

EDUCATING THE FREEDMEN DURING THE CIVIL WAR:
LETTERS FROM BEAUFORT AND NEW BERN, NORTH CAROLINA, 1863-1865

A Thesis
by
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Abstract

EDUCATING THE FREEDMEN DURING THE CIVIL WAR: LETTERS FROM BEAUFORT AND NEW BERN, NORTH CAROLINA, 1863-1865

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This edited collection provides an insight on the lives of the American Missionary Association (AMA) agents, northern minister Horace James, and the recently freed slaves who lived in and around Beaufort and New Bern, North Carolina. These letters reflect the social, cultural, religious, and political developments in the region as the agents worked to provide education and religious opportunities to the freedmen who struggled to create and explore their new liberties as a freed culture. The letters contained in this collection reflect the personal feelings and thoughts of the AMA agents and a few freedmen during the turmoil of the Civil War. They reveal political and social tensions, as well as environmental conditions. Because of their work and influence, the agents and James helped develop the opportunity for African Americans to create their own cultures without direct interference from their former masters.

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This project would not have been possible if it were not for the many people supporting and encouraging this work. I would like to begin by thanking my thesis committee: Dr. Judkin Browning, Dr. Andrea A. Burns, and Dr. Bruce E. Stewart for allowing me to pursue this project. I would like to thank Dr. Browning, my committee chair, for his suggestions, edits, and comments guiding me throughout the entire process. I thank Dr. Burns, for her encouragement and interest in this project. I also thank Dr. Stewart for his comments and suggestions during the writing process of my thesis. I also wish to thank Ryan Bean and his students at the Youth Ministry Christian Association Archives, located at the University of Minnesota Twin Cities, for their help locating several archives and persons of interest for this thesis.

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Lastly, I would like to thank my family for their love and support. My mom and grandmother deserve for spending time working through these letters with me and double-checking my transcriptions. Without the help and support of you all this feat would not have been possible and for that I thank you.

Dedication

I dedicate this book to my grandfather, Jimmy Patrick Wells Sr. (1939-2011).

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INTRODUCTION

In early 1862, a strike force of 100 ships and 15,000 Union soldiers left Annapolis, Maryland, heading towards eastern North Carolina to capture several ports and establish a foothold in the heart of the Confederate States of America.¹ Commanded by Brigadier General Ambrose Burnside, the operation earned the army the nickname “Burnside’s Expedition.” Promoted after his role in the First Battle of Bull Run, Burnside created the force in late 1861 and began to raid southern ports in early 1862. After taking Roanoke Island, New Bern, and Beaufort, the Union continued to hold them until after the war’s end, despite General George E. Pickett’s attempt to retake New Bern in 1864.²

After 1862, as most of the fighting took place elsewhere in the South, life for civilians under Union occupation drastically changed. Before the occupation, the civilians of eastern North Carolina supported secession and refused Lincoln’s call to service after the surrender of Fort Sumter. After the occupation of New Bern and Beaufort, civilians welcomed the occupying army with the new arrival of trade and economic opportunities, demonstrating they had flexible loyalties. Although the southern crowd that welcomed the Union Army reacted as Union sympathizers, these southerners were economically in favor of the side that paid them. However, when it came to their religious and political views, the southerners found ways to passively resist their occupiers. This tension often caused conflicts and clashes between the military and local civilians.³

¹ “The Burnside Expedition, 1862” NCPedia, Accessed June 29, 2019. <https://www.ncpedia.org/anchor/burnside-expedition-1862>.

² *Ibid.*

³ Judkin Browning, *Shifting Loyalties: The Union Occupation of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 1-25.

There were buffers between both military and civilian resources. These buffers were the different organizations and groups that traveled from the north and established themselves in recaptured Union areas to aid the people and slaves of the region. One of these organizations was the American Missionary Association (AMA). The AMA, founded in 1846, focused on peaceful and “churchlike” resistance to slavery, opposing the institution for what they deemed as a “personal sin.” In the 1850s, the organization turned to fight for abolition and the eventual end of slavery in the United States.⁴ However, as the social, political, and ethical foundations of the country began to crumble, the AMA quickly established itself as a leading member in spearheading campaigns to help slaves and freedmen. In *A Crusade of Brotherhood: A History of the American Missionary Association* (1909), Augustus Field Beard attributes the creation of the AMA from the very founding of the United States government and the divided opinions between North and South over the question of slavery.⁵

Before the formation of the AMA, several other abolitionist groups already existed. As early as 1815, the Union Humane Society, the American Anti-Slavery Society, and the American and Foreign Antislavery Movement, began to petition the government to abolish slavery. As the sectional divide between north and south grew, more abolitionist groups continued to form. These combined forces met in 1833 and discussed the creation of a joint effort to fight against the institution of slavery. This society drew up their constitution to appease Congress and other personal opinions using guidelines and rules that ensured they could not be accused of anarchical behavior. Their constitution declared that the organization would petition for the removal of

⁴ “American Missionary Association” NCpedia. Accessed October 24, 2018. <https://www.ncpedia.org/american-missionary-association>.

⁵ Augustus Field Beard, *A Crusade of Brotherhood: A History of the American Missionary Association* (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1909).

slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, while not encouraging and supporting slave uprisings. The society continued to petition and encourage the abolition of slavery in the country until the Society broke apart in 1840, after the creation of five hundred and twenty-seven societies with over twenty-five thousand members.⁶

In 1840, President Arthur Tappan, the former president of the American Antislavery Society, created the American and Foreign Antislavery Movement (AFAM). With the same morals and views as the previous society, the AFAM decided to take a more aggressive approach to challenge churches who refused to discuss the issue of slavery within the United States and the rest of the world. As the debate between north and south continued to rage, turmoil outside of the United States created the foundation of the American Missionary Association.⁷

In 1839, African traders sold some West African slaves to a Portuguese slaver. The slaver then took the men and sold them in Havana. On the way from Havana the captives rose against their captors and overtook the ship. After believing they were making their way back to the shores of their homeland, they anchored on the shores of Long Island, where they were arrested on charges of murder and piracy for trying to escape to their freedom. Reverend Simeon S. Jocelyn, Reverend Joshua Leavitt, and Lewis Tappan served as the lawyers arguing their case. These three men also served together as founding and leading members of the AMA. After several appeals, the Supreme Court heard the case, where in late 1841, the court decided that the African men were free and not guilty of any charges. After this case, several committees formed promoting missions in many locations including Jamaica and the West Indies. As more societies and organizations continued to form, abolitionists found it hard to remain silent on the issue on slavery and decided to form the American Missionary Association in 1846. Incorporating several

⁶ *Ibid*, 11.

⁷ *Ibid*, 18-20.

smaller programs and societies, the organization grew quickly and began to create missions serving in the Sandwich Islands, Siam, Canada, and Africa.⁸

After the organization of the AMA, the society broke into several departments that were each tasked with the location and missions in certain areas. The “Home Department,” based in New York, focused on areas in the western and southern United States. In the southern states, the AMA quickly began pioneering antislavery movements. They sent missionaries and teachers south where they set up schools and churches. The first movement began in Kentucky. After the initial success of this movement, more missionaries began to flood the south in the 1840s and 50s. However, this success was short lived as the national struggle over the question of slavery began to blossom into the talks of secession and war. In 1860, state and local forces expelled missionaries from Kentucky, North Carolina, and other southern states. The missionaries did not return until the Civil War started.⁹

On January 1, 1863, the Emancipation Proclamation, declared "that all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States shall be then and henceforward and forever free."¹⁰ This created a new identity for slaves living in the Confederacy: “Freedmen.” With this declaration, African-Americans in most slave holding states were free. However, there were exceptions. Lincoln exempted those states that did not secede, such as, Kentucky, Maryland, and Missouri, as well as areas under Union occupation, in order to entice those residents to voluntarily rejoin the Union. Although under Union occupation during this time and there were efforts to convince the Union

⁸ *Ibid*, 23-33, 49.

⁹ *Ibid*, 95.

¹⁰ “The Emancipation Proclamation.” National Archives, October 6, 2015. <https://www.archives.gov/exhibits/featured-documents/emancipation-proclamation>.

of loyalties Eastern North Carolina was not allowed in these exemptions and all slaves in that region were free.¹¹ The American Missionary Association moving into the region in the middle of 1863 with the goals to educate and uplift the freedmen.¹²

The AMA were not the first group to venture south to help newly freed slaves. The Port Royal Experiment, organized in Port Royal, South Carolina, in late 1861 after the fall of coastal South Carolina, was the first attempt for northern abolitionists to practice changing the social and political landscapes of the deep south while fighting for African American liberty and education. After the capture of Port Royal and the freeing of local slaves, a missionary group known as “Gideon’s Band” arrived. This anti-slavery group, consisting of several young men stationed out of Boston and New York, moved south and started educating the freedmen in both religious and practical applications. This movement set the stage for the creation of religious and educational institutions for slaves in the South as well as helped draw a blueprint used during Reconstruction. The creators of this radical change in the early 1860s were fearful of the divisive effects on the locals of the anti-slavery movements. The basis of these fears came from missionaries’ racial prejudice of how the ex-slaves might become too dependent on their teachers. They worried about the outcome of providing a benevolent education to a community of freedmen. Port Royal Island became a testing ground for an ever-broadening radical program for ex-slaves.¹³

After the initial success of the Port Royal experiment, the AMA began work on the eastern coast of North Carolina. The cities of Beaufort and New Bern, captured by Burnside’s Expedition in 1862, quickly became a staging ground for missionary work, as freedmen from

¹¹ Browning, *Shifting Loyalties*, 87-89, 200-201.

¹² “American Missionary Association | American Organization.” Encyclopedia Britannica. Accessed October 24, 2018. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/American-Missionary-Association>.

¹³ Willie Lee Rose, *Rehearsal for Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964), 2-10.

different parts of North Carolina fled to the Union lines. From the years 1863 to 1867, the AMA established schools, churches, and homes for freed slaves living in eastern North Carolina. During this time missionaries stationed in the area wrote letters documenting their lives and challenges they faced. George Whipple and W.E Whiting, directors in the main headquarters of the association in New York, received many letters from the region. Forty letters came from the pen of Horace James, a Congregationalist minister. James came to North Carolina as chaplain of the 25th Massachusetts Infantry, as part of Burnside's Expeditionary force. When his unit departed in the summer of 1862, James decided to stay in New Bern and serve as the Superintendent of Negro Affairs. There he began working with the AMA to establish schools and churches for the freedmen.¹⁴

The seventy-nine letters in this volume allow a look inside the daily interactions, as well as the social, political, economic, and religious outlooks of the authors and their black students. In the year 1863, AMA members and Horace James wrote nine letters describing the setup and beginnings of educating the freedmen in both religious and educational aspects. Arriving in mid-1863, AMA agents quickly began setting up camps in and around New Bern and Beaufort. As schools were opened, the missionaries incorporated not only African Americans into the schools, but the poor local white population as well. In 1863, General John G. Foster appointed James as Superintendent of Negro Affairs. As superintendent, James had more responsibilities and duties to the freedmen and white refugees coming under his care. Therefore, James began to develop schools and programs that supported African Americans in Union occupied territories. James began to take a census of blacks in North Carolina, found employment for those who were able

¹⁴ Joe A. Mobley, "Horace James," NCpedia. Accessed October 24, 2018. <https://www.ncpedia.org/biography/james-horace>.

to work, negotiated contracts between former slaves and their masters, issued relief efforts to freedmen inside Union lines. James also supplied and developed educational opportunities working with northern institutions setting up educational, religious, and economic support for the freedmen. James implemented several programs that promoted African American self-sustainability and created an autonomous African American society by supporting freedmen industrialization and growth of their own communities. James' most prominent work, conducted on Roanoke Island, reflects this practice.¹⁵

Roanoke Island served as a blueprint for future freedmen settlements. In 1863, James began recruiting teachers from the AMA. Even his cousin, Elizabeth James, one of the first missionaries on Roanoke Island, started working amongst the growing population of African Americans on the island who fled to Union territory. On Roanoke, James established several churches, schools, and industries including a lumber mill that served for the advancement of the freedmen and for northerners to practice their evangelical views about abolition.¹⁶ As the demand for more missionaries grew in correlation with the growing number of freedmen located in and around Roanoke Island, New Bern, and other areas, more missionaries from the AMA and other organizations started to arrive.

These missionaries faced new challenges they may not have expected or prepared for when planning to journey South. The social, political, and religious climate among the individuals of eastern North Carolina often created obstacles for missionaries with limited supplies and space. One of their most challenging obstacles was the inner turmoil the group faced. Composed of different congregations with different religious and social viewpoints,

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Click, *Time Full of Trial*, 71.

missionaries often argued with each other. In late 1863 and early 1864, several AMA members argued and wrote letters describing their peers in less than favorable terms. Carrie M. Getchell apologized to George Whipple for the stern words she wrote about her fellow teachers. The clash of social orders and the differences in opinions and social beliefs, also created the environment for religious turmoil.¹⁷

With several different congregations such as Baptists, Methodists and Congregationalists working together, religious disagreements occurred frequently. Horace James wrote several letters speaking of the dissatisfaction he and many others had with Reverend George N. Greene. James wrote the Home Office several letters discussing his grievances with Greene as well. James pleaded with the main office to reassign the reverend after his work in several camps proved unsuccessful. James argued that he personally wished to fire Greene but the Baptists would “make a poor show of crying persecution.”¹⁸ Another clash of religious preferences occurred when multiple letters sent by Horace James and Timothy Lyman displayed their disdain for each other. James wrote of how Lyman and his wife refused to work as true missionaries and always expected that they be treated to the best accommodations and refused to even live with the people they were supposed to labor and work with.¹⁹

The years of work and development proved challenging to the missionaries. As the numbers of freedmen and refugees increased, teachers and preachers both found themselves in high demand both educationally and religiously. In late 1864 to 1865, missionaries wrote several letters asking for supplies or inquiring when they would arrive. With letters asking for items such

¹⁷ Carrie M. Getchell to George Whipple, 18 January 1864, American Missionary Association Archives, 1839-1882. Amistad Research Center at Tulane University. Slavery and Anti-Slavery. Gale. Appalachian State University. Accessed June 2, 2019. [hereafter cited as AMA Archives]

¹⁸ Horace James to Unknown, 16 January 1864, AMA Archives.

¹⁹ Horace James to George Whipple, 15 August 1864, AMA Archives.

as clothes, shoes, books and lumber, missionaries found themselves approaching their situations as businesses, with supply greater than demand. Therefore they faced obstacles on how to teach their classes and church groups properly.²⁰

In 1864, the AMA members and Horace James wrote a total of forty-one letters to New York. During this year the missionaries faced trials including an attack on Beaufort and New Bern by Confederate forces, having to learn and adapt to their new way of life, and a yellow fever epidemic that cost several missionaries their lives.²¹ Diseases ran rampant throughout the camps. Carrie M. Getchell, an AMA teacher that moved to Beaufort in summer of 1863, fell ill and died in early 1864 as a result of exposure to cold weather.²² Despite this, during the course of the year, the AMA membership grew and by the end of 1864, a total of sixty-eight missionaries were serving in eastern North Carolina, twenty commissioned by the AMA and others under several other abolition movements. Several traveled south pledging to support themselves without any organizational sponsoring.²³

In the final year of 1865, the AMA missionaries sent a total of twenty-three letters to the home office. A majority of them came from Horace James in his new office as Superintendent of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands in the region. The Freedmen's Bureau opened up specifically to deal with the relocation of former slaves and other refugees from the war. The Bureau focused primarily on supplying the former slaves and the missionaries land

²⁰ George N. Greene to W.E Whiting, 2 March 1864, AMA Archives.

²¹ Browning, *Shifting Loyalties*, 111.

²² Joe M. Richardson, *Christian Reconstruction: The American Missionary Association and Southern Blacks, 1861-1890* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986), 176.

²³ Horace James, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Negro Affairs in North Carolina, 1864: With an Appendix Containing the History and Management of the Freedmen in this Department up to June 1st, 1865*. (Boston: W.F. Brown, 1865), 41.

plots for them to continue opening churches and schools to educate this new population while maintaining the land rights of former owners who are returning after the war to reclaim their land.²⁴

When they arrived in the South, missionaries assumed they were the first to start setting up schools and churches. However, the missionaries encountered newly developed and flourishing communities of freedmen who already had social and religious structures centered around educational and religious freedom. Led by elders and others who were able to read and write, freedpeople began setting their own schools up by early 1863. Freedpeople served as preachers and teachers within their own communities. These elders led the way to opening schools and educating the next generation, and gaining a foothold in what the freedpeople considered an important step to freedom, the ability to openly practice religion. Until emancipation, slaves could only practice religion and worship if their masters allowed it. After emancipation, freedmen quickly set about building churches and schools, until aid from northern societies arrived.²⁵

The freedmen eagerly welcomed the support and aid of the arriving societies, while trying to maintain their own social identities. Meanwhile, the arriving northerners maintained a view of “self-help” and “self-determination.” The missionaries taught these values to educate the freedpeople on how to work and maintain their own liberties without direct help from societies. Regardless of the “self-help” practices, some missionaries thought that the white northerners should spearhead the movement. Timothy Lyman, wrote several letters to the Home Office in

²⁴ Click, *Time Full of Trial*, 153.

²⁵ Ronald E. Butchart, *Schooling the Freedpeople: Teaching, Learning, and the Struggle for Black Freedom, 1861-1876*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina), 17-20.

New York describing his experiences and interactions of serving as a preacher for African American churches. Lyman revealed his bias against black preachers and argued white pastors were better suited to teach and lead these newly formed churches.²⁶ In this collection of letters, views like Lyman's were of the minority; most missionaries encouraged the ex-slaves to look and work amongst themselves to develop their own structures. As these communities developed and the identity of the freedmen continued to grow, so did the possibilities of the continuation of these communities in the future.²⁷

After the war ended, teachers and students found themselves constantly under pressure from both military and governmental forces. As the overarching battle between presidential and congressional reconstruction waged, the benevolent organizations found themselves rapidly expanding. By June of 1867, there were 38,719 students in day and night classes with well over 18,000 in sabbath schools throughout the South. The AMA branched their resources out in a wide region and had a missionary set in every southern state and region. Upon arrival they were greeted by adults and children all eager to learn and take control of their liberty. The AMA's goal for these vast numbers of students was "the incorporation of Blacks into a casteless American society."

In the freedmen schools, missionaries taught traditional subjects as well as instructed the freedmen on different aspects of life they may encounter. The majority of the curriculum centered around two aspects that impacted the way freedmen were taught. These two aspects include the curricular materials, such as the books and methods that were used, and the content

²⁶ Timothy Lyman to M.E. Strieby, 27 February 1865, AMA Archives.

²⁷ Butchart, *Schooling the Freedpeople*, 2, 60.

of intentional curriculum, or the subjects and lessons that were being taught. The freedmen were taught using books and other works that were written specifically for freed people and learners of any age. Missionaries taught history, geography, arithmetic, science, and at some of the larger schools, gym. As these programs developed, the studies expanded and progressed as the student numbers rose. This advancement led to many teachers believing that freedmen were capable of demonstrating their educational liberty, while some still challenged the idea with comparisons to how white people learned.²⁸

The AMA and other organizations schools believed in the idea of social stability after the Civil War. The organization encouraged teachers not to partake in actual religious studies, but have religious meetings or sabbath school after the ending of the regular school period. Due to fear of public reprimand for their political actions, northern teachers maintained that they were only interested in politics as it related to the freedmen and other refugees. The AMA often excused some of their members in their partisan views and activities while maintaining that they did not directly partake in political activities unless it related to their goals of civil rights and social welfare. Teachers often found themselves using the classroom to practice their own ideals while also influencing the larger sphere.²⁹

Missionaries taught in the face of passive aggressive resistance of white southerners to the presence of the freedmen and their northern teachers. Local whites often threatened both freedmen and teachers. In 1864 several churches were burned and female teachers were threatened with violence if they continued teaching the freedmen. Whites living in the south

²⁸ *Ibid*, 127-130.

²⁹ Robert C. Morris, *Reading, Writing, and Reconstruction: The Education of Freedmen in the South, 1861-1870* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), 163-65.

were wary of the power education had on the freedmen as they began treating their former masters as equals and not betters. Whites felt threatened by this sudden educational uplifting losing the control they had held for generations. Facing these dangers the missionaries persevered, understanding that hostilities from the surrounding areas also prohibited the white population from receiving better educations as well.³⁰

Although scholars such as Robert C. Morris and Ronald E. Butchart explain that northern missionaries were not the only teachers of the freedmen, earlier scholars rightfully argue the impact northern societal members had on the freedmen and programs developing in the south. With the development of the Roanoke Island colony and other African American settlements in and around Beaufort and New Bern, North Carolina, respectively, the AMA and other organizations flourished in supplying teachers and continued to do so until 1867.³¹

The AMA developed a process of selecting only qualified and experienced teachers to go south and help with the missions and goals of the evangelical society. However, sometimes teachers were not examined carefully and several were sent south to aid in establishing schools and churches despite not being qualified. The AMA employed primarily female teachers, as the organization deemed them “safer” in the south than their male counterparts. Some of the challenges these teachers faced included overwork, hard living conditions, and climatic and environmental issues. Outside organizations strongly suggested that AMA teachers specifically were asked to perform too much for their labor and had very little leisure time to travel and do other things and that this impacted their abilities to teach their students. In 1865, the Freedmen’s Bureau and others began to develop housing for missionaries as the AMA purchased or rented

³⁰ Browning, *Shifting Loyalties*, 110.

³¹ Richardson, *Christian Reconstruction*, 15.

land and homes for use. Although teachers and missionaries attempted to embody a benevolent society that represented the ideals of abolitionism, many teachers still had their racial prejudices. Although these conditions often split and divided or slowed AMA progress, the freedmen and their white counterparts successfully started and established schools and religious institutions ensuring good education and creating a unique community.³²

The Roanoke Island Colony served as a starting point for these communities. James developed the colony and often wrote to northern papers and others calling for the support of this colony in the form of donations or migration. As the years continued, the colony grew at a rapid pace and developed several issues that James downplayed in an effort to create more support for the growing development. By 1867, more than 5,000 freedmen lived on the island.. In 1867, the military decided to break up the Roanoke Island colony due to the fact that the large population of freedmen were not able to support themselves. The returning landlords also started to take back their lands and homes, after President Johnson gave amnesty to Confederates who swore an oath of allegiance to the Union. As the year 1867 drew to a close, the last few missionaries returned north and many of the freedmen left the island and headed for mainland North Carolina.³³

On the mainland, James conducted even more work for the freedmen. Using the Roanoke Island as an example, James began to set up missionary camps in and around Beaufort, New Bern, and Washington, North Carolina in mid-1863. Three of the camps James created combined to form the Trent River Camp located near New Bern to protect them from Confederate attacks.

³² Richardson, *Christin Reconstruction*, 1-6, 161-187.

³³ Click, *Time Full of Trial*, 1-11, 57, 153-54, 177-79.

In 1864, James stated that he had a total of sixty-eight teachers working under him from numerous societies and organizations.³⁴ Late in the war, in March of 1865, as Superintendent of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, James continued his work in supplying the needs of desolate whites and the freedmen. James resigned in late 1865 due to family health concerns and the worry of the abolition of the Freedmen's Bureau. James still aided local communities and often wrote to several northern papers requesting aid and support of the freedmen on behalf of the AMA and other societies. James finally left North Carolina in late 1867. James' works were so influential in this area that during Reconstruction, the locals renamed the settlement James City, in his honor. That city and the founders' descendants still reside there today.³⁵

In the field along the eastern North Carolina coast, Horace James and the American Missionary Association conducted several different camps allowing freedmen to practice their liberty. Although the war, climate, and limited supplies sometimes interrupted the agents' practices, they persevered. The letters in this collection represent a large variety of views and opinions of various teachers who recount events and occurrences during their time serving in eastern North Carolina. These letters, reveal the trials and tribulations of those teachers who sought to teach the educational, religious, and economic liberties are rights that all deserve.

Overall, the AMA missionaries and teachers worked together to create the base and foundations for the freedmen to continue their struggles for equality among a hostile population. The formation of the AMA and the letters of several of their members show that although there

³⁴ Horace James, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Negro Affairs in North Carolina, 1864*, 41.

³⁵ Joe A. Mobley, "Horace James," NCpedia. Accessed October 24, 2018. <https://www.ncpedia.org/biography/james-horace>.

were abolitionists in the military and benevolent societies there were different definitions of what the term “abolition” meant and who should rightfully lead the way. A majority of teachers took pride in their work and the progressive development of the freedmen while others disagreed with the tactics and even argued the poor white refugees were often in worse positions than the freedmen and required more aid and responsibility at times. The AMA agents acted as buffers between an occupying military force and the local population, often having to create and manage race relations without any formal guidelines. The AMA served as a starting point for both whites and blacks to begin reconstructing their lives in a new social environment. Through their difficulties, the AMA agents in these letters provide eye-witness accounts of the beginning of progressive future in the South, however distant it may have ultimately been.

EDITORIAL METHOD

Between the years 1863-1865, the American Missionary Association agents sent a total of forty letters to the Home Office in New York. Within the same time period Horace James wrote thirty-four letters. The letters from the American Missionary Association in this collection date approximately from September 11, 1863 to April 1865, while Horace James's letters date from June 10, 1863 to December 1865. Nearly all of these letters were sent from Beaufort and New Bern North Carolina, while another letter from James was sent from New York. These entries have been taken from the American Missionary Association Archives, 1839-1882 in which the letters were scanned into digital format from microfilms originally located at the Amistad Research Center at Tulane University in New Orleans, Louisiana.

More letters from these years exist in the collection. However, some were very faded, smeared or simply illegible. The transcriber has made every attempt to maintain the style and original script of all writers. All letters from both American Missionary Association agents and Horace James have not been altered in any way. Words that were illegible have been placed in square brackets and marked as such in italics. Words that were marked out or written over by the authors are noted and placed between brackets (<>). Words that were added above the line have been noted by solidi (/ /) I have italicized all names of ships and newspapers to limit confusion to the reader. City names such as New Bern appear throughout the letters spelled differently by the author of each letter. Also the settlement Clubfoot Creek is also referenced several times as Clumfort's Creek as different people were not sure of what it was called. All original punctuation and capitalization made by the writers was also kept unless it confused the reader or disrupted the flow of the letter. I have also silently added paragraph breaks where appropriate.

Chapter 1

Horace James 1 to Unknown June 10, 1863

Office of Supt of Blacks

Newbern N.C. June 10/63

Rev. & Dear Sir,

Your note of the 3rd inst. is recd. Bro. Best² is a most worthy and excellent man and is doing a good work for the “Christian Commission”³ among the soldiers mainly. He was expecting to return north very soon but has just rec’d. a request from the Comm. that he will remain here & do their work in continuance. He has this matter under advisement not yet having decided the question.

Meanwhile a private in the 43rd Mass⁴ having a circular from a Meth /st/ Conf. at the north, has been preaching in the largest colored church here ever since last December. His name

¹ Horace James (1818-1875) was an Evangelical minister who originally served as a chaplain in the 25th Massachusetts Infantry. He arrived in North Carolina under General Ambrose Burnside’s expedition in the spring of 1862. He remained in New Bern and served as Superintendent of Negro Affairs and the Roanoke Colony. James remained in this position until the war’s end. Afterwards James worked for the Freedmen’s Bureau as an editor for the “Congregationalist” newspaper. “Horace James (U.S National Park Service)”. Accessed November 28, 2018. <http://www.nps.gov/people/horacejames.htm>

² Editor could not find any information on this individual.

³ Created by the Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA), the Christian Commission which consisted of twelve board members and over 5,000 volunteers, performed religious duties within all parts of the armed forces during the Civil War. Started in November of 1861, the Commission continued its work through the war until decommissioned January 1st, 1866. U.S Christian Commission, “History of the U.S Christian Commission” Accessed October 31, 2018. <http://www.nwuscc.org/OldUSCC.html>.

⁴ Mustered at Camp Meigs, Reidville in 1862, the 43rd Massachusetts Infantry moved out for New Bern, NC in October of 1862. The 43rd served in eastern North Carolina until mid-1863. Janet B. Hewitt ed., *Supplement to the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, (Wilmington: Broadfoot Publishing, 1996) Vol 29: 408-409; Historical Data Systems, comp, *U.S., American Civil War Regiments, 1861-1865*, Ancestry.com, Accessed October 31, 2018. [hereafter cited as Ancestry.com]

is Edward S. Fitz⁵ from Chicopee, Mass. After the return of his regiment, home, which will occur within a month he intends to come back here, and labor with these people. They wish to have him, and have already pledged him ample support.

This is better than any other way I think, and as the people have chosen their own minister, so let it be. It is their right. I think however that a good man would find full employment and a good field in the colored camps about the city. I do not mean the military camps but the little villages where the contrabands who are gathered together & supported by us, the good, reside.

Dr. Whiting spoke to me about Miss Burnap⁶ his friend, and as he has now gone home on leave of absence I presume he will make an argument for her to come out here under some one of the organizations in Boston or N. York, which undertake to send out teachers to the freedmen. I should be glad to see her here. I am prepared to give a limited no. of teachers military protection and soldier rations with a house to live in & place which to teach.

If you find a good flexible, common sense minister that knows how to do all sorts of things in a practical way, and he wants to come here to do good to the colored people, let me know of it and I will send for a pass for him.

Yours very truly,

Horace James

⁵ Edward S. Fitz (1842-1902) was a private in Company K, 43rd Massachusetts Infantry. Born in Pembroke, N.H., Fitz enlisted in the regiment September 1862 and, along with the rest of the Nine Months regiment, mustered out of service on July 30, 1863. Town of Chicopee, Soldiers Records, "Edward S. Fitz, Civil War Soldier," Chicopee Archives Online, accessed October 31, 2018, <http://www.chicopeepubliclibrary.org/archives/items/show/2503>.

⁶ Mary A. Burnap (b. ca. 1838) was a teacher with the American Missionary Association. At the age of 25, she transferred to the Roanoke Colony as their fourth AMA missionary in March of 1864. Patricia C. Click, *Time Full of Trial: The Roanoke Island Freedmen's Colony, 1862-1867*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001.), 84, 288.

Horace James to George Whipple, July 7, 1863

New York N.Y.

July 7, 1863

Bro. Whipple,

When you learn from Col. Van Vliet⁷ that the way is open to send teachers to Newbern, will you be kind enough to add to the name of Mrs. Sara M. DeLamater⁸ to the number of those who are to go under my direction. She is expected to aid Dr. DeLamater⁹ surgeon in chief to the Blacks of our department, in his [*illegible*] hospital labors, and to organize contraband labor.

Yours,

Horace James

Horace James to Unknown, August 24, 1863

Newbern N.C

August 24, 1863

My Dear Bro,

I regret to inform you that good Miss Burnap is sick, not, fortunately, with climatic fever, but with severely inflamed eyes. She has the best of medical attendance, and is being treated to ice bandages, & is in no danger of losing her sight, though she must not expect to teach for awhile.

⁷ Major Stewart Van Vliet (1815-1901). Stationed at Fort Leavenworth, Van Vliet was promoted to major in August 1861. He was then appointed brigadier general of volunteers later that year. From the year 1862 to 1865 Van Vliet was in charge of permitting transportation of supplies and troops in New York. Ezra J. Warner, *Generals in Blue: Lives of the Union Commander* (Louisiana State University Press, 1964), 524.

⁸ Sarah M. DeLamater (b.ca. 1831) was the wife of Dr. J.H DeLamater, from DeRuyter New York. *New York, State Census, 1875*, Ancestry.com, Accessed March 20, 2019.

⁹ Dr. J.H. DeLamater (b.ca. 1822) was a doctor who worked for the AMA from New York. *New York, State Census, 1875*, Ancestry.com, Accessed March 20, 2019.

We have put the ladies into a nice good house where they are to have their own establishment and keep house. But we are short of crockery for the table. And now will you send us, for them and others that may come, a barrel of this kind of goods enough to furnish a table decently, & they will take care of it. Direct to me Supt. Of Contrabands, and it will come with the most speed. The ladies are both capital stuff, and true as steel. They are happy in their work & winning the favor of the community. Miss B. is very cheerful in her suffering, only regretting that she cannot work.

Yours very faithfully,

Horace James

Horace James to Unknown August 27, 1863

Office of Supt of Blacks

Newbern Aug/st/27, 1863

Dear Bro,

Presuming that you may want to send out more instructors, by & by, to the poor of this people, I forward to you four passes from this department, two signed by the Genl.¹⁰ and two by his Adj. Genl¹¹. I presume Major Van Vliet will respect them, for his instructions are to give transportation to all who are in public service, & then declared are declared by the Genl. to be so.

¹⁰ General John Gray Foster (1823-1874) was chief engineer of General Ambrose E. Burnside's expedition that captured New Bern in March 1862. He was commander of the Department of North Carolina from July 1862 until December 1863. Warner, *Generals in Blue*, 157-158.

¹¹ Adjutant General Edward Elmer Potter (1823-1889) was commissioned in 1862 as captain in the commissary department, attached to Burnside's Expedition. Potter served as chief commissary under John Gray Foster. Later that year Burnside appointed Potter to raise a union volunteer regiment from nearby civilians living around Washington, North Carolina. *Ibid*, 380-381.

I send you also names of teachers who have applied to me for places here, Miss. Jones¹² is very highly spoken of, Miss. Vinton¹³ & Paine¹⁴ are excellent young girls, Mrs. John B. Gough¹⁵ recommends Miss Glazier¹⁶ as a most conscientious Christian girl. Mrs. Dawson¹⁷ is good, Miss James¹⁸ is my cousin, and a clear headed warm hearted and very energetic girl, about 40 years old, has had long experience in teaching and is amply qualified. She is strongly Methodist in her religious faith, and full of zeal. I want her by & by on Roanoke Island, where she will be just the person to rough it in a new country. I therefore commission her to you, and suggest that you apply to her in Medford. She wishes very much to go, being one of the heartiest in her anti-slavery views, & sympathy for the slave. I will write to you again after visiting Roanoke, and indicate how soon it will be safe to send her out.

Miss Burnap continues ill with her eyes, & confined to the room, but is now improving. She bears the discipline with a wonderful amount of patience and cheerfulness. There seems to

¹² Miss Mary E. Jones, was a teacher commissioned by the National Freedmen's Relief Association. Horace James, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Negro Affairs in North Carolina, 1864: With an Appendix Containing the History and Management of the Freedmen in This Department Up to June 1st, 1865* (W.F. Brown & Company, 1865), 41.

¹³ Miss Sarah A. Vinton (b.ca. 1839) was a teacher from Massachusetts who worked for the AMA. Ancestry.com, Year: 1860; Census Place: South Hadley, Hampshire, Massachusetts; Roll: M653_505; Page: 665; Family History Library Film, Ancestry.com, Accessed March 20, 2019; Vinton, Miss Sarah A. *Letter: South Hadley, Massachusetts, January 18, 1864, to George Whipple*. January 18, 1864, AMA Archives.

¹⁴ Etta Paine (b.ca.1838), a 25-year-old school teacher for the American Missionary Association, had training in medical schools. Joe M. Richardson, *Christian Reconstruction: The American Missionary Association and Southern Blacks, 1861-1890*, (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986), 167.

¹⁵ Mary Elizabeth Gough (1819-1891), a teacher from Massachusetts, was the wife of John B. Gough (1817-1886), a well-known public advocate against alcohol. U.S., Find A Grave Index, 1600s-Current, Ancestry.com, Accessed February 9th, 2019.

¹⁶ Editor could not find any information on this individual.

¹⁷ Editor could not find any information on this individual.

¹⁸ Elizabeth James (1820-1900), was one of the first teachers to work at the freedmen colony on Roanoke Island, serving there from October 1863 to 1867. Click, *Time Full of Trial*, 80, 82, 88, 268.

have been no interruption whatsoever of her accustomed sprightliness in these days of perfect blindness, *<illegible and crossed out>* another teacher is supplying her place in the school during her confinement within doors. The ladies are very happy keeping house by themselves, and have indeed one of the nicest houses in Newbern, rather better than missionaries picture in their dreams.

We have no chaplain yet for Plymouth, and no clergyman to preach the gospel at that post, or rescue the “District of the Roanoke”¹⁹ from practical heathenism. We have some excellent laymen however to do it.

Yours very faithfully

Horace James

Susan A. Hosmer to Unknown September 11, 1863

Honored Father,

We were very at grateful for your letter of the first, Miss. B²⁰ says she would be glad to express her thanks by writing, if the Dr. would allow it.

Miss Burnap’s eyes to appearance are well, but still weak, she is not permitted to read or write/and/ *<she>* has not been able to teach since the sixth of Aug.

Knowing the deep interest, you feel in the welfare of the Freedmen here, it is with pleasures, I speak of the place and people. Newbern is a city of trees and flowers, and might well

¹⁹ James is referring to the Freedman’s Colony of Roanoke Island, first established in 1863 by General John G. Foster. Foster named James as superintendent of the Colony. By 1864, 2,712 freemen lived in the Colony. Click, *Time Full of Trial*, 1-5.

²⁰ Mary A. Burnap

be called a bowery city and if northern industry, energy, and taste could be united with these. It would surpass /many/ of the cities in our latitude.

The wicked, barbarous, system of slavery has left its marks upon the deserted home of the masters, proving that it is a curse to him, as well as the slave. Then the simple tale of their sufferings is enough to rend the heart, blush the cheek, and make every loyal Christian heart pray more earnestly that “God may break every yoke and let the oppressed go free.”²¹ One of our scholars wished we could see the marks of the lash upon his back, they were an inch wide.

Another says “When masters was in good humor, I used to cry, and then she would let me take a lesson so I learned to read a little, and in my ignorance, I promised the Lord if he would please /let/ me learn enough, so that I could /read/ the Bible, I would ask no more; now my desire is, to get more knowledge, and I bless God that he has sent you out here, and I want to /do/ all that I can for you, now that you have come so far to teach us.”

On the twenty third of July, not only were free schools opened, but a flag was presented by the Ladies Relief Society of Newbern²², to the First Regt N.C Colored Vol.²³ This is the dawning of a brighter day for them, them men are becoming soldiers, and all classes receiving instruction. There are said to be five hundred, who are being taught in schools at New Berne besides many who are instructed by our Christian soldiers. Some other teachers will arrive, and

²¹ Hosmer is referencing *Isaiah* 58:6. The full verse reads “Is not this the fast that I have chosen? To loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke?” *Isaiah*. 58:6. (King James Version).

²²The Colored Ladies’ Relief Association of North Carolina led by Mary Starkey presented a flag made by Harriet Beecher Stowe to this new regiment of troops. NBHS “News | New Bern Historical Society - Part 2.” Accessed February 25, 2019. <https://newbernhistorical.org/news/page/2/>.

²³ The Emancipation proclamation allowed for the recruitment of African-American soldiers. General Edward A. Wild enlisted Freedmen in eastern North Carolina to form an African-American regiment. Placed under the direct command of James Beecher, Harriet Beecher Stowe’s half-brother, the First North Carolina Colored Volunteers mustered in June of 1863. They were then moved and stationed outside of Charleston, South Carolina. Donald E. Collins, “Union Volunteer Regiments” *Encyclopedia of North Carolina* (University of North Carolina Press, 2006) Accessed February 25th, 2019. <https://www.ncpedia.org/union-volunteer-regiments>.

we hope all will have the privilege of learning to read which seem to be the height of their ambition. May one not feel that this people will soon “stretch out their hands unto God,” that they who have sat so long in darkness will receive great light and an equal place among the making of the Earth.

We commenced work in the Christian schools two days after our arrival with eighty scholars, all ages from four to forty-five. Since then two old men have come in, /one’ aged eighty, the other seventy-two. These older ones’ search for knowledge, as for hid treasures and are rewarded according to their labor, one can read; the other spell a little. One of them was asked “how many friends escaped with him?” He replied, “not one!” Then it was said to him “You were smart to get away alone” (he is quite lame) He squinting and looking reverently upward said, “Ah! it won’t, my Friend up there helped me.” This is the one who is so anxious /to/ read the Holy Word. The class of little children have learned /the/ Alphabet and soon will be able to read. All seem interested, desiring their own language. They “can learn right smart and have a might desire too.” Often, they bring fruit and flowers as a testimonial of their regard for their teachers. Being earnestly requested, by a mother, a white child was permitted to become a member of our school, since then several other have come in without permission and as we came to work for all, they have not been turned away. They try very hard to learn. Suppose they belong to the poorest class of whites, they are as ignorant as the blacks.

There is an increasing religious interest among the colored people, the last sabbath in Aug. there were fifty baptized. A good old colored lady said there were never was such a day in Newbern, and she blessed God that she ever saw a Yankee. (she seemed to think all northern people are yankees)

There are two sabbath schools one held at half past seven /in the Christian Church/ the other at nine in the Methodist church. The former numbers one hundred twenty-five, the latter five hundred or more. It is most interesting and encouraging to see so many children and youth, so absorbed and delighted in the story of the Babe of Bethlehem. Almost every child can repeat the verses, “now when Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judaea in the days of Herod the king, behold, there came wise men from the east to Jerusalem, saying Where is he that is born King of the Jews, for we have seen his star in the east, and are come to worship him.”²⁴ It was my privilege to attend one of their concerts, commenced with singing, that sweet song. “The Sunday School,” followed by the reading of the Scriptures and prayers by Chaplain Hall.²⁵ After these many levels of scriptures were repeated by the children, this Sabbath school songs were sung and remarks from Chaplain James, telling of his tour north and how interested people there were for them. Then Chaplain Woodworth²⁶ and Hall addressed the school. Still another whom you know interested us by telling what was being done in Va. by Mr. Beals²⁷ by name.

I had met him before in my school room, and it is very pleasant to see those who are engaged in the same blessed works.

Truly yours in Jesus,

²⁴ Hosmer is reciting the story of the birth of Jesus. *Matthew 2:1* (King James Version).

²⁵ Edward H. Hall (1828-1884) a chaplain of the 44th Massachusetts Infantry Regiment. “Soldier Details - The Civil War (U.S. National Park Service).” <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/civilwar/search-soldiers-detail.htm>. Accessed October 31, 2018. ; National Park Service. *U.S. Civil War Soldiers, 1861-1865* Accessed October 31, 2018.

²⁶ Charles L. Woodworth (1820-1898) was a chaplain stationed in companies “F” and “S” of the 27th Massachusetts Regiment. “Soldier Details - The Civil War (U.S. National Park Service).” Accessed October 31, 2018. <https://www.nps.gov/civilwar/search-soldiers-detail.htm?soldierId=DDCAEBE0-DC7A-DF11-BF36-B8AC6F5D926A>.; Ancestry.com, *U.S., Civil War Soldier Records and Profiles, 1861-1865*. Accessed October 31, 2018.

²⁷ Reverend Harvey S. Beals (abt. 1813-1866) was a master pail maker, lumberman, and minister who applied to teach with the AMA in the mid-1860s. Ronald E. Butchart, *Schooling the Freed People: Teaching, Learning, and the Struggle for Black Freedom, 1861-1876* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2010), 84; *U.S., Find A Grave Index, 1600s-Current*. Accessed February 21, 2019. <https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/60525/>

Susan A. Hosmer

Horace James to Unknown, September 11, 1863

Newbern N.C

Sept. 11, 1863²⁸

Dear Bro.,

Miss Burnap is very much better, in fact about well again, only not recovered in strength. Before she enters upon [*illegible*] I propose to send her, with Miss. Hosmer²⁹, whose labor has been heavier during Miss. B's illness, upon a short visit either to Beaufort or Washington.

I can make it as expense to them, and give them a pleasant useful and needful vacation. The school meanwhile would be carried forward by other laborers upon whom I could assign to it.

Your letter is rec'd, giving notice of crockery &c. to be sent, but the goods have not yet arrived. The assortment is very suitable, and things greatly sufficient.

If you rec'd my note respecting Miss. Eliz. James I would say now that I am ready for her and for one or two more whom you may see fit to send. I find that the awaiting condition of Roanoke Island is good, and that I may as well send /teachers/ there immediately as I wait longer.

I will be ready for them now at any time. Those who come had better bring sheets pillow cases (& pillows if they can) and towels.

²⁸ This letter is mistakenly listed as Sept. 11, 1862 in the AMA archives. He's in New York, but he's talking about business in North Carolina.

²⁹ Miss Susan Hosmer (1836-1912), a teacher in New Bern, North Carolina, also acted as a relief agent after school handing out necessary items to local families in need. Richardson, *Christian Reconstruction*, 59; Ancestr.com, Year: 1860; Census Place: *Ashby, Middlesex, Massachusetts*; Roll: *M653_511*; Page: 182; Family History Library Film. Accessed November 26, 2018.

The prospects of the work on that island are excellent, and six months will do great things in developing out plans. Send every thing direct to Newbern, and [illegible] there is a [illegible] to Roanoke.

I remain Dear Bro.,

Yours very Faithfully,

Horace James

P.S. Rev. J. [illegible] Tinsley D.D.³⁰ of Greenwich, Conn. wants to come out here and preach and labor for the blacks, and if you would like to send him and his vigor remains sufficient for it, I should like to try him. It is a grand field on Roanoke, 1200 negroes are now there, and before spring there will be 2500.

H.J.

Horace James to George Whipple, Sept 15, 1863

Newbern N.C.,

Sept 15, 1863

Rev. George Whipple

My Dear Bro,

Yours of the 9th inst. is at hand. The box of crockery & e. is rec'd. in good order, agreed with the invoice and is wholly satisfactory and for the present more than sufficient. The ladies will be charged with /its/ proper care. Goods might be sent via Fort Monroe.³¹ But then they

³⁰ Editor could not find any information on this individual.

³¹ Fort Monroe (completed in 1834) protected the Comfort Point Lighthouse and Hampton Roads, Virginia, a harbor that was the key to controlling the Chesapeake Bay and water access to Virginia and Washington D.C. During the Civil War, the Union maintained a control of the fort. "Fort Monroe | Hampton, VA - Official Website." <https://hampton.gov/1912/History>. Accessed November 26, 2018.

would go to Beaufort N.C. & require transportation by rail. So on the whole it is better to ship direct from N. York. The goods always come in good shape by this line, and the delays which sometimes occur we must endure.

I yesterday, sent Miss. Burnap (now out of the Dr.'s hands) and Miss. Hosmer (who requires a few days rest) to little Washington under proper escort, to reconnoiter the place, look into the colored schools & churches and acquaint themselves with matters there, while they are recruiting their own powers. They will be gone some ten days & be with their excellent friend Dr. Whiting.³² At the end of that time. I hope they may together resume their flourishing school of some 150 pupils. Meanwhile I have a lady instructing it alone.

By no means limit yourself to my list of names transmitted. I scarcely meant to make “nominations” to that extent, for of some of them I am quite ignorant. It is altogether probable that some of them are unfit to come. The responsibility of selecting is on you not me. When I positively recommend I am confident that you will give my opinion all the weight it deserves, and more.

As to colored teachers from the north, I do not see the way clear for them coming among us as yet. I think well educated colored preachers who are ordained ministers would do more good. We should find it difficult to assign a position to /such/ teachers as yet, and besides I want to bring to the system all the influence, efficiency, and even éclat which white teachers can give it, so as to accomplish the most in a short time. Meanwhile we shall raise up as many colored instructors as we can, and as fast as they are fit I intend to employ them /as assistants & e./ at

³² William E. Whiting (1803-1882), one of the first officers of the American Missionary Association, was employed as an office agent and assistant to the Treasurer in the New York Headquarters. Herbert H. Toler, Jr. “Nothin but Ligion: The American Missionary Association’s Activities in the Nation’s Capital, 1852-1875” (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2014), 96, Accessed November 13, 2018, file:///C:/Users/Jacob/AppData/Local/Temp/TolerJr_columbia_0054D_11890.pdf; Ancestry.com, *U.S., Find A Grave Index, 1600s-Current*. Accessed November 26, 2018.

from 4 to 8 dolls a month. I have already three under pay. Do not feel bound in the matter of salary. Be free to make your own bargains. But I mentioned \$20 a month to Miss. Eliz. James & she will be worth it.

The Christian Commission now have a man at Plymouth. Bear in mind what I said in a recent letter of Dr. Tinsley. I think he would be a good man for Roanoke. The reports of your visiting teachers are substantially correct; but the destitution of books, schools, and preaching will I think be soon supplied. The Freedmen Assoc.³³ are sending us clothing & so is the Boston Ed. Soc.³⁴ but still we cry give, give, and must do so for 8 more months longer. Between your Soc. The N. Fr. Rel Ass.³⁵ And the Ed. Com. Boston I expect a dozen teachers & preachers here within a month. Let them come we have work for them to do, and the nearest is great, our first want now is good faithful female teachers.

With much love

I am ever yours,

Horace James.

³³ Here James is talking about the “Friends’ Freemen’s Association, an organization started by Quakers in Philadelphia in 1863. The full title of the organization the “Friends’ Association of Philadelphia and Its Vicinity, for the Relief of Colored Freedmen” focused on providing services to freed slaves during the Civil War. The Association continued its work until dissolved in 1982. Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College, “An Inventory of the Friends Freedmen’s Association Records, 1863-1982.” <http://www.swarthmore.edu/Library/friends/ead/4024frfr.xml>. Accessed November 26, 2018.

³⁴ The Boston Education Commission started in February of 1862 focused on relief efforts. Started by the request for help by Edward L. Pierce to support the Port Royal Experiment in South Carolina, the society continued to branch out slowly in New England officially renaming itself the “New England’s Freedmen Aid Society” as its goals and focuses developed as well as the incorporation of several other organizations. “New England Freedmen’s Aid Society Records, 1862-1878.” <http://www.masshist.org/collection-guides/view/fa0423>. Accessed November 26, 2018.

³⁵ National Freedman’s Relief Association. First organized in a meeting at Mr. J. Van Santvoord’s home on March 19th, 1862, the NFRA aided newly freedmen by supplying them clothes, employment, temporary homes, and teaching them to read and write. National Freedmen’s Relief Association of District Columbia, “First Annual Report of the National Freedman’s Relief Association of the District of Columbia.” Pearl Digital Collections.. <https://digital.history.pcusa.org/islandora/object/islandora:112859>. Accessed January 17, 2019

I meant to say that Rev. Mr. Grimes³⁶ (colored) from Boston has just been here and has been looking over the ground with reference to searching out colored preachers by some Boston organization of colored people. One or two such men are needed.

[*In margin of first page*] Miss James present address is Care John Taylor, Esq.³⁷ Chelsea, Mass.

Rev. Geo N. Greene to Br. Jocelyn³⁸ October 23, 1863

Beaufort N.C

Oct 23d 1863

Br. Jocelyn

My Dear Sir,

You have no doubt expected a report from me ere this time, but I have been too busy in arranging matters for schools to write anybody, and now I can send you only a synopsis of my labors. I arrived here Mond. night of the 12th inst; Saw a few of the prominent colored men, and then decided to call a meeting of colored people next night to state to them what I had come to do &c. and to ascertain what could be done by them. Towards filling rooms &c &c. At meeting decided to take a collection last Sunday to defray current expenses. Collection was taken and the sorry little sum of \$84.88 cts was contributed, and the money is in my hands, to buy some of the things in my order to Br. Whiting. Two churches have been placed at my disposal by both the

³⁶ Editor could not find any information on this individual.

³⁷ John Taylor (b.ca. 1808) Ancestry.com, *Massachusetts, State Census, 1865*, Ancestry.com, New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston, Massachusetts, Accessed March 20, 2019.

³⁸ Simeon Smith Jocelyn (1799-1879) was the treasurer of the Home Department for the American Missionary Association. He worked alongside Reverend George Whipple and under Lewis Tappan, the treasurer in the headquarters in New York. He resigned in 1863 due to health issues but continued serving as a committee member until his death. Herbert H. Toler Jr., "Nothin but Ligion: The American Missionary Associations Activities in the Nation's Capital, 1852-1875" (Ph.D. diss., University of Columbia, 2014) accessed November 18th, 2018. file:///C:/Users/Jacob/AppData/Local/Temp/TolerJr_columbia_0054D_11890-1.pdf; Ancestry.com, Year: 1870; Census Place: *Brooklyn Ward 13, Kings, New York*; Roll: *M593_954*; Page: *510A*; Family History Library Film, Ancestry.com, Accessed February 20, 2019.

Military and church authorities. This for colored children only here. Having done this much here next went to Morehead. Have the promise of that church there, though it has not been formally given up to me yet, but will be at any time when I make the request. Col. DeForest³⁹ has gone to Fortress Monroe. Col. Jordan⁴⁰ of the NY 158th⁴¹ takes his place.

I then went up to Pine Grove Settlement⁴² to see what could be done there. Went up on Sat. and staed over Sabbath. Talked to the people awhile, stated my object in coming as a missionary among them. They have no schoolhouse of course and their church is absolutely unfit, and they refuse wholly to have school in it. They are going to build a log school house, because there is no lumber to be had. They will do nearly all the work, or quite, under my direction; They have a hundred or more children to attend the center school. House, they propose to make 26x36 ft.

They want four houses in the settlement. I think only two or possibly three will get up this fall. They decided to take a collection at once for the center house only. The result was, \$95.00 was pledged on the spot, and \$45 of it placed in my hands to get also some part of Br. Whiting's order. On Sunday next I am promised enough to make up \$100. I send for glass &c.

³⁹ Colonel Henry Swift DeForest (1833-1899) was a chaplain in the 11th infantry in the Connecticut regiment. A graduate of Yale, DeForest became a professor of mathematics after the war's end, leading to his promotion as president of Talladega College in Talladega, Alabama by the AMA. Richardson *Christian Reconstruction*, 131; National Park Service, *U.S. Civil War Soldiers, 1861-1865*. Accessed February 21, 2019.

⁴⁰ Colonel James Jourdan (1832-1910), colonel of the 158th New York. John H. Eicher, and David J. Eicher, *Civil War High Commands*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 326.

⁴¹ 158th New York Infantry regiment, served from August 1862-May of 1865. Stationed in Virginia in 1862, the 158th moved to New Bern in November of that year. They remained in eastern North Carolina until moving to take part in the attack against Fort Burnham in 1864. Janet B. Hewitt ed., *Supplement to the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, (Wilmington: Broadfoot Publishing Company, 1997), Vol. 147: 382.

⁴² A local camp set outside of New Bern for freedmen and other refugees escaping the war or slavery. Judkin Browning, *Shifting Loyalties: The Union Occupation of Eastern North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 103.

for two houses. They will they say raise another hundred if necessary to in order to educate their children.

They are more earnest and determined than any colored people I have ever met and are willing to practice more of self-denial.

Still other places I have not been to, we shall need all told probably twenty teachers in this vicinity and then but poorly supply their wants. I hope some may be sent soon. Can set eight or ten to work now. In accordance with your instructions I have been doing what I could to get the four whites to come into the school arrangements. I have succeeded this week by visiting &c. to introduce something more than 400 /white/ children to be placed under my direction as soon as, or whenever teachers shall be sent. They really, many of them, are more abject than the contrabands are themselves and need more teaching. Have met in my labors among them some very rabid Secesh. Indeed I was told when I first came here a white school would not go at all. Two and perhaps more teachers will be needed for them here. Can I have them? Shall some of the first arrivals be set at work among them? I shall do it unless otherwise ordered. Chaplain James says by all means to get in white children if you can. I have labored exceedingly hard to bring it about. Four teachers, that I have conditionally promised them, will not cost the association anything at all for board, washing &c. as the people will do it themselves, they say even independent of Government. I hope you will not think my order extravagant for stoves. They are wanted and money /already/ advanced to pay for four of them. Wood stoves, lights, chairs, pales, brooms, towels, hand basins, soap they will pay for. (They all, black and white, are willing to make their burden as light as possible for the Association). I think they will pay for nearly all the books & slates used. I hope the order may be made as complete as possible, and forwarded at the first opportunity. In a week, we will have most of arrangements completed for

beginning all the schools at all events will urge on the work as fast as possible. There are some here or six lady teachers who have applied to me personally and by mail.

Four of them are to be supplied by different associations, and will be no cost or trouble to the Am. Miss. Assocn. unless it may be for passes and procuring transportation. These have volunteered their services and funds collected for their support from my appeals through the ‘press’ and personal efforts.

I hope they may prove themselves, as ministers and others have represented them. The three Boxes of clothing sent to the mission rooms from /Meredith N.Y./ to be sent to me, or sent to me /at Norfolk/, I shall need here and indeed more. So, if they have been appropriated, I hope to have others sent me soon. I make appeals of course for money, clothing teachers &c. to aid me in my work, as well as the general good of those with whom I labor. Many whites need clothes very much indeed. Went into one family in my visits yesterday where three children had nothing on but an old ragged, short shirt, which did not cover their nakedness. With cottons and calico 40c to 45c per yard it would be difficult for a laboring man north to feed and clothe any considerable family. One family had nothing to eat I believe but potatoes, without butter or salt. As soon as I can get time to write I shall let these wants be known, generally in some New York papers. Just now am more than busy. All boxes, barrels, or packages designed for me, send to Rev. Horace James Newbern. Having Beaufort marked on each.

I would like to have the “Independent”⁴³ sent me as I have now no paper, and no mail only once in a week or in ten days. As I intend writing for the “Principia”⁴⁴ occasionally I would like that too. Send some of the papers & magazines for Nov. when printed.

⁴³ A weekly religious, anti-slavery newspaper founded in 1848, the *Independent*, started by Parrish Thompson, Richard Storrs, and Henry Ward Beecher. Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines, 1850-1865* (Harvard University Press, 1938), 368.

You can do as you please about acknowledging in receipts, the amt. I have collected. If you do, Say Beaufort per me \$84.88 cts. Pine Grove, (100.00) \$45 paid in. The other is promised, as I have said, next Sunday. Would have been paid last Sunday but only a few knew that anything was to be done until they got to church.

No more now. The field's white for the harvest. More laborers wanted. Pray for us.

Truly yours,

Geo N. Greene Oct.

George N. Greene to George Whipple and S. S. Jocelyn, December 28, 1863:

Beaufort, N.C

Dec 28th/63

Rev. Whipple & Jocelyn:

Dr. Bro,

I improve the present to write you in regard to a payment I wish to make on or as near the first of Jan. as possible. You know, at least Br. Jocelyn knows, I am somewhat indebted, and I should like to pay up a part as soon as possible. I do not like to keep money by me, and pay interest on it. I intended to have made a payment of \$50 last fall before I left N.Y. but as no money was furnished me by the Treasurer to pay contingent expenses, I was forced to keep mine to do it. Enclosed please find \$40 of my money, <paid before> brought with me from New York.

⁴⁴ The *Principia* was a New York-based newspaper published from 1859-1864 that covered a wide variety of topics including African-Americans, abolitionist movements, New York and United States news. The Library of Congress, "The Principia." *Chronicling America* Accessed February 4, 2019. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn91069806/>.

I wished to pay \$150 1st Jan. but cannot. If you will please add to the \$40 my salary since Sept. 1st or Aug. 31st you will very greatly oblige me. Please send the amount in check to Albert C. Greene,⁴⁵ Jewett City, Conn., care of Dea Y.J Gates.⁴⁶ Please make it payable only to him, so it may be safe. Of course, the same to be charged to my Acct. when you get the returned check. All well as common at the Mission House.

In haste,

Truly Yours,

Geo N. Greene.

Horace James to Unknown Jan. 4, 1864

Newbern Jan. 4, 1864

Dear Bro,

Yours of Dec. 29th respecting Rev. Wm T. Briggs⁴⁷ is rec'd. I am glad of your decision to commission him & want to see him immediately.

⁴⁵ Albert C. Greene (b.ca. 1822) Ancestry.com, *Rhode Island, State Censuses, 1865-1935*, Ancestry.com, Accessed March 20, 2019.

⁴⁶ Editor could not find any information on this individual.

⁴⁷ Reverend William T. Briggs (b.ca. 1815), Superintendent of Education for the American Missionary Association schools in North Carolina. Click, *Time Full of Trial*, 70-71, 107; Ancestry.com, *New York, State Census, 1865*, Ancestry.com, Accessed March 21, 2019.

I send you two more passes. But I entreat you not to send any more except a no. 1 teachers. Privately while the first two you sent us possess a lovely & sweet Christian character, they lack the promptness, energy and force, which are highly desirable. Miss. James does grandly, Miss. Brownson⁴⁸ is splendid, Misses. Getchell⁴⁹ & Etheridge⁵⁰ have not been fully tested, but fare well. I had rather as Green⁵¹ fuss along awhile longer than breast the storm of odium which would gather among the Baptists. I know them, I should be glad of Miss Roper⁵² & Miss. Hosmer and of a good preacher for Roanoke. Has Dr. Tinsley given up coming? Very likely a younger man would be better. Mr. Comings⁵³ has accepted the place of our of my assistant at \$50.00 a month.

Yours faithfully,

Horace James

Chap& Supt & c

E.J Comings to George Whipple January 6, 1864⁵⁴

⁴⁸ Miss Mary Brownson (b. 1830) was a teacher who worked for the AMA. Judkin Browning, *The Southern Mind Under Union Rule: The Diary of James Rumley, Beaufort, North Carolina, 1862-1865* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2009), 98.

⁴⁹ Carrie M. Getchell, a teacher for the AMA. Richardson, *Christian Reconstruction*, 176.

⁵⁰ Miss Antoinette L. Etheridge was AMA teacher who taught in Morehead City, North Carolina. Richardson, *Christian Reconstruction*, 47.

⁵¹ Reverend George N. Greene (b. 1826), a graduate from Yale, Greene arrived in Beaufort to set up a school at Clumforts/Clubfoot Creek. Browning, *Shifting Loyalties*, 103.

⁵² Ellen Eunice "Ella" Roper (1841-1917) arrived in Beaufort in January of 1864, Roper graduated from a seminary school in Massachusetts and moved to the south to contribute to the AMA efforts. Click, *Time Full of Trial*, 83.

⁵³ Reverend Elam Jewett Comings (1812-1894) was an AMA teacher who worked in the Office of Negro Affairs under Horace James. U.S., *Find A Grave Index, 1600s-Current*, Ancestry.com, Accessed February 5, 2019; Horace James, *Letter: New Bern, North Carolina, January 4, 1864*. January 4, 1864, AMA Archives.

⁵⁴ This letter was edited for publication in the *American Missionary Journal*.

Beaufort N.C. Jan 6, 1864

<Rev. Geo. Whipple,>

<My Dear Friend>,

With your kind permission I want to speak to as many of the Sabbath school children of the North as I can get to hear me. I have been more than forty years in the Sabbath school and love the place most dearly. <I am more indebted to it than I can ever pay.> The children of the Sabbath school are all my friends. I want to speak to them because I love them. There is one school in particular far away, almost up to the North end of the Green Mountains, which I have in mind. At first I thought I would write to them alone because they are so near to my heart, & because they often beg me to remember them. When I think of the names of Willie & Freddie & Emma & Nettie & a host-of others there, I can hardly deny their request-to write to them. But there are a great many other little boys & girls who would be glad to hear something I may say /to them about North Carolina so I choose to speak to all at once, through the missionary paper.

Now children, I was told by a letter not long ago that there is at least one little child in Vt who prays for me every day! I cannot begin to tell you how thankful & happy that fact makes me feel. Oh I wish there were thousands where now there is one. The prayers of the little children are worth, to me, far more than the highest harvest & riches which the world can give. (No break)

I do must earnestly invite all the little children who may /read or hear/ this letter read, to remember me. Pray for me. I ask /it/ not merely for my own sake, but chiefly for the sake of the cause for which I am here so far from home. (No break) Shall I tell you a little about it?

Before any Teachers or Missionaries came here, the soldiers who love our country & our noble President came & took the place from the hands of the Rebels. They opened the jails where

many poor colored people were shut-up in the dark, & told them they might-go free. They took the strong forts & the great guns which had been prepared, with which to destroy our brave soldiers, raised over them the stars & stripes, & said to all both black and white “rally around the flag & you shall be free” (No break)

In this way there are now a great many thousands in this state, who are today, just as free as you are. Till our army came here, they /were/ all their lives <been> held by their masters as their property. They were bought & sold & rented out just-like farms & horses & cattle.

Close by me is an old man 107 years old, who never till now could say that his hands <are> /were/ his own. And the same is true of all the little children. Every Sabbath I preach to fathers & mothers who once had children with them, whom they love just as I love mine. But the speculator came & bought them, & they were chained into a gang as you sometimes see horses fitted for market, & taken off never to /see/ home, father & mother any more. They are now, if alive, among the Rebels.(no break)

Always when I am preaching, if I make any allusion to these absent children, I see that the parents around me sigh. A heavy burden is on their hearts.

Before the soldiers came too not one of all these people were allowed to go to school & scarcely one was permitted at all to learn to read. Indeed if any of them did learn they were often cruelly whipped for it. I know a woman who was sent upstairs by her master to bring him a book called “Hannah Moore.” She went & got it out of a library. He knew then that she had been learning to read. So the heartless monster whipped her for knowing how to get the book!

Such was their condition. The night of their sorrows had been long & dark. Oh how dark! But now the morning light is breaking upon them. Missionaries & teachers have followed in the steps of the conquering army, & are laboring to instruct, raise up & save this poor people. I am

here to do what I can for them by distributing food & clothing, establishing schools & preaching to them the Gospel. (No break) Others are engaged in the same work. Our heads hands & hearts are full. We all love the work. Oh, I wish you could all look in upon our Sabbath schools here & see hundreds of dark faces eagerly preparing for work to learn the Bible. I know if you could see them you would rejoice with them.

Christmas & New Year's days have just passed. I hope all have had a happy time. With the Freedmen, it has been the most joyful time of their lives. On New Year's Day they had a great meeting. They called themselves one year old on that day, because a year ago Pres Lincoln set them free. They sung & they prayed, they passed resolutions & they cheered as if they really felt that they had crossed the Red Sea. One man said in his prayer "Lord we thank /thee/ that it ever came into thine heart to make such a man as President Lincoln."

Now my dear children I want to ask you all to do two things for these poor children of bondage. Will you not pray for them every day? Ask God to teach them by his Holy Spirit, to save them from the bondage of sin. This is one thing I want you all to do. And then will you not all love to give something to help the missionary cause among them? Now is the time. A great change is passing over them. Let us all do what we can for them. <by & by I will tell you more about them.>

<your friend, E.J.C.>

Horace James to Unknown Jan. 16, 1864

Office of Sup't of Negro Affairs

Newbern N.C.

Jan 16, 1864

My Dear Bro,

I was at Beaufort today, and found Miss. Etheridge a very sick girl, from erysipelas⁵⁵ and ulceration after vaccination. She will not teach for a long time, it may be never. She is cheerful, & lovely, but suffers much. Miss. Comings⁵⁶ also has a bad arm from same cause, and is feverish, Miss. Brownson has a bad stiff & ulcerated neck, and is very sick, but able to sit up. The others are well. Miss. Getchell takes the school of the last two for a week. Mr. Comings is working admirably for us in his new sphere, and at the same time does just as much in the old way preaching and visiting. He is a faithful good man.

Mr. Green is fast lapsing into utter imbecility and chronic nothingness. He failed at Norfolk, as they told me there. He has failed worse here. He does not preach, nor teach, nor do anything but fuss and laze around to the annoyance and contempt of all. There is not one of the teachers associates with him at Beaufort, whether male or female of your assoc. or of the Freedman's or the Boston Soc., but speaks in clear decisive terms of his inefficiency and next to uselessness.

He says he would teach, but he has preached but twice since he came here (I think they said it was but twice) and I hope that you will at least not reengage him when his time is up.

If the Baptists will only send a man who is smart, and wide awake and knows something, we would welcome him. But if you were to withdraw him, they would make a poor show of crying persecution. Eight ladies and one gentleman, teachers, and all Beaufort citizens and

⁵⁵ Erysipelas is a bacterial infection of the skin much like cellulitis except it only impacts the top layers of the skin. It is caused by bacteria that entered the skin through open spots such as cuts or bruises and is curable. Tom Seymour, "Everything You Need to Know About Erysipelas", *Medical News Today*, MediLexicon, Intl., June 18, 2017, Accessed May 3, 2019, <https://www.medicalnewstoday.com/articles/317973.php>.

⁵⁶ Sarah Dawes Comings (1840-1926) daughter of Reverend E.J. Comings, followed in her father's footsteps and came to Beaufort, North Carolina to work for the AMA as a teacher. U.S., Find A Grave Index, 1600s-Current, Ancestry.com, Accessed February 5, 2019; Horace James, *Annual report of the superintendent of Negro Affairs in North Carolina*, 41.

soldiers so far as they know him are ready to testify against him as a useless appendage of our system. We should hardly miss him. A good negro at \$10.00 a month would do more work, and as to moral influence I cannot find that he has any. I never was so struck with it as in seeing him, and hearing about him today. If he were ordered to go to Harker's Island,⁵⁷ Clubfoot Creek,⁵⁸ & Shackleford Banks⁵⁹ in rotation, and preach the gospel then to the nation white and blacks, he might do some good. I speak freely, and should not want to say this to him. But I do it in sorrow not in anger, and have had no unpleasant word with him in any way. We are just as unfortunate as we can be in him. Miss. Fanny Smith⁶⁰ is well, saw her today.

Yours faithfully,

Horace James

Horace James to Unknown Newbern Jan. 18, 1864

Newbern N.C.

Jan. 18, 1864

Dear Bro,

Miss. Gill⁶¹ and Miss. Smith need no more introduction than they have had. They have commended themselves to us more and more as we know them better. They are placed in a camp

⁵⁷ Located in the east end of the Brown Sound.

⁵⁸ A river located on the border of Carteret and Craven counties.

⁵⁹ One of the outer banks located south-east of Carteret County.

⁶⁰ Editor could not find any information on this individual.

⁶¹ Emily S. Gill, commissioned by the AMA as a teacher. Horace James, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Negro Affairs in North Carolina, 1864*, 41.

of contrabands where some six or seven hundred people came under their eye and instruction. It is a grand field and they enjoy it. Their health is excellent, and I am glad you sent them here.

Rev. Mr. Briggs arrived today, also Miss. Spalding,⁶² Roper and Miss. Winsor,⁶³ and all well. They are not yet assigned.

Yours faithfully,

Horace James

Chap & Sup & c.

Horace James to Unknown, Newbern Jan. 18, 1864

Newbern, N.C.

Jan. 18, 1864

Dear Bro,

Mrs. Bell⁶⁴ came down from Boston unspent and non-commissioned. She wanted to work, seemed earnest and strikingly energetic and I sent her to Beaufort to work on Harker's Island where I thought a strong-minded woman like herself might [*illegible*] to good advantage. I think she will do good there. She is fearless of danger, full of zeal, and fire, and sharpness. Nothing at Beaufort moves half fast enough for her, and Mr. Green is her contempt. She is a Unitarian or a Restorationist, and of course could not receive aid from the Am. Miss. Assoc. and nevertheless I thought it better to send her out and give her work than to refuse her zeal. We will manage in

⁶² Harriet Spalding (b.ca. 1840), a teacher commissioned by the AMA to teach in Beaufort. James, Horace. *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Negro Affairs in North Carolina, 1864*, 41; *New York, State Census, 1865* Accessed March 21, 2019.

⁶³ Mrs. Abby (Abbie) B. Winsor, teacher commissioned by the American Missionary Association. James, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Negro Affairs in North Carolina, 1864*, 41.

⁶⁴ Jennie B. Bell decided to join the AMA as a self-supporting teacher in 1864. *Ibid.*, 42; Horace James to Unknown, 18 Jan. 1864, *Letters: January 18, 1864; Newbern, North Carolina*. January 18, 1864, AMA Archives.

some way to give her the means of living while she seems to be doing any good. Regarding her living she possesses not to want anything. The ladies at Beaufort are all reported better than when I last wrote, and so, thank God, is Miss. Dickinson⁶⁵.

Yours faithfully,

Horace James.

Chap & Supt &c.

Miss Carrie M. Getchell to George Whipple, January 18, 1864

Beaufort N.C Jan. 18, 1864,

Rev. George Whipple:

Dear Sir:

Your reply of Nov. 12th was received today. I hasten to write to you fearing that in my last I used language, which conveyed more than I intended it should. Your rebuke I acknowledge as just, and thank you for it. I am sorry to have caused you the least anxiety, but I assure you that there has no "root of bitterness" sprung up among us. We are interested in each other's welfare, and entertain the kindest feelings towards each other. Had understood just how the case was and should have felt that the disposition of the new things was right. I trust there has been no harm done. Mr. James made us a very short visit on Saturday last. Came down in the morning train, and the same afternoon. We were very glad to see him, although /only/ for a few moments.

Our home is quite a hospital at present. Miss Etheridge has been sick for nearly three weeks, with a lame arm. She was vaccinated, and her arm became very much swollen and

⁶⁵ Sarah T. Dickinson (b.ca. 1836) teacher commissioned by the National Freedmen Relief Association that worked with the AMA in Beaufort. Ancestry.com, Year: 1860; Census Place: Amherst, Hampshire, Massachusetts; Roll: M653_505; Page: 524; Family History Library Film; Horace James, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Negro Affairs*, 41.

inflamed. Yesterday the Dr. made an incision into it, and today she seems very much better Miss Brownson is sick with a sore throat. Miss Comings is also sick with a lame arm—the effects of vaccination. I shall teach their school this week. They will be able to go into it in a few days. Monday, I expect to commence my school at Morehead. The fear of the small pox has materially lessened the number of scholars in all of the schools. They will probably attain their usual number in a few weeks. Our night-school is very interesting. Enlistments, and fear of smallpox have lessened its number.

Yours truly,

Carrie M. Getchell

George N. Greene to George Whipple Jan. 20, 1864

Beaufort, N.C.

Jan. 20th/1864

Rev. Geo Whipple

New York,

Dear Bro.,

Your letter of the 12. inst, is at hand, and contents noted. I had intended to make a full report, the 1st of Jan. giving a Quarterly Report, instead of a monthly one; but found it impossible to do so, without some extra trouble. As I was not asked to make one monthly last summer I did not think you wanted one now. Of course, if it would be satisfactory to you, I would make one every two weeks, if you desired it. The colored people have raised since I came here, for all purposes something over \$500, and as they were a little behind with more, I thought to wait until 1st Feb. when the accounts would be more complete. I will now send you an approximate

Statement of Accts. and Feb 1st will send the exact figures. Would do so now but is not quite time before the mail leaves. I design not to use any of the funds received for goods sent. I sometimes pay out funds and possibly forgot to put in expense Book, though I do not intend to. If I am careless of course I have to pay for it and /not/ the Assn. I try to be scrupulously exact with both receipts and expenditures.

In regard to the Bureaus & c. sent me, but otherwise disposed of, I will say that I may have written too much and too severely, but I did not write as severely as some of our ladies talked, and Miss Getchell, whom you quote was not less indignant than others.

The ladies did not order them but I did for their comfort. Not place to put clothes, except trunks, nor any hooks to hang them on, I felt it would not be out of place. We have mice plenty enough.

I stated the facts exactly as they were, and knew then as now, that there were many-colored who would be glad to get them, when we had done with them I could sell a dozen if I had them, and had the right to. I will only say this, I am very sorry indeed if my statements have proved so erroneous as to have lost the confidence of the Association. It /did/ seem to me proper that when asked Mrs. Anybody wants anything /that/ she should get it, and not appropriate theirs.

In regard to orders, I assure you, and also Br. Whiting that I will not take any that are not really beneficial. As a matter of course, men working on small wages, as many do, can appreciate the saving to them of even \$25 or \$50. All are poor, and we preach the importance of improving their social conditions. I dislike very much to preach and get persons aroused about such things, or anything indeed with no power to help them. It is useless for us to exhort them to perform impossible things. These people, as you know are not accustomed to handle money, and

if they were compelled to wait till they can purchase at sales here some of the conveniences of life, they might never get them. But if they get them now, they will have them.

It is far easier for us to persuade them to lay by a month, or two's, wages than a year's. We are encouraging all we can, to save their money and build them comfortably decent houses. Where rent is paid by them, two or at most three years /the rent/ would build the house.

I have tried at all times to use some discretion at least, and if you may at any time have differed from me, it is mainly, as I think because you are not present on the field to see the needs as I do. Somethings might be got along without in in some way, as they always have done. For my part, I doubt not you wish as I do, for us to do all the good we can, and to do it, we must have the means.

After a little they must be left to themselves. In my judgment, their moral, intellectual, and social improvement must go hand in hand, if it goes at all. They must have the knowledge of what they are to do, in all these before they can do; And to have the knowledge how to improve their condition without the ability to do it, does not tend to render them more happy.

There is more truth than poetry in a line of Pope⁶⁶ who says: Ignorance is bliss, when tis folly to be /wise/. The fool is happy that he knows no /more,/ as we are told. This happiness may not be of a high order. Ability to enjoy implies the ability to suffer. ⁶⁷

Rev. G. N. Greene

Horace James to George Whipple Jan. 20, 1864

⁶⁶ Alexander Pope (1688-1744) was a famous English poet during the eighteenth century. John Everett Butt, "Alexander Pope" *Encyclopedia Britannica* (Encyclopedia Britannica Inc., 2018) <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Alexander-Pope-English-author> Accessed February 7, 2019.

⁶⁷ Greene is misquoting the poem. He is attributing the line to Alexander Pope The line is actually from "Ode On a Distant Prospect of Eton College" by Thomas Gray. "Thomas Gray" *Encyclopedia Britannica* (Encyclopedia Britannica Inc., 2018) <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Thomas-Gray-English-poet> Accessed February 7, 2019.

Office of Supt of Negro Aff's,

Newbern N.C.

Jan. 20, 1864

Mr. Whipple

Dear Sir,

I write to you a day or two since speaking pretty strongly of Mr. Greene's unfitness. State I had to have him sent north while there is the ghost of a chance for him to succeed any where.

Since I wrote the letter Mr. Greene's sister has arrived, (Miss. Spalding) and I am now disposed to order him to proceed with her to Club Foot Creek Settlement on the Neuse, a few miles north of Beaufort, and engage them in preaching and teaching for the good of the colored people. This is an enterprising settlement, and they greatly want teachers. But as it is a little out of our lines, a male teacher should go for better protection and a female for better instruction, and if so who more appropriate than this man and his sister, who ought in nature to be together?

I therefore suggest that proceedings be stayed respecting Mr. Green until the result of this little operation can be noted.

Yours faithfully,

Horace James

E.J Comings to George Whipple Jan 22, 1864

Beaufort N.C. Jan. 22 1864

Rev. Geo Whipple,

My Dear Bro. yours of Jan 12 is received & for it I thank you. I too regret the whole matter about the Bureaus. I am sorry that anybody has written either "strongly" or otherwise, to

trouble you about the final disposal of them. While I was of the opinion that there was a little undue assumption of power in arresting them on their way, I cared little about it on our own account; as we none of us would have thought of any great inconvenience had we not known that they were on the way to us. I suspect there have been several long articles sent you from this place, which would not accord exactly with my wishes, had they been consulted. If there has been a renewed request for Bureaus that certainly is one. If there has been a long story about the disposal of those already sent, that is another.

My (“snubbing”) remark was doubtless unwise, as its echo comes back from afar. I made it with no ill feeling towards Mrs. J.⁶⁸ best with the design of quelling the excitement which I saw rising in the mind of one or more of our co. I need not go into account I am indeed between two fires. It’s often difficult to know what to do. But as a whole I can say truly the winter is a happy one. I enjoy it well. I love to preach to the repressed race.

The tendency to secularize everything, is manifest & mighty. There is nothing I have been <so> burdened with so much. We are in peril. If not on our guard, we shall lose sight of the weightier matters, & tithes [*illegible*] & [*illegible*]

I took my present office with great trembling & reluctance on that ground. I feared that I too should drift in the current. Thus far my burden has been heavy, for I have had no help. But I hope to have a clerk soon & then I think it will not be a hindrance at all to all the spiritual labors I can perform.

I think that I am neither deluded nor vain, in thinking that I have gotten a strong hold of the hearts of the colored race. May I have grace to use it for Christ!

There are seasons when the light of heaven seemed manifestly to shine down upon us here, & then again clouds come over us. Life here & everywhere is a conflict.

⁶⁸ Comings is talking about Horace James’s wife.

I feel sorely that two of us who came here to make preaching our main business, should so long be on the ground & yet do so little of the main thing. Mr. G has preached but two or three times anywhere since I came here, I think only twice. He says he cannot help unless he can have the week to prepare for it. I refer to this reluctantly, I have not.

[In Margin] But the invitation of the Chaplain of the hospital & the men under his charge. I have started a weekly prayer meeting & a bible club there. Very *[illegible]* The Bureau *[illegible]* are sometimes a little inconvenient. Every evening is now accounted to public labors.

Chapter 2

George N. Greene to George Whipple Feb. 5, 1864

Beaufort N.C.

Feb. 5th 1864

Rev. Geo. Whipple:

Dr Sir,

I have only time before the sailing of the *Spaulding*¹ to state, what you already may have supposed, that the recent raid and attack on Newbern and this place has put us back in our work from two to four weeks.² Nor indeed can anyone tell how long it will take before matters will be settled again.

No apprehension of danger here just now, reinforcements have already begun to arrive. Yesterday was quite a busy day Mr. Comings and myself made temporary arrangements to accommodate some 200 colored people who came in from Newport, where the rebels broke the lines of Rail Road. It is said, that I do not know with how much truth that the rebels most inhumanly butchered some of them. Georgia tigers and some South Carolinian troops have the

¹ S.R Spaulding was a transport ship that carried troops and supplies from northern states to the ports of North Carolina during the Civil War. Alfred R. Waud, Artist. Steamer S. R. Spalding. Transport. Library of Congress Photographs Division. <https://www.loc.gov/item/2004661339/>. Accessed February 7, 2019.

² Officially known as the New Bern Raid, conducted in early 1864, amphibious and ground forces led by Lt. John Taylor Wood and General George Pickett, the attack started in late January and lasted till the fourth of February. The attack planned to destroy the naval capabilities of the Union forces and also take back New Bern. The raid failed and Pickett and his men retreated back to Kinston, North Carolina. Paul Branch, "Confederate Expeditions against New Bern" / *NCpedia*." Accessed February 8, 2019. <https://www.ncpedia.org/new-bern-confederate-expeditions-ag>. Accessed May 2, 2019.

honor of this heroic deed. You will learn from the papers particulars. Our ladies are all now at Fort Macon³; will return perhaps tomorrow.

Excitement has been far greater than was necessary. Capt. Fuller⁴ commander of the post yesterday set all or many of the secesh to work on fortifications. The negroes were in ecstasies upon seeing them pressed into the service. Some refused, but they had their choice, go, or be shot on the spot. They finally went. Mr. Comings was forced into the ranks among them, but returned without doing any digging.

Secesh here will no doubt remember Feb. 4th/64, for some time to come. All our papers are at the fort, and I cannot get to them. By first opportunity I will forward Statements of accts. Up to Feb. 1st and March 1st again. In haste,

Yours Respectfully,

Rev. Geo. Greene

Rev. Geo Whipple

P.S Since I have an unsettled account with Clumforts Creek⁵ people I have thought to get there as soon as the state of affairs will allow, and remain for the present.

Horace James to George Whipple Feb. 6, 1864

³ Located near Beaufort, North Carolina, Fort Macon's construction began in 1826 under the design of engineer Robert E. Lee and was completed in 1834. Captured in 1862, the Union held the fort until the end of the war where it served as a coaling station for Union ships. After the war until 1876 the fort acted as a federal prison. "History | NC State Parks." Accessed February 7, 2019. <https://www.ncparks.gov/fort-macon-state-park/history>.

⁴ Captain Nehemiah P. Fuller (b.ca. 1830) a captain in the Second Massachusetts Heavy Artillery, which was attached to the 17th Massachusetts Infantry Regiment. He was placed in charge of Beaufort, North Carolina in early 1864 by Colonel Jourdan. Historical Systems Data Comp., *U.S., Civil War Soldier Records and Profiles, 1861-1865*, Ancestry.com; Judkin Browning and Michael Thomas Smith, *Letters from a North Carolina Unionist, John A. Hedrick to Benjamin S. Hedrick, 186-1865* (Raleigh: North Carolina Division of Archives and History, 2001), 183n2.

⁵ Greene means Clubfoot Creek. Throughout the letters there are a variation of names for Clubfoot Creek. The missionaries were not aware of what the river was called so gave it different names. Clubfoot Creek flows north into the Neuse River south of New Bern.

Office of Sup't. Negro Affairs

New Berne N.C. Feb. 6, 1864

Bro. Whipple

Dear sir,

I enclose two passes, one filled out with the name of Miss. Persis E. King⁶, who is to come out (we expect) to be a copyist & to teach part of the time for Mr. James. Will you please have her pass endorsed for her by the Sect. Of War⁷ & put in readiness for her arrival? Should she come to N.Y. I need assistance in getting transportation & c. to New Berne. Will you aid her in it and what other help she may require?

Truly Yrs,

Horace James by

C. White ass. Supt.

George N. Greene to W.E Whiting Feb. 8, 1864

Beaufort, N.C.

Feb 8, '1864

Br. Whiting,

I send you a condensed statement of accounts as they were Feb. 1st. I have kept the acct. as indicated in Bill sent in brief. I cannot tell just how much has been given away, because others than myself have given of the Books & c. sent me. I have kept a strict account of all I disposed

⁶ Editor could not find any information on this individual.

⁷ Edwin Stanton (1814-1869), served as secretary of war during the Civil War under President Abraham Lincoln and then later under Andrew Johnson. The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, "Edwin Stanton," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, (December 20, 2018) Accessed March 21, 2019 <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Edwin-M-Stanton>.

of; also books & clothing sold. It will be seen that I have accounted for more money than I have received for goods sold. Some money has been placed in my hands, and goods sent will be delivered in good time. The disturbed state of things just now prevents my delivering any.

I have taken no inventory of what is on hand, as it seems to me comparatively useless. Under family expenses, Butter, Bibles, & cabbage, 20 lbs. sugar & medicines are not included. In my acct. there are \$322.15. Have received in all \$533 and some cents. I have used none of the funds received for the goods sent me, and as soon as convenient, I would like enough funds sent to A. C. Greene to make it \$150, as I cannot well afford to pay interest on money to keep in my pocket.

Shall send you a report (a monthly) March 1st, including receipts and expenditures for the month of Fed. Mr. Whipple wrote me he wanted such reports if you were to fill orders for goods for private individuals.

The colored schools here pay their way so far as filling school rooms and furniture is concerned. I think Clumforts Creek will do the same. Of course we cannot [ask] them to do everything, for their want of everything a year ago forbids it. I assure you there is a willingness to do all they can. Some who pay for books have really to deny themselves most severely, even more than whites would. All sorts of rumors about the recent attack, and present location of the Rebels. A deserter says they intended to capture New Bern. The number of Rebel troops he says, was to be from Wilmington and Richmond from 25,000 to 40,000.⁸ Could not tell how many would really come on the expedition.

⁸ An attack on New Bern led by Major General George Pickett from February 1st to the 4th. Pickett attacked New Bern three separate times during this period only to be repulsed each time, which forced him to retreat back to Kinston on February 4th. The number given by the deserter is exaggerated as Pickett is reported as only having 13,000 men. Branch, "Confederate Expeditions against New Bern", Accessed February 8, 2019. <https://www.ncpedia.org/new-bern-confederate-expeditions-ag>.

In haste yours truly,

G. N. Greene

Miss Carrie M. Getchell to George Whipple Feb. 15, 1864

Beaufort N.C. Feb. 15, 1864,

Rev. George Whipple

Dear Sir,

Wishing to make some inquiries in regard to a bunch of things sent me in your care, I write you this morning. Mr. Manwell⁹ sent it from So. Bridgeton. It was to leave Portland for N.Y. the 18th of Jan. on one of the Portland boats, he did not mention the name of the boat. What I wish to ascertain whether it has been received by you or not. If not, will you send someone to make inquiries about it at the wharf, where the Portland boats come in. You will confer a great favor by doing so. Mr. Manwell is now with the army of the Potomac, so that he would not be able to ascertain anything about it until his return home. There are things in the barrel I would not like to lose.

Mr. M went out as delegate under my N.E. Christian Commission.¹⁰ He did not go to N.Y. I shall open my school tomorrow. The excitement here has been some hindrance to the progress of my school-house. In the meantime, I have lost my room which was promised me at the hospital. They were obliged to take it for the sick. The Dr. promises to try to get me a room by the last of the week, but there is some doubt about getting one then. I am not going to wait

⁹ John B. Manwell (b.ca. 1821) a pastor who worked for the AMA. Ancestry.com, Year: 1860; Census Place; *St. Anne's Parish, Albemarle, Virginia*; Roll: M653_1331; Page: 602; Family History Library Film; Rev. B.J. Manwell to Bro. George Whipple, July 6th, 1863, AMA Archives.

¹⁰ A branch of the Christian Commission founded in New England under the YMCA in 1862. U.S Christian Commission, "History of the U.S Christian Commission" Accessed February 8, 2019. <http://www.nwuscc.org/OldUSCC.html>.

any longer, but shall board here for the present. It will be a long walk from the depot, but I much rather do it than delay longer.

The ladies are all of them very much better. Miss. Brownson, and Miss Comings are in school. Miss Etheridge is very much improved. Mr. Briggs is going to have her school house at Newport finished very soon. Mr. Galloway¹¹-a colored man- is going North tomorrow, and will bring the barrel with him, if you will put it in his charge. If you cannot find it will you let me know?

Yours truly,

Carrie M. Getchell

P.S If you have an opportunity to send the barrel before Mr. G returns please do so. C.M.G

Horace James to Unknown Fed. 23, 1864

Office of Sup't. of Neg Aff's

Newbern N.C.

Feb. 23/1864

Dear Bro,

We are safe yet and wholly quiet "in statu quo antebellum." The scared engineer Perry¹² arrived only today in Newbern, & has gone tonight to Roanoke, though the engine arrived

¹¹ Abraham H. Galloway (1837-1870) was a former slave who escaped to Canada then returned to eastern North Carolina as a Union spy. There, Galloway worked with generals regarding military enlistments for African-Americans and organization of African-American units. He also led relief efforts for Freedmen in eastern North Carolina. David S. Cecelski, *The Waterman's Song: Slavery and Freedom in Maritime North Carolina*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 179-189; Browning, *Shifting Loyalties*, 94.

¹² William Perry was an engineer that acted as Horace James's personal assistant with purchasing the equipment to build a saw mill. In the early months of 1864 Perry oversaw the completion of the sawmill located on Roanoke Island that James used as mean to improve working conditions in the colony. Click, *Time Full of Trial*, 69.

several days since and I have been then unloading it. I am disgusted at his want of pluck I wouldn't give a fig for a battalion of such men.

Mr. Martin¹³ wrote to Miss. Ring¹⁴ & she is with you ere this I presume. Fanny is with us still, and is well and happy so far as I can judge. The ladies at Roanoke are very comfortable and happy in their new home, and I want to send them someone soon. Miss. Etheridge is impatient to begin, and as Newport seems to be not our own safe place, I don't know but she had better go to Roanoke. I go to Beaufort this week to see about it, and other things.

I perceive that the Senate has voted in a quarter master, & I must submit, but I shall be no less a minister. The last Sabbath I spoke at Roanoke & preached there. The previous one at Washington & preached there three times.

I have just rec'd. the money to pay the men hired at Roanoke for the month of Jan. a little money will look good to them.

Mrs. James is better than when you were here, & all the ladies are well. Ft. Totten Camp¹⁵ is broken up, & I am laying out a new one over the river Trent to which a portion will be around and the balance go to Roanoke and scatter about the city. As yet Miss. Smith & Gill are at their house.

I feel a sympathy with you sitting before your big pile of letters.

I am very faithfully yours, Horace James

¹³ John Sella Martin (1832-1876). The son of an enslaved woman and the nephew of his mother's owner, Martin escaped slavery by forging papers and making his way to Chicago in 1856. Traveling with other speakers and preachers he joined and was ordained by a church in 1858. Martin joined the AMA working primarily with foreign relations in England and reconstruction in the south. He worked with the AMA until he left the organization in 1873. "John Sella Martin (1832-1876) • Black Past." *BlackPast* (blog), June 15, 2014. <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/martin-john-sella-1832-1876/>, Accessed February 8, 2019.

¹⁴ Editor could not find any information on this individual.

¹⁵ Camp Totten Freedman's School was located in New Bern near Fort Totten. The school was started by Robert Morrow, a former slave of General James Pettigrew, with the help of Mary Burnap. The camp thrived until it disbanded in February of 1864. Click, *Time Full of Trial*, 85.

Chap & Supt of N Af

Miss Carrie M. Getchell to George Whipple Feb. 29, 1864

Beaufort N.C. Feb. 29, 1864

Rev. George Whipple:

Dear Sir:

Your letter of the 22nd inst. was received today. I received the barrel a week ago. I am greatly obliged to you for sending it. I opened my school a week ago today. I have thirty-eight /scholars/ and more coming in daily. I am greatly interested in the children, and want to do everything I can for their improvement There are very many things which will require much patience and perseverance to correct. They are very pugilistic in their tendencies. I <fail to> am at a loss to know why it is so. These children composing my school have had only a few weeks of school, and then the teacher was a colored man himself as ignorant of letters as themselves, some of them are in <a> school <over> for the first time in their lives. I have one class of boys who read very well. I find that boys are much more apt to learn than the girls. Lieut Gray¹⁶ of the 132th N. Y. has promised to drill them in singing. I am very hopeful in regard to my school if the rebs will only let us alone. There are rumors that they had made a demonstration our forces at Bachelor's Creek. All the citizens here are under [*illegible*]. The teachers are all well, and very calm. The smallpox is spreading among the colored people, but not to any great extent. One case was carried out of our yard, a man who is one of our night scholars. This comes very near home. I went in the night before (not expecting he had the smallpox, nor did the physician until he broke out) and caressed his head, as it was paining him very badly. I have no great fear that I

¹⁶ Editor could not find any information on this individual.

shall catch it, if I do it will only be the varioloid. I hope that we shall not have to be sent out of the department on account of the rebs; if we are I want to go into some other field of labor among the freedman. If Mr. Green has not sent to you for alphabetical cards, I wish you would send me one, when you are sending other things; for I need one very much.

Yours respectfully,

Carrie M. Getchell

[George N. Greene] to W.E Whiting March 2, 1864

Beaufort N.C.

Mar. 2^d, 1864

W.E. Whiting Esq.

Dear Bro,

Enclosed please find statement of Accounts for month Feb '64.

In regard to the last Bill sent, I confess my surprise at the very great advance on prices of doors since the others were sent.

Still it was a great accommodation for Henry¹⁷ to get the doors & windows. The difficulty is in getting lumber here, particularly seasoned. I think there is none in the department save some northern in hands of govt. In accordance with Mr. Whipple's wish, I have been to Pine Grove or Clumforts Creek and made a beginning. Their old meeting house is to be altered over into a dwelling for teachers, as soon as lumber can be had to do it. We began cutting the timber for a church instead of a School House, but to be used for the present for schools too. All the long timber has been cut and hewn and some of the short. We expect to have all cut and hewed this week, and next Monday two carpenters will commence the framing assisted by quite a number of

¹⁷ Editor could not find any information on this individual.

the colored men of the neighborhood. I expect to be present myself to direct in person the whole thing, if the threat of rebel invasion on Newbern be so far removed as to allow locomotion. Just now, it is impossible to go out of here though I intend to get to Newbern this afternoon if possible, or as soon as possible.

Longstreet is reported at Kinston with 4,000 strong.¹⁸ But trusting the matter will be settled in favor of the union Army, I will make out an order for all the things necessary to build the church that we cannot get here.

Size 30x40 with 16ft posts, between floor and ceiling.

One keg 20d, Nails

8 boxes glass 11x15

1. do. 10s. “

100 lbs. Putty

2. do. 8 ”

8 window springs to be put on the middle of the sash to keep the top up and the bottom down.

2. do. 6s ”

2. do. Laith ”

Leif sash for 8 windows, 40 lighted 11x15. If you find none made, please order them, and heavy enough to be strong.

Weights, cords & pulleys up for them.

10,000 (10s) bunches Laths

15 bbls Common Rockland Lime

300 lbs. Red ochre.

The above is for the meeting house. The following for responsible men.

¹⁸ Greene is mistaken. General Longstreet was never posted at Kinston. The forces that occupied Kinston were the remnants of General George Pickett's army after his failed taking of New Bern earlier in 1864. Paul Branch, "Confederate Expeditions against New Bern", <https://www.ncpedia.org/new-bern-confederate-expeditions-ag>. Accessed February 28, 2019.

Hand Boring Machine, with,

1. 2-inch auger

1. 1 ¾ “ “

1. 1 ½ “ “

1. 1 ¼ “ “

1. 1 “ “

1. ¾ “ “

1 Fine Tenon Saw.

1 Hand Saw, Extra

1 Rips

2 Jack Planes Double Irons

2. “ “ Single “

1. Doz. cornerfiles, assorted.

1 Sett of Heavy Tongue & Groove or Match Planes for floors.

4. Windows 8x10, 12 lighted.

2. Common Mortise Locks, white knobs.

2. Doz. Locks & Knobs, Common,

The following have been paid for in advance

\$20 on these Received {1 Dark colored woman's /woolen/ shawls to cost \$10 there.

{ 1 Rocking chair Wooden Seat (such as you sent)

{ Sash for 4 windows /glazed/ 7x9, 15 lighted.

Miss Getchell wants 12 Books. Meth, Harmonies, Singing Books with square headed or square notes. We need some stell pens & also some note paper, Say a Ream. Envelopes on hand.

Doz. Pails & 2 Doz. Brooms. Also flat irons or smoothing irons

George N. Greene to W.E Whiting March 3, 1864

Beaufort, N.C.

Mar. 3^d, 1864

W.E. Whiting Esq

Dr. Br.

I haste now to explain some few things in regard to the order sent a day or two since. The people prefer to have the Sash for church window unpainted and unglazed as it takes less money to meet the Bills and there are those who can set glass &c. We hope the Bureaus & wash stands sent for long ago will come soon.

There shall be no loss on them. I could sell a dozen I doubt not, even after months or years careful use. It must be remembered we are here where we can get nothing. Borrow or hire we cannot because there are no such things here. We can get no lumber, and if we had, we have no tools to work with. What is not sent us, we are forced to buy here at high rates. Comforts we must have: Luxuries we do not expect.

I believe in severe financiering and practice it but there is by far to much penny wisdom in the world. It will be seen that the butter & cabbage and some few other articles are not included in my report under family expenses. Still we mean our Bills shall be as low, as any mission with the same number; at all events we shall be ready to compare notes. As I said in note attached to my order I regret our expenses are not from \$50 to \$75 less; and they would have been if the entire thing had been as I wished. Hoping and trusting that the material for me to work with will soon arrive.

I remain,

Yours truly, Geo. N. Greene

To W.E Whiting,

61 [illegible] St. N.Y

P.S All goods sent me, have come to Newbern, and say fear me, leaving off Beaufort so some will come here and some will go from Newbern to Pine Grove direct.

Horace James to George Whipple March 14, 1864

Newbern N.C.

March 14, 1864

Dear Bro. Whipple,

Though this anniversary of the taking of Newbern has passed without molestation by the rebels, it has brought us all sadness in the death of Miss. Carrie M. Getchell our teacher at Beaufort who passed away today since [illegible].

I go down in the evening, and take an iron burial case, in which to enclose her body and shall consign it to you at New York. We will forward it to her friend, some particulars hereafter.

Yours truly,

Horace James

E.J Comings to George Whipple March 15, 1864

Beaufort N.C. March 15th, 1864

Rev. Geo Whipple,

My Dear Brother

Our little band of Teachers are suddenly called to drink of the cup of affliction. God has come very near to us. One of our number, one too whom we would have said that she has the fairest prospects of any of us for a long life, has suddenly lived her course.

Miss Carrie M. Getchell has done her work & gone home. She took a violent cold on Monday of last week & had what we supposed was [*illegible*] in consequence. All supposed that she was not in a dangerous state until <1> a few hours before she died. There seemed to be a manifest change. She began to be greatly troubled for breath which grew worse & worse until life was extinct. An examination shows that the upper end of the windpipe (the glottis I think they call it) was completely closed up. She was able to walk across the room only a few moments before she died. When I told her of her danger she manifested no alarm, was aware of it herself. I asked her if she could say "thy will be done?" "I am considering it," she said, And added "Have I come down here to die?" And then with great difficulty said "She could lean on Jesus." Shortly after she added " I am dying" And she was gone. 4 o'clock PM.

Three good surgeons were present & did all they could. But no human power could save. She had good medical attention during the whole & the best of nursing by her fellow teachers, Mrs. Tuttle in particular. All has been done that could have been done anywhere in the north. When we think of her dear mother our tears flow freely. May the God of all comfort be with her. I am trying to fix things so as to send the body north soon. The *Spaulding* leaves the harbor today but it is too soon. There may not be a chance for ten days perhaps. Cannot say fully whether we shall send it or not. We will do all we can.

She had just got well a going in her school in Morehead City. She manifested a very great interest in it and her scholars & the poor among whom the laborers we in general are most sincere mourners. I had made a great deal of effort to secure her a home near her school. But had not yet succeeded. Hence she was obliged to cross the Sound twice daily, often in an open boat. In this way she took her cold.

The rest of us are in usual health & our work is prospering. You will want to send the news to her mother, Mrs. Mary Getchell,¹⁹ Topsfield Me. I think it is. In haste & with much love yours,

E.J Comings.

[In margin on third page] News of Miss Getchell's death My duties to my faculty will compel to me to come north soon.

[In margin on fourth page] Perhaps in the course of ten days I may start.

Horace James to George Whipple March 16, 1864

Newbern N.C. March 16, <1864>

<Office of Sup't. of Negro Affairs of N.C.>

<Rev. Geo. Whipple>

<Dear Sir,>

I wrote you a hasty note <at Beaufort> yesterday, giving you the sad information of the death of our dear friend, Miss. Carrie M. Getchell. On being informed of it by telegraph, I went immediately to Beaufort, having first purchased a metallic burial case <for which I paid eighty dollars \$80>. I enclosed her remains in it, & have brought the body to New Berne. It now waits transportation to N. York. I shall send it by the first boat, consigned to your care. On receiving it you will please forward it to her mother & friends, who reside, I think in Topsfield, Maine. I believe her mother's name is Mary, you probably know.

¹⁹ Mrs. Mary Getchell (b.ca. 1796), mother of Carrie M. Getchell, lived in Marshfield, Maine. Ancestry.com, Year: 1850; Census Place: *Marshfield, Washington, Maine*; Roll: *M432_273*; Page: *46B*; Image: *94*, *1850 United States Federal Census*, Ancestry.com, Accessed March 21, 2019; E.J. Comings to George Whipple, 15 March 1864, AMA Archives, Accessed March 21, 2019.

The colored people, her associate teachers, some army officers, & other friends there will share in the necessary expenses. They seem to feel it a privilege to do so. I thought it best to have the body sent home in this way, even although the expense is great, presuming it would be more satisfactory to her friends than to have her interned in Southern Soil. Her death was very sudden, she was ill less than a week. Her disease in its earlier stages, was an inflammation of the tonsils & the larynx. It afterwards assumed the form of an inflammation of the glottis called in the language of the books, Edema of the Glottis. She died, consequently, from suffocation being wholly unable to breathe. An operation, called laryngotomy, was performed & a tube inserted below the inflamed portion of the wind pipe, but too late to furnish anything more than temporary relief. Her vitality was too much exhausted. She died in her full strength & flesh, & was perhaps the strongest of any of our teachers here. She leaves behind her a good name, a fragrant memory. I hope this affliction may be blessed to all her associates, & indeed to all of us. I write you this note that you may be on the lookout for these remains upon the arrival of the next govt. transport from New Berne. She died on the 14th inst.

The other teachers there are in usually good health, & Miss. Etheridge will now take the school which has been vacated by Miss. Getchell's death. I shall make arrangements for her to live in Morehead City. I have given up the idea of a school, for the present, at Newport Barracks. It seems to me to be in too exposed a position. Miss. Burnap has gone to Roanoke Island & is delighted with her situation there. She & Miss. Roper have opened a school in a new building, constructed by the negroes, & it numbers already two hundred pupils. Miss. Gill is in New Berne, being on her return to the north. Her health is by no means good. I think I told you I had sent her & Miss Smith to Washington, their camp being entirely broken up, & their being no prospect of army work for them to do in New Berne for some time to /over/ come. <I have

written to Mr. M.C. Kim²⁰ of Phila with reference to the matter referenced to him by you.> I presume you have had an interviewed with Mrs. James before this time. If you see her, give my love to her as also to your daughter, Mrs. Smith, & believe me,

Ever faithfully yours,

P.S I have rcd. a note from Rev. S.G Buckingham²¹ of Springfield, recommending Rev. A.D. Stowell²² of Southhampton, as a good person for chaplain of some regt. or for labor among the colored people in some place in your department; & suggesting that either your society or the Home Missionary Society might send him out here.

I do not know him, but perhaps he might be a good man for the work we wish to do at Hatteras Inlet, as I wrote you last week, or he might answer to preach at Roanoke Island. I want, as soon as I am able, to station some good, able minister at Roanoke Island.

Horace James to George Whipple April 11, 1864

Office of Sup't. Negro Affairs

Newberne, N.C. April 11th, 1864

Dear Bro. Whipple,

Mrs. James writes me that you are making progress in the supply of teachers for Hatteras Banks. The people there will be very glad to see some come if they are of the right sort. Mr. Green was up here last week from Clumforts Creek, where he is getting a schoolhouse and dwelling ready for occupancy. He is in want of some things with which to do it, a part of which I

²⁰ Editor could not find any information on this individual.

²¹ Reverend S.G. Buckingham (b.ca. 1813) was a clergyman from Connecticut who worked for the AMA. Ancestry.com and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Year: 1880; Census Place: *Springfield, Hampden, Massachusetts*, Ancestry.com, Accessed March 22, 2019.

²² Reverend A.G. Stowell (b.ca. 1820) Ancestry.com, Year: 1860; Census Place: *La Prairie, Marshall, Illinois*; Roll: *M653_210*; Page: 197; Family History Library Film, Ancestry.com, Accessed March 22, 2019.

supplied, but he must trust to you for the remainder. I hope you will send the goods he wants if you can consistently. He seems to be doing his best to start the school there and I desire to see it on its way.

Yours very faithfully,

Horace James

Horace James to George Whipple April 22, 1864

Office of Sup't. Negro Affairs

Newberne N.C.

April 22d, 1864

Dear Bro. Whipple,

The rebels have raised a storm at Plymouth,²³ and knocked our operations into confusion there. The teachers we had there have come to Newbern, & gone to Beaufort. Miss. Smith went yesterday to Beaufort on her way to Ft. Monroe where she now concludes to work for Capt. Wilder.²⁴ She can now judge between the three. I have to ask you whether the teachers at Washington may not retain the cooking stove which Miss. Smith had, and which she does not wish to take away. It is her own proposition to leave it, if you consent.

Yours very faithfully,

Horace James

²³ On April 20, 1864 Confederate forces captured Plymouth, North Carolina. This opened up the area for trade and supplies for the Confederacy and boosted morale for the war effort. The attack also caused Federal forces to abandon Washington, North Carolina as well. The Confederacy held the town until October of that year. Dan Blair, *Battle of Plymouth*, ed. William S. Powell (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006) <https://www.ncpedia.org/plymouth-battle>.

²⁴ Captain Charles B. Wilder (d. 1882), assistant superintendent of Freedmen, oversaw the contraband camp located on the outskirts of Hampton, VA. Historical Data Systems, comp. *U.S., Civil War Soldier Records and Profiles, 1861-1865*; William C. Davis and James I. Robertson Jr. eds., *Virginia at War 1864* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2009), 142.

George N. Greene to George Whipple April 28, 1864

Beaufort N.C.

Apr. 23, 1864

Rev. Geo Whipple:

Sir,

You no doubt have expected a letter from me long ere this, and I have no apology to offer save that of a superabundance of labor, multiplied on my hands. I thought when you were here I should have been in New York before this time, but I have been besought by the people not to leave them, at present on any account. They feel if I leave them the work began among them by me would be checked if not wholly given up. I have tried to know what my duty is, have asked others what I ought to do; having stated them the circumstances as well as I could. One or two of my friends have been from New Bern to Pine Grove twice, in part to see what was to be done. Considering the work begun and its desired completion at as early a day as possible, they have thought perhaps I better at least remain in this department until this was done. I do not wish to be hasty in any matter, however trivial, much less in one of any importance. I perhaps ought in some way, taken time to have written you sooner. If I continue on in the service of the Association for another year I have felt my salary owing to the amount of hard, exhausting labor required, should be somewhat increased. I neither ask for nor desire an extravagant Salary. While benevolent and ones at home are /making/ sacrifices, I feel I should, and do, make some myself. I feel my services, if they are worth anything as a missionary, are worth from \$350 to \$400 per year. A year experience is worth something in any employment. I have not now time write particulars in regard anything much less everything.

In regard to Clumfort's Creek, I will say, since I went there, a frame for a small house 20 ft square has been cut, hewn, and up and occupied now as a kitchen for us, and the outside is wholly done except seven windows, which we have neither sash nor glass for, nor can they be had, unless we pay three time the cost in New York. I have been waiting for some time for an answer to my last order sent Mr. Whiting. It is useless for me, or anyone, to attempt to improve these poor people unless we can get materials for building purposes.

They are not here, and of course cannot be had. I wish when I give an order for goods of any kind, if the order cannot be filled, the treasurer would say so. We have also the frame cut and hewn of a meeting house, and it is drawn on the ground, and we are only waiting the arrival of necessary materials to put it up. A population of at least 500 per census, and not a house of worship within eight miles. We have a small room also 20ft but what is that to accommodate 500 persons?

The first Sabbath I was there we had the house full, and the second nearly as many outdoors as in the house. No standing or sitting room to be had. Some stood about the windows, others go out into the woods and spend the time in talking. Others still <say> would come but can get no seat when there.

What shall I tell them; you will, or will not forward such materials as cannot be had here? I don't want to keep them in suspense longer I am frequently asked "when will those things come?" It is needless to repeat what I have said before, that the people are ready to make any sacrifice and pay for the things sent for. This same community raised and placed in my hands \$105.40 last fall, and will raise \$500 or even \$1,000 more if necessary. But it will not be. The greatest part of the cost will be in such things as were sent for. Two school houses they wish to put up this summer, and will if we can get anything to build with. Some who were intending to

build this summer houses for themselves, will now wait till next year, and build more commodious houses. You can judge something of the correctness of taste for building, of one who has lived in a hut 10x12ft with a family of six to ten persons. Only one man of all the 500 or more who has a pane of glass in or about his house.

I ought to have said we have quite a flourishing Sunday school and is still increasing as fast as the children and people can get fitted for it.

So far as I know, (quod sciam) there were only two families of children who had clothes at all suitable to be away from home at all, much less in school. Began Sunday school with eighteen and the house full. Many a child at home has nothing on but a short slip or a pair of old pants as full of holes as a sieve. The women & girls know nothing about sewing. One lady ought to be detailed for this work, teaching how to cut & make clothes. <People> Contrabands are moving in there constantly, not less than seventy-five I am told have come in this spring. Soon no doubt there will no doubt be 1,000 where there is now 500 or 600. From six to ten thousand barrels of turpentine will be made this year; mostly by this settlement. Two flats are now engaged in going to and from Beaufort & Newbern to this place, and we hope soon to have a Schooner to do this work. We need exceeding a large store there to supply the wants of the people. Some think a store there would have at least from \$25,000 to \$30,000 per year /sale/ as there is none within 20 miles of there. Still it is absolutely a country place. No village nor sign of one unless we shall succeed in putting up a meeting house and school house, the beginning of almost every New England village in Puritan days. Let us hope for Puritan custom to be revived here and into every place church and schoolhouse stand side by side. Many improvements are desired & will be had if those who pretend benefit the contraband will but do it. The past week or ten days has been a time of excitement. All the teachers of this department have been here with

the exception of three or four, and some are still here as you may have learned from others. Our family for a few days numbered about forty. Even now we have sixteen. That that we are interrupted here quite frequently, your own experience once in Feb. would prove if you had no other evidence. The work we do is often undone.

Among the poor whites not less than seven teachers could be set at work immediately if they were here. Smyrna²⁵ & Davis & Davis Shore,²⁶ need at least four. Shackelford Banks²⁷ needs two. North River²⁸ and Newbern Road each one. Will you do anything for them or not? I think them far more needy than any freedmen I have seen. If the Association will do nothing I must see if anything can be done by another organization. You will say perhaps Mr. Briggs has the care of all the schools. It is true, but Mr. Briggs cannot do everything. The schools already begun fully occupying his time, and besides it is colored schools and not white that he has to /do/ with.

He feels as I do, that I ought to have a positive answer also as to know what to do. We have been waiting furniture and articles sent for, for three weeks. Mr. Briggs says all I can do is to wait for a little for an reply. Little Washington is evacuated and they say to burn it if necessary.²⁹ Two hundred women & children are here in hospital, brought in yesterday. The suffering among the “poor whites” has been terrible in the extreme, far greater than the colored

²⁵ Community in east Carteret county located on Middens Creek. William S. Powell and Michael Hill, *The North Carolina Gazetteer: A Dictionary of Tar Heel Places and Their History* 2nd ed. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2010), 489.

²⁶ Off the eastern shore near Carteret county.

²⁷ One of the outer banks southeast of Carteret county.

²⁸ River that flows for ten miles through Carteret County.

²⁹ A year after the failure of the Confederate Army to capture New Bern, a small Confederate force captured Washington, North Carolina in the spring of 1864 during the Confederacy’s attack on Plymouth. The Union later recaptured Washington in November of that same year and the city remained in Union occupation until after the war. Dan Blair, “Battle of Plymouth” in *Encyclopedia of North Carolina* ed. William S. Powell. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006) NCPedia <https://www.ncpedia.org/plymouth-battle> Accessed May 10, 2019.

people. I will send still another small order with the hope that it may be soon filled together with other not yet responded to.

I hope, as at your special request I have taken in hand this field I shall not want for implements, so to speak, to work with.

One of three things is necessary, either goods must be sent out or money to meet the necessary expenses, or we cannot <make> well get along. Of course, I cannot meet Bills without money better than the Israelites could make bricks without straw³⁰. I myself begin to want some more money for my own use. So far as I know I /have/ had only Forty Dollars since Sept. last. My salary was to be paid monthly if I wanted it, and quarterly at any rate. Mr. James has furnished from the Q.M.'s Department a horse which is now at my disposal. Forage is also furnished. Harness & wagon I or someone else must furnish.

I have had offered me a very good Buggy for \$30 which needs some slight repairs. Wagon and harness altogether some \$40. I hope you will not think it extravagant if I get it. Will the Association pay for them, or not. Let it be remembered some expenses must be incurred twenty miles from anywhere, in transportation. The cost is nearly three times what it would be anywhere north. I will send my report along in due time. Mr. Comings no doubt sent you the other.

In haste,

Truly yours

Geo. N. Greene

P.S. The Bureaus and wash stands 4 of each not all come to hand as per Bill sent, only three has been recd by me.

³⁰ Greene is referring to when the Israelites were slaves to the Pharaoh of Egypt. "Ye shall no more give the people straw to make brick, as hereforeto: let them go and gather straw for themselves." *Exodus* 5:7 (King James Version).

Horace James to Unknown May 3, 1864

Office of Sup't. of Negro Affairs,

Newberne, N.C., May 3^d, 1864

My Dear Bro,

I am informed by Charles S. Nichols³¹ of Topsfield Me. that Mrs. Getchell has never received the trunk which I forwarded, though not by the same boat perhaps with the body. It was directed to your care. Can you guess where it is? I also put \$10.00 in money which she appears not to have received. My expectations of the expense of the buryal case being met were too sanguine. I have rec'd not a dollar towards it from any source, and it is as yet a contribution from my own pocket which is not deep, besides having holes.

Poor Washington evacuated, and the negroes alarmed and terrified and sobbed & huddled together here. God bless these suffering creatures. They are having a baptism of fire.

Yours truly,

Horace James

Capt & A.Q.M.

[In Margin] The store question is settled summarily.

Miss Mary A. Burnap to George Whipple, May 13, 1864

Beaufort N.C. May 13th, 1864

Dear Mr. Whipple:

³¹ Charles S. Nichols (b.ca. 1819) was an insurance agent in Massachusetts. Ancestry.com, Year: 1870; Census Place: Salem Ward 3, Essex, Massachusetts; Roll: M593_613; Page: 554A; Family History Library Film, Accessed May 10,2019.

The day is dawning in our country, the doors are being opened for greater usefulness, and we ought to rejoice in the way the God of battles is leading, the armies onto conflict, even if we do not know in the morning where we shall be when the sun sinks into the blue waters. Again, I have been driven from my home, and school, by order of Gen. Peck,³² but there is a time coming when the missionaries will not have to flee in their own country, from the hand of the enemy.

The clouds open, and the light of heaven comes down in to our souls. It seems sometimes as though Jesus was beside us, as when on earth. He walked and talked with those he loved.

An order to return to our island home-will not finish now.

Yours,

Roanoke Island

May 20th 1864

Mr. Whipple: We are all at home and free. Reached the island Monday A.M. before day break.

Found the people more than glad to see us they said, "After you left we were miserable and felt as though everything was gone."

The colony is in a flourishing condition. Such an out pouring of the Spirit is not often seen. Many are turning to Jesus. My heart is full. Your work is not in vain. Oh! I mean to be faithful to the "Association," but more than all to Him who has redeemed us.

The children are learning quite fast; we see they gain every day, and are willing to live in danger, to bring them into the light, and liberty, of learning and religion.

³² General John James Peck (1821-1878). During the Civil War, President Lincoln appointed Peck as brigadier General of volunteers. He was later promoted and commanded all troops south of the James River in Virginia. After being wounded defending Suffolk, he directed affairs for a short time in North Carolina before being transferred North. Warner, *Generals In Blue*, 364-65.

How happy I should be to attend the Anniversaries. I hope you will be blessed. The island seems like a flower garden when the tides had found a home. I should be glad to write more, but work is more necessary than words.

I write more particularly at this time to ask for something to remunerate dusky faces that have blessed us <for> /by/ their labor.

My expenses from Feb to the present state are

For [*illegible*] \$2.30

For Labor \$2.86

The amount= \$5.16

I would also like to have you send me another month's wages. I am sorry to ask it but it is necessary for children of God to have some money by them in these times of uncertainty.

Faithfully Yours,

Mary Burnap

I have been using the money you gave me when here to pay the servants till I have money to meet any engagement. I only want to honor Jesus by paying my debts.

Affect. Yours,

M.A. Burnap

"A remembrance for all the people of the Association."

George N. Greene to W.E Whiting June 13, 1864

Beaufort N.C.

June 13th, 1864

W.E. Whiting

Dr. Br.,

I take this opportunity to make out my Report for May. During a part of the month only Miss. Bronson & myself were here from the Am. Miss. Association.

Receipts from sale of books 2.85. Expenditures for servants hire and extras here amount at Clumforts Creek. \$18.60

Balance of expenses \$15.75

Four of us have been in the family, one from Freedman's N.Y. and one from Boston Commission. They seem unwilling to bear their part of the expenses. That makes our Bill for the month somewhat higher than of right it should be. Thus far this month they have met their own bills, as I have not felt at liberty to furnish the table and charge the whole expense to the Association. As to general fairness Miss Bronson can speak if you ask her.

Your check /of \$50/ on Nassau Bank came duly to hand, and since then, Books invoiced as paper came to hand, amounting to \$96.29. Owing to the occupancy of the churches for a hospital & other purposes, very few of them will be used before the commencement of the fall term.

A teacher is now at Clumforts (Clubfoot's) Creek Sunday School of more than 100 scholars. Everything there is as prosperous as can be expected under the circumstances. Miss. Bronson & Luckey³³ leave here for New York tomorrow.

I hope to be in N.Y first of July, though I may not be able to.

In haste,

Truly yours & c.

³³ Helen E. Luckey was a teacher commissioned by the Freedmen National Relief Association. United States Army. Department Of Virginia And North Carolina. Department Of Negro Affairs, Horace James, and African American Pamphlet Collection, *Annual report of the Superintendent of Negro Affairs in North Carolina*, 41. <https://www.loc.gov/item/60055003/>. Accessed March 1st, 2019.

Geo N. Greene

to W.E Whiting, Esq

George W. Jerkins to Sarah G. Comings, June 29, 1864

From a Freedman <to his teacher>

/to his teacher/ now absent at the North.

Beaufort N.C.

June, 29, 1864.

Miss Sarah, your kind and welcome letter of the 7th was duly received, for which receive my warmest thanks. It is very lonesome here now, as all the teachers /have/ left for their northern home, but with many promises to return another Fall, and none will be more welcome than yourself. I have not quite masterd the multiplication table yet, the 8 I cannot remember, but I hope before long I shall be able to. You may rest assured the pains you have taken with me shall not pass unimproved, in your absence, but I will try so in the future you will feel proud of your mission to this place.

The night class did meet till Miss Luckey went a way, Miss Sarah, Miss Lizzie³⁴ is all the charge to look to as a true friend of the freedmen.

Your school house is taken for a hospital, so the school is broken up, although a school will be opened tomorrow, by Miss Graves³⁵ and Miss Merriam, two of the Washington teachers, sent there from Newbern. The Sabbath School is prospering. After Miss Luckey left, I took

³⁴ Editor could not find information on this individual.

³⁵ Miss Fannie Graves (b.ca. 1828) was a teacher for the American Missionary Association. Ancestry.com, Year: 1860; Census Place; Hatfield, Hampshire, Massachusetts; Roll: M653_505;Page:961;Family History Library Film, Accessed March 1st, 2019; American Missionary Association, *The American Missionary Association: Its Missionaries, Teachers, and History* (New York: The Association, 1869), 4.

charge of her class in the Sabbath School. The children all send their kind regards to you, and would be very happy to get a letter from you. There is not much news, but an expedition left here last Saturday for some place unknown to us and expect to return the last of the week. There have been no fighting here and we do not expect any. I thought to spend the 4th of July /in/ New York, but give /it/ up until Fall. Moses sends his love to you, and Mollie, Nellie, Charlotte and all the class send their love to you and your father and want to see you all very Badly Michal and Garrison send their love to you, and we look for the coming of Fall, when we shall see all. I hope to you /will/ excuse this letter, for <this> /it/ is the first. Love from all to your father, and hope to see him once more in Beaufort. We never will forget the kind teachers for Bringing light to our land, when she was dark as night. They come in spite of rebs. Their reward is not in this world, but a world to come.

The weather is very hot, and a waft of breeze off the Green Mountains would be refreshing here hoping this will find you well, and enjoying all the charms of free New England life, is the respects of yours truly, George W. Jerkins

Note from the teacher:

The <enclosed> /above/ is a letter from one in my night class. I thought perhaps you might be interested to see a specimen of their letter writing, very well gotten up, I think, for one who has been all his life long a slave,> Sarah D. G. Comings³⁶

Horace James to George Whipple August 12, 1864

Office of Sup't. of Negro Affairs,

Newberne, N.C. August 12th, 1864.

³⁶ Sarah Comings forwarded this letter to the American Missionary Association home office, and it was later edited and published in their journal *American Missionary*.

Rev. Geo. Whipple

No. 61 John St.

New York City

Dear Brother,

On my return from Fort Monroe I found your note commending rev. T. Lyman³⁷ and wife to my care.

The "*Dudley Buck*" arrived this morning bringing them to New Berne. I will return them to Hatteras Inlet with letters of recommendation to the Commandant, the Quartermaster, and physicians there. It will be necessary for them to stir about and for the most part make their own position and on the Inlet by their own energy, a thing which they can readily do with the willing help of those who are here. They must not be discouraged if they do not find things ready prepared to their hand. It was impossible for us to get things ready until they should <actually> arrive, and by their presence make the necessity actually appear. If they are the right kind of persons, I anticipate for them a life of great usefulness there.

With kind regards I am,

Very faithfully, yours,

Horace James

Captain and A.G M.

Sup. Of NG. Affairs

³⁷ Reverend Timothy S. Lyman (b.ca. 1822) was commissioned by the American Missionary Association, Lyman arrived on Hatteras Inlet in August of 1864. Browning, *Shifting Loyalties*, 112; Ancestry.com, *1860 United States Federal Census Place: Plainfield, Will, Illinois*; Roll: M653_238; Page: 158; Family History Library Film, Accessed March 1st, 2019.

Mrs. Lyman³⁸ will probably remain here a few days, while he shall go to the Inlet and explore, and arrange for them to live. But he will have to make his place, and I will help him all I am able. H.J.

Horace James to George Whipple August 15, 1864

Office of Sup't. of Negro Affairs,

New Berne, N.C. Aug 15, 1864,

Dear Brother,

I send you herewith Mr. Leavitt's³⁹ account of cash, forwarded by you and expended by us, upon order of your several teachers.

I think it will be convenient for us in the future to have some funds of yours on hand for their support, in small sums, as they need. And yet it will perhaps be time enough when the teachers return and educational affairs in this District have taken shape under the officers of the Treasury Dept. who are hereafter to have them in charge. I have as yet received no orders but expect immediately to receive them, for turning over the whole management of Negro Affairs to the Supervising Spec. Agent of the Treasury Dept. and his assistants. The name of the agent is Col. D. Heaton,⁴⁰ a very worthy and excellent man, whom will, no doubt, wish to maintain the system of instruction already commenced, in a liberal way. Whether I shall have anything to do

³⁸ Mrs. Helen Lyman (b.ca. 1830), wife of Reverend Timothy Lyman. Browning, *Shifting Loyalties*, 112; Ancestry.com and The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. *1880 United States Federal Census Place: New York City, New York, New York*; Roll: 874; Page: 55D; Enumeration District: 174.

³⁹ Joshua Leavitt, an outspoken abolitionist and one of the founders of the AMA. Also the cousin of Horace James's wife. Click, *Time Full of Trial*, 41, 73-74.

⁴⁰ Colonel David Heaton, an agent for the Treasury Department. Heaton was supposed to take control of the Roanoke Island Company until otherwise instructed by General Butler, reinstating James as Superintendent. Click, *Time Full of Trial*, 157.

with this matter in the future time will speedily determine and when I know myself I will inform you.

Your friends Mr. and Mrs. Lyman, who have arrived in New Berne, as I informed you by this last mail, appear to be thoroughly disgusted with Hatteras Inlet, without having so much as introduced themselves to the people with whom they proposed to labor. Feeling as she does, I have strongly advised them to not go there, for it would be a sin against the people and against God for them to enter upon their labors with as little faith as they have, “Whatsoever is not of faith is sin” says the apostle.⁴¹

They propose to look along in this vicinity, at Morehead City, and perhaps at Roanoke Island, to see if they can find some opening that they may consider themselves adapted to fill. My impression of his fitness to do good as a missionary, while I would not express it hastily or strongly, is not overpowering.

I will say nothing more of the matter as present, but subscribe myself

Respectfully and affectionately,

your brother

Horace James

Per R.D.P Clerk

Horace James to George Whipple August 26, 1864

Office of Sup't. of Negro Affrs

New Berne N.C. Aug 26'64

My Dear Brother,

⁴¹ James is quoting a verse in *Romans* 14:23 (King James Version).

Yours of Aug. 20th is received. Mr. Lyman and wife are still in New Berne. He has been “prospecting” here, and at Morehead City and Beaufort, among the colored people and among the white regiments, with certain vague ideas of either a chaplaincy or a pastorate in view. He has got hold of nothing yet except the idea of establishing among the colored people of New Berne, a Congregational Church. This has been his scheme: respecting which Mr. Fitz⁴² has had considerable faith, he having been here either preaching or teaching a year or more. I think myself, that this thing, well managed would be feasible, but I very much doubt whether Mr. L has the ability or flexibility and tact requisite to this particular work. At his request, I have sent to Hatteras to have his boxes and trunks forwarded to New Berne, and we evidently have Mr. and Mrs. Lyman fastened upon us.

This is the long and short of the matter. I do not wonder that you have conflicting hopes with reference to their progress But there is “a divinity that shapes our ends,” and when they find their place, may it be one of usefulness. After all, I presume he will write to you censuring me, at least by implication, because there was no preparation made for them at Hatteras. In truth all the preparation was made that was possible before the parties themselves should come upon the ground. There was preparedness of feeling, sympathy, and cooperation and preachers might have been easily obtained if a man with ordinary energy had set himself about finding them. I am not aware that missionaries anywhere have a right to expect to find everything prepared to their hand. I have always supposed that it was the part of a missionary to find things disjointed, and dove-tail them together: to gather the materials of comfort and usefulness around them gradually, and to submit to some inconveniences in the early stages of the enterprise. <I find them> /Probably/ Mr. and Mrs. Lyman expected to be met by a welcoming delegation and escorted probably by a band of music to eloquently furnished quarters, within the fort, and there to be

⁴² James is talking about Private Edward S. Fitz.

waited upon, as if they were in a position of authority only second to the commander of the Post. It was not my idea that they should settle near the forts, but among the people further up the Banks, visiting the garrison only for services and labor among them. It is useless, however, for me to make further statements on this subject, nor mine to take the responsibility of advising you sending out any others for that place. Perhaps this poor people must be abandoned, though I can't help feeling that Christ would have gathered them as tenderly, and instructed them as patiently as he did other fisherman, still more ignorant and benighted, upon the banks of another sea. I think that such missionaries as the Moravians might delight in such a field as this.

With respect to Negro Affairs, the control passes over. As you probably know, to the Treasury Department, by Act of Congress.⁴³ D. Heaton, Esqr. will have supervision and control over this interest in N. Carolina, but he is a man who will favor all the educational and religious movements which have been inaugurated. There will be, I apprehend, no check whatever put upon our efforts in his direction. Where I shall personally have the same kind of control as heretofore is questionable. Indeed, I do not as yet know whether I may not withdraw from this department of labor altogether. Have you got an open missionary pulpit for me anywhere in the Western States?

We are awaiting the arrival of the agents of the Treasury from Washington, who is expected to bring with him the views of Secretary Fessenden⁴⁴ upon the subject, and my destiny will soon be revealed. Which ever way it shall turn, I must confess I have but little concern. I am

⁴³ On July 2, 1864, the 38th U.S. Congress passed an Act that incorporated the Department of Negro Affairs and Abandoned Lands under the Treasury Department. Click, *Time Full of Trial*, 157.

⁴⁴ Secretary William P. Fessenden (1806-1869) served as the Secretary of Treasury from 1864 to 1865 after he was appointed to the position by Abraham Lincoln. Department of Treasury, "William P. Fessenden (1864 - 1865)." 2010. Accessed May 10, 2019. <https://www.treasury.gov/about/history/Pages/wpessenden.aspx>.

only a passenger. If I am retained here as a Q.M., doing other duty I can still have an unofficial care of educational matters here, and perhaps do you nearly as much good heretofore.

I am, very truly and

faithfully yours,

Horace James

Capt & A.Q.M.

Horace James to George Whipple, Sept. 16, 1864

Assistant Quartermaster's Office

Fort Monroe, Va., Sept 16th, 1864

My Dear Bro,

I could not see you at New York after I heard you were there, though I would have been glad to. Gen Butler⁴⁵ tells us to go on as heretofore; that the conduct of negro aff's is not to be interfered with in his department. It is so arranged with the Jr. agents. So I obey orders, & go back to Newbern today to push the work as hard as I can with the new powers and added experience of the hour.

I send you eight blank passes, wh. Gen. Butler says you maybe asked as heretofore. If teachers are to pay them passage it is an arrangement I know nothing of. I am directed by Genl Butler to ration the teachers as heretofore and shall do it. Don't send out teachers for Newbern quite yet, it being unhealthy there now. But it is healthy at Roanoke. I shall at once put up school-houses at Roanoke, as many as, we need. Send all manner of supplies, and let us do a big

⁴⁵ Benjamin Franklin Butler (1818-1893) first applied the term "contraband-of-war" to slaves who fled from their masters into Union lines. Butler commanded successful attacks on Hatteras Inlet during Burnside's Expedition in 1862. Afterwards he was appointed as military governor until December 1862. Ezra J. Warner, *Generals in Blue*, 60.

winters work, for perhaps (wh may heaven avert!) the spring cometh, when no man can work in this business.

I hope to be north a few day days in the latter part of Oct. It will be a very brief tarry. I send this to N. York to make sure of reaching you eventually.

With love and trust I am

Ever yours,

Horace James

Capt. A.Q.M.

Supt Neg Affrs

Timothy Lyman to George Whipple Oct. 1, 1864

Beaufort N.C. Oct. 1st 1864

Dear. Bro. Whipple,

It has now been about seven weeks since we left New York, and yet we have heard nothing from you directly. We are becoming somewhat troubled about <our> bedding & things that had not arrived from Illinois when we left. We have heard that they had been sent from Ill before we left New York. Have you received them, and sent them on? & when? We are much inconvenienced by want of our bed clothes & shall be more & more as cold weather comes on. We have to use our shawls to cover us & such things as we can borrow.

My health is slowly improving I have been under the surgeons care most of the time since coming to N.C. Mrs. Lyman is also sick, she has kept her bed for the last 10 days & is there yet. Her disease is much like my own. Bilious remittant fever. We seem to be cured, mostly, of the fever but have diarrhea & are left in a very weak state. The climate is, at this season, very

debilitating & all the people seem to try to do is keep along & wait for cooler weather. That cooler weather will now soon come & we hope & expect to be well again & ready for work we hope to be better than before we were sick.

Had we felt that Hatteras Banks was a hopeful field & wished ever so much to go there, it would have been impossible hitherto. I have not been able to go to make preparations, nor if I had been could I have left my sick wife. We feel thankful that we have been among friends, who can & have done for us, especially here God been favorable in giving us a very kind & attentive physician Dr. Rice⁴⁶ principal surgeon of the hospital here, though we are not his especial charge, has made us such and done all we could ask & more.

The deadly fever still eager in Newbern.⁴⁷ Providence kindly removed us just as it broke out! I think this is an important opening for your missionary. Besides the numerous Blacks there are 6 or 8 hundred white refugees & Fort Macon with no chaplain. This home is poorly furnished, no tables, or places for fire in our rooms, very little furniture for the table.

The “homes” here in N.C are left to run themselves, no one making themselves responsible for neatness & order, the effect & influence is bad.

If your teachers could be together it would seem desirable. Some that come from other societies know not Christ.

Hoping to hear soon,

I remain

Yours truly,

T Lyman

⁴⁶ Editor could not find any information on this individual.

⁴⁷ In the summer and fall of 1864 there was a plague of yellow fever that swept through both Beaufort and New Bern, North Carolina and lasted for several months. The fever spread quickly and threatened many freedmen and missionaries, including Horace James. Richardson, *Christian Reconstruction*, 176; Click, *Time Full of Trial*, 96.

Timothy Lyman to George Whipple Oct. 14, 1864

Beaufort N.C. Oct 14, 1864

Dear Bro. Whipple,

It seems right that I should inform you that the yellow fever is among us too. This place has always been considered healthy, but we are not exempt from the scourge of God. Many have come from Newbern to this place as more healthy. Many have been sent to the hospital. So that either from importation or from local causes or as is probable from both, many have died & are still dying with the disease. This building has not been exempt, one teacher Miss. Tuttle⁴⁸ from Mass. Died last Wednesday & was buried in a hurried manner by moonlight the same evening. The people are in such foolish fear of taking the disease that it is extremely difficult to get men to put the corpse in the coffin & bury. I went to the Provost Marshal to have him detail men to come & bury her. When they got here they refused to take the coffin to the room & run away. The Marshal then sent three men, under guard, who with my help (weak as I am) performed the rites. Miss. T called for me the night before she died & converse upon the subject of religion & her expected death she expressed faith in Christ & no fear of death.

Three others from this house, not teachers, one of them the agent for Negro affairs, have been taken from this house to the hospital, two have died. So you see we are in the midst of death.

My own health & Mrs. L is improving, our fevers were not this malignant kind & God has spared us for future usefulness we hope, we seem to have been in a hospital ever since we came here. The weather is getting cooler & it is hoped the sickness will abate.

⁴⁸ Miss Elizabeth M. Tuttle (d. 1864), commissioned by the New England Freedmen's Society, died of yellow fever in 1864. James, *Annual Report of Superintendent of Negro Affairs in North Carolina 1864*, 17.

We are still wondering why we hear nothing from you on our things. We presume you must have written. Why do we not receive?

Hoping soon to hear & receive I remain.

Yours truly,

T. Lyman

Horace James to George Whipple Oct. 14, 1864

Newbern N.C.

Oct 14, 1864

Bro. Whipple

Dear Sir,

Your letter came last night. I think the poor here and consequent quarantine will compel us to remain here until quite the last of the month and carry on past your meeting. Otherwise I would be glad to attend it. The other matter I will speak of soon at leisure. The mail is just leaving for the north. We are having frost and I think the sickness prevalent must needs be checked at once.

In love & truth

yours,

Horace James

Supt &c

Horace James to George Whipple Oct. 21, 1864

Office of Sup't of Negro Affairs

Newberne, N.C. Oct. 21st 1864.

Rev. Geo. Whipple

Dear Bro,

Do not wait any longer for the fever in Newbern. It has passed away, and it is now perfectly safe to send teachers and supplies to any post we hold in N. Carolina. I shall not be able to go north until after Nov. 1st, but I hope Mr. Briggs will be here before I leave. Were it not for my friends, I would not go north at all, for I know not how to spare the time.

With much love I am

Ever truly yours,

Horace James

Supt &c

Timothy Lyman to George Whipple Nov. 3, 1864

Beaufort N.C. Nov 3, 1864

Rev. Geo Whipple

Dear Bro,

It is still a mystery to us that we have not heard a word from New York since we left there in Aug. We have written three or four times but have never heard whether our things have been shipped or not. It seems probable to us that the sickness that has been so fatal in these parts has in some way interrupted our communications.

If you have received former letters you will know that we have been in Beaufort now some 8 weeks and have been much of the time sick & taking care of the sick.

Since I last wrote you Mrs. Lyman has had a relapse, and had, for a while an alarming fever, but through a kind Providence she has so far recovered as to assume her position as charge de affairs in this home. My own health too is getting quite good so that I am preaching now to the colored church here (Methodist) who have lost their pastor by the fever.

We have also opened an evening school of 70 scholars so that we begin to feel that we are at work again after a vacation prolonged by the terrible fever. There is, I believe, now no new cases of the fever here. There are no teachers here now but Miss. Etheridge & ourselves. Since the sickness here we have had the house thoroughly cleaned & whitewashed. It had become very dirty under the plan of having no responsible house keeper.

The house is poorly furnished. There is almost no bedding here, the hospital house sent for theirs the second time & are not disposed to lend to us. Let the teachers sent come prepared with bed & bedding. We are on the verge of suffering for want of ours that has never reached us. Do inform us when you sent & where it probably is .

Please send me your publications, account of your annual meeting &c. I have received nothing from your office since we left.

As we have, for the present, assumed charge of the home here, we find ourselves short of funds for extra expenses.

Expenses for myself & wife	
Expenses on board steamer	15.00
“ for Aug at Newbern.	8.00
“ “ Sept. “ “	16.92
“ “ Oct.	21.36
Amount	\$61.55

Received by cash in N. Y.	\$30.00
By sale of Books in Beaufort	\$7.80
Amount received	\$37.80
	\$61.33
Balance due me	\$25.53
My salary for one quarter	89.50
For wife 15 per month	45.00
Now due	156.03

Will you please buy for us 150 dollars of Government Bonds and leave them in the Bank for us & send the bills of deposit. Please let us hear from you immediately and much oblige.

Yours truly,

T Lyman

[In Margin of third page] Capt. James is now sick at Newbern but from last information not considered dangerous.

Timothy Lyman to W.E Whiting Nov. 25, 1864

Beaufort North Carolina

Nov 25, 1864

Mr. Wm. E Whiting

Dear sir,

There is a great mystery about our relation to your society, or rather a great wonder why we do not hear one word from any of the secretaries.

I have written three or four times & Mrs. Lyman once but we have not received in return one word. We have been greatly annoyed for want of our bedding and other things as personal <clothe> clothing in those trunks and boxes you were to forward to us. We have never heard anything at all, whether you ever received & sent them or not.

We presume that we have been written to perhaps more than once, but the letter lost. Will you please inform me, on the receipt of this, whether you have sent on those things, what the packages were, when sent, in what boat, to what place &c.

Our health is now good. I am preaching to the colored church in this place for the present, and we are teaching in a flourishing night school. No teachers have yet arrived for the day schools. We hope they will come soon, send me your publications and much oblige.

Yours truly, T. Lyman

Horace James to W.E. Whiting Dec. 15, 1864

Office of Sup't Negro Affairs

Newbern N.C. Dec 15th 1864

Mr. Wm. E. Whiting

Dear Sir,

Yours of 3^d inst. is at hand and the packages therein named have arrived. Those for kitchen have been delivered as directed.

I paid Oct. 31st to Miss Etheridge acct. & salary, thirty dollars \$30.00.

Mr. James is convalescing slowly, has not yet left his bed; the indication of his recovery cause us all here to be glad and grateful.

I am respect'y yours,

H. Leavitt

for Horace James

Capt. A. Q. M. Sup. N.A.

Timothy Lyman to George Whipple Dec. 19, 1864

Beaufort, N.C. Dec 19, 1864

Rev. Geo Whipple

Dear Brother,

After so long waiting your letter with draft for \$156.00 came. I have also received in safe condition, the trunk and two boxes forwarded at the same time, by which we have been made much more comfortable.

Since I recovered from sickness so as to be able to teach & preach, I have been teaching in night school as reported, and preaching for the colored Methodists church whose pastor died of yellow fever.

The congregation in the evening (when I preach) is in the vicinity of three hundred and seem very attentive & glad to have me preach I think most of them much prefer to hear an educated man preach than those who can hardly read a verse correctly. It seems to me a matter of vital importance that they should have educated preachers in the place of noisy, ignorant & uncultivated.

We have had a recruit of two teachers who seem well fitted for their work sent out by your society; Miss. McLean⁴⁹ & Miss. Francis⁵⁰ so that now our day schools are opened.

⁴⁹ Miss Vienna McLean was commissioned by the American Missionary Association. James, *Annual Report of Negro Affairs in North Carolina*, 41.

We suppose that one or two more teachers will yet be sent. We were glad that these teachers were from your Association as it gives this Home a majority of one sort who are of one mind & heart. We are now five of us here all from your Association so that we feel that we shall have no excuse if we do not give to this home teaching & our teaching that evangelical savour that is & to be its aim.

Mrs. Lyman has charge of housekeeping and teachers in the night school, a very interesting class of young men between 20 to 50 years of age.

In taking charge of the Home we find that we have to advance some for 10 dollars per month for extra mess bill for help washing, lights, &c. This, for the five /teachers/ that are here from your Association, will amount to some 40 or more dollars per month extra. As I have to advance this, (as I purchase the articles & pay the bills) I am in want of some money to pay current expenses for these your teachers. Will you please send me some & I will make an account of it to you or inform you when I can get it. <Capt. James> is yet sick and will not probably be able to do much business this winter. Hoping to hear soon, I am yours truly,
T. Lyman

Mrs. Helen D. Lyman to George Whipple Dec. 20, 1864

Beaufort N.C. Dec 20th 1864

Rev. Geo. Whipple

Dear Sir,

I suppose that you have learned before this, that we are located in this place for the present, also that we have the charge, of the Teacher's Home here. Mr. Briggs has just left here

⁵⁰ N.D. Francis, a teacher commissioned by the AMA. James, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Negro Affairs in North Carolina*, 41.

and in looking after the actual needs of the houses, found us very much, in need of a cooking stove, he requested me to write you at once, and ask you to send us one, and he told me to say to you, that it should be credited to you, in balancing accounts /of furnishing/ with other societies. he also states that he expects to send Miss. Windsor & Miss Spaulding here, which will give your /society/ all here. If you can send us a stove very soon we shall be very glad, as the one we have is very small, and all burned up so that I cannot bake anything in it. Please send us No. 8 or 9. We want a wash boiler, tea kettle, and indeed, all that belongs to the stove. I would like you to send a steamer, in place of some of the little things, such as dipper &c., if it is convenient, for you to send it. Mr. Briggs told me to ask you to send it directly here, by boat if you can, the patrol comes here regularly. Mr. L, thinks it best for me to suggest that you send for your family here a supply of dried fruit. We have to pay .25 cents for dried apples and 50 cents for all other kinds, that we get here we have to pay 70 cts /for butter/ & milk .70 cts a can. I hope you will send the stove immediately, we need it so much.

I have not told you anything of the school, I do not teach <only> /except/ an evening class, of 20 men, most of them I enjoy it very much and find them kind, and very anxious, to do what they can for me. One of my Scholars brought me a turkey for Christmas last eve. I had designed to divide my class, when the new teachers came, but they are so unwilling to leave my class, that I have not done so as yet, some of them say they are not willing to recite one of their lessons, arithmetic, to anyone but me and /so/ I do the best I can for them. I have promised some of the men, that I will teach their wives afternoons, if we can arrange it, so as to have a room (I think we can), and with the care of the House, my time will be fully occupied; the writing of letter for them is quite a business, but we feel glad to do all that we can to help them.

Hoping to hear soon from you also to receive the stove, I must close. Mr. Briggs has supplied us with crockery.

Respectfully,

Helen D. Lyman

P.S. We would be very glad to have you send us clothing and shoes for the destitute, that cannot go to school for the want of these things, there has been nothing /of the kind/ here since we came, and we can get nothing from Newberne, they do not send anything here till all the demand there is met, and there are a good many orphans here that ought to be supplied.

Chapter 3

Timothy Lyman to George Whipple, Jan. 12, 1865

Beaufort, N.C. Jan. 12, 1865

Rev. Mr. Whipple

Dear Sir,

I write to inform you that we are greatly annoyed in our schools here for want of books. Mr. Briggs told us that they were not sent on from N.Y. because the Boston Society had not agreed to bear their share of expense and let the New York society do the furnishing.

It seems to us a pity that we teachers should be left without books for our schools while societies are bickering about such things! Would it not be best for you to send us (directed to this place) a present supply that our schools may no longer be damaged for want of books that most of the pupils are willing to buy? The "National Series"¹ are in use here, and one kind ought to be used so as not to create confusion. We are out of primers, and First, Second, & Third Readers. Also we want Greenleaf's Arithmetic² & some slates. Some paper slates for children would be useful, some pencils, some of Monteith's Geography (No. 2),³ some writing books, also we need some outline geographical maps.

Our schools are filling up since Christmas week and we have a very pleasant homogenous home. But yet subject to some annoyances as you will see from the letter I enclose

¹ The National Series Science Books published by Alfred Smith Barnes in 1865. Biblio.com, "A. S. Barnes - First Edition Identification and Publisher Information." Accessed April 1, 2019. <https://www.biblio.com/publisher/a-s-barnes>.

² An arithmetic textbook written by Benjamin Greenleaf in 1862. The textbook series is still in use today. Benjamin Greenleaf, *The National Arithmetic on the Inductive System: Combining the Analytic and Synthetic Methods: Forming a Complete Course of Higher Arithmetic* (Boston: Robert S. Davis & Co., 1862). *Nineteenth Century Collections Online*, Accessed April 1, 2019, <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/9e9Wj8>.

³ A series of geography books written by James Monteith. Biblio.com, "A. S. Barnes - First Edition Identification and Publisher Information." Accessed April 1, 2019. <https://www.biblio.com/publisher/a-s-barnes>.

from Mr. Briggs. When you hear of our giving of a grand Ball at your Missionary Home you will see the origin of it. The teachers all feel that it is a gross imposition upon them, the society that sustain <us> /them/ & the Churches that sustain that society! What right has Capt. James thus to invade our Home, interrupt our schools, occupy our rooms & keep us awake the whole live long night with dancing & music, if not drunkenness and revelry? WE can hardly speak of it temperately, but are studying to “be angry and sin not.”⁴ Is there no escape from such intrusions? We fear the Good Spirit will be grieved from us by such desecrations! The Lord forgive.

Yours

T. Lyman

Miss Vienna McLean to M.E. Strieby⁵ Jan. 27, 1865

Beaufort N.C. January 27th//65

Mr. Strieby

Dear Sir,

For a long time, we have been waiting for Books for our schools, cannot get any from New Berne and we thought best to again apply to your Association. Mr. Lyman some time ago wrote to Mr. Whipple about Books but has not received a reply, and we are very anxious to have the books sent soon. Mr. Lyman gave a list of the necessary Books in his letter to Mr. Whipple. All the teachers here join in this appeal for Books. Clothing for needy Freedmen would do much good here.

⁴ Lyman is referencing *Ephesians* 4:26. The full verse reads “Be ye angry, and sin not: let not the sun go down upon your wrath:” *Ephesians* 4:26 (King James Version).

⁵ Reverend Michael E. Strieby (1815-1899), After graduating from Oberlin College and Seminary Strieby became a pastor for eleven years. Afterwards he organized a church in New York in 1864. Strieby replaced Jocelyn as secretary for the AMA for thirty-five years. Beard, *A Crusade of Brotherhood*, 267-68.

I will add I am enjoying my work here very much. Hoping to hear from you soon in the form of "Books."

I remain yours & c.

Vienna McLean

Beaufort, NC

P.S. Thinking it possible you may not find the list of books Mr. Lyman gave, I will just name some, the most needed are three dozen National Primers. Same number first national readers, a few third readers and Geography's.

V. McLean

3 doz. National Readers

3 " ✓ 1" Reader

1 " ✓" 3 " "

1" ✓" small geographies.

Timothy Lyman to George Whipple Feb. 1, 1865

Beaufort N.C Feb 1st, 1865

Rev. Geo. Whipple

Dear Bro,

The last quarter of labor here has been in many respect in contrast with the preceding one. That was a time of heat, languor, sickness, & death. Now we enjoy cool pleasant weather & good health.

The schools here are now in a flourishing condition. The population of this place (I mean the colored) is about 1100 by a late census taken by order of Capt. James. There is about 270

children that attend the day schools and about 80 evening scholars so that 350 are being taught by your teachers here, and we believe these schools will compare favorably with those of any others for order, faithfulness & success.

Our family here are so well united & harmonious, as we could expect, and all inclined to look to God our Lord for real & lasting success. We are all rejoiced that we all receive our commission from the A.M.A.

For the first two months of this quarter I supplied the pulpit of the colored Methodists church here, but since then they have had a man appointed to preach among them, so that they do not now ask me to preach.

I have been for two Sabbaths in Carolina City (about 5 miles from here) by invitation to preach to a regiment stationed there but owing to their being suddenly called away on one occasion & a general /inspection/ on the other, I could not preach as I intended. It is not very convenient to get a congregation here just now. It is too cold to preach out doors and the colored people are inclined to look among themselves for ministers. I cannot but think that the missions established among them, in order to do permanent good, must resort to the establishment of churches to be under the care of educated men.

There being no Cong⁶. or Pres.⁷ Churches among them here. It is difficult to get any permanent footing without organizing such churches, if you do not wish to become connected with the Baptists or Methodists connections. The extravagant noisy kind of worship among them is such that your teachers do not feel that they can be profited by meeting much with them, especially when they have a revival. The teachers often say oh how I wish I could go to a good quiet meeting & hear a man preach that can use tolerable English. I do not see how these poor

⁶ Congregational

⁷ Presbyterian

ignorant people can be led into a more orderly & intelligent manner of worship without establishing churches that will aim at such a result. Such churches would need special help from the North in securing houses of worship & the like. Have the secretaries settled upon any policy with regard to this matter of organizing new churches among them?

If I do not see better prospects of doing good on the sabbath in other places I think I shall try to form a large Bible class for some part of the sabbath & perhaps open preaching for them within the evening. But I hesitate about trying to draw from their congregations unless the policy be adopted of trying to get them under new church arrangements. I am teaching in the night school & take charge of it.

Mrs. Lyman besides her duties as housekeeper & in the night school, has undertaken to teach a class of mostly married ladies in the afternoon. She has about 20 of the most interesting & intelligent colored ladies in the place. They have more ambition than is common among the women. Her night class is mostly men & are very attentive & much interested. So that she teaches some 100 besides her other work. All the teachers are very industrious & I fear are doing too much for their health. The harvest great and the laborers few.

Yours truly,

T. Lyman

Horace James to W.E. Whiting Feb. 1, 1865

Office of Asst. Quartermaster & Supt. of Negro Affairs

New Berne, N.C. Feb 1st, 1865

W.E. Whiting, Esq.

Dear Sir,

Yours of 20th ult. advising of the shipment of laundry packages rcd. steamer "Albany" came duly to hand. Many of the parties to whom packages were addressed are becoming quite anxious concerning them as the "Albany" has not yet arrived at this port. If you can write anything in explanation of the delay, please do so.

Very truly yours & c.

Horace James

Capt. A.M.A S.N.A Lewitt

[Inscribed:] Wrote Feb. 16-6 boxes ret signed, 9___1___-----Albany.

Timothy Lyman to W.E Whiting Feb. 5, 1865

Beaufort N.C Feb 5th, 1865

Mr. Wm. E. Whiting

Dear Sir,

Will you not please send me a box of Bibles for the colored people here? I have a large Bible class in the Old Testament which many of them can read. We are entirely destitute, send the price at which they should be sold. We have New Testaments in pretty good supply, some large print testaments & psalm would sell.

Please send immediately and do not disappoint.

Yours truly,

Timothy Lyman

Please send direct to me.

George N. Greene to W.E. Whiting Feb. 6, 1865

Beaufort N.C

Feb 6th, 1865

W.E. Whiting

Dr. Br,

Your note 6th Jan. has come to hand. I find nearly correct 1 box you suppose /50/ bibles contained Bibles, Testaments & gospels & c. I have only 3 maps not seven. Bible & packages have also come to hand. I had no pens. As soon as convenient please ship the 25 Large Testaments & Psalms. Have many calls for them. The Books cost here from 65 to 75 cts. for very ordinary. Would like a doz or two. Am getting on well at the Creek but not quite ready to report. The weather has been so rough as to delay my work somewhat. Find me a few Bills or boxes of clothing, for Beaufort if you can. People very destitute.

Yours, & c.

G. N. Greene

P.S. Please send a Coal cooking stove with 8 inch holes at least for kettles. Mr. Briggs says you get them much cheaper than Mr. Leigh.⁸ Send soon.

In Haste, G.N. Greene

Timothy Lyman to M.E. Strieby Feb. 27, 1865

First Sheet

Beaufort N.C. Feb 27th, 1865

Rev. M.E Strieby

Sect. A.M.A

⁸ C.C Leigh, was an officer for the New York chapter of the Freedmen's Society. Rose, *Rehearsal for Reconstruction*, 152.

New York

[*In Margin at top of page*] Am organizing new churches among the Freedmen. Worthy, I think, of great consideration. T.L

Dear Brother

Your kind favor of the 14th was duly received and it is especially a favor to me because it convinces me that your mind is deeply interested in questions that have much exercised me since I came out as a missionary to the Freedmen.

It is true, as you intimate in your letter, that no greater & better service can be rendered to this age and to our common country than wisely to direct the beneficence of the churches toward the colored people of our land.

This “peculiar people,” emerging from the crushing power of the “Peculiar Institution” that has clothed them with peculiar habits & prejudices claim the earnest love & wise councils of Christian men. What is peculiar among this people, as a missionary field, is that they already have some knowledge of the Christian religion and that they already have religious societies, or churches established among them. Indeed, they have often reminded me of Paul’s observation concerning the men of Athens. “I perceive that in all things you are very religious” (too superstitious).⁹ It cannot therefore be said that the Christian religion is to be introduced among them. If it were so, we should know now how to proceed. We should, as in other missionary fields, first seek their real conversion to Christ & then organise them into a Christian church to be under the care of the missionary until native pastors could be educated & prepared for the work of preaching.

⁹ Lyman is referencing a verse in the book of Acts. The full verse reads: “Then Paul stood in the midst of Mars hill and said, Ye men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious.” *Acts* 22: 17 (King James Version).

But the question, as it regards this peculiar work is-shall missionaries be sent from the North to try to cooperate with them in their present organizations, or shall we organize anew and keep the churches under the care of the missionaries until men can be educated & prepared from among themselves.

I will offer some reasons why it seems to me that we must resort to the policy of organizing new churches among them.

The church polity is vogue among them is not such as will command the most efficient aid from the north.

The churches already existing here are, for the most part, Methodists & Baptist. Of course, they are not much like these denominations in the north. And I believe they do not receive much aid or cooperation from these denominations of the North. The Methodists here call themselves the “Zion Methodists.” Their distinctive features as I understand them are these, 1st to employ preachers of their own color, 2^d to discard the “Bishop” yet they have one they call their “Superintendent” who seems to exercise all the functions of a Bishop & is often so called.

The Baptists here seem to have little in common with our Baptist brethren of the North except immersion. They have a ceremony of washing one another’s feet and seem about as noisy as the Methodists.

How can we expect that our benevolent churches of the North, Congregational, & Presbyterian, are going to be willing to give their money to support these denominations alone when they fully believe that there is a more excellent way?

Congregationalists believe that their form of church polity, employed by the apostles of Christ in their missionary tours through barbarous countries, as well as in Judea is yet good enough, and as well adapted, at least as any of man’s devising. Can we expect that they will give

freely unless they can be assured that their money shall be /expended/ in accordance with their judgement.

So too how can your missionaries bring their minds to ignore their celestial convictions and become close communion Baptists or undemocratic Methodists?

Second Sheet

We seem to be driven to the policy of organizing new churches from the difficulty if not impossibility of the white missionaries getting access to their pulpits as teachers. This determination seen among them of employing only colored preachers, arises, I think, almost entirely from their leading men & preachers. I do not think it uncharitable to say that it is the ambition of their leading men.

They know that the organization of <Cong> /other/ churches among them, supplied with educated men from the North would have the effect to give them a less conspicuous place. All the common people among them are easily turned & led by their preachers. They do not think for themselves very much & readily accept of any arrangements made by their leaders.

But whatever may be the reasons that have induced them /to undertake/ to supply their own preachers from among themselves, it is plain to see that such a system shuts out the white missionary from the North. We <have> /are/ sometimes invited to preach for them in the absence, or death of their minister but they never think of inviting us to become their stated ministers. What then can we do if we come as missionaries among them to preach the gospel unless we have churches of our own and invite them to come to hear us? We are allowed to teach them the spelling book & to hear their Testaments and this is doing much for them. But I do not hesitate to say that they need religious teaching more than literary.

The ignorance of their preachers is another reason why there should be other churches with educated preachers. People that have always been blessed, as the people of New England have, with educated ministers can hardly conceive the injurious influence of an ignorant preacher. Christianity & ignorance cannot go together. All kind of false religions grow in the soil of ignorance; but Christ's pure religion dies there. Your northern teachers are astonished at the ignorance at the ignorance displayed in these pulpits. The ministers who preach here are considered above the average, yet one of them the other sabbath read his text thus: "Ye are not stretched in us but ye are stretched into your own bosoms."¹⁰

In the evening the other minister have this text thus: "Is there no balm in Gilead? Is there no physician there? Why then are not the health of the daughter of my people recovered?"¹¹

These mistakes are of constant occurrence. But pronunciation, bad grammar and misconception of the truths revealed are as common as we might expect from those who have had no advantages. We cannot blame them for this ignorance. But the question is shall we provide them with more educated teachers? It is easy to see how such blunders in the pulpit affect our scholars who can read better & how such preaching will be more & more at discount as the people become educated. Thus the ministry will be blamed & the power of the pulpit crippled.

The other day one of our scholars made this remark, Old man (mentioning one preachers name) made 3 mistakes in reading, for I looked over, and old man (mentioning another preacher) made 4. If that scholar could detect three or four doubtless a good scholar would detect twenty.

¹⁰ The reverend misquoted 2 Corinthians 6:12. The verse reads: "Ye are not straitened in us, but ye are straitened in your own bowels." 2 *Corinthians* 6:12 (King James Version).

¹¹ The reverend misquoted two words in Jeremiah 8:22. The full verse is, "Is there no balm in Gilead? Is there no physician there? Why then is not the health of the daughter of my people recovered?" *Jeremiah* 8:22 (King James Version).

But their incompetence is not literary only. Their preaching is characterized by narrowness of religious views.

It is principally one thing that they strive to effect in their hearers and that is a kind of happy personal experience. I have not heard them, to any great extent, apply the principles of Christ to the daily duties of life. Or that their whole life shall be permeated with principle & piety. They do not much preach against the evil habits of their people, as lying & thieving & unfaithfulness in their domestic vows to which they are too prone. But they carry the idea that religion consists chiefly in a time of joyful exhilaration that prompts them to shout & gesticulate & or all manner of uncouth things.

Third Sheet

Another reason I should give why we should organize new churches and put them under the care of orderly pastors, is the fact that their present religion cultivation is as full of noisy & hurtful extravagance.

I have already mentioned that the aim of their ignorant preachers is to excite their bearers into a certain happy feeling, supposed to be produced by the Holy Spirit. It is remarkable that the praying ones strive as hard to work themselves & others up into this excited state. Hence in their excited meeting, or as they call them “Revival Meetings,” they go systematically to work to throw themselves into this state. When anything powerful as they say, comes from the preacher they begin drumming with their feet like a land of suppressed applause, so when they have their “mourners” seeking religion, they are literally mourners, for through all the first prayer & sermon time they keep up a moaning sound. Then after the sermon the mourners are called for to come up around the altar. Then commences a scene that beggars description. My spirit sinks

within me in sorrow to think of their noisy extravagance around the altar of my blessed Lord, who is the God of order not confusion.

They begin their clapping of hands & singing songs with a continual repeat. They pray & groan & shout & slap one another. They pump up as high as they can. The women are very apt to dance throwing up their arms & crying “glory, glory” or “I’m happy, I’m happy,” so they will jump or dance in this way often till they fall helpless upon others or on the floor. Twice of late our hired girl has been brought home from meeting in this helpless state “struck under conviction” as they say. Now they seem to believe that all this effect is from the spirit of God & should not be resisted or spoken against.

A person in this hysterical state is thought to be highly favored of God & is looked upon by them with a kind of awe, as we may suppose were the sibyls of heathen nations.

Such extravagance & hurtful excitement forbid your northern missionaries & teachers the privilege of social worship with them. I do not see as we can do much to rectify these vices of ignorance and false notions unless we take the matter into our own hands & teach them the more excellent way.

I do not forget that your request is that I should “make suggestions as to practicability and mode of organizing new churches” I felt that I could not make myself well understood in any such suggestions without first stating my sense of the necessity of such a work. I think that, after all, is the great question. Is there a necessity for such a thing. If there is plainly a demand for such new organizations for the purest & speediest development of gospel principle among them, if fidelity to our masters cause does require such a measure, then it must be practicable. If we are convinced that our great captain wishes it & commands it, then we can enter upon the work in faith knowing that he will bless the undertaking.

We shall have to go mostly by faith in this matter in the beginning for we have not precedent to guide us. But I would suggest that we move in this matter with strength & energy. We ought to convince the colored people that, in this thing, their Christian friends of the north are unanimously convinced & united and that the thing must go. They have a deep respect for the energy of the north, as in contrast with southern laxness. If they become convinced that the Yankees have taken hold of a thing in earnest they believe it will go.

Now if we should enter upon this work in a doubting, experimenting half-determined manner they will be much more inclined to stand off & oppose. Besides the work is great and needs to be entered upon with energy & preparation.

I trust the Congregational Council¹² that meets in Boston next June, will fully expouse this cause & vote unanimously that they should & will establish Cong.l Churches all over the south and vote to raise one or two hundred thousand dollars to help build churches there and give their missionaries the means to carry this thing through with Christian power & energy.

Fourth Sheet

The churches in which these people worship, where they have houses of their own, are far from being attractive, or neat, or pleasant. They correspond well with their wild uncouth manners in worship. While therefore the forming of new churches might necessitate the building of new houses of worship, it can hardly be considered an objection, for they need these new chapels of a better style, neat & attractive so that they will take pride in keeping them clean & orderly. The associations of their old chapels are not favorable to neatness, cleanliness, or order.

¹² The National Council of Congregational Churches of the United States, an organization formed by the combination of Presbyterian and Congregational churches in the United States in the early 1800s, formed a national council of churches in June that year and discussed foreign and home missionary work, the building up of new churches, and providing educational and religious support. Edmund Lyman Hood, *The National Council of Congregational Churches of the United States* (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1901), 41, 50-51.

I should expect a great deal of good inspiration to them from just this enterprise of building themselves neat & wholesome churches.

I would suggest that we may find them more ripe for such changes than we expect. Some of them say boldly that they do not like such noise & confusion in their meetings. I have never tried to sound them on such a point, for I have not thought it best to do anything to render them dissatisfied with their present so long as we have nothing better to offer them. But they see that their teachers do not enter into such violent expression in worship, so that our influence tend to disparage it. A few of them have been Presbyterians & really enjoy more quietness. There is what is sometimes called a Congregational Element among them too, as other people.

It will be the old men & officers of their churches that will cling most tenaciously to their old methods. The young men, those who are learning to read, whose manhood has not been so long crushed by that brutalizing institution, will I quite readily enlist in such new enterprise, especially if they see that it is inaugurated with energy & power. I should hope too that such an enterprise would bring in many that now do not attend /church/ anywhere.

It is worth considering, also, that while these new churches would not draw off all, or a greater part of the members of existing churches, (as it might not be best they should) <it> they would exert a restraining influence upon their noisiness. Now, there is no standard raised against it, no influence to counteract it.

We have a right to expect that such measures would grow more & move in favor with them. As they become educated & reflecting they will see & feel more that this is a better way.

I suggest again, that such churches would receive efficient aid from teachers sent from the North. Now teachers feel that they can do but little & promote social religion among this people. Their disorderly & hurtful customs serves entirely to exclude good praying teachers from

their social meetings. They go a few times with the hope & desire that they may enjoy a good social prayer meeting but finding it impossible to come into sympathy with such customs they are compelled to stay away. But with church arrangements that they can cherish they could do much for this people religiously which now they cannot do. So too, would such organizations aid them in their work as teachers. Disorder & noise loud-talking loud-studying are always spoken of as great obstructions in negro teaching. I think their disorder & unrestrained manners in church greatly helps on this disorder in school.

Order in one kind of gathering will tend to the same in other things. They are ignorant & unaccustomed to plan & manage for themselves and I cannot help feeling strongly that their greater need is orderly churches, under the care of educated men. For the effects of such religious order is not easily overestimated, as it regards both spiritual things and temporal.

I fear I have multiplied my suggestions beyond the capacity of your patience; but I am sure not beyond the greatness or importance of the work, provided they are relevant truth. Hoping that the facts in this important matter will come before our churches & prompt them to wise & efficient action in evangelizing the Freedmen of our great & beloved country, I ever remain yours truly,

Timothy Lyman

Miss Antoinette L. Etheridge to George Whipple March 4, 1865

Beaufort N.C Mar. 4th. 1865

My dear Mr. Whipple,

Since coming south, I believe I have never written you, yet please do consider this delinquency as an evidence that I have forgotten our beloved Sec. or that I am not interested in this delightful work. I remember with pleasure your last winter visit to Beaufort.

Since then great changes have taken place. A kind providence carried me safely through the dangers of the summer, for which I hope to be ever grateful. One living in this country becomes fully impressed with the uncertainty of everything earthly.

This is a day in which we should “rejoice and be glad” Thanks be to God, who so influenced the minds of men to cast their votes in the right direction.¹³ His hand is clearly seen in daily events-the rapid succession of victories, the changes of public sentiment. As an old colored man, sick and poor, but rich in faith was telling me, “They say the niggers made this war, but I had nothing to do with it. I was out attending to my work.” He was rejoicing as Simeon did,¹⁴ and exhibiting such a trust in his Father, and such contentment as would put to shame the pampered followers of Jesus among us.

Our acct. of difficulty in getting accommodations, I was forced to give up my school at Morehead. Am in a pleasant position here. I teach 8 hours every day. All my home is occupied even Sat. and on the Sabbath. I hope my influence may be for good among this people. May I hear from you, Mr. Whipple when you have leisure? I enclose a note to Mr. Whiting.

With much respect & many good wishes from,

A.L. Etheridge

¹³ Due to a string of Union victories during the fall of 1864, on November 13th Lincoln was reelected, defeating his opponent General George B. McClellan by over 150 electoral votes. “Abraham Lincoln Papers” - *Library of Congress*, Accessed April 1, 2019. [//www.loc.gov/teachers/classroommaterials/connections/abraham-lincoln-papers/history7.html](http://www.loc.gov/teachers/classroommaterials/connections/abraham-lincoln-papers/history7.html).

¹⁴ Etheridge is referencing the story of Simeon and his meeting of Jesus as promised by God. *Luke 2:25-32*. (King James Version).

Miss Antoinette L. Etheridge to W.E. Whiting March 4, 1865

Beaufort N.C

March 4th, 65

Mr. Whiting

Dear Sir,

In accordance with your new arrangement, I apply to you for money. As you probably will find an examination, I have received at different times \$79. Will you please send me a check for 50 dollars and as soon as possible.

Very truly Yours,

A.L. Etheridge

Mrs. Abbie B. Winsor to M.E. Strieby April 15, 1865

Beaufort, Apr. 15th, 1865

Rev. Mr. Strieby

Dear Sir,

I wrote you about 9 weeks since stating that my commission expired the 13th Jan and asking for its renewal. I have heard nothing from you since and know not how to interpret your silence, which has recalled another circumstance which would otherwise have been forgotten, that long transportation was made out or the "Dudley Buck," yet was no message sent enabling one to go in her. I should certainly infer from that and your present silence you declined renewing it had you not expressed a perfect willingness to do so. Will you be so kind as to inform me of your intentions concerning me as soon as convenient.

Very respectfully,

Abbie Winsor

Horace James to W.E. Whiting April 17, 1865

Office of Asst. Quartermaster & Supt. of Negro Affairs

New Berne, N.C. April 17th 186[5]

W.E. Whiting

Dear Sir,

I am pleased to inform you that all the packages forwarded by you 4th inst. per "Dudley Buck" have come to hand, a most timely arrival. You cannot be too liberal in sending second hand supplies.

Respectfully,

Horace James

Capt. A. 2 N. A Dept. Neg. Affairs

Pen. H. Lewitt

Timothy Lyman to M.E Strieby April 21, 1865

Beaufort N.C. April 21, 1865

Rev. M.E. Strieby

Dear Brother,

I received your kind favor in reply, or acknowledgement rather, of the receipts of my previously sent thoughts upon the great work before us, of preaching the gospel to the poor of this country. I am thankful that my observations were of any interest to you.

I write principally to inform you that I think I shall come north next week. My reasons for doing so are these: there has been sent to this place some 12 or 15 hundred sick & wounded soldiers from Sherman's army, so that they have taken for hospitals all the churches & schoolrooms in the place, so that all our schools are broken up. It seems impossible to get any rooms till the soldiers are removed. Also if Mrs. Lyman & I leave I think there will be left teachers enough for this field during the summer if school rooms should be vacated.

Again, I think if I continue in this work I shall be obliged, or at least it will be best for me to change base of operations, as I do not feel that my position here is of importance enough to warrant my stay.

Besides I have sad filial duty to do in behalf of the remains of my dear mother whose body is entombed for interment this spring and I feel that I must be present. I hope to see you in New York.

Yours truly,

Timothy Lyman

Horace James to Samuel Hunt¹⁵ July 4, 1865

New Berne N.C.

July 4, 1865

Dear Bro. Hunt,

I waited to see Bro. Ashley¹⁶ before replying to your note. He will go north in a few days and thinks he may safely engage to be at your room by Thursday of next week, the 13th

¹⁵ Samuel Hunt served as Superintendent of Schools in New York until he was fired by George Whipple. Later Hunt served as Superintendent of Education from 1864 until his resignation in 1867. Richardson, *Christian Reconstruction*, 91-92; Morris, *Reading, 'Riting, and Reconstruction*, 48.

inst. Whatever arrangements you choose to make in accordance therewith you are at liberty to make.

Tell Bro. Strieby, that I see little prospect of my taking hold of the work he suggested to me, and that he had better make his selection without reference to me. Bro. Ashley is an excellent man, why he may not serve you? I am glad he can be with you at the meeting of Supts. You would find he's particularly valuable.

Yours affectionately,

Horace James

Priv. H. Lewitt

Horace James to Samuel Hunt July 11, 1865

New Berne N.C.

July 11, 1865

Dear Bro. Hunt,

Before this reaches you, Mr. Ashley will probably have reported to you in N. York, having previously written you that he would do so. His statement will be valuable and reliable. In the absence of Mr. Briggs no man here could so much aid you. I think we shall give Mr. Ashley a good position out here for the next winter upon a larger plantation, as general manager of the poor of a whole district. But if you have any thing for him in which he can do more good, set him at it.

¹⁶ Reverend Samuel S. Ashley (b.ca. 1819), an active AMA member in Wilmington during the war, stayed in North Carolina and became Superintendent of Public Instruction shortly afterwards. He also served as a delegate for the North Carolina Constitutional Convention in 1868. Ancestry.com and the Church of Latter Day Saints, Year: 1880; Census Place: *Northborough, Worcester, Massachusetts*; Roll: 563; Page: 397A; Enumeration District: 818, Ancestry.com, Accessed February 21, 2019; Williams, *Self-Taught*, 193.; Richardson, *Christian Reconstruction*, 112, 226.

Yours very truly,

Horace James

Horace James to A.M.A July 17, 1865

New Berne N.C.

July 17, 1865

Brethren, Sec's of the Am. Miss. Assocn.,

I heartily commend to you Rev. Chaplain S. G. Dodd¹⁷ of the 25th Mass. Reg't now about to be mustered out of service, as a good and true man, well adapted to do work in the South for Christ and the church. I should think you would do well could you give him work to do in any sphere for which he and yourselves should think him qualified.

I am faithfully yours,

Horace James

Capt. & a qtmr

Sup. Freedmen

[Endorsement] Recommends Rev. Mr. Dodd.

Mr. Dodd called here July 22d. Will write in reference an agency in New England, or to work at the South as a Minister.

Horace James to M.E. Strieby July 27, 1865

Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands

¹⁷ Steven G. Dodd (b.ca. 1826) was a chaplain who served in the 25th Massachusetts regiment. Historical Data Systems, comp., *U.S., Civil War Soldier Records and Profiles, 1861-1865* Ancestry.com, Accessed February 21, 2019.; "Soldier Details - The Civil War (U.S. National Park Service)." Accessed February 21, 2019. <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/civilwar/search-soldiers-detail.htm>.

Headquarters, Eastern District of North Carolina

New Berne, N.C. July 27th, 1865

Bro. Strieby,

Bro. Hall is right on the questions of public morals which concern us and the country. He is a "live man," and a man of "activity," but not of much "influence." What his "business talent" would be I cannot say. He has a certain talking talent as a preacher, but entered the ministry by a short cut. I should not think of making him a state agent for Mass. He would do for N.H or Vt. if you would send a stronger man into the best churches in the towns. He means well, and has a good spirit. You might do worse and also better.

Faithfully yours,

Horace James

Sept. Freedn

P.S. I think you didn't want me to answer your other questions in haste.

Horace James to M.E. Strieby Aug. 10, 1865

Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands

Headquarters, Eastern District of North Carolina

New Berne, N.C. Aug. 10th, 1865

Dear Bro. Strieby,

Since receiving yesterday yours of Aug. 4th, and noting your earnestness, and immediate necessities, I ought not to delay writing you a single day.

The fact that you must have a man right off, would of itself be sufficient to settle my case, for I cannot possibly get out of my duty in N.C before the latter part of September.

I am not set upon any field of labor in preference to others. If I am not deceived in myself, I want to do just what would build up Zion,¹⁸ bless the world and please God. Washington is nothing more to me than Kalamazoo, except as a liver and a [*illegible*]. I want to be in the right place, and the opinion of my brethren on this subject is of great value in making of a decision. Many say I am now in the right place; but the yearnings of my heart and the voice of the Spirit distressing within, are toward the ministry. If God would secularize me whence these aspirations?

The place you propose would have its attractions. It would, I suppose, require me to preach every Sabbath and attend much to routine work during the week. Would it leave me anytime which I might devote to other pursuits during the week? Would it bind me to continue in the work any specific length of time, or prevent my going in to a pastorate if it should seem desirable at any time?

Of the Washington enterprise, I have heard nothing since I left Boston. Whether their minds are still on me or not, I don't know. But I'm at anchor for some weeks, and though I feel the force of your appeal, I must give you a decided no, unless the matter will admit of a little longer parley.

Affectionately yours,

Horace James.

Horace James to W.E. Whiting Sept. 1, 1865

New Berne N.C.

Sept 1st, 1865

¹⁸ James is referencing a bible verse the full verse read "for the Lord will rebuild Zion; He has appeared in His glory." *Psalms* 102:16 (King James Version).

W.E. Whiting, Esq.

61 John Street

New York City

Dear Sir,

Yours of the 29th ult. enclosing check \$73.00 for acct. of Rev. S.S McKeeson¹⁹ is safely at hand.

Most truly

Your sevt

Horace James

Priv. Lewitt.

Horace James to M.E. Strieby Sept. 10, 1865

Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands

Headquarters, Eastern District of North Carolina

New Berne, N.C. Sept 10th, 1865

Dear Brother Strieby,

It is wrong for me to allow you to remain another moment in suspense about the matter of the Boston secretaryship. For really I see no prospect of my being able to take it. I confess to you honestly however, that I never was so much at my wits ends to know what to do, or which way to go. I am on the whole pretty strongly inclined to decide the doubtful case by remaining where I am. If I do so, I presume it will be entirely satisfactory to you in your special work since I should be still aiding it in this important part of your field. On the other hand, I do not know but the Congregationalists of Washington City are depending on me to such an extent that I cannot

¹⁹ Editor could not find any information on this individual.

decline their propositions. They may consider me committed to them, though strictly speaking I am not, I am taking steps at present to organize a Congregational Church here in New Berne and have corresponded with the American Home Miss. Society,²⁰ respecting a minister. Should I remain this winter, I could probably set this enterprise upon its feet. If I leave this Bureau I cannot do so until October. For Col. Whittlesey²¹ is away this month, and I certainly shall be in no condition to strike into work immediately. Taking therefore all things into view, I am sure that there is nothing so good for you, as to relinquish all expectation of making me your Secretary, and take some other man. I cannot certainly, I ought not undertake for you this great duty, without the clearest conviction of being called to it. I have no such conviction just now, about any service anywhere but must float about a while longer, with undecided mind until providence drives my ship ashore. I wish it were otherwise, but I frankly tell you my mind. Three weeks more will decide my fate for the next six months. In October I shall see you.

Affectionately yours,

Horace James

Capt. S.A.Q.M

Supt. Freedmen

Horace James to Samuel Hunt Sept. 30, 1865

²⁰ The American Home Missionary Society, formed in 1826, comprised several different denominations with the intent of assisting developing churches until they were able to function independently. The Society held a “noninterference” stance on slavery due to large contributions coming from slave owners in the south. The association did form an antislavery stance in 1857 due to funding and pressure by northern abolitionists forces. The Society was renamed the Congregational Home Missionary Society in 1893. David G. Horvath, ed., “American Home Missionary Society | Amistad Research Center.”

<http://amistadresearchcenter.tulane.edu/archon/?p=creators/creator&id=11>. Accessed February 21, 2019.

²¹ Chaplain Eliphalet Whittlesey (1821-1900), Colonel for the 46th U.S.C. Infantry Regiment, also served as assistant Comr. for Bureau Of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands. John H. Eicher and David J. Eicher, *Civil War High Commands*, 567.

Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands

Headquarters, Eastern District of North Carolina

New Berne, N.C. Sept. 30th, 1865

Rev. Saml Hunt

61 John St. N. York

Dear Brother,

Your letter of Sept. 20th is rec'd. I hope to be going north in a few days to bring out my wife to N.C. and do a little business there. If I have an hour to spare in passing I will call in at your office and chat with you, in expectation of which I will write no more at present, reserving what is to be said for conversation.

I am very faithfully yours,

Horace James

Capt. A.Q.M

Supt. Freedman

Horace James to American Missionary Association, Oct. 20, 1865

Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands

Headquarters, Eastern District of North Carolina

New Berne, N.C. Oct. 20th, 1865

To the Secretaries of the Amer. Miss. Assoc.

Dear Brethren,

I write in response to your request that I would give you my views of what ought to be done for the Freedmen of the South, and what will be done in their behalf if Christians and,

philanthropists in our land shall perform their whole duty toward them. I understand you to solicit these views not for want of information upon this topic, as you are doubtless able to comprehend this subject more clearly in all its bearings than I could do, but to obtain the views of a person more especially conversant with the South, & looking upon the matter from this standpoint. I am not certain that anything I can say will be of assistance to you, or to the friends of your excellent organization. Indeed, everything is so uncertain at this time, it is so difficult to foresee what shall be on the morrow, or to guess at the ultimate results of the reconstruction policy which is now prevailing here, that one feels singularly uncertain what measures to take or what counsels to give.

What we wish to do is plain enough. We desire to construct the colored people of the south to lift them up from suffering and helplessness into a dignified independence and citizenship. We wish to inspire them with all the virtues of individual and serial life and prepare to enjoy the right and perform the duties of Freedmen under the law in our great republic.

We may be sure that this is a work which the South will not do. They are subdued by arms, thoroughly so, and will not think of lifting up the sword again, against the national government. But on the whole, they hate the ideas of the North as much as ever, and will yield to them no further than they judge to be politic and helpful of their chances to resume power and control in the land. They tolerate negro schools in the larger towns, and under the shadow of bayonets, but in the remote counties such schools could hardly be maintained except under persecution. They are compelled to receive the testimony of negroes, and accept it as valid when given before military commissions, but they are totally opposed to giving colored people the right to be heard on oath, in any case touching the person, or the interests of a white man. They are not willing he should become a land owner, have a right to sue and be sued, to own a weapon

of defense, or assume to defend himself, and much less that he should be a voter in the election of his rulers. They boldly declare that when our troops are withdrawn they will drive out all these Yankee notions, and still keep these people a servile race. These threats they will not, I think be able to execute fully but our efforts to lift up the Freedmen will have to be made for a long time to come in the face of all kinds of petty, and malignant opposition. They will take our ideas as men do medicine, and resist the encroachments of truth upon the old errors with a pertinacity worthy of a better cause. The South is conquered, but their minds are not changed. Convinced against their will they hold the same opinion still. They would be glad to see the experiment of free labor fail. They will do their best to create a state of wretchedness and want and irregularity throughout the South and then point to it and say "behold the legitimate fruit of your policy of emancipation. The negro is not capable of taking care of himself. He will not work from such motives as influence other men. He is fitted for a system of slavery and for nothing else." This, our friends may depend upon it, is the prevailing sentiment at the South. All other views are occasional and exceptional. I repeat it; therefore, the South will not do this work for its own colored people. It will not help you do it. On the other hand, it will hinder it as much as possible.

If then Christians and philanthropists are like the apostle, debtors both to the Jew and to the Greek, the wise and the unwise, they must pay this debt in gifts and graces, in prayer and labor, in institutions and observances among this people. In no other way can society here be regenerated.

Another thought I would suggest is that this effort and labor be urged at the South with special earnestness at this time in anticipation of a possible reaction. Let the ground be preoccupied. Let the church gain possession of it, which is nine points of the law, divine as well as human. In a few months more, perhaps not more than two or three, all military forces will be

withdrawn from these States. The people will no longer see the arm that subdued them. They will practice what they profess and act out their real feelings. They will do many things which they dare not do in the presence of a military force. Now is the time then to strike a hard blow. Work done in the next few months will be worth more than in the years that follow.

In my own opinion, one very important means of doing good in the South, though it does not lie perhaps within the scope of your influences, is to settle it with good men who shall become proprietors of the soil, citizens of the State, and examples of enterprise and thrift as well as of the Christian graces. I know of no objection by a man's doing good as an agriculturalist, a manufacturer, or a mechanic, even if he be making money at the same time. The more of honest, liberty-loving, faithful Christian men, that you can induce to go into the South, and settle there with their families stimulated in part by the motive of pecuniary gain, the better will it be for the freedmen, the whites, rich and poor, and for the whole land. At this time, I count an emigrant with good principles to be half a missionary.

In respect to labors which are more distinctively educational and evangelical, a system which shall group together several teachers employed constantly in schools with a missionary engaged in out-of-door labor from house to house, would seem to be best adapted to circumstances in this part of the country, and most likely to be successful. It strikes one that there is but little probability that the Southern States themselves will voluntarily establish any system of education for their freed people, which will be likely to supersede the efforts of benevolent organizations at the North for years to come. Not until they have been leavened gradually and molded by the slow still hand of time, will they become greatly changed in their habits of thought, feeling, and action.

I do not feel in the least discouraged respecting the work of reconstructing society here nor doubtful of the success of our agencies in this field. We ought to be full of hope and of faith, full of zeal and of enterprises. By all means exhort our brethren and friends at the North to persevere and be confident. It is a work in which we cannot fail. Let those who engage in it be filled with the Spirit and ready to endure hardness as good soldiers of Christ. The approving smile of the Master will be their constant stimulus, and the precious fruits of benevolent love their daily reward.

I offer these suggestions in great haste amid the pressure of cases almost innumerable. If in any respect, they correspond with your own experience and observation of things, they may at least strengthen your opinions and aid your efforts.

I remain dear brethren, yours very faithfully,

Horace James

Horace James to S.S. Ashley to Oct. 30, 1865

Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands

Headquarters, Eastern District of North Carolina

New Berne, N.C. Oct. 30th, 1865

Rev. S.S Ashley

Dear Sir,

Your note of Oct. 27th is before me, the Boston & N. York Freedmen's Societies have sent so many teachers to N. Berne that there seems to be no room for any more at present. They are very much crowded. We have but one small house for them on this side the river, while

several have one in the Trent River Settlement.²² Three teachers of the Amer. Miss. Soc. are at Roanoke, one of whom is a gentleman. If they send any to N. Berne by and by there should be one gentleman among them to look after the remainder a little. No schools here are ready for new teachers. Indeed there are not schools enough for all who are here. I should be glad to see you and talk over public matters, but hope you will not come until I have returned from Little Washington, where I hope to go tomorrow. You speak of things moving heavily, and that the Bureau helps you but little. Its ability to aid is very limited, its resources are crippled, and its very existence is temporary. It would not surprise me at all were it to receive its quietus soon after January. We must make up our minds to the speedy and complete restoration of southern society & control in all social matters. But I think enough of us ought to remain in the South to give them a touch of the Northern Spirit, to illustrate northern ideas, to set a right example, regulate the labor question, and make, if possible, something good out of this wretched country. I feel half disposed to stay South a couple of years longer to do this work. What say you?

I am affectionately

Your brother,

Horace James

Horace James to Samuel Hunt Dec. 1, 1865

Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands

Headquarters, Eastern District of North Carolina

New Berne, N.C. Dec. 1st, 1865.

²² A combination of several smaller contraband camps, the Trent River Settlement initially housed almost three thousand freedmen. Horace James created this village with eight hundred cabins and gave each cabin a small plot of land for gardening. Later the settlement was renamed James City in honor of Horace James. The community was inhabited until 1893. Click, *Time Full of Trial*, 7.

Rev. Samuel Hunt

Dear Brother,

I have yours of Nov. 17th & 18th the latter brought by the young ladies whom you set out to teach under my direction. I hardly dare promise that I shall take as good care of them as you intimate, but they are in my family, and appear reasonably satisfied with their treatment. I propose very soon to move a little way back into the country, and to combine with my duties as an officer in the Bureau some superintendence of agricultural pursuits upon two large plantations. I propose with your consent to take them along and locate them in the same neighborhood. This will be in Pitt Co. about twelve miles from Washington on the Tar River. With reference to your appointment of teachers and the principle on which you appoint them, I judge your interpretation to be a little too strict. It is seldom that a new position can be so definitely pointed out and quarters so certainly provided as to be able to state all the particulars beforehand. It seems to me that your operations should be founded somewhat upon faith. The actual appearance of a teacher upon the ground greatly stimulates effort in her behalf, and quarters will be quickly provided when before there would have been no movement towards it, nor would I always require that there should be fifty scholars at the start. The \$4.00 per week would be a pretty good price upon plantations for board, but will hardly secure it in the terms. I am wholly unable to tell you how many or what localities are ready to receive teachers, but I think you may safely follow the suggestions of Mr. Fiske²³, our state Supt. upon the subject. My

²³ F.A Fiske (b.) ca. 1815) worked for the Freedmen's Bureau as the Superintendent of Freedpeople's Education for North Carolina. Fiske's responsibilities included being a mediator between freedmen and those societies, enforcing Bureau guidelines, and collecting information about the local populations' attitude about educating freedmen. Fiske served in this position from 1865 until he resigned in 1868. Alexander, *North Carolina Faces the Freedmen*, 162.; Williams, *Self-Taught*, 168.; U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, FamilySearch International, and the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture, "Records of the Superintendent of Education for the State of North Carolina Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865–1870." National Museum of African American History and Culture. https://nmaahc.si.edu/object/sova_nmaahc.fb.m844.

opinion is that gradually & constantly the numbers should be increased & the lines extended. In doing this you have only to accept the intimations of friends and enter the doors that are providentially opened.

Yours affectionately,

Horace James

[In Margin] A box is here directed to Mrs. Susan A. Hosmer lately your missionary here. Where is she now? Shall I send it to her?

Horace James to M.E Strieby Dec. 5, 1865

New Bern N.C.

Dec. 5th/65

Rev. M.E. Strieby

My Dear Brother,

I rec'd. duly your last letter, though as it is not by me, I cannot give the date. I am glad you had an interesting annual meeting, and hope the results of it will be stimulating and productive of great good. If I had been able to answer your proposals definitely and at an earlier date, I should surely have done so. But I have been hesitating whether to remain in N. Carolina or to pull stakes and go North. I have now come to a conclusion right or wrong to remain in N.C. through the whole of one year more. I did not know at one time but that it would be made my duty to go to Washington, but Providence has decided that another way. Meanwhile as I am in N. Carolina, and have a wide acquaintance and influence here, I have concluded to remain and employ it on the spot. I have resigned my army office, and expect to be mustered out this month,

Accessed February 21, 2019; Ancestry.com, *Massachusetts, State Census, 1865*, New England Historic Genealogical Society, Accessed February 21, 2019.

but shall continue to be a civilian agent of the Bureau in a rural district, where I can help to settle the labor question, which is now is so uncertain and dubious a condition and supervise in connection with it certain large agricultural matters in which I shall have a personal interest. This will require me to spend most of my time in N. Carolina, but will leave me sufficient time to aid your society by effort and correspondence in your work in N.C. This I will do without compensation, nor shall I have any compensation as an agent of the Bureau. But if you should want me to make any journeys or inspection tours on your business, I should permit you to pay my travelling expenses. I must therefore still decline the N. Eng. Secretaryship, but will try to aid you in a small way at this end. I wrote Mr. Hunt²⁴ a note the other day respecting Mrs. Billings²⁵ who is with me, one of your teachers. I will see that she has employment, and take her under my wing in Pitt Co. near Washington, where I expect to reside. After Jan. 1st letters should be directed to me at Washington, N.C.

Yours affectionately,

Horace James

²⁴ Samuel Hunt.

²⁵ Editor could not find any information on this individual.

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Vita

Jacob Ryan Kahler was born in Kings Mountain, North Carolina, to David Kahler and Wendy McKinney. He graduated from Cleveland Community College in North Carolina in May 2014. The following autumn, he entered Appalachian State University to study history, with a minor concentration in political science and in December 2016 he was awarded the Bachelor of Arts degree. In the fall of 2017, he was accepted into the graduate history program at Appalachian State University and began study toward a Master of Arts degree. The M.A. was awarded in December 2019. Jacob has accepted the role as the Director's Assistant at Kings Mountain Historical Museum.