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SOUTHERN REFUGEE LIFE DURING THE CIVIL WAR

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During the American Civil War tens of thousands of Southern people were forced to leave their homes and seek safety elsewhere. Every state in the Confederacy contributed to this unfortunate refugee class that included men, women, and children. Because of the large area of the Confederacy, the great number of homeless wanderers involved, and the difference in the character of the refugee problem east and west of the Mississippi River, the scope of this study has been limited to the area east of the Mississippi. As the Union and Confederate armies marched and countermarched over this section, contending for supremacy and ultimate victory, the civilian and non-combatant population was forced to flee from the war-torn area for safety. Among the white refugees who wandered over that part of the Confederacy east of the Mississippi River were rich and poor, young and old, sick and well. Some were pro-Southern in sympathies, others were Unionist.

Many people belonging to the official and upper classes became refugees. Among them was Mrs. Robert E. Lee, who left Arlington in June, 1861, "en route to the lower country."¹ During the summer Mrs. Lee resided at Chantilly and Hot Springs, Virginia,² but when autumn came she was still unsettled. All Virginia, however, had "open doors for the family of General Lee,"³ and Mrs. Lee had no difficulty in securing satisfactory living quarters and all things necessary for a comfortable life. Mrs. Jefferson Davis fled from Richmond to Raleigh, North Carolina, in May, 1862.⁴ After the first danger had passed she

¹ Mrs. J. W. B. McGuire, *Diary of a Southern Refugee during the War* (New York: E. J. Hale and Son, 1867), p. 26.

² McGuire, *Diary*, pp. 26, 232.

³ McGuire, *Diary*, p. 66.

⁴ Mary Boykin Chesnut, *A Diary from Dixie*, p. 170.

returned to the Confederate capital, remaining there until its final evacuation in 1865.⁵ Mrs. William Burr Howell, mother of Mrs. Jefferson Davis, was also in flight before the Federal troops in April, 1865.⁶ Alexander Stephens, Vice-President of the Confederacy, was a refugee in August, 1864, at the temporary refugee home of Charles L. Pettigrew in Cherry Hill, South Carolina.⁷

Confederate cabinet members sent their families away from Richmond in the spring of 1862; but they, like Mrs. Davis, returned after the danger of immediate invasion had passed.⁸ In 1865 both the cabinet members and their families fled, leaving only one of the former, General John Cabell Breckinridge, Secretary of War, in Richmond. He remained to "supervise evacuation."⁹ At this same time many members of the Confederate Congress fled with the other officers.¹⁰

The wives of army officers frequently found it necessary to seek safety away from their homes. "Stonewall" Jackson sent his wife to Charlotte, North Carolina, after the battle of Fredericksburg,¹¹ and General John Clifford Pemberton sent his to Mobile after the fall of Jackson, Mississippi.¹²

Among other prominent refugees were Governor Joseph E. Brown, Robert Toombs, and Sidney Lanier, all of Georgia.¹³ Various members of the Huger, Dabney, Porcher, Lesesne and Ruffin families were among the Civil War refugees. Innumerable others of the higher classes—college professors,¹⁴ school girls,¹⁵ preachers,¹⁶ and foreign business men and nobles¹⁷—were driven from their homes by the vicissitudes of war.

The middle class, also, was compelled to flee before the enemy. The entire population of Fairfax Station, Virginia, sought refuge elsewhere during the war.¹⁸ William Octave Hart reported that, while traveling from Vicksburg, Mississippi, to

⁵ Mrs. Roger Atkinson Pryor, *Reminiscences of War and Peace*, p. 356.

⁶ Eliza Frances Andrews, *The War Time Journal of a Georgia Girl*, p. 160.

⁷ Charles L. Pettigrew to William S. Pettigrew, August 22, 1864, Pettigrew Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, N. C.

⁸ John Beauchamp Jones, *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary*, I, 123.

⁹ Alfred Jackson Hanna, *Flight Into Oblivion*, p. 12.

¹⁰ J. H. Averill, "The Evacuation of the City of Richmond," *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XXV (1897), 268.

¹¹ Allen Tate, *Stonewall Jackson, the Good Soldier*, p. 283. While she was a refugee at the home of her sister in Charlotte, Mrs. Jackson's only child, a daughter, was born.

¹² Mary Webster Loughborough, *My Cave Life In Vicksburg* (London: D. Appleton and Co., 1864), p. 26.

¹³ Andrews, *Journal*, p. 157.

¹⁴ McGuire, *Diary*, p. 161.

¹⁵ Madame S. Sosnowski, "Burning of Columbia," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, VIII (1924), 196.

¹⁶ McGuire, *Diary*, p. 71.

¹⁷ August Conrad, *The Destruction of Columbia, S. C.*, p. 23.

¹⁸ Henry B. Pratt, ed., "Letters of Winthrop S. G. Allen," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, XXIV (1931-32), 571.

Selma, Alabama, he passed through an "abandoned town—where there was not a person living."¹⁹ Similar conditions existed all over the South and they affected all classes. Even the "poor Whites," "reduced to the lowest depths of poverty . . . usually dirty and of uncleanly habits, in many cases ignorant to the extreme, and intensely indolent," were frequently found among the refugees.²⁰

Not to be overlooked were the Unionists in the South who fled from place to place. John T. Trowbridge, a Northerner who visited the South after the war, found in Chattanooga, Tennessee, "Union men from the cotton states" who had escaped into the Federal lines during the war, and either could not or dared not return.²¹

There was no typical refugee during the Civil War. The refugees differed in age, wealth, sex, social position, and official standing, but most of the group were women, old men, and children. More is known of the better educated and more prominent people because they were the more articulate, but considerable data on the middle and lower class refugees have also been found.

Many and varied were the causes of flight. The major reason, however, was invasion by the enemy. Fearing what might happen when the Federals arrived, the people sought safety in flight. All over the South "travel-stained and way-worn refugees, herded together in a common woe, hurrying before the approaching armies, plodded their way along the roads in search of security."²² One Mississippi refugee wrote to a friend that she had bowed herself "out of one town after another as Federal troops bowed themselves in."²³ Frequently, these people who fled before invading armies told such "tales of woe . . . that they induced a general flight before the advancing enemy."²⁴

Many Southerners fled from their homes, not because of an actual invasion, but because of fear of one. Mrs. Charles L. Pettigrew, who lived on a plantation in eastern North Carolina,

¹⁹ William Octave Hart, "A Boy's Recollections of the War," *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, XII (1912), 151.

²⁰ Louis Pierpont Brockett and Mary Vaughan, *Woman's Work in the Civil War: A Record of Heroism, Patriotism, and Patience*, p. 75.

²¹ John Tyler Trowbridge, *A Picture of the Desolated States and the Work of Reconstruction*, p. 250.

²² Joseph F. White, "Social Conditions in the South During the War," *Confederate Veteran*, XXX (1922), 144.

²³ Loughborough, *Cave Life*, p. 189.

²⁴ George W. Bailey, *A Private Chapter of the War*, p. 158.

was packed and ready to flee days before she actually had to leave, and many of her friends had preceded her in flight.²⁵ In many sections of the Confederacy there was fear of invasion and an apprehension of danger. In April, 1863, many Charlestonians fled to the up-country because they feared invasion, but returned in May, when the danger of attack had passed.²⁶

In many cases the inhabitants were forced to flee from their homes by orders issued by officers of one or the other army. General William T. Sherman ordered the civilians of Atlanta evacuated, giving as his reasons, the need of all the houses in Atlanta, the right of the Federals to have Atlanta as a prize of war, the cost of feeding the populace should they remain, and the simplifying of military matters.²⁷ In New Bern, North Carolina, those who refused to take the oath of allegiance to the United States were "driven from their homes" in the spring of 1863.²⁸ In Mississippi, wherever the Federals got control, General Grant ordered non-combatants removed.²⁹ The authorities of Charleston, with the consent of General Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard, advised "all non-combating population to leave the city, and remove their personal property."³⁰ Jefferson Davis not only sent his family away from Richmond in May, 1862, but encouraged other men to do likewise. He thought it better for men "on whom the country's weal is so dependent to be free from private anxiety."³¹

The desire of women to be with or near their husbands caused many to leave their homes. After voluntarily leaving, many of these women found it impossible to return to their former homes, but were forced to wander through the South in search of places of refuge. Such was the life of Mrs. Joseph E. Johnston,³² Mrs. Roger A. Pryor,³³ and Mrs. Edward Porter Alexander.³⁴

The belief that women would be safer when the Federals came if they did not have male protectors caused some men to leave their homes. It was for this reason that Colonel Thomas Dabney

²⁵ Mrs. Charles L. Pettigrew to her sister, Minnie North, January 22, 1862, Pettigrew Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library.

²⁶ Charlotte R. Holmes, ed., *The Burckmeyer Letters*, p. 77.

²⁷ William Tecumseh Sherman, *Memoirs of General William T. Sherman*, II, 18.

²⁸ Jones, *Diary*, I, 333.

²⁹ John Joseph Byron Hillard to Clement Claiborne Clay, January 25, 1863, Clement Claiborne Clay Papers, Duke University Library, Durham, N. C.

³⁰ Jones, *Diary*, I, 184.

³¹ McGuire, *Diary*, p. 110.

³² Mrs. D. Giraud Wright, *A Southern Girl in '61: The War-Time Memories of A Confederate Senator's Daughter*, p. 61.

³³ Pryor, *Reminiscences*, p. 61.

³⁴ Edward Porter Alexander to Leopold Alexander, February 10, 1862, E. P. Alexander Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library.

left his daughters in Mississippi and went to Alabama in 1863.³⁵ It was far more frequent an occurrence, however, for women to desire the safety afforded by a man's presence. When men were ordered away from their homes for government business of any kind, their wives, sisters, and daughters thought it necessary to move where they could have a man's protection. For this reason, Mrs. J. W. McGuire moved from Ashland to Richmond,³⁶ despite the fact that living expenses were much less in the former town.

Some Unionists fled from their homes to escape persecution by their pro-Southern neighbors; others left simply because of their disagreement with the Southern cause. Their ideas and beliefs caused them to join the rank of the fugitives.³⁷

A final reason for flight, seldom mentioned in the diaries and memoirs of the time, but present, nevertheless, was the desire to escape military service. Some fled from one part of the South to another, and others fled to the North. Still others left for foreign countries "to avoid being impressed" into the service of the South.³⁸

While many people fled as individuals or in family groups, there were also mass movements of refugees. Mass flights were caused largely by the invasion of enemy troops. Hence they may be traced chronologically and geographically as the military program of the Federal government developed.

The first instance of refugees during the war that has been found was the case of a Charleston family that fled to the country even before the firing upon Fort Sumter. The family soon returned to the city.³⁹ During this same year, 1861, the people of Alexandria, Virginia, knew the horrors and uncertainties of refugee life. On May 4 one diarist recorded: "Our friends and neighbors have left us. Everything is broken up. The Theological Seminary is closed; the high school dismissed. Scarcely anyone is left of the many families that surrounded us."⁴⁰ Six days later on May 10, the diarist went to church and found the organ mute, for "the organist was gone."⁴¹ On May 24 the writer fled to Fairfax Courthouse and thence into interior Vir-

³⁵ Susan Dabney Smedes, *Memorials of A Southern Planter* (Baltimore; Cushings and Bailey, 1887), p. 203.

³⁶ McGuire, *Diary*, p. 237.

³⁷ Brockett and Vaughan, *Woman's Work*, p. 710.

³⁸ Worthington Chauncey Ford, ed., *War Letters*, p. 25.

³⁹ Mrs. Samuel Gilman, "Letters of a Confederate Mother," *Atlantic Monthly*, CXXXVII (1926), 503.

⁴⁰ McGuire, *Diary*, p. 9.

⁴¹ McGuire, *Diary*, p. 14.

ginia.⁴² The unusually early mass movement from Alexandria was caused by the proximity of the town to the center of Federal authority.

There were three localities from which mass flight took place in 1862. There were flights from every Southern state; but Virginia, North Carolina, and Alabama experienced the greatest exodus. There was a general evacuation of women and children from Richmond in May, 1862, when General McClellan was before the gates of the city.⁴³ The scare lasted for several months, after which the majority of the citizens returned to the city. The coast of North Carolina was invaded by a Federal army early in 1862, and by late spring many plantations were deserted and the citizens of New Bern were "moving their property into the interior."⁴⁴ Northern Alabama was invaded in May, 1862, and many residents of Huntsville fled to central Alabama and into Tennessee. To Huntsville, as to Richmond, many people returned after the first scare.⁴⁵

Mississippi and Tennessee experienced mass movements of refugees in 1863. It was early in this year that General John C. Pemberton insisted "on all non-combatants leaving Vicksburg,"⁴⁶ but the railroads had been torn up and other modes of travel were so hazardous that many aged men, women and children were unable to leave the city. They hid in the caves along the river. Large numbers of the inhabitants, however, did leave Vicksburg.⁴⁷ When Federal troops approached Jackson, the depot in that city was filled with citizens "seeking anything to bear them away from the threatened and fast depopulating town."⁴⁸ A Union soldier, upon entering the Mississippi capital with the Federal army, "saw a number of vehicles of various kinds loaded with household furniture, and men, women, and children . . . all greatly excited, moving rapidly out of town."⁴⁹ During the entire year 1863 people were fleeing from one section of Tennessee to another; some fled from their homes to avoid threatened attacks by Federal forces, others were actually forced

⁴² McGuire, *Diary*, p. 17.

⁴³ Jones, *Diary*, I, 125.

⁴⁴ W. C. Campbell to a Mrs. Miller, March 18, 1862, Pettigrew Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library.

⁴⁵ James W. Clay to Clement C. Clay, Jr., May 15, 1862, C. C. Clay Papers, Duke University Library.

⁴⁶ Loughborough, *Cave Life*, p. 32.

⁴⁷ Loughborough, *Cave Life*, p. 33.

⁴⁸ Loughborough, *Cave Life*, p. 28.

⁴⁹ Junius Henri Browne, *Four Years In Secessia: Adventures Within and Beyond Union Lines* (Hartford: O. D. Case and Company, 1865), p. 248.

out by the enemy. There was also a steady stream of emigres from Tennessee into other states, both North and South.

Atlanta and that part of Georgia in General Sherman's path experienced a mass flight of men, women, and children in 1864. General Sherman issued an order for the evacuation of Atlanta and "all was bustle and rapid movement in every household within the boundaries of usurpation. Under the strong arm of military power, delay was not permitted. Homes were to be abandoned, and household goods to be left for the enemy or destroyed."⁵⁰ Consequently, "the entire Southern population of Atlanta, with an occasional exception, and that of many miles in its vicinity were made refugees overnight."⁵¹

General Sherman crossed into South Carolina early in 1865 and marched on Columbia, whence "many private individuals and practically all the banks and public officials had taken flight with property, which had been placed under their protection."⁵² This town was unusually hard hit because it was full of refugees who had come in from other parts of the Confederacy late in the war. On April 2, 1865, a message from General Lee was handed to President Davis as the latter sat in St. James Church, Richmond. This message contained the news that the Confederate lines had been broken and that Richmond was in danger.⁵³ "Suddenly as if by magic, the streets became filled with men, walking as though for a wager, and behind them excited negroes with trunks, bundles and baggage of every description."⁵⁴ The capital "became a mere mass of hurrying fugitives," and the officers of the Confederacy, their families, and the more fortunate civilians left for Danville, Greensboro, and points south.⁵⁵

Regardless of the time or the place, however, the rumor that Federal troops were approaching any Southern town or region threw the people into a state of fear that approached hysteria. The following descriptions of conditions in Southern towns, based upon accounts written by eye-witnesses and in some cases by trained observers accustomed to the horrors and hardships of war, indicate something of the hysteria and chaos that prevailed when the towns were invaded by the enemy.

The *Daily Phoenix* of Columbia, South Carolina, pictures that

⁵⁰ Mary A. H. Gay, *Life In Dixie During the War*, p. 158.

⁵¹ Gay, *Life In Dixie*, p. 170 ff.

⁵² Conrad, *The Destruction of Columbia, S. C.*, p. 9.

⁵³ McGuire, *Diary*, p. 343.

⁵⁴ Hanna, *Flight Into Oblivion*, p. 5, quoting from the *Richmond Evening Whig*, April 4, 1865.

⁵⁵ Hanna, *Flight Into Oblivion*, p. 5.

little town in 1865 when most of its citizens were fast becoming refugees :

Terrible was the press, the shock, the rush, the hurry, the universal confusion such as might be looked for in circumstances of a city from which thousands were preparing to fly without previous preparations for flight, burdened with pale and trembling women, their children and portable chattels, trunks and jewels, family Bibles and "lares familiares"⁵⁶

The streets of Charleston "were crowded with carriages and carts moving the people."⁵⁷ In Jackson, Mississippi,

not only ladies with pale faces and anxious eyes . . . but gentlemen of anti-military disposition were running hither and thither, with carpet-bags and little valises, seeking conveyances determined to find a safe place; . . . and as they ran, each had an alarming report to circulate.⁵⁸

The people of Richmond "were running hither and yon; houses were aflame; the sick and dying were brought out; boxes and barrels were dragged from open commissary stores."⁵⁹ "The scene at the station was of indescribable confusion."⁶⁰ "Men, women and children of Atlanta, Georgia, moved as if they meant business. Trains came in rapidly . . . received their complement of freight . . . and departed, giving place to others that went through the same routine."⁶¹

The chaos described above lasted for a considerable time in some cities. It began when the first word of invasion came and ceased only when the Federal troops had done their damage. In the case of Columbia, the bustle and hurry lasted "through-out Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday,"⁶² but it lasted for a longer period in Atlanta.

Some people, realizing the necessity of leaving, hurried around, panic-stricken, grabbing anything within their reach. In Jackson, Mississippi,⁶³ and in Alexandria, Virginia,⁶⁴ people made hurried departures from their homes. Many "packed in haste";⁶⁵ others didn't bother to pack, but snatched what they could while making their exits.⁶⁶ A cultured, refined refugee, member of a wealthy planter family of the Shenandoah Valley,

⁵⁶ Trowbridge, *A Picture of the Desolated States*, p. 554.

⁵⁷ Holmes, *The Burckmeyer Letters*, p. 162.

⁵⁸ Loughborough, *Cave Life*, p. 28.

⁵⁹ Myrta Lockett Avary, *Dixie After the War*, p. 10.

⁶⁰ Phoebe Yates Pember, *A Southern Woman's Story* (New York: G. W. Carleton and Co., 1879), p. 168.

⁶¹ Gay, *Life In Dixie*, p. 109.

⁶² Trowbridge, *A Picture of the Desolated States*, p. 554.

⁶³ Loughborough, *Cave Life*, p. 27.

⁶⁴ McGuire, *Diary*, p. 19.

⁶⁵ Loughborough, *Cave Life*, p. 27.

⁶⁶ Cornelia McDonald, *A Diary: With Reminiscences of the War and Refugee Life in the Shenandoah Valley*, p. 282.

piled last-minute remembrances into a white tablecloth and carried the package herself. She thus "missed the attention she had a right to expect" on the trip; she did, indeed, look beneath her class.⁶⁷

Others moved more slowly and deliberately, and in some cases carefully planned preparations were made for leaving. Among those preparing for refugee life with some leisure was a farmer in western Virginia who made repairs on his wagon before he left his home.⁶⁸ Mrs. Charles L. Pettigrew was "packed for flight" days before she actually fled from her plantation in eastern North Carolina.⁶⁹ An editor in Huntsville, Alabama, took time to pack all of his office equipment before leaving for Knoxville, Tennessee.⁷⁰

Although the refugees were more often than not left to their own initiative when the problem of flight presented itself, General Sherman offered assistance to the people of Atlanta. Despite Sherman's offer, the roads out of Atlanta were "filled with teams of frightened refugees,"⁷² who would accept no help from him.

Practically every contemporary recorder stressed the scarcity of transportation facilities. Means of travel were poor during the early years of the war, but they became rapidly worse as the conflict dragged on. In Newnan, Georgia, in 1863, "fabulous prices were offered for means of conveyance. As fast as . . . a vehicle was procured it was filled and crowded."⁷³ In the same year in Winchester, Virginia, "Everything that had wheels was in demand and even a cart was deemed a prize."⁷⁴ When Richmond fell in 1865, "every vehicle was in requisition, commanding fabulous remuneration, and gold or silver the only currency accepted."⁷⁵ In the capital of the Confederacy, too, "horses brought \$1000 apiece in gold."⁷⁶ Robert Toombs was

⁶⁷ McDonald, *A Diary*, p. 282.

⁶⁸ Bailey, *A Private Chapter of the War*, p. 159.

⁶⁹ Mrs. Charles L. Pettigrew to Minnie North, January 22, 1862, Pettigrew Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library.

⁷⁰ James W. Clay to Clement C. Clay, Jr., May 15, 1862, Clay Papers, Duke University Library.

⁷¹ Sherman, *Memoirs*, II, 118. "I have deemed it to the interest of the United States that citizens now residing in Atlanta should remove, those who prefer it to go South, and the rest North. For the latter I can provide food and transportation to points of their election in Tennessee, Kentucky or farther north. For the former I can provide transportation by cars as far as Rough and Ready and also wagons; but that their removal may be made with as little discomfort as possible, it will be necessary for you to help the families from Rough and Ready, to the cars at Lovejoy's. If you consent, I will undertake to remove all the families in Atlanta who prefer to go south to Rough and Ready, with all their movable effects, viz., clothing, trunks, reasonable furniture, bedding, etc."

⁷² Bailey, *A Private Chapter of the War*, p. 81.

⁷³ Fannie Beers, *Memories: A Record of Personal Experience and Adventure During Our Years of War*, p. 141.

⁷⁴ McDonald, *A Diary*, p. 178.

⁷⁵ Pember, *A Southern Woman's Story*, p. 168.

⁷⁶ Avary, *Dixie After the War*, p. 10.

forced to spend the night in Macon, Georgia, much against his wishes, because "it was impossible to get a conveyance of any sort."⁷⁷ The next day, however, he succeeded in getting "a shabby little covered cart" which traveled "at the rate of about two miles an hour and a cost of one hundred dollars a mile."⁷⁸

The high cost and scarcity of means of transportation were due in part to the fact that many vehicles had been worn out or destroyed. Another contributing factor was the fact that the government appropriated vehicles and animals for its own use. According to the *Daily Phoenix* there was a shortage of transportation facilities in Columbia because the "Government of the state and Confederacy absorbed all modes of transportation."⁷⁹ In Richmond the governmental officials were given first consideration of railroad accommodations, but "they were forced to push their way through hundreds of excited people" in order to get to the train.⁸⁰

Some refugees carried no luggage; some carried several bags and trunks as well as innumerable boxes and packages; still others carried heavy kitchen utensils and household furniture to their new domicile. Many refugees maintained, however, that there was "no room for trunks and boxes, for every carriage, wagon, and cart was loaded with human freight."⁸¹ Others report that trunks were piled high on the wagons and one Tennessee refugee carried along with her personal possessions, a sewing machine, guitar, and some books. An on-looker in Richmond, during the process of evacuation, wrote that "no one could afford to abandon any article of wear or household use when going where they knew that nothing could be replaced."⁸³ When refugees left their property behind, it was much against their wills, but if they left precipitately they had not time to hide, destroy, or collect their valuables. One refugee, facing the facts, admitted, "this house will be deserted, and the Yankees can come and take it whenever they please."⁸⁴

Every conceivable means of transportation was used by the Southern refugees. Many, unable to obtain any means of conveyance, fled on foot. Vast numbers were forced to flee areas in

⁷⁷ Andrews, *Journal*, p. 155.

⁷⁸ Andrews, *Journal*, p. 165.

⁷⁹ Trowbridge, *A Picture of the Desolated States*, p. 554.

⁸⁰ Hanna, *Flight Into Oblivion*, p. 6.

⁸¹ Beers, *Memories*, p. 172.

⁸² Matthew Page Andrews, ed., *Women of the South in War Times*, p. 250.

⁸³ Pember, *A Southern Woman's Story*, p. 169.

⁸⁴ J. R. Bryan to D. C. Randolph, April 16, 1862. "War Letters," *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Geneological Magazine*, XIV (1933), 149.

this manner.⁸⁵ If the advent of the enemy was imminent, the refugees became scared and frequently ran, seeking safety as quickly as possible.⁸⁶

Some individual refugees fled on horseback. An Alabama journalist borrowed a mule, a saddle, and bridle from a neighbor and started out for safety.⁸⁷ Almost without exception, those who traveled on horseback sent some luggage by some other mode of transportation.

One of the most commonly used vehicles was the wagon. Mrs. C. C. Poppenheim of Charleston felt it beneath her class to ride in a wagon, but consented because "all other vehicles, carriages, buggies, and everything on wheels had been driven out of town" by other refugees.⁸⁸ Mrs. Cornelia McDonald succeeded in borrowing a wagon from a man in her neighborhood, promising to sell it for him when she reached Staunton, Virginia.⁸⁹ In going from Vicksburg, Mississippi, to Selma, Alabama, one party travelled "very slowly . . . in an ox-wagon."⁹⁰ This trip took several weeks.

Stagecoach⁹¹ and buggy⁹² were sometimes used by the refugees, and the canal boat between Lexington and Lynchburg, Virginia, was utilized by many refugees fleeing from the Valley and western part of Virginia.⁹³

A bit unusual, perhaps, but interesting and effective, nevertheless, was the method of transportation used by a woman of Fredericksburg, Virginia. She took three small straw carriages, putting her children in two of them and her baggage in the third. Her father drew one carriage, she drew another, and a little girl drew the third. In that way they left Fredericksburg for the southern part of Virginia.⁹⁴

Ambulances were used extensively in getting refugees out of the danger zones. In Virginia in 1863 one was seen "filled with women and children" going down the Valley.⁹⁵ Two women traveled all the way from Middle Tennessee to Alabama in an ambulance in 1862.

⁸⁵ McDonald, *A Diary*, p. 169.

⁸⁶ Mrs. Fannie Gaines Tinsley, "Mrs. Tinsley's War Recollections," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XXV (1927), 399. Mrs. Tinsley tells the following story: "Mother and I were running through the woods and the camps. We came to a Zouave camp and an old Irishman came out and said, 'Missie is you running?' Mother said, 'Yes, and it's what you'll be doing pretty soon!'"

⁸⁷ James W. Clay to Clement C. Clay, Jr., May 15, 1862, Clay Papers, Duke University Library.

⁸⁸ Andrews, *Women of the South*, p. 249.

⁸⁹ McDonald, *A Diary*, p. 249.

⁹⁰ Hart, *Recollections*, p. 151.

⁹¹ McDonald, *A Diary*, p. 82.

⁹² James W. Clay to Clement C. Clay, Jr., May 15, 1862, Clay Papers, Duke University Library.

⁹³ McDonald, *A Diary*, p. 189.

⁹⁴ McGuire, *Diary*, p. 220.

⁹⁵ McDonald, *A Diary*, p. 152.

The means of transportation most frequently used by refugees was the railroad. All sorts of railway accommodations were used by those in flight. Mrs. D. Giraud Wright, daughter of Senator Wigfall of Texas, tells of her trip from Atlanta to Macon, Georgia, on an ambulance train. Mrs. Wright, with two other women and an officer, were the only passengers except the sick and wounded soldiers. The car was so crowded that there was no place for the sick to lie down.⁹⁶

In every Southern state some refugees were fortunate enough to get seats on trains leaving the stricken towns, but these trains were more often than not crowded and uncomfortable. One refugee said that the train leaving Columbia for Charlotte only a few hours before General Sherman entered the former city was carrying

somewhere in the neighborhood of 1,000 passengers. People who could not get inside were hanging on wherever they could find a sticking place; the aisles and platforms down to the last step were full of people clinging on like bees swarming around the doors of a hive.⁹⁷

The box-car was used by some of the more fortunate refugees. Mrs. Robert E. Lee had one at her disposal when she traveled. It was "fitted up to suit an invalid, with bed, chairs, etc."⁹⁸ Mary Gay had friends who made their home in a box-car and traveled from town to town as the Federal troops moved through Georgia, and she took at least one trip with her friends in their box-car home.⁹⁹ Susan Dabney Smedes, her sisters, and her father obtained two box-cars for their use, and, putting the servants in one and themselves in the other, they fled from Mississippi to Georgia. She described the trip as "the most comfortable long journey that we have ever undertaken."¹⁰⁰

The life of a refugee en route from one locality to another was a serious one, but it had its humorous incidents. At times the cars carrying refugees were fired upon;¹⁰¹ the dead lay by the highway in view of the passing throng; life frequently seemed hopeless and was despaired of.¹⁰² This was not always true, however. Mrs. James Chesnut of South Carolina tells the story of a woman refugee who happened to be travelling in the

⁹⁶ Wright, *A Southern Girl in '61*, p. 178.

⁹⁷ Andrews, *Journal*, p. 150.

⁹⁸ McQuire, *Diary*, p. 233.

⁹⁹ Gay, *Life In Dixie*, p. 168.

¹⁰⁰ Smedes, *Memorials*, p. 221. Mrs. Smedes describes their cars as follows: ". . . the furniture was placed in our cars, the beds made up, a table or two with books and writing materials set about, and the chairs placed as if we had been at home in our home."

¹⁰¹ Jones, *Diary*, I, 195; McQuire, *Diary*, p. 172.

¹⁰² McDonald, *A Diary*, p. 180. Mrs. McDonald wrote that she saw "One man . . . lying dead by the roadside . . . and no one took time to stop and look at his poor dead face."

same car with her. This stranger "talked about and introduced herself to every man, claiming his protection. She had never traveled alone before in her life." But Mrs. Chesnut thought this person would have been safe under any conditions. In disgust she added: "Old age and ugliness are protection in some cases."¹⁰³ On this same trip, it happened that Mrs. Chesnut was the last refugee permitted to enter by the doors of the cars. "The government then took possession, and the women could only be smuggled in by the windows. Stout ones stuck and had to be pushed, pulled and hauled by main force. Dear Mrs. Izard, with all her dignity, was subjected to this rough treatment. She was found almost too much for the size of the car windows."¹⁰⁴

There was no one city or region to which all or even a majority of the refugees fled. Those from the same community might scatter to many points in the state or even beyond the state. Some went only a few miles into nearby woods or other places of safety and remained for only a few hours.¹⁰⁵ Others emigrated to foreign countries. Mrs. John Burckmyer of Charleston went to France and stayed there throughout the war. Each state in the Confederacy, however, had so-called "havens" to which refugees fled in large numbers. Refugees from all the Southern states frequently fled into a particular locality in search of safety, only to find that it, too, had been abandoned because of its proximity to a danger zone.

Richmond was the most popular place of refuge in the Confederacy. Its popularity might be attributed in part to the fact that it was the capital of the Confederacy, and work in the government offices was attractive. Virginia refugees naturally gravitated to the capital. Those from Fredericksburg poured in on the night of November 22, 1862;¹⁰⁶ from the Valley of Virginia came many women, among them Mrs. J. W. B. McGuire and Mrs. Cornelia McDonald. Many refugees came to Richmond from Maryland. Among them were J. B. Jones, who became clerk in War Department and who left a valuable account of life among the refugees. Fannie Beers¹⁰⁷ and Sarah Jones, a British subject, also came to Richmond from Maryland. The latter, in her account of refugee life during the early part of

¹⁰³ Chesnut, *Diary*, p. 347.

¹⁰⁴ Chesnut, *Diary*, p. 351.

¹⁰⁵ Trowbridge, *A Picture of the Desolated States*, p. 318; Heros Von Borcke, *Memoirs of the Confederate War for Independence*, II, 146.

¹⁰⁶ Jones, *Diary*, I, 195.

¹⁰⁷ Beers, *Memories*, p. 14.

the war, frequently refers to her friends who had fled from Maryland into Richmond.¹⁰⁸

Twelve miles north of Richmond was Ashland, another important haven for refugees. Mrs. McGuire reports that some refugees lived in Ashland and commuted to Richmond to work.¹⁰⁹ The popularity of Ashland was greatly enhanced by the fact that living costs were relatively low, much cheaper than in Richmond.¹¹⁰

Petersburg, Virginia, had its share of refugees from both Virginia and North Carolina. Mrs. Roger A. Pryor arrived in Petersburg in the autumn of 1863, and found that "strangers and refugees had rented" the homes of some of her friends; and that "those of others were filled with homeless of their own kindred."¹¹¹ J. B. Jones reports that in one day, January 9, 1865, 600 homeless women and children in a body descended upon the town.¹¹² Fugitives in great numbers came into Petersburg from the Valley of Virginia, from Norfolk, and from Fredericksburg.¹¹³ They came in from North Carolina in large groups,¹¹⁴ and one important Georgian, Sidney Lanier, found refuge at Petersburg.¹¹⁵

Charlottesville was a popular retreat for refugees in the early days of the war. Cornelia McDonald was advised to go there because of "its abundance of provisions and because it was out of the way of the armies."¹¹⁶ When Mrs. J. W. B. McGuire arrived in this town, she was surprised to find her "sister . . . and daughter staying next door."¹¹⁷

North Carolina had three towns which served as "havens" for refugees from that state and neighboring ones. They were Raleigh, Hillsboro, and Charlotte. Many refugees also resided in country districts surrounding these towns. Mrs. Jefferson Davis went to Raleigh in the spring of 1862,¹¹⁸ and J. B. Jones sent his family there about the same time.¹¹⁹ William S. Pettigrew sent his family to the vicinity of Raleigh when the Fed-

¹⁰⁸ Sarah L. Jones, *Life In the South From the Commencement of the War*, I. 366, 357, 375, 376, 392.

¹⁰⁹ McGuire, *Diary*, p. 159.

¹¹⁰ McGuire, *Diary*, p. 159.

¹¹¹ Mrs. Roger Atkinson Pryor, *My Day*, p. 194.

¹¹² Jones, *Diary*, I. 236.

¹¹³ Pryor, *My Day*, p. 284.

¹¹⁴ E. P. Alexander to Leopold Alexander, March 7, 1862, E. P. Alexander Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Library.

¹¹⁵ Sidney Lanier to Virginia Caroline Clay, April 6, 1863, Clay Papers, Duke University Library.

¹¹⁶ McDonald, *A Diary*, p. 182.

¹¹⁷ McGuire, *Diary*, p. 161.

¹¹⁸ Chesnut, *Diary*, p. 6.

¹¹⁹ Jones, *Diary*, I. 123.

erals invaded the North Carolina coast in 1862.¹²⁰ Hillsboro was one of the most popular refugee towns in North Carolina. Mrs. Charles L. Pettigrew went there when her home on the eastern coast of North Carolina was endangered.¹²¹ She reported, in the spring of 1862, that refugees were continually arriving in Hillsboro.¹²² Charlotte and the surrounding country were filled with refugees toward the close of the war, for when Atlanta and Columbia fell many people turned north and gravitated to this city. When the report that General W. T. Sherman was headed for Columbia reached that city, the inhabitants were ordered to flee to Charlotte.¹²³ Mrs. Chesnut of South Carolina found at Charlotte refugees from Virginia as well as from South Carolina and Georgia.¹²⁴

No town in South Carolina could equal Columbia as a haven for refugees. As early as December, 1863, the town was so crowded with "refugees from the coast . . . that there was not an unoccupied house in the town."¹²⁵ When General Sherman threatened Charleston in 1865, "the low countrymen fled with their treasures into Columbia."¹²⁶ By 1865 this latter city had become "crowded to suffocation with refugees";¹²⁷ the people "had actually no fear about Columbia; on the contrary, it was supposed that the property, which had been sent there was safer than at any other place in the wide Confederacy."¹²⁸ In January and early February of 1865 "every train arriving in the capital carried a multitude of refugees. Into the city moved the banks with their wealth of plate, but poverty of specie. Stores of provisions, too, found their way into Columbia, for the steadily increasing populace anticipated a long sojourn."¹²⁹ Refugees came into Columbia from Georgia¹³⁰ and Tennessee¹³¹ as well as from the South Carolina coastal region. Several smaller towns in South Carolina attracted refugees from the war-torn area. Cherry Hill, South Carolina, was crowded with

¹²⁰ William S. Pettigrew to Rev. Mr. West, March 28, 1862, Pettigrew Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library.

¹²¹ Mrs. Charles L. Pettigrew to Minnie North, February 18, 1862, Pettigrew Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library.

¹²² Mrs. Charles L. Pettigrew to Minnie North, February 18, 1862, Pettigrew Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library.

¹²³ Conrad, *The Destruction of Columbia, S. C.*, p. 21.

¹²⁴ Chesnut, *Diary*, p. 358.

¹²⁵ Holmes, *The Burckmeyer Letters*, p. 232.

¹²⁶ Chapman J. Milling, "Ilium in Flames," *Confederate Veteran*, XXXVI (1928), 135.

¹²⁷ Joseph Gregoire de Roulhac Hamilton, ed., *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin*, III, 439.

¹²⁸ Milling, "Ilium in Flames," p. 8.

¹²⁹ Milling, "Ilium in Flames," p. 8.

¹³⁰ Wright, *A Southern Girl in '61*, p. 201.

¹³¹ Chesnut, *Diary*, p. 345.

¹³² Charles L. Pettigrew to William S. Pettigrew, Aug. 22, 1864, Pettigrew Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library.

refugees in August of 1864; some of them came from Georgia,¹³² others from North Carolina.¹³³ Among the refugees in this little town was Vice President Alexander H. Stephens.¹³⁴ Greenville succored many refugees from Columbia, Charleston, and Atlanta; among them were such well known people as the Hegers, Gilmans, Jerveys, and Porchers.¹³⁵ Cedar Springs, near Spartanburg, became a haven of refuge for the family of Henry D. Lesesne of Charleston. Lesesne chose this spot because of the "abundant country" surrounding it.¹³⁶

Atlanta was the most important refugee center in Georgia. The town had a population of only 8,000 in 1860, but "since it was a sort of city of refuge . . . during the latter years of the war, its population had greatly increased."¹³⁷ From Dalton, Rome, and Savannah the people fled into the rural districts; many people from the region of Sherman's march through Georgia fled to Macon. They were joined by refugees from Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina, and Tennessee.¹³⁸

LaFayette, Selma, and Mobile were the chief refugee towns in Alabama. The homeless of Mississippi and Tennessee as well as native refugees sought safety in these Alabama towns.¹³⁹

Mississippi had no major haven for refugees as did the other states, but Vicksburg became a place of refuge for many of those who fled from the Federal armies. Even after the fall of the city most of the inhabitants chose to remain rather than to seek safety in flight.¹⁴⁰

Knoxville was the major refugee center in Tennessee. Among prominent Southern refugees in Knoxville were James W. Clay of Alabama¹⁴¹ and Belle Boyd of Virginia.¹⁴² Many Unionist refugees also made their home in Knoxville.¹⁴³ Nashville, too, was a popular abode of the Unionists.¹⁴⁴ Many Tennesseans took refuge in the mountains at the famous springs and resorts.

Very few refugees found permanent homes, once they had been forced to flee. Most of them wandered from one place to an-

¹³² Charles L. Pettigrew to William S. Pettigrew, August 22, 1864, Pettigrew Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library.

¹³⁴ Charles L. Pettigrew to William S. Pettigrew, August 22, 1864, Pettigrew Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library.

¹³⁵ Holmes, *The Burckmeyer Letters*, pp. 473, 445, 449.

¹³⁶ Henry D. Lesesne to Mrs. Charles L. Pettigrew, July 10, 1863, Pettigrew Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library.

¹³⁷ Trowbridge, *A Picture of the Desolated States*, p. 462.

¹³⁸ Holmes, *The Burckmeyer Letters*, p. 452.

¹³⁹ Loughborough, *Cave Life*, p. 26; Hart, *Recollections*, p. 151.

¹⁴⁰ Loughborough, *Cave Life*, pp. 26, 56.

¹⁴¹ James W. Clay to Clement C. Clay, Jr., May 15, 1862, Clay Papers, Duke University Library.

¹⁴² Belle Boyd, *Belle Boyd in Camp and Prison*, I, 241.

¹⁴³ Trowbridge, *A Picture of the Desolated States*, p. 238; Brockett and Vaughan, *Woman's Work*, p. 710.

¹⁴⁴ Brockett and Vaughan, *Woman's Work*, p. 710.

other, seeking quiet and safety. Mrs. J. W. B. McGuire's journeys were typical of refugee experiences. She left her home in Alexandria, Virginia, in May, 1862, and went only a few miles to Fairfax Courthouse, but she fled less than a week later to Chantilly and from there she journeyed to "The Briars," a plantation home in the Shenandoah Valley. Thence she went to Winchester, and from there to Richmond in early 1862. Leaving Richmond in mid-summer, she went to Mecklenburg County to visit a sick daughter, and from there fled, in the early fall, to Charlottesville. She remained at Charlottesville for a short time, and then returned to Richmond for a brief period. She settled in Ashland toward the close of 1862, but remained there for only one year; she ultimately returned to Richmond where she remained until the end of the war.¹⁴⁵

As it was with Mrs. McGuire, so it was with hundreds of men, women, and children. From war-torn, chaotic towns and rural areas, the refugees fled in various and sundry vehicles and on foot. They moved onward, ever seeking safety and peace, and stopped for a brief period, perhaps, in a calm looking place, only to be forced on by the fear of enemy invasion.

As the Southern people left their homes, the Northern troops frequently followed close behind plundering, pillaging, and seizing property.

Every Southern state was invaded by the enemy and suffered from accompanying destruction. The *Columbia Daily Phoenix*, describing the demolition that followed the invasion of South Carolina by Sherman's army, said that "habitation after habitation, village after village, - one sending up its signal flames to the other, presaging for it the same fate, lighted the winter and midnight sky with crimson horrors."¹⁴⁶ One of Sherman's soldiers wrote that "everywhere the houses of the wealthy were pillaged, clothes torn up, beds torn to pieces, barns and gins and their contents given to flames."¹⁴⁷ Fortunately all Southern states were not visited by Sherman, and there were exceptions to such pillage. Frequently homes were converted into hospitals and headquarters, and other property was left unharmed by the enemy.¹⁴⁸

Virginia had her share of suffering caused by enemy in-

¹⁴⁵ McGuire, *Diary*, pp. 19, 28, 73, 89, 126, 161, 166, 168, 238.

¹⁴⁶ Trowbridge, *A Picture of the Desolated States*, p. 546.

¹⁴⁷ A. T. Volwiler, ed., "Letters from a Civil War Officer," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XIX (1927-1928), 584.

¹⁴⁸ McGuire, *Diary*, p. 47.

vasion. In 1864 "the Virginia Military Institute with all the professors houses was set on fire and the distracted families amid the flames were rushing about trying to save some of their things, when they were forced to leave them—officers standing by for the purpose.¹⁴⁹ In Lexington a woman was asked to house and feed two Federal officers. This she did to the best of her ability, only to be informed the next morning at breakfast that her guests were going to burn her home. So "he took a bottle of benzine . . . and pouring it on the sofa and curtains in the lower room, applied a match and proceeded up stairs."¹⁵⁰ When one of the family rushed upstairs and threw some clothes across her arms, the Federal troops "came near her with a lighted match and set fire to the clothes as they hung on her arm."¹⁵¹ Many leading Virginians had their homes burned by Federal troops as a punishment for aiding the "rebellion." When Edmund Ruffin returned to his home, "Beechwood," after the Federal forces had paid it a visit, he found "the yard of the mansion was scattered over with rubbish,—'broken chairs and other furniture, broken dishes, plates and other crockery, feathers emptied from the ticks of feather beds. Evary article of furniture without exception, showed material damage which could have come only from 'wilful and malignant design.'"¹⁵² The home of Colonel William H. F. Lee, son of Robert E. Lee, was burned by Federals as were those of many of his neighbors in the surrounding territory.¹⁵³

South Carolina was also the scene of much destruction. Describing the Columbia fire, an on-looker said:

Greater grew the confusion, more terrible the heat. Families struggled to keep themselves together. Mothers strove frantically to find missing children. Borne out upon their beds came the aged and infirm, the sick of palsy, and the women in travail. Every victim in his flight carried some cherished possession, clutched lovingly some trifling article which he hoped to save.¹⁵⁴

In Columbia, as in Lexington, Virginia, and other towns,

¹⁴⁹ McDonald, *A Diary*, p. 206. "Not even their books and papers could they save, and scarcely any clothes. Col. Williamson was the only officer of the Institute who remained in the village, and he had to keep quiet and say nothing when his daughters were driven from their house and all its contents burned, even the old black mahogany desk where hidden away was a yellow lock of his wife's hair and her letters tied with blue ribbon."

¹⁵⁰ McDonald, *A Diary*, p. 207.

¹⁵¹ McDonald, *A Diary*, p. 207. When Mrs. McDonald reached the scene, the lady of the house "was sitting on a stone in the street, with her baby in her lap sleeping, and her other children gathered around. She sat tearless and calm, but it was a pitiable group sitting there with their burning house for a background to the picture."

¹⁵² Avery Odelle Craven, *Edmund Ruffin, Southerner*, p. 239.

¹⁵³ Von Borcke, *Memoirs*, p. 66.

¹⁵⁴ Milling, "Ilium in Flames," p. 181.

Federal officers threw back into the fire many things which people were trying to save.¹⁵⁵

Georgia suffered great property damage as a result of Sherman's march to the sea. Sherman himself estimated that he had destroyed more than \$100,000,000 worth of property. In Newnan the houses "were in many cases partly demolished by shot or shell, or having taken fire, were charred, smoking or burnt to the ground."¹⁵⁶ One Georgian living near Atlanta had his "elegant European piano, mirrors and furniture, as well as his library, cut glass, and Dresden china" shipped North by Federal troops.¹⁵⁷ The home of a preacher was "consumed by devouring torches. All the winter clothing, the . . . library and . . . manuscript sermons were burned to ashes."¹⁵⁸ A refugee, visiting what had once been a beautiful home, found

elegant rosewood and mahogany furniture, broken into a thousand fragments. These things covered the face of the earth as far as . . . I could see; and china and glass looked as if it had been sown. And the house, what of that? Alas! it too had been scattered to the four winds of heaven in the form of smoke, and ashes. Not even a chimney stood to mark its site.¹⁵⁹

It was in Georgia that Mrs. Fannie Beers, a refugee, came into contact with Federal troops and as a result lost many keepsakes which she had cherished through the years. She wrote years later that she had been as proud of these treasures "as a queen of her crown jewels . . . but . . . these like everything else fell into the hands of the raiders."¹⁶⁰ J. R. Trowbridge found, in the summer of 1865, that in Atlanta "everywhere were ruins and rubbish, mud and mortar and misery."¹⁶¹

When the refugees returned to their homes they frequently found them in possession of the enemy. One refugee woman, returning to her home in Alexandria, Virginia, found it being used as a bakery.¹⁶² She was not even permitted to go into her former bedroom, but was told that "there was nothing in it that belonged to her."¹⁶³ Another Virginia family "tried to go back to their own house, but found only one chimney stand-

¹⁵⁵ Chesnut, *Diary*, p. 362.

¹⁵⁶ Beers, *Memories*, p. 166.

¹⁵⁷ Gay, *Life In Dixie*, p. 183.

¹⁵⁸ Gay, *Life In Dixie*, p. 185.

¹⁵⁹ Gay, *Life In Dixie*, p. 210.

¹⁶⁰ Beers, *Memories*, p. 89.

¹⁶¹ Trowbridge, *A Picture of the Desolated States*, p. 453.

¹⁶² McQuire, *Diary*, p. 200.

¹⁶³ McQuire, *Diary*, p. 201.

ing alone; even that had been taken possession of by a Yankee, who had written his name upon it."¹⁶⁴

All the destruction of property during the Civil War cannot be laid at the door of the Federal troops, however, for the Unionists in the South suffered at the hands of the Southerners. Whenever the Unionists fled, the Confederates appropriated their property, seized their cattle and other livestock, and burned their homes.¹⁶⁵ One Unionist refugee told the following story:

I lived down in Cobb, Georgia. I was a Union man . . . like my Daddy befo'e me. Thar was no use me bein' a fule 'case my neighbors was. The Rebel army treated me a heap wus'n Sherman did. I refuged,—left everything keer o' my wife. I had four bales of cotton, and the Rebs burn't the last bale. I had hogs, and a mule, and a hoss, and they tuk all. They didn't leave my wife nary a bed quilt. When they tuk what they wanted, they put her out of the house and set fire to it.¹⁶⁶

Destruction of property was not the only thing that made the last years of the war dark for the refugees. Disease often took hold in refugee households, always causing inconvenience, worry, and suffering, and often actual death. Among the diseases mentioned most frequently were whooping cough,¹⁶⁷ chicken-pox, and scarlet fever.¹⁶⁸ One Nashville refugee who went to central Alabama lost her child when her baby contracted scarlet fever and died.¹⁶⁹

Tragedies seemed to befall refugee children more than adults. In Vicksburg, during the siege, a child was "playing in the yard, and found a shell; in rolling and turning it, she . . . innocently pounded the fuse: the terrible explosion, showed, as the white cloud of smoke floated away, the mangled remains."¹⁷⁰ Also at Vicksburg, "a young girl, becoming weary in the confinement of the cave, hastily ran to the house in the interval that elapsed between falling shells. On returning, an explosion sounded near her—one wild scream, and she ran into her mother's presence, sinking like a wounded dove,"¹⁷¹ dead. Vicksburg experienced one tragedy after another. In this river town one woman put her child to bed, and only a few moments later a shell crashed through the ceiling of the cave, crushing the

¹⁶⁴ Chesnut, *Diary*, p. 34.

¹⁶⁵ Brockett and Vaughan, *Woman's Work*, p. 710.

¹⁶⁶ Trowbridge, *A Picture of the Desolated States*, p. 456.

¹⁶⁷ Pryor, *My Day*, p. 187.

¹⁶⁸ Susie Withers to Virginia Caroline Clay, April 15, 1863, Clay Papers, Duke University Library.

¹⁶⁹ Susie Withers to Virginia Caroline Clay, April 15, 1863, Clay Papers, Duke University Library.

¹⁷⁰ Loughborough, *Cave Life*, p. 91.

¹⁷¹ Loughborough, *Cave Life*, p. 92.

baby's head.¹⁷² In Virginia, as in Mississippi, tragedy stalked with the refugees daily. When the Federal troops entered the territory around Suffolk, they "fired the houses," forcing the inhabitants to flee. One woman took her seven children, the youngest less than a year old, and fled into the woods. Before reaching her destination she was fired upon and killed.¹⁷³ When Northern soldiers fired on Petersburg, Virginia, "women were killed on the lower streets."¹⁷⁴

The stories of destruction, terror, and tragedy might be multiplied many hundredfold. With the South overrun by Northern soldiers, so many such incidents occurred that the diarists could not report them. From late spring, 1861, until April, 1865, attacks were made upon the civilians and property of South, and every attack was accompanied by heart-break, disappointment, destruction, and death.

The Northern soldiers were not responsible for all the destruction of property in the South, but certainly the major property damage was the result of Federal invasion. When word or rumor reached the Southern people that the enemy was enroute to their homes, the citizens of the Confederacy made preparations to flee. Hastening from the invaded section, the refugees were swept along before Northern troops. Other miserable, desperate refugees frequently joined the flight as the journey continued.

[*To be concluded*]

¹⁷² Loughborough, *Cave Life*, p. 80.

¹⁷³ Jones, *Diary*, I, 363, quoted from *Petersburg Express*.

¹⁷⁴ Pryor, *My Day*, p. 199.

FORT RALEIGH NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE,
NORTH CAROLINA: PART OF THE SETTLE-
MENT SITES OF SIR WALTER RALEIGH'S
COLONIES OF 1585-1586 AND 1587*

By

Charles W. Porter III

The Fort Raleigh National Historic Site on the north end of Roanoke Island, North Carolina, directly connects us with the court of Queen Elizabeth and with the golden age of English art, literature, and adventure. The figures who play the chief role in the story of the exploration and attempted settlement of the island are the epic figures of English history: Queen Elizabeth, after whom the new land was named *Virginia*, is easily the premier sovereign of England; Sir Walter Raleigh, poet, soldier, and statesman, and the inspiration and financial mainstay of the Roanoke Island project, is the best remembered of gallant English courtiers; Sir Richard Grenville, of the *Revenge*, who brought the first colony to America in 1585 and left another small group there in 1586, is the Elizabethan hero who in 1592 taught English sailors how to dare and die in the face of overwhelming odds; Sir Francis Drake, who rescued the first colony from starvation, is famous as the first English circumnavigator of the globe and as the preeminent seadog and explorer of English history.

As Plymouth and other early New England sites connect us with the great European movement known as the Reformation, so the scene of Raleigh's settlements connects us with the powerful activating force known as the Renaissance. When energized by the Renaissance movement, the human spirit knew no earthly bounds nor recognized any limits to intellectual or physical endeavor. Thus Raleigh, who was born a gentleman of but moderate estate, willed to be the favorite of a queen, aspired to found an empire across the seas in the teeth of imperial Spain and undertook in prison to write the history of the world! For the glory, enrichment, and security of England, Sir Francis Drake pillaged the cities and mighty galleons of Spain and dared to sail around the globe. Sir Richard Grenville, shortly after his memorable voyages to Roanoke Island, gave the British Navy

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an immortal tradition by duelling for a day and a night with one small ship against a Spanish fleet of fifty-three.

Truly heroic was the Roanoke Island colonial venture. Here, despite the hostility of Spain, the greatest naval and colonial power of that day, the agents of Sir Walter Raleigh and the subjects of Queen Elizabeth suffered or died in the first serious effort to begin the conquest of the larger part of the North American continent by the slow process of agriculture, industry, trade, and natural increase. The hardships of the first colony under Governor Lane 1585-1586, and the disappearance of the "Lost Colony" of 1587, taught the English the practical difficulties that would be attendant upon the conquest of the continent and enabled them to grow in colonial wisdom. Thus the birth of Virginia Dare, at the "Citie of Raleigh in Virginia," August 18, 1587, first child of English parentage to be born in the New World, was a prophetic symbol of the future rise of a new English-speaking nation beyond the seas.

Jamestown, Virginia, commemorates the successful settlement of English America growing out of the dreams of Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Walter Raleigh. Fort Raleigh, because of the tragic mystery of the "Lost Colony," memorializes better than any other site the cost of early English colonial effort. To a certain degree it also commemorates a forgotten part of the price that England paid for English liberty. The colonists at Fort Raleigh were, in a sense, sacrificed that England might employ all her fighting strength against the juggernaut of Spain in the battle against the Armada. To relieve the Roanoke colony in 1588, in the place of Grenville's warships, only two small pin-naces could be spared and these did not reach Roanoke. For the glorious victory over the Armada and for the gradual emergence of English sea power after 1588, England gave her infant colony in America.

The statesmen, merchants, and ship captains of Elizabethan England shared the adventurous and speculative spirit of the Spaniards and Portuguese who had established empires in the West after 1492. Religious zeal and both personal and national interests impelled Englishmen to compete with Spain and Portugal for a share in the exploration and development of the New World. Englishmen wondered if they could not find a northwest passage through the American continent which would divert the wealth of the Indies to England, or if they could not trans-

mutts the mineral and agricultural wealth of North America into English fortunes as Spaniards had grown rich from the gold of Mexico and Peru.

On June 11, 1578, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, elder half-brother of Sir Walter Raleigh, obtained from Queen Elizabeth a charter to discover and colonize "remote heathen and barbarous lands" not actually possessed by any Christian prince. In 1583 he ventured almost his entire fortune, as well as that of his wife, Anne Aucher, in an attempt to explore the northern part of North America and found a colony in the New World. The queen herself displayed interest in the enterprise by giving Raleigh a good luck token to send to Gilbert just before the expedition sailed. Gilbert landed at St. Johns, Newfoundland, which he claimed for England, but on coasting southward he met with repeated misfortunes, turned away, and was himself drowned on the return voyage to England. He had insisted on sailing in one of his smaller ships. "I will not forsake my little company going homeward, with whom I have passed so many stormes and perils."¹ Among his last recorded words was the famous cry to his men in the larger boat, "We are as neere to heaven by sea as by land."² His last will and testament, dated July 8, 1582, makes clear that his ultimate purpose had been to found an English Empire beyond the seas to be colonized by English people.³

Gilbert's heroic death must have deeply moved his half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh. The latter had voyaged with Sir Humphrey Gilbert in an expedition of 1578 and had fitted out a ship intended to participate in the great voyage of 1583 to Newfoundland. In 1584, when the Gilbert patent was to expire, Raleigh stood high in the favor of the queen and received from her a charter which confirmed to him the powers formerly enjoyed by Sir Humphrey Gilbert.

On the 27th of April, 1584, Captains Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe left the west of England in two barks "well furnished with men and victuals," to explore the North American coast for Sir Walter Raleigh. Among the company of explorers was the enigmatical Simon Ferdinando, formerly the master of the ship *Falcon* under the captaincy of Raleigh, but also known as the "man" of the queen's secretary of state, Sir Francis Wal-

¹ Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations Voyages Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* (12 vols., Glasgow, 1904), VIII, 73.

² Hakluyt, *Navigations*, VIII, 74.

³ W. G. Gosling, *The Life of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, pp. 201-203.

singham.⁴ Ferdinando had sailed to the coast of America and back in three months' time in 1579.⁵ His knowledge of navigation was to make him a key figure in the Roanoke Island enterprises.

The party of explorers landed on July 13, 1584, on the North Carolina coast, approximately seven leagues above⁶ Roanoke Island, and took possession of the country for Queen Elizabeth "as rightfull Queene" with the further proviso that the land was to be for the use of Sir Walter Raleigh, according to the queen's charter. Despite the passing of over 350 years, Barlowe's description of the country is still basically true if pardonably exuberant. They found it "very sandie and low towards the waters side, but so full of grapes as the very beating and surge of the Sea overflowed them, of which we found such plentie, as well there as in all places else, both on the sand and on the greene soile on the hils, as in the plaines, as well on every little shrubbe, as also climbing towards the tops of high Cedars, that I thinke in all the world the like abundance is not to be found."⁷

From their landing place they proceeded along the seashore towards the "toppes of those hilles next adjoining" (perhaps the big Nags Head Dunes or hills near the Nags Head woods) from the summit of which they beheld the sea on both sides and came to realize that they were on a barrier island. After admiring the scene, they discharged a harquebuz shot, whereupon "a flocke of Cranes (the most part white) arose . . . with such a cry redoubled by many echoes, as if an armie of men had showed all together."⁸ On the fourth day they were visited by Granganimeo, brother of Wingina, chief of the Roanoke Island Indians. After a short period of trading, Barlowe and seven

⁴ Conyers Read, *Mr. Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth*, III, 399 note.

⁵ Read, *Mr. Secretary Walsingham*, III, 399 note; W. N. Sainsbury, *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, 1574-1660*, I, 1574-1621, no. 2, p. 2. As Mr. Read intimates, the question of whether Raleigh was with Ferdinando on the voyage to America in 1579 is an interesting one, not yet definitely settled.

⁶ The description given in Hakluyt suggests the neighborhood of Collington Island where wild grapes are still to be found in abundance. William Byrd, of Westover, while working on the Virginia-North Carolina boundary line, over 200 years ago, repeated the tradition then prevalent that Collington Island was the place where Amadas and Barlowe landed and formally took possession for Queen Elizabeth. See Talcott Williams, "The Surroundings and Site of Raleigh's Colony," *American Historical Association Annual Report*, 1895, p. 53, citing William Byrd, *Notes*, p. 12, where this view is upheld. In Barlowe's narrative of the expedition, the description proceeds generally from north to south, so that Secotan and other Indian towns such as Newsiock ("Newasiwac" on the John White map in the British Museum) far to the southwest of Roanoke Island are described last. Hakluyt, *Navigations*, VIII, 304-308.

⁷ Hakluyt, *Navigations*, VIII, 298.

⁸ Hakluyt, *Navigations*, VIII, 299. The big "Seven Sisters" sand dunes at Nags Head, 50 to 100 feet high, are void of vegetation and change their location slowly back and forth. These dunes or others like them must be the "Kenricks Mounts" or "Kindrikers Mounts" of John White's narrative (Hakluyt, *Narrations*, VIII, 414, 419.) They appear on William Hack's map of North Carolina (about 1684), *British Museum Add. Mss.* 5415G-6, which shows the biggest dune just above the Nags Head area and smaller "sand hills" and "broken sand hills" farther south between south Bodie Island and Cape Hatteras. This is approximately the geographical condition today.

others went by boat to Roanoke Island, at the north end of which they found a palisaded Indian village. Here they were entertained with primitive but hospitable Indian ceremony. The Indians appeared "gentle, loving, and faithfull." Roanoke Island, the explorers described as "a most pleasant and fertile ground, replenished with goodly Cedars, and divers other sweete woods, full of Corrants (grapes), flaxe, and many other notable commodities." Game and fish were to be had in abundance.

The picture that Amadas and Barlowe took back to Sir Walter Raleigh was a rosy one because they had seen Roanoke Island in midsummer. The Indians were generous because at this season of the year they had plenty of everything in contrast to the scarcity of their winter fare, and the white man was new to them, though they had heard of others wrecked on the coast years before.⁹ Two savages, Wanchese and Manteo, were taken back to England by Amadas and Barlowe that Raleigh might learn, at first hand, the character of the coastal Indians. Queen Elizabeth appears to have been pleased by the western exploit, for she called the new possession Virginia,¹⁰ perhaps at the suggestion of Raleigh, chief lord of the new territory, whose poetic gift and courtly tact would prompt him thus to memorialize the "virgin queen."

The next spring Raleigh sent a colony of 108 persons to Roanoke Island. The expedition, commanded by Raleigh's cousin, Sir Richard Grenville, sailed from Plymouth on April 9, 1585, in seven ships, the largest of which was of 140 tons burden. Included in the group of ship captains and colonists were Philip Amadas and Simon Ferdinando of the expedition of the previous year, Thomas Cavendish, then on his first great voyage but destined to be the third circumnavigator of the globe, Grenville's half-brother, John Arundell, and brother-in-law, John Stukeley, and other Grenville and Raleigh cousins and connections, among them Richard Gilbert, a Courtenay, a Prideaux, Ralph Lane, and Anthony Rowse, a friend of Drake's.¹¹ There were an artist or illustrator, John White, a scientist named Thomas Hariot, and among the humbler folks an Irishman,

⁹ Hakluyt, *Navigations*, VIII, 307.

¹⁰ Hakluyt, *Navigations*, VIII, 300. ". . . the king is called Wingina, the Countrey Wingandacoa, and now by her Majestie Virginia."

¹¹ Hakluyt, *Navigations*, VIII, 310; 317; *Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland* ("Complete edition," 6 vols. London, 1808), IV, 598-599; A. L. Rowse, *Sir Richard Grenville of the Revenge*, pp. 17-70, 193, 205, 216, 363, where the relationships are entertainingly set forth. Or they may be followed in J. L. Vivian, *The Visitations of the County of Devon* (Exeter, 1895), and *The Visitations of Cornwall*, (Exeter, 1887), and G. H. Bushnell, *Sir Richard Grenville*, pp. 157-158.

Darby Glande.¹² The two Indians, Wanchese and Manteo, returned to America on this voyage.

The route chosen lay via the Canaries and the Spanish West Indies. They anchored at "Moskito Bay" in the Island of "St. Johns" (Puerto Rico), May 12, where they constructed a fort, set up a forge to make nails, and built a pinnacle of timbers felled on the island to replace one boat lost in a storm.¹³ They departed from Puerto Rico toward the end of May after burning the fort and surrounding woods and after seizing two Spanish frigates. Just before departing, Ralph Lane raided "Roxo bay" in one of the captured frigates, built a fort, and seized a supply of salt.

The first part of June found them banqueting the Spanish governor at Isabella in the Island of Hispaniola (Haiti). To impress the governor, Grenville dined him sumptuously at a meal served "all in plate" to the "sound of trumpets and consort of musicke." The governor entertained in turn and subsequently the English traded with the Spaniards for commodities that would be needed in their colonial settlement: "horses, mares, kine, buls, goates, swine, sheepe, bull hides, sugar, ginger," and other articles. From the Spanish accounts of Grenville's actions in Puerto Rico and Haiti, we gain some interesting personal glimpses. The officers and persons of distinction in the expedition were served upon silver plate which was chased and gilt. Wanchese and Manteo had already learned to speak English and the illustrator, John White, was already engaged in drawing pictures of strange plants and objects.¹⁴

Modern Ocracoke was reached on June 26. The remainder of the month and most of July were spent in exploring the coastal islands and the adjacent mainland. During one of these expeditions, Grenville sought to strike terror into the hearts of the Indians by burning the Indian village of Aquascogok in retaliation for the theft of a silver cup stolen by one of the savages. Not until July 27 did Grenville anchor at "Hatoraske," off the barrier island a short distance southeast of Roanoke Island. Here at a break in the barrier reef, almost due east of the southern tip of Roanoke Island, Simon Ferdinando discov-

¹² Hakluyt, *Navigations*, VIII, 318, 389. Darby Gland or "Darbie Glaven," of whom more will be said later.

¹³ Hakluyt, *Navigations*, VIII, 311; A. L. Rowse, *Sir Richard Grenville*, pp. BVV-VVB, citing the account of Don Fernando de Almirano in *Coleccion Navarrete*, XXV, nos. 48 and 49.

¹⁴ Hakluyt, *Navigations*, VIII, 313-314; *Holinshed's Chronicles*, IV, 598-599; Rowse, *Sir Richard Grenville*, pp. 211-214.

ered a port which was named Port Ferdinando in his honor and considered the best port along that stretch of coast.¹⁵

A colony was established on the "North end"¹⁶ of Roanoke Island, and Ralph Lane was made governor. From Port Ferdinando and later from Roanoke Island, letters were written by Lane to Secretary Walsingham informing him of the successful founding of the colony. Still another letter was written to Sir Phillip Sidney, son-in-law of Walsingham, who was interested in western discovery.¹⁷ A letter to Richard Hakluyt written by Lane from the settlement on Roanoke Island indicates that the governor of Virginia was impressed by the "huge and unknoven greatnesse" of the American continent. He adds that if Virginia only had horses and cows in some reasonable proportion and were inhabited by Englishmen, no realm in Christendom would be comparable to it. The Indians, he said naively, were "courteous, and very desirous to have clothes," but valued red copper above everything else. The Roanoke Island Indians had received the white men hospitably and had co-operated with them in the initial phases of the founding of the settlement. This is clear from Grenville's account as well as Lane's letters.¹⁸

Grenville lingered a short while after the founding of the settlement, then returned to England for supplies. On the way home he captured a richly laden Spanish ship, which must have repaid him handsomely for his western trip. On his arrival in England, he too reported to Walsingham, thus acknowledging the interest of the queen and emphasizing the semi-national character of the Virginia enterprise.¹⁹

Lane built a fort called "The new Fort in Virginia." This was located near the shore on the east side of Roanoke Island

¹⁵ Hakluyt, *Navigations*, VIII, 316; the "Chart of Virginia and Florida" by John White, reproduced from the volume of water color drawings of John White in the Grenville Library in the British Museum (Hakluyt, *Navigations*, VIII, opposite p. 401), clearly shows the location of Port Ferdinando. "Hatorask" designated the barrier island just south of Port Ferdinando and extending to Cape Hatteras. The north end of Hatorask would also be Port Ferdinando, consequently the name of the port often is given simply as "Hatorask" in the narratives. (See Hakluyt, *Navigations*, VIII, 395.) On the "right hand" of the "entrance into the harbour of Hatorask" was a "little island" on which the surviving members of Grenville's little band of fifteen men sought refuge and were last seen by the Indians (Hakluyt, *Navigations*, VIII, 395). This "little island" on the right hand of the entrance into Port Ferdinando or Hatorask is shown on Nicholas Comberford's map of "The South Part of Virginia" (1657), the original of which is in the New York Public Library, and on William Hack's map of North Carolina (about 1684), British Museum *Add. Mss.*, 5415G-6, as well as on the better known engraving by Theodore de Bry entitled "The Arrival of the Englishmen in Virginia" (Thomas Hariot, *A Briefe And True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (Frankfort, 1590), Plate II. Hack's map shows the dunes on the land on either side of the harbor entrance, the "Kericks mounts" on which the ships of White's last expedition were nearly wrecked on leaving "Hatorask" in 1591 (Hakluyt, *Navigations*, VIII, 418-419).

¹⁶ Hakluyt, *Navigations*, VIII, 392.

¹⁷ W. N. Sainsbury, *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, 1574-1660*, I, 1574-1621, nos. 3-7.

¹⁸ Hakluyt, *Navigations*, VIII, 316; Ralph Lane to Richard Hakluyt, Esq., "From the New Fort in Virginia," Sept. 3, 1585, Hakluyt, *Navigations*, VIII, 319-320.

¹⁹ *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, 1574-1660*, I, no. 7.

between the "North Point" of the north end of the Island and a "creek," the mouth of which was big enough to serve as anchorage for small boats²⁰ (Shallowbag Bay, known as late as 1716 as "Town Creek") i.e., at the Fort Raleigh National Historic Site where the remains of a fort were still visible as late as 1896.

Fort Raleigh, as surveyed in 1896, resembled in some noteworthy respects the fort which Ralph Lane built on St. John's Island in May when he seized the salt supply. Both forts seem to have been roughly square and star-shaped with a long bastion extending inland. Copies of the plans of these two forts may be seen at the Fort Raleigh Museum.

The dwelling houses of the early colonists were near the fort, which was too small to enclose them. They were described by the colonists themselves as "decent dwelling houses" or "cottages" and must have been at least a story and a half or two stories high because we have a reference to the "neather roomes of them." The roofs were thatched as we learned from Ralph Lane's statement that the savages by night "would have beset my house, and put fire in the reedes that the same was covered with."²¹

The chimneys and the foundations were presumably of brick because the Irishman, Darby Glante, later testified that "as soon as they had disembarked [at Roanoke] they began to make brick and fabric for a fort and houses."²² Pieces of brick could be found at the fort site as late as 1860.²³

Thomas Hariot, the scientist, remarked that, though stone was not found on the island, there was good clay for making bricks and that lime could be made from nearby deposits of oyster shells in the same manner that lime was made "in the Isles of Tenet and Shepy, and also in divers other places of England."²⁴ The "fabric" mentioned by Glante was perhaps

²⁰ Hakluyt, *Navigations*, VIII, 392, 416-417. The key to the location is given by the reference in the narrative of John White to "Dasamongwepeuk," the location of which is shown on the John White maps. The "creek" appears as "Town Creek" on Wm. Maule's Survey of Roanoke Island, 1716, the original of which is in the archives of the North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh. It is called "Gibson's Creek" on a plan by Surveyor-General Moseley dated 1729, which is owned by Mr. John Wood, of Edenton, North Carolina. A more complete explanation and documentation of this point will be given later in discussing Governor White's search for the "Lost Colony" in August, 1591. See below, pp. 36-39.

²¹ Hakluyt, *Navigations*, VIII, 338, 392.

²² General Archives of the Indies, *Audienza* of Santa Domingo—Letters of the Governors of Florida, 1568-1611, extract of a letter of Gonzalo Mendendez de Canco to Philip II, June 28, 1600, Case 54, Drawer 5, file 9, Seville, Spain; translated by Katherine Reding and printed in the *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, VIII (1924).

²³ *Harpers New Monthly Magazine*, XX, 735 (May, 1860).

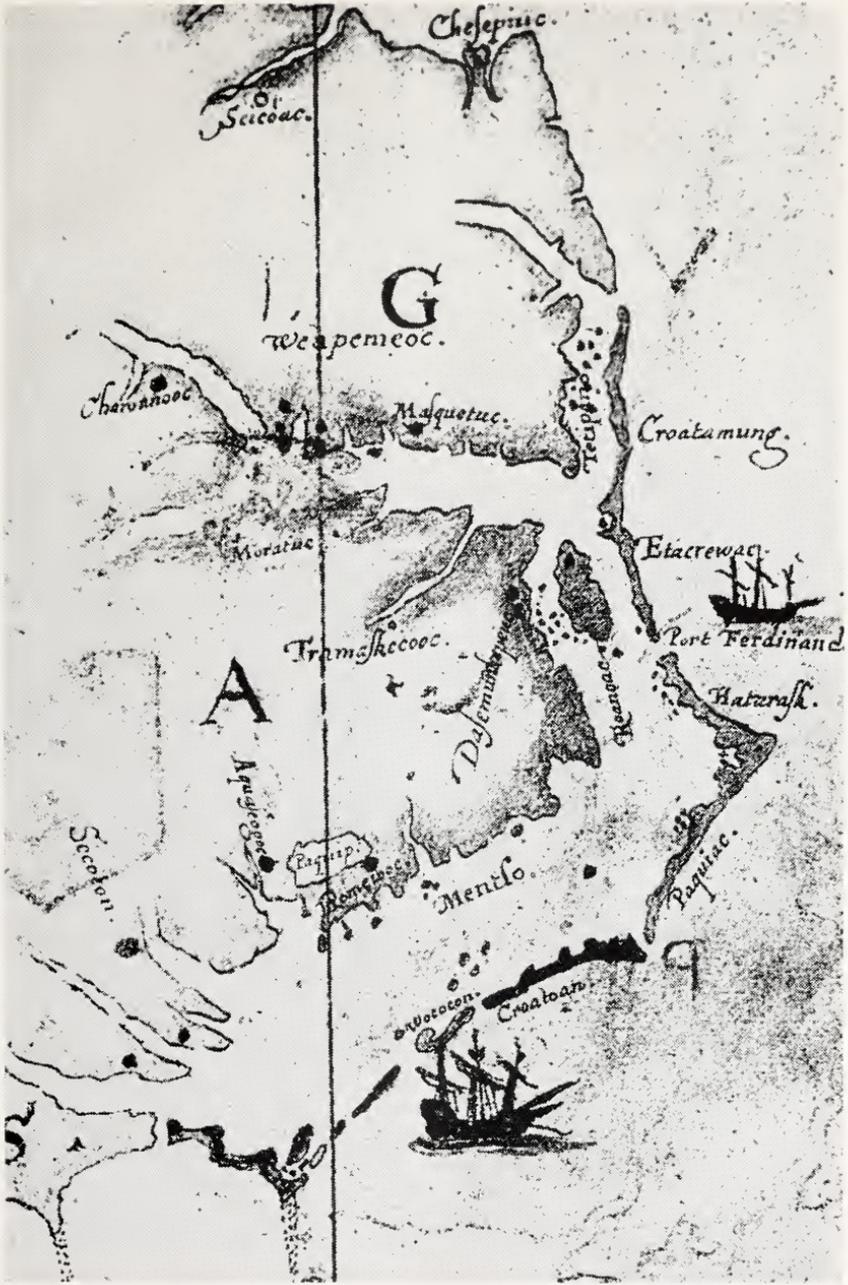
²⁴ Thomas Hariot, *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (Frankfort, 1590) pp. 23-24.

clapboard or rough boards. We have already noted that they had a forge which they could set up to make nails. Richard Hakluyt, in his *Discourse of Western Planting*, written at the request of Sir Walter Raleigh in 1584, about one year before the colony sailed, had recommended as "things to be prepared for the voyage" that any colonial expedition should include: "men experte in the arte of fortification," "makers of spades and shovells," "shipwrights," "millwrights, to make milles for spedy and cheape sawing of timber and boardes for trade, and first traficque of suertie," "millwrights, for corne milles," "Sawyers for common use," "Carpenters, for buildinges," "Brick makers," "Tile makers," "Lyme makers," "Bricklayers," "Tilers," "Thatchers with reedes, rushes, broome, or strawe," "Rough Masons," "Carpinters," and "Lathmakers."²⁵ The presumption therefore is that typical English thatched cottages and houses such as were found in rural Elizabethan England were built at Roanoke. (The log cabin appears to have been introduced into America about 50 years later by the Swedes and Finns on the Delaware.)²⁶ The Roanoke cottages were presumably well built. The skilled labor of the expedition had been able to construct a seaworthy pinnace at Puerto Rico in less than a month's time.

At first relations with the Indians continued friendly, though the Englishmen had their detractors in the council of the Indian chief. The savages planted crops and made fish traps for the Englishmen. With rare foresight, the colonists also induced Chief Wingina (who had changed his name to Pemisapan) to put into simultaneous cultivation both his lands on Roanoke Island and those on the mainland at Dasamonquepeuc in order that the Indians might have no excuse for not being able to supply the colony if need arose. The coast was explored by the English as far south as Secotan (about 80 miles) and as far north as the Chesapeake (about 130 miles). Thomas Hariot, the geographer of the expedition, collected data on plants, animals, and minerals for his *New Found Land of Virginia*, and John White, the artist, sent along to illustrate the country, made the inimitable water color drawings of the Indians and of the animal and plant life of Roanoke Island and the coast which have been engraved many times, and of which the much rarer

²⁵ Richard Hakluyt, "Discourse of Western Planting" in *The Principal Navigations* (Edmund Goldsmid, editor, Edinburgh, 1890) vol. XIII, part 1, America, part 2, pp. 169-171, 270-274.

²⁶ Fiske Kimball, *Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic*, pp. 3-9; H. R. Shurtleff, *The Log Cabin Myth*, pp. 209-215.



John White's Map, 1585-86. The original is in the British Museum collection of the drawings that John White made in America, 1585-86. It shows Port Ferdinando, Roanoke Island, Dasamonquepeuc, and the coast of the Carolinas and Virginia as far north as Chesapeake Bay.

facsimile reproductions in color may be seen in the Fort Raleigh Museum. These paintings, be it remembered, are the first artistic productions of Englishmen in America. The colonists also learned to smoke tobacco, using for this purpose Indian pipes or other pipes of their own modeled after the Indian pipes. Although tobacco had been known in England since about 1565, the particular contribution of Roanoke Island and later Virginia Indians to English tobacco habits would appear to be the bent elbow pipe, the use of which seems to have been restricted to the Indians of eastern and central United States.²⁷ An Indian village site on the north end of Roanoke Island has yielded a number of Indian elbow pipes, which have been placed in the Fort Raleigh museum by the National Park Service.

How closely the personnel of the first colony conformed to the standard suggested by Hakluyt in 1584 we cannot say, though we know that there were men expert in fortification, and that there were brickmakers, carpenters, and thatchers, and though we know the names of all of the colonists, if not their trades. Some were gentlemen, cousins of Raleigh and Grenville, as the names prove. Hariot says that some were city dwellers "of a nice bringing up" who soon became miserable without their soft beds and dainty food. Others were excellent soldiers as Lane testified of Captain Stafford, and there were the humbler folk of whom Darby Glande was perhaps representative. On the whole, though, they gave the appearance more of a military expedition than of a colony. They were dependent upon the Indians and upon England for both food and supplies. Many of their basic commodities, such as salt, horses, and cattle, had been obtained in the first instance by trade or by force from the Spaniards in the West Indies. There appear to have been no women among them to give permanence to the settlement."²⁸

Grenville's deplorable action in burning the village of Aquas-cogok was indicative of the fact that the high-spirited Englishmen of that day could not live on even terms with the natives. In the lean period between the planting of crops in the spring and the expected summer harvest, English relations with the Indians grew strained and finally reached the point at which no further supplies could be had from them. Once the colonists and

²⁷ Clark Wissler, *Indians of the United States, Four Centuries of Their Culture and History*, pp. 39-41.

²⁸ Hakluyt, *Navigations*, VIII, 317-318; Rowse, *Sir Richard Grenville*, pp. 1-70; 205; Vivian's *Visitations of Cornwall and Visitations of the County of Devon*; Hariot, *New Found Land of Virginia*, p. 6; J. A. Williamson, *The Age of Drake*, pp. 240-246.

Indians were at odds, the latter began to rob or destroy the fish traps of the whites. Food became scarce and Lane was forced to send groups of settlers to the barrier islands along the coast to live on oysters and other shell fish and to look for passing ships. Master Prideaux and 10 men were sent to Hatoraske Island for this purpose, while Captain Stafford and 20 men went to Croatoan Island, south of Cape Hatteras.²⁹ Sixteen or twenty others were sent at intervals to the mainland to live on oysters and native foods.

By June 1, 1586, the colonists were at open war with the Indians and many of the savages were slain in the struggles that ensued both on Roanoke Island and on the mainland at Dasamonquepeuc. Pemisapan himself was among those killed in the fighting.

Meanwhile Grenville was delayed in leaving England for the supply of the Roanoke colony. This placed the colonists in a desperate predicament. Such was the state of affairs at Roanoke Island when, on June 9, 1586, Captain Stafford brought news of the fact that Sir Francis Drake was off the coast with a mighty fleet of 23 ships. Richly laden with plunder from the Spanish West Indies and Florida, Drake's fleet anchored next day partly in the port near Roanoke Island (Port Ferdinando?) and partly in a "wilde roade" at sea two miles from the shore. Second in command to Drake on this expedition was Captain Christopher Carleill, Secretary Walsingham's step-son and son-in-law, who had been interested in American exploration since 1574.³⁰ Lane and some of his company came on board Drake's flagship and Drake made them a generous offer. He would give them a ship, one or two pinnaces, a number of smaller boats, and sufficient ship masters, sailors, and supplies, to afford another month's stay at Roanoke and a return voyage to England, or he would give them all immediate return passage to England with his fleet. To Lane's credit it must be said that he was loath to give up the Roanoke Island project. He accepted the first offer and the ship was turned over to him, but before the supplies could be made ready, a storm arose and the ship was blown out to sea and did not return. The fleet suffered other losses in this storm, but Drake remained open handed. He offered

²⁹ Hakluyt, *Navigations*, VIII, 338-339. Both the "Chart of Virginia" and the "Chart of Virginia and Florida" by John White in the Grenville Library in the British Museum place Croatoan Island south of Cape Hatteras, in the general area of modern Ocracoke Island.

³⁰ Alexander Brown, *The Genesis of the United States*, II, 845, 881; *Virginia Magazine*, XXIX, 117-118; Hakluyt, VIII, pp. xi and xii, notes to the illustrations.

Lane supplies as before and another ship, but since this vessel was much too large to be kept in Lane's only harbor, its acceptance, and dependence on it, involved a great risk.

This fact, the troubled state of Europe and America, and the unaccountable delay in the arrival of Grenville's supply fleet caused Lane to ask for passage to England. When Drake sailed on June 18 he therefore carried the colonists home with him.

Shortly after Drake and the colonists had sailed, a supply ship sent out by Sir Walter Raleigh arrived at Hatoraske, and after searching in vain for the colonists returned to England. About a fortnight after Raleigh's ship had left, Grenville arrived with three ships and likewise searched in vain for the colonists. Grenville found the places of colonial settlement desolate, but "unwilling to loose the possession of the country which Englishmen had so long held,"³¹ he left 15 men on Roanoke Island, fully provisioned for two years, to hold the country for the queen while he returned to England.

In the year 1587 Sir Walter Raleigh organized another colonial expedition consisting of one hundred fifty persons. Its truer colonizing character was evidenced by the significant fact that, unlike the expedition of 1585, this one included women and children and the men were called "planters."³² Its government was also less military, since the direction of the enterprise in Virginia was to be in the hands of a syndicate of sub-patentees—a governor and 12 assistants whom Raleigh incorporated as the "Governor and Assistants of the Citie of Ralegh in Virginia."³³

The new arrangement indicated that colonization was becoming less of a one-man venture and more of a corporate or business enterprise, anticipating in a certain degree the later English companies that were to found successful colonies in Virginia and New England. It is not known exactly what inducements Raleigh offered to the planters, but his terms were probably liberal because Hariot, writing in February, 1588, paid tribute to Raleigh's generosity, saying that the least that he had granted had been 500 acres of land to each man willing to go to America.³⁴ Those contributing money or supplies as well as

³¹ Hakluyt, *Navigations*, VIII, 347.

³² Hakluyt, *Navigations*, VIII, 397 and 399. "May it please you, her Majestie's subjects of England, we your friends and countrey-men, the planters in Virginia, doe by these presents let you and every of you to understand, that . . ."

³³ Hakluyt, *Navigations*, VIII, 386.

³⁴ Thomas Hariot, *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*. (Frankfort, 1590), pp. 32-33, where the date is given as February, 1588. Hariot refers to the colonial expedition of 1587. The Clements Library reprint of the edition printed at London, 1588 (1931) gives the same data.

their persons probably stood to receive more. From the list of names that has come down to us, it would appear that at least 10 of the planters took their wives with them. Ambrose Viccars and Arnold Archard brought not only their wives but one child each, Ambrose Viccars and Thomas Archard. Altogether there were at least seventeen women and nine children in the group that arrived safely in Virginia.³⁵

In still another respect this second colonial expedition seemed to anticipate the later Jamestown settlement. Raleigh had directed in writing that the fort and colony be established in the Chesapeake Bay area, where a better port could be had and where conditions for settlement were considered more favorable.³⁶

The fleet consisting of three ships sailed from Plymouth for Virginia on May 8. Continuity with the previous expeditions was afforded in the persons of the governor, John White, who was to make in all five trips to Virginia, Simon Ferdinando, Captain Stafford, Darby Glaven or Glande, the Irishman, and perhaps others. The route as in 1585 lay via "Moskito Bay" in Puerto Rico. Here Darby Glande was left behind and lived to testify regarding the first Roanoke Island colony before the Spanish authorities at St. Augustine some years later.³⁷ The expedition sailed along the coast of Haiti, even passing by "Isabella" where Grenville had traded with the Spaniards for cattle and other necessities in 1585, but this time there was no trading.³⁸ Whatever the reason for this failure to take in supplies at Haiti, it constituted a certain handicap for the colony of 1587.

The two leading ships of the expedition reached Hatoraske on July 22, 1587, and the third ship on July 25. Meanwhile, on the 22d, Governor White and a small group of planters had gone to Roanoke Island with the intention of conferring with the 15 men left there by Grenville the preceding year. On reaching the place where the men had been left, they found only the bones of one of them who had been killed by the Indians.

The next day Governor White and his party "walked to the North end of the Island, where Master Ralfe Lane had his forte, with sundry necessary and decent dwelling houses made

³⁵ Hakluyt, *Navigations*, VIII, 402-403.

³⁶ Hakluyt, *Navigations*, 332, 391.

³⁷ Hakluyt, *Navigations*, VIII, 389; Gonzalo Menendez de Canco, Governor of Florida, to Philip II, June 28, 1600, translated from the General Archives of the Indies, Case 54, Drawer 5, file 9. Seville, Spain, by Katherine Reding and printed in the *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, VIII (1924).

³⁸ Hakluyt, *Navigations*, VIII, 390.

by his men about it the yeere before.”³⁹ Here it was hoped some sign of Grenville’s men would be discovered. They found the fort razed “but all the houses standing unhurt, saving that the neather roomes of them, and also of the forte, were overgrown with Melons of divers sortes, and Deere within them, feeding on those Melons.”⁴⁰ All hopes of finding Grenville’s men then vanished.

For reasons which are obscure, but perhaps because the season was late, it was decided to settle again at Roanoke Island rather than go on to the Chesapeake Bay country. Those houses found standing were repaired and “newe cottages” were built. The Indians were found to be more hostile than formerly, and George Howe, one of the assistants, was killed by the Indians soon after the landing. Through the intercession of the Indian Manteo, who had relatives on the barrier island of Croatoan, south of Cape Hatteras, friendly relations with the Croatoan Indians were reestablished, but the others remained aloof. The remnants of the Roanoke Island Indians dwelling at Dasamonquepeuc were accused by the Croatoan Indians of killing Grenville’s men as well as George Howe. Hence, on August 8, Governor White, with Captain Stafford and twenty-four men, suddenly attacked the town of Dasamonquepeuc with fire and sword. It was a blunder. The Roanoke Indians had already fled. In their place were the friendly Croatoan Indians who had heard of the flight of the other Indians and had come over to take whatever corn and fruit might have been left behind. Thanks to Manteo, the Croatoan Indians forgave the Englishmen, or pretended to do so.

On August 13, complying with Raleigh’s instructions, Manteo was christened and declared Lord of Roanoke and Dasamonquepeuc, as a reward for his many services. Five days later Governor White’s daughter, Eleanor, wife of Ananias Dare, gave birth to a daughter who was named Virginia because she was the first child of English parentage to be born in the New World. Another child was born to Dyonis and Margery Harvie shortly afterwards. On the 27th Governor White, at the earnest entreaty of the “planters in Virginia,” sailed homeward with the fleet to provide for the supply of the colony.

With Governor White’s departure on the 27th, the history of events in the colony becomes a tragic mystery which one

³⁹ Hakluyt, *Navigations*, VIII. 392.

⁴⁰ Hakluyt, *Navigations*, VIII. 392.

Wattes, of London, was being hampered by a governmental staying order in his effort to clear a fleet of privateers for the West Indies. The scheme appears to have been that Raleigh, acting as middle man, would gain clearance for the ships and, in return, colonists and their furniture would be transported to Virginia. The plan went awry. Governor White sailed on can only seek to explain. There had been talk of moving the colony fifty miles inland and White had arranged for appropriate indications of their whereabouts if they removed from Roanoke Island before his return. White, however, could not return as soon as expected because of the war with Spain. The year 1588 was the Armada year. Sir Richard Grenville, who was preparing a new fleet to go to Virginia, was ordered to make his ships available to the English Navy for service against the Armada.⁴¹ Both Raleigh and Grenville were assigned tasks connected with the national defense and could give little thought to Virginian enterprises. At length the queen's privy council gave Grenville permission to use on the intended Virginian voyage two small ships not required for service against Spain. White sailed with these on April 28, but they were small, poorly equipped, and poorly provisioned, and partly because of these circumstances and perhaps partly because of their own folly in running after Spanish treasure ships, they were unable to reach Virginia in the war-torn sea.⁴² Thus, while Grenville's large warships contributed to the defeat of the Armada, the Roanoke Island colony was doomed for the lack of them.

Although the Armada was defeated in the summer of 1588, the Anglo-Spanish battle of the Atlantic continued for several years. Meanwhile, on March 7, 1589, Raleigh deeded his interest in the Virginia enterprise, except a fifth part of all gold and silver ore, to a group of London merchants and adventurers and to Governor White and nine other gentlemen, "Late of London," at least seven of whom were planters whom White had left in Virginia, such as Ananias Dare, father of Virginia Dare.⁴³

The months slipped by but Governor White and the London merchants seem to have been unable to get a fleet organized for the relief and strengthening of the colony. In March, 1591 (new style), Raleigh endeavored to assist White, through in-

⁴¹ Rowse, *Sir Richard Grenville*, pp. 240, 255-258.

⁴² Rowse, *Sir Richard Grenville*, pp. 241, 258; Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, I, 19.

⁴³ An abstract of the indenture is printed in Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, I, 20.

fluence at court, when the latter learned that Master John March 30, 1591 (new style), for America, but without accompanying planters and supplies.⁴⁴ Indeed his status was not much better than that of a passenger enjoying limited court influence at home.⁴⁵

After operating for months in the West Indies, the Wattes expedition, with White on board one of the ships, anchored on the night of August 12 at the northeast end of the Island of Croatoan.⁴⁶ If White had only known then the clue to the colonists' whereabouts that he was to learn six days later, he would have asked for a search of that island! But he had no way of knowing the promise that "Croatoan" held. After taking soundings, the fleet weighed anchor on August 13 and arrived at Hatoraske toward the evening of the 15th.

As the ships anchored at Hatoraske, smoke was seen rising on Roanoke Island, giving hope that the colonists were still alive. On the morning of the 16th Governor White, Captain Cooke, Captain Spicer, and a small company set forth in two boats for Roanoke Island. En route they saw another column of smoke rising southwest of "Kindrikers mountes." There are no mountains on this coast, except the great sand-dunes. Perhaps the smoke was coming from the general area occupied today by the Nags Head dunes. They decided to investigate this second smoke column first. It was a wearisome task that consumed the whole day and led to nothing, since no human beings were at the scene of the woods fire.

The next day, August 17, they prepared to go to Roanoke Island. Captain Spicer and 6 other men were drowned in the treacherous inlet when their boat capsized. Despite this unfortunate occurrence, White was able to proceed with the search. They put off again in two boats, but before they could reach the place of settlement it was so dark that they overshot their mark by a quarter of a mile. On the north end of the island they saw a light and rowed toward it. Anchoring opposite it in the darkness they blew a trumpet and sang familiar English tunes and songs but received no answer. In the morning they landed on the north end of the island and found only the grass and sundry rotten trees burning. From this point they went

⁴⁴ Hakluyt, *Navigations*, VIII, 406. The date given, March 20, 1590, would be given March 20, 1591, New Style. See Brown, *Genesis*, I, 21, and *Journal of Southern History*, IV (1938), 155, note 22.

⁴⁵ Hakluyt, *Navigations*, VIII, 404-405.

⁴⁶ Hakluyt, *Navigations*, VIII, 404-412.

through the woods to that part of the island directly opposite Dasamonquepeuc on the mainland, southwest of the north end of Roanoke Island, and from there they *returned* by the water's edge round about the north point of the island until they came to the place where the colony had been left by Governor White. From the description just given of White's itinerary, this place must have been near the shore on the north end of the island on the east side, i.e., at or near the present Fort Raleigh National Historic Site. In the course of all of the long walk along the shore, nothing of interest was seen except footprints which two or three savages had made in the sand during the night.⁴⁷

As they climbed the sandy bank toward the settlement area, they found *CRO* carved in Roman letters on a tree at the brow of the hill. Going from thence to the site of the dwelling houses, they found all of the houses taken down and the area strongly enclosed with a palisade of tree trunks, with curtains and flankers "very Fort-like." One of the chief trees or posts had the bark peeled off and carved on it in capital letters was the word *CROATOAN*, but without the maltese cross or sign of distress that White had asked the settlers to use in such messages in the event of enforced departure from Roanoke Island. On entering the palisade, they found iron and other heavy objects thrown about and almost overgrown with grass, signifying that the place had been abandoned for some time.

From the fort and settlement area, White proceeded again along the shore southward to the "point of the creek" (i.e., the point of Shallowbag Bay or, as it was called in 1716, "Town Creek"),⁴⁸ which had been fortified with "Falkons and small Ordinance" and where the small boats of the colony were habitually kept, but could find no sign of any of these things. Then,

⁴⁷ Hakluyt, *Navigations*, VIII, 416. The reference in the narrative to Dasamonquepeuc or Dasamongwepeuc, which appears on the John White maps as an Indian village to the southwest of the north end of Roanoke Island, is one of two basic clues to the location of the settlement. Historically, there have been two "points" on the north end or northern extremity of sausage-shaped Roanoke Island. One of these is "Northwest Point" at the upper left hand of the north end of the island (*U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey Map No., 1229*). At the upper right hand of the north end in 1716, pointing almost due north, was another point called "Man's Point," which would be the "North Point of the Island" mentioned in White's narrative (*Survey of Roanoke Island, 1716*, by Wm. Maule). On the map of 1716, Northwest Point is called "Backbay Point."

⁴⁸ The "point of the creek" is the second basic clue in the determination of the settlement site. A survey of Roanoke Island by William Maule, Gent., 1716, the original plat of which is in the archives of the North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh, shows Shallowbag Bay as a wide creek, designated as "Town Creek." Another map by E. Moseley, Surveyor-General, 1729, in the possession of Mr. John Wood, Edenton, N. C., unequivocally shows a "Gibson's Creek" in the location of this bay, on which the town of Manteo is now situated. (F. W. Tilberg, Report on the Fort Site Known as Fort Raleigh, Oct. 14, 1936, Branch of Historic Sites File, National Park Service, Washington, D. C.) Thus Shallowbag Bay is the creek of John White's narrative. The point of the creek or bay was called "Dolby's Point" in 1862. (*Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies*, series I, volume VI, p. 555.) and is known as "Baum Point" today. (*U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey Map No. 1229*.) The entire settlement area probably extended from Lane's Fort (present Fort Raleigh) to Baum's Point or present Manteo.



John White Map, 1585-86. This map, the original of which is in the British Museum collection of John White drawings made in America about 1585-86, is of interest as showing opposite the "R" in "Roanoke" a dot which may represent the colonial settlement site on the northeast side of the north end of Roanoke Island. Note Dasamonquepeuc on the mainland west of the north end of Roanoke Island and the barrier island of Crotacoan south of Cape Hatteras.

on returning to the fort and main settlement area, White searched for certain chests and personal effects which he had secretly buried in 1587. The savages had discovered the hiding place, had rifled the chests, torn the covers off of the books, and left the pictures and maps to be spoiled by rain. Considering that Governor John White was probably John White, the artist and illustrator of the expedition of 1585-1586, one can imagine his feelings on seeing his maps and pictures irretrievably ruined. He tells us, however, that he was cheered at the thought that, as indicated by the word *CROATOAN* on the palisade post, "a certaine token," his daughter, granddaughter Virginia Dare, and the colonists would be found at Croatoan, where Manteo was born and where the Indians were friendly to the English.

As stormy weather was brewing, White and his little group returned in haste to the harbor where their ships were at anchor. Next day they agreed to go to Croatoan, south of Cape Hatteras, to look for the colonists, but the weather would not permit, and they planned to go to the West Indies instead, where they would have taken on fresh water and ultimately would have returned to Croatoan. The elements willed otherwise, however, and they were blown toward the Azores, and, from Flores in this group, they made their way to England. Governor White could not finance another expedition to America himself, and Raleigh, although enjoying a large income at times, spent lavishly. The Virginian enterprise would have required a prince's purse, but Raleigh was not a prince. White, therefore, accepted the facts with resignation. His last recorded words, dated February 4, 1593, are: "And wanting my wishes, I leave off from prosecuting that whereunto I would to God my wealth were answerable to my will."⁴⁹

As late as 1602 Raleigh was still seeking in vain for his lost colony. In that year he sent out an expedition under Samuel Mace who reached land some "forty leagues to the so-westward of Hatarask," presumably at or near Croatoan. Here they engaged in trading with the Indians along the coast. They probably did not look as diligently as they should have for the lost colonists because they alleged that the weather made their intended search unsafe.⁵⁰ On August 21, 1602, in a letter to Sir

⁴⁹ Hakluyt, *Navigations*, VIII, 406.

⁵⁰ William Strachey, *The Historie of Travaile into Virginia, Britannia* (London, 1849), pp. 153-154; Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, III, 115.

Robert Cecil, Raleigh expressed his undying faith in the overseas English Empire which he had attempted to establish, saying, ". . . I shall yet live to see it an Englishe Nation."⁵¹ After the establishment of the Jamestown settlement in Virginia in 1607, the Virginia colonists evidenced an almost constant interest in trying to learn from the Indians the whereabouts of the Roanoke settlers.⁵² The hearsay data they collected, however, were never sufficiently concrete to be of any real assistance in locating Raleigh's men, and the answer remains a mystery to this day.

According to a letter of Francis Yeardley, of Virginia, May 8, 1654, to John Farrar, a young trader and three companions went to Roanoke Island in September, 1653. An Indian chief-tain "received them civilly, and showed them the ruins of Sir Walter Raleigh's fort." They brought back a sure token of their having been there which they gave to Yeardley.⁵³

John Lawson wrote that the ruins of the fort could be seen in 1709 and that old English coins, a brass gun, a powder horn, and a small quarter deck-gun, made of iron staves and hooped with iron, had been found on the site.⁵⁴

An act of 1723 regarding a proposed town on Roanoke Island, speaks of "three hundred Acres of Land lying on the No. E't side of the said Island, commonly called Roanoke old plantation," thus suggesting that at that date the northeastern part of the Island was regarded as the scene of Raleigh's settlements.⁵⁵

The earliest known map to show Fort Raleigh is the Collet map of 1770, which indicates a fort on the northeast side of the island near the shore line at what appears to be the present Fort Raleigh site. It is marked simply "Fort," without name. A later copyist calls it "Pain Fort," probably because he confused the notation of Paine's residence on the Collet map (in different type from "Fort") as part of the fort name.⁵⁶ Loss-

⁵¹ Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History*, III, 115.

⁵² *Journal of Southern History*, IV, (1938) pp. 158-160.

⁵³ *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, I, 18.

⁵⁴ John Lawson, *A New Voyage to Carolina* (London, 1709) p. 62.

⁵⁵ *State Records of North Carolina*, XXV, 201-203. The plans for the town and for the fortification which was to defend it were abortive. Lt. W. B. Franklin's map of Roanoke Island and the adjacent coast, 1852 (untitled, U. S. War Dept., Old Map Division, Washington, D. C., H 54 Roll) which is exceptionally fine for its detail shows that the island, including the present site of Manteo, was then essentially rural. About four houses are shown where Manteo is today. The fortification was to have been "in the Said Town," presumably near the "Town Creek" of the map of 1716, too far away from Lane's fort at present Fort Raleigh to be confused with it, but within the settlement area of the early colonies of 1585 and 1587, if we are correct in thinking that the occupied lands of the 150 persons of the colony of 1587 extended from Fort Raleigh to Baum Point or perhaps to Manteo.

⁵⁶ *A Compleat Map of North Carolina from an Actual Survey*, by Captain Collet, Governor of Fort Johnston (London, 1770); *An Accurate Map of North and South Carolina . . . from Actual*

ing, the historian, wrote in 1850 that "slight traces of Lane's fort" could then be seen "near the north end" of Roanoke Island.⁵⁷ Edward C. Bruce reported in *Harpers New Monthly Magazine*, May, 1860, that the trench of the fort was clearly traceable as a square of about forty yards each way with one corner thrown out in the form of a small bastion. He also mentions fragments of stone and brick. Partial archeological excavation of the fort was undertaken by Talcott Williams in 1895. He found it a quadrangular embankment with angles lying due north and south and east and west. "The mound," he adds, "is perfectly clear around the entire inclosure, and is two feet, four inches high above the ditch at its most prominent point." The faces measured: S. E., 84.3 feet; S. W., 77.6 feet; N. W., 63.3 feet; and N. E., 73.9 feet.⁵⁸

On April 30, 1894, the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association purchased the fort and ten acres of surrounding land for memorial purposes. In 1896 the memorial area was extended to 16.45 acres and the Virginia Dare monument was erected. In order to promote a more active program of interpretation at Fort Raleigh, the Roanoke Island Historical Association was organized in 1932. With the assistance of the Civil Works Administration and Work Projects Administration a series of buildings constituting a symbolical restoration and an open-air theater were constructed. In 1935 the area became a state historical park under the administration of the North Carolina Historical Commission. Two years later the production of Paul Green's *Lost Colony* pageant-drama attracted nation-wide attention to Fort Raleigh. The immediate success of the play caused it to be repeated each season after that date, with ever increasing attendance, until the war caused its discontinuance after 1941.

Fort Raleigh was transferred to the United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, in 1940 and on April 5, 1941, it was designated the Fort Raleigh National Historic Site under provision of the Act of Congress approved August 21, 1935,⁵⁹ to commemorate the earliest attempt at Eng-

Surveys, by Henry Mouzon and others (London, 1775). Dr. F. W. Tilberg made a careful study of the "Pain Fort problem" for the National Park Service in 1936, and his explanation is the one given in the text above. (Report of October 14, 1936.) Dr. Tilberg found a reference to a Captain John Paine, commanding officer at Fort Johnston, 1764, after whom a Pain Fort might have been named, but could discover nothing that would link this officer to the building of a fort on Roanoke Island.

⁵⁷ B. J. Lossing, *Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution*, edition of 1860, II, 244.

⁵⁸ American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1895, pp. 57-61.

⁵⁹ *United States Statutes*, Vol. 49 (74th Congress Public No. 292), p. 666.

lish colonization within the limits of Continental United States and the birthplace of Virginia Dare, first child of English parentage to be born in the New World. The area of the site is 16.45 acres and embraces part of the settlement sites of 1585 and 1587, where a sixteenth-century type fort believed to be "the new Fort in Virginia" designed and constructed by Ralph Lane and the colony of 1585 was visible as late as 1896. By a co-operative agreement between the Roanoke Island Historical Association and the United States, the *Lost Colony* may be given in the future in the waterside theater at Fort Raleigh. This arrangement, made possible by the Historic Sites Act mentioned above, provides for the unhampered production of the play with all of its creative folk qualities. The income from the play and from all other activities of the Roanoke Island Historical Association within the National Historic Site area is dedicated to the maintenance of the theater, to the next season's production, and to the expansion and development of the historic site.

MASSACHUSETTS TRADE WITH CAROLINA, 1686-1709*

Edited by
Robert Earle Moody

In their quest for trade, New England sea captains of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries left little of the English-claimed coast of America untouched. The more substantial profits of trade to more remote regions, particularly the West Indies, did not prevent New England traders from cultivating opportunities of less importance. Among the sparsely populated areas which these maritime adventurers found it worthwhile to visit was the northern coast of Carolina. Their early interest was doubtless closely associated with the ill-fated colony of New Englanders who ventured to Carolina in 1664 and about whom so little is known.¹ Antecedent to this attempted settlement William Hilton of Charlestown in the Bay Colony made a voyage of exploration in 1663² to the coast of northern North Carolina and, on the basis of his information, a fellow-townsmen, Nicholas Shapleigh, made a map of the region.³

It is impossible to say how much trade followed this early association. In the early years, no official records of the comings and goings of vessels either in Massachusetts or Carolina have survived and probably few were made.⁴ After the restrictive Navigation Acts were passed, more records are available but, since without much question a good deal of the trade was of an illegal nature, information is naturally lacking.

The following items, copied from the manuscript volumes in the Massachusetts Archives, are from the records begun after the English government became more strict in the enforcement of regulations. They are now to be found in volume VII, which is labelled "Commercial." They are in three series. One is composed of records taken in consequence of the Crown's additional instructions of October 31, 1686, to Sir Edmund Andros regarding enforcement of the Acts of Trade, and run from December 17, 1686, to April 12, 1689. Another is composed of a series of entries of permits to pass the Castle (the main

* Thanks are due Henry L. Hooper, one of my students, for his services in connection with the compilation of this material.

¹ See *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, I, 36-39, 40, 43-46, 53, 67-71.

² See A. S. Salley, ed., *Narratives of Early Carolina*, pp. 31-61.

³ The map is reproduced in the *Crown Collection of Maps*.

⁴ Some references to New England traders, 1677-1679, may be found in *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, I, 244-245, 265, 272-274, 296-298, 319, 325.

fort at the entrance to Boston Harbor) and were made in consequence of an order of the council of the province, July 11, 1701. They cover the period from July, 1701, to May, 1702. The third series is entitled "Registers of Vessels, 1697-1714." To these items three additional documents have been added. They concern Carolina trade and are taken from volume LXII. Though our concern is chiefly with North Carolina trade, all entries of vessels bound for South Carolina have also been included.

Massachusetts Bay in 1701 had a population of approximately seventy thousand.⁵ Its economic life was intensely varied. Though its resources in lumber and fish gave it some staples for export, the land itself was incapable of supporting this number by agriculture. Consequently shipbuilding and seaborne trade assumed a prominent part in the economy of the colony. As early as 1680 there were between 100 and 120 vessels trading annually out of the colony. Of this number forty or fifty were of twenty to forty tons burden and were used in the fishing and coastal trade.⁶ By 1709 this number had tripled: Governor Dudley reported that the colony possessed about one hundred and twenty vessels of the smaller sizes. Ships could be built in New England as cheaply as anywhere in the world and more cheaply than in most places. It was estimated in 1711 that hulls could be built in the colonies without iron work at a cost of £1 10s to £3 a ton,⁷ the larger sizes of vessel costing more per ton.

The Albemarle region,⁸ later a part of North Carolina, which had the bulk of the trade with Massachusetts, had an estimated population of about five thousand in 1701. Its reputation, possibly undeserved, was perhaps the most dubious of any of the English plantations. Edward Randolph, an unfriendly critic, and a customs collector, spoke of it as a place which received pirates, run-aways, and illegal traders.⁹ The Virginians next door, almost equally unfriendly, referred to the Albemarle settlement as "Rogues' Harbor."¹⁰ Its coves and uninhabited river banks offered a constant and convenient refuge for the pirates who infested southern waters.¹¹

⁵ Greene and Harrington, *American Population before the Census of 1790*, p. 4.

⁶ Massachusetts' Historical Society, *Collections*, VIII, 338.

⁷ William B. Weeden, *Economic and Social History of New England*, I, 367-8.

⁸ F. L. Hawks, *History of North Carolina*, II, 269-271, has a good general account.

⁹ R. N. Toppan, *Edward Randolph*, V, 214, 265.

¹⁰ E. Q. Hawk, *Economic History of the South*, p. 48.

¹¹ S. C. Hughson, *The Carolina Pirates and Colonial Commerce*, *passim*. On the pirates see also F. L. Hawks, *History of North Carolina*, II, 271-279.

The coastal formation is peculiarly fitted both for extra-legal and legal business of the type in which the New Englanders engaged. Albemarle Sound is cut off from the sea by long sand-bars; shipping entered through either Roanoke or Currituck channels where a seven to eight foot high water depth and shifting sand-bars prevented all but small vessels from venturing within the sound. The shallow draft of fifteen- to thirty-ton coasting vessels enabled traders to ascend the bays and rivers of the sound and barter rum, molasses, salt,¹² wine, hard soap,¹³ spices, beads for the Indian trade, and perhaps a horse or two, as well as woolens, cotton goods, needles, and knives from England.¹⁴ In return, they filled their holds with Indian corn, pickled or salt pork, hides, and tobacco. The inhabitants also shipped corn, pork, and tobacco to the Leeward Islands, and undoubtedly a share of it went in New England vessels.

Edward Randolph speaks of traders carrying tobacco illegally to New England, especially to Martha's Vineyard or the Elizabeth Isles, where it was housed for export to Newfoundland or Scotland. If discovered, the traders would pay the collector one-fourth of the penny per pound duty. Another important trade was in lumber which was exported from Carolina to the Bahamas as well as to London. Randolph himself bought ten tons of Carolina cedar for Blathwayt and Chaplin, London merchants.¹⁵ This was in 1700 but as early as 1687 lumber was an item of export. In that year the Carolina proprietors informed the Lords of Trade and Plantations that North Carolina's principal exports were fur and cedar, a trade not exceeding in value two thousand pounds yearly.¹⁶

Boston's trade with the Carolinas was not of great importance in the years with which we are dealing here. Of 441 licenses to outbound vessels that are still to be found in the Massachusetts Archives granted by Andros from 1687 to 1689, only 14 are for vessels bound to the Carolinas. For eleven months in 1701 and 1702 only eight of the permits granted to ships to pass the Castle were to ships going to the Carolinas.

¹² In 1714 the *Hopewell* of North Carolina, five tons, and a crew of two men, carried rum and salt from Boston. Massachusetts Historical Society, *Proceedings*, LXIV, 194.

¹³ *Massachusetts Archives*, XII, fols. 223, 224. This is an invoice of a trader bound for Virginia but the contents are typical.

¹⁴ *American Historical Review*, XII, 324-325. The reference is to South Carolina trade in 1682.

¹⁵ R. N. Toppan, *Edward Randolph*, V, 231.

¹⁶ *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, 1685-1688*, nos. 417, 425.

These statistics were confined to the port of Boston, but they may be considered representative of the colony.

The illegal trade against which Edward Randolph fulminated so constantly naturally left no record and it is impossible to tell how important it was. Certainly North Carolina, whose customs service was frequently dormant and sometimes dishonest during these early years, offered along its bar-bound coast attractive ports-of-call for the aquatic Yankee pedlars.

MASSACHUSETTS ARCHIVES¹⁷ VII

Licenses Granted by Sir Edmund Andros

- Folio 16 January 9, 1686: Joseph Chace master of the Sloop Adventure of Boston to depart for Carolina.
- Folio 20 April 22, 1687: To Francis Ellis Commander of the Ketch Johns Adventure of Boston to depart for Bermuda and Carolina.
- Folio 22 May 6, 1687: To Jeremiah Yates Commander of the Sloop Aran of Bermudaes burthen twelve tonns navigated with five men English built to depart for Carolina.
- Folio 31 August 27, 1687: Gregory Sugar master of the Brigantine Concord of Boston burthen 50 tons navigated with 6 men English built to depart for Carrolina.
- Folio 31 August 29, 1687: Benjamin Guilham master of the bark Lydia of Boston burthen 15 tuns navigated with four men English built to depart for Virginia and Carrolina.
- Folio 34 October 6, 1687: Richard Narramore of the Brigatine Resolution burthen 30 tuns mount with 2 guns Navigated with 5 men English built to depart for South Carolina.
- Folio 35 October 28, 1687: Thomas Hoydon master of the Sloop Blessing of Boston burthen 4 Tuns Navigated with 4 men English built to depart for Carolina.
- Folio 35 November 9, 1687: John Blany master of the Barke Seaflower of Charlestowne burthen 20 Tuns Navigated With 4 men English built to depart for North Carrolina.
- Folio 41 January 3, 1688: Peter Hoydon Master of the Brigatine Freedom of Boston burthen 20 Tuns Navigated with 4 men English built for North Carrolina.
- Folio 48 May 28, 1688: John Hackhead Master of the Brigatine Swan of Boston burthen 15 Tuns Navigated with 4 men English built to depart for South Carrolina.
- Folio 48 May 28, 1688: John Blaney Master of the Barke Seaflower of Charlestowne burthen 20 Tuns Navigated with 4 men English built to depart for North Carolina.

¹⁷ The State House, Boston.

- Folio 58 September 29, 1688: Thomas Scudder Master of the Sloop Prosperous of Boston 30 Tuns Navigated with 7 men English built to depart for South Carrolina.
- Folio 63 December 14, 1688: John Hackhead Master of the Sloop Mary and hannah of Boston burthen 15 Tuns four men English built to depart for N. Carolina.
- Folio 67 April 2, 1689: Edward Ashley Master of the Brigga. Blessing of Boston burthen 30 Tunns Nav: with 5 men English built to depart for Carrolina.

Permits to Pass Castle (an island fort at the entrance to the harbor)

Permits to be signed by Sec. Addington and one other member of Massachusetts Council as required by an order of his Majesty's Council of this province dated July 11, 1701.

- Folio 73 August 9, 1701: For the Sloop Susanna John Tucker Master bound to North Carolina (Marginal note: 2 passes one of the 9th and another of the 15th having been down to come up again)
- Folio 75 November 11, 1701: For the Briganteen Sarah, Phillip Pendexter Master bound for South Carolina.
- Folio 76 December 4, 1701: For the Sloop Susanna John Tucker Master bound for South Carolina.
- Folio 76 December 5, 1701: For the Katch Welcome John Tooke Master bound for North Carolina.
- Folio 76 December 9, 1701: For the Sloop Reserve John Blaney Master bound for North Carolina.
- Folio 77 December 26, 1701: For the Sloop Sea Flower Nicholas Thomas Jones master, bound for North Carolina.
- Folio 78 April 25th, 1702: For the Sloop Mary, Robert Starkey master bound for Roanoke.
April 28th, 1702: For the Sloop Endeavor, Tobias Green master bound for Roanoke.
- Folio 82 August 25, 1708: Sloop Solaphia of South Carolina Geo. Boyd Master burthen about 30 tuns.

Register of Vessels

Act of Parliament 7&8 William III an act for preventing of frauds and regulating abuses in Plantation trade.

- Folio 93 March 29, 1698: Richard Bentley of Charlestown in the Province of Massachusetts Bay in N: E: Mariner, made oath that the Katch Dove of North Carolina whereof the deponent Richard Bentley is at present Master, being a round sterned vessel, of the buthen of about Thirty Tuns, was built at Boston in the Province afores'd. And that Col. Thomas Polluck of North Caro-

lina afores'd is at present Sole Owner thereof. And that no Forreigner directly or indirectly hath any Share or part or interest therein

Jurat Cor Wm. Stoughton & Laun Hamond
D. Collector

Marginal note: The certificate of this Register cancelled and the Katch Dove registered de novo April 14th 98 (vide pa 23)

- Folio 107 April 14, 1698: Richard Bentley of Charlestown in the Province Massachusetts Bay in New England Mariner, made oath that the Katch Dove of North Carolina, whereof he the s'd Richard Bentley is at present Master, being a round stern'd Vessel of the burthen of about Thirty Tuns, was built at Boston in the afores'd Province in the year 1691. And that Col. Thomas Polluck of North Carolina afores'd together with him the s'd Richard Bentley are at present owners thereof. And that no Forreigner directly or indirectly hath any share or part or interest hterein

Jurat Cor Wm. Stoughton & Jahleel
Breverton Collector

- Folio 143 May 4, 1699: Richard Bentley of Charlestown in the Province of Massachusetts Bay in New England Mariner made oath that the Briganteen Martha of North Carolina in America whereof he the s'd Richard Bentley is at present Master being a Square Stern'd vessel of the burthen of about Forty Tuns, was built at Boston in the Province above s'd in this present year of 1699. And that Col. Thomas Polluck of Carolina afores'd together with his the said Richard Bentley are at present owners thereof. And that no Forreigner directly or indirectly hath any share, or part, or interest therein

Jurat Cor Wm. Stoughton & Laur
Hamond D. Collector

- Folio 162 January 30, 1699: John Tucker of Boston in the Province of Massachusetts in New England Mariner, made Oath that the sloop Susanna of North Carolina in America whereof he the s'd John Tucker is at present Master, being a Square Sterned Vessel of the buthen of about Twenty five Tuns was built in his Majesty's Colony of Connecticott in America afores'd in the year 1699. And that Col. William Wilkinson of North Carolina afores'd together with him the s'd John Tucker are at present owners thereof. And that no Forreigner directly or indirectly hath any share or part or interest therein

Swore before his Excellency the Earle
of Bellomont & Wm. Payne
D Coll

- Folio 169 August 5, 1700: Edward Bourne of South Carolina, now resident at Boston in the Province of Massachusetts Bay in New England merchant made Oath that the Pink Edward & Mar-

tha of South Carolina aforesaid, whereof John Cocky at present Master, being a round stern'd vessel of the burthen of about 25 Tuns, was built at Shoreham in the county of Sussex in England in the year 1686. And that he the said Edward Bourne is at present Sole owner thereof and that no Forreigner directly or indirectly hath any share or part or interest therein

Sworn before Wm. Stoughton Esq. Lieut Gov.,
Wm. Payne, D. Coll.

Folio 196 November 21, 1701: Jurat. John Blaney of Charlestown in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England Mariner that the Sloop Reserve of North Carolina whereof he the s'd John Blaney is at present Master, being a Square Sterned Vessel, of the burthen of about Fifteen Tuns was built at Boston in the Province afores'd in this present year 1701. And that William Wilkinson of North Carolina afores'd Esq. together with him the s'd John Blaney are at present owners thereof. And that no Forreigners directly or indirectly hath any share or part or interest therein

Sworn before the Council and signed by
their order Joseph Addington Secry
before Wm. Payne Dept Coll

Folio 205 July 30, 1702: Jurat. John Tooke of North Carolina in America Mariner That the Sloop Elizabeth of s'd North Carolina whereof he the s'd John Tooke is at present Master being a Square Sterned Vessel of the burthen of about Thirty Tuns, was built at Boston in the Province of Massachusetts Bay in New England in this present year 1702 and that John Porter of North Carolina afores'd together with him the s'd John Tooke are at present owners thereof. And that no Forreigners directly or indirectly hath any Share or part or interest therein

Sworn before Thomas Povey Esq. Lt Governor
and Commander in chief for the time being
& Wm. Payne Dep'ty Collector

Folio 217 February 11, 1702: Jurat. Henry Mountfort of Boston in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England Mariner That the Sloop Speedwell of the Port of Boston aforesaid whereof the s'd Henry Mountfort is at present Master, being a square sterned Vessel of the burthen of about Sixteen Tuns, was built at Charlestown in the Province aforesaid in the Year of Our Lord One Thousand and Seven Hundred, and that Col. Thomas Polluck of North Carolina in America, Together with him the said Henry Mountfort are at present sole Owners thereof; And that no Forreigner directly or indirectly hath any Share or part or interest therein

Sworn, before his Excellency Joseph Dudley
Esq. Gov. & Jahleel Brenton Esq. Collector

- Folio 284 December 17, 1705: Jurat. Thomas Phelps of North Carolina in America Mariner That the Sloop Greyhound of North Carolina aforesaid whereof he the said Thomas Phelps is at present Master, being a square Sterned Vessel, of the burthen of about Twenty five Tons, was built within Her Majesty's Colony of Connecticut in the year 1698. And that Thomas Pollock of Carolina afores'd Esq. Together with him the said Thomas Phelps are at present Owners thereof. And that no Foreigner directly or indirectly hath any Share or part or interest therein

Sworn before the Hon. Thomas Povey Esq.
Lt. Gov. & Commander in Chief for the time
being and Wm. Payne Gentleman Deputy Collector

- Folio 299 September, 1706: Jurat Richard Peterson of South Carolina Mariner That the Briganteen Association of South Carolina whereof he the said Richard Peterson is at present Master being a square stern'd vessel of burthen about Sixty Tons was built at Boston within the province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England in this present year 1706 and that Louis Pasquereau of South Carolina merchant and Samuel Baker of Boston merchant together with him the said Richard Peterson are at present owner thereof and that no foreigner directly or indirectly hath any share or part or interest therein

Sworn before his Excellency Jas. Dudley Gov.
& Wm. Payne Gent. Dept. Coll.

- Folio 315 July 25, 1707: Jurat Samuel Severen of South Carolina in America Mariner That the Sloop Lewis and Elizabeth of South Carolina aforesaid; whereof he the said Samuel Severen at present is master being a square sterned vessel of burthen about Twenty five Tons, was built at Boston within the Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England in this present year 1707. And that Lewis Pasquereau of Carolina Merchant and he the said Samuel Severen are at present owners thereof; And that no foreigner directly or indirectly hath any share or part or interest therein

Sworn before his Excellency Joseph Dudley
Esq. Gov. and Wm. Payne, Gent. Deputy Collector

- Folio 317 September 11, 1707: Jurat Andrew Wilson of Boston within the Province of Massachusetts Bay in New England Mariner That the Sloop William and Andrew of South Carolina burthen about Forty Tons, whereof the said Andrew Wilson is at present Master, was built at Boston in this year 1707 And that Wm. Gibbon & Andrew Allen of Charlestown in South Carolina aforesaid with him the said Andrew Wilson are at present owners thereof: And that no Foreigners directly or indirectly hath any share, or part or interest therein

Sworn before His Ex. Joseph Dudley Esq. Gov.
and Wm. Payne, Gent. Dept. Coll.

Folio 333 July 22, 1798: Jurat Thomas Dalton of South Carolina in America Merchant That the Briganteen *Mary*, formerly called the King David of Carolina whereof John Cock is at present Master, being a square sterned vessell of burthen about Forty Tuns, was Taken by the French and at a Court of Admiralty held at Martinique upon the Twenty first day of June 1707 adjudged and condemned as Lawful Prize and afterward Seized and Condemned in a Court of Admiralty at South Carolina aforesaid for not being registered and otherwise duly qualified according to Law And that Joseph Elliott of South Carolina aforesaid merchant, with him the said Thomas Dalton are at present owners; and that no foreigner directly or indirectly hath any share or part or interest therein

Sworn before his Excellency Joseph Dudley
Esq. Gov. and John Jekyll, Coll.

Folio 350 July 30, 1709: Jurat Arthur Langharne of Boston within the Province of Massachusetts Bay in New England Merchant That the Briganteen *Bangerton* of the Port of Boston whereof John Cock is at present Master, being a square sterned vessel of burthen about Fifty Tuns was built at Boston aforesaid in this present year 1709 And that Col. George Logan and John Abraham Motte of South Carolina merchants with him the said Arthur Langharne are at present owners thereof; and that no foreigner directly or indirectly hath any share or part or interest therein

Sworn before his Excellency Joseph Dudley
Esq. Gov. and John Jekyll Esq. Coll.

Folio 385 December 29, 1710: Jurat. Robert Sanders of Boston within the Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England That the Sloop *Return* of the Port of Boston aforesaid whereof he the said Robert Sanders is at present Master, being a Square Stern'd Vessell of burthen about Twenty five Tuns, was built at Boston aforesaid in this present year 1710 as appears by the former Register delivered up and cancelled; And that Colonel Thomas Polluck of North Carolina with him the said Robert Sanders at present are owners thereof, and that no foreigner directly or indirectly hath any Share or part or interest therein

Sworn before his Excellency Joseph Dudley
Esq. Gov. and John Jekyll Esq. Collector

Folio 393 May, 1711: Jurat. Walter Newbury of Boston within the Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England Mercht. That the Sloop *Martha* of North Carolina whereof Ebenezer Chamberlain is at present Master being a Square Stern'd Vessel of the Burthen of about Forty Tuns was built at Boston aforesaid in this present year one Thousand Seven Hundred and Eleven and that John Hankins and James Tooke of Carolina Mercht. and Thomas Richardson of Boston aforesaid Together with him the said Walter Newberry at present are

Owners thereof, and no foreigner directly or indirectly, hath any Share or part, or Interest therein

Sworn before his Excellency Joseph Dudley
Esq. Governor and John Jekyll Esq. Collector

MASSACHUSETTS ARCHIVES VOL. LXII
(MARITIME)

Folio 478 To his Excellency Joseph Dudley Esquire Captain General and Governour in chief over Her Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay. The honorable Council and Representatives in General Court assembled
The petition of John Borland of Boston merchant Humbly Sheweth

That whereas about two months past there arrived at the port of Boston the Briganteen *Martha* of North Carolina, John Smith Master from Barbadoes, aforesaid to your Petitioner, and amongst other goods and merchandise imported in her for this place, There was on board five tearces and nine hoggshead of molasses, four tearces and two hoggshead of Rhum; and one tearce of Sugar for the proper account of Col. Thomas Pollock Esquire of said Carolina, owner of the said Briganteen for which the master had signed Bills of Lading to be delivered to him there, and whither the vessel was designed after the putting out, what was for this place. But it so happened that she could not proceed as intended without being at first repaired, and when she came into the carpenters, it was found necessary to take severall planks out of her bottom, and put on a new keel in part, so that your Petitioner was obliged in order to the doing of said work, to take out and land the aforesaid goods of Col. Thomas Pollock till the vessel was fitted to receive them again, when they were accordingly reshipped, being not designed for this market, neither could they be disposed of here, where with your Petitioner acquainted the Officers.

Your Petitioner therefore on behalf of the said Col. Pollock, humbly prays your Excellency and this honorable court, that the Receiver of the Duty of Import may be directed and ordered not to demand or require any Duty for the goods, so necessarily put on shore only for the refitting of the said vessel, and bonafide shipment and intended for another part as aforesaid. Your Petitioner having paid the dutys for all the other goods consigned to this port, and the powder duty for the vessel.

And your Petitioner as in Duty bound, shall ever pray

John Borland A.

Petition read in Council June 12, 1704

Folio 480 Shipped by the Grace of God in good order and well conditioned by *Wm. Robert Moore* in and upon the good ship called the *Martha Brigantine* whereof is master under God the present voyage *John Smith* and now riding at anchor in *Barbadoes*

road and by God's Grace bound for *North Carolina* To say *Nine hoggsheads of molasses, five terces ditto, two hoggsheads four terces Rum, & one terce sugar on the proper account and risque of Col. Thomas Pollock Esq. Merchant in North Carolina* being marked and numbered as in the Margent; and are to be delivered in the like good order, and well conditioned, at the aforesaid port of *North Carolina* (danger of the seas only excepted) unto the said *Thomas Pollock Esq.* or to his assigns he or they paying Freight for the said goods *five pounds* [four following words are not decipherable] with Primage and average accustomed in witness whereof the master or purser of the said ship hath affirmed to *three* bills of lading, all of this tenor and date; the one of which three bills being accomplished, the other *two* to stand void. And so God send the good ship to her desired port in safety, Amen, Dated in *Barbadoes, February 28, 1703-4.*

Inside and Contents unknown John Smith

Marginal notation: No. 1 to 14 Cask of molasses

No. 1 to 6 Rum

No. 1 Tierce of sugar

Folio 481 Shipped by the Grace of God in good order and well conditioned by *John Borland on account of Col. Thomas Pollock* in and upon the good *Briganteen* called the *Martha* whereof is master under God for this present voyage *Master Henry Mountfort* and now riding at anchor in the *Harbor of Boston* and by God's Grace bound for *North Carolina* to say *five teirces, & nine hoggsheads of molasses, four teirces & two hoggsheads of Rum & one teirce sugar which goods were all imported in said Briganteen on the proper account of Col. Thomas Esq., from Barbadoes* being marked and numbered as in the Margent; and are to be delivered in the like good order, and well conditioned at the aforesaid Port of *North Carolina* (danger of the seas only excepted) unto the said *Col. Thomas Pollock* or to his assigns he or they paying the freight for the said goods *as owner of the said vessel* Primage and average accustomed in witness whereof the master or purser of the said *Briganteen* hath affirmed to three bills of lading, all of this tenor and date, the one of which three bills being accomplished the other *two* to stand void. And so God send the good *Briganteen* to her desired port in safety, Amen. Dated in *Boston, May 13, 1704*

Inside and contents unknown

Henry Mountfort

Marginal note: 5 terces Mollasses no. 1 to 5

8 barrels Mollasses no. 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12
13, 14

1 hoggshead Molasses no. 1

4 terces Rum no. 1, 2, 3, 4

2 hoggshead Ditto no. 6 & 9

no. 1 a tierce of sugar

RECONSTRUCTION LETTERS FROM NORTH CAROLINA

Edited by
James A. Padgett

PART IX

LETTERS TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN BUTLER

[Continued]

[Large plat of the Higgins, Poke, and Gurley tracts of mining land giving a detailed layout of the land and streams, etc.

Following letter with it.]

Dysartsville, N. C. July 19th 1866

Gen^l B. F. Butler.
Lowell Mass.
My Dear General

Somewhat later than I had anticipated I forwarded to you my quarterly returns and report., Circumstances compelled me to go to South Carolina to visit that Mining property I wrote you and as I had to go overland it took a week and I worked hard every day. I examined over 3000 acres of mineral lands, but they are not near so good as what we have at present. I shall send you a detailed report either by this mail or the next. In this letter I shall confine myself more especially to our present work. Accompanying this you will find a draft or plan of our property to a scale as designated. I have indicated the veins by doted lines carried as far as the tunnels have been driven. Vein No 1 has been followed 175 feet on the level of the plat (ie about 12 feet above water level) when it becomes so pinched out and the slate gets so hard that it could only be removed by Blasting. I began to remove the ore above commencing at The mouth of the tunnel hoping to surmount the hard rock. I may as well mention here that all of our veins seem to improve in size the near they are to the surface of the ground. I have no means yet of telling their character below water level, but shall at an early day sink a shaft on the most promising—No 2 was stopped in the same manner after becoming so small, as not to pay expenses of tunneling. There seems to be a heavy ledge of hard slate extending from a little to the left of vein No 2 clear around the point of the hill—whether by sacrificing the vein for 10 or 20 feet above the tunnel in stoping us, we can pass over this ledge is a problem we are now trying. No 2 passes over the flat and appears on the hill side on the other side of the creek, being one inch thick here (a little smaller than the average of the same vein where he have tunneled) No 3 was discovered in driving the main tunnel (right Branch) and followed in 60 feet when it gave out entirely- No 4 and 5 have been our principal veins. They have been followed in Each about 230 feet and at this point both disappear. A little cross tunnel was made and midway a small vein was found which has not yet been pursued.

These veins however (and I judge the others are like them) do not fail for they have been opened higher up the hill at the points a. b on the surface and show very well From the appearance in the tunnels I believe at this point there has been a sliding down of the slate, disarranging and carrying away the vein- large deposits of yellowish fine sand & slate mixed are found and seem to absorb the vein (so to speak) leaving often but the faintest trace, until the deposit has been passed- The same has occurred in No 7, so that for 40 feet we had no indication whatever of the vein, but finally found that it had gone to the left and divided into two veins. No 6. was a mere streak which seems to be a branch from No 7. The latter known here as the Bennett vein has been the 3^d best vein for ore although its ore is richer than any other. No 8. is not shown on the map. It promises the best of any. The tunnel is driven on it about 170 feet. Owing to these irregularities in the veins I can make only an approximate Estimate of the amount of ore in the hill which we can get to pay. as follows. We are now working 6 veins, which run on an average 1000 feet on our property, giving us- on each (provided they hold out 78,000 sq ft of Section- (the average height of hill being 78 feet) and calling the average thickness of vein 1½" will give at 17 cu ft pr ton about 500 tons per vein making in all 3000 tons of pay ore which at \$20 per ton will yield \$60,000 in gold. I estimate the cost of working the ore from beginning to end at \$7 per ton, *after* we have all things finally arranged- thus leaving us- \$39,000 profit- Of course in the above estimate there will be errors but it is as near as can be made with our present knowledge. The veins have heretofore not been so uniform in their character as to warrant any definite estimate. We have now on hand some what over 200 tons of ore- part of which has been collected from the top of the ground some from the site of the old mill- some from Higgins and Taylor property and wherever it could be found and got cheaper or as cheap as from the veins.- And the rest has been got out of our veins- probably Seventy-five tons in the last manner at a cost so far of over twenty dollars to the ton- Because the preliminary tunnels had to be driven and the arrangements made for the complete working of all the veins- and the loss consequent on driving tunnels on the small veins afterward abandoned- With the exception of the two veins above mentioned- tunneling is quite easy although I have great difficulty in procuring good miners- They are not to be had here. I have had the choice of the whole country and have but three that are passable- They require close attention and constant instruction I attempted to work in some good laboring hands and partially succeeded.-

X The furnace was completed the last of last week and we have had slow fires in it till yesterday to season it.- when we changed it and have had it going to day. Owing to poor lining (soap stone), we expect to have to repair before the end of the month and replace it with better or fire brick- X The Furnace heats very well however and- our mill works to a charm- We could desire nothing better for this kind of ore- We can grind easily 1000 to 1500 lbs pr hour- X We will be experimenting on our ripple and saving apparatus this week. As we are anxious to get this as good as possible, we will be getting a small quantity of gold daily now- but as soon X as every thing is arranged (say in one week or 10 days, we will

be going along as well as we can- The supply of ore will be all that will limit our supply of gold.- With reference to our power,-we find that our wheel has power enough to drive the saw-mill - ore mill and ripple- if the water is plenty. To get all that is within our reach we have constructed one dam on the right branch and are constructing one on the left branch of sufficient Capacity to collect all the water that runs the 14 hours we do not work which supplies us full the 10 hours we do-

I send my accounts current which with a few explanations can be perfectly understood. You will perceive that there is a deficiency of funds- and that the labor and expenses have been heavy- After this month the labor will be reduced with regard to hands on top of ground- We are using some Carpenters to build some houses to live in which labor and material is included in the above account. I am keeping an accurate account however of the amounts so that, unless otherwise detailed, we can settle at the first opportunity with the Company. This was a necessity however for we have been dependent upon the Kindness of Mr. Higgins, for house room and have been very uncomfortable & crowded since we have been here- both Lyon's & my family occupying each one room-

You will see that there is already a profit of nearly one hundred dollars on the stores- and there is enough left yet to realize nearly one hundred and twenty-five dollars more- but not of those articles that make the readiest sale- If I could have had funds lately- to purchase- Calico's & Coffee, I think we could have nearly paid the labor for June, within the last two weeks-

I wrote you in the letter in which I asked for the 200. to send me by the last of the month the balance of the thousand- The whole amount to be furnished me the year was to be 15,000 of which we have had 12,200 already The balance \$2,800 if wholly needed will be used to the best advantage at once, for if the mine pays at at it must begin to be self-supporting the last two weeks of this month- and I believe it-will- You see by my Labor account that I need some what over 500\$ to pay labor in June- by the time you can send it I will need funds to meet my July expenses- because whatever gold can be got out this month can not be sent to mint and assayed in time enough to be used this month. The balance could be employed very advantageously in being invested in Stores for this place- I think I could turn over double the cost in two months- I hope that I have been explicit enough in this letter to give you a full and fair understanding of our property. We have not yet got our ripple working to suit us. This is something that has to be made perfect by trial- I confidently expect to have it right in less than a week-

With reference to the Shelby property- I am strongly in favor of securing it and so much impressed am I with it, that I am coming right on to see you as soon as I get enough money to travel with and find the mine, working to satisfaction. I can only secure the bond till the 27th August as the original bond is but a short time longer- I do not quite think that Higgins over-reached me- I did not mention in my letter, probably- that he was one of the original bond-holders himself- He intend to make a large sum of money on it, but I know that if I dont get it at this price, he will bond it to Clingman at 75,000 the next day. My idea is- to sell part of this property at enough to pay for the whole and the way that mining land

is selling here I think it could be done- I have secured a good quantity of mining land by bond and is one reason I am desirous of coming on so that you can- advise as to its disposal so as to secure to the Company several thousand dollars- If there are any parties wanting gold mining lands I can give them any kind to suit their tastes- We have just bonded over two miles of the celebrated golden valley at a little over \$4,000 (four thousand dollars)- containing veins, deposits - surface mines far richer than the best part of the Wilkinson mine recently purchased for \$20,000. One tract which we got of 320 acres at \$1000 in Silver- a piece was found 10 days ago weighing 42 pwt and 8 grains- If possible I should like to come on to see you leaving here Monday 23rd July- I am to have the power of attorney for the sale of the 3000 acres in S. Carolina and take one third share in its sale. The bonds call for \$10,500. I believe I have come across a tin- mine down there- and if so will get it cheaply. I have mentioned it to no one, but have a piece of ore which carries the metal.

Very Respectfully-
 Peter S. Michie⁴⁶
 Cashr & Supt M.M Co-

Benj F. Butler
 Lowell Mass

Burnet Copy between Crosses .X.X. to sent Mr Walker I will send \$18.00 .wt At Once to Michie to instruct Mr Field Send the Report Accounts and plan to Gen Marston and ask that they be returned.

B. F. B

Ans July 17/ 66 H H B
 My Dear Michie

Your account current is received. I have forwarded report and plan to Gen Marston I have instructed that \$1,800.00 more be sent you by draft on New York I should advise that you do not come here till you have demonstrated the furnace and *our* ore so a [*sic*] to bring with you results that are *tangeble*- and *certain* You will do well to come by Washington an [*sic*] General Marston first then Come here. I should send the balance but you will need it here to make purchases. I shall want a complete report of the doings of the furnace. The wood it consumes- The No of Tons it disintegrates in ten hours and the No of Men it requires to attend it.- Of course you will not permit the fire to go out except for repairs Your report is satisfactory but a little too glowing in regard to mining property

Yours truly
 B. F. B

The detailed account of the expenses for April, May, and June is found with the Butler Papers.

⁴⁶ For an account of Peter S. Michie see *North Carolina Historical Review*, XIX (1942), p. 401, note 45.

Dysartsville N. C.

October 3rd 1866Gen^l Benj F. Butler

Lowell. Mass.

General.

I have the honor to submit herewith my account current for the 3rd quarter ending September 30th 1866-

With regard to the operations here, I have the honor to state, that during the past month I have quit tunnelling on all but one vein, & have reduced the number of my hands, but have enough to work the deposit with two sets of sluices. From this latter we have obtained nearly all the gold exhibited on my a/c. I am unable as yet to report any great amount of gold obtained from our ore because we have not yet saved any by our washing apparatus. We are now trying another method, the result of which, I shall communicate to you in a separate letter next week.

You will see from the accounts rendered that there is a balance due of \$843.49- of which 505.46 is Cash and 338.03 due on labor. The money has been taken from my army pay and a little that I had when I came here- This is in advance of our estimate of \$15,000 for the years expenditure, In addition to this there are outstanding debts against the Company amounting to nearly \$400. making our whole deficit about \$1200. The quarter we are entering upon finds us without funds. Our daily expenses are now about \$17, and we are not now realizing even that amount from the products of the mine. Yet Both Col Lyon & myself firmly believe that even yet we will succeed in getting a yield sufficient to pay expenses and at least 15% on our capital-

The above statements may appear discouraging as the facts have been to us here, Yet when we reflect upon what has been done, we are impelled to fresh exertions and are determined to work as faithfully for the interests of the company as we have done-

The cost of operating here has been greater the past quarter than ever before, owing to the advance in Corn & Bacon.- The former sold for \$2 50/100 per Bushel- the latter at 25c to 27c pr lb. Money was very scarce and all purchases had to be paid for in cash.

If this operation is to continue during the next year we ought to lay in about \$1000, in goods, such as coffee calico, salt, & cloth, for which we could obtain Corn & Bacon sufficient to carry us through till the next harvest. These articles must be kept on hand for the necessities of the hands- Now corn can be bought for 75c pr Bushel last week it was 1.50. next week it may be 50c and so on for six weeks- There are no rail-roads to bring stuff into the county, and it raises barely sufficient for its own wants. On \$500 worth of goods purchased last August we realized \$218.91 profit, and the goods are all sold now- This appears to be the best part of our gold mine-

I wrote you some time ago in regard to a scheme for the disposal of this property here, by consolidating with Hokes & Higgins, to be put at \$65,000, embracing our mine & appertenances, and over 2000 acres of good mineral lands- If these works are not to be carries on next year, this, to my mind is the most available way of disposing of them. You

must have opportunities of putting it into market at the North, and the lands can stand inspection, and bear out the highest praise you can give them. For in Higgins there are larger veins- and in Hokes exists that extremely rich vein which has given name & reputation to all this part of the country. We have in our employ, the miner who took the ore from the vein and realized 3000 pennyweights of gold- some pieces weighing as high as 79 pwt.

As affairs are at present and especially if they are to remain so, I see no necessity of my remaining here any longer than till we succeed in getting our mine into its best yielding condition possible. We have well scoured the country and secured at one time the best mining lands- but the bonds have expired at this time. All the information is in possession of Col Lyon as well as myself and can be made available at any time. He is capable of taking charge of affairs here and I respectfully request permission to retire from the Company sometime before next January- As I am to return to the army at the expiration of my leave of absence, which occurs in April- it will be of advantage to me to return sooner if possible. This, arrangement, will save the Company my salary at least. In reading our Contract lately - I find that our salary was to be \$2000 a year- provided so much is to be realized. If nothing is realized are we to receive nothing, for our services? This is a view of the question that had not occurred to me before and I thought I would inquire about it-

Hoping that in my next letter I may have the pleasure in writing you more hopeful facts I remain

Very Respectfully

Your Obedient Servant

Peter S. Michie

The report of the Mountain Mining Company's report of these three months was inclosed with the letter.

Kinston N. C. Dec. 15, 1866

Maj Gen. B. F. Butler

Dear Sir:

On the 7. of Nov. last (1865) as passenger on board the Steamer "City of New York" of the Norwich & New York Transportation Co. line, on her passage from New York to New London, while in my berth, I was robbed of a valuable Gold watch & gold chain a set of teeth on gold plate, and a Pistol, and a vest which contained the other articles in its pockets. The vest and contents was taken thro. the Slats in my berth while I was asleep the mattress not being wide enough to cover 3 or 4 of the Slats in the back side of my berth, which could be easily moved to let my vest thro. . I value my watch & chain at \$300-dollars my teeth at \$60- & my vest (which was new) at \$10. My Pistol I don't suppose I could recover for. I have written to Julius Webb, Esq of Norwich Conn. the Gen. Manager of the Said transportation Co. . and he denies all responsibility. My demand was for three hundred & Seventy five dollars I have been obliged to be in Kinston N. C. where I have leased a plantation which I intend to

farm this present year. What will you charge me to *prosecute* and *recover* my demand of the said Co. . It is due the travelling public that their rights & property Should be protected, and that Norwich & New York Transportation Co Should acknowledge their responsibilities You may recollect me on juries at Cambridge as well as in the Legislature of 1853- I can post you upon all necessary evidence.

Very Respectfully

Elias Grout⁴⁷

P. S. My family residence is Ashland Mass.

E. G.

Answerd Janry 14/66 [sic] H H B

Same as the Larnyton Man

I am not in the practice of the law and cannot comply with your wishes-

B.F.B

Dysartsville N.C.

December 27th 1866-

My Dear General.

I have drawn on you at three day for six thousand dollars, being the purchase money down of the McIntyre property. I have contracted with a party to build Our dam for this property at 250\$ in specie- which at present rates in \$325.00 in currency. The contractor agrees to furnish all the lumber & labor & material necessary to construct the dam to be 10 feet high and over 175 feet long- We have ordered our water wheel and machinery which will cost with freight about 500\$ The mill building will be large enough to have three mills, and 12 ripples and will cost us about \$300 to be built. The water will be brought to the mill from the dam a distance of 1200 feet in a ditch 3' wide by 3' deep- at a cost 52\$. The parties commence these various constructions on the day after New Year- I found it impossible to get labor before - the poorer the people here the more desirous they are of having holidays-

When the things are completed which I think will be in six weeks- You may look for a yield of gold from this mine- Monday we commence to sink the shaft on the vein. We went down 9 feet before the bargain was made Col Lyon or myself and my own men being present. The vein showed beautifully and equal to what it did before. I can not state to you definitely what the width of the vein is now. I thought it was four feet wide, but we get a yield of gold for six feet across- so that to be sure of its extent & character I have determined to cut across it so as to uncover the bed rock and the two walls, and then I shall report definitely in regard to its width. My miner who is a colored man and of long experience in these mines thinks it is very much like the Mecklenburg veins, and thinks we have one of the richest veins in the South-

Now to tell you about the purchase of it. On my return I found Cling-

⁴⁷ Since Elias Grout was an obscure man in Massachusetts, the editor has been unable to learn anything about him.

man ready for me to learn what I had been North about. He suspected from the fact that I had telegraphed that it was in relation to the McIntyre property. And was anxious to learn what had been done. He showed me the bonds he had on Higgins and assured me that I could not purchase from any save Clingman.⁴⁸ His hold on Higgins was this. Higgins gave him a simple power of attorney to sell, or rather contract up to the 15th November, and upon the payment of 15,000\$ to Higgins on or before that date, Higgins was to make him a perfect title to the mineral interests of the McIntyre property. This contract was further extended until the 7th day December 1866. But on the 20th day of November Clingman had a contract made out between himself & McIntyre to take date from the expiration of Higgins contract (that is from the 7th Day of December) till the 7th Day of March 1867. Now Higgins knowing of the existence of this contract closed *his* contract with McIntyre on the 7th of December and gave him his note for payment receiving from McIntyre a deed of the mineral interests properly drawn up and witnessed Now if Clingman could have come forward on that day and paid Higgins the \$15,000 as called for by his contract with Higgins, the latter would have had to make the title deed over to Clingman. But the time expiring the sole right & title became vested in Higgins who then offered the property to me, for sale Higgins contract was dated the 7th day of July 1866 and reads "the title shall be valid and good to the purchaser or purchasers, their heirs & assigns upon the payment of five thousand dollars to the said McIntyre. This bond and power of attorney shall be valid for the period of six months from this date."

Now my object in writing the above is to show you Clingman-claims- He is so angry at being headed off that he has written me a letter that he has instructed his attorney to file a bill in equity against McIntyre, Higgins & myself unless some equitable arrangement can be made for the division of the spoils. Of course I am to get from Higgins a clear title to this property and a warrant as usual to defend me against all claims whatever

I presume that Marston has spoken to you in regard to that Cranberry Iron ore. I may say that the present prospects of that business is very good indeed but the parties are such a set of rascals that half of them dazzled by my magnificent price are I think trying to cheat the other half of their company

For the above expenses and for the purpose of laying in stores for the year- I enclose a draft on you at 3 days for two thousands dollars.

Please have the cash in 10^s & 20^s & sent to me by the Southern Express Co- through the Adams Express Co to

Peter S. Michie
Morganton
N. C.

⁴⁸ Thomas Lanier Clingman was born in Huntsville, North Carolina, on July 27, 1812; graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1832; studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1834; and served in the state legislature in 1835. He moved from Huntsville to Asheville in 1836; was sent to the state senate in 1840; served in Congress from March 4, 1843, to March 3, 1845, as a Whig; was defeated in 1844 for re-election; was a Democratic Representative from March 3, 1847, to May 7, 1858; served as a Democratic Senator from May 7, 1858, to March 28, 1861, when he resigned; became a brigadier-general in the Confederate Army on May 17, 1862; was a delegate to the Democratic convention in 1868; and spent his latter life exploring and measuring mountain peaks in North Carolina. Clingman's Dome in the Great Smoky Mountains is named for him. He died in Morganton on November 3, 1897. *Biographical Directory of Congress*, p. 824.

[1866?]

Jno. F. Alexander⁴⁹

Sir.

You are hereby appointed temporary superintendent of the Mines at Shelby and Dysartsville North Carolina now held in trust by Gen Michie for Gen Butler and the undersigned. Until further orders you will take and retain for the owners possession of said mines and appurtenances, and all personal property, books and papers belonging thereunto, and you will be held responsible for the proper care and preservation thereof. You will incur no other expenses at Shelby than what may be actually necessary to preserve the property and develop the mine. Not more than five or six hands should be employed for that purpose and you will exercise your own judgment in continuing even that number, as the sold object of work there for the present is to develop the mine sufficiently to ascertain its value. At Dysartsville Col Lyon may be allowed to run the Chillian [*sic*] Mill on ore already mined employing the number of laborers absolutely necessary to run the mill twenty hours per day and no more, while the mill pays a fair profit.

Wm. Owens may be kept slucing so long as his work pays a profit and no longer. The goods in the Store should be disposed of to pay laborers as fast as possible, but more goods need not be purchased.

All the Gold that is made you will take charge of and send, in the quick to Gen Butler.

You will keep accurate accounts and transmit them monthly to Gen Butler and report weekly by letter the progress of the work and the appearance of the mines and all matters of interest to the owners.

No contracts for labor and no contracts of any sort will be recognized that are not made by you, and you will make no contracts or pledge the owners to the payment of money or other things except for the daily expenses of the work above indicated.

You must post notices on the mill at Dysartsville and also at the Mine at Shelby that you are the Superintendent of and that no contracts will be recognized except made by you.

⁴⁹ The editor has been unable to identify John F. Alexander.

Mountain Mining Company in Account Current with Peter S. Michie,
Cashr & Supnt. Quarter Ending June 30th 1866

Dr.		Cr.	
1866		1866	
April 30th	To Cash paid for Labor in April & for labor due last quarter, as per Labor Book	April 1st	By Balance as pr a/c rendered last quarter
	680.08		394.60
May 31st	Cash paid for Labor in May	May "	" Cash recd from B. F. Butler
	616.94		2500.00
June 30th	" " " " June	June 30	" " " " "
	111.96		200.00
April 30th	" " " Expenses	" "	" " " sale of quicksilver
	30.00		.30
June "	" " " Freight & Express	" "	" " " Bacon
	232.14		8.20
" "	" " " Corn	" "	" " " Labor
	270.50		18.60
" "	" " " Lumber (used last quarter)	" "	" " " sale of Stores
	77.30		68.88
" "	" " " Interest	" "	" " " J. W. Lyon
	2.10		145.64
" "	" " " Mining Appurtenances	" "	" " " Peter S. Michie
	471.00		725.53
" "	" " " Iron		
	97.74		
" "	" " " Bacon		
	50.00		
" "	" " " Fuel		
	69.59		
" "	" " " Shilgles		
	12.00		
" "	" " " Horse Feed		
	44.94		
" "	" " " Stores		
	698.41		
" "	" " " Mining Land		
	60.00		
" "	" " " J. W. Lyon		
	204.42		
" "	" " " Peter S. Michie		
	322.63		
	4061.75		4061.75

I certify that the above is correct & just.
Peter S. Michie
Cashier & Supt. Mines⁵⁰

J. F. Alexander in a/c with M. M. Company

Dr.		Cr.	
April 4	By Cash	800.—	
			April 4
			By Stores as per bill book
			400.76
			" Mining Appurtenances
			160.—
			" Discount & Collection
			8.—
			" Expenses
			80.—
			" Inter Revenue
			60.—
			" P. S. Michie
			7.—
			" Meal
			10.—
			" J. F. Alexander
			70.—
			Balance
			4.24
		800.—	
			800.—
Bal on hand		4.24	
E & O. E			J.F.A.

⁵⁰ The editor has included only the best of the reports from the Butler mines in North Carolina.

General Michie Mining Enterprise

			Dr.	
1866				Interest
January	15	To Gen. Butler's draft on R. S. Fay	3500	April 1, 67 262.50
	22	" Paid Jas W. Lyon on his receipt		253.75
			4500	
			3500	
		Less draft as above	1000	71.33
February	13	Paid P. S Michie draft of January 29 "	5000	340.
April	29	" " " "	2500	138.33
	29	Exchange on Genl Butlers draft of February 13 on Merchants Nat'l Bank Lowell, Mass., on \$2500	6.25	.34
June	19	Remitted P. S. Michie dr'ft on N. Y.	200	9.43
July	19	" " " " " "	1800	75.90
	30	Paid " " in hand	1000	40.16
December	13	" " " in hand by B. F. B.	1225	22.25
	24	" " " dr'ft of Decr 10 "	6000	97
1967				
January	9	Remitted " from Washington by Gen. Butler 1/2 of draft of Dec. 27, '66	1000	13.66
February	8	Paid P. S. Michie's draft of Jany 14, '67	315.85	2.97
March	16	" " " " " Feby 12, '67	151.30	.37
		Total	\$24,772.46	
		Interest fr April 10 to 20	82.57	
			\$24,855.03	23,698.40
		Jan'y 15/66 less error	8.75	1074.06
			\$24,846.28	1074.06
Bal to Dr. of a/c April 1st, 1867			\$24,772.46	

Mountain Mining Company in Account Current with Peter S. Michie,
Cashr & Supt M For the Quarter Ending September 30th 1866

Dr.		Cr.		
July 1st	To Balance due as pr a/c for 2nd Quarter	431.41	Aug. 24th By Cash received of B. F. Butler	2800.00
Sept 30th	" Cash paid for labor during 3rd Quarter	1534.35	Sept 1st " " " "	
	" " paid Peter S. Michie		Sept 30th " " " "	Peter S. Michie 224.13
	do	413.11		Jas W. Lyon 334.00
	" " " Jas W Lyon do	194.61	" " " " "	Peter S. Michie 94.66
	" " " for Expenses do	193.00	" Balance	505.46
	" " " Mining			
	Appurtenances do	75.16		
	" " " Corn	324.34		
	" " " Bacon	162.16		
	" " " Stores	507.99		
	" " " Freight & Express	50.82		
	" " " Fodder	3.50		
	" " " Iron	2.80		
	" " " Mule	110.00		
		<u>3958.25</u>		<u>3958.25</u>

Gold a/c

Dr.		Cr.		
Sept 30th	To Corn	18 pwt	Sept 30th By Mining	52 pwt
" "	" Labor	2 "		
	" Balance (on Hand)	22 "		
		<u>52 pwt</u>		<u>52 pwt</u>

Labor Account

Dr.		Cr.		
Sept 30th	To Cash paid for Labor	1534.35	July 1st By labor performed & un- paid for during 2nd quarter	875.89
	" Stores " " do	726.90	" 3rd Quarter	2175.10
	" Corn " " do	156.36		
	" Labor " " do	4.20		
	" Bacon " " do	122.51		
	" Quicksilver " do	5.41		
	" Gold .2 pwts " do	3.36		
	" Labor due " do	59.87		
	" Balance due for Labor	338.03		
		<u>3050.99</u>		<u>3050.99</u>

Stores

Sept 30th	To Cash paid for stores	507.99	Sept 30th By Labor	726.90
	" Balance. (Profit & Loss)	218.91		726.90
		<u>726.90</u>		

Dec 31 1866?

Mountain Mining Co. in Account Current with Peter S. Michie,
Casher & Supt. For the Quarter Ending Dec. 31st 1866

Dr.			Cr.	
1866			Oct. 1st	By Cash received from
Oct. 1st	To Balance	429.05		Peter S. Michie 13.50
" 8th	" Cash paid for Corn	7.58	8th	" do do do 43.31
Dec. 11	" do do do	6.40	Dec. 31st	" do do do 28.45
" 26	" do do do	133.95		<u>85.26</u>
" 31	" do do do	113.77		
		261.70	Dec. 1st	" Cash received from
Dec. 11	" Cash paid for			B. F. Butler 1225.—
	Travelling Expenses	130.—	Nov. 26	" Cash received from
Nov. 19	" Cash paid for County			A. Higgins 26.60
	Tax on Mining Land	6.00	Dec. 31st	" Cash received from
Dec. 11	" Cash paid for Mining			Blacksmith labor 6.03
	Appurtenances	73.75	" "	" Balance 862.03
Dec. 31	" Cash paid for Bacon			
	(Beef)	54.20		
Oct. 1st	" Cash paid for Oats &			
	Fodder	15.00		
29	" do do do	8.00		
Dec. 31	" do do do	3.45		
" "	" do do do	1.80		
Oct. 26	" do do do	1.80		
		30.05		
Dec. 31st	" Cash paid for Rations	2.70		
Oct. 8th	" Cash paid for			
	Labors	30.—		
Nov. 22nd	" do do do	8.61		
Dec. 9th	" do do do	.40		
Dec. 10th	" do do do	122.00		
" 11th	" do do do	126.91		
" 26th	" do do do	205.79		
" 31st	" do do do	80.44		
" "	" do do do	7.60		
		581.75		
Oct. 1st	" Cash paid for			
	Stores	13.50		
Nov. 7th	" " " " "	3.00		
Dec. 11th	" " " " "	199.64		
" 31st	" " " " "	82.67		
		298.81		
Oct. 8th	To Cash paid			
	J. W. Lyon	5.73		
22	" do do	5.00		
Dec. 11th	" do do	94.79		
" 31	" do do	14.56		
		120.08		
Dec. 11th	" Cash paid			
	Peter S. Michie	157.31		
" 31	" do do do	5.00		
		162.31		
Dec. 31st	" Cash paid			
	Alburto Higgins	32.86		
Dec. 31st	" Cash paid o/c of			
	Shelby Mine	21.66		
		2204.92		
				<u>2204.92</u>

Michie		Dr.	Crdr.	Lyon Dr.	Cred.
Decb	31st /66	\$162.30	\$ ———	\$120.08	\$ ———
Sept.	30 "	"413.11	"220.13	"149.61	"334.—
June	30 "	"332.63	"725.53	"204.42	"145.64
March	31 "	" ———	" ———	"150.00	" ———
March	31 /67	" 88.86	—————	" 61.02	" ———
"	"	82.15	—————	" 11.50	" ———
"	"	—————	" ———	"148.54	" ———
		<u>\$1079.06</u>	<u>\$945.66</u>	<u>\$845.17</u>	<u>\$479.64</u>
		945.66		479.64	
		<u>Dr. \$133.40</u>		<u>Dr. \$365.53</u>	

Gold	Stores	Profit & Loss
\$ 64.50	\$531.63	\$96.12
" 52.00	" 96.12	
" 75.00		
<u>\$191.50</u>	<u>\$627.75</u>	

Labor	Land	Mashinery [sic]	Provision
\$ 843.10	\$3000.—	\$ 400.—	\$ 210.60
" 680.08	"	" 428.75	" 706.78
" 616.94	"	" 208.48	" 80.93
" 111.96	"	" 234.90	" 270.50
"1534.35	"	"1667.73	" 50.00
" 2.00	"	" 60.16	" 698.41
"	"	" 77.30	" 324.34
"	"	" 471.00	" 162.16
"	"	" 97.70	" 507.99
"	"	" 12.00	" 18.00
"	"	" 75.16	"

Labor Account for Quarter Ending June 30th

Dr.				Cr.			
April 30th	To Cash paid for Labor in April & back pay	680.08	April 1st	By Labor unpaid 1st Quarter	366.04		
	" Bacon do do	13.84	30th	" " April	535.93		
	" Corn do do	5.28	May 31st	" " May	932.71		
	" Stores do do	2.94	June 30th	" " June	943.91		
		<u>702.14</u>					
May 31st	" Cash paid for Labor in May	616.94					
	" Bacon " " "	51.60					
	" Corn " " "	104.40					
	" Quicksilver " " "	.60					
	" Stores " " "	224.72					
		<u>998.26</u>					
June 30th	" Cash paid for Labor in June	111.96					
	" Bacon " " "	66.18					
	" Corn " " "	107.06					
	" Quicksilver " " "	.75					
	" Stores " " "	270.41					
		<u>556.36</u>					
	" Balance due Labor	521.83					
		<u>2778.59</u>					<u>2778.59</u>

Stores

June 30	To Cash paid for Stores	698.41	April 30th	By Labor	2.94
	" Profit & Loss	96.12	May 31st	do	224.72
			June 30th	do	270.41
			"	By Lumber	12.00
			"	" Mining Appurtenances	22.94
			"	" Bacon	16.50
			"	" Rations	47.15
			"	" Peter S. Michie	71.42
			"	" J. W. Lyon	51.27
			"	" Cash	68.88
		<u>\$794.53</u>			<u>794.53</u>

Bacon

June 30th	To Cash paid for Bacon	50.00	April 30th	By Labor	13.84
" "	" Stores " " "	16.50	May 31	do	51.60
" "	" Balance rendered last qr	706.78	June 30	do	66.18
			April 17	" Rations 1st quarter	90.50
			June 30th	" do 2nd do	300.50
				" Cash	8.20
				" Peter S. Michie	23.90
				" Balance	218.56
		<u>773.28</u>			<u>773.28</u>

Gen. Peter S. Michie's Balance Sheet M. M. Company

To April 1st, 1867	Ledger	Balance		Profit & Loss		Re-sources	Liabilities
		Dr.	Cr.	Dr.	Cr.		
Horse and Army Wagon	2	450	—			450	—
Quicksilver	"	419.94				419.94	
Expenses	3	958.89		958.89			
Freight & Expressage	5	971.31		871.31			
Corn	6	1,187.76		1,187.76			
Lumber	7	373.18				373.18	
Inter Revenue	8	13.57		13.57			
Interest	9	11.43		11.43			
Mining Land	10	13,114.10				13,114.10	
Hon. Benj. F. Butler	11		26,317.08				26,317.08
Iron	16	707.63				707.63	
Fuel	18	81.75		81.75			
Shingles	"	72.16				72.16	
Col. J. W. Lyon	19	508.23				508.23	
Oats & Fodder	20	160.45		160.45			
Rations	21	541.78		541.78			
Labor	27	8,877.68		8,877.68			
Store	30		709.80		709.80		
Gen. Peter S. Michie	33	518.17				518.17	
Bacon	34	168.78		168.78			
Cash	39		185.59				185.59
Jno. F. Alexander	45	800	—			800	—
Mining Appurtenances	46	2,844.07				2,844.07	
Albert Higgins	50		5,315.55				5,315.55
Hon. G. Marston	"	72.08				72.08	
(A) Abstract from Labor Book		286.64	611.58			286.64	611.58
		33,139.60	33,139.60	Loss	12,263.60		
						12,263.60	
				12,973.40	12,973.40		
						32,429.80	32,429.80

Beaufort, N. C.
January 27, 1867

Major General, Butler
General

I have the honor to solect [sic] your kind. office in asking you if you would be so kind as to recive [sic] communications from me. You will remember that I was with you on the Fort Fisher Expeditions as a guide and 1st Lieut From the 2 N C Union Vols a man that is Loyal and true to the United States government has no chance In these rebellios [sic] States.

I think it is my duty as Loyal man to inform my Northern friends of the disloyal prosedings [sic] in my O [sic] native State I was a member of the United State Army for 30 months of the late War and Shall remain against the rebs for ever

yours truly

E. A. Smith^a

1st Lieut 2 N C U Vols of the late War

ASSESSOR'S OFFICE,
UNITED STATES INTERNAL REVENUE,
SIXTH DISTRICT, NORTH CAROLINA.

Salisbury, March 5th 1867.

General B. F. Butler
House of Reps.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

There is a report, current here, that you have purchased a large interest in real estate in the western part of this state, known as the "Cranbury Iron Works." I accompany this letter with a report of our State Geologist, Prof Kerr,⁶² a native of Massachusetts, which if you have not seen, will I presume, be of interest to you, I am possessed with an Agency for the sale of a large body of land- twelve or fifteen thousand acres- which runs up to the Cranbury property, and should, I think, become a part of the same, in consequence of the water power, in order to make the Cranbury estate a perfect success. There is no more interesting mineral country

⁶¹ Elijah A. Smith was in the lumber business in New Bern, at 16 Metcalf Street. Heitman, however, in his *Army Register*, does not list him as an officer in the Union Army. *New Bern City Directory*, 1904-05, p. 141.

⁶² Washington Caruthers Kerr was born in Guilford County, North Carolina, on May 24, 1827, and died in Asheville, on August 9, 1885. He graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1850; taught in Williamston, North Carolina, and at Marshall University in Texas; was in the office of the computer of the *Nautical Almanac* from 1852 to 1857, at Cambridge, Massachusetts, and while there he studied at Harvard University; and afterward he taught chemistry and geology at Davidson College, from 1857 to 1862. He was chemist and superintendent for the Mecklenburg Salt Company for some time; became geologist for North Carolina in 1864; was head of North Carolina Geological Survey from 1866 to 1882, when he was made chief of the Southern division of the United States Geological Survey, but resigned in September, 1883; and was lecturer at the University of North Carolina from 1869 to 1884. He made extensive geological surveys in North Carolina, and was known far and wide for his work, knowledge, writings, and memberships in scientific organizations. *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, VII, 450.

than No. Ca. And if it be really so that you have made an investment of property in it, which I have doubted, I might be able to communicate some practical facts.

Respectfully

H. H. Helper⁵³
Assessor.

Raleigh, North-Carolina,
June 12th . 1867.

Hon B. F. Butler,

Dear Sir:—

As Chairman of the Republican State Executive Committee, I have the honor to invite you to be present at a Grand Mass Meeting in this City on the 4th day of July next.⁵⁴

An address from you on the condition of public affairs would indeed prove beneficial, and be received with pleasure by every loyal man within the limits of North-Carolina. Especially would our colored fellow-citizens be gratified to hear from you a fearless expression of opinion, and we all unite in tendering this invitation in the earnest hope that it may be accepted.

Very truly & sincerely yours,
W. W. Holden.⁵⁵

⁵³ Hardie H. Helper, a brother of Hinton Rowan Helper, noted for his *Impending Crisis*, in 1862 wrote to Governor Stanly a letter which so infuriated the newly appointed governor, who did not want any advice from Helper, that he ordered Helper to leave New Bern. He and Vincent Colyer, whose Negro school had been closed by Stanly, went north and furnished newspapers with highly colored accounts of Stanly's official actions. This led to the accusation that Stanly favored the South. Thereupon the House of Representatives passed a resolution asking the President for a list of the powers given to Stanly, and this list was given to the committee by Stanly. In 1867 Helper was assessor of internal revenue with office at Salisbury. He was on the board to make rules and regulations for registration in North Carolina; started the *Holden Record* in 1868 to fight Holden in his race for governor; and fought for better conditions in the state, even writing Secretary Boutwell in 1871 that "They (Federal officers in North Carolina) are for the most part pestiferous ulcers feeding upon the body politic." On March 3, 1871, Helper was confirmed as deputy postmaster in Salisbury, but on December 6, 1871, Grant nominated David S. Bringle to be deputy postmaster in the place of Helper, who was suspended under an act approved April 5, 1869. Helper was forced out when this nomination was approved on December 11, 1871. John Pool had recommended an embezzler to be special mail agent in North Carolina and he and Helper had an acrimonious debate over the appointment, which was the cause of Helper's removal from the post office at Salisbury. Helper and Daniel R. Goodloe allied themselves with the Liberal Republicans in 1872, and worked for a convention in each county and Congressional district of the state. Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina*, pp. 90, 225n, 283, 418, 582; *United States Official Register*, 1867, p. 77; *United States Senate Executive Journal*, XVII (1869-71), 638, 639, 684; XVIII (1871-73), 126, 141, 145.

⁵⁴ The Republican party in North Carolina was really organized at a convention on March 27, 1867, by Holden, Daniel R. Goodloe, James H. Harris, and others. In this convention fifty-six counties were represented by the whites and blacks. They took the name Republican and agreed to favor the principles of the party. Leaders such as Senator Wilson and W. D. Kelley came to the state; secret societies such as the Heroes of America and the Loyal League were organized; and each county set up a Republican organization. A large mass meeting of Negroes was called for July 4, 1867, and Governor Worth and several other conservatives were asked to speak, but they made no impressions on the Negroes. Not only in Raleigh, but in other cities of the state, the Negroes and radicals held mass meetings and made speeches. Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina*, pp. 240-248; North Carolina newspapers, *passim*.

⁵⁵ William Woods Holden was born in Orange County, North Carolina, on November 24, 1818, and died in the same state on March 1, 1892. He had little formal education, but he became a printer's devil, printer, and editor. He became a Democrat and helped build up the party in the state. In 1858 he was a rank secessionist, but had cooled off by 1860. He was a member of the Charleston and Baltimore Democratic conventions; opposed secession in 1861; was elected on the union ticket; but voted for secession. He supported Vance in the election of 1862, but he ran against him for governor in 1864, without a formal platform but favoring reconciliation with the North; and was made provisional governor of North Carolina in 1865. He became an outstanding radical in the state; was elected governor in 1868; but after the Democrats won in the election of 1870, he was impeached and removed from office. He was postmaster in Raleigh from 1873 to 1881. *Dictionary of American Biography*, IX, 138-40.

Ans June 19/67. H H B

Dear Sir

Nothing could give me greater pleasure than to accept your kind invitation to meet my fellow citizens of Raleigh in their Celebration of the Anniversary of our National Birthday- Important public duties forbid. Nothing can more awake patriotic Memories or strengthen the Attachment of every true American to the union than the reverent but joyful observance of that day. Now that firece waves of war have rolled by it is in earnest of restoring love to the Government in those who have followed in the past and a renewal of the folies of war of those who have never changed in their devotion to unite in such a celebration- Let us then all unite on that day in reviewing the glorious memories of our fathers in burying all that has separated us in the past and as one people join heart and hand in caring [sic] forward our beloved banner on her glorious part of civilization Education and liberty under the law

Most truly yours

B.F.B.

Shelby N. C. June 24 1867

Maj Gen B. F. Butler
Washington D. C. Sir,

I have this day drawn on you at 5 days after sight in favor of Messrs Woods Fay & Reed for 227 88/100 Dollars to pay their bill of Powder, Hose & Pipe, which I was instructed to order by Gen Marston.

I wrote you while in Lowell in regard to a draft for 100 Dollars damages (and Lawyer's fee) on land overflowed by the building of the Company's dam over Little Hickory.

Owing to Mr. McAfee⁵⁶ being absent from Town on a visit to an ill child, I can not send you a copy of the bond or appraisement papers, as I promised, in this letter.

The Shelby Mine. The formation which I reported was struck at a depth of 40 feet running a gallery from the bottom of the shaft, proves to be only an interruption of the formation occasioned by the general displacement in the original disturbance, and not the formation proper. Today we passed through this folded portion as it were and are now in the gneiss rock again, The following will illustrate the work.

(He here gives a drawing of the strata of rock.)

By sinking shaft A we entered the gneiss rock and finding its general dip indicated a change in the dip of the formation a gallery was run to B which struck the portion folded over the Gneiss D through which we are now passing.

My report on both Mines will be forwarded in July. With great respect I am

Your Obt Servt Jno F Alexander

⁵⁶ He could refer to Lee M. McAfee of Cleveland County, the leader in the Ku Klux Klan in that section. He was also one of the committee in the house to manage the trial of Holden on impeachment before the senate. Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina*, pp. 462, 543.

Supt. & Chief Engineer's Office,
MOUNTAIN MINING COMPANY,

Shelby, N. C. June 29 1867

Maj. Gen Benj F. Butler
 Lowell Mass Dear General.

I am under many obligations to yourself for the telegram.

The prospect of leasing the Mine depends upon the ability of Mr Robertson to give good security for the fulfilment of his contract- Expenses are kept close and no debts incurred I shall make the trade as soon as I am satisfied that the parties which may offer are responsible- The placer works are opening very deep and this enhances the difficulties under which we labor in securing the metal

I shall advise you of my conference with Robertson as soon as I meet him-

Again thanking you for your kindness-

I am yours obdt

John F Alexander

Lenoir N. C. July 2^d 1867

Gen^l

Learning from some parties in this Country that you are directly or indirectly interested in the Mining Property recently sold in Mitchell County, N. C. Known as the "Cranbury Iron Works"- I take the liberty of addressing you regarding a tract of land adjoining the Cranbury property. If I am misinformed as to yr interest in the Iron Mine, my letter can have no value to you, and should not be addressed to you, I have the title to a large Plantation known as the Old Fields Of Toe River comprising about 1050 acres, 300 of which is very fine meadow, the rest is heavy timbered. It is well Known to be the best stock farm in this country- It has unlimited water power, a large bed of Iron ore, same as found in the Cranbury Mine, and is 1½ miles, with a level road, from the Mines. Facilities for grazing stock, water power, & wood coal, needful for the working of the mine, can be procured from this land, far superior to any obtainable elsewhere This property I am desirous of selling, & make you the first proffer of it- If you desire to enter into negotiations respecting it, please write me.

Respy &c

Clinto A. Alley⁻⁵⁷

⁵⁷ It would be very difficult to identify Clinto A. Alley except through some old settlers in that neighborhood.

Gen^l B F Butler

Ans

Dear Sir

I not invested in any iron Mining property in North Carolina. Negotiations have been proposed which are yet unaccepted I do not think I desire the property Your offer

Yours respectfully,
B B

Raleigh, N. Ca.
July 4th 1867

General Benj. F. Butler.
Honorable Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, in reply to my communication.

Your letter was not received for some days after it was sent from Lowell.

Accept, Sir, my thanks for your very kind attention to my communication.

Having notice, through the newspapers, your arrival in Washington, I thought it advisable to learn from you, whether I shall forward the *Proceedings* of the *Court Martial* to you in Washington, or forward it to Lowell?

Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,

Charles Fred. Browne,⁵⁸
Capt. 37th U.S.C.T.

Raleigh, N.Ca
P. O. Box 69

Ans July 10/67. B D W

Send your papers here they will find me wherever I am Did you not know that?

Benj F Butler

⁵⁸ After much research the editor has found it impossible to identify Charles Fred Browne further than what he tells about himself.

New Bern. N. C.
July 11th 1867

Major Gen B F. Butler

Sir

I was Mail Contractor in this State previous to year 1861, the route was suspended by order of the P.M. General; the P O Department owes me for services rendered. I am unable for want of funds to attend to its collection, will you as a Lawyer take the matter in hand and collect it for me, if the proper papers are made out and sent you!

Respectfully

Jonathan Havens⁵⁹
of
B F & J Havens

I think the amt due is about \$700- 1f upon examination of the papers, you think the money can be collected, what amount would you require for your services.

Respectfully
J. H.

Ans July 15/67. H H B

As Member of Congress I am not permitted to press Claims as a lawyer before the department

Yours truly
B. B.

Beaufort N. C.
August 12 1867

Hon Benjamin F. Butler,

Dear Sir, I Will inform you the Present feeling of the people in North Carolina, the Union People White and Black had Reather [*sic*] be ruled by Northren [*sic*] People, than to be ruled by Southren [*sic*] rebels: the feeling from The rebels towards the Union people are just, as bitter [*sic*] this day as they Was in 1861, the only Chance For' the Union people is Congress and I hope you that has got The powe [*sic*] Will, not a low [*sic*] the Rebels any more power' In the rebellion States

Yours truly
E. A. Smith⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Many people in the South were in the same plight as Jonathan Havens relative to collecting their claims against the government. Butler received other letters from men in Georgia and other states on the same topic. Butler Papers, Library of Congress, *passim*.

⁶⁰ See page 70, note 51, for E. A. Smith.

Raleigh, N. Ca.

July 15th 1867.

General Benj. F. Butler.

General-

I have the honor to inform you that I have this day forwarded by Express Co. the copy of the Proceedings of Court Martial. However, it is not quite complete. Mr Hayward, my counsel, has lost a few sheets of the latter part of the Proceedings, which are unimportant. Page 142, however, is lost, which is rather important, because *on that it will be shown that I was absent from Court. I was absent on two (2) occasions.*

I am *unable to send* you the *Findings*, for the reason that I do not know what they are. It will be six (6) months, on the 11th of this month, since the case was brought to a close;- the proceedings of the Court Martial were sent from Raleigh on the 13th of January last;- and yet I have heard *nothing of the Findings or Sentence.*

I reported *under arrest* on the 26th of September last, and *waited until* the 10th of *November*, before I *received a copy* of the *Charges* against me. The trial commenced on 14th of November.

I was put in close confinement on the 30th of *November*;- confined in a small room, with another officer, with the *door of our quarters locked, night and day*; only allowed to leave our quarters when Nature compelled us to. Thus treated as nearly as bad as convicted felon.

How to account for such proceedings on the part of the government officials, I cannot. Why should I thus be treated- to be *under arrest over nine (9) months- over seven (7) months in close confinement- six (6) months since the trial was brought to a close*;- and yet the *Findings and Sentence has not been promulgated*; at least, not to my knowledge. And still I am in confinement.

Why, Sir, had I been a rebel of the worst type, one who had done his best to destroy or upset the government- one who had murdered, or starved our soldiers to death- I believe that I should have fared better; for I might have received a pardon, and have been set free. Yes, even the great arch traitor had full liberty of Fortress Monroe, with liberty that his friends might visit him, which is *denied a union soldier*, who has served his country through the war- *not a friend is allowed to visit me.*

The charges against me were brought about through the influence, or at the instigation of a bad, unprincipled man, one A. B. Chapin,⁶¹ a Contract Surgeon, who was stationed at Roanoke Island, N. Ca. and connected with the Freedmen's Bureau, and under the control of Lt. Col- Hogan,⁶² the person who was sent to Roanoke Island to investigate affairs there. But he took good care not to trouble Mr. Chapin. This Chapin acted in this way to shield himself from his own guilty actions, and to accuse me. And in this he succeeded, for Charges were preferred against him, and forwarded

⁶¹ Andrew Bliss Chapin of Michigan became assistant surgeon of volunteers on September 12, 1862; resigned on August 20, 1864; and died on March 9, 1902. Heitman, *Army Register*, I, 295.

⁶² Michael Kelley Hogan of Ireland and New York was assistant surgeon of volunteers on September 2, 1863, and surgeon of volunteers on September 9, 1863. He was brevetted lieutenant colonel of volunteers on June 28, 1866, for faithful service in the medical department and colonel of volunteers on the same date for faithful and meritorious service. He was honorably mustered out on November 1, 1867, and died on February 25, 1894. Heitman, *Army Register*, I, 535.

to the proper officer, but they were allowed to drop or fell through, for no notice was taken of them- he was never tried.

In the Charges and Specifications against me, I am accused of disposing of Stores in the months of March and April, 1866. At that time *I was not acting as Com'ys of Sub., neither had I a clerk.* I was relieved by and turned over all Com. Stores to Capt. Alex. Goslin, on the 15th of February, 1866.

Copies of all Orders, Receipts, Abstracts, Vouchers, &c. were inserted in the copy of Proceedings which were sent away.

I copy from an Act of Congress, July 17, 1862, *Sec. II* the following:- "That when an officer is put under arrest, it is the duty of the officer by whose order he is arrested, to see that a *copy of the charges on which he has been arrested and is to be tried shall be brought to trial within ten (10) (8) days thereafter* and that *he shall be brought to trial within ten (10) days thereafter*, unless the necessities of the service prevent such trial; and then he shall be brought to trial within thirty (30) days after the expiration of the said ten (10) days, or the arrest shall cease:-Provided, that if the copy of the charges be not served upon the arrested officer, as herein provided, the arrest shall cease." Army Reg. (1863) page 538.

According to the Articles of War, the parties tried, or their friends, upon application to the Secretary of War, can procure a copy of the Proceedings of Trial, with the Findings and Sentence; but I am not aware whether the same can be obtained without cost. I never made application, for the reason that I suppose I should have to bear the expense, and I have not the means.

General, again I would express to you my heartfelt thanks for your kind consideration of my communications- for your kind and good services- which will ever be remembered and appreciated by

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

Charles Fred. Browne,
Capt. 37th U.S.C.T.

I would state that the Express Co. here has been paid for the package. I make this statement for the reason that in this section of the country the company try and get payment on both ways or ends. Raleigh, N. Ca. P. O. Box 69.

Ans Your copy has been received and an application will be made for the Findings & sentence from the Bureau of Military Justice where the whole matter will be examined Yours truly B B

July 22/67

July 27/67

Gen Joseph Holt
Chief of Bureau of Military Justice

Sir I desire a copy of the findings and sentence of the Court in the case of Capt Charles Fred Browne 37. U. S. Col. Troops

Respectfully

Your Obt Servt

B. B.

Fort Macon N. Ca.
Sept. 27th. 1867.

Major-General Benj. F. Butler.

General-

The "Findings and Sentence" of the Court Martial in my case have been promulgated, and carried into effect, as you may have noticed by reading the newspapers

Since I received your letter, acknowledging the receipt of the copy of the Proceedings of the Court Martial- also stating that the case would be re-examined, I have not heard from you.

I have written twice since the receipt of the aforesaid letter, and I have thought that my letters must have been intercepted, as I know that I have enemies who would do so mean a trick.

Will you do me the honor, and confer upon the the great favor, to let me hear whether you have examined the Proceedings, and what you think of the case.

It seems that the Court declared me guilty of every Charge and Specification, with the exception of one, which is unaccountable to me.

It does seem to me that there are points of *illegality* in the Proceedings- of which I have spoken before- which must break down the whole proceedings.

The case is without a parallel as to its severity towards me, so long have I waited- and been confined,- being ten months in close confinement- for the final issue.

I seem to have the faith that if the case was re-examined and brought to the notice of the Hon. Secretary of War,⁶³ that he would come to a very different decision to the Court Martial.

Hon. Sir- let me entreat you to let me hear from you.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

Charles Fred Browne

⁶³ Edwin McMasters Stanton was born in Ohio on December 19, 1814, and died in Washington, D. C., on December 24, 1869. He was admitted to the bar in 1836; rose rapidly in his profession; moved to Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, in 1848; moved to Washington in 1857; spent 1857-58 looking after land claims for the government in California; and was made Attorney General on December 20.

Fort Macon, N. Ca.
October 7/67. H H B

Ans I examined the proceedings in your Case and think they are irregular yet the Substance of the Charges appear to be proved. I do not think therefore that the Secretary of War will interfere where such state of facts exist

Yours truly

B. F. B.

Wilmington N. C. Sept 29-(1867)

Hon Benj F Butler
Lowell Mass

Dear Sir

I have the honor to address you a few lines, and to most respectfully request a reply at your earliest practicable [*sic*] Convineince [*sic*]

In the late state Convention at Raleigh⁶⁴- I among others from this county appered [*sic*] with all of our force- the Resolution "To petition congress to remove disabilities [*sic*] from Certain Rebels." I with the others held that it is not time for us the recently Enfranchised negroes of the South to clamor for this, and that Congress is the power to do, and we do well not to interfere, for this action we have been denounced by every Rebel- & copperhead Newspaper in the county- and now the only *Republican* paper in this county holds us up as *Extremists* and declare that we are *Self Constituted* and Spoke the views of none but ourselves, and in the same Editorial (which I herewith enclose) this paper the daily "Wilmington Post"⁶⁵ says some things, which *we* the colored people thought dis-

1860, but Lincoln refused to maintain him in his official family. When Simon Cameron was forced out, January 15, 1862, Stanton took his place. He offered to resign just before the death of Lincoln, but he was retained. He was kept in Johnson's Cabinet to watch the President for the Radicals. He would not co-operate with the President. On August 5, 1867, Johnson demanded that he resign, and when he refused, he was suspended. On August 12, General Grant was named Secretary of War *ad interim*. The Senate, under the tenure of office act, on January 13, 1868, refused to sustain Johnson's dismissal of Stanton. Grant then surrendered the office to Stanton. On February 21 Johnson notified the Senate that he had removed Stanton and designated Lorenzo Thomas Secretary of War. Stanton refused to surrender the office and the Senate backed him against the President. This was one of the charges against the President in the impeachment trial. The Senate, however, by a vote of thirty-five to nineteen failed to convict Johnson. Stanton soon thereafter resigned. On December 20, 1869, Stanton was appointed associate justice of the United States Supreme Court and was confirmed, but he died four days later. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, V, 648-649; William Archibald Dunning, *Reconstruction, Political and Economic*, pp. 99-103.

⁶⁴ On March 27, 1867, the Republican party in North Carolina first took shape when white and black representatives from fifty-six counties met in Raleigh. In the September convention more than seventy counties were represented, with Negro delegates predominating, and they, led by the carpetbaggers, largely controlled the convention. The Negroes were allowed to make speeches, but the leaders really directed them and decided on the policy of the convention. They adopted the resolutions which had been passed at the March meeting as a platform; introduced resolutions opposing confiscation, but favoring unlimited suffrage and the removal of disabilities for loyal men. These led to a hot debate. They finally adopted a resolution to stand by the action of Congress on the confiscation of property. The carpetbaggers opposed the removal of all disabilities even for loyal men, for they conceived that their chances of success would be materially lessened. Their political ambitions account for the failure to pass any resolution for the relief of the loyal men. The whole tone of the meeting was proscriptive. The ratification meetings over the state showed that the convention had been too hasty on the score of confiscation and Holden and his followers then tried to prove that they did not mean real confiscation. Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina*, pp. 240-248.

⁶⁵ The *Evening Post* of Wilmington was a daily, tri-weekly, and weekly published from August 5, 1867, to 1875. The title varies slightly. *Union List of Newspapers*, p. 511.

courteous to that party- and at a public meeting on thursday last we expressed our selves as being Unconditional Republicans- attached to the Stevens⁶⁶ & Sumner⁶⁷ Wing and in other words Showed our displeasure at the article refered to in a *decent, yet forcible manner*, for this a young Colored man formerly in the U.S.A. has been thretened [*sic*] with dismall from the P.O. where he holds a position as clerk-

We ask your opinion in the matter

Truly Your Friend

A. H. Galloway⁶⁸

Box 297

October 7/67. H H B

Dear Sir I think your Course right. You must hold your enemies at arms length [*sic*] till you get all your right and a foothold upon the soil The Colored man Cannot Maintain himself so long as he is not an owner of the Ground. The Complaint of a Government [*sic*] official in dismissing a clerk for the free exercise of his opinions is more Shameful

Yours truly

B. F. B.

"The Raleigh *Sentinel* is correct as to the disposition of the POST to encourage and promote the material interests of North Carolina. The POST represents a large capital actively invested, and we have quite as much interest in the welfare of the State as those who attempt to disparage us."⁶⁹

The *Sentinel* says:

"The POST no doubt admits that the present state of uncertainty and

⁶⁶ Thaddeus Stevens was born in Vermont on April 4, 1792, and died in Washington, D. C., on August 11, 1868. He moved to Pennsylvania and made a record for himself as a Radical. He served in Congress from 1849 to 1853, and from 1859 until his death. He was the leader in the House of Representatives for radical Reconstruction and Negro rights. *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVII, 620-625.

⁶⁷ Charles Sumner was born in Massachusetts on January 6, 1811, and died in Washington, D. C., on March 11, 1874. After making a noted record for himself in his home state, he was sent to the Senate and served from April 24, 1851, until his death. He was the leader in the Senate for the Radicals and Negro rights. *Biographical Directory of Congress*, p. 1586.

⁶⁸ In 1865 the Radicals began to flock to North Carolina to work for equal rights for the Negroes. They held meetings in various places to elect delegates to a general mass meeting in Raleigh in September, 1865. A. H. Galloway, a Negro from New Hanover, a native, but recently from the North, took a leading part in the work of the convention or mass meeting. He, James H. Harris, and J. W. Hood were the leading Negroes among the fifteen Colored members of the convention of 1868, which framed the constitution. These three in the convention opposed the repudiation of the state debt. Galloway opposed confiscation, but he wanted to tax large land owners one dollar an acre in order to force the sheriff to sell the land so that Negroes could have an opportunity to purchase it at a low price. Galloway was also one of the three Negroes in the Senate in 1868, and made one of the leading speeches in the Republican convention in the state that year. Later, when a carpetbagger collector of internal revenue was traveling over the state in company with a Negro woman of ill fame, Galloway would not allow him to come to his home. Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina*, pp. 150, 247n, 254, 263, 285, 350n, 363, 366, 418.

⁶⁹ The *Raleigh Sentinel* was a daily from August 8, 1865, to February 27, 1877, when it merged with the *Observer*. It was published as a weekly and semi-weekly from 1866 to 1876. *Union List of Newspapers*, p. 507.

doubt, as to the ultimate designs of the party in power, is an impassable barrier to progress and the recuperation of the State."

While we may admit the "state of uncertainty and doubt," we feel sure if the editors of the *Sentinel* would look at the situation without bias, they would realize that Republicans are not responsible for this condition of affairs, but those who oppose reconstruction as proposed by Congress. The events of the last five years have placed the Congress of the United States in a position where it has the power—nay more, the right to state the terms of reconciliation. That the people of the South heretofore followed strange Gods was not the fault of Congress. The Howard Amendment, had it been accepted in good faith, would have settled all difficulties. Every intelligent man believes this to be true. The present plan was forced upon Congress, and was adopted as a measure of security for the future, and not as a measure to humiliate the people of the South.

While we believe a large majority of the people are in favor of accepting the terms now offered, it should be born in mind that a large majority of the editorial fraternity openly or covertly oppose a Convention. Many of these gentlemen doubtless honestly think they are hastening reconstruction—but we submit, that in a majority of instances, people who look to these papers as a guide will be led to oppose just what the editors pretend to favor. This class of journals do infinitely more harm than the *Charleston Mercury*,⁷⁰ which openly opposes a Convention notwithstanding it boasts of having a larger circulation than any other paper in the State—an indication at least that a majority of the white people of that State oppose a Convention.

The press of the South has given tone and directions to public sentiment in times past, and it is to this source Northern men are apt to look now to ascertain in what direction the popular current runs.

As to the extreme views thoughtlessly uttered by several members of the late Convention held at Raleigh to which reference has been made, it is unfair to hold the Republican party responsible. Demagogues and enthusiastic partizans have held up WENDELL PHILLIPS and THAD. STEVENS as true representatives of the Republican party. Nothing can be more unjust. There are always extreme men to be found dabbling in politics. They propose but the sober second thought of majorities have the disposal of questions. Let the approaching Convention be composed of three fifths Radicals as the *Sentinel* suggests as possible if not probable; we have no fear of any injustice following their action. Men, even the most ignorant, will rise to the dignity of the responsibilities they assume.

So far as the colored men are concerned, they are tractable, and by those in whom they have confidence are easily influenced to do right, but can hardly be influenced to do a positive wrong. There is nothing vindictive in their composition.

The progressive element is destined, sooner or later, to shape the policy of every Southern State. The sooner this is realized, and the people to the manner born are governed accordingly, the better it will be for them and all concerned.

⁷⁰ The *Charleston Mercury* was one of America's famous newspapers. From January 1, 1822, to November, 1868, it was published in Charleston, South Carolina. *Union List of Newspapers*, p. 640.

Stores

Dr.			Cr.		
Oct. 1st	To Cash pd for Stores	13.50	Oct. 1st	By Balance from Preceding	
Nov. 7	" " " " Store tax			Quarters	322.47
	(County)	3.00	31st	" Labor	53.26
Dec. 11	" " " " Stores	199.64	22	" Stores pd for oats	5.02
" 31st	" " " " do	82.67	Nov. 30th	" " " " Labor	81.49
" "	" Balance (P. & L.)	531.63	Dec. 31st	" " " " oats	2.10
			" "	" " " " Lime	.25
			" "	" " " " Labor-	91.06
			" "	" " " " to Lyon	
				(during Quarter)	127.46
			" "	" " " " Michie do	147.33
		830.44			830.44

Gold

Dr.			Cr.		
Dec. 31st	To Balance	64.50	Oct. 1st	By Balance-	35.52
			22	" 14 pwt 21 grs spent for	
				Corn	16.66
			31	" 4 pwt " " Labor	4.88
			Nov. 30	" 6 do " " "	6.72
			Dec. 31st	" 1 do to J. W. Lyon	1.12
		64.50			64.50

Salisbury N. C.

May 15th 1868.

Hon B. F. Butler M. C.

General:

I take the liberty to ask you for some Gov^t appointment in this State

During the War I served under you while you had Command of the "Army of the James-" Was honorably Discharged after having served in the 9th N. J. Vols. over three Years-

And out of employment while so many Southerners who I think are not more competent than I who never raised an arm toward suppressing the Rebellion are now holding good positions, I think the Member of Congress Elect from the Raleigh District J. T. Deweese knows me quite well- Can furnish the best of references [*sic*]

Very Respectfully

Your Ob't Servant

W. L. Van Derwater⁷¹

Ans

Sir Under this administration I have no power to give you any place I regret as much as you Can the Employment of Southern Rebels by the Government

[To be continued]

⁷¹ Evidently W. L. Van Derwater did not receive the appointment in the state as he is not listed in the *Senate Executive Journal* during reconstruction as holding office in North Carolina.

BOOK REVIEWS

GUIDE TO THE MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS IN THE ARCHIVES OF THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION. Prepared by the North Carolina Historical Records Survey Project, Division of Community Service Programs, Work Projects Administration. Sponsored by the North Carolina Historical Commission. (Raleigh: The North Carolina Historical Commission. 1942. Pp. v, 216. Free except for a mailing fee of \$.25.)

With the publication of this volume there are now available guides to the three most important collections of historical manuscript materials in North Carolina—at Duke University (1939), the University of North Carolina (1941), and the Historical Commission. All three represent the work of noted southern historians in the collection and preservation of these materials especially during the past fifteen or twenty years, with the result that the Old North State has become a leader in this field. What Messrs. Connor, Hill, House, Newsome, and Crittenden in succession have accomplished at Raleigh is only partially revealed by the present volume which does not include state and local archival records. It is especially helpful to have this guide to the unofficial papers in the state archives where many persons might expect to find only official records.

Following the Historical Records Survey format, each entry heading gives the name of the collection, dates covered by the material, and the number of items, volumes, and manuscript boxes. Collections are listed alphabetically and numbered consecutively for purposes of indexing; inversion of each title to place the alphabetized name at the margin would have been preferable. The descriptive paragraphs, varying in length with the size or significance of the collection, are on the whole very satisfactory both for general and specific references. More frequent use of dates in the brief notes on certain segments of a large collection would have been helpful. Condensed statements rather than complete sentences could have been used to allow more space for such information, within practical limits of publication costs. Each entry includes a selected list of correspondents and references to parts of the collection which have been printed. The user of this guide will welcome the sixty pages of index, comprising well over twenty-five per cent of the total number in the volume. Here will be found not only all proper names mentioned in the text but also a careful selection of subject-headings, the more general of which are amplified by sub-head-

ings and cross-references. This excellent index greatly enhances the usefulness of the volume.

Most of the 815 collections described consist of North Carolina material, with some manuscripts from other Southern states. The great variety of this material reflects the broadening historical viewpoint of the past quarter-century. There are papers of well known Carolinians like Aycock, Blount, Holden, Vance, Macon, the Pettigrew family, and Bishop Cheshire; but there are also numerous letters, memoranda, and account books of relatively unknown and obscure persons which, for certain research purposes, are of special value. Although some of the items separately listed are of a trivial nature, the scholar has the satisfaction of consulting a complete inventory of non-archival materials in this important repository. The North Carolina Historical Commission and the Historical Records Survey are to be commended for this excellent compilation.

LESTER J. CAPPON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA,
CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA.

GUIDE TO THE MANUSCRIPTS IN THE ARCHIVES OF THE MORAVIAN CHURCH IN AMERICA, Southern Province, 613 South Liberty Street, Winston-Salem, N. C. Prepared by the North Carolina Historical Records Survey, Division of Community Service Programs, Work Projects Administration. (Raleigh: The North Carolina Historical Records Survey. 1942. Pp. vii, 136. Memeographed. Not available for distribution.)

This most recent addition to the distinguished series of archival publications issuing from North Carolina emphasizes anew the debt of historians at large to the competent workers of a state already outstanding in the field. Begun under the auspices of Dr. C. C. Crittenden and under the directorship of Mr. Dan Lacy, this guide indexes one of the most important denominational archives in the country—second only to the Bethlehem archives among American Moravian collections. For the initial cataloging and planning, the Survey was fortunate in securing the services of the archivist, Dr. Adelaide L. Fries—long familiar for her scholarly works dealing with the collection. Miss Emily Bridgers and Mr. M. A. Rushton, Junior, were responsible for the final publication.

The closely knit integration of the renewed Moravian Church early schooled its members in the keeping of meticulous reports, copies of which were sent both to the denominational headquarters at Herrnhut and to other central points. This work resulted

in detailed records of both congregational and community life from the time of the earliest American settlements down to the present day—valuable alike to the local chronicler, the churchman, and the social historian. Impelled by intense religious convictions, the Moravians early built up on the edge of the wilderness prosperous communities with cultural standards far surpassing those of usual frontier life—while with the proceeds of their well cultivated fields and flourishing industries they carried on the only notably successful Protestant Indian missions of the eighteenth century and established an educational system far in advance of the times.

Besides an unusually fine collection of congregational and synodical minutes and account books, the archives include diaries of individuals and of social sub-groups within the congregation, annual records of local and world events, memoirs, economic reports, and travel diaries. These various types of manuscripts “afford material along many lines other than religious,” covering such topics as “political developments, economic conditions, taxes, prices, social conditions, the Negro question, wartime experiences, noted visitors, and medicine and surgery.” Including materials from such diverse places as Labrador, Tibet, and South Africa, the manuscripts are of particular importance for four states: North Carolina, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Indiana. Naturally the archives are richest in data on Salem. The most casual sampling of these reveals such items as the following: account books of the Congregation (1772-1868), minutes of the Board of Elders (1764-1905), apothecary accounts (1789-1794), apprentice bonds (1769-1814), instructions and reports of the Board of Supervisors (1771-1899), Bookstore papers (1784-1861), instructions for leaders of the “choirs” (1785-1818), record of the ideals of the “choir” system (1785-1801), minutes of the Congregation Council (1772-1886), financial abstracts (1781-1894), the diary of the Congregation (1766-1918), inventory of Salem Plantation (1817), and the diary of the “choir” of unmarried men (1754-1819). From the nearby settlement of Bethania come such items as harvest records (1758-1770) accounts of mills and industries (1762-1855), and inventories (1764-1811). Items from the Cherokee missions include letters written by Indians, the Oochgology diary, and accounts of the school work. From the Northern Province of the Church are such items as fifty-one packages of Bethlehem diaries (1753-1812), minutes of the Helpers’ Conference (1800-

1848), and numerous items from the Bethlehem Elders' Conference.

The majority of the entries are annotated, with frequent notes on the language and content of the manuscript. For the uninitiated, concise explanatory notes dealing with Moravian institutions and customs have been inserted where needed. In instances where a section of a manuscript has been published reference is given to the printed volume. Personal correspondence and trading items are briefly analyzed. Perhaps the crowning feature is the forty-page index, which includes, besides the usual personal and geographic entries, many general subject headings pertaining to economic history and a lesser number dealing with social history.

As a whole the work reflects unusual care and thoroughness—attributions of authorship have been made with evident care, the bibliographical information is generally complete, misprints are at a minimum. Yet there are lapses from this standard. These are particularly evident in the index—where one finds, for instance, *Assembly of North Carolina*, as one entry, and *General Assembly of North Carolina* as another; the page references are partially dissimilar; and there is no cross-reference or explanatory note. The mechanics of alphabetization have resulted in such anomalous listings as *Das Leiden Jesu* under *D* and *La Passione di Gesu Christo* under *L*. On the whole, however, such deficiencies are lost in the general standard of excellence and imagination which the book reflects.

EUGENE E. DOLL.

CARL SCHURZ MEMORIAL FOUNDATION,
PHILADELPHIA, PA.

THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA. By David A. Lockmiller. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1942. Pp. xvii, 160. \$3.00.)

The development of the consolidated University of North Carolina was the result of the depression of 1929. Though the idea had been earlier expressed, there was little likelihood that it would ever have been adopted had it not been presented to the people as an economy measure. To Governor O. Max Gardner goes the credit for forcing the measure through the legislature in 1931 and to Dr. Frank Graham, president of the University of North Carolina, must be given the major part of

the praise (or blame) for pushing the consolidation to the point so far attained.

Only three of the state-supported institutions of higher learning were considered, the University at Chapel Hill, the State College at Raleigh, and the Woman's College at Greensboro. The other institutions were of lesser importance, and it was undoubtedly the part of wisdom to leave them out, thus departing from the principle of consolidation followed in other states, notably in Georgia. In the beginning only the idea, and it rather vague, was adopted; actual working out of the details was wisely left to the future. It was evident in the beginning that physical consolidation was impossible, if economy were to be served, and, as time went on, it was equally evident that if the venture were to be a success, the consolidation should be along functional lines only.

The development up to the present can be summarized thus: The presidencies of the three institutions have been abolished and in their stead there has been set up a president of The University of North Carolina (a name confusingly adopted for the new order, though it is also applied to the institution at Chapel Hill as well) with deans of administration presiding over the three units. Fiscal control rests in a controller with assistant controllers at the three institutions. And by far the most important development has been the elimination of duplicate departments in the three units. The most bitter fight grew out of the removal of the School of Engineering from Chapel Hill and combining it with the like school at Raleigh.

It is not to be wondered at that this whole movement was strongly opposed by many people, citizens of the state as well as members of the various faculties. The State College supporters feared that their school would be demoted to a second-rate institution, and the Chapel Hill advocates saw the danger of the old University losing its primacy. These fears proved to be groundless and now there is general agreement with the consolidation experiment.

Dr. Lockmiller has made the story plain and unusually readable. He has approached his subject in an impartial manner, though at places it is easy to see that his sympathies are entirely with consolidation. Although consolidation was undertaken in the name of economy, Dr. Lockmiller admits that the cost of running the state's institutions has increased consider-

ably, but he believes that the consolidated University has grown largely out of the new order.

E. M. COULTER.

THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA,
ATHENS, GA.

LIFE AT SAINT MARY'S. Edited by Katherine Batts Salley. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1942. Pp. xii, 288. \$2.50.)

The publication of this volume was a feature of the centennial celebration of Saint Mary's School, which was held at commencement in May of this year. The book contains six chapters, each by an alumna of the School, and a short biography of Ernest Cruikshank, long member of the staff of the institution, to whom the work is dedicated. There are numerous illustrations which add much of value and interest, and there is a good index.

The following are the titles and writers of the several chapters: "In the Beginning, 1842-1860," Katharine Drane Perry; "War Times and After, 1860-1885," Emilie Smedes Holmes; "Long Dresses—Long Tresses," 1885-1900, Alice Dugger Grimes; "From 'Floradora' to 'Tipperary,' 1900-1915," Nell Battle Lewis; "New Lamps for Old, 1915-1930," Jane Toy Coolidge; "Onward and Upward, 1930-1942," Anna Brooke Allan. The "biographical sketch" of Cruikshank is by the editor. Elizabeth Warren Thompson was art editor.

The book throws considerable light upon the social and intellectual conditions of the South during the century covered, and in this consists its value to the student of American social history. We learn, for example, that in the early days of Saint Mary's a "dormitory" was a large room containing many beds; that an "alcove" was a section of the "dormitory," partially inclosed so as "to secure privacy and at the same time a free circulation of air," which provided two girls room for their clothing and other personal effects. Every chapter gives data regarding such matters as the food served in the School's dining room, how its buildings were heated, how water was supplied, styles of clothing worn by students and teachers, what the students did for recreation and amusement, how the school rooms, the chapel, and the parlor were furnished, scholastic and social regulations. Changing standards in these and other matters appear as one passes from one era to another.

There is not much information about classroom activities. From what does appear in these pages in regard to Saint Mary's

teachers it is evident that personality has left more lasting impressions upon their students than pedagogy. One who has read these essays could very easily make a list of the persons who, through the years, have made the School what it is.

Throughout the book one is never for long permitted to forget that Saint Mary's is a church school. The founder, Dr. Aldert Smedes, is quoted as having written in an article published in "the official organ of the North Carolina Branch of the Southern Historical Society" that it was "a school of Christ whose chief desire and care are [were] to instil into the minds of its pupils the wisdom that is from above." And the author of the last chapter of this book, a member of a recent graduating class, makes bold to say that "the need today for the church school is more urgent than ever."

Such defects as must be mentioned are primarily due to the nature of the enterprise: the book is a collection of essays, the work of eight persons who are not professional historians. It is not always possible to ascertain from it what the source of a given statement is, and in a few cases, particularly in regard to the earlier years, the evidence offered would not be regarded by historians as reliable. In the opinion of the reviewer much would have been gained by omitting altogether, or relegating to an appendix, lists of teachers and "prominent" students about whom the reader learns nothing except their names.

S. G. RILEY.

MEREDITH COLLEGE,
RALEIGH, N. C.

OLD SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA. Edited by Mary Barrow Owen. (Privately printed by The Garden Club of North Carolina. 1941. Pp. 173.)

One of the most interesting qualities of the early towns of our eastern seaboard is the variety they express of the origins and tastes of their builders. As Mr. Rights, president of the Wachovia Historical Society, says in the foreword of *Old Salem*, "America, a land of variety, made up of many social groups, presents no uniform pattern. It is truly 'E. Pluribus Unum.'"

We are fortunate to have several early towns that express in their different ways the diverse elements that built our country. Salem, among them, is unique in that it expresses a certain group, a small part of a regional and religious emigration to America. Usually such individual group characteristics were absorbed into those general to the type as a whole. It may

safely be said that examples of the early architectural expression of the North Carolina Moravians may be seen only within the area of the Wachovia tract of which Salem was the center. On the other hand, German colonial as a general type may be seen in many states, including Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina.

As *Old Salem* points out, the town was built by the Moravians on a pre-arranged plan, the buildings being designed for their varied uses, with precedence, in time, for the more necessary. An example cited was the postponement of the building of the Sisters' House until the Tavern had been rebuilt after the fire. As sole owner of the land in Salem, the church had the right to prescribe in detail how individuals who leased it should build upon it. For instance, in the building of the Reich (Ebert) house we are told that "on May 17, 1792, the minutes of the Aufseher Collegium record, 'Ebert is told that he must make the foundation wall and the upper structure of his correspond with the other two houses on the same block.'" Later he was denied permission to make his windows one light less in height than those of his neighbors because "that will not look well on the street, and at least on that side they must conform to custom."

This passage is significant, because it not only shows the standardization of the community's building by the church authorities, but also the superb and unique documentation of the construction of the town. If other communities had such a precise and complete recording as the archives of Wachovia, their archives have long ago perished.

Old Salem is a valuable addition to the records of North Carolina's early buildings and customs, especially as it goes beyond the bounds of brick and stone to give us an insight into the life of the citizens through the years. Various articles tell of the music, religious life, and industries of the town, as well as of the separate homes and gardens. It was compiled and published for popular sale and as such lacks features indispensable to research volumes, such as comprehensive index, bibliography, and references to sources. The form used, in which the various articles are by different authors, impart to the text a variety, but also sometimes a lack of continuity. If one were to criticise the attractive large octavo publication, it might be to regret the softness of the reproduction of the photographs

and the use of deckle edge paper, which makes the pages inconvenient to turn.

The book, the product of a committee sponsored by the Garden Club of North Carolina, presents in attractive form the subject matter, though as Mr. Rights says, "it does not tell the whole story." We must look forward, as a public obligation, to a complete survey of the early buildings of Salem, with the records of their construction and of the families that dwelt within the houses. This would be a companion to the magnificent series, *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, edited by Dr. Adelaide Fries and published by the North Carolina Historical Commission.

THOMAS T. WATERMAN.

PORT ROYAL, VIRGINIA.

ANTE-BELLUM SOUTH CAROLINA: A SOCIAL AND CULTURAL HISTORY. By Rosser Howard Taylor. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1942. Pp. ix, 201. \$2.50.)

A picture of the Old South exhibiting reasonably accurate detail and perspective has only slowly emerged from the prejudices and hatreds of the ante-bellum period. Abolitionists' frothings on the one hand, and pro-slavery arguments on the other, followed first by Civil War and post-war antagonisms, then by sectional apologists and romanticists, have left a distorted image, at least in the popular mind, even to this day. To this general truth South Carolina has been no exception. Indeed, the history of South Carolina has probably suffered more than that of most Southern states due to comparative neglect by the trained historian. Fortunately this condition is now improving.

In the volume under review Professor Taylor has added another title to the growing list of objective studies in South Carolina history. While not neglecting the best secondary material bearing on his subject, he has relied principally upon his own investigation of the sources including legislative and court records, newspapers and periodicals, church registers, and numerous personal records such as private letters, diaries, and plantation journals. Much of the personal material has been discovered by the author or has been worked by him for the first time. It has been judiciously used as the basis for conservative generalization and interesting illustration.

The author has justified his sub-title by limiting the study

rather strictly to the social and cultural aspects of the ante-bellum scene. Sectionalism, social stratification, life of high and low in country and town, fashion, sports and amusements, health, education, art, music, literature, religion, and racial relations are some of the subjects to which he has devoted his attention. In his careful examination of these matters he has made no startling discoveries, has not challenged the conclusions of the best scholarship in the field. But he has brought together in a well written, handy volume a wealth of interesting and useful material.

The four pillars of the social order in South Carolina, as listed by Professor Taylor, were ancestors, possessions, occupations, and education. The reviewer suggests that by far the most important of these was possessions, because possessions in land and Negroes usually determined in the long run the other three factors. It would be difficult to overemphasize the influence of Negro slavery on ante-bellum South Carolina society. While the author has by no means neglected this point he has perhaps underemphasized it. For example, he has found that the study of political economy begun at South Carolina College under Dr. Cooper was "in considerable degree responsible for the uncommon interest displayed by South Carolinians in state and national affairs." Much more important is the simpler explanation that South Carolinians were increasingly alert to the rising tide of abolitionism which they believed threatened white supremacy and slavery in the South. He has found that rice culture promoted sectionalism while cotton culture promoted unity. But this is simply another way of saying that the spread of slavery into the up-country tended to fix the slave-plantation ideal throughout the state. Directly or indirectly slavery influenced almost every segment of ante-bellum life. Whatever the problem under consideration, whether the relation of the sexes, the origin and status of the poor white, religious orthodoxy, or some other, slavery will most likely be found involved. However, the author properly notes other important social influences. For example, one factor in the development of cultural unity is found to have been the annual summer migration of low-country gentry to the more healthful up-country. It might have been added that the influence of South Carolina College, in the later period, was another factor in this development.

A commendable sense of balance has been maintained throughout the volume. Space has been found in a narrative of less than two hundred pages for the middle-class farmer, artisan, and tradesman, as well as for the planting and professional gentry; for the poor white as well as for the slave; and for the social misfits which included the free Negro, the Turk, and the Brass Ankle. The importance of Charleston has not been allowed entirely to eliminate consideration of life in such representative towns as Georgetown, Beaufort, Summerville, Columbia, Greenville, Chester, and Pendleton. The author has found it possible to comment at least briefly on almost every feature of South Carolina life including disease, medicines, midwifery, courtship, weddings, amusements, holiday celebrations, crime, poverty, bastardy, duelling, intemperance, bootlegging, charity, poor relief, missions, Sunday Schools, and camp meetings, as well as music, architecture, furniture, drama, literary tastes, oratory, and other topics. His purpose has been neither to debunk nor to glorify but faithfully to describe the many-faceted life of ante-bellum South Carolina. The result is a book which every South Carolinian may read with interest and profit.

It may be noted that the author has included an extensive bibliography and a somewhat inadequate index.

C. E. CAUTHEN.

COLUMBIA COLLEGE,
COLUMBIA, S. C.

THE TENNESSEE YEOMAN, 1840-1860. By Blanche Henry Clark. (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press. 1942. Pp. xv, 200.)

This book represents the reaction on the part of Southern historians to the erroneous impression long held by many that society in the ante-bellum South was composed of only three classes: plantation owners, slaves, and poor whites. It is also a reaction to the type of history which has pictured the South of the pre-war days in these terms alone. This conception descending from abolition literature and from the accounts of travelers (with the possible exception of Olmstead) has been challenged both by Southern and Northern historians, but efforts to give a realistic picture of the South in these years have heretofore been handicapped by a paucity of intensive research. Moreover, it is generally more difficult to get adequate records of the "plain people" than of the wealthy leaders who top the

social scale. The volume of Dr. Clark is an effort to supply this data for at least one state and is the first of a series of similar studies planned under the direction of Professor Owsley and eventually to be published by the Vanderbilt University Press. Dr. Clark's researches covering the period 1840-1860 are based primarily upon the census records of 1850 and 1860, particularly the unpublished schedules, supplemented by reports of the State Comptroller, county tax records, newspapers, and other available material. The difficulties and vast amount of labor involved in the handling of such material are obvious.

Tennessee provides an interesting area for such a study, divided as it is into three distinct agricultural sections: East Tennessee, where soil and topography make for subsistence farming and production of livestock; Middle Tennessee, devoted to production for home consumption and for markets; and West Tennessee, given over to a single money-crop economy, cotton raised largely by slave labor. To facilitate her work, Dr. Clark picked for intensive study four counties in East Tennessee, ten in Middle Tennessee, and four in the western section. Although Tennessee was not devoted to plantation economy to the extent of Alabama and Mississippi, it did have a distinct plantation area. It should also be remembered that even in the deepest South there were mountain areas of subsistence or diversified farming. Tennessee, in brief, had characteristics similar to other Southern states. In any event it will be interesting to check the findings of Dr. Clark with those of subsequent researches on other states.

As a whole the results of this study conform to the expectations of the more realistic economic historians. The percentage of Tennessee farmers owning vast areas of land was small. At the other extreme the "poor whites" were also few. Between the two extremes was the large middle class made up of slave owners and non-slaveholders alike. Percentages, of course, varied with different parts of the state, but it is clear that the greater proportion of the upper strata of the middle class were slave holders while the yeomen were chiefly non-slaveholders. Sharecroppers and renters were present in large numbers, but it was found that in 1850 about 60 per cent of the farmers owned land in East Tennessee, about 65 per cent in Middle Tennessee, and about 70 per cent in West Tennessee. About 65 per cent of the farmers owned no slaves and operated farms usually of 100 acres or less. In East Tennessee as high as 93 per cent

in some counties owned no slaves. Contrary to the general belief that the slave-owners were absorbing the good soil and driving the small farmer into a non-land owning status on poorer soil, the records show an increase in the percentage of farmers owning land and a decrease in the proportion of landless farmers. "There was not enough difference in the value of land of slaveholders and non-slaveholders," says Dr. Clark, "to substantiate the assertion that the latter were always pushed off onto the poor lands." The author insists that there is no evidence to substantiate the impression that there was a wide social gap between slaveholders and non-slave holders to foster a spirit of antagonism between the two groups. Nor were the non-slaveholders, contrary to the usual pictures of early travellers, illiterate bumpkins with no interest in public affairs. They did not, however, generally take a place of leadership in the community.

The intensive study of the census records is followed by three chapters devoted respectively to agricultural organizations, the agricultural awakening, and agricultural production. They bring out the fact that Tennessee, like other regions during these years, felt the rising tide of interest in agricultural improvement, that societies and farm papers were founded and agricultural fairs organized in large numbers. Although the leadership was generally taken by wealthy slaveholders, all elements in society participated. Considering the great activity, however, the effects upon Tennessee agriculture seem to have been small. This volume is based upon arduous research and the conclusions seem valid from the evidence presented. It adds important information to the history of ante-bellum Tennessee and will contribute its part to a new orientation of Southern economic history.

HAROLD U. FAULKNER.

SMITH COLLEGE,
NORTHAMPTON, MASS.

THE FRENCH IN THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY, 1740-1750. By Norman Ward Caldwell. (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press. 1941. Pp. 113. \$2.00.)

The content of this monograph is accurately suggested by the title, though, probably on account of the availability of material, much more space is devoted to the upper than to the lower valley. The five chapters deal with "Political and Financial Administration of New France," "Population and Indus-

try," "The Fur Trade," "General Indian Relations," and "The Indian Uprising of 1747 and the Ohio Question." There are a good map of the area under consideration, an annotated but not exhaustive bibliography, and an index.

The author concludes: (1) that the political administration (which generally speaking resembled that of contemporary French provinces) was entirely unsuited to the conditions of frontier life though it might have been more efficient had it been given more adequate support; (2) that thinking Frenchmen of the period realized the necessity of strengthening Canada and Louisiana but that a program of this kind was not pushed by the French government; (3) that the French maintained control of the fur trade in this period despite the encroachments of the English; (4) that the French on the whole demonstrated their superiority to the English in handling the Indians; (5) that Frenchmen of the period appreciated the rôle of the colonies in the approaching struggle with England.

This volume is obviously the result of painstaking effort. The author has used important sources which have been hitherto unexploited, particularly the expense accounts for the western posts and the Vandreuil Manuscripts. The results of his research will be of interest and aid to those interested in colonial history and to specialists in the field of Anglo-French relations in the colonial period. There are, however, almost insuperable difficulties to be overcome in giving a clear and at the same time minutely-detailed account of an area which lacked political unity (the lower valley was Louisiana and the upper a part of Canada) in a period which had little historical unity. The work gives evidence of much research and not a little erudition but the general reader will probably find himself lost in the morass of detail.

In conclusion it might be commented that the format of this series seems ill-adapted to a monograph of this kind. Numerous and copious footnotes, finely printed and extending all the way across the large pages, make reading difficult.

CECIL JOHNSON.

HISTORICAL NEWS

The Wachovia Historical Society held its annual meeting in the Wachovia Museum, Salem Square, Winston-Salem, on October 19. Mr. B. J. Pfohl told the story of the Salem Band, Dr. Adelaide L. Fries described the old structure which has been remodeled for an archives building, Reverend Douglas L. Rights presented a transcript of the inventories of the Salem Tavern, and routine business was transacted.

Attending the annual sessions of the Society of American Archivists and the American Association for State and Local History in Richmond, Virginia, October 26-28, were Dr. R. D. W. Connor, chairman of the North Carolina Historical Commission and president of the SAA; Dr. C. C. Crittenden, secretary of the Commission and president of the AASLH; Mr. D. L. Corbitt, Miss Geraldine Coburn, and Mr. Elmer D. Johnson of the Commission's staff, and Miss Nannie May Tilley, head of the Manuscripts Division of the Duke University Library. Dr. Connor and Dr. Crittenden delivered the presidential addresses to their respective organizations, and Dr. Connor also presided at one of the sessions of the AASLH.

The State Literary and Historical Association, the North Carolina Folk-Lore Society, the State Art Society, the Archaeological Society, and the Society for the Preservation of Antiquities held their annual sessions in Raleigh, December 1-3. The forty-second annual session of the State Literary and Historical Association was held at the Sir Walter Hotel, Wednesday and Thursday, December 2-3. On Wednesday evening, with Governor J. Melville Broughton presiding, Miss Gertrude Carraway of New Bern spoke on the subject, "Let's Preserve North Carolina's War Records," Dr. Hubert A. Royster of Raleigh delivered the presidential address, "Literature and History: A Comparison and a Contrast," and there was a reception for the members and guests of the Association and allied societies. At the Thursday morning meeting Dr. Louis R. Wilson of Chapel Hill spoke on "The Present Rôle of the Library in the Southeast," Dr. James W. Patton of Raleigh addressed the group on "The North Carolina Historical Commission: Forty Years of

Public Service," Reverend Douglas L. Rights of Winston-Salem reviewed North Carolina books and authors of the year, and a business session was held. At the final meeting, on Thursday evening, Dr. Wallace E. Caldwell of Chapel Hill, governor of the Society of Mayflower Descendants in North Carolina, announced the Mayflower Cup award and presented a replica of the cup to Dr. Elbert Russell of Durham, whose book, *The History of Quakerism*, had been adjudged the best original work by a resident North Carolinian for the year ending August 31. Mr. R. L. McMillan of Raleigh then spoke briefly on "The Red Cross and the War Effort," after which Dr. William A. Neilson of Falls Village, Connecticut, former president of Smith College, delivered an address, "The Post-War World," which brought the meeting to a close.

The thirty-first annual session of the North Carolina Folk-Lore Society was held at the Sir Walter Hotel, Thursday afternoon, December 3, with the following program: presidential address, "'You All'—Southern Style," George P. Wilson, Greensboro; "This World and Others: A Study in Negro Psychology and Superstition," Lowry Axley, Savannah, Georgia; "A North Carolina Composer Uses Folk-Material," Mrs. George C. Eichhorn, Greensboro; "Folk Gestures," Francis C. Hayes, Guilford College; and a business meeting.

The North Carolina State Art Society held its annual session on Tuesday and Wednesday, December 1-2. On Tuesday evening at the Sir Walter Hotel Mr. Wayman Adams of New York City gave a portrait demonstration, after which there were a reception and an exhibition of paintings by soldiers of Fort Bragg and by Miss Mary Tannahill of New York City in the State Art Society Gallery, Library Building. Wednesday morning in the same room a business meeting took place, and that afternoon in the Attorney General's office a session of the Board of Directors was held.

The annual session of the Archaeological Society of North Carolina took place at the Sir Walter Hotel on Wednesday morning, December 2. Dr. Raymond Adams of Chapel Hill read a paper, "Speaking of Arrowheads," Dr. Guy B. Johnson of Chapel Hill spoke on "Archaeology and the Lost Colony," and a business meeting was held.

The third annual session of the North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities was held on Wednesday afternoon, December 2. After a meeting of the Board of Directors, Dr. Archibald Henderson of Chapel Hill spoke on "In Memoriam: Joseph Hyde Pratt"; Mr. James B. Vogler of Charlotte addressed the group on "Shall We Preserve the Hezekiah Alexander House?"; Mr. McDaniel Lewis of Greensboro delivered the presidential address; and a business meeting was held.

The Fifth Avenue Methodist Church, of Wilmington, has named its new annex the Charlie Soong Memorial Building, in memory of Charles Jones Soong, prominent in the history of modern China, who was converted to Christianity in the church and who later attended and graduated from Trinity College (now Duke University).

The entire number of *Ciba Symposia*, vol. IV, no. 3 (June, 1942), is made up of three articles on vulture medicine by Dr. Loren C. MacKinney, of the University of North Carolina, as follows: "The Vulture in Ancient Medical Lore," "Vulture Medicine in the Medieval World," and "Vulture Medicine in the Modern World."

The Yale University Press has scheduled for publication early in 1943 *British West Florida, 1763-1783*, by Dr. Cecil Johnson, of the University of North Carolina.

Mr. Stuart Noblin, who in 1939-1940 was acting associate professor of history at the College of Charleston (South Carolina), and since has done graduate work at the University of North Carolina, is now associate professor of history at Davis and Elkins College, Elkins, West Virginia.

Mrs. Mattie Erma Parker, since 1935 collector for the Hall of History, under the administration of the North Carolina Historical Commission, resigned at the end of October to join her husband, Dr. John M. Parker, of the geology department of State College, who is engaged in war work.

Miss Geraldine Coburn of Raleigh has replaced Mrs. Parker in the Hall of History. A member of the Duke University class

of 1940, Miss Coburn has been in charge of the Historical Commission's Search Room since 1941.

Miss Beth Gilbert Crabtree of Raleigh, who received her bachelor of arts degree from Meredith College and her master of arts degree in history from the University of North Carolina in 1941, has been placed in charge of the Commission's Search Room.

Mr. Elmer D. Johnson, with a master of arts degree in history from the University of North Carolina and with several years experience in the library of that institution, was employed by the Historical Commission on October 1 as collector of war records.

The Historical Commission has launched a program for collecting and preserving the records of North Carolina's part in the present war. An arrangement has been made with the State Office of Civilian Defense whereby local collectors of war records have been appointed in various counties, under the Civilian Defense Citizens' Service Corps. The North Carolina Committee on Conservation of Cultural Resources, of which Dr. C. C. Crittenden is chairman, is serving in an advisory capacity in this program. At a meeting of this committee on November 12 in Chapel Hill, the program as it had developed to that date was explained by Mr. Johnson and was discussed by the group.

The Historical Commission has published Bulletin 42, its *Nineteenth Biennial Report, 1940-1942*, and Bulletin 43, *The North Carolina Historical Commission: Forty Years of Public Service, 1903-1943*.

Books received include: William E. Cox, *Southern Sidelights: A Record of Personal Experience* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton Company. 1942); M. M. Quaife, *The Flag of the United States* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap. 1942); Howard H. Peckham, compiler, *Guide to the Manuscript Collections in the William L. Clements Library* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1942); and David A. Lockmiller, *The Consolidation of the University of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina. 1942).

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