation one Moravian wrote, "But salt was already scarce, and whereas it had sold in our store for 9 sh. per bushel it was worth 14 sh. before the end of the year"—1775.²¹

Had all the merchants conformed to the regulations concerning rationing and ceiling prices, the inhabitants of the interior would have suffered an extreme salt famine in 1775-1776. Despite the foresight of the Moravians in laying in a large supply, the back-country people came to them in such large numbers, from hundreds of miles, that their stock was soon exhausted—even though sold only in small quantities—and some disappointed folk consequently "went away weeping." So much of it was purchased by patriots of the back-country that the Loyalists threatened to destroy the next supply which the Moravians obtained from Cross Creek.²² By violating the law, for the Moravians had not secured certificates from the libertymen, they probably helped to keep salt and meat in the mouths of many persons who later defeated the British at King's Mountain, thereby starting Cornwallis on the road to Yorktown—and surrender. Had these folk received less unlawful salt in the fall and winter of 1775-1776, some of them might have marched under Donald Macdonald's banner to Moore's Creek in February, 1776, turning a defeat into a victory. Who really knows? Sometimes, perhaps, the greatest patriot is the man who refuses to obey the laws of his own country, even when these laws are supported by a democratic majority—which was hardly the case in North Carolina in 1775-1776.

Despite widespread opposition and the existence of a desperate scarcity, the local committees continued to strive to maintain the ceiling price during 1776. In January the committee of Tryon, a county of the interior, forsook attempts to let prices vary in accordance with transportation costs and size of the order by re-

²¹ *Moravian Records*, II, 889, 890, 891, 893.

²² *Moravian Records*, II, 911; III, 1027, 1040.

solving, flatly, that no person in the county should sell or dispose of salt, iron, or steel to any person within the county for more than two hundred per cent from the first cost, purchased in Charleston, Cross Creek, or any other point of supply. Violators of this regulation were liable to a fine of ten shillings for every twenty shillings worth of goods sold contrary to it.²³ In February the committee of Pitt County authorized its agent, Thomas Wolfenden, to sell a shipment of salt in "small parcels at five shillings per bushell to each family according to their present necessity." It vested in Wolfenden a discretionary power to administer an oath to any person or persons whom he suspected of applying for a larger quantity than necessary for their immediate needs.²⁴

After the battle of Moore's Creek the provincial government assumed for the first time the real, positive leadership in rationing and maintaining the ceiling price, directing the town and county committees to enforce its statewide regulations. It requisitioned at least 3,500 bushels at Cross Creek²⁵—probably belonging chiefly to Loyalists—prior to May 11, 1776, allowing six shillings and eight pence a bushel to the owners for it.²⁶ None could be obtained from Cross Creek after about the middle of March without a permit from the provincial congress.²⁷ The government finally decided to distribute this salt to the officers and men who had fought at Moore's Creek against the Loyalists, presumably as a premium for their display of patriotic zeal in behalf of liberty.

Its distribution was entrusted to the provincial council of safety. On the last day of July, 1776, that body empowered Colonel Joel Lane, commissioner of Wake County, to distribute 100 bushels in the most equitable manner among the officers and men "who turned out in the late Expedition to Moore's Creek."²⁸ A few weeks later the council directed Conner Dowd to sell about 110 bushels to the Whigs who had borne arms on the expedition against the Tories at Moore's Creek at ten shillings a bushel,

²³ Clarence W. Griffin, *History of Old Tryon and Rutherford Counties, North Carolina, 1730-1936* (Asheville, 1937), p. 31.

²⁴ *Colonial Records*, X, 451.

²⁵ *Colonial Records*, X, 577.

²⁶ *Colonial Records*, X, 571.

²⁷ *Moravian Records*, III, 1058.

²⁸ *Colonial Records*, X, 690.

not selling more than half a bushel to each man.²⁹ Apparently the Loyalists could starve because of a lack of salt for all they cared. It is interesting to wonder how many North Carolinians were persuaded to fight against the British in the glorious cause of freedom by their desperate need of a little salt for themselves and their helpless children.

The council of safety of North Carolina also adopted stern measures against salt monopolists. On July 4, 1776, it permitted John James of Duplin County to retain for his county only 200 bushels and ordered that the remainder might be bought by a local committee of safety at ten shillings a bushel provided the committee agreed to sell no more than two bushels to any one person.³⁰ On July 25 it set a statewide ceiling of twenty-five per cent above the first cost on all salt purchased in the colony, and authorized the local committees of safety to enforce this price regulation.³¹ In the following month it appointed James Bonner to call upon a merchant of Beaufort County, who had refused to sell, and obtain from him a truthful statement of the amount of salt he had, requiring him to hold that amount for the use of the public.³² Before the end of the year the legislature appointed a committee to examine into the conduct of John Cooper with respect to the monopoly of common salt.³³

Military necessity was one of the causes of the stringency of these regulations. The provincial government had to supply its army with salt. For this purpose agents were appointed by the provincial council with authority to freeze the sale of salt in the counties until the army was supplied. On June 13, 1776, for example, the council authorized Colonel Ebenezer Folsome to freeze the stocks held by merchants and factors in Cumberland County and send an inventory to the council. On August 13 he was authorized to seize this supply for the army. Folsome performed his duty so zealously that shortly afterwards a detachment of twenty-five soldiers, raised to guard Cross Creek, in Cumberland County, could not obtain salt without the "special Interposition and Directions" of the provincial council itself.³⁴

²⁹ *Colonial Records*, X, 704.

³⁰ *Colonial Records*, X, 642.

³¹ *Colonial Records*, X, 685.

³² *Colonial Records*, X, 703.

³³ *Colonial Records*, X, 951.

³⁴ *Colonial Records*, X, 629, 700, 732, 733.

The need of the army was especially acute in July, 1776. In that month North Carolina furnished soldiers in Virginia with 150 bushels³⁵ and a body of North Carolina militia under Brigadier General Griffith Rutherford with 300 bushels for a joint expedition against the Overhills, a band of Cherokees who had attacked settlers in the Holston Valley. The council ordered, at about the same time, that a supply be issued to the soldiers under Person and Gorrell.³⁶ Also, salt was being shipped by land from Charleston to Maryland and Pennsylvania, presumably to supply the Continental Army. Consequently its price rose to about fifty shillings a bushel in the interior of North Carolina during the summer of 1776.³⁷

The civilian population, however, was not inclined to make such drastic sacrifice for the army as the government demanded. On August 24 the provincial council considered a batch of complaints from a number of persons of Cumberland County against Colonel Folsome for requisitioning their salt.³⁸ Somewhat earlier threats of salt riots became so violent in Perquimans, a county in the northeastern part of the state near the Virginia line, that the committee of safety of Edenton called upon the provincial council for assistance in repelling a possible attack upon their town by not less than 150 men, who seemed determined to break open stores and warehouses to take salt.³⁹ The expected attack did not occur, however, possibly because of this timely appeal by the local committee. Although there were other similar threats, a salt riot did not actually occur in the state until the summer of 1777, when Robert Rowan and a band of volunteers quelled a mob of about 140 persons who had come to Cross Creek from Duplin and Johnston counties to seize a supply for themselves and their families. Rowan let those among them who took an oath of loyalty to the state have a small quantity at the market price of five dollars a bushel. Shortly afterwards he was falsely accused of being a Loyalist by over-zealous patriots, probably including Caswell, who believed

³⁵ *Colonial Records*, X, 672, 680.

³⁶ *Colonial Records*, X, 662, 668, 682, 686; Griffin, *History of Tryon and Rutherford Counties*, p. 34.

³⁷ *Moravian Records*, III, 1035.

³⁸ *Colonial Records*, X, 704.

³⁹ *Colonial Records*, X, 670-1.

the rioters were Loyalists and seems to have disapproved of the way the situation had been handled.⁴⁰

In the meantime the provincial government had adopted measures to promote the manufacture of salt. Joseph Hewes, a delegate from North Carolina, became a member of a committee of the Continental Congress on July 31, 1775, which was instructed to inquire into the cheapest methods of making it in the colonies.⁴¹ Six weeks later the provincial congress of North Carolina fell in line with the efforts of the Continental Congress by offering a premium of 750 pounds for the first works erected on the seashore that furnished the provincial council with fifty tons of "good Merchantable ground or blown Salt." The works had to be established and the delivery made within eighteen months if the bounty was to be claimed.⁴² In offering this bounty North Carolina moved faster than the Continental Congress, which did not adopt a resolution to recommend to the several assemblies and conventions the encouragement of its manufacture—a resolution offered by Benjamin Franklin—until December 29, 1775.⁴³

During the next session of the provincial congress, which was held during the spring of 1776, the manufacture of salt was considered again and on April 24 Waightstill Avery, William Thompson, Richard Blackledge, and Robert Williams were authorized to draw upon the public treasury for a sum not to exceed 2,000 pounds to establish salt works in the province.⁴⁴ Avery and Thompson, however, apparently made no attempt to use their franchise. In September, 1776, Avery set out to join General Rutherford on the frontier. He subsequently became attorney general of North Carolina and a prominent member of the state legislature.⁴⁵ Thompson was a member of the provincial congress from Carteret County in the spring of 1776. He served his country during the war as a brigadier general.⁴⁶

Robert Williams was an all-out, over-enthusiastic plunger, whose name emerges in and disappears from the public records

⁴⁰ Walter Clark (editor), *The State Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1895-1905), XI, xviii, 527, 530, 538, 546, 548-9, 560, 603-4, 630; Samuel A'Court Ashe, *History of North Carolina* (Greensboro, 1908), I, 576-7.

⁴¹ *Journals of the Continental Congress*, II, 234, 235.

⁴² *Colonial Records*, X, 218-9, v.

⁴³ Edmund C. Burnett (editor), *Letters of the Members of the Continental Congress* (Washington, 1921-1936), I, 290.

⁴⁴ *Colonial Records*, X, 538.

⁴⁵ *Colonial Records*, X, 829-30; *State Records*, XI, 825 ff.; XII, 89 ff.

⁴⁶ *Colonial Records*, X, 165, 483, 500 ff.

with the rise and fall of his scheme for manufacturing salt. He was definitely outside the first families who managed the political affairs of North Carolina at that time; and General Thompson evidently disapproved of his appointment, for on his return from the legislature he led Williams to believe that only Avery and Blackledge had been appointed and that only 600 pounds had been appropriated from the public treasury to finance the erection of the works. When Williams learned of the deception shortly afterwards, he denounced Thompson in a letter to James Coor and stated that he was going to begin erecting his works near Core Sound on the following day, May 20, 1776, without waiting for the return of Blackledge and Avery, because the season in which solar evaporation could be used was already far advanced and the safety of the country depended as much upon salt as upon arms and ammunition. He proposed that the revolutionary government allow no one to leave his plantation without the permission of his local committee of safety, since there were so many disguised Loyalists in the province who would gladly wreck such an establishment.⁴⁷

Before the end of the month Williams outlined to the president of the provincial committee of safety, Cornelius Harnett, his qualifications and plans. He declared he was qualified to make salt marshes after the manner employed in France, Portugal, and Spain, because he had viewed salt-making in Portugal, had been "long in possession of Browning⁴⁸ upon Salt," and had made it his "study for many years." He stated the season for solar evaporation would end in August, that salt would keep in the open for three years if stored in conical heaps, and that a salt marsh should be about 240 feet long and 150 feet wide with eighteen beds in it. He asserted that as soon as one marsh was finished another should be begun until the season advanced to a point where time was not left for the evaporation of the water. He proposed to make a new salt marsh "every succeeding week" as long as the season lasted and estimated that every marsh of eighteen beds would make between twenty-five and forty bushels

⁴⁷ *State Records*, XXII, 738-9, 740.

⁴⁸ Possibly the name should be Brownrigg, since a British scholar of that name wrote a treatise on salt making in 1748 in which he recommended a marsh, with diagrams of it, that was about the size of the one Williams proposed to construct and contained eighteen salt beds. Brownrigg, *Common Salt*, p. 284.

a day in hot, dry weather. He suggested that a guard be sent to protect Core Sound, Topsail Inlet, Beaufort, and the salt works from a possible attack by the enemy.⁴⁹

About three weeks later the provincial committee of safety deposited with John Eaton 500 pounds for carrying on the salt works Williams had begun to erect. Williams was not pleased with this decision—possibly expecting the money to be sent directly to him. Moreover, he feared that Eaton might claim a share of the bounty offered for the manufacturing of the first salt. Consequently he informed the council that “I will never agree that any other man shall share in the bounty or to keep more Cats than Catches mice.” He reminded the council of the sacrifices he was making in his private business and in the neglect of his crops for the works but stated that the attempt was justified, despite the lateness of the season, by the acute necessity of the province.⁵⁰

Williams finished his first works in August, 1776, and reported to the provincial council on August 9 that he was getting a little salt. Then disaster overtook him. Without waiting to discover how well the first marsh produced, he began a second one, contrary to the wishes of the provincial council, and ran out of money, including the 500 pounds advanced from the public treasury. Also, a rainy season commenced, which spoiled his prospect of gaining any large quantity of salt from the first marsh. As a result he was compelled to admit to the council on September 14, 1776, that he could make no salt until the following summer. He asked, however, that enough money be appropriated for him to finish his second works so that he could let water stand in both works during the winter, impregnating the wood with salt before the return of summer.⁵¹

The council declined to advance more money and in December the provincial congress ordered that the equipment purchased with public money for Williams' salt works at or near Core Sound be turned over to John Eaton of Beaufort to be kept for public use until a more extensive investigation could be made. A committee of the house, appointed to investigate, had already re-

⁴⁹ *State Records*, XXII, 739-42.

⁵⁰ *State Records*, XXII, 745-6.

⁵¹ *Colonial Records*, X, 723-5, 739, 798-801.

ported the works in an unsatisfactory condition and no extant evidence was submitted later to refute its findings.⁵²

Richard Blackledge proceeded with greater caution and secured more support from the provincial government. He undoubtedly was regarded as the most reliable appointee by many of the leaders, because he had been in public affairs for many years and had served as commissary in Tryon's army during the War of the Regulation and upon other occasions.⁵³

Realizing that salt marshes should be prepared in the late winter or early spring so that the full benefit of the hot season could be utilized, Blackledge decided to evaporate the water in pans by using fire, and set to work to build works of that sort. On June 12, 1776, the council of the province authorized its president to instruct the North Carolina delegates in Congress to obtain evaporating pans in Philadelphia. These pans were to be made of iron.⁵⁴

The delegates in the Congress reported in August that they had a promise from Benjamin Franklin to help them secure the pans but that the demands upon the iron manufacturers for the defense of New Jersey and New York had prevented them from making pans.⁵⁵ Several weeks later William Hooper and John Penn informed the provincial council they had employed a blacksmith to make the salt pans; ⁵⁶ but Hooper, at least, was not very pleased with the prospect, for on October 26 he wrote from Philadelphia that he had been unable to obtain plate iron for salt pans and expressed the hope that the iron works of John Wilcox and William England, located at Deep River in North Carolina, would soon be ready to supply them.⁵⁷

In the meanwhile Blackledge was working with available materials. Only July 11, 1776, the council of state ordered that 500 pounds be advanced to him for the erection of his works and that he be paid twenty shillings, in addition, from public funds for each day he spent in supervising them.⁵⁸ After trying the water at five different places while his workmen were collecting mate-

⁵² *Colonial Records*, X, 999-1000.

⁵³ *Colonial Records*, VIII, 659, 674; *State Records*, XXII, 460-77.

⁵⁴ *Colonial Records*, X, 627.

⁵⁵ *Colonial Records*, X, 720, 721.

⁵⁶ *Colonial Records*, X, 811-12.

⁵⁷ *Colonial Records*, X, 869-70.

⁵⁸ *Colonial Records*, X, 645.

rials, Blackledge decided that the channel water of Core Creek made the best salt. Collecting iron pots from as far away as Bath, he began to obtain salt by the boiling process about August 1, getting as much as a peck of salt out of thirty-two gallons of water.⁵⁹ He rushed off a sample to the council of the state, which found it of satisfactory quality.⁶⁰ Before the end of the month General Person, one of the members of this council, gave a community of Moravians some sea-salt, made near New Bern.⁶¹

It is hard to determine the exact size and volume of Blackledge's works. At the end of 1776 General Person reported to the legislature that they were in good condition and that Blackledge had purchased fifteen acres of land situated at the mouth of Core Creek and had built a salt pond and a proper furnace and had installed three kettles. Thereupon Blackledge was authorized by the assembly to continue with the work, and a subsidy and a loan were granted to him for this purpose. He agreed, in turn, to buy woodland for fuel, to enlarge the works, and to build a warehouse large enough to hold 1,000 bushels of salt.

Since Blackledge built a salt pond, it would seem that he adopted at least in part the improved method of making salt recommended by Dr. Brownrigg, namely the use of the solar, marsh system for settling out the impurities and intensifying the brine, and the fire evaporation for turning the concentrated brine into crystals. Brownrigg also recommended the use of large, almost-round pans of about 18,000 gallons, generally used by the Dutch, instead of the small, rectangular pans, which were only about one-tenth as large. He also recommended that brine ponds be covered in rainy weather and that steam pumps be used to force the brine into a tower from which it was to be allowed to rain down, since this process would hasten evaporation. He believed salt could be made in Virginia and the Carolinas for as little as four pence a pound.⁶²

The council of state advised Governor Caswell about the beginning of 1777 to appoint John Jones and Samuel Branton commissioners to receive salt for public use from Blackledge at his salt works; and in August, 1777, it recommended that the gov-

⁵⁹ *Colonial Records*, X, 716-17, 718.

⁶⁰ *State Records*, XI, 345.

⁶¹ *Moravian Records*, III, 1075.

⁶² *Colonial Records*, X, 970, 986-8; Brownrigg, *Common Salt*, pp. 203-06, 218-19, 269.

ernor direct the commissioners to transport the supply made by Blackledge to New Bern.⁶³ Blackledge probably died in 1777, for his executors were released from his contract with the state on December 12, 1777, on condition that they deliver to the state within three months 1,000 bushels of salt made by the works, and settle the balance due from the estate under the contract. The works continued to operate, however, throughout the Revolution⁶⁴ and were of considerable importance in the relief of shortages,⁶⁵ which continued to exist for some time despite the assistance given by France to American importers.

The provincial council simultaneously tried to interest private individuals in the making of salt for their own individual needs. For this purpose the delegates in Philadelphia furnished to the colony during the fall of 1776 many copies of a pamphlet containing extracts on salt making from an essay by Brownrigg. Blackledge asked for a copy of this pamphlet while he was erecting his salt works;⁶⁶ and the general population showed an unusual interest in salt manufacture in a surprisingly short time thereafter, but whether because of the pamphlets more than because of dire necessity would be hard to determine. At any rate, Samuel Ashe wrote to the council from Cape Fear on October 8, 1776: "The Humour of Salt boiling seems to be taking place here, I have seen some boiled here, the cleanest & whitest of any salt (I think) I ever saw in my life—every Old Wife is now scouring her pint pot for the necessary operation. God send them good luck."⁶⁷

In the meanwhile the people of the interior were trying to obtain salt from springs and deer licks. A band of Moravians set

⁶³ *State Records*, XXII, 908, 926.

⁶⁴ *State Records*, XII, 201, 374, 383-84; XIII, 347.

⁶⁵ *Moravian Records*, II, 846.

⁶⁶ *Colonial Records*, X, 718, 811-12; George Brownrigg, presumably a brother of Dr. William Brownrigg and a citizen of North Carolina, is sometimes regarded as the author of a work on salt making from which the extracts were taken in the preparation of this pamphlet. See Archibald Henderson, *North Carolina: The Old State and the New* (Chicago, 1941), I, 626-27. It seems more likely, however, that the extracts were taken from the work by Dr. William Brownrigg of England, an eminent physician and scientist, who had collaborated with Benjamin Franklin in the making of an experiment. No series of articles on the manufacture of salt by George Brownrigg were found in extant copies of the newspapers of North Carolina. The only pamphlet of 1776 that can be found on salt making with extracts by a Brownrigg was published by order of the General Assembly in Philadelphia and reprinted later in the year in Philadelphia and in Boston. The extracts in this pamphlet are evidently from the writings of Dr. William Brownrigg. See Pamphlet AC 901.W7, Vol. 69, No. 5, "Detached from Pennsylvania Magazine, for March 1776," Library of Congress; Edmund Burnett (editor), *Letters of the Members of the Continental Congress*, I, 290; and Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee (editors), *Dictionary of National Biography* (London, 1908), III, 85-86.

⁶⁷ *Colonial Records*, X, 840.

out from Salem on October 28, 1776, to secure it from a large deer lick at the mouth of the Lech, two and one half miles away from the town; but they could not find a trace of it there.⁶⁸ Other attempts proved equally futile. Consequently salt was so scarce in the western part of the state in the fall of 1776 that very little salt pork could be made.⁶⁹

Subsequent trials farther west were attended with greater success. As early as December 25, 1774, Richard Henderson had promised a bounty of 1,000 pounds to the person who would erect in Transylvania within twelve months works sufficiently large to supply its inhabitants with an adequate amount of salt.⁷⁰ In January, 1778, Daniel Boone led a band of thirty men from Boonesborough to the Blue Licks, saline springs near the Licking River in eastern Transylvania and obtained there a supply of salt for the settlers and militiamen, who had come from North Carolina and Virginia to help in the frontier war. The sodium chloride, mixed with a trace of iodine, was gained by boiling the water of the springs in kettles. It frequently took 840 gallons of the weak brine to yield one bushel, though 80 gallons of the water of some of the finer springs were known to yield a bushel. The salt licks and salt springs were fairly plentiful in the limestone country.⁷¹

For about a year after the establishment of the continental nonimportation association on December 1, 1774, the provincial and county committees of safety of North Carolina and the legislature sternly enforced its provisions against trade with the British empire, as we have seen, despite the salt famine that resulted. During these months Hewes, Caswell, Hooper, Harnett, and other leading North Carolinians believed the British navy was so dependent upon the naval stores of the province and that the West Indies needed its staves so badly for the making of barrels used in the sugar trade that nonimportation must surely produce a redress of colonial grievances, thus preventing a general war.⁷² Acting on this theory as late as December, 1775, the committee of New Bern tried John Cooper for importing salt in the brig *Defiance* contrary to the resolutions of the Continental Congress.

⁶⁸ *Moravian Records*, III, 1089, 1090.

⁶⁹ Crittenden, *The Commerce of North Carolina*, p. 137n.

⁷⁰ *Colonial Records*, IX, 1129-30.

⁷¹ John Bakeless, *Daniel Boone* (New York, 1939), pp. 156-8, and "Colonel Boone's Autobiography" in Cecil B. Hartley, *The Life of Daniel Boone* (New York, n.d.), pp. 368-9.

⁷² *Colonial Records*, IX, 1103, 1104; X, 12, 22.

Early in the following year he was required to sell his cargo as follows: 600 bushels at New Bern; 200 bushels at Woodstock in Hyde County; 800 bushels at Martinborough in Pitt County; and the remainder at Meherrin in Northampton County. The committee decided on this disposition, it said, because of the great scarcity of salt in the province, and required of Cooper a bond as a guarantee that he would dispose of his cargo according to his instruction.⁷³ Had the committee enforced the articles of the association rigidly it could have confiscated Cooper's salt and ostracized him in all commercial matters.

It was probably influenced in its decision to be lenient by a rather sudden realization throughout the colony about January 1, 1776, that nonimportation had failed to bring Great Britain to terms and that independence or complete submission were the only alternatives left. As early as October 11, 1775, the committee of Wilmington showed a sign of weakening when it referred a petition to the provincial council from Samuel Southerland, in which he requested permission to import salt from the West Indies.⁷⁴ The Continental Congress in the following month decided to ship food to Bermuda in exchange for salt; and on December 29 it authorized the provincial councils of Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina to export in order to relieve their inhabitants "now suffering great distress by the scarcity of that necessary article."⁷⁵

Apparently the merchants and shipowners of North Carolina immediately rushed to sea, abusing the permission to trade, for on March 2, 1776, the council prohibited exportation of pork, beef, flour, bacon, rice, and peas except in exchange for salt, arms, or ammunition. Two days later it divided the colony into three districts and appointed commissioners in each to whom the merchants must apply for permission to export any goods. Archibald Maclaine was one of the commissioners for the Wilmington districts, and James Davis and Alexander Gaston were two of the commissioners for the New Bern district. The third division was called the Edenton district. Merchants who secured permission to trade were required to give a bond of \$2,500 to comply with the

⁷³ *Colonial Records*, X, 414.

⁷⁴ *Colonial Records*, X, 264.

⁷⁵ *Journals of the Continental Congress*, III, 362, 464; *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*, I, 290; *Colonial Records*, X, 369.

regulations of the colony and of the Continental Congress in carrying on their trade.⁷⁶

The North Carolina council of safety exercised the power of granting permission to trade during the summer of 1776 by authorizing "all known Friends to the American Independency" to apply to it for a permit to export any kind of staves in exchange for salt, arms, and ammunition.⁷⁷ This announcement was made on July 25, 1776. A day or two later Robert Neilson, master and owner of the brigantine *Polly*, was permitted to export staves, beeswax, and turpentine to Spain or Portugal in exchange for salt and military supplies.⁷⁸ In reporting to the North Carolina delegates in the Continental Congress on September 9, the council stated concerning export trade: "We are sorry to tell you that we have been under the necessity of permitting a few vessels to carry out to the Foreign West India Islands for the Express purpose of importing Salt, ammunition Arms & war-like Stores. Bond with a large penalty is taken by us for the true performance of the Voyage. It is impossible for us to describe the distressed Situation of this State for the want of Salt the Inhabitants in general say only let them have that article and they will fight so long as they have Existence in support of the just rights of their Country and that without it themselves Families and Stocks must perish."⁷⁹

Before the end of 1776 the provincial government appointed Thomas Williams and John G. Blount as commercial agents of North Carolina to go immediately to Bermuda and the non-British islands of the West Indies to procure salt. They were authorized to contract for 25,000 bushels, each. The amount they obtained was to be apportioned among the counties of the state according to their population.⁸⁰

Shortly afterwards Blount sailed for the West Indies, where he found it hard to obtain a supply on the terms expected by North Carolina because few persons there would accept a draft on the state of North Carolina, hardly any shipowners were willing to take the risk involved in transporting a cargo to North

⁷⁶ *Colonial Records*, X, 471, 473-74.

⁷⁷ *Colonial Records*, X, 685.

⁷⁸ *Colonial Records*, X, 686; *State Records*, XI, 331; XXII, 748, 749.

⁷⁹ *State Records*, XI, 350-51.

⁸⁰ *Colonial Records*, X, 923, 964, 972, 984-85; *State Records*, XXII, 906.

Carolina except at exorbitant rates, and the amount of money he was authorized to spend would pay for only a small quantity at prevailing prices. By March 4, 1777, he had succeeded only in arranging for the delivery of 750 bushels at Edenton by a certain Captain Sears at a cost of sixteen shillings a bushel.⁸¹

During the summer of 1777 the prospects were improved somewhat by shipowners of North Carolina who volunteered to import large amounts from the West Indies if authorized by Governor Caswell.⁸² Despite a temporary cutting off of the supply by the British fleet in the fall,⁸³ the situation was soon brightened again by the arrival of salt ships from France.⁸⁴ Prospects of large supplies from imports and home manufacturing were so favorable at the end of the year that the state decided to abandon ceiling prices and rationing, and to sell a large part of the public salt, investing the proceeds therefrom in other supplies. Abner Nash was a leading advocate of this change.⁸⁵ At the moment the decision was made some civilians of the interior were paying as much as fifteen bushels of corn for one bushel of salt.⁸⁶

This was a costly mistake. Though repeatedly warned by John Penn from Philadelphia that northern speculators were watching for an opportunity to monopolize the salt supply of the state,⁸⁷ the legislature failed to enact a satisfactory bill before deciding to sell the public stores of salt.⁸⁸ Consequently the worst fears of Penn became a reality. On December 3, 1777, James Blount informed Governor Caswell that a "Dutchman from Maryland" had come to Edenton and raised the price of salt within a few days to fourteen dollars a bushel—"which enrages the Country people in this place."⁸⁹ Moreover, William Aylett, of Virginia, called upon North Carolina shortly afterwards to supply unusual quantities of salt and pork for the Continental Army.⁹⁰ Then, too, France failed to supply the full amount of salt which

⁸¹ *State Records*, XI, 406.

⁸² *State Records*, XI, 545, 553.

⁸³ *State Records*, XI, 624.

⁸⁴ *State Records*, XI, 810.

⁸⁵ *State Records*, XII, 244, 245, 420, 425, 426, 431.

⁸⁶ *Moravian Records*, III, 1133.

⁸⁷ *State Records*, XI, 503, 515.

⁸⁸ *State Records*, XII, 188, 354.

⁸⁹ *State Records*, XI, 688.

⁹⁰ *State Records*, XIII, iv, 16, 33.

had been expected when the news of an impending alliance was received.⁹¹

Governor Caswell and the legislature hastened to reverse the salt policy. The governor prohibited exportation of salt from North Carolina for thirty days. This was the longest period he was allowed to govern by a proclamation under the state constitution. Otherwise he would have extended his prohibition.⁹² He permitted Bermudian vessels that arrived with salt to take out provisions to Bermuda, even though those islands were enemy territory. Since the inhabitants there were suffering from a lack of foodstuff, this policy would likely cause them to send more salt to North Carolina.⁹³ On April 23, 1778, James Williams introduced into the assembly a bill to prevent a monopoly in salt.⁹⁴ Nevertheless salt became scarce enough during the summer to cause a mob to break into stores in Beaufort County on several occasions for a supply;⁹⁵ and consequently on September 2 Caswell again forbade its exportation by proclamation.⁹⁶ For about a year thereafter salt was relatively plentiful in the state and there was little agitation of the subject in governmental circles.

The transfer of the main military forces from the North to the South in 1779 caused a gradual reduction of the supply of salt available for civilian use until North Carolina was again confronted with a salt famine.⁹⁷ The state was called upon to furnish to the Continental Army larger and larger supplies of pork and salt as the war drew closer and closer to its borders.

In May, 1779, the house of commons of North Carolina decided the danger of attack by the enemy was not sufficiently grave to justify the establishment of a guard over the works at Core Sound.⁹⁸ But by the fall the military situation had grown serious enough for the council to advise the governor to allow Benjamin Hawkins, a commercial agent, to barter as much as 1,000 barrels of pork in the West Indies for salt.⁹⁹ Governor Caswell adopted

⁹¹ *State Records*, XIII, 28, 38, 39, 354.

⁹² *State Records*, XIII, 45.

⁹³ *State Records*, XIII, 933-34.

⁹⁴ *State Records*, XII, 703.

⁹⁵ *State Records*, XXII, 759.

⁹⁶ *State Records*, XI, 759-60.

⁹⁷ *Moravian Records*, III, 1284, 1294; IV, 1575, 1578.

⁹⁸ *State Records*, XIII, 814.

⁹⁹ *State Records*, XIII, 838; XXII, 910.

the suggestion of the council but Hawkins was unable to get many supplies in the West Indies during the winter of 1779-1780. "I could not procure any thing on the faith of the state," he declared, "or by barter for provisions or tobacco, as was expected. They were taught in the West Indies that a bushel of salt would purchase one hundred weight of tobacco, and that two and a half a barrel of Pork."¹⁰⁰ In a Moravian settlement of piedmont North Carolina a bushel of salt was worth as much as ten bushels of wheat.¹⁰¹ This was about the highest price salt reached in terms of other commodities during the war.

The defeat of the American army in South Carolina and the British capture of Charleston in May, 1780, undermined the credit and stability of the North Carolina government still further. Thereupon the legislature of the state placed arbitrary emergency powers in the hands of a small, select group of officials. It empowered each commercial agent of the state "to seize any quantity of salt belonging to the subjects of this State which he shall judge necessary," if the owner refused to sell it voluntarily. The agents were instructed to promise the owner payment within six months with interest.¹⁰² It established a board of war "for the more effectually and expeditiously calling forth the powers and resources of this State";¹⁰³ and transferred to it virtually all the executive power, over the protest of Governor Abner Nash.¹⁰⁴ It chose John Penn, Alexander Martin, Colonel Thomas Polk, Oroondates Davis, and Archibald Maclaine to constitute the membership of this board.¹⁰⁵ By specific legislation it then enacted that no person should impress wagons, boats, carriages, or horses engaged in the transportation of salt except by the expressed order of the board of war. This act was amended in 1781 to include vehicles and horses used in carrying provisions with which to purchase salt.¹⁰⁶

On July 20, 1780, Governor Nash prohibited the exportation of meats and grains from North Carolina except in exchange for salt, since all surplus supplies of food were needed in North

¹⁰⁰ *State Records*, XV, 337.

¹⁰¹ *Moravian Records*, III, 1212.

¹⁰² *State Records*, XXIV, 329-30.

¹⁰³ *State Records*, XVII, 774; XXIV, 355.

¹⁰⁴ *State Records*, XVII, 718-20, 732, 740-41

¹⁰⁵ *State Records*, XIV, 769.

¹⁰⁶ *State Records*, XXIV, 351-52, 383.

Carolina by the army of the United States.¹⁰⁷ Shortly after the crushing defeat of the American forces under General Horatio Gates at Camden on August 16 the state board of war held a meeting in Hillsboro to make plans for procuring additional supplies for the defense of North Carolina. On November 11 it ordered all salt supplies to be moved from the seacoast to designated places in the interior of the state.¹⁰⁸ Early in December it was hard pressed to find enough salt to cure 6,000 barrels of meat which had been demanded from North Carolina by the Continental Army.¹⁰⁹ It was thought that a general impressment of the article would be wise, if less drastic measures should fail.¹¹⁰ On December 21 the board caustically upbraided Benjamin Hawkins, a commercial agent of the state, for neglecting to use his utmost efforts to collect and conserve a supply of salt for the army, using, instead, public wagons for the conveyance of supplies to William Blount and other persons, without proper authority, at a time when the state was invaded and fighting for its existence. The board warned Hawkins that he would be expected to give a full account of all his transactions at the next session of the state legislature.¹¹¹ About this time so much salt disappeared from the public stocks that Robert Bignall, another commercial agent of the state, called for an investigation into the matter. ¹¹²

When the legislature convened soon afterwards Governor Nash was so displeased with the arbitrary emergency powers of the board of war and the manner in which it had neglected to consult him that he declined to seek reelection. The legislature chose Thomas Burke governor and replaced the board of war with a council extraordinary, composed of Alexander Martin from the board of war, General Allen Jones, and General Caswell.¹¹³

Despite the military reverses and increasing demands for materiel, the salt supply became more abundant for military and civilian purposes during the period when the board of war was in control of the affairs of the state. In January, 1781, for example,

¹⁰⁷ *State Records*, XV, 6.

¹⁰⁸ *State Records*, XIV, 456-57, 459.

¹⁰⁹ *State Records*, XIV, 473.

¹¹⁰ *State Records*, XIV, 475-76, 477-80.

¹¹¹ *State Records*, XIV, 376, 479.

¹¹² *State Records*, XV, 472.

¹¹³ *State Records*, XVII, vii.

a settlement of Moravians recorded in its journal for the first time during the war that it needed no more salt "just now."¹¹⁴ Probably this favorable situation was due in part to the strict measures adopted by the board of war.

The problems of the new council extraordinary were greatly increased in March, 1781, by the Continental Congress, which prohibited trade with all British possessions, including Bermuda. The latter, indeed, had become the chief "channel" through which salt was imported.¹¹⁵ Though the Continental Congress soon realized the damage it had done to the Carolinas by this prohibition and authorized a re-opening of the trade under the supervision of Governor Rutledge of South Carolina in June,¹¹⁶ its action was disconcerting to the trade, and the legislature of North Carolina was constrained in the summer of 1781 to consider additional legislation for the encouragement of the importation of salt.¹¹⁷

On June 30, 1781, the legislature tardily adopted a resolution to raise a company of "Light Horse" in Onslow County to protect the "Salt Works on Topsail Sound and New Rivers."¹¹⁸ Cornwallis had left the Cape Fear on April 25 and had reached Petersburg, Virginia, on May 20. There was still some danger, however, that a small force of British troops or Tories might seize these works if they were left unguarded.¹¹⁹ A band of Tories actually captured Governor Burke in a raid on Hillsboro on September 12, 1781; and Martin served as governor as well as a member of the council extraordinary while Burke was a prisoner.

After Cornwallis overran North Carolina, its public credit was so low, even among its own citizens, that its commercial agents had to use salt as money for the purchase of other supplies. It became a medium of exchange in many stores. When crossing North Carolina in the spring of 1781 to join the continental army, Major Mazaret took nothing from the people "without paying for it in salt."¹²⁰ In November, 1781, Robert Bignall excused himself to Governor Martin for failing to make additional purchases

¹¹⁴ *Moravian Records*, IV, 1739.

¹¹⁵ *State Records*, XV, 219, 598.

¹¹⁶ *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XX, 705, 706.

¹¹⁷ *State Records*, XVII, 818, 825, 909.

¹¹⁸ *State Records*, XVII, 828, 829.

¹¹⁹ *State Records*, XV, 627; XXII, 589.

¹²⁰ *Moravian Records*, IV, 1692, 1731, 1739.

by saying "I had in my possession at the Time I made the purchase 160 hhds. Tobacco containing 184,000 Nett, but have not been able to Purchase any since as I have not a Bushel of Salt on Hand." ¹²¹ A few days later he suggested that the government requisition tobacco to meet obligations for arms and powder purchased at New Bern on the public credit, since the supply of public salt was exhausted.¹²²

The year 1781 ended on a sour note in North Carolina despite the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, for Governor Martin received a complaint on December 19 that the militia was stealing quantities of salt from private persons whose loyalty to America was unquestionable.¹²³

Liberty easily becomes licentious and freedom is not far from tyranny. During the War for Independence the inhabitants of the United States were subjected to governmental regulations of food and diet that were far more minute and burdensome than any sumptuary legislation which the British government had sought to impose upon them during the colonial period, even when directing world wars against France in India, in Europe, on the high seas, and in America for the very existence of the British empire. The emergency regulations of the Revolutionary War were excused by the Liberty Men as the necessary price for independence and a free government. They were regarded as temporary expedients, justifiable only as a means of establishing a government dedicated to the protection of the inalienable rights of individuals, among them being life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Probably Sons of Liberty would not have submitted to these rigid restrictions to win a less sublime political revolution.

¹²¹ *State Records*, XXII, 597.

¹²² *State Records*, XXII, 599.

¹²³ *State Records*, XXII, 602.

NORTH CAROLINIANS IN ILLINOIS HISTORY

By JAY MONAGHAN

North Carolina and Illinois, the Tar Heel and the Sucker states, are quite similar in size and shape. They are very dissimilar in topography. Illinois has no mountains, no seashore, no sand barrens, no boxed trees. A few pines in one area of Illinois are considered so unusual that they are preserved as White Pines State Park. Illinois farms all have neat geometric boundaries—product of the old Northwest Ordinance. Nowhere does the traveler see woodland roads and charming lanes so characteristic of the South. What the Sucker State lacks in beauty is compensated for by prosperity. Illinois has been highly industrialized and predominantly urban for half a century.¹ North Carolina is still two-thirds rural. One city in Illinois has almost as many people as all North Carolina. Illinois' per capita income is two and one-third times that of its Tar Heel neighbor.² Illiteracy in 1920 in North Carolina was four times greater than in Illinois. Poverty in the Northern state is an urban phenomenon. Country people in log cabins cooking in mud-daubed fireplaces are unknown. North Carolina is noted for the purity of its old American stock—in 1920 only three-tenths of one per cent were foreigners.³ Moreover citizens born outside the state came mostly from adjoining Virginia and South Carolina. To Illinoisans this seems very strange. In their state one man in every five talks with a foreign burr in his tongue.⁴ Even the American-born residents who are not natives come from distant states instead of from adjoining commonwealths. Illinois did not elect a native son to the governor's chair until 1900.

A comparison of North Carolina and Illinois might lead one to conclude that Illinois is the best place to make money and North Carolina the best place to live. These motives seem to be behind

¹ *Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940. Population*, vol. II, part 2, p. 475, and part 5, p. 265.

² *The Economic Almanac for 1942-43* (New York, c. 1942), p. 389.

³ *Fourteenth Census, 1920. Population*, III, 731.

⁴ *Fourteenth Census, 1920. Population*, III, 245.

most of the migrations between the two states. The large foreign element in Illinois is an old peculiarity. The first villages were French. After the Americans arrived, German and English people came straight from Europe to settle among them. In 1850, the first year the census analyzed the population by nativity, Illinois was almost, but not quite, as polyglot as it was seventy years later. North Carolina during these three generations preserved the purity of her American stock.⁵ In 1850 most of the American-born residents of Illinois, from outside the state, were New Yorkers and Ohioans.⁶ Less than two per cent of the population came from North Carolina. This percentage declined steadily in succeeding decades. By 1920 the Tar Heel element in Illinois amounted to only eight-tenths of one per cent.⁷ Yet, strange as it may seem, there was no time during the hundred years of Illinois' development when a North Carolinian did not rank among the leading citizens.

The frontier era in Illinois is the time when Tar Heel influence might be expected to have made its mark. The early-day Tar Heels who came to Illinois, however, settled quietly in small family groups. They have not been remembered as organizers of towns, societies, or political parties.⁸ One member of Illinois' first constitutional convention, Thomas Kirkpatrick, may have been a North Carolinian. He may also have come from Georgia or South Carolina.⁹ The chroniclers do not agree. It seems safe to say only that he was Southern.

Kentuckians led the field in early-day Illinois politics and business. New Englanders inaugurated the advancements in education. Tar Heels, few in number, were not conspicuous. They do not seem to have affiliated with any of the "ites" and "isms" which engrossed much attention. Perhaps those early-day North Carolinians clung too closely to the American pioneer pattern

⁵ *Seventh Census, 1850*, p. 309; *Eighth Census, 1860*, p. 361; *Ninth Census, 1870* (Compendium, 1872), p. 392; *Tenth Census, 1880*, p. xxxix; *Eleventh Census, 1890* (Compendium, 1897), part 3, p. 9; *Twelfth Census, 1900*, vol. I, part 1, p. xcix; *Thirteenth Census, Population, 1910*, vol. II, p. xx-xxi; and *Fourteenth Census, Population, 1920*, II, 36.

⁶ *Seventh Census, 1850*, p. xxxvi.

⁷ The ratio given in the censuses follows: 1850, population of Illinois 851,470, with 13,851 Tar Heels; 1860, population 1,711,951, with 13,597 Tar Heels; 1870, population 2,539,000, with 13,169 Tar Heels; 1880, population 3,077,871, with 9,279 Tar Heels; 1900, population 4,821,550, with 5,883 Tar Heels; 1910, population 5,638,591, with 5,417 Tar Heels; 1920, population 6,485,280, with 5,463 Tar Heels.

⁸ Arthur Clinton Boggess, *The Settlement of Illinois, 1778-1830*. *Chicago Historical Society Collections*. Vol. V (Chicago, 1908), pp. 191-211, lists many Illinois pioneers. Tar Heels are not mentioned in any of the categories.

⁹ John D. Barnhart, "The Southern Influence in the Formation of Illinois," *Journal of Illinois State Historical Society*, Sept., 1939, p. 368.

to mix with the polyglot mob in Illinois. Occasional records mention Tar Heel riflemen driving their oxen across the best lands to settle in the clay hills along the streams.¹⁰ Farmers in that day did not have plows capable of breaking the rich prairie sod. Then, too, there was no shade on the prairie, and in the hills the women did not have to go so far to get the firewood.

North Carolina Quakers pushed through the Alleghenies into Tennessee as early as 1768.¹¹ George Fox had shown "the light" to Carolinians before William Penn founded his colony.¹² After the Revolution the Northwest Territory was opened to settlers. Emigration into the Northwest lasted for almost three generations.¹³ Thousands of Friends from Pennsylvania also moved into the western territory, as did members of other sects—Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Methodists. Three things urged the North Carolina Quakers to go north—new land,¹⁴ hatred of slavery,¹⁵ and hope of association with other "meetings" of their society—but these broad-hatted Tar Heels and their gray-clad women in Quaker bonnets did not go to Illinois.

At the time Ohio entered the Union, 1803, a strange thing had just happened in the religious world which put Illinois in a peculiar position and gave North Carolina an indirect influence on the development of the Northern state. In 1801 the Congregational Church—the essence of New England—was absorbed by the Presbyterians.¹⁶ For a generation the Puritan Church took no part in the spiritual conquest of the midlands. During this period the Methodists and the Quakers spread across the new territory, preempting land, building villages and churches. By the middle 1830's it was noticeable that the two religious sects had not pushed forward in a similar fashion. Both Indiana and Illinois were settled at the same time. Land offices opened in both areas concurrently.¹⁷ The sister states were admitted to the

¹⁰ Edward Bryant Landis, "The Influence of Tennesseans in the Formation of Illinois," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 1923, p. 151.

¹¹ Stephen B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science, Extra Vol. XV, (Baltimore, 1896), p. 251.

¹² Weeks, *Southern Quakers*, pp. 34-35; Allen C. Thomas, *A History of the Friends in America* (5th ed., Philadelphia, 1919), p. 87.

¹³ Weeks, *Southern Quakers*, p. 251 ff.

¹⁴ Harlow Lindley, "The Quakers in the Old Northwest," *Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, 1911-1912*, pp. 63-64.

¹⁵ H. E. Smith, "The Quakers, Their Migration to the Upper Ohio," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, Jan., 1928, pp. 42-47.

¹⁶ William Warren Sweet, *Religion on the American Frontier 1783-1850* (Chicago, 1931), III, 13-42.

¹⁷ Payson Jackson Treat, *The National Land System 1785-1820* (New York, 1910), pp. 168-78.

Union within two years of each other. Yet strangely enough, Methodism was strong in both states while Quaker "meetings" predominated in Indiana. In short, the evangelical church had converted settlers everywhere. The non-proselyting Quakers had moved westward in communities of Friends. This had been a slow process, and the "meetings" had got only to the western boundary of Indiana at the time of statehood. The next generation of Quakers coming from North Carolina settled among their friends and relatives instead of going on to Illinois. Desirable land out there was already preempted. Thus by 1850, when the first census analysis was made by the government, it is not surprising to note that Indiana had almost three times as many North Carolinians as had Illinois.

In 1829 Congregationalism, under the rejuvenating hand of Timothy Dwight and Yale University,¹⁸ began a planned movement into the West. Whole villages in western New York and the Western Reserve in Ohio packed their belongings "to cross the prairie as the Pilgrims crossed the sea." Here was the origin of the movement that made these two states lead all others in supplying emigrants to Illinois. Furthermore the Erie Canal had opened in 1825 a new and economical water route all the way to Illinois.

These latter-day emigrants found the desirable land already taken in both Indiana and Illinois by members of other churches. Little of value was left for the Congregationalists.¹⁹ Then a famous Tar Heel drove the last Indians out of Illinois and thus opened a vast new area to settlement. The Congregationalists moved in at once. They established New England villages on a wedge of land which penetrated deep into the original rural society of backwoods gentlemen. Congregational churches, schools, and New England ideas rasped against the classical culture and pillared houses which had come with Methodism from Virginia via Kentucky to the rich lands of southern Illinois. This division in the population was bound to make the Civil War a peculiarly bitter struggle in the Prairie State, with town against town, brother against brother. For these people the struggle

¹⁸ Gaius Glenn Atkins and Frederick L. Fogley, *History of American Congregationalism* (Boston, c 1942), p. 155.

¹⁹ Sweet, *Religion on the Frontier*, III, 22, states that only sixteen Congregational churches could be found in Indiana in 1854.

could never be remembered as a war between the states. For two generations no one reached prominence in Illinois who had not distinguished himself on one side or the other of the fratricidal catastrophe.

It is one of the ironies of history that a Tar Heel opened the floodgate which changed Illinois from a Southern to a Northern state. Henry Atkinson, born in 1782,²⁰ was appointed a captain from North Carolina in the regular United States army at the age of twenty-six. By the end of the War of 1812 he had become a colonel,²¹ and in 1819 he received an assignment that brought him national notice. That year the Secretary of War, John C. Calhoun, ordered troops to march across the far-western Indian country to the mouth of the Yellowstone River—the present border between Montana and North Dakota—to impress the Indians with America's might, and to negotiate treaties with them. The western country was known to be well stocked with game. Supplies for the soldiers could be had for the shooting. Thus a great military display could be made at little cost. Calhoun decided to send 1,100 men.

Colonel Atkinson prepared to receive them at St. Louis. As early as 1818 soldiers left their encampments at Plattsburg, Philadelphia, and Detroit. Atkinson designated their winter quarters and sent an advance guard up the Missouri to establish a depot, Fort Martin, at the mouth of the Kaw—later known as Kansas City. Back at St. Louis Atkinson spent the winter assembling his equipment—baggage, powder, cannon.

The Great Plains were not unexplored at this time. Since Lewis and Clark had crossed the continent in 1803 many fur men with pack horses had ventured into the area. But this great army discarded the traditional methods of transportation. The War Department contracted for five steamboats and proposed to move the soldiers with the latest contrivances. Moreover, these panting water monsters would add to the Indians' awe. A scientific detachment was assigned to the expedition. Under the direction of Major Stephen H. Long, it embarked at Pitts-

²⁰ *Dictionary of American Biography*, I, 410.

²¹ Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, I, 174.

burgh and floated down to the rendezvous early in the spring of 1819.²²

The whole United States became interested in the so-called Yellowstone expedition. With banners flying and wood smoke puffing above churning wheels the grandiose flotilla set off. Misfortune overtook the fleet before it reached the advance camp at Fort Martin. The boats proved to be poorly constructed, unfitted for the angry freshet waters of the Missouri. One by one they were abandoned. Major Long's Ohio vessel alone remained in service. The soldiers were compelled to march along the banks. A few keelboats followed them with supplies. Late in September the expedition had covered only half the distance to the Yellowstone. Atkinson ordered a halt. The soldiers spent the winter near a trading post kept by Manuel Lisa near the present site of Omaha. Trees were felled in the river bottoms and stone was quarried. Before cold weather caught the men, comfortable quarters had been established.

The first months of the winter were pleasant ones. Hunting parties brought in carcasses of buffalo, elk, and deer. The scientists described the wild beauty of the surroundings in their journals—the "council bluffs" at night, sparkling stars, the staccato howl of coyotes. In December the cold increased. Mush ice swirled down the turgid river, rustling like satin on the frozen banks. Small parties of Indians trotted into camp on shaggy ponies with hoofs polished like agate by the creaking snow. The red riders wore buffalo skins around their bodies. Icicles tinkled on their horses' lips. At night the Indians built great fires under the bare trees and danced for the soldiers.²³ The principal chief of the Iowas asked why white men told Indians not to fight when they fought themselves.²⁴

On Christmas the trader gave a ball—a real event with a thousand soldiers and two white women. On New Year's Eve several French-Canadians knocked at the cantonment doors. They stumped into the rooms on moccasin feet, warmed their fingers at the stone fireplaces, sang and danced. These wild fel-

²² Hiram Martin Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West* (New York, 1935), II, 567.

²³ Edwin James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains . . . 1819, 1820* (London, 1823), p. 141.

²⁴ James, *Expedition from Pittsburgh*, pp. 163-64.

lows painted their faces as Indians. Their long hair was parted in the middle and daubed with vermilion. They were as much at home in the frozen wilderness as any savage. The soldiers rewarded them with great delicacies — flour, meat, and whiskey.²⁵

The Christmas festivities brought little pleasure to Colonel Atkinson. Scurvy had appeared among his men. Before long three hundred of them were down. Over a hundred died—one of the most disastrous winters in the frontier army's history.²⁶ As soon as the river became navigable in the spring the surviving invalids were floated back to St. Louis. Those who remained behind had no heart for further travel. The grand expedition had failed.

In Washington congressmen howled at the wasted appropriation and bad management, but, fortunately for Colonel Atkinson, the administration and Secretary Calhoun received the blame. To protect his superiors, save face, and get some return on the elaborate expenditures, Atkinson detached two small exploring parties from his discouraged army. One, under Captain Matthew Magee, tramped off through the prairies to the forest-studded lakes of Minnesota and to the present site of Minneapolis.²⁷ The other party, under Major Long, rode up the Platte, traversed the Great Plains as far as the Rocky Mountains, discovered the peak that bears Long's name, and returned by way of the Arkansas. The War Department had learned the hard way that a dozen resolute men could cross the plains with impunity while a thousand were sure to fail. Colonel Atkinson was made a brigadier general.

Four years later Congress resolved on another attempt to send soldiers to the mouth of the Yellowstone. General Atkinson was given the command again. This time there was no fanfare, no publicity. The War Department had learned a lesson from the previous catastrophe and it did not intend to err again. The new expedition was much smaller than the first. Less than half as many men were assigned to the task. Among the officers appeared names that would become associated forever with the

²⁵ James, *Expedition from Pittsburgh*, p. 168.

²⁶ Chittenden, *Fur Trade*, II, 567.

²⁷ Valentine Mott Porter, ed., "Journal of Stephen Watts Kearny," *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, Jan., 1908, pp. 8-29.

West — Colonel Leavenworth, Major Kearny, Captains Armstrong and Riley.²⁸ For an interpreter General Atkinson employed Edward Rose, quarter Negro, quarter Indian, half white, a thick-bodied gorilla-man who had lived with the Indians on their own terms.²⁹ White men looked at his sullen face and decided not to ask about his past. Behind Rose's back they whispered that he was an outlaw, a pirate. An ugly slit in his nose might have been inflicted as punishment for some crime.

General Atkinson designated the old cantonment at Council Bluffs as the starting point for the new expedition. A month's trip up the river to this place hardened the men for the journey beyond. Keelboats were used instead of steamers, and on the river bank forty mounted men carried messages, killed fresh meat, and kept the boats in communication with each other. Before the middle of May—instead of late September as on the first trip—all had arrived at the bluffs. General Atkinson reorganized his force, gave the boats and men a last inspection, then he ordered Captain Armstrong to take Rose and a detachment of cavalry, ride ahead, and prepare the Indians for their coming.

On May 14, 1825, the main expedition set out.³⁰ Eight keelboats, all tested for rough water, carried munitions, cannon, and supplies. At Ponca village—now Ponca City, Nebraska—a great Indian council was held. From here on for 700 miles the plains were ruled by the Dakotah and Cheyenne—grim lords of war and the chase. General Atkinson sent off runners up the Niobrara, across the White to the Belle Fourche, the Grand, and the Big Knife. Villages as far west as the Black Hills and the Little Missouri were told to come to the great river and talk with the White Father as his boats passed by. The red men came by thousands, on foot, on horseback, packing their camps on dogs, dragging equipment on travois — elongated shafts hitched to the backs of horses. Every few days Atkinson stopped, landed and reviewed his soldiers, fired his cannon for the Indians to admire—and remember. Then he signed treaties with the headmen and took from them the English medals—presents of Canadian fur traders—that some wore around their necks. At

²⁸ Chittenden, *Fur Trade*, II, 603.

²⁹ Washington Irving, *Adventures of Captain Bonneville* (London, 1837), II, 65; Chittenden, *Fur Trade*, p. 675 ff.

³⁰ Chittenden, *Fur Trade*, II, 602.

the Mandan village, occupied by a small tribe who lived in mud houses and practiced rude farming, riders set off to call the Crows. These warriors, Rose's adopted brothers, were reputed as deadly as the Dakotah. They refused to come in, then changed their minds. On war ponies, with jingling ornaments and fluttering ribbons, the savages came across the plains at an arrogant gallop.

Atkinson saw them in the distance and ordered his cooks to prepare a feast. Presents were spread out on the ground — a tempting array. Then the general mounted his charger, formed his men, marched them across the flats in columns and companies; cannon lumbered into position, were unlimbered, and with a puff of smoke shrapnel exploded on distant prairie swells. The Indians in the meantime, had lined up to watch and wonder. Atkinson sent a courier to them. They could take their choice—"either talk turkey or talk crow."

The warriors got off their horses and came forward with extended hands, "How! How!" Atkinson sat down on the grass and talked with them. The pipe was lighted and passed from mouth to mouth.

During the council the young braves crowded around the cannon—the strange and terrible "wagons that shoot." Unobserved, the red men tamped dirt into the touch holes, then turned toward the presents spread out on the ground. "Colonel" Benjamin O'Fallon saw what had happened when it was too late. He drew his pistol and fired in an Indian's face. The weapon snapped harmlessly. O'Fallon downed the savage with his pistol butt. The furious Crows surged toward the American. Edward Rose, always considered as much Indian as white men, jumped into the melée on the side of his employers. With superhuman strength he swung the long barrel of his flintlock right and left, flogging feathered heads and copper shoulders.³¹ The red men cringed under the assault, then fled. General Atkinson ordered his men into formation and prepared for war. The Crows stood defiantly at a distance, then turned and rode away rubbing their heads and backs.

Ten more days' travel put the soldiers at the mouth of the

³¹ Irving, *Captain Bonneville*, II, 68.

Yellowstone, their destination at the edge of the Assiniboins and Blackfoot country. If these two tribes were added to American allegiance, the United States could claim a sphere of influence to within 500 miles of the Pacific. Atkinson intended to remain here for some time. His men prepared a permanent camp.

There were few lonelier places in all the world than the junction of the Yellowstone and the Missouri in 1825. A ruined trader's fort near the confluence added to the desolation. On all sides the plains, scorched by the August sun, stretched shriveled and yellow as far as the eye could see. A geographical vacuum! One day the primeval silence was broken by human shouts down on the river. Atkinson saw his men run toward the sound. Out in the water strange white men were struggling. The soldiers fished them out and listened to their story.

Eighteen months ago they had left Council Bluffs in the employment of William Henry Ashley, a St. Louis fur trader who led them first to the Rockies, then across to Great Salt Lake. He had accumulated bales of beaver pelts—a fortune if he could get them back to the states. Ashley moved his bulky treasure across Wyoming to the head of the Big Horn.³² Here, on a desert wide, scorched, and bitter as ashes, the men built rafts and embarked once more for St. Louis thousands of miles away. A party of trappers sailed immediately ahead of them and were wiped out by Indians.³³ Ashley and his men found their tragic camp. They sailed on silently, grimly watching the butter colored banks. No misfortune overtook them for 300 miles. Then, just as they reached the junction of the Missouri where the soldiers were camped, one of the rafts foundered.

General Atkinson knew Ashley. Back in St. Louis the trader was already a man of means, interested in politics. An ex-lieutenant governor of Missouri and general in the state militia, he had been defeated for governor in 1824 and had set off immediately afterwards on the expedition that was now coming to a close. Like Atkinson, Ashley was a Southerner, born in Virginia south of the James. The two men had much in common.

³² Harrison Clifford Dale, ed., *The Ashley-Smith Explorations and the Discovery of a Central Route to the Pacific 1822-1829* (Cleveland, 1918), p. 160.

³³ T. D. Bonner, ed., *The Life and Adventures of James P. Beckwourth* (New York, 1856), p. 81.

Ashley was delighted at this opportunity to have his furs protected by the army on the long trip down the Missouri. In return he offered to guide the party of soldiers 120 miles farther west in search of the Assiniboina who had not come in "to talk."

The side trip was unsuccessful. The party returned in the late summer. Everyone was eager to get back to civilization. The days were still hot but after sunset the wind from distant snow fields warned the travelers that winter was coming. Ashley was given four of the army's seven keelboats for his furs. The others were loaded with government equipment and supplies, including the horses. The trip downstream would be too fast for mounted men on shore.

On August 27, 1825, the flotilla pushed into midstream and the descent began.³⁴ Ashley had with him a mulatto body servant, Jim Beckwourth, whose sunny, darkey ways made him the life of the expedition. On a later trip Beckwourth abandoned the whites and became as great a man as Rose among the Indians. Now he preferred to swagger on the deck in buckskin leggings and tell the soldiers about scalping raids in the high mountains.³⁵

From Fort Lookout [Chamberlain, S. D.] on, the terrain changed rapidly around the swift boats. The grass, tall and yellow, appeared more luxuriant, the groves of cottonwood trees larger. The short grass country of the high plains had been replaced by the woods and prairies of the middle west. Before long the familiar skyline of Council Bluffs slipped past the port gunwales. Then Fort Martin was left behind on the Kaw. In no time the expedition reached St. Louis. Ashley sold his furs, prepared for another expedition, and laid his plans to campaign for the United States Senate. Atkinson, a middle-aged man now, married a Kentucky girl, and established Jefferson Barracks ten miles south of St. Louis. Next spring he sent Colonel Leavenworth up the Missouri to found Fort Leavenworth in the Kansas country. The boats were hardly out of sight when word was received that the Winnebagoes, far up the Mississippi, were on the warpath.

³⁴ Chittenden, *Fur Trade*, II, 609.

³⁵ Bonner, ed., *Life of Beckwourth*, p. 86.

The general organized another expedition. This time he went in person to direct pushing the keelboats up the wooded banks of the Father of Waters.³⁶ At the agency in Prairie du Chien [Wisconsin], the soldiers deployed along the portage trails and quickly quelled the uprising. Atkinson's reputation was beginning to rival that of the great William Clark as manager and controller of red men.

Five years later, 1832, the Black Hawk War furnished Atkinson his permanent right to renown as a pioneer in Illinois. Black Hawk was an old warrior of the Sauk nation. He shaved his head, painted his cheeks, and wore a moose's mane roach. For him the War of 1812 had been a victory for the British. He donned a red coat on dress occasions. He called his followers the British Band, and all of them continued to deal with Canadian Indian agents fifteen years after other red men had submitted to American rule. Black Hawk's village was situated at the mouth of Rock River in northern Illinois. As the state settled he was crowded from his ancient home—the maize fields and the graves of his fathers. Black Hawk determined to fight.

General Atkinson took charge of the ensuing campaign. After three battles and several skirmishes the renegades were driven across the Mississippi. The last fight occurred at the mouth of the Bad Axe in what is now Wisconsin. Atkinson arrived in time to take personal command of the second day's fighting. The Indians, trapped on a group of wooded islands in the Mississippi, were massacred ruthlessly by the soldiers.³⁷ Men, women, and children threw themselves into the river to escape the hail of bullets. Cannon on a steamboat plowed shot and shell through the bobbing heads. A few Indians escaped under drift logs and débris.

The Black Hawk War ended the Indian problem in Illinois. It was also the old general's last fight with the red men. The war was important in Illinois history because it opened the northern and western lands after the southern part of the state had been settled and at a time when the newly constructed Erie Canal made travel easy from New England. The opening of the

³⁶ Bruce E. Mahan, *Old Fort Crawford and the Frontier* (Iowa City, 1926), pp. 111-12.

³⁷ Theodore Calvin Pease, *The Frontier State 1818-1848. Centennial History of Illinois*, Volume II, (Springfield, Ill., 1919), p. 171 e.

new lands coincided also with the rejuvenation of the Congregational Church and the organized effort of Yale University to move Puritan traditions into the West. The clash of these newcomers with the "native Southerners" precipitated a crisis which distinguished another North Carolinian.

Military details of the war to evict the Indians interest students mainly for the light they shed on the early lives of participants better known in other connections. The campaign was encouraged by Andrew Jackson, President of the United States, who had learned to hate both British and Indians in the Carolinas and Tennessee. General Winfield Scott, Virginia hero of the War of 1812, came out to Chicago by boat to supervise the operations. Lieutenant Albert Sidney Johnston, Kentuckian, acted as adjutant for Atkinson. Colonel Zachary Taylor, Virginian, commanded a regiment of regulars in the campaign. Black Hawk was taken as a prisoner to Jefferson Barracks by Lieutenant Jeff Davis. Abraham Lincoln served as a private in the volunteers. Tradition says that Lieutenant Jeff Davis administered the required oath of allegiance to the flag to Private Lincoln. The records tell a different story. Lincoln was sworn in by Lieutenant Robert Anderson instead. Anderson was a Kentuckian. He married a Georgia girl. In 1861, having risen to the rank of major, he commanded Fort Sumter, South Carolina, when the Confederacy demanded its evacuation. Anderson refused to haul down the flag and shortly after the bombardment he called at the White House to give Lincoln an account of his surrender. The President greeted him with "Do you remember me?" The flushed officer did not remember, but he left the President well satisfied with the promise of a general's star for gallant resistance.³⁸

Two years after Henry Atkinson had been commissioned a captain in the army from North Carolina in 1808, a boy was born in Iredell County of that state. In the course of a long life he would distinguish himself in the quarrel which arose over slavery in Illinois along the lines which Atkinson had established by evicting the Indians. Alfred W. Arrington's father was a Meth-

³⁸ The official correspondence, muster rolls, Atkinson's letter book and Albert Sidney Johnston's journal, all in the Illinois State Historical Library at Springfield, are being edited for publication by the writer.

odist preacher. His grandfather, born upon the same soil, served in the War of 1812. His great-grandfather, the first of the name to come to America, had been a major in the British army during the Revolution.³⁹ After the war he remained in North Carolina. Little Alfred's first and only childhood book was the Bible. His father read it to him as a baby. The little fellow lisped his first words in verse. By the time he was twelve, people said he had a poetical temperament. He often left the house and sat in the moist twilight looking at the blue ridges of distant mountains. The crooning of the wind in the pines fascinated him. He would forget to eat when a black cloud cast purple shadows across the fields. While he was still a boy, emotional and sensitive, his father moved to Arkansas. The settlers in the new community were evangelical people. Young Arrington, at the age of eighteen, learned that he could kindle their emotions—set them on fire. His flow of poetic words and the organ tones of his voice inflamed camp meetings with ecstasy.

Between sermons Arrington read everything he could find. He studied metaphysics, the philosophy of the ancients, the East Indians and Chinese. He became skeptical about the Bible, decided to stop preaching and use his talents in politics. His stump speaking won him a seat in the Arkansas legislature but the dishonesty of his colleagues disgusted him. Arrington decided to become a lawyer! He hoped that in this field his gift might be both profitable and satisfying.

Arrington read law in Missouri and was admitted to the bar in 1835.⁴⁰ But once more he found life disappointing. He wanted to write the beautiful word images that came into his head, but no one in Missouri seemed to appreciate him. In 1847 Arrington went to Boston. At last he could devote his life to literature. However, the Hub, as Boston liked to call itself, did not give him the opportunity he had visualized. Arrington put his soul and all his studied philosophy into an essay, "The Mathematical Harmonies of the Universe," only to have the work received with indifference. For newspapers he wrote a series of pot-boilers, "Sketches of the South and Southwest." After two years he gave up and went to Texas where competition was not

³⁹ Alfred W. Arrington, *Poems* (Chicago, 1869), p. xi.

⁴⁰ Arrington, *Poems*, p. xiv.

so keen. He was elected district judge, held this position five years, and became more unhappy every day. Finally he went east again—for his health, he said. His wife, years later, was sure that his real reason was a desire to complete a profound work on logic. Arrington settled this time in New York City. His magnum opus never found a publisher, but the wolf was kept away from the distraught man's door by a series of thrillers for the newspapers. The "Rangers and Regulators of the Tanaha" was the most popular.

In 1856 Alfred Arrington decided to quit scribbling. He loved to write, had worked at it all his life, but nobody would buy his work. Out west on Lake Michigan, Chicago was making everybody talk. The city doubled in size every few years, affording all kinds of opportunities. Perhaps he could amount to something there. Chicago had a population of 86,000.⁴¹ Over 90,000 immigrants passed through the city yearly. Every day ninety-six trains came and went from the bustling metropolis. In five years Chicago had grown to be the greatest primary grain port in the world. Property values had tripled in three years. Everywhere Arrington went he heard people say, "The world has never seen so much physical progress in so short a period."⁴² Alfred Arrington was forty-five years old when he got off the train in the slab city. He picked his way through the muddy street to a hotel. Four years later Chicago had grown even greater than its boosters had imagined. Arrington had grown with it as a member of the firm of Arrington and Dent.⁴³ He was recognized as a leader of the bar—considered invaluable for cases in the federal tribunals. Several times he had been sent to Washington to appear before the Supreme Court.⁴⁴

Alfred Arrington's most spectacular case, *United States v. John Hossack*,⁴⁵ concerned a conspiracy to help a Negro slave escape and in consequence threatened great political and social repercussions. The Negro in question, one Jim Gray, had been

⁴¹ A. T. Andreas, *History of Chicago* (Chicago, 1884), p. 159.

⁴² Lloyd Lewis and Henry Justin Smith, *Chicago: The History of its Reputation* (New York, c 1929), p. 70.

⁴³ John M. Palmer, ed., *The Bench and Bar of Illinois* (Chicago, 1899), II, 662.

⁴⁴ Usher F. Linder, *Reminiscences of the Early Bench and Bar of Illinois* (Chicago, 1879), p. 235.

⁴⁵ See R. R. Hitt, *Report of the Trial of John Hossack Indicted for Rescuing a Fugitive Slave from the U. S. Deputy Marshal, at Ottawa, October 20th, 1859* (Chicago, 1860),

purchased in 1854 or '55 by Richard Phillipps, a Missourian, from his sister, Mrs. Gray.

Young DeWitt Clinton Phillipps was sent for the new slave. He "received" the Negro from his aunt, paid \$1,000 cash, got a bill of sale and took him home. The new "boy" was put with "a parcel of negroes"⁴⁶ on a plantation some fifteen miles from the old gentleman's home, in charge of a Negro overseer—also a slave. The new boy was called "Jim Gray" to distinguish him from Marse Phillipps' house servant, "Jim."

On the plantation, with no white folks near, Jim Gray formed the bad habit of visiting. He liked especially to go out on the river to trade and gamble with boatmen. One day he did not come back.

Richard Phillipps, for all his wealth, was practically illiterate. He could sign his name and he had learned to read a little after he married.⁴⁷ He told the editor of the neighborhood newspaper to advertise for the runaway "boy." Before long Phillipps received word that the Negro was in jail at Jonesboro, in southern Illinois. The population over there were largely Kentuckians by descent—proud, humorous, hound-dog, catfish aristocrats—pro-slave by tradition and association. The local county judge had issued a mittimus for the black man's incarceration. Phillipps ordered his buggy and set out to get his "boy." Eighty miles and three great rivers separated him from his destination. On the second day of his journey, while it was still dark, Phillipps drove into Jonesboro, Illinois. The village consisted of a "coat-house square" surrounded on each side by a single row of buildings—store, tavern, "grocery," warehouses, land, and lawyers' offices. Come daylight, Richard Phillipps went to the jail, called the "boy" to the bars, and recognized him as his slave.⁴⁸

According to the law of 1850 Phillipps was now required to file a complaint with the federal commissioner up in Springfield, the capital, where a long-legged lawyer Abraham Lincoln had made quite a name for himself. The commissioner up there would hear the case and dispose of the Negro according to the

⁴⁶ Hitt, *Trial of John Hossack*, p. 3.

⁴⁷ Hitt, *Trial of John Hossack*, pp. 27-28, 206.

⁴⁸ Hitt, *Trial of John Hossack*, p. 4.

evidence. This was a simple enough procedure and the inhabitants of "Egypt" could be counted on to help slaveowners in every way possible, but the upper end of Illinois, around Lake Michigan, was abolitionist, ever since its settlement after the Black Hawk War. Indeed, the jailer had just received a writ of habeas corpus from John D. Caton, chief justice of the Illinois Supreme Court, ordering the Negro to be brought to Ottawa for trial. Holding men in jail without a warrant must stop even if they were black, the judge said. A short time before, a Negro had been adjudged a free man in Ottawa and immediately thereafter he had been kidnapped and whisked down the river. The people up there did not like it. The jailer told Phillipps that he might be in for trouble if he followed the boy "up thar," but he "fur one" would do what he could. The two men sat down in front of the jail to work out a legal scheme to keep the slave.

They agreed that Phillipps should go at once to Springfield, get a warrant from the commissioner, and meet the jailer as he brought Jim through Decatur on the train for Ottawa. They would all ride together and as soon as the Negro was released by the writ of habeas corpus, Phillipps might take him back to Missouri with the commissioner's warrant.

Phillipps hurried off. The case was becoming expensive, but the old gentleman did not intend to be "chouseled" out of his rights. He said he would get back that boy "or his value if it cost him four other slaves."

Three of Phillipps' sons and three or four professional "slave catchers," who loafed up and down the river, came to Jonesboro and "fixed" to go along with the jailer and his charge. They were armed with derringers, revolvers, and knives. All of them intended to act within the law but they were not going to be "bully ragged by them fellers up thar."

True to schedule old man Phillipps and the commissioner's deputy, with his warrant, boarded the train when it made the regular night stop at Decatur.⁴⁹ By this time their mission was well known along the railroad. Judge David Davis, who was working and planning to get Abraham Lincoln nominated for President next spring, considered the situation serious. He went

⁴⁹ Hitt, *Trial of John Hossack*, p. 5.

down to the train when it stopped at Bloomington and warned the down-state men that they could expect trouble and had better settle out of court.⁵⁰ The people up north were in an ugly mood since that last Negro had been kidnapped.

Sixty miles farther the train stopped at La Salle—seventeen miles from the slaveholders' destination and well up in the northern part of the state. The downstate men had to change cars here. Jim was taken out with his arms trussed by a rope. A trace chain dragged from one leg. The jailer led him with a "plow-line" of the length commonly used for livestock. In Jonesboro people laughed when a Negro was treated like an animal—it taught him to know his place. In La Salle the downstate jailer's humor did not make anybody laugh. A man on the sidewalk asked the Negro, "What are you up for, fellah?"

"What crime have you committed?" another asked.

The jailer raised the chain end to strike the black man and keep him quiet. Then he decided not to do so. The crowd had increased amazingly. Judge Davis was right. These Northern farmers were in an ugly mood. The sight of clanking chains, roped arms, a felon's guard around a man who had committed no crime except to run away from work, infuriated them. The downstate men were glad to be back on the train once more. The jailer took the chain from Jim's leg and unloosed his arms. Later he explained, "The fact was, it was a pretty sour crowd around here. I allowed they would feel a little better to have it off."

The slaveholders did not like the looks of things as the train trundled along the last leg of the journey. They realized that they were very far from home, among strangers in a strange land. The train stopped next at Ottawa. A crowd was waiting on the platform. The slave-men got off. The crowd parted and let them through. They marched away and the crowd followed—grim, silent. Stove-pipe hats bobbed among the broad-brimmed beavers. Phillipps and his associates felt miserable.⁵¹ This steel-trap silence "got a fellah" worse than the hubbub back at La Salle. Then they heard a voice tell the black man,

⁵⁰ Hitt, *Trial of John Hossack*, p. 68.

⁵¹ Hitt, *Trial of John Hossack*, p. 70.

"Never mind boy! You needn't [*sic*] be scared — you're all right." ⁵²

At the Geiger House the Southern men turned and went up the steps. Mr. Phillipps asked the proprietor, "Is this an Abolitionist house?" The landlord did not answer. Phillipps said he "wanted protection."

"We'll try to protect you," the hotel man told him. That night old man Phillipps got no rest. Many men tramped into the hotel. They asked him for his bill of sale for the Negro. Phillipps did not have it with him. Down where he came from no one questioned his word. These strangers accused him of being an impostor, a slave-kidnapper. One of them said abruptly, "We must put a guard over that negro tonight. That negro will be gone before morning. You'll run him off."

Phillipps protested but no one listened to him. They all talked at once. The old gentleman became frightened. He said that he had nothing to do with the Negro. The whole affair was in the hands of the law officers. Phillipps talked a little wildly, saying anything to calm his inquisitors. Later at the trial he testified: "I was a little scared, to be honest about it. I was in Illinois with a fugitive slave. I can't recollect about it. You know when a man is scared right bad, he don't recollect much about it."

Asked when he first became frightened Phillipps said, "At La Salle. . . . The crowd and the remarks made, were enough to scare anybody." ⁵³

On the morning of the Negro's trial Phillipps walked to the courthouse. Before he got there three or four men met him. One of them offered to buy the Negro. "Yes," Phillipps told them, "anything for peace and quietness; you can have the negro."

The men asked his price. Phillipps wanted \$1,000, the amount he had in the boy.

"We can't raise so much money," one of the men replied. Then continued, "I'll look around and if I can I'll raise it." The men walked to the courthouse together. They told Phillipps that they intended to liberate the Negro if they could buy him but \$500 was all the money they could raise.

⁵² Hitt, *Trial of John Hossack*, p. 22.

⁵³ Hitt, *Trial of John Hossack*, pp. 23-25.

A crowd of curious onlookers lined the courthouse square. Inside the building some 200 men jammed the halls. The steps were packed. The crowd opened and let Phillipps through to Judge Caton's chambers. The judge sat at one end of a table. Phillipps sat down beside him. The deputy and the Negro stood by an open window. The whole room was filled with grim men—bearded faces, eager, squint-eyed, hatless, white bald heads capping sunburned cheeks.

The judge looked over the papers, said that the Negro was discharged from the original mittimus but was now legally in the custody of the commissioner's deputy from Springfield. The judge noticed a slight movement in the crowd. Phillipps could stand it no longer. He got up, tottered out and sat on the courthouse steps, sick and weak. Judge Caton looked at his waiting neighbors. He was a large man, weighing over 200 pounds,⁵⁴ more interested in fishing, natural history, and travel⁵⁵ than in politics. He told the men who stood around him that he hoped there would be no interference with the execution of the law. He had issued the writ of habeas corpus for them, now if the people did not abide by the court's decision he would never issue another writ to bring a man to a county where the law was not respected.

The judge got up and walked out. Jim stood by the window with the deputy. Everyone was silent. Judge Caton, who knew all the faces in the crowd, noticed an "intensity of expression." As soon as Caton left the room somebody jumped on a chair and called on all good law-abiding citizens to aid in carrying the Negro back to slavery. The crowd broke into an uproar. There was a rush for the door. A voice shouted: "If you want your liberty, run."⁵⁶

Men standing on the board sidewalks across the square saw a frightened black man jump the courthouse fence and dart under the drawn curtain of a waiting carriage. Peter Meyer, a saloonman, ran into the street, grabbed the horses' bridles and jerked them to a stop. John Hossack snatched the lines from

⁵⁴ Harry E. Pratt, "Life of John Dean Caton" (MS, Illinois State Historical Library), p. 132.

⁵⁵ He wrote a scientific treatise, *Antelope and Deer of America* (1877); a book of travels entitled *Miscellanies* (1880); and *Early Bench and Bar of Illinois* (1893).

⁵⁶ Hitt, *Trial of John Hossack*, pp. 80, 87, 95.

Meyer's hands and swung his fist at him. The horses reared, then plunged forward, and the carriage spun out of sight with the driver standing on the front boot lashing with his whip. People on the sidewalk and in the street cheered, waved their hats. Old Mr. Phillipps and his friends got out of town as quickly and as quietly as possible.

Back in Missouri the old planter's courage returned. He did not mind the loss of one slave, he said. It was the principle of the thing. Phillipps immediately sold four sound hands, put the money in a St. Louis bank, showed the receipt to his friends and said that he was prepared to sell four more and use all the money to get the value of that boy "Jim."

The guilty parties were hard to identify. Meyer, the saloon-man, testified before a grand jury that John Hossack had prevented him from stopping the carriage in which the Negro escaped. Judge Caton stated that John Hossack led the Negro out of the courthouse by the arm, the crowd parting to let him through. "I don't know that I should have known Mr. Hossack to have identified him," Caton testified, "but for the remarkable expression on his countenance which expressed a very high degree of excitement that struck me at once. I cannot state who else stood by him . . . but the remarkable expression of Mr. Hossack's countenance struck me."⁵⁷

On this testimony John Hossack was indicted for rescuing a fugitive slave and aiding him to escape from a Federal officer. His trial was calendared for February 28, 1860, in the United States District Court in Chicago—the city selected for the National Republican convention. Many people expected Abraham Lincoln to be nominated there. Others said that William H. Seward would beat him.⁵⁸ It was a critical time and place to try such a case. Seward had denounced the Fugitive Slave Act as contrary to a "higher law"—higher than any man-made constitution. Chicago was full of abolitionists. At least two churches in the city were terminals of the underground railway. A swivel-eyed Scot, Allan Pinkerton, operated a detective agency in the city. As ex-member of the police force, he had the inside track on matters of difficulty with "the law." An ardent abolitionist also,

⁵⁷ Hitt, *Trial of John Hossack*, p. 81.

⁵⁸ William Baringer, *Lincoln's Rise to Power* (Boston, 1937), p. 167.

he took conscientious pride in being "foreman" of the underground railroad's northern section. Chicago was notoriously lawless—full of newcomers, transients. At the time of the national excitement over forcing a pro-slave constitution on Kansas, Chicagoans had marched through the streets singing the Marseillaise, "To arms, to arms, ye brave!" Certainly John Hossack seemed as safe from conviction there as he would have been in Boston itself.

The day of trial approached. A mass meeting convened at Metropolitan Hall,⁵⁹ Resolutions denounced any court or any law that would punish a man for helping a fellow man to liberty. Five attorneys were employed to defend Hossack—among them Isaac N. Arnold,⁶⁰ who had represented Chicago ten years before in a formal protest against the Fugitive Slave Act. Few men were better qualified to argue the provisions and "intent" of such a law.

The United States District Attorney, Henry S. Fitch, realized that he was up against a battery of the city's best abolitionist talent, with popular sentiment against his case, and the streets and hotels full of politicians eager to nominate Abraham Lincoln at the forthcoming convention. To pick an attorney to cope with all these handicaps and get a conviction for Hossack seemed well nigh impossible. Fitch knew one man whose genius commanded such respect that he might save the case. Alfred Arrington was employed to help the prosecution.

The trial was called. Richard Phillipps and his son DeWitt Clinton were put on the witness stand. The Jonesboro jailer testified. Judge Caton and Meyer, the saloonman, both told the court what they knew. All were cross-examined. Then the defense summed up its case.

Gentlemen, in the nineteenth century of the Christian era, in the Republic of the United States, in the free State of Illinois, a man of unblemished character—a man known and beloved in a city which his intelligent industry has aided to build up, and his high moral qualities have contributed to adorn—sits at the felon's bar of this Court, and is on trial as a criminal.

⁵⁹ Hitt, *Trial of John Hossack*, p. 208.

⁶⁰ Arnold was always active in politics and civic movements. A founder of the Chicago Historical Society, he wrote a life of Benedict Arnold and two biographies of Lincoln. The second, appearing posthumously in 1885, ranked as a classic for a generation. It was reprinted twelve times.

And the offense—the *crime* alleged against him, and for which he is thus arraigned—is that he has aided a fellowman in his effort to obtain his liberty. It is charged to be a crime in that Republic whose foundations were laid in those great principles of liberty, equality, and the rights of man, of which the Declaration of American Independence is the fullest and noblest national expression, to aid a fellowman in seeking to secure for himself that blessed boon of liberty to which every human being is by virtue of his manhood entitled.⁶¹

The defense then pointed out the repugnant parts of the Fugitive Slave Act. No trial by jury was required to deprive a free Negro of his freedom. If a Southerner found a bale of his cotton in the North he had to prove ownership before a jury, but if he found a Negro he could deprive him of the highest of all rights—his liberty—on the writ of a commissioner with no sanction of court or judicial officer.

My word for it, gentlemen, if this law gave a right to have the question of a man's freedom tried before a jury of twelve men, under all the solemn sanctions of a court of justice, determined by legal and competent evidence, given openly and with that right of cross-examination of witnesses so essential to the discovery of truth and the exposing of falsehood and fraud, and the fact that the man was a slave were established by the verdict of the jury—my word for it . . . such judgment, would enable the claimant to go from one end of this State—aye, of this whole country—to the other without interruption or molestation.⁶²

Having established the repugnance of the Fugitive Slave Act, counsel for the defense appealed to the unwritten law which in a court of justice supersedes all statutes. Next he pointed out certain irregularities of the papers. Surely John Hossack was justified in suspecting that an illegal arrest of the Negro was being perpetrated. Counsel closed by warning the jury to guard themselves against the compelling oratory of the prosecution. Judge Arrington, he said, possessed powers of eloquence to charm juries and cloud the issue. His poetic citations from Shakespeare and the classics, his profound erudition, sometimes wooed men from their better judgment.

The defense sat down. Judge Arrington walked over before the jury box. A profound silence filled the courtroom—deference

⁶¹ Hitt, *Trial of John Hossack*, p. 161.

⁶² Hitt, *Trial of John Hossack*, pp. 171-72.

⁶³ Linder, *Reminiscences*, p. 234.

for the great jurist's talent.⁶³ Street noises could be heard from outside. Was that distant tapping the sound of hammers on the great wooden Wigwam where Abraham Lincoln hoped to be nominated President? Judge Arrington bowed to the defense counsel. His opponent, he said, and his voice was very low, had complimented him on his erudition, his ability to quote classics. "I confess, as his powerful and persevering argument unfolded its logic," he said, "one little passage of the immortal poet did strike me: . . . 'A rose by any other name would smell as sweet.' But perhaps they deny this poetic truth of Shakespeare to be applicable to the negro, or the negro race." Arrington smiled at the jury. "And I must say," he continued, "that another slight quotation ran through my mind excited by the law of association which psychologists term contrast,—the line where Lady Macbeth exclaims, 'all the perfumes of Arabia will not sweeten this little hand.' And that I am quite certain is pertinent to the negro."

After this realistic sally against the black race, Arrington discussed the Negro's place in society. He showed that Louis Agassiz, professor at Harvard, had demonstrated the black man to be inferior to the white. His brain "development never goes beyond that of a Caucasian in boyhood." No objection is made to restraining boys and denying them certain liberties until they reach man's estate. This restriction on liberty had not seemed inconsistent to the signers of the Declaration of Independence. Boys must pass through a period of tutelage; so, too, in the grand economy of history, the black man may also be developed. "Slavery is a necessity, an indispensable condition without which he can never emerge from the night of barbarism."⁶⁴ "Liberty," Arrington said, was a fine word in the abstract, but the liberty displayed by the Paris mob in the French Revolution or by the black savages in the Santo Domingo slave revolt of 1791, was no more justifiable than allowing liberty to a maniac. The Fathers believed in the liberty of the Declaration of Independence and the clause that all men were created equal, but they saw the necessity of qualifying the Declaration with the Constitution—a supreme law that provided for the return of fugitives from labor.

Judge Arrington walked over to his table. He picked up a copy

⁶⁴ Hitt, *Trial of John Hossack*, p. 229.

of the Constitution of the United States. "The principle of life to our federal organization," he said, showing the impressive document to the jury, "the bond of its unity, the basis of its being. Cancel that, and the entire system ceases to exist." ⁶⁵

Judge Arrington read the provision in the Constitution relating to the return of fugitives from labor. "I ask you, gentlemen, when and by whom was that high law made? The spirit of seventy-six has been invoked to aid the defense. Did the eloquent counsel remember that the men of seventy-six, fresh from the strife of the Revolution . . . enacted that law?"

Next Judge Arrington picked up a leather-bound statute book. He opened it and read the provisions of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1793. "I beg now to show you that that law is precisely similar to the law under which you are to convict this defendant. . . ." Arrington stepped back before the jury. "It was the same immortal men of seventy-six," he said, "that placed that law upon the statute book; and it was Washington that sanctioned and signed it. When, therefore, they declaim against the present law as hard and cruel, and when they libel Mr. Phillipps as a miscreant and man-stealer, because he sought his property in a mode recognized by the Constitution, let them recollect whose dust they spurn." ⁶⁶

The act of 1850 was cited next as the product of "the grand names of Clay and Webster." Then Arrington turned to another source. "You have often heard of the ordinance of 1787. You have listened again and again to the praises of the men who gave this vast north-west to the dominion of freedom. Now, the sixth article of the ordinance is as follows:" Arrington picked up another volume.

. . . Any person escaping into the same from whom service or labor is lawfully claimed in any of the original states, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed, and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid.⁶⁷

"And this law, too," said the Judge, "was passed when the echoes from the thunders of revolutionary cannon were still ringing in the valleys and over mountains where our fathers lived and died." Arrington outlined the development of the

⁶⁵ Hitt, *Trial of John Hossack*, p. 202.

⁶⁶ Hitt, *Trial of John Hossack*, pp. 202-03.

⁶⁷ Hitt, *Trial of John Hossack*, p. 203.

Constitution. He scoffed at states' rights as a political expedient of a minority that would inevitably lead only to chaos. He condemned the recent decision of the supreme court of Wisconsin which had nullified the Fugitive Slave Act—their alleged state's right to free all slaves that crossed their border. Such an interpretation was mere repetition “of the heresies of the arch heretic, Calhoun.” The true constitutional doctrine of the Fathers, Arrington thundered, could be found in the political thinking of the High Priest of the Republican Party, himself:

A man of incorruptible integrity; a statesman of great practical power, and in many traits of character resembling Henry Clay, and more than all, as pure a patriot as ever lived. That man is Abraham Lincoln. Aye, Abraham Lincoln, the highest authority with the best section of his party, in his fine Freeport speech had the noble daring, the truthfulness of heart, and great moral heroism to announce that he was in favor of “an efficient fugitive slave law.” Gentlemen, after that you cannot entertain a fear of excommunication. . . .⁶⁸

In conclusion, gentlemen, let me say again for the last time. . . . It is the voice of your fathers from the dust of their glorious graves which demands a vindication of their memory. . . . I implore you, gentlemen, to do your duty, . . . for the sake of that Union which gives us and our children a name among the nations of the earth.⁶⁹

The jury filed out of the courtroom. Shortly before six o'clock they returned with a verdict which read: “We, the Jury, find the defendant GUILTY, as charged in the indictment.” Thus Phillipps got satisfaction. The Negro already had his liberty, and the man who freed him was convicted in the abolitionist citadel. Alfred Arrington never received a more spectacular decision.⁷⁰

Six months later Abraham Lincoln was elected President and the nation plunged into war. Arrington remained true to his interpretation of the Constitution. The national government must be supreme. Throughout the bitter arbitrament of battle, the North Carolinian tried to console his mind by writing poems on non-political themes—“To Flora at the Piano,” “My Life is Like a Drop of Dew.” After Appomattox Major General William Tecumseh Sherman announced a proposed visit to Chicago. Ar-

⁶⁸ Hitt, *Trial of John Hossack*, p. 218.

⁶⁹ Hitt, *Trial of John Hossack*, p. 234.

⁷⁰ Some of Arrington's reported cases are listed in the preface of *Poems* by Alfred W. Arrington. A spectacular divorce action against Hart L. Stewart is recounted by Linder, *Reminiscences*, pp. 235-36.

rington welcomed him with a poem. Sherman was not a Northern man in the eyes of Alfred Arrington. He was instead a Southerner, a Louisiana school teacher who had not been led astray by politicians out of office. Sherman believed in slavery, admired Southern life, but he loved the Union. To greet the red-headed horseman Arrington wrote:

All hail to our hero, the bravest and best,
Who hath chastened the South with the sword of the West.⁷¹

Later Arrington wrote another eulogy to Sherman, which said in part:

Vengeance vain he left to others;
Rebel sons he knew were brothers,
And he felt they might have mothers
Tender as his own true wife.⁷²

Of Sherman, Arrington also wrote:

Since he passed the purple border
Of which civil strife is warder,
Never did a ruthless order
Shame our Sherman's gentle hand.
Small in words, but great in action,
Ne'er a demon of distraction
Dared to class him with a faction
Narrower than his native land.⁷³

These poems written by the eminent North Carolinian in 1865 give credence to the historical theory which might easily be worked into a thesis, that hatred of Sherman as the ruthless despoiler of the South was not the product of his march to the sea but of political elements that appeared in our national life about 1875.

In spite of the fact that Judge Arrington seemed to forget some of war's horrors while writing poetry, the Muse served only partially as an opiate. Mrs. Arrington remembered that the close of the war lifted a cloud of despondency from her husband's mind.

⁷¹ Arrington, *Poems*, p. 191.

⁷² Arrington, *Poems*, pp. 195-96.

⁷³ Arrington, *Poems*, pp. 196-97.

A new book of philosophy by Herbert Spencer also gave him much comfort. Here at last was a logical union of science and religion, an answer to the skepticism⁷⁴ that had troubled Arrington since he had quit preaching in Arkansas as a boy.

Old age began to creep up on Alfred Arrington in his fifties. He devoted more and more time to his poems, the things he liked to do. People said that he was in his second childhood—all fight gone—just memories of the Blue Ridge Mountains, the majesty of lowering clouds, wind crooning in the pines. On December 31, 1867, he died. A priest baptized him on his deathbed. Chicago lawyers—selfish enough in politics and grasping for economic advantages—showed typical Northern sentimentality for the dead Southerner. He was lauded as the last of a great race, a scholar, and a gentleman of the old school. Judge Thomas Drummond, trial judge in the Hossack case, pronounced a stirring eulogy before a special meeting of the bar.⁷⁵

The next of the great Tar Heels to attain eminence in the first hundred years of Illinois' development came to the state, like his predecessors, from an unhappy background, with memories of physical and mental suffering.

In the spring of 1840 General Atkinson sat in his home at Jefferson Barracks, his work done. Alfred Arrington, also in Missouri, dabbled in the law and wished that he might become a great writer, his great work ahead of him. Down in New Garden, Guilford County, North Carolina, several covered wagons lumbered out of town. They were part of the Quaker migration that had gone into the Northwest ever since that territory had been opened to settlement, over fifty years before.⁷⁶ One of the wagons was driven by Dr. Horace F. Cannon. Beside him sat his wife and her sister. The wagon contained household furniture and rolls of bedding. The freckled faces of two boys, Will and Joseph Gurney Cannon, peered out of the back.

The road to Ohio was well known by southern Quakers. Four regular routes were followed by emigrants.⁷⁷ Nevertheless, the doctor's wife, Guielma Hollingsworth Cannon, dreaded the trip.

⁷⁴ Arrington, *Poems*, pp. xv-xvi.

⁷⁵ Palmer, *Bench and Bar*, II, 662-63.

⁷⁶ Weeks, *Southern Quakers*, p. 104 ff., describes the importance of the Quaker settlement at New Garden.

⁷⁷ H. E. Smith, "The Quakers," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, Jan., 1928, p. 47n.

The wagons lurched forward. Mrs. Cannon exclaimed dramatically, "Good-by, North Carolina; good-by, civilization."⁷⁸ She was a proud woman, interested in her ancestry. Her forefathers had come to North Carolina from Nantucket along with the Followers, Coffins, and Hollingsworths.⁷⁹ Family tradition repeated the story that they had fled from Puritan persecution. Without doubt land hunger on an already overpopulated island contributed to the move. Aside from this fact of ancestry little is known about the character and personality of Mrs. Cannon—an unfortunate circumstance, for her influence on her famous son must have been profound. "Good-by, North Carolina; good-by, civilization" indicates that she had no love for pioneer hardships. The fact that her son was named Joseph Gurney, for the wealthy orthodox English Friend,⁸⁰ may indicate that she revered materialistic conservatism—a trait that would be her son's greatest attribute.

Dr. Cannon is easier to know and to understand. He liked people, and he held the simple Quaker faith above material desires. He hated slavery and wanted to move to a country where it was prohibited. He believed that he was fleeing slaveholders' intolerance as earlier Quakers had fled from the intolerance of New England. New and rich land also attracted him in the Northwest as new land in the South had attracted his ancestors. Dr. Cannon believed that a great opportunity awaited him to practice medicine in the new settlements.

At Greensboro the wagons stopped to lay in supplies for the trip into the wilderness. The boys climbed out of the wagon to stare at the town. Their parents made last-minute purchases, the most important being sulphur matches costing a whole shilling. At wayside cabins on the road, travelers usually borrowed fire for their camp, but in the mountains ahead no settlers would be found. The precious sulphur-dipped block was entrusted to the hands of little Joe Cannon's aunt and hidden, no doubt, in one of the voluminous pockets of her skirt. In Greensboro, too, other Friends from Guilford County joined the emigrants. In all,

⁷⁸ L. White Busbey, *Uncle Joe Cannon—The Story of a Pioneer American* (New York, c 1927), p. 10.

⁷⁹ Weeks, *Southern Quakers*, p. 107 ff., discusses this Nantucket migration.

⁸⁰ John Cunningham, *The Quakers . . . An International History* (Edinburgh, 1868), p. 295; Thomas, *Friends in America*, pp. 144-48.

fifteen families met and agreed to make the trip together. They drove north to Danville, Virginia. Later they passed White Sulphur Springs, a popular resort, gay with holiday people, laughter, music, summer clothes. Little Joseph Cannon never forgot how unhappy his mother was in the dingy covered wagon. "I remember she kissed me, but it was not like the way she kissed me in North Carolina," he said years later.⁸¹

Long days in the mountains followed, steep pulls with the horses lunging against their collars, perilous descents with one wheel chained to brake the other three. The women begged to be allowed to walk. Sometimes the road followed the bottom of a mountain stream. At other times the travelers crossed gurgling brooks a dozen times in half a day and each time almost stuck in the mud. Tree limbs lashed at the canvas cover. Inside the rocking wagons, cooking utensils lurched about, iron kettle legs gouged holes in treasured furniture. The bedding got wet and soured after days of improper airing.

At last the emigrants reached the Ohio River. Across from Marietta, they hired a ferryboat. The Friends did not tarry on the north bank but pushed on toward the National Pike. Many Quakers from the East had settled here in Ohio but the Cannons were bound for Indiana—a newer country where better land could be had. The National Pike made an impression on little Joe. He said that this artery of travel gave him an inspiration that influenced his whole life. Years later he remembered the Pike as an eight-lane highway sixty feet wide, thronged with vehicles, shouting drivers, popping whips.⁸² Some emigrants moved with herds of cattle, and even slaves. Mail coaches, packed with passengers, rocked past the little Quaker cavalcade. A warning bugle announced the approach of some notable traveler. A coach carrying Thomas Hart Benton on his way to St. Louis from Washington swung into view, and rolled importantly on its way. Great Conestoga wagons loaded with freight plodded along, each one drawn by six horses with the driver riding the "nigh wheeler." "Conestogie" horses were the biggest, roundest animals the North Carolina boy had ever seen. The long black "stogie" cigars which the teamsters smoked interested Joe too.

⁸¹ Busbey, *Uncle Joe Cannon*, p. 12.

⁸² Busbey, *Uncle Joe Cannon*, p. 14.

Best of all were the Pony Express riders who galloped by with bags of special mail. The ease with which these jockeys leaped from one horse and swung aboard the next as it galloped away, made a great impression on the young Quaker. His father told him that the riders carried letters to the capital at Washington. Joe resolved then and there to be a Pony Express rider and to go to Washington.

One other thing impressed the boy during the month he trundled in the big wagon along the 350 miles between Marietta and his new home. Everybody talked politics, waved tin cups full of hard cider—drinks for all. They told each other that Harrison was “bound” to win. Little Joe learned to lisp “Tippecanoe and Tyler too.”⁸³

On the Wabash, the western boundary of Indiana, a belt of timber girded the stream. This was typical “North Carolina country.” The Cannons stopped. They built a cabin, cleared the land, and joined a nearby “meeting.” Father Cannon began his practice of medicine. In the spring he put in a crop. His sons were reared with axes in their hands. They had few books but those they did have the boys memorized, lying on their stomachs before the fire. It was a pioneer community. West of the Cannon homestead the Grand Prairie stretched like the ocean as far as the eye could see—grass and matted herbs stirrup tall. Here Indiana axemen discovered that their legs fitted the back of a horse. Men who learned to ride across that ocean of grass would have little trouble finding their way in the short grass country of the Far West. Here was a great training ground for the generation of frontiersmen who would conquer the Rockies. Joe Cannon never forgot that he belonged to that generation.

The first great shock in Joe Cannon’s life followed a trip his father made back to the South to settle an estate. Down there slaves had to be sold to satisfy the law. Dr. Cannon could not bear to see them auctioned off. He raised the money among the Society of Friends in Indiana, bought the Negroes himself, and shipped them North to freedom. Pro-slavery neighbors in Indiana complained. A law against free Negroes was invoked. Cannon protected one of the freed men from being sent back to

⁸³ Dorsey Richardson, compiler, “Personal Memoirs of ‘Uncle Joe’ Cannon” (Manuscripts, Illinois State Historical Library), p. 7.

slavery. He was convicted and fined heavily. The sheriff came and took Cannon's livestock to pay the debt. Young Joe never forgot this "injustice." Democrats and the South became associated in his growing mind with the sheriff who took the milk cows. Hatred of a whole party, a class, and a section gave the boy a new and bitter incentive to go to Washington.

In 1851 Joe's father, on leaving to see a patient, rode into the Sugar Creek ford when the water was high. His horse lost his footing and the doctor drowned. Joe, aged fourteen, became head of the family. First he got a job clerking in a country store at \$150 per year—good wages for the time. In five years he saved \$500. Then he decided to become a lawyer. In the office of John P. Usher in Terre Haute he began his serious law reading. Finally he spent six weeks and the last of his \$500 at the Cincinnati Law School. Then, with a diploma, he walked out into the Illinois prairie, a lonely figure in an ocean of grass. At Shelbyville he hung out his shingle.⁸⁴

Few clients came to his office. Joe Cannon got board for a dollar a week but could not pay it. He saw no prospect of success ahead. One day he snatched the framed diploma from the wall, smashed the glass, and ground the sheepskin under his heel. "It was one of the bluest days in my life,"⁸⁵ he said later. Cannon walked down to the railroad station and got on a northbound train. "The conductor asked me for my ticket," Cannon once told reporters. "I had none. He asked me for money, and I had none. So he kicked me off the train at Tuscola, Illinois."⁸⁶

Unbroken prairie surrounded the town. One house on the horizon accentuated the dreary prospect.⁸⁷ But Tuscola had recently been made Douglas County seat. There was plenty of work for a young attorney. Within a year Joe Cannon paid his bills and sent for his mother and brother Will to come make a home. The town was still new and growing but it had some refinement. The North Carolina "Quaker lady" had found civilization again.

In the fall of 1858 Cannon heard that a politician named Lincoln was going to debate with Stephen A. Douglas at Charleston

⁸⁴ Richardson, "Personal Memoirs," p. 41.

⁸⁵ Busbey, *Uncle Joe Cannon*, p. 77.

⁸⁶ "Taps for 'Uncle Joe' Old-Fashioned American," *Literary Digest*, Dec. 4, 1926, p. 36.

⁸⁷ Joseph G. Cannon, speech before Chamber of Commerce, Pittsburgh, Pa., Feb. 12, 1910, *Abraham Lincoln* (Washington, 1910), p. 7.

—some twenty miles southeast across the prairie. Cannon decided to go, and did.⁸⁸ Down there, standing in the crowd looking up at the platform, he got his first glimpse of the Emancipator. (For half a century his friends never heard the end of that.) Two years later Cannon saw Lincoln again. The presidential convention that followed the Hossack trial had been announced for Chicago. Down at Decatur the state Republicans met to recommend a candidate. Decatur was about forty miles from Tuscola. Cannon and a friend hired a team. They put bedding and camp outfit in the back of the wagon and set out. The next day at the convention Cannon saw Dennis Hanks, Lincoln's cousin, come on the platform with some walnut rails allegedly split by Abraham Lincoln. The crowd shouted for the Rail Splitter—the origin of the name that helped sweep Lincoln into the White House, much as hard cider and live 'coons had swept another aspirant into the Presidency in Cannon's youth. Driving back home behind the jogging horses Cannon thought that most of the men at the convention, including himself, had split as many rails and been born in as small a cabin as the candidate. Cannon was certain, now, that politics interested him more than anything else in the world. He had not forgotten Thomas Hart Benton in the great carriage on the National Road or the Pony Express riders on their way to Washington.

In June, 1860, Cannon went to Chicago "on a pass,"⁸⁹ for he was still far from affluent. In the Windy City he saw the Rail Splitter howled into the nomination by marching Wide Awakes and torchlight processions. That year, too, Cannon ran for state's attorney and lost in the same election that made Lincoln President of the United States. Before leaving for Washington the President-elect went to Coles County to see his old stepmother. Her modest farmhouse was some twenty-five miles southeast of Tuscola. Cannon drove down with hundreds of other curious citizens to gape at the future President. This was the fourth and

⁸⁸ Joseph G. Cannon, *I Knew Abraham Lincoln*, an address delivered at Danville, Ill., Oct. 20, 1922. Two versions of this speech state this fact. Another account of the debate appears in speech of Joseph G. Cannon, April 12, 1916, *Abraham Lincoln* (Washington, 1916), p. 5. The account is repeated again by Jewell H. Aubere, "A Reminiscence of Abraham Lincoln, a conversation with Speaker Cannon," *World's Work*, Feb., 1907, pp. 8528-30. The *Biographical Directory of the American Congress 1774-1927* (Washington, 1928), p. 785, states that Cannon moved to Tuscola in 1859. Cannon often confuses his dates. His memory sometimes played other tricks too.

⁸⁹ Cannon, *I knew Abraham Lincoln*.

last time he saw Abraham Lincoln, but all his life he liked to recount each meeting and none of them lost anything by the telling. By the time Cannon was eighty he said that Lincoln was the "greatest character next to the Master who was crucified for us."⁹⁰

In 1861 Cannon ran again for state's attorney in the newly created 27th judicial district. This time his Quaker lineage helped him in one part of the new area. In other parts, where the Democrats predominated, the candidate stressed the fact that he was a North Carolinian. He was elected. Cannon's political career had begun. He celebrated by marrying Mary P. Reed, a Methodist.

Cannon's opponents always taunted him for not fighting in the Civil War.⁹¹ He always replied that he had been drafted by his fellows to serve at home. Had he resigned to fight, a special election would have been required to fill his place—a needless and unpatriotic expense. Thus Cannon showed from the beginning a trait that in time won him the title of Watchdog of the Treasury.

The life of a prosecuting attorney in Cannon's district was almost as hazardous as the battle front. In 1864 seven Union soldiers, home on furlough, were killed in Charleston, Illinois, by Copperhead farmers who opposed "Lincoln's war." The Butternuts had come to town with guns hidden under straw in their wagons. The sheriff, a Democrat, abetted the rioting. Joseph Cannon in his memoirs said that he prosecuted the guilty parties fearlessly.⁹² The records, however, do not verify his statement. Few of the rioters were apprehended. Those who were, asked for a change of venue and got it. Only two were ever tried,⁹³ and Cannon's name does not appear among the prosecutors.

War orators made a lasting impression on the young politician. Especially did Cannon always remember the speeches of Owen Lovejoy, a Congregational minister at Princeton, Illinois—one of the communities that had come to Illinois as a body to help form the Puritan wedge in the western part of the state. Lovejoy's brother, Elijah, had been killed by a mob at Alton, Illinois,

⁹⁰ Cannon, *I Knew Abraham Lincoln*.

⁹¹ Note letters and telegrams in Cannon papers in Illinois State Historical Library.

⁹² Busbey, *Uncle Joe Cannon*, p. 88.

⁹³ Charles H. Coleman and Paul H. Spence, "The Charleston Riot, March 28, 1864," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, March, 1940, p. 45 ff.

for daring to print his opinion about slavery—in short, for insisting on freedom of the press. The murder crazed Owen Lovejoy. He quit the pulpit for politics and devoted the rest of his life to abolition. From him Cannon learned to sway an audience. Years later Cannon described a meeting at Greenup, a Democratic town in Illinois, strongly pro-slavery. Lovejoy was warned to stay away or suffer the fate of his brother Elijah. Owen came and sat on the platform apparently unconcerned. When called on to speak Lovejoy got up and looked out across the hostile audience. "I have been told that Owen Lovejoy would not be here today," his voice rang out, clear, well-modulated, unafraid. "I am called an abolitionist," he shouted. "I want twelve men, all of them Democrats, to stand up."

Men in the audience stood up. Lovejoy selected twelve of them. With official dignity he charged them to find a true verdict. He was going to try himself on the complaint of being an abolitionist, he said. He paused, then turned impressively toward the audience and began:

On a plantation, in the distant Southland, in the low miasmie swamps, there was a woman. She was young, handsome and under God's law had as much right to live and control her own actions as any of us. She was one eighth African and seven eighths white blood, just like your blood and mine. The overseer of the plantation where she was held in bondage sought to persecute her because she would not assent to his advances. She escaped into the swamps. Bloodhounds were set on her trail. She boarded a little steamboat which plied on a small river which emptied into the great Father of Waters. In the fullness of time she landed at the first station in Illinois, name not given, and proceeded from station to station. Finally she arrived in Princeton. I myself, Owen Lovejoy, was the keeper of that station at Princeton. She came to my house hungry and told me her story. She was fairer than my own daughter, proud, tall and beautiful. She was naked, and I clothed her; she was hungry, and I gave her bread; she was penniless, and I gave her money. She was unable to reach the next station, and I sent her to it. So from station to station she crossed the Northland far from the baying dogs on her trail, and out from under the shadow of the flag we love and venerate into Canada. Today she lives there a free and happy woman.⁹⁴

⁹⁴ Busbey, *Uncle Joe Cannon*, pp. 99-100. Note this account also in Richardson, "Personal Memoirs," pp. 55-57.

Lovejoy stopped. He saw handkerchiefs in the audience. Women looked up at him through brimming eyes. "As you shall answer to God," he thundered to the jury, "what would you have done? Get up. Rise, men, and give your verdict."

Such was the school of politics in which Joseph Cannon was educated. All his life he believed the hustings should combine the art of the pulpit and the stage.

One other unusual incident marked Cannon's term as state's attorney. He always liked to tell how in those formative days he had been called upon to prosecute Sarah Bush Lincoln, step-mother of the President, the old woman who lived in the little log farmhouse in Coles County. According to his account, she had been arrested for stealing a piece of cloth in a country store—"shoplifting." Furthermore, at the hearing she was said to have confessed her guilt. The danger to the President of the United States and his administration was incalculable. Yet the duty of the state's attorney was mandatory. Cannon suspected that Lincoln's political enemies were pushing the charge. He went out in the country to see old Mrs. Lincoln. The one-story log house stood close to the road. Cannon tied up his team and knocked at the door. The old woman was frightened and confused, toothless and trembling. Yes, she had taken the cloth from the store. She wanted to see if it matched her goods at home before she bought it. She had not told the clerk. "Other women often did the same thing and no one ever accused them of being dishonest or trying to steal."⁹⁵

Cannon came away confident that Mrs. Lincoln was being persecuted for political reasons. He talked the case over with the judge. Both men decided to wipe the charge and the confession from the record. They also called in the complainants and warned them never to publicize the affair. Thus Cannon in his twenties learned that the law of the land could be set aside "for the public good" by men in power.

When Cannon was thirty-six in 1872 he ran for Congress—Washington at last but not as a Pony Express rider.⁹⁶ It was a presidential election year, with wild excitement. Alleged corrup-

⁹⁵ Busbey, *Uncle Joe Cannon*, p. 110. The confirmation of a story of this kind is almost impossible to obtain.

⁹⁶ Richardson, "Personal Memoirs," p. 89 ff.

tion in Grant's first administration and a relaxation of wartime discipline had caused an emotional upheaval, hysterical individualism. Churches quarrelled over questions of creed. Satiated abolitionists turned their attention to prohibition. Carrie Nation attended their meetings and sharpened her hatchet. Labor bickered with capital. Grangers and Greenbackers offered remedies. In Illinois three so-called liberals, two of them Democrats, one Republican, all full of panaceas, strove to be nominated President. Horace Greeley beat all the radicals to the Democratic post. Grant was renominated by the conservatives. Then the liberals all proceeded to cut each other's throats and Grant rode into his second term with a magnificent majority. Joseph Cannon, candidate of the conservative Republicans, took his seat in the House. The liberals had helped elect him by battering out their own brains in jealousy. Cannon never forgot this object lesson or the danger of party strife.

In Congress the new "gentleman from Illinois" determined to stand out from the herd. He made it a point to open all his speeches with a joke. When an opponent ridiculed him as "the hayseed from Illinois" Cannon took the title and used it to his own advantage. He waved his long arms when he spoke. Cartoonists depicted him as a windmill. Once the Speaker of the House gave him the floor for "as long as the gentleman will keep his left hand in his pocket." The House roared with laughter as Cannon got up. In less time than it took him to say a dozen words Cannon's left arm came out of his pocket. "Time's up," his opponent, "Sunset" Cox, shouted. The Hayseed lost the debate but newspapers gave him wide publicity.⁹⁷

A personage now in Washington as well as in Illinois, the Hayseed was reelected eight times in succession. In the middle 'seventies he moved his official residence to Danville, Illinois—an industrial town. Brother Will followed him, organized the Second National Bank, and in short order had an interest in many of the town's enterprises. Joe Cannon always catered to the conservatives in his district, the property owners. He opposed all "ites" and "isms" and so-called reforms. The United States was producing more wealth than had ever been dreamed of before. Why upset the applecart and muddy the fruits of Republicanism?

⁹⁷ *Commercial-News* (Danville, Illinois), May 7, 1923.

Cannon was called a reactionary—an easy name to call a man but a hard one to define. Cannon disliked the word. His record showed that he voted against resumption of specie payments in 1875—in short, against Wall Street and for the western farmers. In 1882 he voted against the Civil Service Act—liberal legislation for that day, perhaps, but “bureaucratic” to some later generations.

In 1890 a Democratic tidal wave washed Cannon out of office. Two years later he bobbed up again in his old seat, known now as “Uncle Joe,” the old-timer, the grim chieftain, “the man with the Methodist whiskers, Presbyterian upper lip and Quaker grandmother.” This time Cannon held office twenty years, through ten Congresses, 1893-1913. As chairman of the Appropriations Committee he preached and practiced governmental economy, individual opportunity. “Let the big corporations be!” Given the title of Watchdog of the Treasury now,⁹⁸ he liked the sobriquet, clamped his “Presbyterian jaws” more grimly on his long black stogies. In leisure hours he raised the ante in his friendly games of cards. As the Spanish-American War loomed Cannon showed that he could gamble in state affairs as well as in his own. Fifty million dollars was necessary to put the Army and Navy in shape for combat, yet a debate on such an appropriation would precipitate a war. President McKinley called Cannon to the White House. What could be done? In such a crisis legal technicalities did not bother Uncle Joe. As in Sarah Bush Lincoln’s case, he did what he believed to be right in spite of the people or the law. Cannon never took the matter up in his committees. He merely added the sum to an appropriation bill without authority and engineered it through Congress before many members realized what had happened. Cannon had become the party whip.

In 1901 Uncle Joe was elected Speaker, and the notorious reign of Cannonism commenced. The Democrats complained that he took advantage of his position and the rules of the House to dictate all legislation. Bills that the Speaker opposed got lost in committees he had appointed. Legislation he favored was called to vote on days when attendance assured its passage. Representatives who opposed Cannon legislation were not given an

⁹⁸ *Commercial-News* (Danville, Illinois), May 7, 1923.

opportunity to speak. In 1906 Samuel Gompers attacked the Speaker's methods. It was election year and Danville was a strong union town. Near the Chicago and Eastern Illinois Railroad Company's building a platform was constructed for Cannon's campaign. Uncle Joe, aged seventy, walked sedately up the four steps in front of the multitude. "You see how an old man would do it," he said. "Now I'll show you how a young man does it."⁹⁹ Then he walked down the steps and turned. With one leap he sprang to the center of the platform without touching a step. Samuel Gompers could not do that. Danville returned Cannon to Congress.

Next year, 1907, a revolt broke out against Cannonism in the House. "Tsar Cannon" crushed his opponents ruthlessly. The recalcitrants were stripped of all power both in the House and in the party. Irregularity was the one unpardonable sin to Uncle Joe. All the honors of his life had come to him over the bodies of bickering liberals—men who put "isms" above party. Cannon wanted none of them. Only a dictator could accomplish things, and Cannon saw nothing undemocratic in a dictator who was re-elected periodically.

In 1908 President Roosevelt criticized Cannonism pointedly. Another election year had come—this time a presidential year—and Uncle Joe felt big enough to fight the Rough Rider. At the nominating convention Roosevelt favored William Howard Taft as his successor. Cannon ran against him, polling 58 votes on the first ballot. Then the convention dropped the Speaker for Roosevelt's candidate. Joseph Cannon had met his master, but true to his belief in party regularity he backed his rival heartily.¹⁰⁰

In the House Cannon still ruled supreme. At the beginning of the Sixty-first Congress, March, 1909, another attempt to break his power failed.¹⁰¹ Next year, at the opening of the second session in 1910, disgruntled Republicans—Progressives, they called themselves—voted with the Democrats to alter the Rules Committee and exclude the Speaker from membership. They won and

⁹⁹ Ruth Howard, "'Uncle Joe' Cannon in Local Politics" (term paper, University of Chicago, in Illinois State Historical Library), p. 9.

¹⁰⁰ *Proceedings at the Twenty-Fourth Annual Lincoln Dinner of the Republican Club of the City of New York* (New York, 1910), p. 47. See also Hon. Joseph G. Cannon *His Five Years' Service as Speaker of the House* (Danville, [1908]), p. 14.

¹⁰¹ Cannon defended himself in a speech at Kansas City, Nov. 26, 1909, printed by 61st Cong., 2d Sess., as *Senate Doc. No. 163*.

Cannonism was broken forever. The victors, flushed with success, tried to oust Cannon from the Speaker's chair, but they found him grim, resourceful, eager for a fight. Despite all efforts of his enemies Uncle Joe wielded the gavel to the end of the session, March 3, 1911.¹⁰²

Joseph Cannon considered his personal defeat as a blow to his philosophy of government and a presage to the fall of the Republican Party. Of the former catastrophe he said:

The Speaker, instead of being the political director of his party . . . [became] simply the presiding officer with authority only to put motions and declare the result of votes; and the power to control the business of the House, to determine what legislation should be considered and how and when, . . . [was] lodged in the hands of the combination on the Committee, representing not a majority of the electorate but two opposing minority factions. . . . It was the recognition of anarchy under the color of law.¹⁰³

True to Cannon's prophecies, progressivism and reform, the bugaboos against which he had preached all his life, split the party the following year, 1912, and swept Woodrow Wilson into office. Cannon, with many other party stalwarts, was left high and dry out in Illinois with nothing to do but say "I told you so." Cannon's Washington colleagues gave him a great farewell dinner. Democrats as well as Republicans paid tribute to Cannon's years of sincere service. The banquet room at the Hotel Raleigh rang with the song:

Gone are the days when my gavel used to fall;
Gone most the boys who rallied to my call;
Gone, nearly all, but I'm still with the show,
I hear their stand pat voices calling Un-cle Joe.¹⁰⁴

The seventy-seven year old gladiator did not intend to retire. He devoted his enforced leisure to speaking and writing against reformers.¹⁰⁵ He blasted restrictions against child labor as unwarranted restraint of personal liberty, contrary to the bill of rights, un-American. No law prevented Abraham Lincoln from

¹⁰² Carrie P. Carter, "Joseph G. Cannon and the Struggle over the Powers of the Speaker in the Sixty-first Congress" (Manuscripts, Illinois State Historical Library), pp. 168-87.

¹⁰³ Busbey, *Uncle Joe Cannon*, pp. 248-49.

¹⁰⁴ *A Record of the Testimonial Dinner to Honorable Joseph G. Cannon of Illinois* (Washington, 1913), p. 74. Part of this book was also published by the 62nd Cong., 3d Session., as *House Doc. No. 1445*.

¹⁰⁵ See Joseph G. Cannon, "Followers After Strange Gods," *Saturday Evening Post*, May 3, 1913. The article was also printed by the 63d Cong., 1st Sess., *House Doc. No. 48*.

working when he was eight years old and look where he went! Initiative, referendum, and recall Cannon branded as unconstitutional and revolutionary.

In 1915 Uncle Joe was back in the House representing his "destrict" again. Seventy-nine years old now, he champed a black stogie and greeted friends. Eager for political combat, his tall angular figure strode up and down between the desks in the House, windmill arms waving. Callous solons cheered, laughed, blew their noses, when Cannon talked. A year later, on May 16, 1916, the House, his home town, and the nation tendered him felicitations on his eightieth birthday. But Uncle Joe had not finished his work yet. For seven years longer he appeared at his desk in Congress, chuckling with cronies, thundering his opinions, checking votes, playing a quiet hand of cards with friends. Woodrow Wilson incited his scorn and the League of Nations his ridicule.¹⁰⁶ Personal letters taunting the old congressman for evading service in the Civil War were deleted from his mail by a private secretary.¹⁰⁷

On December 29, 1919, Joe Cannon had served longer in Congress than any other man in the history of the Republic. The House gave him a third great ovation.¹⁰⁸ Three years later, 1923, Cannon refused to stand for re-election. He was eighty-seven years old. One of his last official acts was to vote against making Lincoln's birthday a legal holiday—a senseless waste of one day's possible production.¹⁰⁹ Jeanette P. Nichols, collecting material from living sources for *The Growth of American Democracy*, saw the old man, apparently dazed, walking through the House corridors with his shoes in his hand. A Representative took him by the arm saying, "Don't you want to lie down?" The two strolled slowly into the Speaker's room.

Soon after Congress adjourned, Uncle Joe moved back to Illinois to end his days. He quit smoking and drinking and joined the Methodist Church.¹¹⁰ A newspaper reporter who visited his old-fashioned brick house on Vermilion Street, in Danville, a year later, found him dreaming about the past. He no

¹⁰⁶ L. White Busbey, "Made in Germany," *The Hon. Joseph G. Cannon's Definitoin of International Socialism*, *Saturday Evening Post*, Dec. 7, 1918. Also published by 65th Cong., 3d Sess., as *House Doc. No. 1838*.

¹⁰⁷ Cannon Papers, Illinois State Historical Library.

¹⁰⁸ *Congressional Record*, 66th Cong., 3d Sess., pp. 831 ff.

¹⁰⁹ Jay Monaghan, *Lincoln Bibliography* (Vol. XXXII, *Illinois Historical Collections*, Springfield, Illinois), II, 162.

¹¹⁰ *Indianapolis News*, May 9, 1923. See also William L. Stidger, "Uncle Joe Cannon's Memories," *Dearborn Independent*, June 7, 1924, p. 5.

longer read the newspapers, nor did he care about political problems. "I don't know the situation," he said. He liked to walk down to the Second National Bank, where he was a director, and greet people in the lobby. A sincere politician at heart, Uncle Joe was equally cordial with the corner grocer, the taxi-driver, a miner, or a tenant farmer. He liked people. It was only "ites" and "isms" he could not bear. At home Cannon played dominoes before the fire—often alone, moving the ebony blocks and matching the numbers. Uncle Joe's most cherished possessions were newspaper cartoons of his great days in Congress—cartoons covering half a century of political strife. He had them framed on his walls—the first and last things his old eyes looked at every day. "Those cartoons represent fights and hard fights, too," the old man quavered. "They were after me and they finally got me, but I gave them the fight of their lives. If I had been younger the story might have been different."

Joseph Gurney Cannon died on November 12, 1926.¹¹¹ The doctor told waiting friends, "There was no illness; Uncle Joe just went to sleep."¹¹² The strong mind that remembered coaching days on the National Road, Conestoga wagons, "Tippecanoe and Tyler too," Abraham Lincoln riding the Eighth Judicial Circuit, was worn out at last. Joseph Cannon had grown up with the nation. He could recall the invention of the telegraph. He saw railway tracks laid across the Illinois prairies. He was over sixty when moving pictures were commercialized, nearing seventy when he first rode in an automobile. Twenty years later he enjoyed the radio and before he died the drone of airplanes disturbed his afternoon nap in the old brick house on Vermilion Street in Danville, Illinois.

"Good-by, North Carolina; good-by, civilization."

¹¹¹ The *New York Times* obituary, Nov. 13, 1926, was clipped and put in the dead warrior's papers.

¹¹² Personal details of Cannon's last days have been given verbally to the writer by Clint Clay Tilton, Danville, Ill.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY NEW BERN

A HISTORY OF THE TOWN

and

CRAVEN COUNTY, 1700-1800

By ALONZO THOMAS DILL, JR.

PART IV

YEARS OF SLOW DEVELOPMENT

¶ A town in Bath County on Neuse River, which hath made but little Progress.

—GOVERNOR BURRINGTON, 1731.

The departure of Graffenried caused no grief among the colonists, who had completely lost confidence in his leadership. Michel had been estranged by his partner's suspicions, and he lost no time in going over to the camp of Graffenried's enemy, William Brice, whom he refers to in a power of attorney as his "well beloved and trusty friend."¹ It was to these two men that the colonists might now look for leadership. Unfortunately, we lose sight of Michel at this point. Perhaps the fact that he gave a power of attorney to Brice indicates that he had himself left the colony. At all events, he met soon afterward a death as mysterious as that of John Lawson. As in Lawson's case, Graffenried is our only informant, and he tells us simply that the Swiss soldier "died among the Indians."² The responsibility of assisting the colonists and acting as their spokesman in dealing with the English fell, therefore, upon William Brice. That he was highly regarded by the Germans is shown by the fact that two of the most respected of them "impeached" a certain Palatine for defamation of his character.³ Like Graffenried, Brice undoubtedly had many faults to answer for. But unlike the Swiss gentleman, he at least had a permanent stake in the land of the Neuse. He had made the new world his home and (something Graffenried had not done) he made it the home of his family.

¹ Minutes of the Craven County Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, October, 1713. (Hereafter referred to as Craven Court Minutes.)

² V. H. Todd and Julius Goebel, *Christoph von Graffenried's Account of the Founding of New Bern*, p. 375.

³ Craven Court Minutes, October, 1713.

who shared its hardships and dangers. Graffenried, on the other hand, regarded himself as a promoter, not as a settler, and the acres of Craven purely as a business enterprise. Some years before his death in Switzerland in 1743, Graffenried refers in a letter to "that unfortunate Expedition in Carolina of wh[ich] I had no other profit than some empty titles."⁴ This seems fairly typical of his attitude toward the colony, conceiving of it as he did entirely in terms of profit, or loss, to himself. There is something sadly ironic about the disappointment of his expectations. For instead of profits, he left behind a debt of some £1,000.⁵ And not even his titles saved him from disgrace in the eyes of his colonists and creditors. "I took him for a man of honour and integrity," wrote Thomas Pollock, "but have found the contrary to my great loss."⁶

William Brice kept up a close connection with the affairs of the Swiss and Germans. His position in the precinct is in this respect unique. He was, for example, the one Englishman to be appointed to a board of appraisers for the estates of Palatine orphans, for the other three members were German-speaking colonists.⁷ Many of these youngsters were left homeless by the massacres, and the efforts of their neighbors to care for them as guardians by the time-honored apprenticeship system fills pages of the Craven court minutes. In return for their labor, they were given a foster home and at the end of their indenture period sometimes rewarded with a cow and calf. Besides a trade, they were taught to "Read well in y^e Bible and Wright a Ledgable hand."⁸ For the most part they were content with their new parents, but occasionally one "Complain^d to y^e Court of Cruelty of his Master" and was as a result bound out to a new one.⁹ Tragic though it was, the loss of so many of their parents probably hastened the Americanization of these outlander youngsters. The cutting of family as well as homeland ties must have given them some of the independence and self-reliance of their brave new world, and infused them with its rough and hardened spirit.

⁴ T. P. DeGraffenried, *History of the DeGraffenried Family* (New York, 1925), p. 146.

⁵ *Colonial Records*, II, 167.

⁶ *Colonial Records*, II, 145.

⁷ Craven Court Minutes, October, 1713.

⁸ Craven Court Minutes, January, 1730.

⁹ Craven Court Minutes, October, 1714. "Too severe correction" was sometimes charged against the guardians of orphans. Craven Court Minutes, September, 1737.

The Swiss and Germans adapted themselves remarkably well to their new surroundings. The naturalist Brickell, writing in the 1730's, assures us that they had by then "all learn'd and speak the *English Tongue*."¹⁰ Johann Rudolf Ochs writes at about the same time that the Swiss, those of the original seventy who had survived, were "very well settled."¹¹ The Palatines, it will be remembered, had already been naturalized by act of Parliament, and at least one of the Swiss received citizenship by act of the assembly in 1722.¹² Even the names of these settlers underwent a new world metamorphosis. Schütz became "Sheets," and Schönwolf evolved into "Shaneywoolf." Mohr grew naturally into "Moor," and Müller into "Miller." Eibach changed to "Ipock." These English renditions of German names and many more like them appear in the minutes of the precinct court, which bear ample witness to the active part these settlers took in the English government. Jacob Müller is listed in the earliest extant minutes as a member of the court. Indeed, the earliest sessions of which we have record convened at Müller's house. Müller sat as a justice from 1713 to 1732, when his name last appears as one of these in attendance. In that year, another Palatine, Jacob Schütz, took Müller's place, serving until about 1738. In 1731, the name of Johan Martin Franck begins to occur among the list of justices. It first appears, incidentally, along with that of the Frenchman, John Fonveille, whose presence reveals of the interesting fact that three nationalities were represented in the early government of Craven precinct.

Perhaps the most well-known and well-to-do of the Palatines was Johan Martin Franck (1682-1744). His career illustrates the full participation of the German-speaking colonists in English affairs. Franck was probably a kinsman of Dr. August Hermann Francke, founder of the Francke Institute at Halle in 1695, for Dr. Francke wrote Cotton Mather to aid the young man, who seems at first to have intended settling in the northern provinces.¹³ Franck arrived in Carolina with Graffenried, a bachelor in his late twenties, listing his religion as Lutheran and

¹⁰ John Brickell, *Natural History of North-Carolina*, (Raleigh, 1911), p. 46.

¹¹ *Colonial Records*, IV, 159.

¹² *Colonial Records*, II, 462-463.

¹³ A sketch of Franck is contained in Blanche H. Abee's *Colonists of Carolina* (Richmond, 1938).

his occupation as a schoolmaster.¹⁴ Soon after arriving he married Civilla Müller, daughter of Jacob Müller. He served in the assembly at least twice, in 1715 and 1727, and was a member of the Craven court from 1731 to 1734. His name appears frequently as a jurymen, and in 1715 he was named to the vestry of Craven Parish, a vestry, which, however, never organized or functioned. "Germany," or "High Germany," as it was sometimes called, was the name of the Franck lands on Cypress Creek, where this industrious Palatine amassed a comfortable fortune. His will, made in 1744, shows him to be one of the most well-to-do planters, owning twenty slaves (a considerable number for the time and place) and more than a hundred head of livestock. Franck was by no means the only Palatine who prospered. The lists of the indigent in early Craven are commendably free of Palatine names, and those of the German colonists who did not grow rich at least lived in hard-won comfort. Nor were they ungrateful for their modest fortunes, if we may judge from the proud yet humble and beautiful beginning of the will of Franck's father-in-law:

In God's name, I, Jacob Miller, of ye Palatinate country, being in new land, be it known openly that ye Lord God in North Carolina in America brought me here and blest me with worldly goods . . .¹⁵

Such thanksgiving is rare in those who have not known the ill fortune which led this man to a new continent.

The Palatines as a group, however, were dissatisfied in one important particular. Perhaps wrongly, certainly with no strict legal basis, they regarded the lands which had been allotted to them by Graffenried as their own, although title to these had passed to Thomas Pollock, Graffenried's chief creditor, to whom was owing the baron's principal debt of a £612 unhonored bill of exchange.¹⁶ Pollock hardly benefited by acquiring the lands, as they were worth at the time far less than the amount of the debt they secured. In years to come, however, these holdings, which included the 900-acre site of New Bern, were to be quite valuable. An additional 900 acres just north of the town and

¹⁴ He is listed in the third party of Palatines, *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, XL (1909), 10.

¹⁵ Blanche Humphrey Abee, *Colonists of Carolina in the Lineage of Hon. W. D. Humphrey*, p. 126.

¹⁶ *Colonial Records*, II, 167. Graffenried's protested bills of exchange on Danson & Wragg, London merchants, are preserved in the Pollock Papers, 1683-1837, North Carolina State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

including the later town-division of Drysborough also came into Pollock's possession, by purchase from Daniel Richardson, of Beaufort Precinct, who patented this tract in 1714.¹⁷ This land remained in the hands of the Pollock family until 1762, when it passed to William Dry as security for an unpaid debt.¹⁸ Dying in 1722, Thomas Pollock left the vast Palatine lands on Mill Creek to his eldest son Thomas, the site of New Bern to his son Cullen, and 5,000 then-unsurveyed acres to his youngest son George.¹⁹ In 1733 both Thomas and George died, and Cullen Pollock came into possession of all the Neuse lands acquired by his father, which consisted of 12,700 acres by patent and, by actual survey, nearly a thousand acres in addition.²⁰

Over a period of twenty-five years, the German-speaking colonists petitioned the English government to acknowledge their claims. Although their case was laid before the proprietary as well as the crown administrations, neither acted to grant their wish, which in substance was to give life to the dead promises of Graffenried. In 1714 they petitioned the council and were granted the right to take up 400 acres per family at £10 per 1,000 acres, with two years in which to pay for these tracts.²¹ Probably few, if any, took advantage of this opportunity to move to new lands, for the minutes of the council in 1732 indicate they were still endeavoring unsuccessfully to settle their claims.²² As long as Thomas Pollock remained alive, the issue did not come to a real test, for this prudent Scotsman had no mind to dislodge the colonists by the force of his title.²³ In 1742 Jacob Schütz and a Palatine delegation appeared once again before the council, presenting the agreement made more than thirty years before between Graffenried and the crown commissioners relative to their land allotments.²⁴ A year later, upon Cullen Pollock's presenting his father's legal papers, the council dismissed the petition²⁵ Less than five years from this time, Cullen Pollock decided to do what neither his father nor his brothers had done. Faced

¹⁷ Land Grant Office, II, 379.

¹⁸ *State Records*, XXV, 491-492.

¹⁹ *State Records*, XXII, 290-292.

²⁰ *Colonial Records*, IV, 222.

²¹ *Colonial Records*, II, 147.

²² *Colonial Records*, III, 426.

²³ *Colonial Records*, II, 388.

²⁴ *Colonial Records*, IV, 618.

²⁵ *Colonial Records*, IV, 632.

with the prospect of continued arrearage in their rents, he ordered these colonists off the lands they had so long planted. This took place in the "dead time of Winter," they complained, and having no other lands to go to, "we were compelled to give him our Bonds [to guarantee delinquent rents?] for as much as he was pleased to ask."²⁶ The Palatines continued their fight by presenting their case in London before the Board of Trade, which ordered the governor, Gabriel Johnston, to make a report on their grievance.²⁷ After investigating the case, Johnston showed a lively sympathy with their plight. The Pollock estate, he wrote, wished to "oblidge them to pay two pence Proclamation [money] for every Acre . . . which is a most intollerable load Especially if they insist on the Arrears."²⁸ The Board of Trade refused to set aside the Pollock claim, but as a result of Johnston's recommendation saw to it that the council was instructed to grant the colonists equivalent lands, quit rent free for ten years.²⁹ On October 11, 1749, the council, pursuant to these instructions, ordered the issuing of warrants for 250 acres to each of the claimants.³⁰ Unlike the lands which Graffenried had settled them on, these new tracts were scattered over a wide area.³¹ The issuing of these grants and the consequent dispersal of the Palatines marks the end of the Swiss and German colony as a unit. From this time forth they lose their identity as outlanders, and their lives and fortunes become a part of those of their English-speaking neighbors.

Meanwhile, what of the town so hopefully founded in 1710? Abandoned during the Indian struggles, it was not until a decade later that an attempt was made by Thomas Pollock to repopulate it. Pollock wrote William Hancock, his agent on the Neuse, authorizing him to sell lots at twenty shillings each, with the proviso that the lot sold was to revert to the original owner if the buyer did not erect a house at least fifteen feet square on it within eighteen months after the purchase.³² Lawson had laid

²⁶ *Colonial Records*, IV, 954-956.

²⁷ *Colonial Records*, 850, 873.

²⁸ *Colonial Records*, IV, 868. This rate of rent, however, was the same that had been specified by Graffenried's agreement with the commissioners.

²⁹ *Colonial Records*, IV, 873-875, 883, 943, 954-956, 957.

³⁰ *Colonial Records*, IV, 967.

³¹ Ashe says the new lands were in what are now Craven, Jones, Onslow, and Duplin counties. S. A. Ashe, *History of North Carolina*, I (Greensboro, 1908), 273-274.

³² *Colonial Records*, II, 386.

out most of the river lots, many of which had already been sold, but Pollock says he had lost Lawson's plan of the town, so this must have caused some difficulty. There were not twenty lots settled at this time, for Pollock says he intended to lay out a hundred-acre common as soon as that many homes were built.³³ He also planned to set aside one acre for a church and a courthouse. One of the few English inhabitants at this early date was a certain Doctor Thomas, of whom nothing is known except that he seems to have been dwelling in Graffenried's quarters. His place was taken soon after 1720 by Caleb Metcalf, who served as clerk of court in the 1730's.³⁴ The lot on which Metcalf dwelled was No. 7. In a deed of 1755 this is referred to as a former residence, "whereon there now stands two large growing Live Oaks," which for many years were a familiar sight in the early town.³⁵

It is a curious fact that at this time Craven Precinct was the only one in North Carolina with as many as two "towns" in its borders. These were New Bern and Beaufort, which Robert Turner had begun to lay out in 1715. Not until 1722 was Carteret Precinct formed, so Beaufort prior to this date was in Craven. Both of these hamlets must have presented a forlorn air. As late as 1765, Beaufort had only a dozen houses in its bounds, so we can well imagine the appearance it must have had forty-five years before.³⁶

Pollock's efforts to settle New Bern were interrupted by his death in 1722, and although his son Cullen resumed them, the progress of the town was painfully slow.

In November, 1723, Cullen Pollock obtained the passage of an act creating New Bern a township to consist of the land in Lawson's draft plus enough of the surrounding territory to make up 250 acres.³⁷ This land was to be invested in Cullen Pollock, William Hancock, Jr., and Richard Graves, who were appointed the first town commissioners, forerunners of the later town government. These men were empowered to sell lots on terms similar to those planned by the elder Pollock, whose son was to

³³ *Colonial Records*, II, 387.

³⁴ *Colonial Records*, II, 589.

³⁵ Craven Deed Records, IX-X, 26.

³⁶ "Journal of a French Traveler in the Colonies, 1765," *American Historical Review*, XXVI (1920-1921), 733.

³⁷ *State Records*, XXIII, 334; XXV, 204.

be the treasurer to receive all the revenues for the benefit of himself and his heirs. In the event of Cullen Pollock's death or absence, the first in commission after him, in this case apparently William Hancock, Jr., was to succeed him as treasurer and to give security to the Craven court guaranteeing that the money he should receive would be turned over to their heirs.³⁸ Such lots as had already been sold were confirmed in possession of the buyers, and the sites intended for a church and courthouse were reserved to the public use. By the terms of the deeds given by the commissioners, the buyers of lots, though they were to hold their titles in fee simple, were to pay a token rent to the Pollock heirs of one pepper-corn per annum, "if demanded." Needless to say, this traditional rent was not required of the property owners.

A few, but only a few, lots were built on during the next two decades, and the growth of New Bern was on the whole disappointing. In 1731 Governor George Burrington noted that the town "hath made but little Progress."³⁹ In 1741, a census list presented to the Craven court reveals the fact that only twenty-one families had settled in New Bern.⁴⁰ The names listed in this census were Charles Adams, Jonathan Bangs, Rebekah Bexley, George Bould, Hardy Bryan, John Bryan, Edward Carter, James Core (Coor), Lemuel Coor, James Durham, William Herritage, Malachi Johnson, John Jones, Walter Lane, the Reverend John Lapierre, Andrew Mansfield, William Norwood, John Pinder, John Reed, Elizabeth Reed, and Nicholas Routledge. Further identification of some of these can be mentioned. George Bould, listed in deeds as a blacksmith, was borough member for New Bern in 1740.⁴¹ Walter Lane was a member of the assemblies of 1731, 1733, and 1735.⁴² James Coor and Nicholas Routledge served as clerks of court, and the Bryans held various county positions. The Reverend John Lapierre was rector of the parish, and William Herritage, at whose suggestions this earliest list of town inhabitants was compiled, was the county attorney.

³⁸ *State Records*, XXV, 204-205.

³⁹ *Colonial Records*, III, 193.

⁴⁰ Craven Court Minutes, December, 1741.

⁴¹ *Colonial Records*, IV, 493.

⁴² *Colonial Records*, III, 285, 562; IV, 115.

What did New Bern look like in these earliest days, and how did it compare with other North Carolina towns? The naturalist John Brickell tells us that Edenton, the capital, was the largest town with sixty houses.⁴³ Bath was the second largest, and New Bern, which "has but a few houses in it at present," ranked next, it would appear from this writer's listing. Beaufort was small and thinly inhabited, and Brunswick, though not then a place of consequence, seemed headed for prosperity, Brickell predicted, because of the number of merchants and rich planters there. Like every other eighteenth century writer, Brickell admired the "pleasant Prospect" of New Bern on its two rivers. The few houses were extremely plain; indeed, said one observer, "most indifferent."⁴⁴ Doubtless they were the typical Carolina dwellings described by Byrd, built of logs with pine or cypress shingles, wooden hinges, wooden locks, and even wooden chimneys, the entire dwelling "finisht without Nails or other Iron-Work."⁴⁵ These buildings were quite small, usually not over thirty by twenty feet.⁴⁶ A peculiar kind of fence construction—"Wreathing of the Pales," Byrd calls it—may have set off these rude residences. Indeed, the whole town was surrounded by a fence, and just as in an old-world village there was a town gate at the junction of Broad and Queen streets through which travelers passed to and from the king's highway.

The streets were ill-drained, muddy in wet weather and dusty in dry. In them livestock, at this early day, wandered unconfined.⁴⁸ Paving, of course, was unheard-of in any North Carolina town, though Brickell points out that in New Bern and other coastal settlements the streets were "as level as a Bowling-Green." Very few of the streets had been laid out. A map drawn by Edward Moseley shows only four in the town—Front (or, as it was sometimes called, Water) Street, Craven, Middle, and an east-to-west thoroughfare that could be either Pollock or Broad.⁴⁹ The layout was according to Lawson. Not until 1740

⁴³ John Brickell, *Natural History of North-Carolina*, pp. 8-9.

⁴⁴ *Colonial Records*, V, 573.

⁴⁵ *State Records*, XXIII, 455; W. K. Boyd, editor, *William Byrd's Histories of the Dividing Line* (Raleigh, 1929), p. 95.

⁴⁶ *Colonial Records*, V, 573.

⁴⁷ Craven Court Minutes, March, 1750; May, 1754; May, 1757; August, 1759; *State Records*, XXIII, 454.

⁴⁸ *State Records*, XXIII, 454.

⁴⁹ "A New and Correct | MAP | of the Province of | NORTH CAROLINA | By Edward Moseley, late | Surveyor General of the said Province | 1733."

did the assembly authorize a new survey and the marking of the streets and town bounds.⁵⁰ The Craven court soon afterwards designated George Roberts and Walter Lane as commissioners for "clearing and cleaning the Streets and Passages," and engaged John Powell, surveyor, to ascertain the courses of the streets.⁵¹ Upon completion of this survey John Bryan was appointed to put up posts of "chinquopin or like wood" as boundary marks. The cost of the survey and the erection of the posts was pro-rated among the property owners. In 1756, 1758, and 1771, legislation was passed by the assembly calling for the drafting of an official, authentic plan of New Bern.⁵² In 1779 a plan was at length submitted to and approved by the assembly, and this has survived as the earliest extant plan of the town.⁵³ The various surveys made during the eighteenth century were not very accurate, for in a law of 1796 we read that the "unskillfulness of former surveyors and neglect of proprietors" were to blame for the fact that "the courses of the streets and bounds of the squares and lots . . . were never properly ascertained, by which many houses are misplaced, some over-reaching on the streets, and others on lots of different individuals."⁵⁴

An important part of the town scene was the courthouse, about which much of the life of both town and county revolved. The "office" of Craven precinct which was destroyed in the Indian warfare of 1711 probably was no more than a private house in which official records were kept, for the courts at this time were meeting in the homes of private individuals such as Jacob Müller and William Hancock.⁵⁵ There is mention in a land grant about 1719 of a "Craven Court House," so it is probable that an improvised office was fitted out at the conclusion of the Indian fighting.⁵⁶ It is not until after 1722, however, that we know definitely of a courthouse in the town itself. Acts of that year fixed the seat of the precinct court in New Bern, assigned to the town a sheriff's and clerk's office, and

⁵⁰ *State Records*, XXIII, 143.

⁵¹ Craven Court Minutes, September, 1740; March, 1741.

⁵² *Colonial Records*, V, 1078; *State Records*, XXIII, 454, 864.

⁵³ *State Records*, XIII, 613. A copy prepared by Henry A. Brown, Sr., surveyor, is in possession of R. A. Nunn, of New Bern.

⁵⁴ Laws of 1796, chapter LXXVII; Laws of 1797, chapter LX.

⁵⁵ Craven Court Minutes, 1713-1716.

⁵⁶ Land Grant Office, II, 213.

directed the erection, six months from ratification of the act, of a courthouse sixteen by twenty-four feet in dimension.⁵⁷ There is a hiatus in the court minutes from 1716 to 1730, so there is no record of the erection of the building; but by the latter date the justices were meeting "in the Court House in Newbern Town," so it is very likely that this was the structure ordered by the act of 1722.⁵⁸ Deeds of later years indicate it stood on the northwest corner of Craven and South Front streets.

The life of this courthouse was a brief one, and being a wooden building it soon fell to pieces. In 1739 William Wilson and Walter Lane of Craven introduced a bill for a new one but it failed of enactment.⁵⁹ Some of the earliest county taxes of which we have record were levied for the purpose of repairing this building and the county prison.⁶⁰ The courthouse soon fell into such a condition that the justices reverted to the old practice of meeting in private homes. The home of the Frenchman John Fonville, a Christ Church warden, near Union Point;⁶¹ the "new house of Mr [John] Campbell,"⁶² and "Mr [John] Rice's Red House" on Broad Street"⁶³—and all were places of meeting for the wandering county court. From about 1761 to the completion of the first brick courthouse in 1764, the justices convened in the house of one Margaret Adams, to whom were paid certain sums for repairs in consideration of the court's use of her dwelling.⁶⁴ A favorite practice of the justices was to convene in a local tavern, such as that of the well known Richard Cogdell, just before they call an end to the session and departed to their homes.⁶⁵ Needless to say, with their work behind them, little business was transacted, at least none that could not be settled over a bottle of Madeira or a tankard of Bristol beer.

Near the courthouse, usually, stood the county prison and its grim stocks, pillory, and whipping post. In 1742 the first mention of a jail appears in the court minutes when a tax of sixpence is

⁵⁷ *State Records*, XXIII, 100-102; XXV, 181.

⁵⁸ *Craven Court Minutes*, June, 1730.

⁵⁹ *Colonial Records*, IV, 376.

⁶⁰ In 1740, the earliest year in which taxes are mentioned in the existing minutes, there is a levy of 18d per tithable, purpose unspecified. In the following year, there is a 2:6 tax for repairing the courthouse and prison and buying standard weights, scales, and measures.

⁶¹ *Craven Court Minutes*, March, 1748.

⁶² *Craven Court Minutes*, September, 1748.

⁶³ *Craven Court Minutes*, January, 1761. Rice was an attorney and former court clerk.

⁶⁴ *Craven Court Minutes*, October, 1764; April, 1765.

⁶⁵ *Craven Court Minutes*, September, 1748; September, 1749; November, 1751; November, 1758; October, 1761.

levied for the construction of a new one (though undoubtedly jails had been provided by the court long before this).⁶⁶ Captain John Bryan, a member of the court, who served as sheriff from 1745 to 1749, was selected to carry out the construction of a building thirty feet long, eighteen feet wide, and ten feet high, to be completed in twelve months.⁶⁷ For this Bryan was to receive the flat sum of £1,200—a striking revelation on the laxity of the control of the court, as a whole, over county building. The twelve-month time limit was entirely too optimistic, for not until five years later was the jail completed, and even then there must have been serious defects in the construction, for the new sheriff—none other than John Bryan!—complains of its “insufficiency” and requests authorization for its repair.⁶⁸ The demand for repair of these ill-built colonial jails was almost continuous, and sanitary conditions in them were appalling. Fire was another terrible hazard besides their disease-breeding possibilities. The Craven jail burned twice before the Revolution, once about 1758 and again ten years later.⁶⁹ There is no telling how many unfortunates lost their lives by being trapped amid the flames in these early jails of North Carolina. In Craven we find record of the loss of a black man, and that only because he was a slave and his master sought compensation for his death.⁷⁰ Doubtless the lives of a number of whites were lost for whom no one could claim a price.

In the shadow of the prison stood the whipping post, stocks, and pillory. The life of these exposed frameworks must have been very short, and there are quite a few references in the county court minutes to their replacement or repair. All of these probably were a part of the town scene from the earliest days, but it is not until 1740 that a whipping post is mentioned, and not until 1751 that a reference occurs to stock and pillory, in the extant court minutes.⁷¹ The stocks apparently were placed just below the pillory, with the whipping post somewhere near-by.⁷² In the stocks, for example, drunkenness might be punished by a

⁶⁶ Craven Court Minutes, September, 1742. This tax was also levied in 1745 and 1746.

⁶⁷ Craven Court Minutes, September, December, 1742.

⁶⁸ Craven Court Minutes, June, September, 1747.

⁶⁹ *State Records*, XXIII, 744-755; Craven Court Minutes, February, 1758.

⁷⁰ Craven Court Minutes, February, 1758.

⁷¹ Craven Court Minutes, September, 1740; June, 1751; October, 1761; and March, 1771.

⁷² Craven Court Minutes, December, 1804.

two-hour stay; while a common sentence for crimes such as petty larceny was the loss of both ears at the pillory at high noon, following by a painful lashing at the whipping post.⁷³ Even women risked the possibility of being bound and flogged in public, though there seems to be no record of such punishment actually being meted out. In 1740 one Mary Magee was ordered stripped to her waist to receive twelve lashes, but the sentence was suspended on condition that she lead "a regular and Sober life."⁷⁴ However, women were not exempt from confinement in the jail. A servant girl in 1756 was imprisoned on complaint of her master, but was soon freed; while in the same year another woman, "in custody in the Common Gaol for sundry Crimes & misdemeanors," was released on condition that she leave town.⁷⁵ In a sense it is not surprising that women should have shared the punishment of men in so far as confinement in the jail is concerned. Throughout colonial days they lived a less sheltered life than one usually imagines. And it must be remembered that the degree of punishment for almost every wrong was more severe than it is today. Even so mild an offense as playing bandy wicket on Sunday brought a fine and no doubt a sharp reprimand from the court.⁷⁶ This matter of enforcing a Puritan Sabbath was an important part of the duties of the early town constabulary. By 1731 at least and probably earlier, a constable (one John Ward) was being named for New Bern, but he devoted only part of his time to the town, since his territory included the north side of the Neuse and all its branches all the way up to Fort Barnwell.⁷⁷ Later, however, two and even more constables were named for the town alone, and were instructed specifically to "Walk the Streets . . . during the Time of Divine Service each Sabbath Day."⁷⁸ The unwary tippler or gamester found these constables relentless in their insistence on how the Lord's day should be spent!

⁷³ Craven Court Minutes, February, 1753[?]. Nor were slave women exempt from having their ears cut off. See Craven Court Minutes, March, 1814, for a case. As a consequence of this ear-cropping, it was so humiliating to lose an ear, no matter in what manner, that we find this petition: "It being made to appear . . . that John Holloway junr of the County of Craven had the misfortune to have a part of his right ear bit off in a riot which took place at the election at Coxe's ferry in the year 1797—the Court therefore, to prevent the character of the said Holloway from being rendered suspicious on account thereof, have ordered the same [i.e., the incident] to be made a record." Craven Court Minutes, March, 1798.

⁷⁴ Craven Court Minutes, September, 1740.

⁷⁵ Craven Court Minutes, August, 1756.

⁷⁶ Craven Court Minutes, March, 1743.

⁷⁷ Craven Court Minutes, September, 1731.

⁷⁸ Craven Court Minutes, June, 1774.

So much for the early town. Something should now be told of the development of the precinct or county. Craven, as has been pointed out, was created about 1712 as a precinct of Bath County, which embraced the entire coastal midlands. At one time Bath was estimated to include three-fourths of the white-inhabited part of the province, but with the transition of North Carolina from a proprietary to a royal status, this huge, ill-defined geographical unit was abolished.⁷⁹ Its original precincts thenceforth were known as counties, and by 1766 the area that had been called Bath stood divided into no less than sixteen of these.

Thus the early boundaries were being constantly changed. Craven, too, was subjected to legislative surgery and underwent several amputations. At one time, Craven reached eastward to the Atlantic and westward as far, roughly, as the present site of Raleigh. At times when a certain section began to thrive it sought to be separated and to become an independent unit. In 1733 and 1739 attempts were made by the inhabitants of Bay River and the lower part of the Neuse to attain the status of a separate precinct, but each time the petition was voted down by the assembly.⁸⁰ There were other attempts which succeeded, however, and the splitting-off process reduced the size of the original precinct quite considerably. In 1722 Carteret was formed to consist of Core and Bogue sounds and all their rivers and creeks, leaving Craven the settlements on Bay, Neuse, Trent, and their branches.⁸¹ (Nearly a century later the line between Craven and Carteret still was not completely settled, and commissioners had to be named to run it off between certain points.)⁸² In 1746 the vast upper part of Craven was cut off and erected into Johnston County.⁸³ In 1779 Jones County was set up west of the present dividing line, Reedy Branch.⁸⁴ Finally, in 1872 the last major division of Craven was made with the formation of Pamlico. It is impossible even to begin to tell of the many minor boundary changes which affected the Craven boundaries.⁸⁵ It is sufficient to say that the principal counties above named were formed

⁷⁹ *Colonial Records*, IV, 9.

⁸⁰ *Colonial Records*, II, 429; III, 573; IV, 398.

⁸¹ *Colonial Records*, II, 458-459.

⁸² *Laws of 1809*, chap. XLII.

⁸³ *Colonial Records*, IV, 823, 834, 862; *State Records*, XXIII, 248-249.

⁸⁴ *State Records*, XXIV, 225.

⁸⁵ Some of these involved Dobbs, Beaufort, Greene, Edgecombe, Pitt, and Lenoir.

directly from Craven, while in the case of Johnston, several other important counties, notably Wake and Orange, were in turn created from a former part of Craven.

As regards growth, the county did not fare as badly as the town. Along with the shrinkage in area came a considerable increase in population. About 1720 the inhabitants are still describing themselves, quite correctly, as only a frontier settlement.⁸⁶ A census list prepared in that year by Caleb Metcalf, clerk of the court, shows only some 178 (white?) taxables in the precinct.⁸⁷ Most of the families consist of two or three persons, or often only one. The only families listing over three taxables are those of Colonel William Hancock (four), John Slocumb, Sr., (eight) Christian Isler (four), Francis Brice (nine), Richard Graves (six), Thomas Martin (six), John Shackelford (six), Jacob Schütz (four), and three others whose names on this paper are illegible. Over the next thirty-five years the rich lands of Craven attracted a surprising number of settlers: Quite a number of these bore French names such as Dupuis, Legardere, Doneau, and Foy (Foix). A sure sign of a growing county population is evident in the court minutes by the number and variety of brand marks admitted to record. As long as the population was sparse, the settlers apparently were not so insistent about recording these marks, but with the moving in upon them of new neighbors whose livestock might easily become confused with their own, this matter became more important, or so it appears from the large number of marks that are registered.⁸⁸ The brands were quite varied. One might be "a Close Crop in the Left Ear and a figure of three in the Right Ear," another "a Poplar Leaf and a Slitt in Each Ear," and so on. The initials of the owner were also used, being cut or burned into the ear and sometimes on the buttocks. By 1755 the county population had increased more than tenfold, so that there were well over 1,900 taxables, half of whom were white, listed in that year.⁸⁹ This

⁸⁶ *Colonial Records*, II, 429.

⁸⁷ Secretary of State Papers, Tax Lists 1720-1779, North Carolina State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

⁸⁸ Craven Court Minutes, 1730-1740.

⁸⁹ *Colonial Records*, V, 575. An idea of the growth of Craven in comparison with other counties may be obtained from a 1743-1770 taxables list published by *The North Carolina Historical Review*, III (1926), opposite p. 476, from the original in the Massachusetts Historical Society. There are some differences, however, between the figures in this list and those in the *Colonial Records*.

was the largest number of any county except Edgecombe, which had 2,538. Ten years later, with about 2,600 taxables, Craven was exceeded only by the fast-growing westward counties of Halifax, Orange, and Rowan.⁹⁰ Chowan, in the once overwhelmingly populous Albemarle, had by this time faded into relatively less importance with only 1,627 taxables. In Craven, not all of the population in areas outside the town consisted of individual, separate homes and farms. As the century wore on, a few of the many small communities which dot the county today began to make their appearance. A French traveler tells us he saw "here and there a small village" as he visited this thriving rural country in 1765.⁹¹

A most important result of this growth in population was the accompanying increase in means of communication such as roads, bridges, and ferries. In early days the difficulty of access to certain sections was very great even where roads were laid out. The experience of two Pennsylvania travelers who in 1743 visited the upper part of the county illustrates the hardships and uncertainty of a journey into the wilds of the Neuse:

The way was difficult to find [one of them writes]. Toward evening we were rowed across the Contendne [Contentnea] River. We had still two miles to the nearest house, but got into a Carolinian swamp, with so much water and mud in it that nobody passes through on foot but only on horseback. Although I called loudly for help, when I heard a dog bark, nobody came to our rescue, because they thought we were Indians; but, finally we were fortunate enough to get through and found the house.

On the 6th and 7th [of December], we had only narrow paths to travel and had to ask the way from one house to another. Towards noon we came to *Dr. Strenger* [Francis Stringer], across the News River. We lost our way, but a man showed us the way to *Abraham Bossert*, a German, who lives ten miles farther. We hastened, as much as we were able, to reach his house before night.⁹²

It was hazard enough to travel by day, but to attempt to find one's way at night was almost impossible.

It has been said that roads were the result of the increase in

⁹⁰ *Colonial Records*, VII, 145.

⁹¹ "Journal of a French Traveler," *American Historical Review*, XXVI (1920-1921), 734.

⁹² W. J. Hinke and C. E. Kemper, translators, "Moravian Diaries of Travels Through Virginia," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XI (1904), 381-382.

population. In some cases they may have been the cause of it. Certainly this is true of the road which, about 1732, at last linked New Bern and Cape Fear, fulfilling the need expressed by the proprietors sixty years earlier for an overland route between Charleston and the Albemarle. This difficult project was planned by Governor George Burrington, who saw its completion only after many years of work. Bridges had to be constructed, causeways built over swamps, and a thoroughfare blazed through nearly a hundred miles of desolate country, but the inhabitants of the midlands, once persuaded of the advantages of the road, worked "cheerfully and effectually," says Burrington, until it was made a reality.⁹³ The attitude toward road-building was not always cheerful. To build and help repair roads was a duty required by law of every citizen, but there are frequent references in the minutes of the county court to complaints over the inhabitants shirking their stint of the task.⁹⁴ The decade from 1730 to 1740 produced a great deal of road-building activity, judging from the number of new ones authorized by the court. In 1731 alone, six new roads were ordered to be laid out, twice as many as for any other one year prior to the Revolution. Roads from New Bern to the south side of Mill Creek and from New Bern to White Oak River were authorized at this time, the latter obviously being a link in Burrington's Cape Fear Highway.⁹⁵ All in all, some fifteen new roads were authorized by the county court between 1730 and 1740. Many of these were of minor importance, though all helped link the county into convenient inter-connection. Of major importance at this period were the Cape Fear road, the Core Sound road, and the Pamlico road. The latter two led, respectively, to Beaufort and Bath, and both existed from earliest times, probably antedating the founding of New Bern itself. There were actually two Pamlico roads—an "old road" from Wilkinson's Point to Durham Creek on the Pamlico River, and a "new road" built later by way of Swift's Creek to serve the inhabitants farther up the river and avoid the wide crossing at Wilkinson's Point.⁹⁶ A

⁹³ *Colonial Records*, III, 434-435.

⁹⁴ One overseer complained that his helpers were "too weak." Craven Court Minutes, March, 1740.

⁹⁵ Craven Court Minutes, September, 1731.

⁹⁶ *State Records*, XXIII, 98. The Swift's Creek road was in existence at least by 1741 and undoubtedly much earlier. Craven Deed Records, I, 356.

Rhode Island traveler, coming from Bath, describes the approach to New Bern on the Pamlico road through "a gloomy region of sands and pines:"

The road was spacious and in a direct line. The majestic perpendicular pines, apparently towering to the clouds, imparted an imposing and solemn aspect to the scenery. The only relief from this monotony, and the cheerless and painful silence we found, was in noticing the watchful and timid deer grazing in the woods. The moment they perceived us approach, their long necks were arched, and their ears pricked up ready for a spring. Sometimes, however, they would gaze intently at us with a wild and anxious eye, and remain stationary until we passed. We gave chase to a wild Turkey who maintained his equal right to the road, like a true North Carolina republican, and in spite of our efforts he stretched away upon his long legs, far beyond our reach.⁹⁷

Spanning the broad waters of Craven where these roads met rivers were a number of ferries, all important spots in the eighteenth-century network of transportation. Kemp's ferry and Stringer's ferry, ten and fifty miles respectively above New Bern, served the upper and narrower part of the Neuse.⁹⁸ Downstream from these, two miles above New Bern and just below Batchelor's Creek on the south bank of the river, was Graves' ferry, which took its name from Richard Graves, the original owner of the land there. For a brief time, this ferry was kept by a woman, the doughty Hannah Graves, who had survived the Indian massacres as the wife of the slain Farnifold Green and who outlived three other husbands, Graves included, besides him!⁹⁹ The north-bank landing was known first as Johnson's and after 1738 as Lingfield's ferry.¹⁰⁰ In 1739 John Bryan was licensed to keep the first ferry directly from New Bern across the Neuse, and the county court ordered a road to be laid out on the north bank to link the landing there with the Pamlico road, which crossed the Neuse at Graves'-Lingfields' two miles upriver.¹⁰¹ There must have been other ferries downstream from

⁹⁷ W. C. Watson, editor, *Men and Times of the Revolution; or, Memoirs of Elkanah Watson* (New York, 1856), p. 38.

⁹⁸ *Colonial Records*, V, 341-342; VII, 149.

⁹⁹ Craven Court Minutes, June, September, 1731. Blanche H. Abee, *Colonists of Carolina*, pp. 100, 101, 102.

¹⁰⁰ Francis Lingfield began to keep it in 1738. Upon his death his son John took over in 1745. Craven Court Minutes, March, 1738; December, 1745. The ferry is shown on Moseley's map in 1733 as Johnson's ferry.

¹⁰¹ Craven Court Minutes, March, 1739.

New Bern. Two eighteenth-century travelers speak of crossing the Neuse where it was two miles wide, and this could only have been below the town.¹⁰² Crossings as wide as this could hardly have been popular, however. The Rhode Islanders whose description of the Pamlico road has just been quoted gives us a vivid picture of a stormy night on the river :

It was nearly dark when we reached the River Neuse. It rained, and the wind began to blow, yet we determined, contrary to the advice of the owner of the boat, to risk the passage of a stream two miles wide. Harwood [his companion], a high-spirited, daring fellow, persisted in urging the attempt, but we soon had reason to deplore our indiscretion. Our boat was small and conducted by two stupid Negroes, one of whom was a female. The wind rose to a side gale, and as we advanced the storm increased. Our horses became restive—the night was intensely dark, and the sea [sic] began to break over the boat's side. At this crisis (having been accustomed from my youth to water and boats) I seized upon a broken oar to steer with, and implored Harwood to bail the water out with his hat, and steady the horses. Happily I caught a glimpse of a light at the ferry-house, and by it was enabled to direct our courses. But for this fortunate circumstance, we must have been bewildered on the river and almost inevitably perished, as the water had half filled the boat when we gained the shore, in despite of Harwood's efforts. . . . We rewarded the poor Negroes, again mounted our horses, and proceeded on to Newbern.¹⁰³

There were three principal ferries over the Trent River. One known as Franck's ferry was just above the mouth of Mill Creek.¹⁰⁴ A second known as Murphy's ferry crossed the river below Island Creek.¹⁰⁵ The third, kept in early days by John Bryan (in addition to the Neuse ferry), spanned the Trent at New Bern, leaving, at least later in the century, from the foot of Eden Street.¹⁰⁶ One of these Trent ferries, probably the one farthest up the river, was a "rope ferry," which the Rhode Islander describes as being seventy feet wide and "a contrivance new to me." Here is how it operated:

¹⁰² W. C. Watson, *Men and Times of the Revolution; or, Memoirs of Elkanah Watson*, 39. "Journal of a French Traveler," *American Historical Review*, XXVI (1920-1921), 736.

¹⁰³ W. C. Watson, *Men and Times of the Revolution; or, the Memoirs of Elkanah Watson*, p. 39.

¹⁰⁴ Craven Court Minutes, September, 1731. This is shown on (Moseley's map).

¹⁰⁵ *Colonial Records*, III, 543, 574, 579. Also shown on (Moseley's) map.

¹⁰⁶ Craven Court Minutes, September, 1731; March, 1739; March, 1789.

A strong rope is attached to a post on each side of the river; along the rope a pulley or block runs, through which passes another rope. Each end of the latter rope is secured to the head and stern of the boat. The bow of the boat being directed upstream, the current strikes her obliquely, producing a strong eddy under her stern. She is thus propelled with considerable velocity, the moment she is unmoored.¹⁰⁷

By 1765 there were ferries over Slocumb's, Hancock's, Dawson's, Clubfoot, and Adams's creeks, as well as perhaps over the small streams of the county.¹⁰⁸ However, several of the creeks were spanned by bridges, among these being Brice's, Batchelor's, and Island creeks.¹⁰⁹ There was no bridge at all over the Neuse and only one over the Trent. The latter was completed about 1750 by Michael Higgins and was thirteen miles above the town.¹¹⁰ A few years before the Revolution an attempt was made by several "Public Spirited Gentlemen" of the county to erect a bridge over the Trent near New Bern, but the project did not succeed.¹¹¹ Not until the early nineteenth century was this dream realized at last.¹¹²

Due in part to the growth in population but mostly to the heterogeneity of the settlers, there was a greater variety of religious faiths in Craven County at this period than in possibly any other locality of eighteenth-century North Carolina.

The London lists of the Palatine colonists show that most of them professed the faith of the Reformed Church, though there were also Lutherans, Baptists, and Catholics among them.¹¹³ It is certain that there were Baptists and Reformed Church adherents among those who came to New Bern, and it is not unlikely that Lutherans and Catholics also were represented. The earliest German-speaking clergyman of whom we have record in Craven was a Lutheran, though his status there was not permanent. This was the Reverend Johann Caspar Stoeber, Sr., who arrived in Pennsylvania in 1728 and became pastor of the Ger-

¹⁰⁷ W. C. Watson, *Men and Times of the Revolution; or, Memoirs of Elkanah Watson*, pp. 30-31, 40.

¹⁰⁸ Craven Court Minutes, September, 1733; February, 1753; February, 1758; April, 1761.

¹⁰⁹ Craven Court Minutes, September, 1739; July, 1766. Craven Deed Records, I, 414.

¹¹⁰ Craven Court Minutes, March, 1750. *Colonial Records*, IV, 785, 1064; VII, 149. *State Records*, XXII, 319; XXV, 240.

¹¹¹ Craven Court Minutes, July, 1767; September, 1774. *Colonial Records*, IX, 446.

¹¹² The Pembroke bridge was completed about 1817. Craven Court Minutes, December, 1817.

¹¹³ These lists are reprinted in *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, XL (1909), 49-54, 93-100, 160-167, 241-248; XLI (1910), 10-19.

man colony in Virginia five years later.¹¹⁴ In 1734 Stoever was in Craven County, for on March 10 he signed there an agreement with his wife which was witnessed by Johan Martin Franck, John Hans Daver (Baver?), and Jacob Schütz.¹¹⁵ His wife may have been a Palatine; at all events, she and her mother were inhabitants of Craven. It is not unlikely that Stoever preached to the Palatines while on this visit. But though there may have been some Lutherans among his audience, there was never any Lutheran congregation or church at this Palatine settlement. At least, if there was, no trace of it has survived, though at this time there is frequent mention of such congregations in the voluminous records of this church elsewhere in eastern America.¹¹⁶ Not until just before the Revolution was the first Lutheran pastor sent to North Carolina, and he took up his work not in the tidewater but in the piedmont section of the province.

Most of the Palatines at New Bern, as one would expect from the evidence in the London lists, seem to have professed the religion of the German Reformed Church, which held to a presbyterial form of organization and embraced Zwingli's and Calvin's instead of Luther's doctrine on the Lord's supper.¹¹⁷ Here again there is no indication of a regular pastor, though there is sure evidence that there was a congregation as well as a church of this faith in early Craven. In 1740 the Craven court granted a petition signed by twenty-five Palatines asking to be allowed to build a chapel thirty feet long, twenty feet wide, and twelve feet high "on the south side of Trent River. Between the ferry and John Kinseys plantation."¹¹⁸ This chapel was to be used for the established church as well as the Germans, a duality of purpose which probably accounts for the readiness which the court displayed in granting the wish of these dissenters. The building, however, was to be called "the palatine Church or the high German Chapel." The construction had been made possible, according to the petition, by a legacy of cattle which a

¹¹⁴ W. J. Hinke, translator, "The Germans in Madison County, Va., Documents Bearing on Their History," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XIV (1907), 136, 145.

¹¹⁵ W. J. Hinke, "The Germans in Madison County, Va.," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XIV (1907), 142-144.

¹¹⁶ The records of the Halle Seminary, the *Hallesche Nachrichten*, mention no Craven congregation.

¹¹⁷ Rev. G. William Welker, "Early German Reformed Settlements in North Carolina," *Colonial Records*, VIII, 727 ff.

¹¹⁸ Craven Court Minutes, December, 1740. The petition has been preserved by recopying in the Craven Deed Records, I, 417.

“certain” benefactor, unnamed, had left in his will for that purpose. The petition named four commissioners to handle the financing: John Simons, Peter Remm, John Kinsey, and Jacob Schütz, the last named being the elder of the congregation. Within three years at most, this chapel had been completed. In December, 1743, the Moravian missionary Leonhard Schnell, accompanied by the English teacher of a Pennsylvania school, visited Craven and stayed at the house of Elder Schütz, to whom he brought letters from “the schoolmaster, Holzkoh, of Germantown, Virginia,” evidently a friend or kinsman.¹¹⁹ Writes Schnell:

He [Schütz] and the people living in that district were very glad to see a German preacher and were eager to hear a sermon, as they had not heard a German sermon for several years. I asked him to announce to the people that I would preach tomorrow at ten o'clock, which was agreeable to them.

On December 8th, I preached in their church, about six miles away. All the Germans assembled, about forty of them. The Saviour gave me grace to speak to their hearts and blessed my words visibly. They would have liked to keep me, and complained very much because they had no minister. The elder announced to them I would preach again tomorrow at Abraham Bossert's house.¹²⁰

On the following day Schnell in his sermon took as his text the answer of Jesus to Pilate: “Thou sayest that I am a king. To this end have I been born, and to this end have I come into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth.” (John: 18:37.) After the sermon, the host prepared a “feast” and on the following day Schnell and his companion departed, laden with gifts. The congregation themselves contributed six pounds; Bossert gave them food; and the elder donated three pounds from the church treasury and twenty shillings from his own pocket.

The Baptists were another sizable group of dissenters, and there were Palatines among them also. These called themselves First Day Baptists, but were referred to by members of the established church as Anabaptists. In June, 1740, six of their

¹¹⁹ Hinke and Kemper, “Moravian Diaries of Travels Through Virginia,” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XI, 382. One Michael Miller (Müller?) of Craven “is a brother-in-law of our Frantz Bluhm” in Pennsylvania, Schnell points out, showing the inter-relationships between these German-speaking colonists in America.

¹²⁰ The Moravians were closer akin to the Lutherans in doctrine than to the Reformed Church, but points of difference naturally did not arise when a congregation was so eager as this one to hear a German preacher.

spokesmen petitioned the county court to be allowed to build a house of worship.¹²¹ Their request, however, did not meet with the approval that had been accorded the Reformed Church petition, for three of the justices—Rees (Rice?) Price, William Caruthers, and John Bryan—“made oath to several misdemeanors committed by the s^d Petitioners” and thus forced them to appeal their plea to the General Court. These “misdemeanors” probably were simply the holding of services without consent of the county court or the Anglican church authorities, because at the next session these dissenters reappear and, upon taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, are granted the privileges of the act of toleration.¹²² Nine months later the General Court, sitting at Bath, denied the “Registered Meeting-house” which the Baptists had requested, but they persisted in their efforts by petitioning the chief justice.¹²³ It is hardly probable that he reversed the decision already rendered, though there is no remaining documentary evidence to tell the final outcome. This petition to the chief justice refers to the twenty-three signers as inhabitants of Bay and Neuse rivers, and lists the names of at least two Palatines. Among the subscribers were Josiah Hart, George Graham, and William Fulsher, all of whom became active as early preachers of the Baptist faith.¹²⁴ Most interesting is the fact that these dissenters complain in their petition of “interruptions” to their worship. Evidently they found it difficult to practice unmolested the religion they professed.

Another important sect were the Methodists. Their history does not date as far back as that of the Baptists, nor were they, perhaps, so zealous in propagating their beliefs; yet as the century wore on they counted numerous adherents in Craven County. Properly speaking, the Methodists were at this time only a society within the Anglican Church, followers of John Wesley and the eloquent evangelist George Whitefield; but many of the dissenters who held to doctrines repudiated by these leaders nonetheless called themselves Methodists.¹²⁵ Whitefield visited New Bern three times, in 1739, in 1764, and in

¹²¹ Craven Court Minutes, June, 1740.

¹²² Craven Court Minutes, September, 1740.

¹²³ *North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Register*, II (1901), 198.

¹²⁴ G. W. Paschal, “Morgan Edwards’ Materials Toward a History of the Baptists in the Province of North Carolina,” *North Carolina Historical Review*, VII (1930), 369 note.

¹²⁵ *Colonial Records*, VI, 1060-1061; VII, 97, 102.

1766, the last two times preaching in the New Bern church. On November 16, 1764, he arrived on his way to Georgia and on Sunday, November 18, "preached a most Excellent sermon in our Church, to a very numerous and crowded Audience; Persons of all Ranks . . . flocking to hear him."¹²⁶ In this discourse he condemned the rebaptizing of adults and the doctrine of the irresistible influence of the spirit, thus rebuking the "Methodists" who held to those principles and the "New Lights," in particular, these latter being a sect abounding on the coast who stressed a frenetic kind of pentecostal inspiration.¹²⁷ Whitefield proceeded to Cape Fear from Brunswick three days later:

At Newburn last Sunday, good impressions were made. Several gentlemen after sermon escorted me out of town. From that place to this, I have met with what they call New-lights almost every stage. . . . This, with every other place, being open and exceedingly desirous to hear the gospel, makes me almost determine to come back early in the spring.¹²⁸

He did indeed return in the spring, arriving during Passion Week and preaching again on Easter Sunday. "Several that had been tinctured with the principles of Methodism came a great many miles to hear him," observes the clergyman who had yielded his pulpit to the visitor, "but had the mortification to hear both their principles and practice in general condemned."¹²⁹

Here and there throughout the county were representatives of other non-conformist faiths, Presbyterians, Quakers, and even Catholics. Brickell writes that the Presbyterians were next to the Quakers the most numerous dissenting sect in the province, so it is fairly certain that there was a goodly sprinkling of both these faiths. The former, he says, were settled "chiefly . . . in and about the River *Neus*," though he must have been referring to the upper reaches of the river, for he says they had a "Minister of their own Order for many years past."¹³⁰ Or could he have meant by "Presbyterians" the members of the Reformed Church? This faith was sometimes called the German Presbyte-

¹²⁶ *The North Carolina Magazine; or, Universal Intelligencer*, November 23-30, 1764.

¹²⁷ *Colonial Records*, VI, 1060-1061.

¹²⁸ John Gillies, *Whitefield's Works* (London, 1771), III, 317-318.

¹²⁹ *Colonial Records*, VII, 97.

¹³⁰ John Brickell, *Natural History of North-Carolina*, pp. 35-36.

rian Church.¹³¹ Furthermore, it is quite possible that the Palatines had, at one time, their own minister. Whatever the answer, it is certain that by 1760 at the latest there were a number of Presbyterians in the county, whom Anglicans paid the tribute of calling "pretty moderate except here and there a bigot or rigid Calvinist."¹³² According to one local historian, who cites no authority for his statement, a number of Welsh Quakers settled on Clubfoot and Hancock's creeks early in the century.¹³³ However that may be, it is certain that there were many members of this sober sect in the county. But as for the Catholics, they were never numerous, and in 1760 there were less than a dozen in all of Craven.¹³⁴

Being the established religion of most of the English provinces, the Anglican or Episcopal faith naturally commanded a greater opportunity to flourish than any of the dissenting beliefs. A parish was being sought by the settlers as early as 1711, but one was not provided for by law until 1715 when an act was passed creating "Craven Parish" to consist of Neuse River and its branches.¹³⁵ However, the vestrymen appointed did not qualify, and five years later the Assembly was still endeavoring—whether successfully or unsuccessfully does not appear—to set up an establishment in Craven.¹³⁶ For many years there was no clergyman, and settlers who professed the Anglican faith had to depend for spiritual attention on desultory visits from such ministers, residing elsewhere, as the not-very-admirable John Urmstone.¹³⁷ About 1734, they engaged their first regular minister, and quite in keeping with the multi-racial character of the county, he was a Frenchman. This was the Reverend John Lapierre, who had been ordained in 1707 and who as a young man served several churches in South Carolina, both Huguenot and Anglican.¹³⁸ In 1728 he became rector at Cape Fear, but

¹³¹ Rev. G. W. Welker, "Early German Reformed Settlements in North Carolina," *Colonial Records*, VIII, 727 ff.

¹³² *Colonial Records*, VI, 265.

¹³³ Rev. L. C. Vass, *History of the Presbyterian Church in New Bern, N. C.* (Richmond, 1886), pp. 70-71, 131. Vass says the families Jones and Lovick settled there in 1710, and it is quite true that they owned land on Clubfoot Creek, though at how early a date it is impossible to say. *Colonial Records*, IV, 948-949.

¹³⁴ *Colonial Records*, VI, 265.

¹³⁵ Albemarle County Records, vol. II (undated), North Carolina State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh; *State Records*, XXIII, 6-10.

¹³⁶ *State Records*, XXV, 166-167.

¹³⁷ *Colonial Records*, II, 249.

¹³⁸ A. H. Hirsch, *The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina* (Durham, 1928), 52, 74-78.

after a few years the settlers there failed to subscribe properly to his allowance, and he was, he says, "forced to work in the field" for his living.¹³⁹ Just at this point the Craven settlement, consisting (says Lapierre) of more than a hundred families—"all poor people but very desirous to have the holy worship set up amongst them"—urged him to move to the Neuse River.¹⁴⁰ This invitation probably came through Lapierre's fellow-countryman, John Fonveille, for many years a church warden, for it was Fonveille who assisted him in acquiring a home on Batchelor's Creek about ten miles from town, where he remained for the next twenty years, living "in great poverty" but nonetheless faring better than he had previously.¹⁴¹

During Lapierre's residence, a well established parish was created and the first church erected for Anglican worship. Due to the destruction of the parish records early in the nineteenth century, most of the church activity at this period is lost in obscurity. Where, for example, did Lapierre hold services prior to the building of the first church? Was it at John Fonveille's house on Union Point? Lapierre and the minister at Bath seem to have been the only one holding regular worship at this time, a state of affairs which Governor Johnston called "really scandalous."¹⁴² In 1739 the vestry levied a county-wide tax to raise funds for building a church.¹⁴³ Commissioners were appointed, and brick were made for the construction. The tax proved insufficient, however, so in August, 1740, an act of assembly was obtained levying a new tax and designating John Bryan to collect it.¹⁴⁴ This act also confirmed the vestry in possession of four town lots, the southernmost half of the block the present church stands on, since they had acquired these in lieu of the church lots proposed by Lawson's plan. On the western half of the two-acre site the new church began to rise, but because of difficulties in collecting the parish tax and deaths among the building commissioners, which necessitated new legislative appointments, the construction proceeded quite slowly.¹⁴⁵ As late as

¹³⁹ *Colonial Records*, III, 529-530.

¹⁴⁰ *Colonial Records*, III, 624.

¹⁴¹ Craven Deed Records, I, 320; III, 51; IX-X, 271. *Colonial Records*, IV, 265. Lapierre apparently was not employed continuously by the vestry. *State Records*, XXIII, 182.

¹⁴² *Colonial Records*, IV, 265, 357.

¹⁴³ *State Records*, XXIII, 141-143.

¹⁴⁴ *Colonial Records*, IV, 572; *State Records*, XXIII, 141-143.

¹⁴⁵ *Colonial Records*, IV, 743, 787, 791; *State Records*, XXIII, 181-182, 231-232.

October, 1751, work had not yet ceased, though it appears that the church was completed soon after this date, since the last of a series of legislative acts seeking to facilitate the construction was passed at this time.¹⁴⁶ Meanwhile, by act of 1741 the parish had been named Christ Church Parish, just as it is today.¹⁴⁷ The completed Christ Church rendered long and unique service to the people of Craven County. Even in the last years of the century it was still the only church in New Bern. It was, according to a post-Revolutionary traveler, a simple building, "small . . . with a square tower, Cupola and Bell."¹⁴⁸

Soon after the completion of Christ Church, the vestry petitioned the authorities in England for a regular minister, since Lapierre was at this time in the last useful days of a career that had begun more than forty years before. This request was answered by the Reverend James Reed, who late in 1753 transported himself at his own expense to the faraway American parish he was to serve until his death twenty-four years later.¹⁴⁹ "Parson Reed" immediately made a home for himself and soon became a familiar figure in the county. Within a few years he had chosen a wife, Hannah Stringer, widow of Francis Stringer, from among his parishioners.¹⁵⁰ The parish prospered under his administration, and due to his work became in literal fact a model for the other parishes of colonial North Carolina. Sometime subsequent to the completion of the church and the arrival of Reed, the parish acquired, traditionally by gift of King George II, a silver communion service bearing the royal arms of Great Britain and made by the smith, Mordecai Fox.¹⁵¹ Nor was this the only evidence of the prosperity of the little parish. Nearly fifteen years after its completion, Christ Church was said to be the only Anglican place of worship in the province which had been kept in good repair.¹⁵² "Parson Reed" evidently had put affairs on a business-like basis. Perhaps not the least helpful source of revenue was that derived from the pews, for we may

¹⁴⁶ *Colonial Records*, IV, 1273; *State Records*, XXIII, 365-367.

¹⁴⁷ *State Records*, XXIII, 187.

¹⁴⁸ Lida Tunstall Rodman, editor, "Journal of a Tour to North Carolina by William Attmore, 1787," *The James Sprunt Historical Publications*, XVII (1922), 46.

¹⁴⁹ *State Records*, XXIII, 420.

¹⁵⁰ Craven Deed Records, II, 331-332.

¹⁵¹ A typescript article by Graham Daves, secretary of the parish, which is pasted in a vestry record book, contains some information about the service as well as about an ancient Bible and Book of Common Prayer which are also thought to be gifts of George II.

¹⁵² *Colonial Records*, VII, 102-103.

still read, in a pre-Revolutionary newspaper, an advertisement offering to rent them to the highest bidders!¹⁵³ Reed's salary, though meager enough, nevertheless was higher than that of any other clergyman in the province. By the original agreement based on the offer made to any English minister who would serve them, the vestry paid Reed £133: 6: 8 proclamation money annually and agreed also to provide him with a glebe and rectory.¹⁵⁴ When Reed came to New Bern, most clergymen in the province were receiving only £50 a year, and it was not until 1758 that a law was passed guaranteeing parish ministers £100 yearly with £20 additional where there was no glebe.¹⁵⁵ It was 1763 before the figure was raised to an equivalent of Reed's compensation, so it is no wonder that Christ Church was indisputably regarded as "the most beneficial parish . . . in the province."¹⁵⁶ Yet for all this generosity or good management by the parish and its minister, the living was barely adequate, and had not Reed been, as one of his colleagues said, "a parsimonious saving man and without children," he would have been hardly able to make ends meet. At one time, apparently much against his inclination, he considered leaving the parish, but fortunately the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel came through with a timely stipend and enrolled him among its regular missionaries.¹⁵⁷ Upon learning this, Reed promptly "laid aside all thoughts of . . . ever removing." In return for his modest compensation, Reed served not only Christ Church but eight chapels throughout the county as well; and besides this sizable task took it upon himself to visit a chapel on Newport River in clergy-less Carteret County whenever he could find the time.¹⁵⁸ The considerable number of chapels in the county is no mean tribute to the zeal with which James Reed propagated the Anglican faith. Even in his own time dissenter and churchman alike could not have failed to feel respect for this "parsimonious saving man," eking out his income with a few pounds received now and then from acting as Assembly chaplain, battling the ravages of yellow fever, which struck him partly deaf, and getting up from these repeated bouts

¹⁵³ *The North-Carolina Magazine; or, Universal Intelligencer*, December 24-28, 1764.

¹⁵⁴ *Colonial Records*, V, 279; *State Records*, XXIII, 420-421.

¹⁵⁵ *State Records*, XXV, 372-373.

¹⁵⁶ *Colonial Records*, VII, 493.

¹⁵⁷ *Colonial Records*, VII, 231-232.

¹⁵⁸ *Colonial Records*, VI, 230, 264-266.

of sickness to ride long miles and preach himself, as he says, quite hoarse.

Clergymen were not the only professional men in Craven County at this time. Lawyers were present almost from the beginning of things, and references to them in the county court minutes are too numerous to mention.¹⁵⁹ A law library was kept for their use in the courthouse, but it consisted prior to the Revolution of only four books: Burns's *Justice*, Cay's *Abridgement of the Statutes*, Godolphin's *Orphans' Legacy*, and Jacob's *Law Dictionary*.¹⁶⁰ Schoolmasters, too, were present at an early date, evidently holding classes or acting as tutors in private homes. One of these, William Whitford, who lived on Upper Broad Creek, was in the county at least by 1748.¹⁶¹ Another, John Clements, was in Craven by 1751 or earlier.¹⁶² The profession of medicine was represented, on the one hand, by "chirurgeons" such as Francis Stringer and John Doneau, and, on the other, by the "Doctor of Physic" Andrew Scott, an early counterpart of the modern doctor of medicine.¹⁶³ A curious reference to Scott appears in the court minutes of 1759. In the August session of that year, a witness was summoned to answer questions "concerning Doctor Andrew Scotts sending to him for some of the Small Pox Skabbs in a Vial."¹⁶⁴ What could he have wanted with smallpox scabs? It seems not unlikely that Scott was inoculating or attempting to inoculate his patients against this dreaded disease. Variolation—introduction of the unmodified human smallpox virus into a break in the skin to prevent severe cases—was not unknown elsewhere even in the earliest days of the century, but the year 1759 seems a rather early date for a colonial country doctor to be practicing it. Perhaps Scott's experiments got him into trouble with the county court, though no one can know

¹⁵⁹ In Christ Church yard is that well-known epitaph, a solicitous parting tribute to a member of the legal profession:

"To the Memory of
CHARLES ELLIOTT
Late Attorney General for this Province
Who died Anno 1756
An Honest Lawyer Indeed!"

When the noted barrister Archibald Maclaine of Wilmington died in 1790, nearly the same phrase was used in his eulogium by an Edenton newspaper.

¹⁶⁰ Craven Court Minutes, April, 1765.

¹⁶¹ Craven Deed Records, IV, 164.

¹⁶² Craven Deed Records, VII, 4, 6.

¹⁶³ Craven Deed Records, I, 82; III, 8; IX-X, 96.

¹⁶⁴ Craven Court Minutes, August, 1759.

the outcome of the matter since there are no fuller or further references to it.

Still another profession was that of the printer-journalist, which came to New Bern in 1749 with the removal there of James Davis, who two years later brought from his press the first newspaper in the province. But since the coming of Davis is involved with the political history of the town, his advent and influence will be told in the succeeding installments.

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

Edited by JAMES A. PADGETT

PART III

IMPERIAL MEXICAN RAILWAY.

Mexico November 8th 1865.

Chief Engineer's Office.
N^o. 11.

Wednesday.

My dear Wife

I had the pleasure to receive yesterday your letter to the 20th Octr & our dear Rosa's of the 18th; they were a little later than usual, in consequence of the packet not being able to get into Vera Cruz for two days on account of a Norther blowing. The letter which Rosa missed was merely a few lines accompanying a parcel of stamps which I gave to a returning engineer who, not allowing himself time, missed the steamer & has gone, I suppose, by the one which sailed Monday, taking another letter to Rosa & note to Augustus— When I write, there are two letters always unacknowledged, & I wish you would take care to mention the receipt by N^o If I might ask it without offending you, I should be glad if, instead of writing on scraps of note paper, which are not numbered, you would take a sheet like this to write on continuously; your last letter would, in your writing have filled two such very nearly. You did not mention how much you received for my first draft, but I think you did not get enough for the second, at the rate that Rutson Maury negotiated for his cousin, your £70 ought to have brought \$20— I told you if there was any difficulty in negotiating it to put it in a Bank & have it collected, as it would only necessitate the delay of waiting to hear from England— New York is a better place for such transactions, & I think I will send the next draft to Rutson & ask him to remit you the proceeds, which will save you trouble— You do not say that you want it before the New Year; so I shall send it by the second steamer in next month— If you lived as I do you would be independent of the price of *butter*— I take my cup of chocolate, with a French roll, between 8 & 9, & my dinner at 5, & never think of butter, nor eat it when it is set before me, as it is Sunday at Tacubaya— I hope you are at length convinced that the Talcotts are not going to leave Mex^o. for economy or any other reason; though, as I think I must have told you before, M^{rs} T. did intend to go for pleasure & for Miss Fanny's health; but the marriage of one daughter & Miss F's much improved health have induced her to give up the trip. I told you, in my letter to Rosa, that I was about to furnish a room at the office; but on account of the large family at Tac^a, Charles T., who expects to be employed in the City, has concluded to occupy

the whole suite, & I shall have to remain where I am, or to look elsewhere for a room— My hotel is so comfortable & respectable that nothing but economy makes me wish to leave it, & I shall not do so unless I can be equally well at a lower rate— Govr Allen wants to take a house, with some other persons, & perhaps I may join, if we find an advantageous place— I should think you had seen enough of the U. S. Newspapers to feel pretty sure that when you see anything in them, it is false in all probability— Govr Allen is not naturalized here, but has no idea of returning to U. S. or asking a pardon; the same was said of Maury in a manner which induced him to deny it in the newspapers here, where it was copied. I have no intention of becoming naturalized, as my position does not require it: I used the terms which offended you to make Laura laugh, as much as anything else— I am no politician & it is precisely to avoid politics that I don't read or wish to read the U. S. newspapers— I care only for the effect the political measures may have on the few persons in whom I am interested, & this I expect to hear from my letters— But I insist in writing to me you do not repeat such words as "clemency, mercy & forgiveness," as applied to my Southern friends— it makes my blood boil to hear such a perversion of language— My sister Ellen wishes *pardon*: p—n; just as polite people write the name of the infernal regions— The following is an extract from her letter by this steamer, after speaking of the desolation around them at Raleigh: "Ellen had a letter from Jacob arrived safely in Mobile— all well there & just in our situation— Jake says the negroes & the Yankees rule every thing; the former being the best of the two— Think of the Yankees appropriating the Medical College for a Negro school house, & the Chemical Department, the most complete in this country, is now occupied by a negro cobbler— The enemy carried off all the valuable & fine specimens of medical science of which there was an extensive collection— That is a public injury— One private example only will I give you: Ellen Brown our niece is an elegant & refined woman— her husband is worthy of her— Their servants all left them— Mr B. got up at daybreak, cut wood, made the fire & milked the cow; his little son about 10 years old drew the water, & Ellen & her daughter, a child of 9, cooked"— I picked up a scrap of newspaper sent to Maury, in which I saw Genl. Lee humiliated to be excused & commended by such a fellow as Hy Beecher Stowe, or whatever his name is, the preacher! I am glad to receive the kind remembrances of Mrs Ingraham, Mr Brinley, Mr. Rane, McAlister,⁸⁰ & Mrs Gratiot,⁸¹ & I should be very willing for

⁸⁰ Charles MacAlester was born in Philadelphia on February 17, 1798, and died there on December 9, 1873. He was educated at the University of Pennsylvania; became a leading merchant; lived in Cincinnati, Ohio, from 1821 to 1827, but returned to Philadelphia; and retired in 1849. He was president of the Orthopedic Hospital and of St. Andrew's Society; gave a large building and extensive grounds for a building for a college at Minneapolis, Minnesota, which was called MacAlester College; and spent his life amidst the plaudits of Philadelphia where he was an outstanding leader. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, IV, 71.

⁸¹ Ann Bellin married Charles Gratiot in Philadelphia in 1810. A street in St. Louis and a town in Michigan are named in his honor. *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, XII, 323.

J^{no} Lee to have my photograph; but I desire no messages from her brother or brother's wife or any of her family— Make my regards to those I first mentioned & tell Mr Brinley & Miss Mary that I should like very much to join their whist party again— Express to Farley & his wife my sympathy in their affliction about poor Ella; The result of her disease does not surprise me. Tell Mr Levy that I rejoice to hear of his continued prosperity, especially at a time when he requires all the means he can obtain. I have no curiosity about the list of incomes you speak of— If you have not bought the under shirt & cravat which I mentioned in my letter to Rosa, it is not worth while; I have hardly been in a shop here, but they appear to be very well furnished, & believe things are cheaper than in U. S. The weather has been quite cool for some days past; therm. at 8 o'clk 45° to 50°— The mornings have been cloudy, but about 10 o'clk when the sun comes out it is quite pleasant— I have put on my thick pants & shall wear my old uniform coat, when I get it from the scourer's— I have heard nothing of Gus. Maynadier, except his arrival—

I should think that my regular & constant writing would be sufficient to convince you that I remember you always, although I do not happen to recollect your birth day, to note it particularly— For what other object do I now live, but to provide for you & our children? & do you suppose that I am not always wishing for you? You know very well that I put little value on professions, but judge & wish to be judged by actions— You take no interest in anything in Mexico; but the girls would have been somewhat amused here during the first days of this month. The 1st Nov^r is All Saint's day⁸² & the 2nd All Souls day—⁸³ For some weeks past they have been erecting wooden sheds on the Grand Plaza, to serve for puppet theatre, war works, &c; outside of these all round the square are rows of booths for the sale of hogs, candles & fruits preserved, & outside of these again the ground is covered with fruit sellers, chiefly dealing in oranges & pea nuts— In the centre of the square is a large circular tent or canvass house for the elite— After the high Mass on the 1st the place was crowded nearly all day & until 12 at night with promenaders & children; But the oddity of the thing was in the kind of toys & candies offered to the latter— The toys consisted mainly of coffins, sarcophaguses, funeral processions, skeletons dressed in various characters, & black structures with sockets for candles; the candies were principally of the same kind, the predominating forms being skulls, bones &c, many of them ornamented with bits of gold leaf— The appetizing things are the preserved & candied fruits, even

⁸² All Saints' Day is a feast observed for all the martyrs and saints. It was observed as early as the fourth century. In the Greek Church it is the first Sunday after Pentecost. In the Latin Church it was the thirteenth of May, but since the time of Pope Gregory III it has been celebrated on November first. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia* (1911), VI, 5307.

⁸³ All Souls' Day is celebrated on November 2 in the Latin Church. It is a day kept in commemoration of all the faithful departed, for the eternal repose of their souls, to which end the mass and affairs of the day are directed. It is the day following the feast of All Saints' Day. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia* (1911), VII, 5781.

to *pumpkins*, (whole) in the preparation of which these people excel, as in all sorts of *dulces*, or sweet things— The favorite show is the *Titeres*, or burlesque operas performed by little puppets, the singers being behind the curtain— This show was so crowded that I did not attempt to get in— If you turn to the description of Greenwich Fair, in my first visit to London, I dare say you will find a good deal of resemblance, except in one thing: Here there are no intoxicating drinks offered, or permitted to be sold; nothing but lemonade, sherbets, &c— In the central tent, in the evening, there is a band, & the best people in the place promenade round the circle or sit in the raised balcony, to show their handsome dresses, & what is very odd, their new *bonnets*, in the latest Paris style, which they wear on scarcely any other occasion, so far as I can learn— This is carried on three nights, the 1st, 2nd & 5th of Novr— On the 2nd, it is usual for all to dress in black, go to church & visit the tombs of their deceased relatives, on which they put flowers & the lower orders present also *food* & have feasts for the dead in their houses, which if the dead don't eat, the living do, I suppose— In Miss Howitt's "art student in Munch," & in the "Initials" you will see account of somewhat similar doings— I ought to have mentioned that tickets for the "Circle" cost \$2 for the season or \$1 a night, & the proceeds this year go to the fund for the benefit of the sufferers by the inundations—

Novr 10th— I went yesterday afternoon to Tacubaya where the Talcott children had a little birth day fete, under the trees in the garden— The day was bright & pleasant, the company agreeable (only some half dozen,) & George Talcott, who happened to be at home, took a stereoscopic view of the group. It is something to have a picnic or a party in the country, when you are *sure* of your weather.

I am very glad to see, from dear Rosa's letter, that she has become so much stronger than she was— Tell me as many particulars as you can about the children & yourself; I care more for that than any thing else— I hope Josephine received my note, as you got yours by Dr. Massey—

Novr 15th— I close my letter to-day for the next steamer— please put the note to Mr Levis in an envelope & send it to him— You will see by it that Col. Talcott has returned— I can't keep wishing that you could all enjoy this lovely weather— The therm. at 8 was at 56°, & at 9 I am sitting with all the windows open, altho' my room is on the shady side of the house in the morning—

Farewell—

Ever truly & faithfully

Yr affectionate husbd

A. Mordecai

IMPERIAL MEXICAN RAILWAY.

Mexico, Novr 10th 1865.

Chief Engineer's Office.

No.

My dear Sister

I have had the pleasure to receive your letter to the 12th Octr, in company with a copy, from the indefatigable Rutson, of his letter to you, & my usual letters from Phila. The details you give me of the situation of affairs in the South are of the kind I require, to correct what I am sure are the erroneous impressions conveyed by letters from the North (such as Rutson's) & by the newspapers— of the latter I only *hear*, for I never read them; the only effect produced by the few I have looked at & the extracts I see, being irritation & disgust— There is a bundle of some 20 N. Y. papers now lying on my table, rec'd this morning, which I have not even opened & shall send, as they are, to Tacubaya, where, by the bye, they do not receive much notice either— I only care to hear of the few friends I feel a personal interest in, & you cannot tell me too much about them— I am very glad you are going to Rich^d & I trust that, notwithstanding the melancholy prospect it presents, the change may be agreeable & beneficial to you— I know that our good cousins & sisters will do all they can to make it so— This letter ought to reach you about the time of Caroline's wedding: Give her my best love & all good wishes for her happiness— I suppose it is hardly necessary to caution her, when she goes North, to avoid as much as possible, saying anything whatever about the occurrences of the war or the feelings it has excited, except it be in private conversation with persons whose sentiments on that subject she knows perfectly. This is the only comfortable plan— I make no remarks on what you tell me, because you can well imagine all I feel & would say. I wrote by the last steamer to Ned, care of Gustavus, about coming out here— I am sorry that I cannot yet say that definite arrangements have been made for providing emigrants with lands; but Maury is doing all that he can & I hope he will soon be able to specify places for settlement— His letters from V^a, like yours, do not encourage the idea that people will come here from the Northern parts of the Confederacy; but they may from the other— The Virginians seem to “lack gall to make oppression bitter,” & to have determined to accommodate themselves to the new order of things— I trust our little Ellen may succeed in her endeavor to support her family by teaching; but I should fear that the business was overstocked, & that the means of payment may be wanting— *You* must not think of doing that or anything else involving work; you have had your share of that, & must not feel any hesitation about accepting such assistance as George or any one else has to offer— I wish it were in my power to aid you & Emma any way; but I fear I must not think of it— I can, however, relieve your

mind of the regrets you express that you should ever have said anything painful to me; for I can assure you, with perfect sincerity, that nothing which I heard from you & any of the family, in the way of reproach or persecution, ever occasioned any feeling but deep sorrow that my course should have given cause for such expressions— I am exceedingly vexed that our dear George should be annoyed by a set of rascals such as those you speak of— Surely nothing that they can say will injure such a character as his at home, & their slanders will hardly be heard of anywhere else— You speak of not having one of my *storm* photographs for Emma; I think you must have mistaken— I think I sent one of each kind for each of you, & that I sent one myself to Mobile— however, I will put one in this for Emma— I enclose you a copy of a plan of the house in which our office ⁸⁴ is— We have the whole suite of rooms on the North side, but as we only use three of them for the office, I intended to furnish for myself the one marked “Chas. T.’s parlor”; but he has concluded to take the whole of them & move his family to town, where he expects to be employed, & he is now furnishing them— The drawing will give you an idea of the general arrangement of a Mexican house— In the rich ones the Patio is ornamented sometimes with shrubs & a fountain, & the corridors or balconies with pots of flowers, or else enclosed & lined with paintings, &c. By taking down the temporary partition on the front corridor, we have an open communication with Maury’s apartment & he can come round in the cool weather, as now, to sun himself on our side— you see there are no chimneys, not even in the kitchen, charcoal only being used for cooking. Fires would not be uncomfortable sometimes, in the morning & evening; tho’ I see that the draughtsmen have their windows open now, to let in the warm air. In the morning about 8 o’clk I find the thermometer in the street about 50 or 52; but it has been as low as 45°— Last evening or rather afternoon, I went to Tacubaya to a little birth day fete for the children— a carpet was spread on the ground, under some trees in the garden, & there they had their tea cakes in the open air & sunshine, *sure* of not being disturbed by rain— We have had two little showers, by the bye, since the close of the rainy season— The dust must be pretty bad in the country, but the wind never blows here apparently, & we feel little annoyed in the City— In the spring I am told, it is often windy & must be very unpleasant, as by that time the ground is thoroughly pulverized, after 8 months’ drought— To return to our house: it is a new one, built

⁸⁴ The building he mentions is built around a court with the front being two rooms or about forty feet wide before the court begins. From this point the side walls are not entirely parallel, but converge so that the back of the house is some ten feet narrower than the front. On one side of the court are six rooms, all eighteen feet long, and varying from fourteen to twenty-two feet wide. One of these rooms is marked kitchen. On the other side of the court are the kitchen, dining room, store room, servant room, clerk’s room, office of colonization, and bed room. On the front there are the draught room, Maury’s parlor, Charles Talcott’s parlor, ante room, clerk’s room, bed room, one large hallway and stairway, another small hall and stair, and the office with Col. Talcott’s desk and table for Mordecai. All the doors were glass and all the windows were doors. The patio was forty-five feet wide at one end and thirty-five at the other. On each side of the patio was an open corridor, roofed over.

in a corner of the former Convent of San Francisco, which occupied not only the large square in which this house is, but one or two others; two wide streets have already been cut through it, & a great part of the garden is untouched. They are now demolishing the large church which joins our house on the East— This useful & beneficial work, of appropriating the church property, was instituted by the Juarez⁸⁵ (Republican) Govt & has been confirmed by the present; so the priests don't exactly know which way to incline— One of the most offensive sights, to my eyes, is that of these dirty, fat, sensual looking priests, in their long gowns & shovel hats— if there are any of them that have the intellectual look of students they do not appear in the streets— My object in wishing to furnish a room was an economical one; I am very comfortable at my furnished lodgings, but I think I ought to procure the same advantages at a cheaper rate— I estimated that after my furniture was paid for, which would not be very expensive, my whole expenses ought not to exceed some \$35 a month which I now pay for my room alone what does Mrs Myers, the lodging house proprietor, say— I am living this month at an expense of 52 cents a day for breakfast & dinner, & 1 ct for the orange or banana which I eat early in the morning— but although I get enough to eat & quite good, I think I shall return to the neater & more cheerful place where I took my dinners last month, at a little greater cost— Among the last arrivals here, with Maury's son & his wife, are Mr McClean⁸⁶ of the Conf. army & his wife, who oddly enough is a daughter of Genl. Sumner,⁸⁷ an old officer of the U. S. army, who was of some note in the beginning of the late war— Mrs McC. lived some time in Rich^d during the war, & is to all appearance A strong southerner; She seems to be a very smart woman

⁸⁵ Benito Pablo Juarez was born at Guelatao, Oajaca, on March 21, 1806, and died in Mexico City on July 18, 1872. He was of pure Indian blood; was banished by Santa Anna in 1853, but returned two years later; was Minister of Justice under Alvarez; was elected President of the Supreme Court in 1857 and Vice-President of Mexico; and after the fall of Comonfort in January, 1858, he became President, but reactionaries had seized the government to such an extent that great commotion resulted. In December, 1860, he triumphed over his enemies after a considerable civil war and was elected President in March, 1861; but the invasion of Mexico by the French, English, and Spanish forces in the interest of bond holders, deprived him of his office. The Spanish and English withdrew when they saw the real purpose of the French, but the French continued, capturing Mexico City in June, 1863, and the Empire was proclaimed under Maximilian. Juarez was driven to the northern frontier, from which section he continued to keep up resistance. When the French army was withdrawn in 1867 Juarez rapidly gained strength. Maximilian was captured and shot. Juarez entered Mexico City and was elected President in August, 1867. He was re-elected in 1871, but revolts not only continued but increased in violence, even continuing long after his death. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 553.

⁸⁶ Eugene Eckel McLean, a native of the District of Columbia, was appointed from Maryland to West Point on July 1, 1838. He became a second lieutenant of the first infantry on March 1, 1844; first lieutenant on June 10, 1850, a rank which he retained until December 8, 1855; was raised to the rank of captain and assistant quartermaster on August 29, 1855. He resigned on April 25, 1861, and served as major and as quartermaster in the Confederate army from 1861 to 1865. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, I, 675.

⁸⁷ William Hyslop Sumner was born in Massachusetts on July 4, 1780, and died in the same state on October 24, 1861. He graduated from Harvard in 1799; was admitted to the bar in 1802; served in the legislature in 1808-1819; was sent to the coast of Maine in 1814 for the purpose of putting that area in a state of defense against a threatened British invasion; and served as adjutant-general of his state from 1818 to 1835, with the rank of brigadier-general. He became one of the original members of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society. He was well known for his writings on various subjects. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, V, 751.

& pleasant. They are at our hotel, where I told you the number of my companions is much reduced by the departure of the gentlemen who have gone to look after lands for colonization. I take my dinner at present with Gov^r Reynolds⁸⁸ of Missouri & Genl. Wilcox, both gentlemanly & agreeable men— Reynolds is an acquaintance of Gustavus's & a sort of cousin of his wife's— I have little resource of books, none of our people having their libraries— The only thing I am reading now is *Gil Bles* in Spanish, as an exercise in language— I generally go to bed early, by 10' o'clk, & I sleep quite enough, tho' I often wake an hour or so before day, & for two nights past I have lighted the candle at my bedside & taken up my book, to divert my thoughts— I hope this will not grow into a habit— You misunderstood probably what I said about flannel shirts: I wore a thin one for a short time, but I have thick ones, & it is easy to get anything of the kind here, cheaper than in the U. S. I believe & quite as good; tho' I have hardly had to buy anything, except a white cravat for Miss Nannie's wedding. I mentioned to Ned that Charles T. has been quite ill; he is a great deal better & is now attending to his rooms; but he has an ugly cough & is very far from strong yet. His sister M^{rs} Southgate, who suffered formerly from asthma, is quite free from it here, & looks *fat* & hearty; I wonder if the climate would have that effect on Ned— You ask me about washing— It is done here, as in other countries, by *women*, & well done. I cannot judge of its *destructive* effects yet, but no injury has been done so far to my clothes— I hope they are not served as I see the women doing at the basin in our patio; rubbing the clothes on the stones of the pavement!— The first week in this month is a great holiday— as a great many days are— among these people— The 1st being All Saints & the 2nd All Souls day I may as well copy the account of the festival which I have written for Sara & the girls: For some weeks before the 1st they were busy erecting, on the Grand Plaza, wooden sheds to serve for puppet shows, wax works, &c; outside of these structures, all round the square, are rows of booths for the sale of toys, candies & preserved fruits, & outside of these again the pavement is covered with fruit sellers, dealing chiefly in bananas, oranges & pea nuts, & people frying a peculiar sort of very thin, light wafers— In the centre of the square is a large circular tent or canvass house for the use of the elite. After high Mass in the morning of the 1st, the place was crowded until 12 at night with promenaders & children— The peculiarity of the thing consists in the kind of toys & candies offered to the children— The toys are chiefly coffins, funeral processions, skeletons in various costumes, & black houses, blocks &c, with sockets for little candles— The predominating forms of the candies are sarcophagi, skulls & bones, many of

⁸⁸ There must be some mistake in this statement as the only Governor Reynolds Missouri has ever had was Thomas Reynolds (March 12, 1796-February 9, 1844) who was elected governor of the state in 1840, but killed himself in 1844. *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, XII, 303; *White's Conspectus of American Biography*, 138-139.

them ornamented with gold leaf or tinsel— Besides these there are really nice things in the shape of *dulces*, candied & preserved fruits, (even whole pumpkins) in which these people excel— The favorite show in the *Titeres* or burlesque operas, performed by little puppets, the singers being behind the curtain— I have seen something of the kind in Paris— This place was so crowded that I did not try to get in— Greenwich Fair, which I saw on my first visit to London, has some resemblance to this, except in one thing: here no intoxicating drinks are sold or allowed: nothing but lemonade, sherbets &c & no drunken or ill mannered people are to be seen— The crowds here are always quiet & polite— In the central tent, in the evenings A band is stationed & the better class of people promenade round the building or sit in the raised balcony, the ladies displaying their handsome dresses & strangely enough, their Paris bonnets, which, so far as I can see they hardly wear at any other time— This goes on for three nights, 1st 2nd & 5th Novr— In the day of the 2nd black is the proper dress; people go to church & then visit the tombs of deceased relatives, placing flowers, & burning candles on them, & (the lower classes, I suppose) making offerings of *food*, at the tombs & in their houses— to be eaten, it is to be imagined, by the living if spared by unclean animals— Tickets are bought for entrance to the “circle” on the Plaza, & this year the proceeds are appropriated to the relief of sufferers by the inundations— You may remember in the “Initials” & in the “Art Student in Munich” some account of the celebration of this festival of the dead in that city— One curious custom here was that of reviving or exciting on this occasion family feuds, often to the extent of bloodshed over the tombs of the dead; but it is said that this practice had not existed of late & there were no cases of bloody quarrels this year.

Novr 11th— In going to my breakfast this morning I observed my optician’s thermometer at 64°— In returning I walked a while on the sunny side of the street, but soon crossed over to the shade, & instead of turning in to the office I continued my walk to the Alameda, where I heard the French band, of about 50, play a beautiful piece from some opera; & now I am sitting with my window wide open— In speaking of *washing*, I ought to have mentioned the way in which the women, or their husbands, &c, take home the clothes, as I saw them this (Saturday) morning— The dresses & starched shirts are not folded, but suspended on a frame or basket raised high enough over the heads of the bearer to keep them well clear of the dirt, & thus paraded through the streets, without any covering. The opera chorus, that you may hear singing on the opposite side of the street is practicing the “*Barbieri de Levilla*,” & if you were sunning yourself . . . corridor, you might probably hear the *Prima Dona*, who lives . . . , exercising herself in her part of the piano—

Many of the streets of the city are still in a very bad condition in consequence of the unusual height of water in the lakes which does not allow them to be drained; temporary bridges & side walks have to be laid down for foot passengers, but not in the most frequented streets which are rather higher— It is a great pity that M^r Cortez did not establish his new city a few feet higher, or put it on the beautiful hill side of Tacubaya. The authorities are really at work, I believe, to remedy the evil; but an *efficient* remedy, the reopening of the old drain cut by the Spaniards, will be perhaps too expensive for the present crippled financial condition of the country— The paper this morning has a report in favor of the drain & thinks it may be adopted.

Novr 15th— I am now about to close this for the mail. There is nothing especial to add, I believe, but that Col. Talcott has returned from his trip along the line to Vera Cruz— Charles has got his carpets nearly down & will move in probably this week. I never read the U. S. newspapers; but in picking up some the other day to carry to M^{rs} McClean my eye caught the name of Judge Campbell in large letters & I was glad to find that he has been released from confinement in Fort Pulaski, where I hardly thot [*sic*] he would get through the summer— Give my love to Emma, Rosina & all our relatives in Rich^d. & believe me always
y^r affte brother

A. Mordecai

Nov^r 10th 1865

N^o 4—

Miss Ellen Mordecai
Care John B. Young Esq^r
Richmond Virginia

IMPERIAL MEXICAN RAILWAY.

Mexico, Novr 30th 1865.

Chief Engineer's Office.

N^o. 12.

My dear Miriam

I was very much pleased to receive your letter & Gratz's, & I willingly devote this N^o to thanking you both for them— Gratz's was very nicely written & I will send him a special note if I have time for this mail; but contrary to my usual custom I have left it, as my date shows, until the last day for the ordinary mail to begin this letter— I write now only at the office, & of late I have been so busy there that the days have slipped by without leaving me time for you, although' I think of you all constantly & read over your letters every day or two. Yesterday, after finishing the correspondence for the English steamer of the 2nd, I was

busy in making purchases for my new quarters which I hope to occupy to-morrow— Col. McClean, of Baltimore, & his wife & I have taken the first (2^d) floor of a small house, which affords just the accommodation we require for us & another officer (Confed) of their party, who is just now absent on an expedition for M^r Maury to Tacabecas— We have a nice parlor, dining room & three bed rooms, & kitchen & servant's room, on the same floor: There was some furniture in them which M^cClean has bought & I have, either by purchase or hire, all that I require for my room— M^{rs} M^cC. proposes to keep house, as the most economical way of living, as well as the pleasantest; but we do not commence that arrangement immediately, & I shall take my meals as before, very conveniently & comfortably, for the next fortnight at least— Our new lodgings are pleasantly situated in the same cross street as my hotel & two streets off, facing the east, so that I shall be greeted by the morning sun, although I have not the advantage, as at the Hotel, of being warmed by it in the afternoon— This exposure to the sun is an important consideration in this *chimneyless* country, at this season of the year; for the evenings & mornings are now quite cool, & I must confess that one fire place in which we could have a little fire at those times, would be a comfort. I have seen the thermometer, at 8 in the morning, as low as 43°, & the tender vegetables show that there has been frost at night; there is even a report of a skim of ice having been seen— However the roses and other flowers still bloom, & such is the disregard of the seasons, that I saw the strawberries in blossom, & plucked a ripe one last Sunday, at Tacubaya. The Sunday before we had a nice dish of them for breakfast there. About 9 or 10 o'clock, when the sun is well up, it is warm enough in the open air, but not so always inside of these thick walls; consequently I am sitting now, 10 o'clk, with my window open, altho' it is not on the side where the sun shines before 1 'clk— When we get a little chilly we go out on the balcony & bask in the sunshine, "like cats," as M^{rs} Chas. T. says— She is very nicely established; rooms well furnished & an excellent cook— I took two dinners there last week, preparatory to going out to Tacub^a for the night, whilst the gentlemen & several of the ladies were absent with a party, to visit the Pyramids of San Juan Teotihuacan,⁸⁹ an account of which you may see in the 2nd Vol. of Prescott. I have hardly seen any of the party since their return, except the Col., but they seem to have had a pleasant gipsey

⁸⁹ The Pyramids of San Juan Teotihuacan were found in Mexico by the Aztecs when they entered the country. They were constructed when Teotihuacan, the habitation of the gods, was a flourishing city. The two principal ones were dedicated to the sun and moon. The former is 682 feet long at its base and 180 feet high and the latter is smaller. Each are four stories in height. Time and weather have greatly defaced them, and now vegetation completely covers them, making them look like eminences of nature. The interior is covered with clay mixed with pebbles, incrusting on a surface with light porous stone, and then covered with a thick coating of stucco of a redish color. They are supposed to be hollow, but only in the smaller one are there courts. On the top of the larger one it is supposed that there was a statue dedicated to the sun. There are other smaller ones, but they rarely exceed thirty feet in height. William H. Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Mexico*, III, 189-193.

trip— I do not wish you to be “envious,” but I frequently think how much you girls would enjoy being here for a time, & even your mother would be amused with the novelty, although I would not think of this country, at present, for a permanent residence for you.

(I must stop, for a while to attend to the office business, which is interrupting me,) In asking for your photographs I did not mean to give you the trouble & expense of having them made over again, except your Mother’s; I thought you could find the negatives & have copies taken— Tell Laura that I have often asked about the herb which M^r Hazzard⁹⁰ spoke of, but can hear nothing of it; if she will get me the name & write it plainly, as she can do, I will take great pains to oblige M^r H. I was arranging my medicine case this morning for removal; but I have had very little occasion to *derange* it as yet— It happened unfortunately that the bottle of cholera drops (so called) which is the only one I have used, was the only one that had leaked out— There is still left as much as I shall want perhaps— The cholera has not made its appearance here yet: I am glad to find that, so far, you had shown no fears of it, & that you may have no experience of it in any way. You had not mentioned M^r Levis’s illness until you told me that he was better— Nothing very serious I hope. You may tell M^r Newton that it is Virginus Newton who is here— He is employed at present with one of the Col’s sons, on the railway, about 60 miles from here, but I believe he is about to leave the service; what to do I do not know— M^r Postell, whom Miss Fannie Cohen enquires about, is one of the best engineers on the railway, & the Col. was sorry to sign a letter which I wrote for him yesterday accepting his resignation— He has engaged in a contract for building a part of the road, in hopes of making more money for the support of his mother & sister in U. S.— M^{rs} Stevens, the wife of one of the engineers, is coming out by the first steamer in January— Sh[e li]ves at Miss W. H. Howard’s 225 N. Eutaw St. Baltimore [but I] don’t recollect any thing that you could trouble her with, unless she [coul]d bring me a nice *bedspread*, for a single bed, if your mother has a spare one; blankets I had to buy yesterday— You might make me some mats for my bed room candle stick, wash stand, &c— In looking for blankets I went to a large Factory & store I saw some beautiful serapes, a sort of cloak shawl, worn by the ladies for carriage & opera— They are very finely woven by hand, mostly with figures, but some white, with borders & centre— cost \$60 to \$100— They told me

⁹⁰ Samuel Hazard, an outstanding archaeologist, was born in Philadelphia on May 26, 1784, and died there on May 22, 1870. He spent his early life in commercial pursuits, in which he made several voyages to the East Indies, before he began his literary career. He published the *Register of Pennsylvania*, in sixteen volumes, between 1828 and 1836, and other Pennsylvania documents. *Appleton’s Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, III, 149.

that M^r Barron, our Banker had had one made, which he presented to Prince Albert,⁹¹ that cost \$1500!—

Tell your mother, (for I see I shall not have time to write to her this mail,) that I did not forget her request about M^r Poor, but I did not care to take any trouble about him; however, I do not know anything he could do here unless to take up land & go to planting coffee & sugar— *Good & experienced engineers* could easily find employment— I am afraid Edmund will not come— I am glad M^r Ingersoll *asked* for my photograph before he got one. Make my congratulations to M^{rs} I. on the birth of her daughter, which no doubt pleased her more than another son would— I have filled my sheet, but I fear with not very interesting matter; but like other dull people I may retire behind Horace's saying: "Aliguando dormitat bonus Homerus"— Laura can interpret that if Gratz can't— Don't be afraid to write to me: I had no difficulty in reading your letter. If any one meets M^r Reed, give my regards & say that I intended to write to him by this steamer, but had not time at the proper moment; but I will soon— With best love to your dear mother, sisters & brothers, I must now close—

Ever fondly & truly

Yr affte father

A. Mordecai

Miss Merian Mordecai
1825 DeLancey Place
Philadelphia Pa Estados Unidos del Norte.
Vapor Mexico— Americano.

IMPERIAL MEXICAN RAILWAY.

Chief Engineer's Office.
N^o. 13.

Mexico Decr 8th 1865.
Friday,

My dear Wife

I will not run the risk I did last mail of not having time for my letters, & so I avail myself of this quiet (Catholic) holiday to begin my usual letter to you first, as I want to write several for this steamer— On the 6th Caroline's wedding day— I received yours of the 20th Nov^r. with one from Josephine, & letters from Sister E. & Edmund, enclosed by Rutson.M.— Rutson sends me also *press copies* of his correspondence with you, in which he is so *very* particular that I had a good deal of difficulty in making out the case, & am not sure that I did make it out,

⁹¹ Albert Francis Augustus Charles Emmanuel was born at the Rosenau, near Coburg, Germany, on August 26, 1819, and died at Windsor Castle, England, on December 14, 1861. He was Prince Consort of England; the second son of the Duke of Saxe Coburg-Gotha; and the husband of Queen Victoria, whom he married on February 10, 1840. He was made Prince Consort on June 25, 1857. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*, IX, 30.

but it seemed very important— You will laugh, I think, at the scrap, from which I was going to give you an extract; but it is on such thin paper that I will send it to you instead— He remarks on the attack on the Diligence by Guerillas in this “disgraceful country,” as if he had never heard of such a thing as a country much near to him, during the last four years. The parcel which he sent by “Jack Maury,” as M. F. calls him, will probably reach me soon; but M^r Douglass, the engr, was directed to stop in Orizava where he will meet Col. Talcott, who reached Paso del Macho (near V. Cruz last evening, as we learn by Telegraph. Edmund writes me that he has employment in Va & will not come here; but Conway Howard whom we met, I think, at Cocke’s⁹² wants to come in his place, & I have asked Col. T., in note to-day if he invites Howard, to ask him to see you— Sister Ellen recommends him to my kind attention, also— Sister E. had received a letter from Mobile of 28th Octr in which my brother says: “We ourselves, with the blessing of continued health, are getting along as comfortably as we could desire, & my own improvement in health & strength are abundant evidence of the increased comforts which our table affords— To W^m & Jake we are much indebted for luxuries, in which heretofore we have not permitted ourselves to indulge— They are doing well, each in his respective line of business”— He had received my letter from here & sends me a kind & flattering message— It is quite odd about M^{rs} Waugh— I do not remember the Youngs— Thompson was once my brother’s partner in the apothecary business— Chas. Talcott was talking the other day about his wife’s mother, M^{rs} Barnard, being a neighbor of the Greens— it never occurred to me before that she was a daughter of the M^{rs} B. whom we once went to see about country lodgings, she remembers the visit— Charles, I am sorry to say, has had another sharp attack of bleeding from the lungs & has been some days in bed again; but to-day he is dressed & I hope will get well— he will probably go to the “warm country” (tierra Templada) about Orizava, when he is able to travel— It seems absurd to talk about going to a warmer region, when he is sitting with his door open, & I with my window— The therm. probably at 63° in the shade— Col. & M^{rs} McClean & I dined at Charles’s last Saturday with Col. & M^{rs} Talcott: M^{rs} Charles was at table & the M^c C’s & I staid until nearly 10 o’clk; before morning M^{rs} C. T. presented her husband with a

⁹² John Hartwell Cocke was born in Surry County, Virginia, on September 19, 1780, and died in Virginia on July 1, 1866. He graduated from William and Mary College in 1798; was a commander in some of the battles about Richmond in the War of 1812; became vice-president of the American Temperance Society and of the American Colonization Society; and was a member of the first board of visitors of the University of Virginia. Philip St. George Cocke was born in Virginia in 1808, and died there on December 26, 1861. He graduated from West Point in 1832; was assigned to the artillery and served in Charleston during the Nullification controversy, 1832-1833; was adjutant in 1833-1834; and resigned on April 1, 1834. He engaged in planting in Virginia and Mississippi; was president of the Virginia State Agricultural Society from 1853 to 1856; served as a brigadier-general in the Confederate army in 1861; commanded the first brigade in the battle of Bull Run; and after eight months service he returned home shattered in body and mind, which led to suicide while in a fit of insanity. In 1852 he published *Plantation and Farm Instruction*. *Appleton’s Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, I, 672-673.

daughter, the only one they have— It was just in time to put in a postscript to a letter for her mother which went off Sunday morning by the extraordinary— Does not this remind you of another occurrence in which *we* were interested?

Col. & M^{rs} McClean & I have taken a house,⁹³ or rather a floor, in a very good situation, as I think I mentioned to Rosa; we have just the room required for ourselves & friend of theirs, who with the Col. will be employed in our office— I send you a plan of the floor— My room is very comfortable; I have bought a carpet, wardrobe, bed clothes, &c, & hire some other things for the present; but intend next month to buy them— We have a woman who takes care of the rooms & cooks for the M^cC's— I still take my meals at a Cafe & Restaurant— The room costs me \$12 a month: The whole furniture will not cost more than about \$130 & it will be mine to sell when I am done with it with my meals for \$18 a month you see I live cheaper than M^{rs} Cueste had any idea of; & it is so convenient to have your meals always ready when you choose to go for them, without the trouble of seeing after them— M^{rs} M^cC., I ought to have said, is oddly enough, a daughter of Genl. Sumner, whom you may remember hearing of as an old officer of the army— who died during the late war. Her husband was formerly a-d-c. to Genl Wool⁹⁴ & knows all our friends in Troy— When you write to your sweet friend M^{rs} Menning you must tell her, with my best wishes & thanks (if you will not send my love,) that I am sorry I cannot accept her invitation for a visit— I am daily reminded of her, for I still use her nice slippers every morning— I wish you could bring yourself to think that you could go somewhere, for I am afraid your health is not strong, tho' you say very little— too little— about it— M^{rs} Ingersoll certainly did not treat you very well; but you ought not to be worried about such things— They seem to me to be such trifles!— I have not

⁹³ The enclosed drawing of the house or apartment was very full. It had seven rooms with a courtyard between the kitchen and servant's room and the other part of the house. The stairway led up from near the court with an open gallery between the court and the entrance to the stairway.

⁹⁴ John Ellis Wool (February 29, 1784–November 10, 1869) was born in New York; lost his father when he was only four years of age; spent his early life with his grandfather; received little education in the public schools; clerked in a store from twelve to eighteen; spent the next ten years working and studying; studied law for a year; rose to the rank of captain and lieutenant-colonel by brevet in the War of 1812; was raised to the rank of colonel and inspector-general April 29, 1816; became brigadier-general by brevet on April 29, 1826; was sent to Europe in 1832 in the interest of the army, and helped Scott move the Cherokees from Georgia and other Southern states to the West in 1836. He became a brigadier-general on June 25, 1841; was ordered to Washington on May 15, 1846, and was then sent to Cincinnati, Ohio, to discipline the disorganized volunteers of the West; and in six weeks he had 12,000 of them ready for service from Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Mississippi. He then went to San Antonio to take command; started out on September 26, 1846, with 1,400 armed men, arriving at Saltillo on December 22. Over the hills, ravines, and mountains they crossed with little ill-health or bloodshed, and they played a leading part in the war in that area. From 1848 to 1853 he commanded the Eastern military district; from 1854 to 1857, the department of the Pacific; and then the department of the East again. Early in the Civil War he saved Fortress Monroe by timely re-inforcements, and then commanded the department of Virginia. On May 16, 1862, he was made a major-general and placed in command of the middle department and then the department of the east, and he remained here until he retired on August 1, 1863. His wife, Sarah Moulton Wool, whom he married on September 27, 1810, survived her husband by four years. *Dictionary of American Biography*, XX, 513-514.

heard yet whether M^{rs} Gus. Magrd^r has arrived; I don't know how her husband is getting on, but shall probably hear something about him when Col. T. returns— In writing to Augustus I did not mean to *prescribe* any course for him, & I shall not object to his making any connection which he may find advantageous in his profession in the U. S.; but it seems to me such an advantage for a young man to visit a foreign country, before he forms any permanent ties of his own, & especially under such favorable circumstances as he would be placed in here— but there is time enough to think of this— I am gratified of course, that our son Alfred has gained the favorable notice of his superiors; but I take no pleasure in his receiving brevets⁹⁵ in such a war as he was engaged in & cannot congratulate him on them (The Romans decreed no triumphs to generals who were victorious in civil wars.)— You do not mention his visit to you; but Josephine tells me that you had all the children around you. In them we are certainly blessed & their affection & good conduct ought to enable us to bear patiently the unavoidable evils of life, which involve no disgrace & can cause no remorse. By the last English mail I had one of M^{rs} Butler's kind & friendly letters thanking me for mine from here. "I felt quite proud of getting a letter from Mexico, a place for which one has so great interest & whose fate has been so strange"— She closes her letter thus, in reply to my hopes that Edgeworthstown had fallen into friendly & appreciating hands— "Of Etn I cannot write— I can hardly bear to think of it— The tenants are strangers"—

Decr 9th. Whilst I was writing the enclosed to Gratz, M^r Maury handed me your parcel which had been left with him by "M^r Carter," who I believe is Bernard Carter— What he is to do here, I cannot well imagine— Thank you, my dear, for the things & Laura for her letter & her share of the catalogue; The boys I have thanked in the letter to Gratz— The jacket seems to be a very nice soft one— The cravat is not exactly of the kind I wanted which is a plain half square of silk, but it will do very well— P. S. (except that it wont go round my neck!) I do not find my gold chain, which I suppose you have not sent, as you do not mention it— Rutson must have re-made the package, as it has only his direction— What a *realizing* sort of pleasure it is to have an actual parcel of things which *you* have handled & sent all the way here. Tell Laura it is of no consequence about Tom Lee's book: Col T. found his copy which he thought he had given away— I did not find the Photographs in the package by M^r Maury—

I hope you supplied the boys with water proof boots— if they could be fitted with such as mine, india rubber soles with leather uppers, they

⁹⁵ He here refers to the fact that on March 13, 1865, his son Alfred was brevetted lieutenant-colonel in the regular army, for distinctive service in the field and faithful and meritorious service in the ordnance department. *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, X, 443; Heitman, *Register*, I, 724.

could wear them all day, in school as well as out— I have mine on now, altho' the weather is dry & very warm. Mr Evans can tell them the place we got ours, & if they cannot be got there, the people can tell where to go for them— Mine appears to be as good as the day I put them on; Tell the boys they must not be too proud to wear them outside of their pants, in the snow or rain, as I do— they can have loops of webbing, which can be tucked in, put in place of the thick leather loops— Gussie at least can get a pair to fit him, I think, & he will find them a great comfort in going to market & school & at play—

Tuesday, Decr 12th. I have just returned from the celebration of another great Mexican holiday: for this is the anniversary of "our Lady of Guadalupe,"⁹⁶ the foolish story of whose appearance to our Indian peasant you may remember, or may read, in Prescott— She is adopted as the tutelary divinity of Mexico & recognized by all the authorities, ecclesiastical & civil— For nine days before her *fiesta*, signs of worship are exhibited in many houses by hanging out lanterns & draping the balconies in white, with a picture of the Miraculous image in the centre— But for to-day a regular programme of celebration is promulgated by authority, arranging a procession of all the official people &c. headed by the Emperor, to attend high mass at her shrine at Guadalupe, about 4 miles from the city— The M^cCl's & I were up at 5½ to get ready for the first train at 7— We first took our station at the railing of the church, within which the procession was to march round to the front door, & a very civil gend'arme, who drove every one else off the pavement outside of the railing, allowed us to remain there— He had an opportunity therefore of seeing the officials, &c, arrive in grand costume, & then to see them passing along the carpeted pavement inside the railing: The Emperor in uniform, wearing the gold chain

⁹⁶ The Revelation of Our Lady of Guadalupe occurred on December 9, 1531. An Indian of lowly birth Quauhtatohua was baptized as Juan Diego. As he passed through a barren country to Tlatelolco, near Mexico City, to hear mass and to receive instructions at the school there, when crossing a sterile hill called Tepeyacac, he heard the strain of sweet music, and when he turned his head he beheld a beautiful woman in an arc of light. When he drew near she assured him that she was the Virgin Mary, and expressed a wish to have a shrine built on the spot where she was standing. The Indian went to Bishop Zumarraga and related the story, but he believed it not. Juan then returned to the spot, which has since been called Guadalupe, where he beheld the same vision and received the same instructions as before. The bishop demanded proof and ordered two persons secretly to follow the Indian. As soon as the Indian crossed the same stream near the hill he suddenly disappeared. Two days later while on his way to obtain a priest for his dying uncle the Indian had the same experience. She told him that his uncle was already cured and for him to climb the hill and bring back in his mantle the roses he would find on the top of the hill. He was dumb-founded when he beheld those beautiful flowers in the desert, but he carried them to the Virgin, who took them in her bosom and then ordered him to take them to the bishop. When he opened his mantle before the prelate, on the inside of it was the figure of the apparition clearly stamped as it had occurred. Zumarraga then took the sacred image and placed it in the chapel. The next day, he with his household visited Bernardino, who had recovered according to the Virgin's assurance, and who at the same hour had beheld the same vision and heard the same injunction as to the building of a shrine. The news rapidly spread and the bishop had to place the picture of the image on the altar for public veneration until the next year when it was taken to the hill of Tepeyacac and placed in the newly erected shrine. Soon the little shrine was torn down and a larger one erected, and this in turn gave way in 1695-1709 to a magnificent church. The strictest measures and the anti-clerical governments have failed to shake the faith and devotion of the people in this apparition. The image is still in the shrine, which is now in the suburbs of Mexico City. Numerous attempts have been made to disprove its authenticity, but they cannot shake the belief of the people in the authenticity of the mantle and miracle. Magner, *Men of Mexico*, pp. 107-108.

of the order of Guadalupe & accompanied by his picturesque guard of halberdiers, which I have mentioned before— We then followed the procession into the church, which was not at all crowded, only the better class of people being admitted, or at least offering to go in— Marshal Bazaine & many of his officers were there in full dress— The mass was performed by the Archbishop & numerous clergy— The church is very gorgeous; the walls & columns being of brilliant white stucco, & all the mouldings & capitals of columns, &c, covered with gilding— The heavy balustrades of the altars, main aisle & stairs are of real silver, & the screen which fences off the orchestra, (or whatever it is called,) is of carved wood, richly inlaid with silver— The music was particularly fine; besides the organ, there was a full orchestra (from the opera, I suppose,) & a great piano on which a solemn piece was played, solo, by an excellent performer— all very grand & worth seeing— When we went out, it was difficult to make our way to the station, through the crowd of commoners, Indians from all quarters, who thronged the large open space about the church— I said that I never saw all outdoors crowded before— it was about 1 o'clk when I got to the office & sat down to write— The day, I need hardly say, was bright & beautiful— cool & a little cloudy in the early morning; but when we returned, the snow mountains exhibited their most dazzling “sheen”—

Decr 15th.— I close this to-day for the mail— Please send the enclose to M^r Reed, & if you receive a newspaper which I send by this mail, let M^r R. have it when you have done with it: & if you get it back from him, you may forward it to Sister E. in Rich^d— I send Rutson a Draft for £100 which he will collect & remit to you, deducting his postage acc't &c— I am sorry I have not yet succeeded in disposing of M^r Robinson's instruments; They are safe here in the office, & I hope to get them off soon, when I will write to him— Remember me kindly to M^r Brinley & his family & thank him for his good intentions— With warmest love to you & my dear children.

Ever your affectionate husband

A. Mordecai

IMPERIAL MEXICAN RAILWAY.

Mexico, Dec^r 9th 1865

Chief Engineer's Office.

N^o.

My dear Gratz, My dear Son

I asked Miriam to thank you for your addition to her letter, as I had not time then to do so myself, having been pretty busy at the office, & not feeling altogether inclined to write in the evening, after writing all day— I am very glad that you had a pleasant trip to West

P^t. & much pleased to hear that you like your school & take an interest in your studies— Analytical Geometry & Trigonometry are improving exercises for the mind & I have no objection to your studying them; but I do not consider them necessary for persons who do not expect to become professors, or to pursue the applications of Mathematics to the higher investigations of Philosophy, Astronomy &c— As I never proposed to prepare you for such difficult & obtruse studies, I should not have taken you into the Analytical branch, but to a very small extent— For general information & the ordinary purposes of life, Davis's Algebra, Geometry & Descriptive Geometry (a beautiful branch of Maths.) contain as much of this science as is requisite; & with these *thoughtfully mastered* a man is prepared for the studies required for the usual mechanical pursuits, even of a high order, & for Surveyors, Navigators, &c; few of them, I fear, are so well prepared, to judge by what one sees among civil engineers of the common order— I do not say this by any means to discourage your attention to the studies which are assigned to you, but rather as a hint to Mr. Hallowell, to whom you may show or read this, if you choose— Your report of the 13th Novr has been handed to me since I began to write, & I am delighted to see it so favorable, but not surprised, for I know what a good, attentive & intelligent boy you are. I have no objection either to your studying Latin, if you have time for it; but I hope you won't forget your French; it will be well to read, with the dictionary, at least twice a week, even if you have not time to review the Grammar occasionally: but I don't want to overtask you— Your birthday is about this time & you will soon be 16 years of age. The two or three years of school which you have now entered on are most important to you for laying in a fund of elementary knowledge, & I know you will profit by them— Your French reading, by the bye, might be once a week in Ganot (if not too dry) & once in lighter works. Your handwriting is one of the minor matters, in appearance, which you will find very important in practical life— Although I do not write a *clerkly* hand, I know from my own experience, that all that is required for improvement is to *write slowly & take pains*, whenever you write— The same, in some measure, with drawing & especially mechanical drawing: I have known many young men to succeed very well in it, without any natural turn for it; merely because by pains taking— another thing not quite so serious as studying I should like you & Augustus to attend to—*dancing*— A young man feels very awkward in society, as I can well remember, unless he has acquired some ease in this accomplishment, by which his useful pleasures are much increased— It is better to learn early & a few month's lessons will give you all that is necessary for a gentleman; They may be repeated each year for 2 or 3 years, with advantage, to improve the carriage of body— I hope too that you will both amuse yourselves this winter with the healthy & graceful exercise of skating— I hope Gussie's

ankles are now strong enough, & you are so light & active that you ought to learn easily— Your cousin Josephine tells me that you have expressed a wish to go to the Polytechnic next year; although a little surprised at this, I shall not object, if you continue to wish for it; but as you do not, I suppose, think of being an engineer or mechanic, it seems to me that a less technical school would suit you better.

I am afraid you will think this letter very dull, all about schooling; but on other matters I write so much to your mother & sisters, that you must take what *amusement* I can furnish from their letters to them— I can tell you nothing about little boys here, for I seldom talk to any but *very* little ones— I must not omit to thank you & Gussie for the catalogue of books which seems to be all that I require & to be very well done. I often, very often, think of you all in Delancey place & wish that I could look in on you in fact, as I do in “my mind’s eye.” To know how well I may rely on your good conduct, & attention to your dear mother & sisters is a great comfort, in absence, to your affectionate father.

A. Mordecai

IMPERIAL MEXICAN RAILWAY.

Mexico Decr 26th 1865.

Chief Engineer’s Office.

Nº.

My dear Miriam

One of the most acceptable presents which I could have received was your note of the 15th Novr. with the Photograph, which came to me yesterday morning from M^r Oropesa— They are all very good likenesses & excellent photographys: Rosa’s is, as you say, the best picture; but they are all very satisfactory— If I were to make any criticism on them it would be that yours & perhaps Laura’s are taken a little too dark— But I cannot understand why your mother’s is not even mentioned in your note, Nor has any reference been made to it— The last steamer brought me no letter from Phila. but a note from M^r Maury probably accounts correctly for the failure, by the occurrence of the thanksgiving day & the consequent closing of the post offices the day before the steamer sailed, & hearing from him I am not uneasy as to the cause of delay, tho’ much disappointed— The photographs were much admired at Tacubaya, where I dined yesterday, in company with the M^cClains; two other guests (gentlemen) were invited but, with the usual fate of country parties, they did not present themselves, & M^{rs} Talcott was quite unwell, so that the large & handsome table exhibited several wide gaps— The ladies & some of their gentlemen friends had been very busy all day decorating a room & a Christmas tree for to-night, to which we

made some contributions— They gave some very pretty presents to each other, & my “adopted daughters” gave me a neat French Morocco pocket case, containing writing & dressing materials. The French shops are filled with pretty “étrennes” of all kinds & almost in as much variety as if they were in Paris; whilst the “portals” (arcades in front of the shops,) & the plaza are occupied with stalls & booths for the sale of native ornaments, toys & “dulces,” in great profusion— Christmas eve is the great day here, especially occurring as it did this year on Sunday; the people were parading the streets all night, singing &c; some of our gentlemen who had Mexican acquaintances went to their “paradas,” or exhibitions of scenes in the life of Christ; but I saw nothing of them, nor did I attend the midnight mass— I went to an American eggnog party, at Gov Allen’s, but as it was 8 o’clk in the morning, I did not venture on the eggnog & have not yet tasted any— It is almost superfluous to say that the day was lovely, as all the days are so— All the windows in Col. T’s parlor were open & the therm. there stood at 64°; in the sun I suppose it would have risen to 95° or 100°— In these shortest days the sun rises about 6^h, 35’; in midsummer at 5^h, 25’; making a difference of 2 hours between the longest & shortest days— Tell your mother that I wore my new stock, having tied a piece of elastic to the top.

Wednesday Decr 27th— Last evening we had the Christmas tree at Col. Talcott’s, & a very pretty one it was— There were only a few children besides those of the family, & not a very large, tho’ a very pleasant company— I was struck with the fact that here in Mexico there was not a single Mexican person present, nor one whose proper language was Spanish: English, U. S. French & Germans— All the things on the tree were numbered, except the mere ornaments: tickets were distributed to all the company & after the lights were extinguished the things were allotted by a sort of auction— There was nothing expensive, as you may imagine when the Nos went up to 200, I believe— We had some good musicians from the Austrian band, & the dancing commenced about 9 o’clk & continued until after 1, only interrupted for an excellent & abundant supper— The only serious drawback was that M^{rs} T. was too unwell to appear; but it was a very pleasant evening, & I think I would have danced, (tho’ there were gentlemen enough,) but for the doubt that your mother would not like it. We had an extra car, provided by our liberal host, & a moonlight ride to the city— M^{rs} Talcott is much better to-day; but I am sorry to say that Charles who staid there last night, had another hemorrhage; I fear his health is precarious, tho’ he is in the office to-day—

Saturday, Decr 30th— Although to-morrow will be the last day of the year, & that & New Year’s day are religious festivals here, I dare say there will be nothing to make it worth while to keep my letter back for the extraordinary; so I will close it to-day, & give my

friend Rutson an opportunity to know that you have not been disappointed as I have— I wished for you all last night, as I was listening to the Austrian Band on the Plaza, under the light of a most brilliant moon— Two of the ladies from Tacubaya had ridden in on horseback, for the double pleasure of the ride & the music. Triumphal arches were erected in the streets, to welcome back, in a day or two, the Empress who has been on a visit to Yucatan by herself, as the Emperor was too much occupied to go. The brightness of the skies & the certainty of not being interrupted by bad weather, are temptations for the displays, which are foolish enough, as the journey has been on no extraordinary occasion; but I suppose they hope to amuse the natives.

I suppose Laura keeps the run of the N^o C^a Bonds— She had better write to her Uncle George to let her know when the coupons will be paid, as I hope they will soon be— I had encouraging information from N. Y. about the Nashville Bonds also. In a few days I hope to receive my missing letter & several others, as birthday presents; for the steamer is due on the 3^d Jany.

That the new year's day may usher in a period of profitable enjoyment & g[reat] happiness to us all is the earnest wish which accompanies . . . invoked on wife & children by

Your affectionate fat[her]

A. Mordecai.

M^{rs} McClain would like to know something about M^{rs} Adams; D^r McDougall's daughter.

Miss Miriam Mordecai
1825 Delancey Place
Philadelphia P^a

IMPERIAL MEXICAN RAILWAY.

Mexico, Jany 9th 1866 Tuesday.

Chief Engineer's Office.
N^o. 15

My dear Wife

On Sunday morning I had the pleasure to receive your letter & Rosa's to the 20th Decr. with one from sister Ellen & a note from Emma, just in time to read them nearly all in my ride to Tacubaya— Your letter by the previous steamer has never reached me, & as it was no doubt lost in one of your post offices, perhaps it would be safer, (as it would also be cheaper,) to avail yourself of R. M.'s kindness & send your letters thro' him— He writes to F. M. with his usual minuteness about the trouble that he had in copying & forwarding his various communications; but yet I think he likes it, & you will not give him

much additional trouble— If the missing letter contained the photographs of the boys, please send me others— You still say nothing about yours— Sister E.'s letter gives me a full account of the wedding, & yours & Rosa's furnish the supplement, in your account of the visit of the bridal party to Phil^a— I am very glad that Caroline's little funds & the generosity of her aunt & her Uncle Geo. afforded her the means of procuring a suitable outfit & of enjoying a pleasant trip at the beginning of her married life, which I trust may be a fortunate one. You do not say that the Levy's saw anything of her in Phil^a; I hope they were not overlooked, certainly— Nothing can give me more pleasure than to know that our children take every opportunity of enjoying a little diversion, in their rather monotonous life, & I am therefore pleased to hear of Laura & Gussie's visit to Balt. which I have no doubt our kind friends there made an agreeable one to them— I wish you would give me some particulars as to how you get on in household affairs with regard to money— Having little idea of present prices with you I cannot form much idea of the cost of living, or how far your money goes; but I hope you are not obliged to use any of the girls' hard earnings; but that on the contrary I may be able to replace some of them which I have used. I wrote to M^r Roy, by the last steamer, about my Nashville Bond which I had hypothecated with him for a loan, & I am afraid, if he still held it was lost with the others stolen from his safe— I am truly grieved at his loss.

Wednesday, Jany 10th. I had to stop yesterday to prepare papers for the French steamer which takes a mail for England. M^cClain & I worked at the office until 9 o'clock & were here early this morning, & just got done in time for the "extraordinary"; owing to the dilatoriness of the contractor's' people, not ours— Laura probably heard something about the M^cC's in Balt. as the Col. has a brother there & a married sister M^{rs} Hardesty. He is a very quiet, pleasant man, & his wife a very clever woman; exceedingly intelligent & well educated, lively & good humored; has lived every where in the U. S. with her father Genl Sumner or her husband, & knows every body— On New Years eve we all dined at Tacubaya & returning about 10 o'clock, we sat down in our parlor to chat, & at my suggestion M^cC. made some hot punch with Mezcal, (distilled from the juice of the Universal Maguey plant,) & when we prepared to retire, we found to our surprise that it was nearly 3 o'clock— so you may suppose they are not dull companions— The Talcotts, with some gentlemen who had gone on horseback, amused themselves, under the bright moon, in the garden until they saw the new year in, & drank to each other in eggnog, the eggs for which they had to procure by breaking open the hen house, as their man had taken away the key. In answer to your inquiry about my associates, M^{rs} M^cC. says: "Tell her I say she had better come here & see what sort of people we are." I dined again at Tacubaya on New Years day, after

visiting a few U. S. ladies in town— On my birth day Chas. Talcott asked me to dinner & the Maurys to meet me— His health is I hope much better, but not assured yet. He has suffered inconvenience, as we all have, from the *Cold* for a week past. There has been quite thick ice at midnight, & I have seen the therm. at $8\frac{1}{2}$ in the morning as low as 36° ; on the 1st of Jany it rose in the sun to 112° at Tacubaya— Yesterday, although I had woolen socks & my thickest clothing, I wore my best great coat & my hat all day, in the office & at dinner; in fact they are more necessary in the house than out of doors; for when the sun gets above the roofs of the houses you have only to walk out to feel very comfortable— Last night I got out the travelling cap which Laura knit for me. & which I have now on my head, very comfortably. One pities the *poor* people, who are very thinly clad; many of them in rags which do not cover their skin: The men have generally blankets, like your piano cover; but the women with their chintz & skirts, have their heads & shoulders protected only by cotton “rebozos” or scarfs. which they wrap, gracefully enough, around them, frequently enveloping in its folds a baby whose little legs stick out beneath. On the sunny side of the street the pavements & curb stones are lined with these poor creatures, baking in the sun; but one shudders to think of them at night on their stone or earthen floors. It is a good deal warmer to-day & I hope the cold snap is over.

On the 2nd, as I was at dinner, about $6\frac{1}{4}$, I felt the floor move under me & looking up I saw the lamps vibrating: “Why,” said I, “that’s an earthquake!” The eating house keeper came up to our table & looking at the lamp, said “No es fuerte,” “It is not violent”—so we quietly finished our dinner, & when we went out we found that many people had noticed it— But although very slight here it was felt with violence in the vicinity of Orizava & Cordova, as I judged next morning by a telegram from Rich^d Talcott, to let his family know that he was not hurt, although his house was much injured— It appears that he was with Genl. Stevens ⁹⁷ & others, at the house of one of the contractors at Maltrata, (a small town in the mountainous part of the road,) waiting for dinner, when he felt the shake & recognizing the nature of it, he gave the alarm & rushed out of the house, followed by the rest of the party; they had hardly got clear of the house when it fell

⁹⁷ Walter Husted Stevens was born in New York on August 24, 1827; graduated from West Point on July 1, 1848; and was assigned to the engineer corps. On May 28, 1853, he became a second lieutenant; was promoted to first lieutenant on July 1, 1855; and was charged with the survey of the rivers and harbors of Texas, constructing forts below New Orleans, and forts and custom houses at Galveston, Texas, and New Orleans. Because he favored the South he was discharged from the army on May 2, 1861, joined the Confederacy; was chief engineer for Beauregard until December, 1861, when he was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general and sent as chief engineer to the army of Northern Virginia; and in October, 1862, he was sent to Richmond to supervise the strengthening of the forts about the city. He then became chief engineer to General Lee’s army and remained with him in Virginia until the end of the war. Afterward he went to Mexico as an engineer on the road between Vera Cruz and Mexico City, eventually becoming chief engineer there. He died in Vera Cruz, Mexico, on November 12, 1867. *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, XII, 258-259.

in— He then went to look after his own house, which he had just fitted up comfortably, & he found the greater part of the roof deposited on his bed! Most of the houses in the village suffered in the same manner—they are built of “adobes,” or unburnt bricks, & of course have not much strength to resist such shocks— This is Mr Wimmer’s district, & between the guerillas or robbers & the earthquake, I imagine he is much disgusted. The churches & other large buildings in Orizava & Cordova suffered a good deal— There were very few deaths in consequence; three or four women, in a factory at Orizava.

Thursday, Jany 11th I write by snatches, as I get time; but without interruption in my thoughts, when I resume my sheet— I am afraid you will not praise the neatness of this letter, as besides the accidental blots, I have written the greater part of it with my office pens, instead of my gold pen which I generally use & am now writing with. You are right in your supposition about Mrs Geo. Talcott; she became disordered in her mind, but has recovered, & she has been living for some time with Vischer T. who educates her son, her only child. When we are sitting in the corridor at Tacubaya after breakfast (say 2 o’clk) on Sundays, Geo. T. often exercises his photographic skill on the group, & altho’ his prints are not always very good it may amuse you & the children to look at the two which I enclose.⁹⁸ Mr. Lloyd, you probably know, is the head man of the railway Contractors; Mr Buchanan is their principal engineer— The frame behind Mrs T’s head supports a stone water filter, used in all well regulated houses. Young Scarlett is the son of the British Minister— These are not the *best* specimens of George’s work.

Thank Rosa for her letter & the details about the wedding, &c. I am glad the stamps were acceptable; I have another lot to send her when an opportunity offers; but I do not know without a description, what the “violet stamp” is that was put on Miriam’s letter; The stamps are put on at the postoffice. If I can find any of the Republic I will send them— None have yet been issued, I understand, with the Emperor’s head— They were to come out, I am told, this year. I send a few violet stamps, but they cannot be the right kind— We are in mourning here for our father-in-law, the King of Belgium; & instead of the triumphal arches which were prepared to greet the Empress, on her return from Yucatan, many of the balconies were hung, at the invitation of the city council, with white & black drapery— I have had some use for my medicine chest for the benefit of others, but none for myself, except the dose of *cholera* medicine which I took once in the summer— I gave it to Wilcox yesterday, & as most of it had leaked out, the bottle is nearly empty— You will not be likely to have a chance of sending me any, I suppose; but if Mr Hazard has no objection to giving the receipt I should like to have it.

⁹⁸ The two small pictures were faded, but still the faces could be recognized.

Tuesday, Jany 16th— I went out last evening to Tacubaya, to stay for a week or so— Col. T. expects to go on the road in a few days, but he was unwell this morning & has not come to town. I thought as I took a stroll in the garden eating my orange, before breakfast, & gathering a few flowers which the frost has spared, & listening to the birds, in the soft hazy atmosphere, that you could not but be pleased if you had been with me— My . . . ture boquet contained periwinkles, violets, daisies, crocuses, roses, &c; but the . . . & plants showed the effect of the cold & have dropped their leaves, to put out again next month— Yesterday M^r Hargous who used to live here when I was here before, but now lives in N. Y. walked in the office & offered to take anything for me; so I gave him a parcel of stamps for dear Rosa, which he will, (if he thinks of it) mail at N. Orleans, as he does not go North until April— I asked him to look at the address & call on you in Phil^a as he went on.

I don't *recollect* anything that I have *forgotten*, but it may be as I have just been writing a long official letter for England to go with this for Rutson to forward, & I want to send them all off to-night— So farewell till the next steamer, with warmest love to all our dear children, & let them all kiss you for me.

Ever faithfully & affectionately

Your loving husband

A. Mordecai

Please send me a few more U.S. 3 ct postage stamps.

Jany 17th— The official letters which were to be sent with this not being ready I had to keep the parcel for the extraordinary to-morrow, & thus I can add one more message of love; the day has nothing new to record.

Mrs. Alfred Mordecai
1825 Delancy Place
Philadelphia P^a

[*To be continued*]

BOOK REVIEWS

The Colonial Agents of the Southern Colonies. By Ella Lonn (Chapel Hill: the University of North Carolina Press. 1945. Pp. vii, 438. \$5.00.)

The British colonial agent played a vital rôle in the management of overseas affairs during Old Empire days. What with tortuous communication and the need for someone on the spot to further the dependencies' needs, he emerged as a natural at an early date and soon became an exceedingly important figure in imperial administration during the 17th and 18th centuries.

Generally English-born but at times a colonial, normally resident in London but at times located in an outport, commonly representing the legislature but on occasion functioning merely in behalf of the governor and council or of the assembly, his multifarious undertakings curiously paralleled those of the plantation factor and records bearing on his activities have the same significance in the study of colonial history that the factor's records have in gaining an understanding of estate economy.

Increasing recognition of the agent's significance has resulted in a distinctive series of articles and monographs on the subject among which may be mentioned E. P. Tanner's "Colonial Agencies in England During the 18th Century" (*Political Science Quarterly*, XVI, 24 ff.), Beverly Bond's "The Colonial Agent as a Popular Representative" (*ibid.*, XXXV, 372 ff.), Lillian Penson's *Colonial Agents of the British West Indies* (London, 1924), Mabel Wolff's *Colonial Agency of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1933), and James Burns's *Colonial Agents of New England* (Washington, 1935).

While Professor Lonn has gained wide recognition for her pioneer work on the Civil War and the Reconstruction era, the colonial agent represents an earlier interest which was temporarily set aside when most of her notes were accidentally destroyed. Her enthusiasm, happily, did not lag, research work was repeated during a sabbatical year in England, and now, at long last, she has been able to produce a brilliant study in the field covering a hitherto neglected area and serving materially to increase our knowledge of the whole subject.

John Pountis, Virginia's first agent, was a substantial citizen and council member sent back to the motherland in 1624 to

“solicite the generall cause of the countrey” who, lamentably enough, died en route. His successors’ tenure tended to be brief but Colonel Nathaniel Blakiston, ex-governor of Maryland, served for sixteen years (1705-1721) and Peter Leheup, earlier in New York’s employ, for twenty-one years (1723-1754). Maryland followed in 1655 with Leonard Strong, a militant Puritan involved in the civil strife of the same year. Blakiston, who was later employed in Virginia as well, was chosen upon his retirement as governor in 1702 and held the post until 1721 with one four-year interval. John Ash, South Carolina’s initial representative, began service in 1703; Thomas Stephens, Jr., Georgia’s, in 1742; and Thomas Miller, North Carolina’s, in 1676.

An agent, perforce, enjoyed the respect and confidence of both colonists and home authorities, was conversant with problems arising in the dependency employing him and knew the ropes in England. He engaged in a endless variety of activities such as drawing up petitions and pressing them before the proper boards, lobbying for or against parliamentary legislation, securing the acceptance of colonial laws, effecting the appointment or removal of officials, obtaining special grants, and expediting routine business through clogged channels.

He must needs possess an uncommon fund of knowledge on legal, economic, political, social, and personnel matters. Above all, he must enjoy persuasive eloquence and be adept at cajolery and palm-greasing where the latter proved necessary. This called for an exceptional combination of talents and many of the agents, such as Blakiston, James Abercromby (South Carolina, 1742-1745 and Virginia, 1754-1774), Charles Garth (South Carolina, 1762-1775), and Benjamin Franklin (Georgia, 1768-1775) were distinguished gentlemen and notably successful officials.

Professor Lonn’s book is an eminently satisfying treatise on a highly important and hitherto neglected subject done in the best historical tradition. Students of American history, of European expansion and of colonial administration, will all accord it a hearty welcome—it is one of the really significant books of the year.

Lowell Ragatz.

The George Washington University,
Washington, D. C.

The Young Jefferson, 1743-1789. By Claude G. Bowers. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1945. Pp. xxxii, 544. \$3.75.)

With this volume Mr. Bowers completes his trilogy on Thomas Jefferson, the initial volume of which appeared twenty years ago. Beginning with Jefferson's birth it carries the story of his life to his return from his mission to France. With the two earlier volumes it covers elaborately the career of the most many-sided and interesting figure that has appeared in American public life. Nobody familiar with the historical and literary work of Mr. Bowers in general and in particular with "Jefferson and Hamilton" and "Jefferson in Power," the preceding volumes of the trilogy, could be surprised to discover that this volume is charmingly written, absorbingly interesting, and vividly brilliant in its portrayal of the man, his work, and his times.

The study, like the other works of the author, is based mainly on material, both source and secondary, already in print. Consequently, there is contained little that is new to the student of Jefferson or his period though doubtless to most general readers it will present a great many facts that are unfamiliar. But from the point of view of either class of readers it is the most readable and pleasing study yet made of these years of Jefferson's life. It is as well the most exhaustive one that has yet appeared, and nowhere have I seen so keen an analysis of Jefferson's contribution to the American Revolution, viewed in its broadest sense, and nowhere such an interesting interpretation of his political and social philosophy which forms the basic elements of what we call Americanism.

The life and work portrayed was a stirring performance and Mr. Bowers, in the man, makes the most of it, though at times the story is a bit hurt by a touch of defensiveness which appears again and again when there is no need of defense in the light of the facts presented.

The title of the volume is a bit misleading when contrasted with the dates that follow. Mr. Bowers is, of course, upon firm ground when he emphasizes the remarkable achievements of Jefferson while still young but it seems somewhat forced to extend the period of youth to the age of forty-six.

Notable in this volume is the attention paid to the service in the Congress of the Confederation and to the years in France which followed. Not less notable is the treatment of Jefferson's practical application of his Revolutionary philosophy to the situation in Virginia, when he resigned from Congress to become a member of the Virginia legislature. The abolition of entail and primogeniture, the statute for religious freedom, the disestablishment, the outline of a new educational system, the re-definition of crimes and punishment, and the establishment of the new court system are all well handled. But apparently Mr. Bowers has never seen that tremendously significant Jefferson document, the "Report of the Committee of Revisors"; at any rate it is not included in the bibliography or mentioned in a footnote. Unfortunately few of the writers on Jefferson have seen it. Consequently Mr. Bowers along with the rest has omitted much that is worthy of mention. Jefferson's work there was enough to stamp him a great man if he had never done anything else in his life. True, much of the content of the report was so far ahead of the time as to be impractical and therefore the proposals might be regarded as poor statesmanship. But through them Jefferson may qualify as a prophet. As yet, however, no biographer has given him full credit for them.

Mr. Bowers concludes his summary of Jefferson's achievements with these words:

"Had his career ended when he sailed from France, he would be numbered as one of the four immortals among the founders of the American Republic."

Entirely true, but not any more so than if he said "sailed *for* France." He was immortal when the Declaration was signed. But it must be admitted that between that hour and his return in 1789 his immortality had been established on an even broader and more enduring foundation.

Mr. Bowers, and even more his numerous readers, are to be congratulated.

J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton.

Indian Villages of the Illinois Country. Volume II, Scientific Papers. Illinois State Museum. Part I, Atlas. Compiled by Sara Jones Tucker. (Springfield, Illinois. 1942. Pp. xiii, 18, and maps.)

This collection of maps covers most of the early Indian history of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys with special reference to Illinois. The series begins with a map of the Lake Superior region drawn in 1671 and ends with a map of the mouth of the Chicago River of 1830. Each map is preceded by a brief critical paragraph which explains its background, and reason for existence. Miss Sara Jones Tucker is responsible for the location, selection, photographing, and editing of these maps. She has done a workmanlike job of a difficult task. It was not a simple matter to take this group of early documents and fit them into anything like a satisfactory arrangement.

As historical documentation of the region, this collection performs two major functions: It discloses the ever widening concept of the various explorers, missionaries, and settlers of the region through which they were traveling; and the process of actual settlement is unfolded with practically every succeeding map. Likewise the geographical pattern of international rivalries is brought more clearly into focus. To this, of course, must be added the fact that the early pattern of Indian occupation is fairly well developed in several of the drawings.

Not all of these maps deal with the entire region, nor do they pertain altogether to the major subject of Indian villages. Many were drawn for the purpose of describing in detail smaller areas. Some of them deal altogether with the Mississippi River and its tributaries, with special emphasis upon the major confluences. Such maps are those illustrated in plates XII-XIX.

The location of Indian villages forms a central theme, and they were of interest especially to the trader and missionary, both of whom were map makers. Apparently the first English map of the Illinois country was that of Thomas Hutchins, 1771. This was a general map of the Western Country which included practically all of the English-American frontier westward from Virginia.

Illinois has risen far above the work of most of the other states in the preparation of this particular type of material. The

engraving and printing was done with the utmost care. The Illinois State Museum has brought within the reach of libraries an invaluable cache of frontier American maps, most of which would not be available otherwise. The editing is well done. There is a splendid bibliography.

Thomas Dionysius Clark.

The University of Kentucky,
Lexington.

Principio to Wheeling, 1715-1945: A Pageant of Iron and Steel. By Earl Chapin May. (New York: Harper & Brothers. 1945. Pp. xiv, 334. \$3.00.)

The connection between the Principio Iron Company of Maryland and the iron and steel industry of Wheeling, West Virginia, is rather a tenuous one to provide substantial basis for a unified "pageant" of manufacturing in these two localities. The Principio Company, established at the head of Chesapeake Bay *ca.* 1715, became one of the leading iron works of the colonial period. At the close of the Revolution the British partners' investments were confiscated but those of Thomas Russell, an American patriot, which were represented by part of the works which he and his son in turn operated until the latter's death in 1806 were maintained. The other Principio plants passed through various hands from the 1780's until 1836 when they were acquired by the Whitaker family who had previously leased the Russell property. The Whitakers found a good market for Principio iron in Wheeling and in the 1850's invested heavily in the expanding iron business in that city. Thus Mr. May takes the reader from Principio to Wheeling, with about two-thirds of the book on the Ohio locale.

The author has investigated a large amount of historical material, both primary and secondary, and apparently was loath not to use any that he found. He endeavors to provide an adequate setting for the industrial narrative throughout the book. It is not a dry corporate history, for he presents the iron industry in relation to frontier conditions and later to a maturing urban society, and he discusses problems of labor, marketing, and transportation. His descriptions of industrial processes and techniques at convenient points in the narrative are written with commendable clarity. There is, however, an excess of detail, some

of it quite irrelevant, with occasional over-long quotations. The author is inclined to wax over-enthusiastic about his subject without convincing the reader. The Crescent Iron Manufacturing Company's promotion pamphlet, for example (pp. 122-24), is hardly "a prose poem"; and the attempted humorous introduction to Chapter 25 on the nailers' strike does not hit any particular nail on the head.

As a historical work this "Pageant of Iron and Steel" reveals a number of serious shortcomings. The bibliography consists only of printed materials listed by title with no apparent scheme of arrangement, although the author has also used some manuscript sources. Especially valuable are the original records of the Principio Company, most of which are to be found in the Maryland Historical Society, the New York Public Library and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Five of the illustrations in the book are photographic reproductions of Principio manuscripts, without citations to the originals. Mr. May also quotes from these records but his transcripts are not always accurate. Throughout his narrative he indulges in imaginary conversation carried on by historical persons in the manner of a novel, so that the reader cannot distinguish fact from fiction with certainty, especially since the text is devoid of specific references to the sources. When such liberty is taken, one becomes skeptical about the accuracy of other details. What, for example, is the historical basis for Henry Clay's lengthy conversation about the National Road, or for the following description of the wife of the Principio Company clerk: "Her blue eyes gleamed as she adjusted a little blue bonnet perched coyly on a blond, curly head . . ."? Some errors of fact occur from neglect to check the sequence of historical events. Augustine Washington was much interested in the imminent prospect of becoming a father when William Byrd visited Washington's iron furnace in 1732, according to the author (p. 42), although the infant George had been born eight months before! A Bible printed in 1716 could hardly have been presented to the church at North East, Maryland, by Queen Anne (p. 149). Birmingham, Alabama, founded in 1871, is depicted as "not much more than a war-wrecked village" in 1868 (p. 229). In his zeal for American iron and steel masters, Mr.

May falls into some errors of historical interpretation. His objection to the Compromise Tariff of 1833 (p. 104) is effectively contradicted in Chapter 3 of Taussig's *Tariff History*; and the implication of inefficient operation of the railroads by the government during the First World War (p. 254) is not in accord with the facts.

Perhaps the subject of this book was bigger than it appeared to be at the inception of the work. The story of Wheeling, especially after 1865, becomes so involved that the main chronological sequence is often lost in the tropical treatment employed which in turn necessitates an objectionable amount of repetition. The critical reader becomes bewildered by a surfeit of proper names and disinclined to accept too much romanticizing of the subject. The Washington family's interest in the iron business, it may be noted, is not new information. The iron industries of colonial Maryland and of Wheeling (or the Ohio Valley below Pittsburgh) still await thorough study and, preferably, separate publication.

Lester J. Cappon.

The University of Virginia,
Charlottesville, Va.

County Government in Georgia. By Melvin Clyde Hughes. (Athens: The University of Georgia Press. 1944. Pp. xi, 197. \$2.00.)

County government is one of the least known aspects of American political life. Professor Hughes' study of this subject, as it relates to the most county-ridden state in the Union, is a valuable contribution to the literature of southern political institutions. Georgia's county structure is characterized by anomalies, absurd contradictions, and an almost utter lack of uniformity. The fact that the author handles these many complexities with apparent success and with a minimum of deviation is a tribute to his workmanship.

County Government in Georgia is essentially a series of succinctly written chapters on each of the major fields of county administration in the state. In addition, there is a discussion of the historical background of Georgia county government, its present organization and personnel, and county-state relations. The final chapter presents a scholarly treatment of county con-

solidation. Using geography, transportation lines, and traffic statistics as a basis, Professor Hughes offers a plan for the reconstruction of Georgia counties into thirty-two new divisions, which is perhaps the most scientific plan of its kind so far presented. In lieu of consolidation, he suggests either the merging of certain county functions or the assumption by the state of all major functions of county government.

Inadequate records, poor financing, and irregular bookkeeping in many of the counties make it difficult to write a definitive study of the Georgia county in a single lifetime. But the author's bibliography is comprehensive enough to justify the conclusions which he draws. He aptly avers that Georgia can no more afford the luxury of 159 counties than France of pre-Revolution days could afford the luxury of eighteenth-century aristocracy.

The treatise contains many general implications of interest to the historian. One is that county organization is largely responsible for most of the political ills to which Georgia is heir. It is the basis of the political demagoguery with which the state has been afflicted in past years. Since nomination by the Democratic party primary is tantamount to election, the county unit system of nomination undermines the very foundation of democracy. A candidate for state office (or for the United States Congress) who receives the highest number of popular votes in any given county is entitled to the full vote of that county. The total vote of a county is equivalent to twice the number of representatives to which that county is entitled in the lower house of the General Assembly. This representation in the General Assembly, in turn, is entirely arbitrary. Set up by the home-rule constitution of 1877, it gives to the smaller rural counties (and to the rural voter) a political power far out of proportion to population, wealth, or tax-paying ability.

The politically wise and unscrupulous candidate, therefore, will adopt a platform, accoutrements, and campaign tactics which appeal most to conservative rural landowners, whose vote is essential. But once in power, his official policies are likely to favor the industrialists and contractor to whom he looks for campaign funds and organizational talent. Since all of these groups are inclined to conservatism toward labor, taxation, and

public programs of education, health, and welfare, the county unit system becomes an instrumentality for fascist-like regimes.

In discussing the county unit system the author fails to point out that such an arrangement presents a city political machine of the Pendergast or Hague type from gaining control of the entire state. But this fact is poor consolation to most students of Georgia's political system who resent the Cracker counterpart of Junker political dominance.

James C. Bonner.

Georgia State College for Women,
Milledgeville, Ga.

HISTORICAL NEWS

The State Department of Archives and History often receives requests for early numbers of the *North Carolina Manual*, *Proceedings of the State Literary and Historical Association*, the *North Carolina Booklet*, *The North Carolina Day Program*, and other publications which are out of print. Anyone possessing duplicates of these publications is requested to send them to D. L. Corbitt, Head, Division of Publications, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina. The supply thus accumulated will be used to serve the cause of North Carolina history by filling gaps in the collections of libraries and students.

Mr. W. B. Yearns is doing part time teaching in the history department of Wake Forest College in the place of assistant professor C. P. West. Mr. West is scheduled to return next year as librarian.

Professor F. W. Clonts of Wake Forest College has been promoted from assistant professor to associate professor.

Dr. Henry S. Stroupe, who has been instructing at the Navy Pre-Flight School at Athens, Georgia, will return to Wake Forest College the next semester.

Dr. C. C. Pearson of Wake Forest College spent the past summer in research work.

Dr. E. M. Carroll of Duke University has returned to his post after three years of service with the Office of Strategic Services, work which took him to Washington, D. C., England, and France.

Dr. Charles S. Sydnor of Duke University has been granted a sabbatical leave for the year 1945-46.

Dr. Paul H. Clyde of Duke University has been granted a leave for the year 1945-46 to teach in the Army University in Europe.

Dr. Dorothy M. Quynn of Duke University has been granted a leave of absence for 1945-46 to be with her husband, Captain W. R. Quynn, who is in the United States Army.

Dr. S. T. McCloy has resigned his position in the department of history at Duke University, which he has held since 1927, to accept an appointment as a professor of history in the University of Kentucky. Dr. McCloy's book, entitled *Government Assistance in France in the Eighteenth Century*, will shortly be published by the Duke University Press.

Professor John S. Curtiss has joined the department of history at Duke University as associate professor to develop the field of the history of Russia.

Dr. Frances Dorothy Acomb has been appointed assistant professor of history at Duke University. Her special field is the history of France in the eighteenth century.

Dr. Madaline Nichols has been appointed assistant professor of Spanish and history at Duke University. Her special interest is Hispanic-American literature and history.

Dr. Hugh T. Lefler of the University of North Carolina, in cooperation with Mr. A. L. Brooks of Greensboro, is editing the papers of Judge Walter Clark, which will be published by the University of North Carolina Press. Also, in collaboration with nine other historians in the South, he is writing a history of Southern travel. For the next month he will be doing research in the Library of Congress, the New York Public Library, and the John Carter Brown Library.

Assistant professors James L. Godfrey and J. C. Sitterson of the University of North Carolina have been promoted to the rank of associate professors.

Professors H. K. Beale and J. C. Sitterson have obtained extensions of their leaves from the history department of the University of North Carolina. Professor Beale spent last year in research

on the life of Theodore Roosevelt at the University of Chicago and other research centers in that region. This fall he is working on the same project in the Library of Congress and the State Department Archives at Washington, D. C. He has contributed an essay on the causes of the Civil War to a volume which the Social Science Research Council now has in press. Professor Sitterson is continuing his research and writing for the War Production Board.

Professor L. C. MacKinney of the University of North Carolina is, for the second year, a member of the American Historical Association's nominating committee. He is chairman this year. He is also chairman of the editorial board which this fall will publish, as the Humanities Division's contribution to the University of North Carolina Sesquicentennial, a book entitled *A State University Surveys the Humanities*.

Dr. Benjamin B. Kendrick of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, who has been on leave of absence for the last two years because of serious illness, has retired as professor and head of the department of history and political science. Pending the selection of Dr. Kendrick's successor, Professor C. D. Johns is continuing as acting head of the department this year. Dr. Kendrick's address is Cedar Grove, Maine.

Dr. E. E. Pfaff of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, who has been on leave of absence the last two years working with the Southern Council on International Relations, has resumed his regular work with the Woman's College this fall. He has been promoted from associate professor to professor.

Miss Magnhilde Gullander of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina has been promoted from associate professor to professor.

Miss Christiana McFadden of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina has been promoted from instructor to assistant professor.

Dr. Richard Bardolph, who last year supplied for Dr. E. E. Pfaff at the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, has been reappointed as assistant professor of history.

Mrs. Margaret Moser Hefin, who supplied in the department of history of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina last year as an instructor, is continuing this year in the same capacity. Her husband, Dr. Woodford Hefin of the University of Chicago, is with the American Army in India.

An article entitled "The Dismal Swamp Canal," by Alexander Crosby Brown, in appearing in *The American Neptune*, a quarterly journal of maritime history. The first instalment appears in the issue for July, 1945, and will be continued. The Dismal Swamp Canal crosses parts of southeastern Virginia and northeastern North Carolina.

Mr. S. G. Hawfield has written the *History of the Stonewall Jackson Training School*, which is being published in the *Uplift*, the official publication of Stonewall Jackson Training School. The first instalment appears in the issue for September, 1945, and the series will be continued for several issues.

Mr. Stuart Noblin of Davis and Elkins College, Elkins, West Virginia, has been granted a year's leave of absence for the purpose of completing his doctorate in history at the University of North Carolina.

Lieutenant Commander Carl Bridenbaugh has been appointed director and Dr. Lester J. Cappon research editor of the Institute of Early American History and Culture at the College of William and Mary. To fill a vacancy on the governing board of the Institute, Dr. Douglas Southall Freeman, editor of the *Richmond News-Leader*, has been elected to succeed the late Dr. Hunter D. Farish. In addition to his work as research editor of the Institute, Dr. Cappon will serve as archivist of Colonial Williamsburg and will continue to edit an index of the *Virginia Gazette*, a special project undertaken by the late Dr. Farish when he was director of research for Colonial Williamsburg.

Dr. Alex M. Arnett, for twenty-two years a professor of history at the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, died August 7, 1945. Dr. Arnett was educated at Mercer University, where he received his master of arts degree in 1913 and his doctor's degree in 1922. After teaching at Furman University, he joined the faculty of the Woman's College in 1923. He was a member of the American Historical Association, the Southern Historical Association, and the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association.

Dr. Preston W. Edsall, a native of Roxbury, New York, has been appointed an associate professor of history and political science at State College. Dr. Edsall holds a Ph.D. Degree from Princeton University, and he has had teaching experience at State College, Emory University, Rutgers University, Princeton University, and East Carolina Teachers College.

Dr. Edgar W. Knight of the University of North Carolina is directing a project for locating, collecting, and publishing a comprehensive documentary history of education in the South. His work will cover the states of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and North Carolina. The program, as contemplated by Dr. Knight, is receiving the enthusiastic support of the leading educators of the country.

The Grace (Lower Stone) Evangelical and Reformed Church at Rockwell, Rowan County, celebrated its 200th anniversary on September 30.

On September 30 Old Bethesda Presbyterian Church, located near Aberdeen, celebrated its 155th anniversary.

On September 5 Hawfields Presbyterian Church, near Mebane, celebrated its 175th anniversary at Orange Presbytery, the first presbytery organized in the South, and also the 190th anniversary of the organization of the church. Dr. W. L. Lingle of Davidson College delivered an address on Presbyterianism and civil and religious liberty.

On October 6 the Stonewall Jackson Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, unveiled a monument at the northeast corner of East Trade and South Caldwell streets in Charlotte. This monument marks the sight of the home occupied by the family of Attorney General George Davis of the Confederate cabinet.

On October 12 the University of North Carolina celebrated its sesquicentennial. Dr. James B. Conant, president of Harvard University, was the principal speaker.

On September 16 the *Charlotte Observer* carried an article by Reverend John G. Garth on an old organ built in the Lutheran Church near Salisbury in 1786. The organ was later placed in the Stone Church, built in 1794. This church is now known as Organ Church. Previously it was called Zion Church.

Mrs. Estelle Stegall was appointed director for the summer months of the Highlands Museum, Highlands, N. C. Mrs. Stegall was formerly from Yorkville, Tenn.

Dr. Newman I. White, chairman of the English department at Duke University, is editing the folklore collection made by the late Dr. Frank C. Brown of the same department. Dr. Brown's collection contains approximately 25,000 items.

The Union Methodist Church of near Randleman, one of the oldest Methodist churches in North Carolina, on September 30 celebrated its 159th anniversary. The church was organized in 1786.

The *Lenoir News-Topic* on September 25 observed its seventh anniversary. Seventy years ago its predecessor, the *Caldwell Messenger*, was established by James C. Nutty. Two years later the name was changed to the *Lenoir Topic*. During the years several newspapers have been established in Caldwell County and have changed their names, editors, or owners. The present name of the paper, the *Lenoir News-Topic*, is derived through the consolidation in 1915 of the *Lenoir News*, established in 1898, and *The Topic*.

On June 29 the Spring Branch Baptist Church near Dunn observed its 100th anniversary with a special program on the annual home-coming day. Mr. Louis S. Gaines of Fayetteville delivered the principal address.

Judge R. A. Nunn of New Bern has been re-elected president of the North Carolina Society of the Descendants of the Palatines. Miss Sara Louise Stewart has been elected secretary and treasurer.

Mrs. Henry M. London of Raleigh has been appointed executive secretary of the State Art Society. Mrs. London succeeds Miss Katherine Morris, who resigned to become head of the art department of Saint Mary's School in Raleigh.

Mrs. Eva Boatwright has been employed to compile the record of every service man and woman from Buncombe County, North Carolina, who saw service in World War II. The draft boards of Buncombe County are assisting in this project by furnishing the information on those veterans who have been discharged from the services and who report to the boards.

The Asheville Chamber of Commerce has published a pamphlet on the industrial data of western North Carolina, listing industrial plants in Buncombe County. The pamphlet also contains a chart of the minerals found and produced in twenty western North Carolina counties and gives comparative figures on the population of these counties. The pamphlet contains thirty-five pages.

On October 10 a marker was unveiled in a graveside ceremony to Dr. and Mrs. Peter Doub by the Western Conference of the Methodist Church. Bishop Clara Purcell presided at the services.

Colonel E. C. Gault of the United States Army announced on July 27 that the records branch of the Adjutant General's Office will be moved the first of the year from the Southern Exposition Building in High Point, North Carolina, to St. Louis, Missouri.

Dr. Louis R. Wilson of the University of North Carolina and Dr. Maurice R. Tauber of Columbia University are co-authors of *The University Library*, which will be published by the University of Chicago Press.

Dr. George B. Pegram, a native North Carolinian and dean of the graduate faculties of Columbia University, has been named acting head of Columbia University, New York, succeeding Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler. Dr. Pegram graduated from Trinity College (now Duke University) and is a grandson of Trinity College's first president, Braxton Craven.

Ball Creek Camp Meeting Grounds, established in 1853 and located eight miles from Newton, has become an institution and its fame has spread throughout North Carolina and neighboring states. On August 25 the annual home-coming was held, at which time approximately 10,000 persons were in attendance.

The Methodist Historical Society has drafted a petition to the Congress of the United States asking that the six-mile section of the Cattaloochee Trail, which lies within the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, be cleared, restored, and officially designated as the "Asbury Trail" and so marked at the beginning of the trail which enters the park at Cove Creek Gap, and at intervals along the way to Davenport Gap, on the Tennessee side.

The Friedens Lutheran Church, located northwest of Gibsonville, celebrated its bicentennial on June 3. This church was organized in 1745 by German immigrants coming to North Carolina from Pennsylvania. At first this church included both Lutherans and German Reformed, and for a time it was known as a union church, since both branches worshiped there. Later the Evangelical Reformed members organized St. Mark's Church, while the Lutherans continued to use Friedens.

Mr. William T. Couch, director of the University of North Carolina Press for the past twelve years, has resigned to accept the position of director of the University of Chicago Press. Mr. Couch is a graduate of the University of North Carolina.

On August 1 a reorganization of the staff of the State Department of Archives and History went into effect. Under the new setup three divisions were erected: the Division of Archives and Manuscripts, with Mrs. Gordon W. Lovejoy as head; the Division of Publications, under Mr. D. L. Corbitt; and the Division of Public Displays, under Mrs. Joye E. Jordan. Mrs. Lovejoy (née Miss Charlie Huss) was formerly the Department's Collector of Records, Mr. Corbitt was in charge of both archives and publications, and Mrs. Jordan was in charge of the search room.

New members of the staff of the State Department of Archives and History are Miss Manora Mewborn of Greene County, a graduate of East Carolina Teachers College, who is an assistant in the Hall of History, and Miss Frances Williamson of Greensboro, who is employed in the Division of Publications.

A recent accession of the Hall of History is a collection of early American silver, loaned by Dr. and Mrs. George Barton Cutten of Chapel Hill. There are approximately 100 pieces, including tea sets, creamers, tobacco boxes, and many other items.

The exhibits in the John Gray Blount Room in the Hall of History, containing pieces of furniture, pictures, china and other items taken from the Blount home in Washington, North Carolina, have been rearranged and are again open to the public.

Accessions of the State Department of Archives and History from July 1 to October 20, 1945, are as follows:

Manuscript copy for advertisement in the Raleigh *Daily Confederate*, December 20, 1864, of sale of Negroes at auction by Tucker Andrews and Company, auctioneers and commission merchants of Raleigh; Nunn genealogy, typescript, pp. 25, and relevant newspaper clippings; "Vital Statistics from the Tarboro Press," typescript, pp. 6; "Jessie Johnson, Pioneer from North Carolina," transcript, pp. 6; prospectus of *The Land We Love*; 3 copies, each containing signatures of subscribers; *Recollections and Observations of the Reconstruction Era*, by Haywood Parker; *The United States and the Peace*, Part 2. Verbatim record of the

Plenary Sessions of the United Nations Conference on International Organization, San Francisco, April-June, 1945; pp. 96; "The Story of Early Raleigh, Its Capitol and its First Railroad," by Dr. Charles M. Heck; "The Lord's Vineyard, including the life of E. C. Latta, 1831-1909," by F. F. Latta, mimeographed, pp. 91; "Capitol Square Monuments," by W. C. Hendricks, typescript, pp. 8; approximately twenty-five London, England, newspapers issued during the period 1944-1945; the files from the State Office of Civilian Defense, 1942-1945, approximately 60 cubic feet; ten transcriptions from Radio Station WPTF, Raleigh, N. C., which include President Truman's address on the Potsdam Conference and the National Broadcasting Company's coverage of Japanese surrender terms; and approximately 200 volumes of the non-current records and several thousand marriage licenses from the Register of Deeds' office of Wayne County.

Among the items of the records of World War II is *An Informal History of the 697th Field Artillery Battalion*, compiled and edited by Major Hermon E. Smith, Battalion Commander. It is illustrated and was printed by Anton Pustet, Salzburg. It has 72 pages and among other items contains the names, ranks, and home addresses of approximately 40 North Carolinians who were members of this battalion.

Books received include Dallas C. Dickey, *Sergeant S. Prentiss, Whig Orator of the Old South* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1945); Sidney Walter Martin, *Florida During the Territorial Days* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1944); Melvin Clyde Hughes, *County Government in Georgia* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1944); Louis B. Wright, editor, *An Essay Upon the Government of the English Plantations on the Continent of America, 1701* (San Marino, California: The Huntington Library); J. H. Easterby, *The South Carolina Rice Plantation* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1945); Rudolph Heberle, *From Democracy to Nazism* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1945).

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Miss Annie Sabra Ramsey is secretary to the chief clerk of the North Carolina Utilities Commission, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Mrs. Ellen Alexander Hendricks, a former teacher of English, is accountant clerk at AAF Base Unit, Moody Field, Valdosta, Georgia. Her address is 1800 Williams Street, Valdosta, Georgia.

Miss Mary Lindsey Thornton is in charge of the North Carolina Collection in the Library of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

Dr. Hubert McNeill Poteat is a professor of the Latin language and literature, Wake Forest College, Wake Forest, North Carolina.

Mr. Samuel Edwin Leonard, a former county superintendent of welfare of Wilson County and the first superintendent of the Eastern Carolina Training School, is commissioner of correction of the North Carolina Board of Correction and Training, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Dr. R. L. Hilldrup is a professor of history at Mary Washington College of the University of Virginia. His address is 1423 Franklin Street, Fredericksburg, Virginia.

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The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that every entry should be clearly documented and supported by appropriate evidence. This ensures transparency and accountability in the financial process.

Furthermore, it is noted that regular audits are essential to verify the accuracy of the records. These audits should be conducted by independent parties to avoid any potential conflicts of interest. The findings of these audits should be reported back to the relevant authorities for their review and action.

In addition, the document highlights the need for clear communication between all parties involved. Any discrepancies or questions should be addressed promptly to prevent misunderstandings. This collaborative approach is crucial for the successful completion of the project.

Finally, it is stressed that all participants must adhere to the established guidelines and procedures. This includes following the correct protocols for data collection, storage, and analysis. Consistency in these practices is key to producing reliable and valid results.