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Stefanie Greenhill

University of Kentucky, stefaniegreenhill@gmail.com

Author ORCID Identifier:

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4293-9422>

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Stefanie Greenhill, Student

Dr. Amy Murrell Taylor, Major Professor

Dr. Amy Murrell Taylor, Director of Graduate Studies

“ESCAPED FROM DIXIE:” CIVIL WAR REFUGEES
AND THE CREATION OF A
CONFEDERATE DIASPORA

DISSERTATION

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
College of Arts and Sciences
at the University of Kentucky

By
Stefanie King Greenhill
Lexington, Kentucky
Director: Dr. Amy Murrell Taylor, Professor of History
Lexington, Kentucky
2021

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<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4293-9422>

ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

“ESCAPED FROM DIXIE:” CIVIL WAR REFUGEES AND THE CREATION OF A CONFEDERATE DIASPORA

My dissertation, “Escaped from Dixie: Civil War Refugees and the Creation of a Confederate Diaspora,” examines the experiences of the half a million people who fled from the Confederacy to Union territory under duress during the U.S. Civil War—a massive, diverse movement that had a lasting impact on the nation’s reconstruction in the aftermath of the war. My research considers what prompted refugees to leave, as well as what logistics those escaping from the Confederacy and resettling elsewhere considered, especially in the absence of any formal institutions for the aid of refugees in the nineteenth century. The handful of studies that exist on free people who became Civil War refugees all look inward, focusing on those migrating within the Confederacy, for insight into the wartime refugee crisis and the experience of the war on the Confederate home front. This insular focus of the refugee crisis obscures the movement of refugees who fled from the Confederacy to Union lines, and beyond. My research expands the geographic scope to those who left the Confederacy, and also expands the discussion of the Civil War refugee crisis into the postwar years to consider the long-term effects of displacement on individuals, their communities of origin, their host communities, and on the reunited nation as a whole. The expanded geographic and temporal boundaries of my research suggest that, in addition to creating a refugee crisis during the war itself, one of the most enduring legacies of the Confederacy was the movement and influence of its people throughout the nation.

Part 1 analyzes the wartime experiences of those who fled from the Confederacy, and each chapter focuses on a distinct group of refugees. Chapter 1 focuses on native Northerners who fled from the Confederacy to return to the Northeast, often using their pre-existing social connections to make their transition to a new life smoother, while Chapter Two turns to native Southerners by analyzing the social networks of Quakers who fled North Carolina as conscientious objectors. Chapter Three moves farther South and considers the wartime experiences of the thousands of Texans who fled into Mexico, paying special attention to the significance of the international border and the unpreparedness of the United States government to address the thousands of destitute refugees asking them for aid. Finally, Chapter Four expands on the federal government’s unpreparedness to address a refugee crisis by examining the experiences of the nearly thirty thousand American Indian

refugees who fled from Confederate-controlled Indian Territory to seek the protection of the United States in Kansas.

Part Two of the dissertation follows the refugees in the aftermath of the war and highlights the long-term consequences of their displacement on themselves, and on the nation. This section has three chapters and distinguishes the experiences of those who chose to return to the former Confederacy from those who did not return. Those who returned to the South did so because they thought their future was in the South, and in helping reconstruct and reshape the region; whereas those who did not return believed their future prospects were better outside of the war-ravaged South than within it—and many of them would go on to have prosperous and influential lives elsewhere.

KEYWORDS: U.S. Civil War, Refugees, Migration, Unionism, Reconstruction

Stefanie King Greenhill

04/20/2021

Date

“ESCAPED FROM DIXIE:” CIVIL WAR REFUGEES
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CONFEDERATE DIASPORA

By
Stefanie King Greenhill

Dr. Amy Murrell Taylor

Director of Dissertation

Dr. Amy Murrell Taylor

Director of Graduate Studies

04/20/2021

Date

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I would like to dedicate this research and this dissertation to my family—past, present, and yet to come.

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INTRODUCTION: THE CIVIL WAR AS A MIGRATORY EVENT

In March 1865, after over two years of debates, the United States Congress passed the “Freedmen’s Bureau Bill” which established the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Land. Initially conceived of as the “Bureau of Emancipation” in January 1863, the idea of a temporary support system for displaced and destitute freed people evolved into the “Department of Freedmen’s Affairs” and then the “Department of Freedmen and Abandoned Land.”¹ After two years, however, congressmen from both parties, and in both houses, still objected on the grounds that the act “discriminates against whites,” instead favoring a department that “proposes to take in all refugees.”² The formal name for the Freedmen’s Bureau is often overlooked, but the “refugees” in the name refers specifically to white refugees, and the inclusion of these half a million loyal white refugees was key in winning Congressional support for the Bureau in early 1865.³ Republican Senator John P. Hale of New Hampshire initially objected to the founding of a Freedmen’s Bureau that made no provision “for any suffering white persons, loyal refugees that have been driven from their homes on account of their fidelity and attachment to this Government.”⁴ Hale furthermore refused “to neglect my own kith and kin to legislate for the exclusive protection and benefit of colored men.”⁵ Similarly, Democratic Senator Reverdy Johnson of Maryland complained that one supporter of the bill was “so wedded... to the black race that he loses

¹ Paul Skeels Peirce, *The Freedmen’s Bureau: A Chapter in the History of Reconstruction* (Iowa City: Iowa State University Press, 1904), 34-42.

² Representative Robert C. Schenck of Ohio speaking on H.R. 51, February 9, 1865, 38th Cong, 2nd sess., *Congressional Globe: Containing the Debates and Proceedings of the Second Session of the Thirty-Eighth Congress, Also, of the Special Session of the Senate* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Globe Printing Office, 1865), 691 (henceforth *CG*).

³ Senator Henry Smith Lane uses this estimate when speaking on H. R. 51, February 22, 1865, 38th Cong, 2nd sess., *CG*, 985.

⁴ Senator John Parker Hale of New Hampshire speaking on H. R. 51, February 22, 1865, 38th Cong., 2nd sess., *CG*, 984.

⁵ Senator John Parker Hale of New Hampshire speaking on H. R. 51, February 22, 1865, 38th Cong., 2nd sess., *CG*, 984.

sight for the moment of what is due the white race.”⁶ After two years of debate on a bill to aid freed people, the version of the bill lacking provision for white refugees was amended to include them along with freed people, and this bill, commonly known as the “Freedmen’s Bureau Bill” was passed less than two weeks later on March 3, 1865. The existence of these half a million white refugees and their role in establishing the Freedmen’s Bureau demonstrates that the Civil War refugee crisis was a significant event that had lasting consequences deserving of a dedicated analysis.⁷

Residents of the Confederacy fled the South in droves, beginning immediately following secession and continuing for the entirety of the war. Many of the earliest white residents to flee were staunch Unionists who faced persecution in the Confederate South. As the war went on, thousands more continued to leave the Confederacy, including draft-age men who refused to serve the Confederacy in any way, including both military and civil service, as well as women and children displaced by battles, military occupation, or guerilla violence during the war. They had diverse backgrounds and varying, often ambiguous, motivations. Refugees from throughout the South scattered throughout the world as they fled the war, but their journey out of the Confederacy and their resettlement, most often within the United States, varied widely. People living in all areas of the seceded states fled from Confederate rule and resettled in places ranging from New York, to Indiana, California, Mexico, France, and Sweden. This dissertation follows refugees from their decision to flee, to their journey out of the Confederacy and resettlement elsewhere during the Civil War, to their experiences in the postwar era. This dissertation focuses on the

⁶ Senator Reverdy Johnson of Maryland speaking on H. R. 51, February 22, 1865, 38th Cong., 2nd sess., CG, 990.

⁷ David Silkenat argues that displacement during the Civil War amounted to a refugee crisis in his monograph *Driven from Home: North Carolina’s Civil War Refugee Crisis*, Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2016.

experiences of Union-sympathizing refugees in particular and considers how other Americans responded to the movement and sudden presence of refugees in their communities, especially in the absence of any formal institutions for the aid of refugees.

Millions of people were on the move during the United States Civil War. As Yael Sternhell has recently argued in *Routes of War*, one of the most obvious features of daily life during the Civil War was the mass movement of people, including Union soldiers, Confederate soldiers, deserters, escaped prisoners of war, enslaved people in bondage, formerly enslaved people who escaped from bondage, and refugees. Recent scholarship on the people in motion during the Civil War, includes, for example, the escaped Union prisoners of war in Lorien Foote's *The Yankee Plague*, whose mobility foreshadowed the failure and internal collapse of the Confederacy. The people in motion drawing the most scholarly attention in recent years, however, have been refugees, a trend in Civil War scholarship, and historical scholarship more broadly, that is closely related to the 21st century refugee crises throughout much of the world.⁸ Much of the research on Civil War refugees has focused on the experiences of formerly enslaved refugees who fled to Union Army lines.⁹ This scholarship analyzes these refugees' struggle for emancipation, and its limits, during the Civil War, as illustrated in Amy Murrell Taylor's *Embattled Freedom*. David Silkenat's 2016 monograph *Driven from Home* explores the diverse experiences of refugees, both free and enslaved, in North Carolina, where he believes the Civil War refugee crisis

⁸ See specifically Silkenat, *Driven from Home*, 8; Heléna Tóth, *An Exiled Generation: German and Hungarian Refugees of Revolution, 1848–1871* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

⁹ For recent scholarship on Black refugees see, for example, Amy Murrell Taylor, *Embattled Freedom: Journeys through the U.S. Civil War's Slave Refugee Camps* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018), and Chandra Manning, *Troubled Refuge: Struggling for Freedom in the Civil War*, (New York: Knopf, 2016). See also Yael Sternhell, *Routes of War*, esp. chp. 2-3 and David Silkenat, *Driven from Home*, chp. 1. Black refugees are discussed in David Williams, *I Freed Myself: African American Self-Emancipation in the Civil War Era* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014) as well as Thavolia Glymph, "'This Species of Property': Female Slave Contrabands in the Civil War," in *The Confederate Experience Reader: Selected Documents and Essays*, (New York: Routledge, 2008).

“manifested its complexity most fully.”¹⁰ He argues that displacement during the Civil War amounted to a refugee crisis, and by examining the displacement of diverse groups side-by-side, Silkenat conveys the chaos and heterogeneity of the refugee experience. The nation’s wartime refugee crisis, however, manifested itself most fully outside the borders of the Confederacy, and had lasting consequences that affected the entire nation. This dissertation adds to growing scholarship on the Civil War refugee crisis by examining the half a million people who, though not enslaved, still fled from the Confederacy under duress during the United States Civil War.

Although to the modern reader the term “refugee” was clearly defined by the 1951 Geneva Convention, during the Civil War era, the term was used more fluidly, and included those we might today call refugees, displaced people, exiles, draft-dodgers, prisoners of war, and more.¹¹ It is evident in the historical record that contemporaries applied the label “refugee” to a broad class of displaced people, often with little regard to background, motivation, or even loyalty. It also was not exclusively applied to those who faced religious or political persecution, or those who crossed international borders, but rather to a much larger section of people who were displaced by circumstances beyond their control.¹² This study uses a similarly broad definition of refugee, which embodies the notion used by contemporaries of a displaced person who had little option but to flee, and was an involuntary migrant caught in the throes of war. This broad inclusion of all of those people who left Confederate territory captures the complexity and scale of mass displacement—and

¹⁰ Silkenat, *Driven from Home*, 5. For more on refugees in the Confederacy, see Mary Elizabeth Massey, *Refugee Life in the Confederacy*, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1964).

¹¹ The 1951 Geneva Convention defined a refugee as “someone who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion.” United Nations General Assembly resolution 429(V) of 14 December 1950, available at <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/3b00f08a27.html>.

¹² Michele Landis Dauber discusses early American use of the term “refugee” in *The Sympathetic State: Disaster Relief and the Origins of the American Welfare State* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 6, 23.

sheds new light on an American refugee crisis long obscured in the vast library of Civil War and American history.

A social and cultural history of this important but largely understudied topic will help advance scholarly understanding of the full effect of the war on civilians, since displacement affected thousands of Americans on both sides of the Civil War. In addition to exploring the experiences of refugees during the war, this dissertation extends into the postwar era in order to understand the long-term effect of the displacement of thousands of people on the nation. In doing so, this dissertation offers an analysis of “refugeedom” during the U.S. Civil War.

A term first used by Russian refugees during World War I, “refugeedom” refers to the entirety of the experience of displacement, including political, legal, economic, social, and cultural factors that affect refugees.¹³ An analysis of refugeedom also recognizes refugees themselves as agents of change in the making of history, rather than “flotsam and jetsam” being acted upon by forces beyond their control.¹⁴ Historian Peter Gatrell has applied the concept of “refugeedom” as a framework for studying past refugee crises.¹⁵ Too often, studies on refugees focus primarily on government policies and actions towards refugees, rather than examining the complete experience of what it meant to be a refugee. Gatrell advocates “a history of population displacement that is attentive to the circumstances, actions and trajectories of refugees in different times and places, and what it means for

¹³ Peter Gatrell, *A Whole Empire Walking: Refugees in Russia during World War I* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005).

¹⁴ Peter Gatrell, Abstract of “From the History of Refugees to Refugee History,” lecture delivered at Ohio State University as part of Global Mobility Project, February 3, 2017. Available online at <https://ehistory.osu.edu/videos/history-refugees-refugee-history> (accessed 28 February, 2021). See also Peter Gatrell, “From the History of Refugees to Refugee History,” post on “Refugee History” blog, November 2, 2106, available online at <http://refugeehistory.org/blog/2016/11/2/from-the-history-of-refugees-to-refugee-history> (accessed 28 February, 2021).

¹⁵ See Peter Gatrell, *The Making of the Modern Refugee* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

refugees to encounter government officials and aid agencies, and to interact with one another as well as with people who had not been displaced.”¹⁶ This study of the United States Civil War refugee crisis seeks to create such a history of refugeedom during the Civil War, by examining the entirety of the experience of displacement, and analyzing how refugees were central to the shaping of the war and its aftermath.

Focusing on the movement of refugees during the war and its aftermath forces us to reconsider the traditional boundaries ascribed to the Civil War and to rethink its geographic reach in two important ways. First, it exposes the continued interactions between people living in the opposing regions of this war, the North and the South. The interactions of Southern refugees and residents of the United States suggests that the border between the Union and the Confederacy, both physical and figurative, was more porous than is often remembered. With the unavoidable presence of refugees from the Confederacy, the brokenness of the Confederate home front became the burden of the Union home front.

Second, this dissertation reveals the ways in which the United States West, as well as the international community, was an important part of the wartime experience for refugees, despite the traditional focus on the Civil War east of the Mississippi River. Refugees fled throughout the country, often to areas west of the Mississippi, and Americans living in the United States regularly provided aid to those fleeing from the South, often without regard to loyalty. Furthermore, a significant number of refugees permanently resettled west of the Mississippi, indicating the importance of the trans-Mississippi West to the Civil War

¹⁶ Peter Gatrell, Abstract of “From the History of Refugees to Refugee History,” lecture delivered at Ohio State University as part of Global Mobility Project, February 3, 2017. Available online at <https://ehistory.osu.edu/videos/history-refugees-refugee-history> (accessed 28 February, 2021). See also Peter Gatrell, “From the History of Refugees to Refugee History,” post on “Refugee History” blog, November 2, 2106, available online at <http://refugeehistory.org/blog/2016/11/2/from-the-history-of-refugees-to-refugee-history> (accessed 28 February, 2021).

experience, as other scholars have emphasized recently.¹⁷ As the national scope of the Civil War and the refugee crisis becomes clear, we can see the connections that remained between the North, the South, and the West, which are often overshadowed by a strict focus on the North-South binary. Additionally, the movement of refugees who fled internationally demonstrates Southerners' reliance on global networks—and focusing on the use of these global connections alongside networks in the United States provides important insight into how thousands of Southerners escaped and resettled outside of the Confederacy. The widespread movement of Civil War refugees throughout the United States and the world demonstrates how those living in the South experienced the Civil War as a national, and even international, event.

In addition to highlighting the international experience of displacement during the Civil War, this dissertation also considers the long-term effects of displacement on those who fled from the Confederacy. Examining where refugees went, if they ever returned home, and how displacement continued to affect their lives in the aftermath of war is important for understanding the full impact of the Civil War on civilians and on the nation more generally. The long-term scope of this dissertation offers insight into the lasting effects of the Civil War on reunion, including how mass displacement affected the postwar reintegration of the South into the nation. For example, refugees displaced by the Civil War not only were a significant factor in the creation of the Freedmen's Bureau, but refugees who fled from the Confederacy became Reconstruction-era governors, prominent Republican politicians, Indian agents and soldiers in the West, as well as advocates of industrialization, education, suffrage, and settler colonialism throughout the nation. This dissertation argues

¹⁷ Examples of this scholarship include Ari Kelman's *A Misplaced Massacre* and Heather Cox Richardson's *West from Appomattox*. See also the review essay by Stacey L. Smith, "Beyond North and South: Putting the West in the Civil War and Reconstruction," *Journal of the Civil War Era* 6, no. 4 (Dec. 2016): 566-591.

that, in addition to creating a refugee crisis during the war itself, one of the most enduring legacies of the Confederacy was the movement and influence of its people throughout the nation.

Refugees and Civil War Historiography

Despite the Civil War being one of the most studied topics in United States history, surprisingly few scholars have specifically studied the war's refugees. Mary Elizabeth Massey was the first to undertake a serious study of this subject in her 1964 monograph *Refugee Life in the Confederacy*. As a social historian, Massey was interested in the experience of people displaced by the Civil War, and her chapters are organized around various themes in their wartime lives. She investigates who they were, why they fled, where they went, how they got there, what they did once they arrived, and whether or not they ever returned home, among other questions. Throughout her book, Massey emphasizes transience, noting that "once uprooted, a homeless person was apt to retain his homeless status for the duration of the struggle, and the chances were that he would find himself in flight not once but many times, tossed about like straw in the wind, his condition worsening with each passing year."¹⁸ Her narrative traces the displacement of Confederate-sympathizing refugees through every step of their wartime experience.

Although Massey aimed to include the experiences of all groups of wartime refugees, the scope of the project was too large, causing her to focus only on the experiences of Confederate-sympathizing refugees. As Massey lamented in her introduction, she originally intended to include "all groups uprooted by the war," including "Confederate and Union sympathizers, Negroes, Indians, and whites, and those who left the South as well as those who tried to remain within Confederate lines," but in the end, she limited her published

¹⁸ Massey, *Refugee Life in the Confederacy*, 4.

manuscript to “Confederate sympathizers who spent the war years trying to stay within the contracting Confederacy.”¹⁹ Her monograph may reveal less diversity than she intended, but nevertheless, she is careful to note that refugees were a heterogeneous group, including women, men, the elderly, and lower class as well as upper-class Confederates.

Over half a century later in 2016, David Silkenat sought to fulfill Massey’s original goal by revealing the diversity of refugees’ experiences in the Confederacy in his monograph *Driven from Home*. Though other scholars have since attempted to diversify their studies of Civil War refugees, most notably by examining the experience of refugees from slavery, Silkenat argues that in order to understand the refugee crisis, it must be studied in the context of the diverse experiences of different refugees, which “illuminates the dynamics between them.”²⁰ He does this by zooming in on the wartime refugee crisis in North Carolina, where the crisis “manifested its complexity most fully,” and focusing on the varying experiences of five major “types” of refugees in the state.²¹

Silkenat skillfully demonstrates the diversity of Civil War refugees, and the refugee experience, by organizing his chapters around each of the five “types” of refugees that he identifies in North Carolina: African American runaway slaves, white Unionists fleeing to Union lines in Eastern North Carolina, Confederate sympathizers fleeing inward to avoid federal rule in Eastern North Carolina, white planters who “refugeed” with their slaves further west, and attendees at ladies’ boarding schools in the Piedmont.²² For each group,

¹⁹ Massey, *Refugee Life in the Confederacy*, viii.

²⁰ Silkenat, *Driven from Home*, 4. For recent scholarship on black refugees see Manning, *Troubled Refuge*, and Amy Murrell Taylor, *Embattled Freedom*. See also Yael Sternhell, *Routes of War*, esp. chp. 2-3 and David Silkenat, *Driven from Home*, chp. 1. Black refugees are discussed in David Williams, *I Freed Myself* as well as Thavolia Glymph, “‘This Species of Property’: Female Slave Contrabands in the Civil War,” in *The Confederate Experience Reader: Selected Documents and Essays*, (New York: Routledge, 2008).

²¹ Silkenat, *Driven from Home*, 5.

²² It should be noted here that during the Civil War “refugeeing” was a specific term used to describe slaveowners who relocated during the Civil War and forcibly took their slaves with them, often into the

Silkenat asks similar questions as Massey about who left, why, where they went, how they got there, and what they did next. By examining the displacement of each of these groups side-by-side, Silkenat conveys the chaos and heterogeneity of the refugee experience. While my dissertation asks similar questions as Massey and Silkenat about the lived experience of Civil War refugees, it continues to diversify our understanding of the refugee experience, and it expands on both studies by looking beyond their temporal and geographic boundaries—beyond the borders of the Confederacy and beyond the end of the war—to determine the full extent and ramifications of mass displacement during the Civil War.

Refugees during the Civil War varied in gender, class, race, condition of servitude, and political persuasion. While Massey and Silkenat recognize the diversity of refugees, both focus heavily on white Southerners who supported the Confederacy, although Silkenat much less so than Massey. Refugees who fled from the Confederacy reflect a similarly broad demographic and a wide range of experiences. This dissertation therefore examines immigrants living in the South were often less than enthusiastic about the creation of the Confederate States, along with the many Tejanos who had recently found themselves to be residents of the United States and now the Confederacy, and Native Americans who were in the path of another country's civil war.

This project will reflect the heterogeneity of those who fled the South, however it will not examine the experiences of refugees from slavery during the Civil War. The circumstances of African American refugees who fled from slavery were vastly different from free people who fled the Confederacy, as reflected in much of recent scholarship on Black refugees which focuses on the struggle for emancipation and freedom. To flee for the

contracting Confederacy in hopes to further protect their financial investment in human property. For more, see: Massey, *Refugee Life in the Confederacy*, and Silkenat, *Driven from Home*.

basic human right of freedom of person is vastly different than fleeing political persecution and even the destruction of war. Free people who fled from the Confederacy did not have to account for this obstacle, and often faced entirely different questions and obstacles that deserve a separate, dedicated study. Their experiences also expose the crucial failure of the Confederacy to contain its people—something missed in the studies like Massey’s and Silkenat’s, which only look inward, within the Confederacy.

My dissertation follows Civil War refugees beyond April of 1865 to determine the long-term effects of displacement on individuals, their communities of origin, their host communities, and on the reunited nation as a whole. Although Massey most visibly details the experience of displacement for Confederate-sympathizing Civil War refugees during the war itself, her narrative only hints at their lasting impact. Massey regularly emphasizes the lack of sympathy or aid for refugees, by the Confederate government in particular, and implies that refugees adversely affected Confederate nationalism and morale. But she only implies this—and does not examine the influence of refugees in any depth. Massey also suggests that the movement of Confederate refugees injured the ability of the South to recover after the war, but again, she confines this to a few, final pages at the end of the book, and does not fully pursue this observation. Likewise, Silkenat confines his comments on the long-term effects of refugee displacement to the epilogue, briefly noting that for most refugees “the cessation of hostilities rarely resulted in an uncomplicated return to their antebellum lives. Instead, it created a new chapter of the refugee experience.”²³ Silkenat clearly chose to leave out this next chapter in his monograph. Thus, the postwar plight of refugees and the lasting influence of the Civil War refugee crisis remain largely unstudied.²⁴

²³ Silkenat, *Driven from Home*, 220.

²⁴ The only studies that trace displacement into the aftermath of the Civil War do so by focusing on a very specific group of displaced people: former Confederates who relocated outside the boundaries of the reunited

My project will be the first to examine wartime displacement from its onset, through the war, and on to its lasting influence on the nation. This dissertation reconsiders the long-term significance of refugees and expands the geographic parameters of the Civil War refugee crisis more broadly.

Refugees fled north, south, east, and west, to older states in the Northeast and Midwest, to newer states like California and Oregon, to territories like Washington Territory and Montana Territory, and to foreign countries ranging from Mexico, France, Germany, and Sweden. The broadened geographic purview of my project is informed by recent Civil War scholarship that pushes the boundaries of the traditional war narrative by recognizing that the war itself was continental and even global in scope. Scholarship on the United States West, and scholarship on the Civil War in a global perspective, both aim to situate the Civil War into its larger context and demonstrate that those who lived through the Civil War

United States, especially to Central and South America, in the wake of the Confederacy's failed bid for independence. These works focus specifically on those displaced in the aftermath of the Civil War—not during the hostilities. For almost all of them, the failure of the Confederacy drove their decision to relocate, whereas the refugees in “Escaped from Dixie” were displaced, in one way or another, by the Confederacy's wartime bid to successfully achieve independence. This does not mean that these works are not relevant for this study. Studies of post-war Confederate migration, such as Laura Jarnagin's *A Confluence of Transatlantic Networks*, are valuable for this project for their approach, methodology, and in particular, their application of migration theory. Todd Wahlstrom's recent contribution to this literature is also important because it identifies the varying, complicated, and often unclear motivations for migrating to Latin America post-war, and his emphasis on the complexity of postwar migration is important to remember when studying wartime refugees. Furthermore, many of these works trace the long-term influence of Confederates in Latin America, as my dissertation will do with those displaced during the war itself. These studies, nevertheless, do not analyze people displaced during the Civil War, as this dissertation does. Most well-known of these works is *The Confederados: Old South Immigrants in Brazil*, edited by Cyrus Dawsey and James Dawsey (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1995). Another important book on this migration is Todd W. Wahlstrom, *The Southern Exodus to Mexico: Migration across the Borderlands after the American Civil War* (Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 2015), as well as Laura Jarnagin, *A Confluence of Transatlantic Networks: Elites, Capitalism, and Confederate Migration to Brazil* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2008). Other book-length works on this topic include: William Griggs, *The Elusive Eden: Frank McMullan's Confederate Colony in Brazil* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987), Eugene C. Harter, *The Lost Colony of the Confederacy* (Oxford, Miss.: University Press of Mississippi, 1985), Andrew F. Rolle, *The Lost Cause: The Confederate Exodus to Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), and Donald C. Simmons, Jr., *Confederate Settlements in British Honduras* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co., 2001). For references to even more scholarship on this topic, including article-length studies, refer to the annotated bibliography provided in *The Confederados*. See also, Daniel Sutherland, *The Confederate Carpetbaggers* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988).

recognized the national and global ramifications of the Civil War.²⁵ This is particularly true for Civil War refugees who spread across the nation and the globe during the conflict.

The rapidly expanding scholarship on the Civil War and the West has convincingly argued that the West was important during the Civil War for several reasons.²⁶ Most significantly, they have argued that the Civil War was one of many efforts in the latter half of the nineteenth century by the federal government to assert its authority throughout the territory over which it claimed itself sovereign. In the West, challenges to federal sovereignty existed in many forms, including in the presence of native people. Thus, the challenge to federal sovereignty posed by the so-called Confederacy in the South was one of many contestations over federal power nationwide in the mid-nineteenth century. Taken together, this scholarship makes an important assertion about the nineteenth-century United States that has long been obscured by the narrow geographic scope of most Civil War scholars.

Mass displacement and the refugee crisis exemplify the continental and global scope of the Civil War, as refugees fled in any available direction during wartime upheaval. This was particularly true in the United States West. A significant number of Civil War refugees fled west of the Mississippi, some because they saw it as a land of peace compared with the war-torn South, others because they saw it as a land of opportunity, and others simply

²⁵ See Don Doyle, *The Cause of All Nations: An International History of the American Civil War* (New York: Basic Books, 2014). For other recent works that expand on the geographic scope of the United States Civil War, see: Andre M. Fleche, *The Revolution of 1861: The American Civil War in the Age of Nationalist Conflict* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), Amanda Foreman, *A World on Fire: Britain's Crucial Role in the American Civil War* (New York: Random House, 2012), Matthew Pratt Guterl, *American Mediterranean: Southern Slaveholders in the Age of Emancipation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), Edward Bartlett Rugemer, *The Problem of Emancipation: The Caribbean Roots of the American Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2008), Brian Schoen, *The Fragile Fabric of Union: Cotton, Federal Politics, and the Global Origins of the Civil War* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009).

²⁶ See Adam Arenson and Andrew Graybill, eds., *Civil War Wests: Testing the Limits of the United States* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2015), Heather Cox Richardson, *West from Appomattox: The Reconstruction of America after the Civil War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), Ari Kelman, *A Misplaced Massacre: Struggling Over the Memory of Sand Creek* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013), and Stacey L. Smith, *Freedom's Frontiers: California and the Struggle over Unfree Labor, Emancipation, and Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013).

because it was their most promising chance of resettling—with little regard to the Indigenous people already living in these areas. My research demonstrates that displacement was continent-wide and led to the development of white communities and societies in western states and societies in the Civil War and its aftermath at the expense of Native Americans. The Civil War refugee crisis had a national scope, and national ramifications as well.

Finally, the study of wartime displacement overlaps with recent scholarship on the vast destruction wrought by the Civil War. This “new revisionist” scholarship, as Yael Sternhell has termed it, challenges the longstanding romanticization of the Civil War by focusing on the immense toll the war took on American society.²⁷ New revisionism seeks to expose the destruction and human cost of the war, as well as to understand the immense toll the Civil War took on American society, rather than focusing solely on how the Civil War changed the nation for the better. Recent “new revisionist” scholarship, like that of Drew Gilpin Faust, Megan Kate Nelson, and Brian Miller, confronts the romanticized Civil War narrative by analyzing different aspects of the war’s destruction, ranging from the destruction of bodies through amputations and death, to the destruction of infrastructure like railroads, cities, and houses, as well as the destruction of the natural environment.²⁸ Each historian investigates not only the immediate reactions and consequences of destruction, but also its lasting effects on the individual and on the reunited nation. Like them, I argue that

²⁷ For two wonderful overviews of this scholarship see: Yael Sternhell, “Revisionism Reinvented?: The Antiwar Turn in Civil War Scholarship,” *Journal of the Civil War Era* 3, no. 2 (June 2013), pp. 239-256, and Edward Ayers, “Worrying about the Civil War,” in *Moral Problems in American Life: New Perspectives on Cultural History*, edited by Karen Halttunen and Lewis Perry, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), 145-165.

²⁸ See Drew Gilpin Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death in the American Civil War* (New York: Knopf, 2008), Megan Kate Nelson, *Ruin Nation: Destruction and the American Civil War* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012), Brian Craig Miller, *Empty Sleeves: Amputation in the Civil War South* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2015). For a study specifically dealing with how the Civil War affected how Americans interacted with the natural environment, see Lisa Brady, *War Upon the Land: Military Strategy and the Transformation of Southern Landscapes during the American Civil War* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012), pp.127-141.

the displacement of thousands of people and the ensuing refugee crisis also exposes the human and material costs of war, and is an important aspect of the war that remains understudied. A complete reckoning of the toll of the Civil War on the people and on the nation necessitates a study of those who were displaced in its wake.

In addition to enhancing the historiography of the Civil War era, this dissertation draws from studies of refugees in U.S. history and world history more broadly to contextualize the Civil War refugee crisis. My interest in connecting the refugee experience to its long-term effects on host societies, for example, is informed by *Liberty's Exiles* by Maya Jasanoff and *An Exiled Generation* by Heléna Tóth. While Jasanoff focuses on British loyalists who fled from the United States during the American Revolution and Tóth studies Europeans who fled from the Revolutions of 1848, both follow the movement of refugees from their flight from home to their resettlement, and then, their new lives and in their new communities. By connecting the two major emphases of the refugee experience, displacement and its aftermath, these two monographs have informed the framework for my own work.

In addition to studying the long-term refugee experience, both works also exemplify how an expanded geographic and temporal study can enhance understanding of their subjects and its significance. Both Toth and Jasanoff approach displacement from a global perspective, revealing how their groups of refugees scattered worldwide. Both are also able to highlight how destination affected resettlement by organizing their analyses around location. The global perspective of each is combined with a broadened temporal scope as well, as both Jasanoff and Tóth trace the global and local legacies of mass displacement. In this way, too, these monographs will serve as important models for my own effort to locate the Civil War refugee crisis in an expanded geographical and temporal context.

Migration Studies, Theory, and Methodology

In order to better understand the complexity of the Civil War refugee crisis, my dissertation incorporates insights and methods from other disciplines as well. This project draws from migration studies, and in particular, from networking theory to help understand refugee movement. Migrant networks are “sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin.”²⁹ Networks helped migrants to minimize the costs and risks associated with migration. Furthermore, networks provide opportunities for labor, housing, and community to migrants, especially in the case of displaced people. The use of network theory to study refugee movement becomes particularly important because of the absence of any established refugee policy or protocol, such as the UNHCR, to aid those displaced by the U.S. Civil War.

Using networking theory to understand Civil War displacement also highlights the importance of studying refugee movement within the larger context of migration. Many scholars emphasize the divisions between voluntary migrants and refugees, which is reflected in the “vast chasm” dividing scholarship between the two classifications of migrants.³⁰ In particular, scholars highlight the different motivations for those who relocate during war and the restricted options and lack of planning often exhibited in wartime migrations, especially

²⁹ Douglas S. Massey, Joaquín Arango, Graeme Hugo, Ali Kouaouci, Adela Pellegrino, and J. Edward Taylor, “Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal,” in *The Migration Reader: Exploring Politics and Policies*, eds. Anthony M. Messina and Gallya Lahav (Boulder, Co.: Lynne Rienner, 2006): 43. See also Charles Tilly, “Transplanted Networks,” in *Collective Violence, Contentious Politics, and Social Change: A Charles Tilly Reader*, eds. Ernesto Castaneda and Cathy Lisa Schneider (New York: Routledge, 2017).

³⁰ Anthony M. Messina and Gallya Lahav, “Introduction: The Evolution of an International Refugee Regime,” in *The Migration Reader: Exploring Politics and Policies*, eds. Anthony M. Messina and Gallya Lahav (Boulder, Co.: Lynne Rienner, 2006): 199. For more on the absence of refugees in historical scholarship see Peter Gatrell, *The Making of the Modern Refugee*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. See also, Peter Gatrell, “Population Displacement in the Baltic Region in the Twentieth Century: From ‘Refugee Studies’ to Refugee History,” *Journal of Baltic Studies* 38, No. 1 (March 2007): 43-60.

for those fleeing under duress. Because of these important differences, some scholars, such as Yael Sternhell, argue that movement during wartime is an entirely different phenomenon from migration in general and should be studied “on its own terms.”³¹ Other scholars emphasize that wartime movement, including refugee movement, is still an important process that does not happen within a vacuum. Mobility depends heavily on past migration patterns and the existence of networks pre-dating the upheaval caused by war. Peter Gatrell, historian of World War I refugee movements, argues that:

Histories of population displacement need to allow for process as well as rupture. This is not to minimize the impact of being suddenly and violently displaced. Rather, it seeks to contextualize displacement and to challenge overarching narratives of abrupt, traumatic catastrophe.... the trajectories of displaced people rarely had a random character but were instead associated with historic ties, journeys and diasporic formations.³²

Heléna Tóth echoes this argument in *An Exiled Generation* when she states “Exile was certainly a traumatic event, but as a form of migration it was also embedded in a broader context of historical and contemporary migration processes.”³³ Past patterns of migration and the networks created by previous migrations were instrumental for those displaced during the Civil War, especially in an era in which refugees were highly dependent on networks because there was little organized aid for displaced populations. Social and familial networks are often the key to understanding how migrants resettled in lieu of organized aid. Refugees in early U.S. history, even before the Civil War, such as Irish famine refugees and German 48ers, regularly relied on social networks as they fled and resettled.³⁴ While it may

³¹ Sternhell, *Routes of War*, 4.

³² Gatrell, *The Making of the Modern Refugee*, 288.

³³ Heléna Tóth, *An Exiled Generation: German and Hungarian Refugees of Revolution, 1848–1871* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 8.

³⁴ See Margaret Mulrooney, *Black Powder, White Lace: The Du Pont Irish and Cultural Identity in Nineteenth-Century America*, Hanover: University Press of New England, 2002 and Tóth’s *An Exiled Generation*. Additionally, a growing number of refugees and displaced people in the 21st century are relying on networking to “self-settle” in the absence of adequate aid. See, for example, Lucy Hovil, “Self-settled Refugees in Uganda: An Alternative Approach to Displacement?” *Journal of Refugee Studies* 20, no. 4 (2007), pp. 599-620. For an exceptional study

be true that the vast majority of those displaced during the U.S. Civil War would not have migrated were it not for the upheaval of war, their migration was undoubtedly informed by previous migrations and connections, making networking theory integral to this study.

Heléna Tóth studies the social networks of 48ers in her monograph and demonstrates importantly how the existence and utilization of social networks, or the absence thereof, can affect the refugee experience. For example, in the United States there were already many strong and vibrant German communities that offered German refugees options for resettlement, but the same was not the case for Hungarian refugees. She finds that in the presence of an existing German community, many German refugees were able to rely on their social networks to resettle, whereas Hungarian refugees often had more limited options, including relief from aid societies in United States cities like Boston. Not only did their experiences vary based on location, but access to social networks was an important factor that greatly affected their opportunities to resettle and their experiences in their host communities. Networks diminished the costs and risks of migrating during wartime, when barriers to movement are often particularly high, and provided refugees with jobs, housing, and emotional support. The same was true for Civil War refugees—those who were able to do so resettled using their own personal ties, whereas those who did not have access to social connections were more likely to turn to charitable aid societies or government relief.

In addition to Tóth's analysis of social networks, my project draws from the social network analysis in Laura Jarnagin's monograph *A Confluence of Transatlantic Networks*. Jarnagin analyzes the long-term migration patterns between the United States and Brazil to explain the post-Civil War migration of former Confederates to Brazil. Jarnagin follows the

that analyzes post-U.N. refugees from the same conflict in light of their government-resettlement or self-resettlement (often using social networks), see Liisa H. Malkki, *Purity and Exile: Violence, Memory, and National Cosmology among the Hutu Refugees in Tanzania*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

social, familial, and business connections over more than a century to establish not only how former Confederates resettled in Brazil, but where they went, why they went when they did, and what they did once they arrived. Jarnagin's book is a "study in the processes of transatlantic elite social networking with a view to explaining the deep historical context that informed Confederate migration to Brazil."³⁵ Jarnagin establishes that the social networks used by former Confederates had long-standing roots, just awaiting a time and reason to be put into action. She shows how existing social networks "converged to facilitate elite southern migration to Brazil" in the aftermath of the Civil War.³⁶ A similar application to studying the formation and use of social networks in the past can be applied to those displaced during the Civil War. Many of the connections used by Civil War refugees predated the war, and like Jarnagin shows for former Confederates postwar, these pre-existing connections were simply reshaped in a way that aided people displaced by the events of the 1860s.

Research and Sources

As a social history of refugeedom, this dissertation relies primarily on the correspondence and diaries of refugees themselves. These first-hand accounts allow the refugees to speak for themselves as much as possible and reveal in detail what they experienced firsthand. Since many refugees were unable to create contemporaneous accounts of their experiences while displaced, however, reminiscences and memoirs are also used. This project will also include oral history interviews conducted by the Works Progress Administration among surviving "refugee Indians" who fled from Confederate-controlled

³⁵ Jarnagin, *A Confluence of Transatlantic Networks*, ix.

³⁶ Jarnagin, *Confluence of Transatlantic Networks*, 1.

Indian Territory during the Civil War, adding more voices and experiences to this dissertation.

At times, first-hand accounts of refugees are supplemented by sources created by people who came into contact with them. This includes correspondence and diaries written by soldiers and government officials, as well as the sources created by organizations for refugee aid and the people involved in them, such as the United States Sanitary Commission and the Baltimore Association to Advise and Assist Friends in Southern States. Finally, federal government records are also used in this study to supplement first-hand accounts. Important among these are the Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the records for agency offices, regarding American Indians who fled from the Confederacy, U.S. Consul records regarding refugees who fled into Mexico, as well as the Freedmen's Bureau Records, specifically as they pertain to white Union refugees who returned to the South after the war. The Southern Claims Commission, an agency developed postwar to evaluate the reimbursement claims of proclaimed Unionists who had property commandeered by the Union Army during the Civil War, interviewed thousands of residents of the former Confederacy to determine who should be reimbursed. These records will also be used to supplement wartime sources created by refugees, similarly to reminiscences and memoirs. It is important to note however, that the COVID-19 pandemic, and resulting closures of most archives and libraries for over a year, has prevented me from accessing all of the government records I intended to consult, including records with quantitative data that could help enumerate the extent of the Civil War refugee crisis.³⁷

³⁷ The closure of the National Archives and Records Administration, along with most other archives and research libraries prevented me from consulting U.S. Consul Records, Freedmen's Bureau Records, and Provost Marshal Records, in addition to numerous smaller collections. Furthermore, I was unable to access a research library to consult secondary sources that would have strengthened my analysis, especially in Chapter 6.

Chapter Organization

This dissertation explores the contours of refugeedom by examining both wartime experiences and the aftermath of displacement and is separated into two corresponding parts. Part One, *Wartime Experiences*, consists of four chapters each focusing on a distinct group of wartime refugees, based on a similar migration pattern. Chapter One focuses on native Northerners who fled from their Confederate residences to return to the Northeast, often using their pre-existing social connections to make their transition to a new life smoother, while Chapter Two turns to native Southerners by analyzing the social networks of Quakers who fled North Carolina as conscientious objectors. Chapter Three moves farther South and considers the wartime experiences of the thousands of Texans who fled into Mexico, paying special attention to the significance of the international border and the unpreparedness of the United States government to address the thousands of destitute refugees asking them for aid. Finally, Chapter Four expands on the federal government's unpreparedness to address a refugee crisis by examining the experiences of the nearly thirty thousand American Indian refugees who fled from Confederate-controlled Indian Territory to seek the protection of the United States in Kansas.

Part Two of the dissertation follows the refugees in the aftermath of the war and highlights the long-term consequences of their displacement on themselves, and on the nation. This section has three chapters and distinguishes the experiences of those who chose to return to the former Confederacy from those who did not return. I have found that those who returned to the South did so because they thought their future was in the South and in helping reconstruct and reshape the region, whereas those who did not return believed their future prospects were better outside of the war-ravaged South than within it—and many of them would go on to have prosperous and influential lives elsewhere. The vast scope of the

Civil War refugee crisis, in both scale and lasting influence, prompts historians to recognize that for hundreds of thousands of people, the Civil War was characterized by displacement and movement, and that their movement as a result of the war had significant ramifications on the future of the reunited nation. When considered alongside growing scholarship on the Civil War refugee crisis and mobility during the Civil War, this dissertation prompts us to reconsider the Civil War as a migratory event.

PART 1: WARTIME EXPERIENCES

CHAPTER 1: “YANKEE SKEDADLERS:” UNIONISM AND DISPLACEMENT FOR NATIVE NORTHERNERS WHO FLED FROM THE CONFEDERACY

In 1863 a publisher in New York published an anonymous letter titled, “Letter to the President of the United States, by a Refugee.” The author identified himself simply as “one whom the great rebellion has, in a worldly sense, ruined.” He explained that when the war began, he held a “highly honorable position” and was on the cusp of producing the “golden results to which [he] had devoted the tireless labor of years,” and with sufficient income to enjoy “all the comforts and luxuries of life.” The author continued to explain that “in the space of a few short months, [the war] reduced [him] to the condition of a homeless wanderer, without an occupation, without a prospect, without present means of subsistence, and —though life, indeed, remained —without an object for which to live.”³⁸ The letter was widely circulated, and later became attributed to Frederick Augustus Porter Barnard, former Chancellor of the University of Mississippi, who left the Confederate South as a refugee in order to return to the Northeast, where he had been born and raised.³⁹

At the outbreak of the Civil War, nearly 400,000 Northerners were living and working in the South.⁴⁰ Hundreds of these, like Barnard, fled from the Confederacy in search of Union territory. While at first consideration, Northerners seem like the most obvious candidates to become refugees, certainly not every native Northerner fled from the Confederacy, and in fact, some became avid supporters of the Confederacy.⁴¹ Why, then, did only certain Northerners return?

³⁸ “Letter to the President of the United States, by a Refugee,” (New York: C. S. Westcott, 1863), 5-6.

³⁹ November 4, 1890, Henry Barnard to Margaret McMurray Barnard, F.A.P. Barnard Papers, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Library (henceforth Barnard Papers, RBML).

⁴⁰ Wesley Brian Borucki, “Yankees in King Cotton’s Court: Northerners in Antebellum and Wartime Alabama,” (PhD diss., University of Alabama, 2002), 2.

⁴¹ See Borucki, “Yankees in King Cotton’s Court.”

Devotion to the Union would seem to be the most straightforward answer—but it's not a complete one. Unionism in and of itself was not enough to cause Northerners to flee from the Confederacy. For many, personal circumstances outweighed political opinions, and often these individual circumstances played a more important role in determining flight than loyalty alone.

Such was the case with Barnard, who was nominally a Unionist, but remained in Mississippi for nearly two years after secession without being harassed or persecuted for his stance on the war. This was in part because he kept his political opinions to himself, and because he was protected by his influential standing in Oxford, but also because his career as a scientist and educator was valuable to the fledgling Confederate States. As long as his career in Mississippi remained, so did Barnard, regardless of his purported Unionism. Barnard only left the Confederacy once it became clear that the University of Mississippi would be shut down for the foreseeable future, and that his future prospects would be much more promising in the Union than the Confederacy.

This chapter focuses on those who fled from the Confederacy and relocated to the Northeast during the Civil War by focusing on five refugees who were originally from the North, including Barnard. Each of these examples was originally from the Northeast, but was living in the South in 1861, and then fled from the Confederacy and relocated to the Northeast during the Civil War. This chapter considers not only which Northerners wanted to flee from the South and why, but it goes beyond this by analyzing which Northerners were actually able to flee, and how they did so. Furthermore, it also examines how these Northerners were able to resettle in the North after their initial displacement.

My analysis reveals that not all those Northerners who lived in the South were able to do so, even if they preferred the Union to the Confederacy. Unionism in and of itself was

not enough to cause Northerners to flee from the Confederacy. Escaping from the South depended on myriad factors, including timing, location, wartime conditions, gender, economic class, and, importantly, social networks that assisted them in escaping and resettling successfully. Numerous other personal factors, such as transferrable career skills, or familial circumstances, affected decisions to leave the Confederacy as well. In this chapter, I will examine their complicated motivations for fleeing from the Confederacy and will argue that a constellation of factors had to align in order for Unionist Northerners to escape.

The experiences of these refugees also reveal the importance of past social connections in ameliorating their wartime displacement, especially in the absence of any formal organizations for the aid of refugees. In spite of their displacement, many of these refugees were able to find housing and employment through their pre-existing connections. In particular, family was an important connection, as most Northerners who fled from the Confederacy first turned to their families for aid, which included money, shelter, and employment. In addition, old friends and acquaintances still living in the North were important for those who were seeking to resettle. While these connections were often able to assuage the economic toll of displacement, for many refugees, the emotional, physical, and psychological toll of displacement remained a daily struggle, as the examples of the final two refugees in this chapter make clear. The experiences of these refugees reveals how pre-existing social connections were repurposed and strengthened to aid those who fled from the rebelling states, and were of significant importance for native Northerners who were able to flee from the Confederate South for Union territory. All of these examples demonstrate that politics alone did not determine the mobility of Civil War refugees.

William Longley, a native of Massachusetts, moved to Georgia in 1858 to pursue a career in metalworking. By 1860 he was “prospering nicely” as the owner of a successful iron

foundry as well as a general store in Macon. He returned to his native Massachusetts in September of 1860 to marry Mary Hammond, also a native of Massachusetts. In November, following their honeymoon, and following the pivotal presidential election, they returned to Macon, Georgia to expand William's business. Upon their arrival in Macon, Mary described that they would have been comfortably situated if not for "the political [Excitement] which came with the Election of Lincoln and Hamlin." William's business quickly began to suffer since "all northern men were held at arms length," and the newlyweds "slept with one eye open all winter." In April they "talked it over wheather we could stay there any longer," but were unsure of how to leave, or where to go.⁴²

In the meantime, William was drafted for a local home defense battalion, putting the Unionist Northerners in an even more difficult situation. After William was drafted, Mary reported that "Wm. desided he could not go against his conceince and his Country [sic]," so rather than serving himself, he "looked about for a substitute for three months gave him his uniform and sixty dollars." Hiring a substitute was only a temporary solution, though, so while William's substitute served in his place, William lied to authorities and "said he had to take his wife to Kentucky," the closest Union territory, though there were signs it too might join the Confederacy.⁴³ On the last night of April they left their house in the middle of the night with a small trunk of their possessions, and 49 dollars in gold and silver, since Confederate money would soon be worthless to them, and they headed for the train station.

Their journey out of the Confederacy was heavily influenced by the need to keep their final destination, Massachusetts, a secret. Mary noted, "we did not dare to buy our

⁴² Biography of William Longley containing an Account of his Flight from the South during the Civil War, Hammond Family Papers, Maine Historical Society, Portland, Maine (henceforth MHS). This account of William's life was written by Mary Hammond Longley, his wife, sometime after his death in 1884, although the certain date is unclear. Genealogical details in the same volume as the account were updated as late as 1896.

⁴³ Longley Account, Hammond Family Papers, MHS.

tickets any great distance for [fear] they would suspect we were leaving to go North.”

According to Mary, their route was also influenced by the destruction of transportation systems at the beginning of the war. Mary described how “We bought our first ticket for Atlanta as we were obliged to go west in order to go north and then east to go home as all the direct lines were destroyed. from Atlanta to Chattanooga—and soon to Nashville and Lou[is]svill[e].” They celebrated when they arrived within Union lines at Louisville a few weeks later, and spent the weekend at the Galt House Hotel before crossing into Indiana first thing on Monday morning. Mary noted the shared experience with other refugees, in particular noting, “there were some there we had seen every day since we started They were all so glad and felt so safe—they were all friends.” Of course, Mary and William themselves felt relieved at their safe arrival in Union territory, recalling years later,

If we had not left when we did I do not think we should have been able to leave ever after, for immediately more troupes were called for and I have no doubt but William would have had to go, had he been there—Any way we were well out of it—and so far on our way home—we were within the Union lines, and could go where we chose—without fear of be molested.

When the ferry reached Union soil, Mary recalled “how the People did cheer,” since they were all finally safe in Union territory.⁴⁴

After reaching Union lines, they took a train to Indianapolis with only fifteen cents of non-Confederate money remaining. William’s former brother-in-law, Fred Coburn, who had remarried after the death of William’s sister, was living in Indianapolis, and with few other options, the Longleys turned to him for assistance.⁴⁵ Years later, Mary remembered that when they reached Indianapolis “we went for a Directory the first thing to see where Fred Coburn lived as we had not money enough to take us any where.” They headed to the

⁴⁴ Longley Account, Hammond Family Papers, MHS.

⁴⁵ Fred Coburn was married to William’s sister, Sybil Longley Coburn, until her death in 1852. He then remarried a woman named Lydia Coburn and moved to Indianapolis.

Coburn's house and noted the hospitable reception when they arrived at his home, recalling that though the home was fairly small, "There was a bed in the parlor—which was given up to us with a hearty welcom[e]." Mary continued, "Altho I did not know these people they seemed like old friends they were so glad to know that we were away from the South."⁴⁶

While they were in Indianapolis staying with extended family, William wrote home to his parents and in-laws in Massachusetts for money so they could continue their journey north, but it took multiple attempts to get the money transferred, and in the end, they ended up staying in Indianapolis for a month before they "really started for the East and home."⁴⁷ Nevertheless, Mary was able to spend her time in Indianapolis aiding the Union Army, as many women were doing at the time.⁴⁸ She had learned that Lydia Coburn, who Fred married after William's sister Sybil's death, was a tailor and was making pants for the Union Army, and reported that, "of course I went to work with the needle to help as we had nothing to pay board with—William did the pressing and sang away so happy to be clear of the South. Feeling gay altho he had lost his all in leaving—money was nothing to a clear conceince [sic]."⁴⁹ Mary and William both would continue to use their skills to aid the Union cause for the remainder of the war and would continue to rely on past connections like the Coburns to aid in their resettlement as refugees.

After a month in Indianapolis, they received money from their families, and were finally able to return to Massachusetts. Upon arriving safely in their Northern home, they "were given a hearty [wel]come home—all felt like screaming we were all so glad." While the

⁴⁶ Longley Account, Hammond Family Papers, MHS.

⁴⁷ Longley Account, Hammond Family Papers, MHS.

⁴⁸ For more on Northern women's involvement in supporting the war effort see Melinda Lawson, *Patriot Fires: Forging a New American Nationalism in the Civil War North* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2002), Patricia Richard, *Busy Hands: Images of the Family in the Northern Civil War Effort* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2003), and Carol Faulkner, *Women's Radical Reconstruction: The Freedmen's Aid Movement* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

⁴⁹ Longley Account, Hammond Family Papers, MHS.

Longleys were thrilled to have escaped the Confederacy and arrived back in Massachusetts safely, Mary noted, “When we arrived we had only a few dollars of the money we sent for left—and of course there had to be money to live.” With most of their financial assets left behind in Georgia, William began looking for work, and of course wanted to find work related to metal working, his profession. Fortunately, metal working was in demand, as many men were now being employed to make swords and bayonets for the Union Army. Mary explained that William’s oldest brother, Jonas Longley, lived nearby and worked in a foundry, so “Wm. wrote to him to see if he could get work at any price. He was promised a second place in the hardning and tempering department—which he accepted [sic].” William went to work making swords for the United States Army, and Mary was paid to help etch the company insignias on the swords. Mary remembered that “we were making money so fast we felt rich after feeling so poor.”⁵⁰ Thanks to William’s brother, Jonas, the Longleys not only had steady employment, but also a place to stay, as they boarded with his family for several months while they repaid debts and got back on their feet.

In January of 1862, William got a better position a few towns away, so they uprooted again and moved to Millbury, where they “boarded with Grandma Longley—(Wm. mother) brother Elijah and Mary Eliza were there—making quite a family.” While living there, Mary continued devoting her skills to aiding the Union Army, saying that “The only thing talked about[t] at this time was war—and what to do help the Soldier along,” and so, a “Ladies Aides Society was formed and we made clothing and bandages and lent to send to the front [sic].”

⁵¹ William continued to make swords and bayonets for the Union Army, and Mary continued to help etching company insignias on the newly minted weapons.

⁵⁰ Longley Account, Hammond Family Papers, MHS.

⁵¹ Longley Account, Hammond Family Papers, MHS.

A few months later, though, in the summer of 1862, “William felt the time had come for all able bodied men to enlist and have the Rebellion stopped [sic].” William enlisted in the 51st Massachusetts Regiment, Company E, and went to New Bern, North Carolina in November 1862. He also fought in Kinston and Goldsboro, North Carolina. After his nine-month enlistment ended, he went back to work making bayonets, moving to Trenton, New Jersey to “apply his meathod of hardining and tempering steel [sic]” for the federal government as they sought to improve the bayonets used by the Union Army. Then, in July 1864 William volunteered for the Union Army again, with Mary noting that, “The second enlistment was for the War, as long as it lasted.” William was now serving in the 13th Massachusetts Heavy Artillery, and with the help of an old acquaintance Captain George Perry, he was able to secure a commission as First Lieutenant. William and Mary both spent the remainder of the war at Fort Warren, Massachusetts, where William guarded Confederate prisoners of war and Mary helped Mrs. Perry keep house and board the other officers in their shared home. Both William and Mary Longley actively worked to defeat the fledgling nation they fled from as refugees a few years earlier.⁵²

Although the central motivation for the Longleys to leave Georgia was their support for the Union, numerous other factors affected their decision and ability to leave. Important here is the expectation that William, as a young, able-bodied man, serve the Confederacy, making gender expectations the immediate impetus for leaving when they did, as soon as other men in his area began volunteering in 1861. The early timing of their flight is also important because it made it easier to get out of the South. Although their travel was hampered partially by destruction of transportation systems early in the war, it was still easier to travel from South to North in early 1861 than if the Longleys had tried to wait it out.

⁵² Longley Account, Hammond Family Papers, MHS.

Finally, as they got back on their feet after displacement from the Confederacy, the Longleys relied on their family to help get them back to the North after fleeing from Confederate Georgia, and also relied on them while they initially resettled in Massachusetts.

While the Longleys fled Confederate Georgia early on, not all Unionists in the Confederacy were able or willing to leave immediately. This was the case with Theresa “Thirza” Finch, who was originally from upstate New York and had been living in Virginia for nearly a decade when the war began. An unmarried woman in her early thirties, Thirza lived with her younger brothers and her father, all of whom were Unionists. Her sister and brother-in-law, Emily and Watson Richmond, lived nearby and were Unionists as well. They lived in Prince William County, Virginia, and many in the area knew the family to be Unionists. The first year of the war was particularly rough on Thirza’s family, with one brother joining the Union Army, another being coerced into the Confederate Army, another fleeing to the North, and one more hoping the war would end before he was old enough to be conscripted.⁵³

Her father and two of her brothers attended Abraham Lincoln’s first inauguration in March 1861, and Thirza thought the family should go ahead and relocate to the North then. Thirza went to stay with her sister, Emily, while her father and brothers were in Washington, D. C., and she noted that her brother-in-law was already planning to head North as soon as he got a chance. Although Thirza had encouraged her father to flee from the Confederacy as well, her father was unwilling to abandon the family’s land and possessions in Virginia and

⁵³ In her diary Thirza describes her brother, Madison, as being “impressed” to serve the Confederacy. Although Confederate conscription did not begin until 1862, it is possible Madison was forced to join a home guard unit, or, like many others living in the Confederacy, enlisted in Confederate military service to avoid the embarrassment and shame of forced conscription. Throughout the war, Thirza referred to his Confederate military service as involuntary. See Thirza Finch Diary and Letter Transcriptions, James S. Schoff Civil War Collection, William L. Clements Library, The University of Michigan (henceforth Thirza Finch Diary, UMich).

return to their former home in Knox, New York, a small upstate town near Albany. As an unmarried woman, Thirza was unlikely to leave the family to relocate to the North on her own despite her Unionism, and, furthermore, was unwilling to leave behind her youngest brother, 15-year-old Edwin, whom she had played a primary role in raising since their mother's death many years before.

Following the Confederate attack on Fort Sumter in April 1861, Thirza noted that “times are so bad... looks much like war.” After learning of the attack on Fort Sumter, Thirza's brother-in-law, Watson, was “fixing to start” for the North, and although Emily wanted to join her husband, she was expecting a child and unable to travel. Thirza wanted to leave as well and noted that people in her community “think I better go now.” The Finches were known as Unionists, and this put them in a precarious position as hostilities became formalized. Northern Virginia was divided, and would remain so for much of the war, especially as both Union and Confederate troops continually occupied various parts of the state. As Thirza explained, there was “no place for yankees here.” Shortly after hostilities commenced, her brother, Foster, and her brother-in-law, Watson, both fled from the Confederacy, as did some other friends of the family living nearby. However, Thirza was not in position to flee from the South immediately, regardless of political leanings, and instead had to bide her time until an opportunity to leave the South arose.⁵⁴

Thirza's example is significant because it demonstrates how her gender affected her ability and willingness to leave the Confederacy. Although she was a strong Unionist, as an unmarried woman without the sanction of her male relatives or a male escort, Thirza was unlikely to leave the family behind to relocate to the North on her own despite her Unionism. Furthermore, perhaps the most vital reason Thirza stayed in Confederate Virginia

⁵⁴ April [?] 1861, Thirza Finch Diary, UMich. Emphasis in original.

at the outset of war was the expectation and her own personal desire that she stay and continue caring for her youngest brother, Edwin. Thirza was fiercely attached to her brother, and very protective of him, and her sincere fear that he would be arrested or impressed into Confederate service also served to keep her in Virginia.

Gender expectations dictated Thirza's actions, and other women in similar positions often made the same decision. For example, Kate van Rensselear Johnston, a married woman originally from Albany who had married a man from Virginia. Confined by similar expectations of patriarchy as Thirza, "her husband prevented her from yielding to [her father's] wishes and return to Albany & reside there during the rebellion." Although Johnston was "loyal in her sentiments," her loyalty to her husband prevented her from leaving the Confederacy until she and her children became ill and required medical care from a physician in New York.⁵⁵ This reveals how family dynamics not only helped families like the Longleys relocate, but in the case of Thirza Finch and Kate Johnston, family dynamics and gender expectations prompted them to stay in place, despite Union sentiments.

Compare this to Thirza's brother, Foster, and brother-in-law, Watson, who both left family behind when they fled from Virginia for Union territory in 1861 by clandestinely crossing the lines. Unlike Thirza, however, they were not confined by the same expectations of paternalism and patriarchy that prevented Thirza from leaving. Furthermore, young men were under more pressure to join the Confederate military, prompting many Northerners and Unionists to leave the Confederacy, including William Longley. Waves of young men fleeing the Confederacy increased when the draft was instituted in 1862, and again when it was amended in 1864. Thus, gender was an important factor affecting the decision of many

⁵⁵ John S. van Rensselear to E. M. Stanton, September 1, 1863, Letters Received Applying for Passes to Enter Union Territory, Records of the Office of the Secretary of War, Record Group 107, Entry 54, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

native Northerners to flee from the Confederacy—while for many young men, their gender prompted them to flee, for women like Thirza, gender could serve to keep one rooted in the Confederacy.

While Thirza's gender and familial expectations originally prevented her from leaving the Confederacy, soon enough the family's proximity to the war itself would prevent her from escaping. The family farm was a short distance from Manassas Junction, where both the First and Second Battles of Bull Run were fought early in the war. The Finch farm was located in contested territory, and Thirza's diary makes clear the pressures this put on the Unionist family. Thirza regularly wrote of both Union and Confederate soldiers who approached the farm in search of food and shelter, and she was often forced to cook for soldiers or care for sick and wounded soldiers from both sides, as well as caring for numerous deserters.⁵⁶

Thirza lived in constant fear of these soldiers. She feared that Confederate soldiers would arrest her father for being a fairly well-known Unionist, and her father often left her alone at the farm to tend to business, and to provide Union troops nearby with hay, beef, and other provisions. She feared that soldiers on either side would attack her when she was home alone, and also feared that they may plunder the family's possessions and burn down the house or the barn. Many nights, she slept fully dressed in case soldiers came by in the middle of the night, and often when she was alone at the farm and soldiers were present, she would sleep at the neighbor's house, so she was not left alone with the men. Finally, she also feared that her brother Eddie, despite being underage, could be arrested or "pressed" into Confederate service as her brother Madison had been.

⁵⁶ March 9, 1862, Thirza Finch Diary, UMich.

Thirza wondered if the family would ever have a chance to flee Confederate Virginia, especially as the war intensified. In March of 1862 she noted, “I feel lonely and cast down, if we had only left here at the beginning of this war as [brother Madison] and I wanted to; but father not willing to leave all he had would not till to late [sic].”⁵⁷ In April 1862, her brother-in-law Watson clandestinely returned to Virginia in order to take his wife and 8-month-old daughter back with him to his refuge in the North. Shortly after, Union troop movements seemed to indicate that the Confederacy was regaining territory, and Thirza, Watson, and Emily all feared that they would again be “trapped” within Confederate lines. At the end of May, Watson, Emily, and their infant daughter left, and Thirza desired to go with them very much. She brought up the possibility of fleeing to the North to her father again, and this time, he promised, “we will all go soon.”⁵⁸

Making good on his promise, Thirza’s father, John, began to take his livestock into Fairfax to be sold, in order to facilitate the family’s move. However, he had to do this over time so that he would not arouse suspicions as to his intentions. In the meantime, Northern Virginia became even more contested territory. Thirza continued caring for sick and wounded soldiers and deserters, and living in constant fear that she, her family, or their possessions would be attacked by either army camped in close proximity.

In late August 1862, her father finally agreed to relocate to New York. While he had been working for several months to consolidate the family’s wealth and possessions, the immediate catalyst for their departure was the impending Second Battle of Bull Run. As Union troops retreated past their farm, with Confederate troops close behind, Thirza again feared becoming trapped in the Confederacy, noting “it looks rather gloomy to Union

⁵⁷ March 9, 1862, Thirza Finch Diary, UMich.

⁵⁸ May 30, 1862, Thirza Finch Diary, UMich.

citizens.”⁵⁹ The next day, she recorded, ““All the citizens have left expecting the Southerners in evry minute and here we are yet,” lamenting that the family would “get shut in before we know it.” She again pleaded with her father to leave the South, and he finally relented; so they joined a number of other “Yankee Skedadlers” on the way to Washington, D.C.⁶⁰

Many refugees passed through the United States capital during the Civil War including native Northerners like the Finches, as well as numerous refugees originally from the South. In addition to the capital, refugees also flocked to other Northern cities, especially port cities like Philadelphia and New York. Cities and towns along the border between the Union and Confederacy were also key locations for refugees fleeing from the Confederacy to aggregate, including Louisville, where the Longleys stayed, as well as other cities like St. Louis, and towns like Evansville and Cairo. As the war progressed, federally-occupied cities in the South, like Memphis, New Bern, and New Orleans, became hubs of refugee activity as well.⁶¹

In addition to Washington, New York City saw large influxes of refugees. The *New York Times* reported that over 20,000 refugees had fled from the Confederacy and moved to the city by June 1861 alone.⁶² An estimate for the total number of refugees who fled from Confederate territory does not exist, but this dissertation estimates that the number was in

⁵⁹ August 26, 1862, Thirza Finch Diary, UMich.

⁶⁰ August 27, 1862, Thirza Finch Diary, UMich.

⁶¹ For more on the influx of refugees in occupied areas see Silkenat, *Driven from Home*, esp. 55-99. See also James Marten, “A Wearying Existence: Texas Refugees in New Orleans, 1862-1865,” *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 28, No. 4 (Autumn, 1987), pp. 343-356. See also, for example, Louisville Refugee Commission, “Report of the Louisville Refugee Commission,” (Louisville: Civill & Calvert, 1865), Cairo Relief Association, “The White Refugees at Cairo: Their Condition, Numbers, and Wants,” (February 22, 1864), Western Sanitary Commission, “Report of the Western Sanitary Commission on the White Union Refugees of the South, their Persecutions, Sufferings, Destitute Condition, and the Necessity of Giving Aid and Relief on their Coming to our Military Posts,” (St. Louis, Mo.: R.P. Studley, 1864), and American Union Commission, *The American Union Commission: its Origin, Operations and Purposes, Organized to Aid in the Restoration of the Union upon the Basis of Freedom, Industry, Education, and Christian Morality* (New York: Sanford, Harroun & Co., 1865).

⁶² “Tyranny of the Rebels Twenty Thousand Southern Refugees at the North,” *White Cloud Kansas Chief*, June 13, 1861. The *White Cloud Kansas Chief* reprinted a *New York Times* article.

the hundreds of thousands.⁶³ The number of refugees leaving the Confederacy increased as the war went on, largely due to Confederate conscription, military movements, and the worsening of conditions throughout much of the South, as the case of the Finches demonstrates.

Traveling through contested territory with battle raging nearby, Thirza, her father, and her youngest brother Eddie made it safely to Washington, D. C. Before continuing to New York, however, her father first desired to sell all of the hay he had just harvested, and after ensuring his children's safe arrival, he returned to Fairfax to do so. In the meantime, Thirza and Eddie stayed in Washington, spending some of their time with Emily and Watson who had stopped on their way to New York because Emily and their infant were both very sick, "caused by flight from rebs."⁶⁴ Once they were better, they planned to return to upstate New York, which was Thirza and Eddie's plan as well. After about a month in Washington, D.C., Eddie and Thirza returned to Knox, New York. From Washington, D. C., they "rode on the cars all night," and were in New York state the next morning.⁶⁵ They

⁶³ The American Union Commission estimated that "not less than 80,000" white refugees fled from the Confederacy by February 1865. The Commission made this estimate in February 1865. This figure is only based on the number of refugees aided by the USCC and USSC and, importantly, it does not include those who crossed the lines clandestinely, nor those who relied solely on personal connections for aid, nor those who may have received aid from a relief society not associated with the USCC or USSC. Nor does this figure include free persons who fled from the Confederacy but were not white, such as the nearly 30,000 Unionist American Indian refugees who fled Confederate-controlled Indian Territory during the U. S. Civil War; nor does it include those who fled to areas that did not have USSC or USCC presence, which numerous small towns throughout the nation did not, and also excludes those who fled to areas such as Mexico, Cuba, and California. See American Union Commission, *The American Union Commission: its Origin, Operations and Purposes, Organized to Aid in the Restoration of the Union upon the Basis of Freedom, Industry, Education, and Christian Morality* (New York: Sanford, Harroun & Co., 1865), 9. Stephen V. Ash cites this same estimate in *When the Yankees Came: Conflict and Chaos in the Occupied South, 1861-1865* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 178. Andrew Smith estimates that by the end of the war 400,000 Southerners had left their homes, but this figure does not focus on those who left the Confederacy. See Andrew F. Smith, *Starving the South: How the North Won the Civil War* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2011), 35. By February of 1865, Congress was relying on the estimate of 500,000 white refugees who fled from the Confederacy for Union territory, but this estimate still would not have included those who fled to other countries, those who crossed the lines clandestinely or received assistance from personal networks, nor the 30,000 Native American refugees who fled Confederate-controlled Indian Territory.

⁶⁴ October 2, 1862 Thirza Finch Diary, UMich.

⁶⁵ September 30, 1862, Thirza Finch Diary, UMich.

then traveled on to Albany, but had missed the stagecoach they intended to take the rest of the way, and a disappointed Thirza wrote, “we have had a wearysome time coming North.”⁶⁶

Although their family members in upstate New York were not expecting their arrival, they welcomed them gladly, and Thirza noted that “not much changed” since they originally left New York a decade earlier.⁶⁷ Once in New York, Thirza’s eldest brother, Richmond, was delighted to learn that they “were completely out of the hands of the rebbles at last! [sic]”⁶⁸ Just after their arrival, however, they received news that their father had died from a long-term illness in Fairfax shortly after Thirza and Eddie departed. Thirza’s oldest male relative, Richmond, was a Union soldier in occupied North Carolina at the time but welcomed the role of providing for his unmarried sister and sixteen-year-old brother. After learning of their father’s death, he wrote to Thirza with advice, saying, “you and Eddie better remain where you are for the present at least untill this war is settled and we can provide a home some where. I dont think the Friends in Knox will consider it burden some to keep you as a visitor this winter.”⁶⁹ He also instructed her to write regularly and to let him know if they needed money or other provisions. Thirza remained with her extended family, staying with various cousins and aunts or uncles for weeks at a time before staying with a different family member who was willing and able to help provide for her, and though she was often transient, she was able to resettle in the North with relatively more ease than many refugees. Thirza remained in Knox for the rest of her life, living a comfortable if modest life amongst her brothers and extended relatives.

⁶⁶ October 2, 1862, Thirza Finch Diary, UMich.

⁶⁷ February 11, 1863, Thirza Finch Diary, UMich.

⁶⁸ November 15, 1862, Thirza Finch Diary, UMich.

⁶⁹ November 25, 1862, Richmond Finch to Thirza Finch, copied in Thirza Finch Diary, UMich.

The experiences of Thirza Finch and the Longleys exemplify how extended family was an important resource for native Northerners who found themselves trapped in the Confederacy during the Civil War. Both cases demonstrate how those fleeing from the Confederacy repurposed past connections to meet their wartime needs. However, Thirza's case compared to the Longleys demonstrates that Unionism itself was not enough to cause native Northerners to flee from the Confederacy. The Longleys fled together at first chance, primarily prompted by their Unionism and the pressure on William to support the Confederacy. Mary Longley, as a married woman travelling with her husband, was able to flee at first chance as well. In Thirza's case, however, her gender, familial responsibilities, and the hostilities of the war itself intersected to prevent her immediate flight.

The complex web of factors affecting flight from the Confederacy are also exhibited in the example of Frederick Augustus Porter Barnard, a refugee who left Confederate Mississippi to return to the North. Barnard was born in Massachusetts, educated at Yale, and by 1860 was an accomplished scientist and educator, particularly well-known for his pursuits in astronomy. Shortly after graduating from Yale, he learned that he was losing his hearing and would likely become deaf, so he took a position teaching at the American Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb at Hartford, Connecticut, where he studied sign language and teaching methods for students with hearing and speech impediments. He then began teaching at the New York Institute for the Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb, continuing his studies on teaching methodologies. By the late 1830s he had continued his career in education by moving to Tuscaloosa to teach at the University of Alabama. He became well-known for both his efforts to advance higher education as well as his own scientific research, which by the mid-1850s, earned him an appointment as the Chancellor of the University of Mississippi. He brought the university much acclaim, particularly by updating the curriculum

and advancing scientific study, and most hoped he would continue his work to improve both the school and higher education in the South more broadly.⁷⁰

In 1860 Barnard was invited on an illustrious scientific expedition in Labrador, which had been funded by Congress, in order to study the total solar eclipse that would be visible there in August.⁷¹ When he returned to the South in early 1861, though, he “found the country in a blaze of political excitement.”⁷² Although Barnard kept his political sentiments to himself, many in Oxford were wary of his politics, especially following an incident in 1859 in which he made two students face disciplinary proceedings at the school “for certain very atrocious proceedings” in which two students went to his house one night when he was out of town and “grossly abused [his] negro servants.”⁷³ While Barnard was able to get the students removed from the University for their actions, many of those in Oxford who knew of the case began to spread rumors about him and his supposed infidelity to the South and its institutions, despite decades of Barnard’s complicit support for slavery.⁷⁴

During the secession crisis, these rumors only intensified, especially as he discouraged students at the University of Mississippi from enlisting in the Confederate

⁷⁰ See John Fulton, *Memoirs of Frederick A. P. Barnard, Tenth President of Columbia College in the City of New York* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1896). For more on Barnard’s efforts to advance higher education in the antebellum South, see William Joseph Chute, *Damn Yankee!: The First Career of Frederick A. P. Barnard, Educator, Scientist, Idealist* (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1978).

⁷¹ “The Astronomical Expedition.; Observations of the Total Eclipse of the Sun on the Coast of Labrador,” *New York Times*, August 10, 1860.

⁷² Frederick A. P. Barnard, Autobiography, Box 8, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Library (henceforth Barnard Autobiography, RBML, Columbia).

⁷³ Barnard Autobiography, RBML, Columbia.

⁷⁴ For more on Barnard’s complicity and involvement in slavery, especially at the University of Alabama, see Alfred Brophy, *University, Court, and Slave: Pro-Slavery Thought in Southern Colleges and Courts and the Coming of Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 146-158. See also Faculty Minutes, 1831-1854, RG 154, box 1-4, W. S. Hoole Special Collections, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, AL. These sources indicate not only his complicity in slavery at the university, but also his interactions with slaves at the university and in Tuscaloosa, including enslaved women such as Luna, who Barnard employed for the sexual gratification of students at the university. I am indebted to Dr. Hilary Green at the University of Alabama for alerting me to more details about Barnard’s involvement in slavery at both the University of Alabama and the University of Mississippi. Not surprisingly, Barnard only mentions his resistance to slavery via the trial against students who sexually assaulted one of his enslaved house-servants in his autobiography and in the *Memoirs* published posthumously by John Fulton.

Army. When he returned to Mississippi from the Labrador Expedition in 1861, he was dismayed to find that a company of students from the University of Mississippi had enlisted, although the students “were wild to join,” and had even persuaded the governor to send them to the front. In response, Barnard wrote the governor “earnestly begging him not to comply with this request,” but his appeal failed. Then, Barnard took “a bolder step” and he wrote home to the students’ parents since many of the young men were underage and technically ineligible to enlist anyway. Nevertheless, their parents generally supported their enlistment.⁷⁵

After the “University Grays,” Company A of the 11th Mississippi Infantry regiment, went to the front, only a dozen or so students remained on campus. Barnard offered his resignation but it was declined, as the board apparently believed the war might be over by the time classes resumed in the fall of 1861, and persuaded Barnard to stay until then in case the war ended and the students returned. Nonetheless, the war did not end in a few short months, and the students did not return. In fact, many of these young men would never again return to Mississippi, since instead many of them died at the First Battle of Bull Run, just before the semester was scheduled to begin.⁷⁶

When it became clear that classes would not resume in the Fall of 1861, Barnard again sought to leave the school and the South. Nevertheless, the trustees rejected his resignation for a second time. The motivation for insisting that Barnard stay in Mississippi is not entirely clear, but is at least in part due to his immense success at improving university

⁷⁵ Barnard Autobiography, RBML, Columbia.

⁷⁶ Nearly 50 of the young men belonging to the “University Grays” suffered casualties at Manassas/Bull Run in 1861, and all of those who remained would either die or sustain a major injury at the Battle of Gettysburg less than two years later as they participated in Pickett’s Charge. For more on the University Grays, see: Maud Morrow Brown, *The University Greys: Company A, Eleventh Mississippi Regiment, Army of Northern Virginia, 1861-1865* (Richmond: Garrett and Massie, 1940).

enrollment as well as the university's reputation. Barnard's commitment to advancing his career as well as his relatively discreet Unionism also encouraged the trustees to continue to seek his assistance in furthering the goals of the University. After rejecting his resignation again, the trustees made a deal with him. They offered to continue to pay his salary while he went to South Carolina and Virginia to report on how the military schools in those states operated, so that they could use this information to convert the University of Mississippi into a military school during the war. In exchange, the trustees would get him a passport out of the Confederacy.

Barnard agreed to the terms, and while visiting Virginia, he was able to see the United States flag flying over Fort Monroe, and later remembered "the sight thrilled me from head to foot with a feeling I had never before experienced. I had not seen the flag then for many months and I was beginning to despair of ever seeing it again." While in Virginia, Barnard also managed to meet with Confederate President Jefferson Davis, hoping to get a passport out of the Confederacy because, as he explained, "all my family were on the other side of the line." Moreover, he explained that his "occupation was completely gone" and he had "no means of making a subsistence in the Confederate states." Nevertheless, Davis refused the passport because he wanted Barnard to head a natural history survey for the Confederate States, an offer which Barnard "positively refused." While Barnard's devotion to the Union was fairly subdued, and his reputation as a scientist made him an asset for the Confederacy, by this point in the war the benefits of the Union far outweighed remaining in the Confederacy. Barnard turned in his report on military schools to the Board of trustees and resigned as Chancellor of the University of Mississippi.⁷⁷

⁷⁷ Barnard Autobiography, RBML, Columbia.

Barnard and his wife, Margaret, were living in Norfolk when the city was captured by Union forces in May 1862. Now in Union-occupied territory, Barnard “immediately proceeded to Washington” by steamer, where he used his reputation as a refugee to meet President Abraham Lincoln, as well as Secretary of State William Henry Seward. Nonetheless, he arrived in Washington, D. C. with no job and no home, and began to “look out for some occupation by which to make my bread.” As he sought work, Barnard “naturally called immediately after reaching Washington on my friends Professor Bache and Professor Henry, by both of whom I was received with a most cordial welcome.” Barnard had first met Bache in 1857 while working for the United States Coast Survey, and this acquaintance would be of great importance as Barnard sought to resettle in the North. After a long conversation about Barnard’s “experiences in rebeldom,” Bache offered to provide financial support to Barnard should it be necessary, since Barnard had been “a good while out of employment.” Barnard explained that, fortunately, he had “a small reserve of money and was not in immediate need,” but was deeply touched by the Bache’s willingness to aid his resettlement.⁷⁸

Although Barnard had some savings to rely on, he remained unemployed and displaced, and in addition to Bache, numerous others, both friends and family, offered him aid in the form of housing and employment. When he first arrived in Washington, he stayed at his brother’s house, although his brother had left home and joined the Union Army. He explained that “as I had relatives elsewhere I remained but a few days. From Washington I proceeded to Niagara Falls where a married sister was residing with whom I spent very

⁷⁸ Barnard Autobiography, RBML, Columbia.

pleasantly several weeks.”⁷⁹ Past connections, both family and friends, were important as Barnard was seeking a new start in the North.

He continued to search for any occupation that would “enable me to sustain myself,” and after several weeks searching, his old friend, Lieutenant James Gilliss revealed that he “had at his disposal the place of an astronomical computer.” Although Gilliss believed Barnard to be overqualified for the job, he knew of the displacement and unemployment that resulted from Barnard’s loyalty to the Union, and assured him that the job was his if he wanted it. Barnard explained that “as it was the only thing that immediately offered, I accepted without hesitation and immediately went to Washington and established myself in a way of living corresponding to my insignificant income. We hired a very cheap lodging and with my wife’s very careful housekeeping we managed to make both ends meet.” While Barnard appreciated the job offer from his friend Lt. Gilliss, they both acknowledged that he remained in need of a more stable occupation as he tried to resettle in the North permanently. Fortunately, about six months later, Barnard’s close friend Bache was able to find Barnard a job in the office of the United States Coast Survey, which they had both worked for before the war. He accepted the new position, and the increased salary, and continued to live in Washington, D. C.⁸⁰

Barnard’s example demonstrates another interesting facet of the refugee experience—the need for passports in order to travel. Restrictions on travel began in 1861, and travelers were required to have a pass to leave any Confederate state, and also needed permission to enter Union lines.⁸¹ These policies were unevenly applied, and relatively easy

⁷⁹ Barnard Autobiography, RBML, Columbia.

⁸⁰ Barnard Autobiography, RBML, Columbia.

⁸¹ Amy Murrell Taylor, *The Divided Family in Civil War America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 93.

to circumvent through forged documents, or clandestinely crossing into Union territory. Nevertheless, the surviving records of these requests for passes and reveal, again, that loyalty to the Union was often not the primary motivation for leaving the Confederacy.⁸² In fact, many applicants for passes do not mention their loyalty at all, and even those who did mention loyalty often made clear that they were prompted primarily by immediate personal circumstances, often family-related, in requesting to return to the North.

Kate Monroe, a young Northerner living in Virginia wished to return to the north to join her mother, who had left Richmond at the beginning of the war. Monroe lamented that she was “in a strange land, alone in the world,” and explained that “at the departure of my mother, I anticipated no difficulty in joining her—but, subsequently I have found that it is difficult indeed—I have made several attempts to go on to Philadelphia, but have failed in every instance.” She had since learned that her mother’s health was failing, and wanted to return immediately to care for her. She further explained that she was now making application to the Secretary of War for a pass “hoping your humanity may get the better of your policy.”⁸³

Like the Monroes, many applicants hoped to rejoin family members that they had been separated from due to the circumstances of the war. For example, Sarah C. W. Gamwell, a widowed woman from Massachusetts with four children, was living and working in Savannah, Georgia when the Civil War broke out. Gamwell sent her children to live in

⁸² The analysis presented below is based on 375 extant “Letters Received for Applying for Passes to Enter Union Territory” at the National Archives. For more on passes and passports during the Civil War see Mark E. Neely, Jr., *Southern Rights: Political Prisoners and the Myth of Confederate Constitutionalism* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1999), 2-6. See also Amy Murrell Taylor, *The Divided Family in Civil War America*, 92-98, especially regarding divided families represented in the collection of “Letters Received Applying for Passes to Enter Union Territory” at the National Archives.

⁸³ Kate Monroe to E. M. Stanton, October 3, 1863, Letters Received Applying for Passes to Enter Union Territory, Records of the Office of the Secretary of War, Record Group 107, Entry 54, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C. (henceforth Letters Received Applying for Passes to Enter Union Territory, NARA).

Boston in 1861, but was unable to travel due to an illness and planned to join them in the North shortly after she recovered. Two years later, her eldest daughter explained that ever since, “circumstances have conspired to prevent her leaving notwithstanding repeated efforts to the contrary,” and begged Secretary of War Edwin Stanton to “restore to the North a loyal woman--, & to her sorrowing children, a mother.”⁸⁴ Importantly, Gamwell’s situation reveals how gender politics affected mobility, and Gamwell, like many other women, took full advantage of this as she sought entrance to the Union.

Most applicants for passes were women, and they often highlighted their gender in their applications, either as women required to provide care to others, or as women required to be cared for by family in the North. Applicant Elizabeth Gilliam explained that upon the death of her husband she was “left in a strange country without friends or means of support,” and requested that she be allowed to return north to her “parents and all relatives who can help me.”⁸⁵ Other recently widowed women, originally from the North but living in the South, requested passes to return to their Northern homes to join their families as well, such as Kate Davidson of Connecticut, and the Keyser family of Pennsylvania.⁸⁶

Some applicants even requested passes to reunite wives and children with fathers who had fled clandestinely as refugees to the North. H. M. Gaston, originally from Massachusetts, had been working in Richmond, Virginia, for about a year when the war began. He was a “loyal man and also an anti-slavery man,” and in 1863 he “escaped thro’ the enemies’ lines and has reached Brooklyn, N.Y. [sic].” Nonetheless, he hoped that his wife

⁸⁴ Clara M. Gamwell to E. M. Stanton, October 4, 1864, Letters Received Applying for Passes to Enter Union Territory, NARA.

⁸⁵ Elizabeth Gilliam to General John Peck, undated letter, filed November 13, 1863, Letters Received Applying for Passes to Enter Union Territory, NARA.

⁸⁶ See Kate Davidson to E. M. Stanton, August 7, 1863, and Susan Keyser to E. M. Stanton, February 3, 1864, Letters Received Applying for Passes to Enter Union Territory, NARA.

and two children would be able to join him in the North. The application for their passes listed Mrs. Gaston's numerous loyal relatives in the North, including Union officers, and also argued "the good cause can receive no detriment from allowing a loyal and helpless woman and two young children to return to their old home."⁸⁷ Similarly, James McGowan requested passes on behalf of his mother, Ellen, sister, Ann, and her children, explaining that Ann's husband had been conscripted into the Confederate Navy, but "he seized the opportunity in deserting and is now in the City of New York," while Ellen, Ann, and three children were left in Savannah "in a state of abject poverty."⁸⁸

While the above examples indicate that loyalty was not always the primary factor prompting native Northerners to leave the South, it is important to note that not all of those who fled from the Confederacy supported the Union at all. Some indeed were vocal Unionists, but many even who were Unionists fled as individual circumstances allowed, and others were more ambivalent about their loyalty altogether. As wartime conditions began to change, including the institution of Confederate conscription and occupation of Confederate territory, Confederate residents began to make pragmatic decisions about leaving the Confederacy based more on personal circumstances than political loyalty.

Many displaced people during the Civil War were pragmatic and opportunistic about expressing their loyalty, and often exhibited ambiguous loyalties as the Confederacy deteriorated.⁸⁹ A prime example of ambiguous loyalties among refugees is Henry Watson, a New Englander who had been living in Alabama as a wealthy plantation owner for 26 years

⁸⁷ A. B. Johnson to E. M. Stanton, July 10, 1863, Letters Received Applying for Passes to Enter Union Territory, NARA.

⁸⁸ James McGowan to E. M. Stanton, August 15, 1864, Letters Received Applying for Passes to Enter Union Territory, NARA.

⁸⁹ For more on Civil War loyalty, see Georgia Lee Tatum, *Disloyalty in the Confederacy* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1934). See also Judkin Browning, *Shifting Loyalties: The Union Occupation of Eastern North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011).

when the Civil War began. Watson's brother, Sereno, left Alabama and returned to Massachusetts in April 1861 because of his Union sympathies.⁹⁰ Henry, however, expressed ambivalence in his sentiments, often indicating to Northerners that he supported the Union, while claiming to Southerners that he supported the Confederacy.⁹¹ Henry's wife, Sophia, had died in Massachusetts in December of 1860, and Henry left their five children with his family members in the North while he returned to Alabama for business. When war seemed imminent a few months later, he could not bear to be separated from his children, and returned to Massachusetts.⁹² Divided by the demands of his pro-Confederate friends in Alabama and his pro-Union friends in New England, Watson eventually took his entire family to spend the Civil War in exile in Germany, where he actively supported the Confederacy financially, but continued to express loyalty to whichever side was beneficial to himself and his family in the moment until the war ended.⁹³ Similarly to Henry Watson, Barnard expressed ambiguous loyalty as well—though he remained discreet about any Unionist feeling while in Mississippi, and was willing to stay there as long as his livelihood was intact, once his career was gone he made a pragmatic decision to flee to the Union, and then portrayed himself as an outspoken and even persecuted Unionist once arriving in the North.

⁹⁰ Henry Watson to Julia Watson, April 29, 1861, Henry Watson Papers, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University.

⁹¹ See Henry Watson Papers, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University. In his dissertation on pro-Confederate Northerners, Wesley Brian Borucki argues that Watson genuinely switched his allegiances from constitutional Unionist to diehard Confederate (see "Yankees in King Cotton's Court: Northerners in Antebellum and Wartime Alabama," (PhD diss., University of Alabama, 2002), 95-126). I argue that Watson, instead, was intentionally ambiguous and opportunistic with his political loyalties.

⁹² Henry Watson to Sarah Carrington, April 3, 1861, Henry Watson Papers, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University.

⁹³ In particular, contrast the letters between Henry Watson and his Southern friends and relatives, such as Dr. John Parrish and James Wemyss, and the letters between Henry Watson and his Northern friends and relatives, including Julia Reed Watson, Sarah Carrington, and Henry Barnard. These letters range 1860-1865 and are all located in the Henry Watson Papers, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University.

About a year after Barnard joined the U. S. Coast Survey, his personal connections helped to elect him President of Columbia College in New York City. Barnard explained, “on the resignation of Dr. Charles King, President of Columbia College, I was named for that place by my friends Professors Bache and Henry, and without any effort of my own, elected.”⁹⁴ Barnard was elected president in May 1864, and began a month later in June 1864. He settled in comfortably into his new position and home in New York, and continued on there until his death, bringing much acclaim to the school by rearranging the curriculum around elective courses and emphasizing scientific education, and though unable to convince the board to admit women to Columbia College, he helped to begin a coordinate institution for women, Barnard College, which was named in his honor.

As Barnard’s case demonstrates once again, Unionism alone did not facilitate his relocation from the Confederacy. Barnard’s commitment to the University of Mississippi initially inspired him to stay, and he only abandoned the Confederate South once it was clear that his occupation was gone, and that opportunities for his continued success as a scientist and educator would be more abundant in the North. Although Barnard identified himself as a Unionist, it is significant that this was not the determining factor in his decision to leave the Confederacy, as personal circumstances initially played a key role in keeping him in the Confederacy, and then, in prompting him to leave.

As each of these refugees considered why and how to leave the Confederacy, they weighed numerous personal factors alongside their devotion to the Union. The first important factor affecting displacement is geographic location. Because of their location in Northern Virginia, the Finch family was able to flee to Union territory more easily than many in the lower South, such as Barnard when he was in Mississippi. The originating

⁹⁴ Barnard Autobiography, RBML, Columbia.

location played a determinative role in fleeing from the Confederacy and determined the routes out of it as well.

Timing was also an important factor. Thirza Finch was correct in her assumption that returning to the North as early as possible would be easiest. The Longleys were able to flee more easily because they fled so early on, in April 1861, even though they were fleeing from the Deep South. As time passed, stricter systems for entry and exit by both the Union and Confederacy made it more difficult to leave, making timing an important factor as well.

Wartime conditions and military movements were also important factors influencing would-be refugees. For the Longleys, this meant leaving the Deep South in a circuitous route because of the destruction of transportation systems during the war. Both the Barnards and the Finches experiences demonstrate how the combat raging around them influenced the refugee experience, especially for those who fled from approaching armies, or were able to flee because of armies nearby that occupied important territory. The overlap of military movements with timing and location created waves of refugees in the army's footsteps throughout the war and across the nation.

As the experiences of Thirza Finch, the Longleys, and the Barnards show, gender was also a determining factor for leaving the Confederacy. William Longley left the Confederacy in part because of his Unionism but was also immediately motivated by the demands of his pro-Confederate neighbors in Georgia that he fight for the Confederacy. Eligibility for the draft immensely affected which Unionists, or anti-Confederates, or self-preservationists, fled from Confederate territory; but this still only applied to young, able-bodied men. Barnard was able to spend more time in Confederate Mississippi than Longley did in Georgia because he was too old to be drafted. Thirza was also not subject to the draft, but as a woman, she was inhibited from leaving the Confederacy on her own by the gender

expectations in the patriarchal society in which she lived. Whereas Mary Longley and Margaret Barnard, both married women, fled from the Confederacy with the sanction and escort of their husbands, Thirza did not have the sanction of her male relatives, nor did she have a male escort. Despite her desire to leave Confederate Virginia, gender expectations superseded her loyalty and prevented her from actually leaving until her male relatives agreed.

Finally, these examples show how social networks shaped their ability to leave, and more importantly, resettle. Each of the above examples demonstrate how extended family was an essential resource for native Northerners who found themselves trapped in the Confederacy during the Civil War, and furthermore, reveals how those fleeing from the Confederacy repurposed past connections to meet their wartime needs. They turned to these connections for support as they resettled, including shelter, food, money, and employment. With this assistance, Longley, Finch, and Barnard were able to recover fairly quickly, and begin new lives in their new (and often, former) homes. Their experiences as refugees fleeing from the Confederacy seemed to take a relatively minor toll on them, both economically and emotionally. This is not only due to their use of social connections, and in the case of Barnard and William Longley, specialized skills that helped them readjust to life in the Union, but also because these examples are all relatively wealthy individuals.

Not all Northerners who fled from the South experienced the same level of ease resettling as Barnard, Finch, or Longley. Economic class was undoubtedly another important factor affecting displacement during the Civil War. Scores of refugees were impoverished and even destitute by the time they reached Union lines. Although most of these refugees also relied on family, friends, and other past connections to resettle, their experiences and the outcome were simply not as favorable. Numerous refugees experienced significantly

more hardship due to their displacement, both economically and emotionally, physically, and psychologically.

This was especially the case for Eunice Richardson Stone, a Massachusetts native who departed from her home in New England to join her husband, William, in Mobile, Alabama in October of 1860. The couple had struggled financially in New England prompting William to move to Alabama in late 1859 with the hope of attaining economic security and advancement. The move to Alabama was inspired by Eunice's sister, Ellen Richardson Merrill and her husband, Dudley, who had moved to Mobile a few years before and been able to improve their socio-economic status as a result. William moved to Mobile and was living with his brother-in-law and sister-in-law as he sought to improve his fortunes as well, while Eunice stayed in New England. With little other financial support, Eunice began working at the Amoskeag Manufacturing Company, a textile mill, to support herself and her son. Nonetheless, her son, Clarence, was forced to live in town in Manchester with a widowed woman since Eunice was unable to live with him while working in the mill, and furthermore, could not support him. In the early summer of 1860, Eunice and Clarence left their trying life in Massachusetts behind and moved to Mobile to join William, hoping to find a better life for them all.⁹⁵

Shortly after the Stones' arrival in Alabama, however, the secession crisis tore the nation apart, and while Eunice remained a Unionist during the war, her husband enlisted in the Confederate Army. When other Northerners in Mobile started to return to the North in the spring of 1861, Eunice longed to return as well, but did not leave until December of

⁹⁵ For more information on Eunice Richardson Stone Connolly see Martha Hodes, *The Sea Captain's Wife: A True Story of Love, Race, and War in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2006).

1861 to return to New England.⁹⁶ Eunice was seven months pregnant and had a nine-year-old son, Clarence, to provide for, and providing for herself and her children after fleeing from the Confederacy would take not only an economic toll on Eunice, but an emotional toll as well. Nevertheless, like many Northerners who fled back to the North during the Civil War, Eunice had family to help support her, and in her case, in particular, her family and community network would be crucial for her, and her children's, survival.

Eunice fled to Claremont, New Hampshire, to stay with her husband William's relatives as she determined her next steps. Although her sister, Ann, and her mother, Lois, had both offered Eunice a home, neither of them was in a position to support Eunice and her children. Furthermore, she wanted to remain in Claremont until Clarence finished his school session in the Spring. She assured her mother that things were well, adding that her in-laws "are quite willing to do all they can for me so I have concluded to remain with them and hope for the best."⁹⁷ With her arrival in Claremont, Eunice's in-laws became an important source of support for Eunice and her children.

Life in Claremont was not going to be easy for Eunice, especially with a baby on the way. Eunice was struggling in William's absence, and along with the uncertainty of their family's future, she noted "I try to keep up good courage, and I think I succeed pretty well considering the circumstances, but... still I have a great deal to live and strive for." Eunice had very little money and no prospects for work, leaving her and her son dependent on their

⁹⁶ Eunice Stone to Lois Davis, April 29, 1861, Lois Wright Richardson Davis Papers, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University (henceforth LWRD Papers, Duke). In this letter to her mother Eunice notes that a close acquaintance of hers in Mobile, Mrs. Ridley, was leaving to return to Maine. Eunice lamented, "I do so much want to go with her, but cannot now." It is unclear why Eunice was unable to leave then, however, she does note that the war has increased her homesickness for New England. Her loyalty to the Union is clear in this same letter when she notes, "Now I am with the North all though I have to keep it to myself." The exact details surrounding Eunice's decision to finally leave Confederate Alabama are unknown, but it is clear she was living in New Hampshire in December, 1861. See Eunice Stone to Lois Davis, December 29, 1861, LWRD Papers, Duke.

⁹⁷ Eunice Stone to Lois Davis, December 29, 1861, LWRD Papers, Duke.

family for support. Though Eunice regretted their lack of independence, she was nevertheless grateful for William's family, noting that "Williams folks are very kind to me, and seem to want me to take all the comfort I can. I think they strive to make me feel at home, they have done a great deal for my comfort and for Clarence too."⁹⁸

Eunice welcomed her baby girl, Clara, in late February, 1862. The family adored Clara, their "little Secesh Contraband," especially her Grandpa Stone, but the newborn undoubtedly made Eunice's situation more difficult to navigate. With William in the Confederate Army, Eunice would have to provide for her family herself, and while both her family and William's family were willing to help as much as they were able, none of the family were in a position to have Eunice and her two children entirely dependent on them. As the Stone's dealt with an already precarious situation, it was the uncertainty of their future that weighed heaviest on Eunice's mind. After three months of this uncertainty, she became disheartened, confiding in her sister,

it looks all so dark before me, but I try as much as possible rise above it all, I do try to see a silver lining in every dark cloud of adversity, but when I look on my little ones and think of the uncertainty of their fathers return then is such a swelling up, such a grief in my heart that I almost shirk at times, and feel like complaining at my lot, but that I know is wrong so I rally and go on hoping for the best. but what is to become of me and my children if William does not come home again I dont know.

Displacement from her home and separation from her husband while pregnant was compounded by the family's financial insecurity, and this took both an economic and emotional toll on Eunice as the war, and the family's uncertainty, continued.⁹⁹

The prospects for the upcoming months looked bleak, and Eunice feared that even with the support of her family she would be unable to provide for her children effectively. She noted, "if I could go into the Mill this Summer I would get a long, but if my baby lives I

⁹⁸ Eunice Stone to Lois Davis, February 3, 1862, LWRD Papers, Duke.

⁹⁹ Eunice Stone to Ann Richardson McCoy, March 12, 1862, LWRD Papers, Duke.

cannot do much in the Mill.” She explained that with the newborn baby, she had much more difficulty finding employment, adding, “I dont know of anyone would want me to do house work with so young a child, but I shall try not to worry.” In the meantime, she considered that her nine-year-old son, Clarence, “is getting old enough to begin to earn his living,” nonetheless, she feared she would have to send Clarence away to be cared for by a relative, even though she would “dreadfully hate to have to do so.”¹⁰⁰ By the Fall of 1862, Eunice had to split up her family, sending 10-year-old Clarence to live with his aunt and uncle, while she and her nine-month-old lived in her father-in-law’s home a few miles away on the outskirts of town. Clarence’s aunt and uncle, Margaret Stone Russell and Alonso Russell, lived in town, which made it possible for Clarence to attend school, and then work for his uncle in exchange for his room and board. Eunice explained her unfortunate situation without her son to her two brothers, saying, “he is a very good Boy so far as I know, I think he tries to be good, he loves his little Sister dearly, I wish it was so I could keep them together.” She further characterized her family’s situation as “mudsills of the North,” indicating their low socio-economic class.¹⁰¹ In response, her brothers Luther and Henry, both Union soldiers, began to send Eunice financial assistance.¹⁰² Although Eunice was not in a position for her family to remain together, with the help of extended family she was able to ensure, at the least, that they were all well cared for after the upheaval caused by their displacement from the Confederacy.

¹⁰⁰ Eunice Stone to Lois Davis, March 19, 1862, LWRD Papers, Duke. It should be noted that Eunice did not have to separate her family in the Spring of 1862 because her sister, Ann McCoy, asked the family to come stay with her since she was about to give birth to her seventh child and would like to have her sister there with her, in part because it would help Eunice as well. Eunice, Clarence, and Clara ending up staying with them for nearly six months before returning to Claremont in November 1862.

¹⁰¹ Eunice Stone to C. Henry and Luther Richardson, December 7, 1862, LWRD Papers, Duke.

¹⁰² Eunice Stone to Lois Davis, March 8, 1863, LWRD Papers, Duke.

Nevertheless, Eunice remained worried about her family, her finances, and the uncertainty of their future. She took in work whenever possible, but there was not much work available, especially since she still had an infant to care for, and “people dont want a kitchen maid troubled with a baby.”¹⁰³ In January of 1863 she began braiding palm leaf hats to sell, and evidently, they sold very well. She told her mother, “I get along nicely with my Hats. I do not get time to braid so much as I wish I could, but I can sell all my Hats without any trouble. I know where I can take them to the Store and sell all of them that I do not dispose of to customers.”¹⁰⁴ By the Spring, she was selling her hats regularly, in addition to taking in washing and working as a maid occasionally on the side. She also received important financial assistance from her two brothers Luther and Henry, both Union soldiers, as well as support from her in-laws.¹⁰⁵ Given her displacement from Mobile a year before, Eunice was working hard to make things work as a single mother of two children. In fact, she was doing so well, she was considering moving into her own home, and again living with both of her children.

More than anything, Eunice wanted a home with her children, especially in the wake of the uncertainty caused by their displacement and physical separation from her husband. She wanted desperately to be able to “keep house,” but was not yet in a position to live independently. Although she was not entirely sure if it was feasible, she explained that she wanted to, “for the sake of having a place where I could be at home once more in my life time.”¹⁰⁶ In addition to having no steady income or savings to rely on, Eunice did not have the furnishings necessary for a home. Although she thought the possibility of keeping house

¹⁰³ Eunice Stone to Henry and Luther Richardson, December 7, 1862, LWRD Papers, Duke.

¹⁰⁴ Eunice Stone to Lois Davis, March 29, 1863, LWRD Papers, Duke.

¹⁰⁵ Eunice Stone to Lois Davis, March 8, 1863, LWRD Papers, Duke.

¹⁰⁶ Eunice Stone to Lois Davis, January 25, 1863, LWRD Papers, Duke.

was out of reach, the more she thought about it, the more she desired a home of her own for her and her children. She realized she would have to work even harder if the family had a home of their own, “but when I got my days work done I could have a place to crawl [off] with my children that would be home.”¹⁰⁷ She began taking in more washing and housekeeping jobs, in addition to selling hats, which she said sold “as fast as I can make them.” With this increased workload and income, she told her mother, “I rather think I shall go into housekeeping by and by but can not tell certain yet.”¹⁰⁸ Her sister-in-law, Margaret, offered to do “all she could to help” Eunice get a place of her own, and although Eunice’s mother was unconvinced about Eunice keeping house, she sent her a bed and other furnishings for her home. Eunice was grateful for the assistance, saying, “Why I was perfectly astonished. I would laugh then I would cry when I was looking them over.”¹⁰⁹ With this assistance playing an important role, she was able to move her family into a home of their own.

In July, she moved into a small house in town, and was able to live with both of her children again. From the start, she knew the situation was temporary, since the house she lived in was scheduled to be demolished in the fall. In the meantime, however, Eunice was able to “get it free.” She explained that she had the bed and furnishings her mother sent to her, as well as a few items given to her by Margaret. She was able to borrow a stove and some chairs, and several neighbors had since brought her more items to help make her home comfortable. She exclaimed, “people are so good to help me get started.”¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ Eunice Stone to Lois Davis, April 30, 1863, LWRD Papers, Duke.

¹⁰⁸ Eunice Stone to Lois Davis, May 22, 1863, LWRD Papers, Duke.

¹⁰⁹ Eunice Stone to Lois Davis, June 7, 1863, LWRD Papers, Duke.

¹¹⁰ Eunice Stone to Lois Davis, July 12, 1863, LWRD Papers, Duke.

Eunice continued to work selling hats, taking in washing, and housekeeping to provide for her family. On Mondays she would take Clara with her to work, and on Tuesdays, Margaret watched her, which Eunice greatly appreciated because it allowed her to get more work done. Clarence continued to work for his uncle, getting up early and working long days. Eunice noted that “he gets pretty tired and comes home and goes to bed.” With a lot of hard work, the family was able to make a home of their own, but Eunice’s situation remained uncertain, especially as fall approached and they would have to move again. Eunice admitted “I dont know where I shall go,” and regretted that they would likely have to share a home with another family again.¹¹¹

In November 1863, the family moved, but Eunice felt it was an unsuitable living situation, and so they moved again a few weeks later. They were now living in a tenement, with three rooms for themselves, and three rooms rented to Jane Parmalee. Eunice continued to work at any job she was able, but as the winter went on she was unable to find work. From Thanksgiving in 1863 to New Year’s Day in 1864 she only made one dollar from a small sewing job, and had no other work. Eunice told her sister that “Everything is so enormously high that one needs to have regular wages to get a long comfortably, I could not begin to live was it not for what is given me. I have not wanted yet.”¹¹² Again, Eunice was grateful for the network of family and friends that supported her in the wake of her displacement from Confederate Alabama, but desired independence for herself and her family as well.

Job opportunities began to pick up in February 1864, and Eunice continued to work hard to provide for her family. In a usual week, she would do between two and four

¹¹¹ Eunice Stone to Lois Davis, August 2, 1865, LWRD Papers, Duke.

¹¹² Eunice Stone to David & Ann McCoy, January 3, 1864, LWRD Papers, Duke.

washings and one or two ironing jobs, and would also spend a day or two working as a maid. This was in addition to braiding hats, and doing her own washing, ironing, mending, cooking, and cleaning, and “besides taking care of Clara which you know is no small thing of its self.”¹¹³ She noted that Clarence went to school when he could, “that is, when he dont have to stay out to let me go away to work.” He often missed two to three days of school a week to stay home and care for Clara so Eunice could go to work. Some days, he missed school because there were opportunities for him to work for his uncle, and he also spent many mornings and afternoons before school working in various stores in town that would hire him. As they both worked hard to support the family and live together, by the end of March, she exclaimed, “I dont know but I shall work myself to death this Spring.”¹¹⁴ She considered looking for a job a salesperson in a store in Claremont or Lowell, and pleaded with her mother to look into whether she could get work at the mill in Lowell, so she could change jobs and have a steady income. In these difficult times, she confided in her mother, “I never saw the time when I could not muster my feeling more than I can this Spring. I am not in the habit of giving way to despair quite so much.”¹¹⁵

Much of Eunice’s emotional distress was caused by the family’s economic situation. Unlike many other refugees, such as Barnard, the Finches, and the Longleys, Eunice Stone and her family had long been financially unstable, and her wartime displacement only worsened the situation. Eunice had not heard from her husband since she left Alabama, and without his financial support, she turned to their family for help. Nevertheless, none of her

¹¹³ Eunice Stone to Lois Davis, February 7, 1864, LWRD Papers, Duke. See also Eunice Stone to Lois Davis, March 29, 1864, LWRD Papers, Duke.

¹¹⁴ Eunice Stone to Lois Davis, March 29, 1864, LWRD Papers, Duke. Instead of working herself to death, Eunice quit working temporarily and moved to Dracut, Massachusetts, with her mother until May 1864. When they returned, Eunice and Clarence both had a cold, and a few days later Clara was sick with Scarlet Fever. Eunice’s in-laws, Margaret and Alonso Stone, helped care for them and provide for their basic needs until they recovered.

¹¹⁵ Eunice Stone to Lois Davis, June 1, 1864, LWRD Papers, Duke.

relatives were wealthy, and their assistance still was not enough to support her family. Eunice had little option then but to resort to working herself. Her labor-intensive jobs took a toll on her, and in the Spring, this was compounded by a cold that she struggled to recover from fully. By mid-June of 1864, she was still not feeling better and, admitted, “I hardly feel able to crawl around and do my own work. I feel as if I had used myself all up working so hard the past year...,” indicating that not only did their financial situation intensify the emotional toll of their displacement, but it was taking a physical toll on Eunice as well.¹¹⁶ Eunice continued to support her family as best she could, yet she struggled to keep her family together and well-cared for, and, along with the economic toll, the emotional and physical toll of displacement continued to grow.

The family’s uncertain situation was taking a toll on her children too. Clarence, now 12-years-old, was working hard as well, and attending school when he had no jobs for the day. He mostly worked with his uncle, Alonso, but the work was hard and the days long. Clarence had purchased several “snapcrackers” to set off on the Fourth of July, but his uncle Alonso needed Clarence to help harvest hay, and picked him up early on the morning of the holiday. Clarence worked until 7 pm, leaving him with little time or energy to light snapcrackers with his friends. Clarence was upset, and complained to Eunice, who said “he thought it was a pretty hard case,” and while Eunice felt sorry for him, she resigned herself to the advice that “he has got to get used to disapointments in life [sic].”¹¹⁷

At the same time, neighbors in Claremont began talking about the Stone family’s situation, and several suggested that she should send Clarence to stay with relatives who could care for him, indicating that they felt Eunice was not adequately providing for her

¹¹⁶ Eunice Stone to Lois Davis, June 12, 1864, LWRD Papers, Duke.

¹¹⁷ Eunice Stone to David & Ann McCoy, July 3, 1864, LWRD Papers, Duke.

children. Eunice cried, “some folks think because a person is poor they dont want any thing for comfort,” but at the same time was forced to admit, “I dont know what I may have to do with him yet.”¹¹⁸ In fact Eunice did not know what she herself was going to do in the coming months, and the family faced their hardest times yet. Eunice expressed to her mother, “I dont know what I shall do it certainly looks dark ahead. You will say must not look ahead. I should like to know where one with a family to take care of will look.”¹¹⁹ The constant uncertainty of the family’s future continued to take a toll on Eunice.

With so few work opportunities, Eunice explained, “some times I get discouraged and think there will never any thing turn up for me. then I will take a new start and try to persuade myself that things are already better for me but it is hard to think so long at a time when I know times are only getting worse all the time.”¹²⁰ For two months, her only income had been from selling a few hats, taking in small sewing jobs, and hiring Clarence out. She knew her prospects for the coming months were slim, saying, “I dont know what I shall do if I live. I think a good deal of putting Clarence out and taking Clara and going out to work, I shall probably go from here and it is so difficult to find small cheap tenements that I dont expect to find one where I can pay the rent.”¹²¹ Thus, she began to face the reality that she may be forced to split her family apart again, against her wishes. Unless employment opportunities improved, she would have little choice. She continued to plead with her family in Massachusetts to look for a job for her in Lowell so she could take Clara and move there to live with her mother. By August, her only work was sewing the heel and toe onto stockings, which brought her 85 cents a dozen, and took her two weeks. In the fall, she

¹¹⁸ Eunice Stone to Lois Davis, May 29, 1864, LWRD Papers, Duke.

¹¹⁹ Eunice Stone to Lois Davis, June 24, 1864, LWRD Papers, Duke.

¹²⁰ Eunice Stone to Lois Davis, June 24, 1864, LWRD Papers, Duke.

¹²¹ Eunice Stone to Lois Davis, July 11, 1864, LWRD Papers, Duke.

wrote, "I have no prospects as yet for the coming winter, but if I can find any thing to do any where I shall not stay here, I can get nothing to do but washing and that I can not do, my health is not good enough."¹²² In the midst of all of this upheaval and uncertainty, it was only with financial support from her brothers serving in the Union Army that she was able to support her family.

On top of Eunice's continued struggles, both economic and emotional, when Eunice's brother Luther died in October of 1864 she was devastated. Eunice grieved for her brother, crying, "When the thought that he is gone rushes through my mind it seems although I could not have it so," and admitting that, "I try to be reconciled to the will of God, but I find my heart rebels."¹²³ Eunice told her mother that her faith was all that had gotten through her struggles since fleeing Mobile three years before, and implored her mother to turn to her faith as well, saying, "Mother I am all alone as it were and I have but one way for comfort that is to go to my bible, and to my God it is through faith alone that I am comforted. Can you not do the same." As Eunice grieved her brother's death, her loneliness grew, especially as she reflected on missing her husband, whom she had not heard from since she fled Confederate Alabama nearly three years earlier.¹²⁴

The lack of employment in Claremont and Eunice's inability to support her family, combined with her brother's death and her loneliness, led Eunice to pursue more seriously the possibility of moving to Massachusetts to live with her side of the family. She asked her other brother, Henry, to make the decision for her, since, she explained, "I do not know where I want to be, I do not feel capable of deciding for myself."¹²⁵ He visited her in

¹²² Eunice Stone to Lois Davis, October 6, 1864, LWRD Papers, Duke.

¹²³ Eunice Stone to Lois Davis, October 6, 1864, and October 9, 1864, LWRD Papers, Duke.

¹²⁴ Eunice Stone to Lois Davis, October 9, 1864, LWRD Papers, Duke.

¹²⁵ Eunice Stone to Lois Davis, November 18, 1864, LWRD Papers, Duke.

Claremont to observe her situation there, and he evidently decided it was not ideal, because a month later, she was moving back to Dracut, Massachusetts, to live with her family and work in the mill in Lowell.

She continued to work here until the end of hostilities in April, and while she was glad the United States was victorious, the end of the war also finally brought the news of her husband's death over two years earlier, fighting for Confederate forces in Atlanta. With this news, Eunice felt even more hopeless and depressed, and became physically ill as well. Her health was so low that, "for three days it was not thought she could live." A doctor was able to relieve her symptoms, but still her mother noted that she was as "helpless as an infant," and that she was evidently in for a long, slow recovery.¹²⁶

Over three months later, in July, Eunice was barely able to sit up and could not walk. Her letters to her brother reveal that she was also deeply depressed. She explained to him that in the Spring, after starting her new life in Lowell, she "was full of hope and looking forward to a life of joy, but it is all gone. Past away. My star of hope has set, gone down in darkness and despair and left a dark empty void where peace and joy should have a home, is nothing, nothing, nothing." She confessed, "I believe there comes a time with almost every one when it would be sweet to die." In her grief, she had nearly convinced herself that everything was "a terrible dream," when one day, "darling little Clara put her little arms around my neck and says 'Don't cry Mama, poor child, I will take care of you...'" and putting her little rosebud mouth to my haggard cheek, brought me back to my self and to life as it was, with all its stern realities." She realized that despite the hardships caused by wartime displacement, "I must live. I hardly knew why for a long time, but now I see I must live for my children, for you, and for all." In this moment, Eunice realized the family that

¹²⁶ Lois Davis to C. Henry Richardson, May 15, 1865, LWRD Papers, Duke.

had supported her and revived her hopes needed her as well and determined to continue searching for a better life for her and her family, as she had always done.¹²⁷

Eunice, like other refugees, relied on family and friends for aid when they arrived in the United States after fleeing Confederate territory, demonstrating the importance of past connections for Northerners who fled from the Confederacy and how they were strengthened to aid wartime refugees. Like other refugees, she was transient and uncertain about their future, but unlike many other refugees like Barnard, her economic class contributed greatly to her struggles as a displaced person, as did her gender. Displacement as a result of her Unionism had not only an economic toll on Eunice, but a physical and emotional toll as well.

While not all refugees were affected by displacement in the same ways, most experienced economic and emotional upheaval. For some, like Sarah & Halsey Fenimore Cooper, the emotional toll of displacement and their lives as refugees became unbearable. This was especially true for Sarah, who had a history of depression, which was only intensified by the war, their displacement, and the ensuing events that resulted from both.

Sarah Brown Ingersoll Cooper and her husband Halsey Fenimore “Fen” Cooper were both originally from upstate New York, not far outside of Syracuse. They had moved to Tennessee shortly after they were married in 1855, where Fen edited *The Chattanooga Advertiser*, with Sarah as assistant editor. Their newspaper would come to be known as a Unionist paper as the sectional crisis intensified, making them a potential target for persecution following Tennessee’s secession.

¹²⁷ Eunice Stone to Charles Henry Richardson, July, 23, 1865, LWRD Papers, Duke.

Although the exact details of their flight are unclear, by August of 1861, Fen had fled to Washington, D.C., and was making his living working in a general store.¹²⁸ Sarah left Tennessee around the same time. She was pregnant at the time she fled from the Confederacy, and was expected to give birth soon. She traveled to New York so she could be with her sister, Hattie, when she gave birth, taking along their four-year-old daughter, Hattie, as well.¹²⁹ She gave birth to a girl named Mary, or Mollie as she would be called, just over a week after arriving in upstate New York as a refugee.

While Sarah was in New York, Fen continued living in Washington, D.C. Sarah was dismayed about their living situation, exclaiming, “Oh! what sad separations this war causes.”¹³⁰ While at first Fen ran a general store, he continued to look for a more secure source of employment, eventually finding employment in the Internal Revenue Office of the Treasury Department, which was offered to him in part due to his well-known Unionism. In the meantime, Sarah was living with relatives in New York, and her diary shows that her family in New York was an important support system for her and her young children while she was separated from her husband as he sought secure employment in the Union. She enjoyed spending time with her family, and appreciated their help caring for her children, five-year-old Hattie, and newborn Mollie, but she missed Fen dearly. When the opportunity to join him in Washington, D. C. arose, she jumped at the start, even though it meant again displacing her family.

¹²⁸ Julius Skilton to Harriet Ingersoll Skilton, August 1, 1861, Skilton Family papers, #1273, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

¹²⁹ Julius Skilton to Harriet Ingersoll Skilton, August 20, 1861, Skilton Family papers, #1273, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. Mary, called “Mollie,” was born on August 26, 1861. See August 26, 1864, Sarah Cooper Diary, Sarah Brown Ingersoll Cooper Papers, #6543, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

¹³⁰ January 30, 1862, Sarah Cooper Diary, 1862, Sarah Brown Ingersoll Cooper Papers, #6543. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library (henceforth Cooper Diary, 1862, Cornell).

On the first of September in 1862 she and the children moved to Washington to join her husband. She immediately set out upon looking for a home for the family, since she “long[ed] to get settled.”¹³¹ She spent her days searching for stable housing and furnishings for their home, and at nights, she and Fen would have long talks about their “prospects in life.”¹³² By the end of October, she had joined the church choir, and had begun making friends, but noted she did “not yet feel at home here.”¹³³ She continued to lament, “our prospects seem so very dark.”¹³⁴ As Christmas neared, both children were sick, and Sarah complained, “Nothing but misfortune seems to follow us. Why does the Lord so afflict us?”¹³⁵ She continued to feel “quite sad and unsettled” until a sermon reminded her that “strength is made perfect in weakness,” and by year’s end, she had resolved to put her faith in God during the upheaval caused by the war.¹³⁶

Nevertheless, on New Year’s Day in 1863 she could not help but wonder what the next year would hold, writing in her diary, “Another year begins—A year of doubts and difficulties no doubt.”¹³⁷ She and Fen continued to have long talks about “our future—our children—and our prospects.”¹³⁸ Although their displacement made the uncertainty of the future weigh heavily on her mind, Sarah was getting settled into life in Washington. She went out with friends, especially her housemate, Miss Ross. They and other friends would go to town and go shopping, and to church, lectures, and recitals. Sarah especially devoted herself

¹³¹ September 5, 1862, Cooper Diary, 1862, Cornell.

¹³² September 14, 1862, Cooper Diary, 1862, Cornell.

¹³³ October 24, 1862, Cooper Diary, 1862, Cornell.

¹³⁴ November 11, 1862, Cooper Diary, 1862, Cornell.

¹³⁵ December 10, 1862, Cooper Diary, 1862, Cornell.

¹³⁶ December 20, 1862 and December 21, 1862, Cooper Diary, 1862, Cornell. This is a reference to 2 Corinthians 12:9 “And he said unto me, My grace is sufficient for thee: for my strength is made perfect in weakness. Most gladly therefore will I rather glory in my infirmities, that the power of Christ may rest upon me.”

¹³⁷ January 1, 1863, Sarah Cooper Diary, 1863, Sarah Brown Ingersoll Cooper Papers, #6543. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library (henceforth Cooper Diary, 1863, Cornell).

¹³⁸ February 9, 1863, Cooper Diary, 1863, Cornell.

to her church, most importantly by teaching “Sabbath School” and singing Soprano in the choir. She attended festivals and visited with the sick, including friends, members of her church, and soldiers in the hospitals. In her spare time, she taught piano and music lessons to earn some extra income for the family. She also kept up with most household duties including sewing, washing, raising the children, and, specifically, teaching Hattie to read, write, and play piano.

In March, Fen relocated to federally-occupied Memphis to work for the Internal Revenue Office, leaving Sarah alone in Washington with 18-month-old Mollie and six-year-old Hattie. Fen had considered sending Sarah back to New York to live with her family, but Sarah remained hopeful she would be able to join Fen in Memphis soon, and so she stayed in Washington, D. C. for the time being. She missed Fen, but took comfort in their “darling little girls.”¹³⁹ In Fen’s absence, Sarah continued to teach music lessons, attend church, teach Sunday School, and sing in the choir, in addition to many of her social activities, like the local sewing society. She also continued to care for household duties and childcare, and after a few months, the work began to wear on her, especially since sickly young Mollie had been ill for nearly three months. She began to occasionally hire help for the washing, cleaning, and caring for the children, but she remained overworked. In late August she noted falling asleep in her chair while reading, which she believed was “a sign of great weariness.”¹⁴⁰ Just a few days later, she confided in her diary, “I am so worn out and discouraged—How much I need the presence of my good Fen.”¹⁴¹ A few short weeks later, in October, she rejoiced in the news that she could join her husband in Memphis. Sarah’s desire to return to the war-torn South is interesting, and seems largely based on her emotional distress while apart from her

¹³⁹ April 7, 1863, Cooper Diary, 1863, Cornell.

¹⁴⁰ August 29, 1863, Cooper Diary, 1863, Cornell.

¹⁴¹ September 4, 1863, Cooper Diary, 1863, Cornell.

husband, as well as a desire for their whole family to be together. In mid-October, she embarked on a weeklong journey from Washington to Memphis, children in tow, in order to reunite their continually displaced family.

As soon as they arrived in Memphis, Sarah began to search for a new home for their family. Her first trip was unsuccessful, but Fen was able to find a “very desirable place” that left them “exceedingly well pleased.”¹⁴² The next day, she expressed that while “We are feeling pleasantly over our new home,” she was still “anxious to get settled.”¹⁴³ Sarah was elated to be back with her husband, and to have a home together in Memphis. She frequently mentioned spending time with him in the evenings, and was especially fond of their singing together in the parlor. She enrolled Hattie in school, began attending church in Memphis, and joined the choir there as well, which gave her an opportunity to make new friends and acquaintances. Finally, it began to feel like their family was settled again, and she was indeed “very much at home & very happy here.”¹⁴⁴

In addition to Sunday School and singing in the choir, she also helped plan a supper fundraiser and a festival for the church. By November 1863, she was “busy as a bee all the time.”¹⁴⁵ Despite these efforts, she felt lonely, and missed her friends and social life in Washington. As Christmas neared, she kept up her demanding pace, but signs of depression reared, with Sarah noting “A very gloomy day it has been to me—I feel sad, worn out and lonely.”¹⁴⁶ A few days later, Mollie became sick with measles, and caring for the ailing two-year-old intensified her feelings of loneliness, and made her feel “prematurely old.”¹⁴⁷

¹⁴² October 23, 1863, Cooper Diary, 1863, Cornell.

¹⁴³ October 24, 1863, Cooper Diary, 1863, Cornell.

¹⁴⁴ October 28, 1863, Cooper Diary, 1863, Cornell.

¹⁴⁵ November 16, 1863, Cooper Diary, 1863, Cornell.

¹⁴⁶ December 12, 1863, Cooper Diary, 1863, Cornell.

¹⁴⁷ December 14, 1863, Cooper Diary, 1863, Cornell.

However, it was at this same time, in addition to all of her other activities and hardships at home, that Sarah Cooper helped to found an Association for relief of white refugees, an organization which was certainly personal for her. The organization was also important for Memphis, as many Southern cities like Memphis, Nashville, and Vicksburg saw massive influxes of refugees after they were occupied by Federal troops.¹⁴⁸ Sarah herself would later recall the large numbers of refugees who were “flocking into Memphis” after it was occupied, prompting her to create “a society in that city for the protection of refugees.”¹⁴⁹ Civil War-era aid societies, like Sarah Cooper’s, were a continuation of antebellum poor relief, and as many historians have demonstrated, these organizations provided an opportunity for women in particular to express their patriotism and engage in political culture. Aid for Union refugees was an extension of the aid Northern women provided for Union soldiers, widows, and orphans, as well as the aid provided for freedpeople. Refugee relief societies, like soldier’s aid societies, focused on Christian and humanitarian duty to provide for the less fortunate.¹⁵⁰ This was the goal of Sarah Cooper’s association for the relief of white refugees as well. There was plenty of need and considerable interest in her association, in part due to Sarah visiting with other women and asking them to join, and several meetings had a “full house.”¹⁵¹ The Association also kept Cooper occupied as she solicited donations and organized plans for the organization’s future.

¹⁴⁸ *Speeches of Hon. W. Dennison, Postmaster-general, Rev. J.P. Thompson, D.D., President of the Commission, Col. N.G. Taylor of East Tennessee, Hon. J.R. Doolittle, U.S. Senate, Gen. J.A. Garfield, M.C., in the Hall of Representatives, Washington, Feb. 12, 1865*, ed. The American Union Commission (New York: Sanford Harroun, 1865), 8.

¹⁴⁹ Sarah B. Cooper, “Statement on the Brown Affair,” page 13, Box 7, Folder 29, Sarah Brown Ingersoll Cooper Papers, #6543, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

¹⁵⁰ Lawson, *Patriot Fires*, 32. See also Patricia Richard, *Busy Hands* and Carol Faulkner, *Women’s Radical Reconstruction*.

¹⁵¹ December 23, 1863, Cooper Diary, 1863, Cornell.

In early 1865 Sarah continued to be heavily involved in the church community and her Association. She continued to sing in the choir and was also involved in teaching a Bible class for Union soldiers, often with attendance of 40 or more, which she greatly enjoyed. However, it was her involvement in the refugee relief association that helped to lift Sarah's spirits again. This philanthropic work was in part meaningful to Sarah because of her own families experience with wartime displacement. Sarah Cooper recognized that she was in a position to aid her fellow refugees and used her position and her resources to advocate aid for Civil War refugees who were in need of financial assistance. Sarah believed that "we are doing much of good and could do much more had we ample funds," and so she devoted herself to aiding other refugees through her organization.¹⁵²

The timing of the association could hardly have been better, as refugees continued to pour into occupied areas of Tennessee during a bitterly cold winter. She noted in early January that, "The weather is intolerably cold. What suffering there must be. I have had seven applications since our Supper have been able to give all a little."¹⁵³ She and fellow association members regularly went out searching for refugees, and she noted their destitution, especially regarding a number of refugees living on the outskirts of town, where she "saw an exhibition of poverty seldom witnessed."¹⁵⁴ They also visited refugees in the hospitals, where Sarah witnessed "distress beyond discription [sic]."¹⁵⁵ In order to alleviate the burden on fellow refugees, she arranged clothing drives, found medical care, visited refugees in hospitals, and found food and provisions for numerous refugees. She regularly

¹⁵² January 21, 1864, Sarah Brown Ingersoll Cooper Diary, 1864, Sarah Brown Ingersoll Cooper Papers, #6543. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library (henceforth Cooper Diary, 1864, Cornell).

¹⁵³ January 5, 1864, Cooper Diary, 1864, Cornell.

¹⁵⁴ January 25, 1864, Cooper Diary, 1864, Cornell.

¹⁵⁵ February 4, 1864, Cooper Diary, 1864, Cornell.

advertised for the Association and its activities in the newspaper *The Memphis Bulletin*. She also was able to arrange for part of the proceeds from an immensely popular traveling Civil War polyorama to be donated to her Association, totaling over \$100 to aid refugees, which Sarah regarded as “a God-send.”¹⁵⁶

By February, her spirits were greatly improved, largely as a result of her community involvement. She wrote in her diary, “I feel so happy in the thought of making a start again in life—we are making every effort. There is much to dishearten and discourage in this life.”¹⁵⁷ She sought to expand her good works, and in March, she and her friend Mrs. Canfield began preparations for an Orphan Asylum for refugee children later known as the Memphis Colored Orphan Asylum. Sarah Ann Martha Canfield, known as Martha, began organizing the asylum, with the help of Cooper and others, in the spring of 1864. The Asylum was located in the former Charleston Hotel and admitted the first orphan, Howard, in December 1864. By January 31, 1865, eighty children were living at the asylum, and by March, over 100 children were housed there.¹⁵⁸

Around this same time, however, Sarah again became overworked. She began noting in her diary that the days were not long enough, and admitted, “I am feeling quite weary of the labors of the Society. Still I must not weary in well-doing.”¹⁵⁹ By April, Sarah had spread herself so thin and become so “worn down” from her busy lifestyle that she decided to disband her Association for the relief of white refugees after six months.¹⁶⁰ She exerted her

¹⁵⁶ January 22, 1864, Cooper Diary, 1864, Cornell.

¹⁵⁷ February 2, 1864, Cooper Diary, 1864, Cornell.

¹⁵⁸ See “Extracts from Mrs. Canfield’s Diary” in *Extracts from Reports of Superintendents of Freedmen*, compiled by Rev. Joseph Warren (Vicksburg, Mississippi: Freedmen Press Print, 1864), 15-24.

¹⁵⁹ March 10, 1864, Cooper Diary, 1864, Cornell.

¹⁶⁰ April 12, 1864, Cooper Diary, 1864, Cornell.

last efforts as president of the refugee relief association to help plan a supper benefit that raised \$50 dollars for the new Memphis Colored Orphan Asylum.

Shortly after her Association disbanded, Sarah confessed that she felt relieved at its closing, and was “pleased to be able to call [her] time [her] own.”¹⁶¹ She continued with many of her other responsibilities, including her church commitments, and was able to begin teaching Hattie to play the piano again. Nevertheless, her reprieve would be short-lived, as she and her daughter Hattie both became ill at the end of April. Sarah hoped and prayed that Mollie would “escape the scourge.”¹⁶² Nevertheless, two weeks later, Mollie was ill too, and Sarah lamented, “Oh what a world of change and vicissitude this is—full of trial.”¹⁶³ Sarah spent the next week caring for her sick children nearly around the clock, only leaving the house to attend choir practice. Upon returning one night, she found Mollie “had been taken suddenly and violently worse,” and they immediately called for a doctor.¹⁶⁴ Nevertheless, her condition only worsened over the next few days.

Two-and-a-half-year-old Mollie had always been a sickly child, and now her symptoms indicated that she had contracted varioloid, a less severe form of smallpox.¹⁶⁵ However, Mollie was already weakened from her recent bout with measles and pneumonia in the previous months, and doctors were unsure if she would be able to fight off the disease. Sarah noted that “her little body is failing fast.”¹⁶⁶ As she watched her daughter suffer, she prayed, “Oh! how could I give the little darling up? Merciful Father spare her to us—and

¹⁶¹ April 18, 1864, Cooper Diary, 1864, Cornell.

¹⁶² April 10, 1864, Cooper Diary, 1864, Cornell.

¹⁶³ April 19, 1864; May 13, 1864, Cooper Diary, 1864, Cornell.

¹⁶⁴ May 21, 1864, Cooper Diary, 1864, Cornell.

¹⁶⁵ Varioloid is a less severe form of smallpox contracted by those who have been vaccinated against the disease or who have had the disease before. Sarah ensured that both Hattie and Mollie had been vaccinated against the disease earlier in the war, and were it not for Mollie’s already feeble health, it is likely she would have been able to fight off the disease.

¹⁶⁶ May 24, 1864, Cooper Diary, 1864, Cornell.

make her an instrument to thy glory.”¹⁶⁷ By the next morning, though, Mollie had become “an angel in glory.”¹⁶⁸

Years later, a newspaper article detailing Sarah Cooper’s lifelong philanthropy noted the role her involvement in the refugee relief association played in Mollie’s illness, noting “While nursing a refugee’s family, supposed to be suffering from scarlet fever, Mrs Cooper’s little girls were exposed to smallpox. Mary died, and Harriet was marked for life.”¹⁶⁹

Although Sarah had gotten both of her children vaccinated against smallpox, Mollie’s exhausted immune system was unable to fight off the disease. Mollie’s death was a result, in part, of her contact with refugee children fleeing from the Confederacy with a highly contagious disease, a situation that none of them likely would have been involved in if not for their wartime displacement.

Sarah deeply mourned Mollie’s premature death, which she regarded as “the trial of [her] life,” and fell into a deep depression.¹⁷⁰ She no longer wanted to live and turned to her faith for support. In the days following Mollie’s death, Sarah prayed, “Blessed Jesus strengthen me by thy grace,” and confided, “My heart sinks within me—But ‘God is the strength of my heart & my portion forever.’”¹⁷¹ In some moments, her faith gave her hope and peace, but at other moments her overwhelming grief caused her to wish for death as well. Three weeks after Mollie’s death, Sarah confided in her diary, “Oh! what a void there is in my soul—I am not fitted for this Earth. I long for wings to fly away and be at rest—at rest from care—at rest from sin—& be forever with the Lord.”¹⁷²

¹⁶⁷ May 24, 1864, Cooper Diary, 1864, Cornell.

¹⁶⁸ May 25, 1864, Cooper Diary, 1864, Cornell.

¹⁶⁹ Undated news clipping, Box 10, Folder 13, Sarah Brown Ingersoll Cooper Papers, #6543, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

¹⁷⁰ May 26, 1864, Cooper Diary, 1864, Cornell.

¹⁷¹ May 27, 1864; May 28, 1864, Cooper Diary, 1864, Cornell. This is a reference to Psalms 73:26, which reads, “My flesh and my heart faileth: but God is the strength of my heart, and my portion for ever.”

¹⁷² June 18, 1864, Cooper Diary, 1864, Cornell.

Although Sarah had little desire to live, her faith led her to believe that her work on Earth must not be done. She resumed her efforts to aid refugees, aiding several individuals with finding shelter and medical care, as well as helping the United States Christian Commission distribute supplies and raise money for refugees, freedpeople, and soldiers. She remained “weary of life” even with these renewed efforts and remained willing to die. At times, she hoped for death, confiding in her diary, “I long to go—to be free from sin—life is so full of sorrow.” She anxiously awaited death, admitting, “I sometimes feel almost impatient for the time to come for my release... When will my pilgrimage be done?”¹⁷³ When Sarah fell ill in July, two months after Mollie’s death, she was willing to accept death, exclaiming, “Oh! if it were God’s holy will and I were ready what joy it would be to go to my darling Mollie—but His will be done.”¹⁷⁴ Thus, in her deep depression, she steered away thoughts of suicide as she expressed certainty that she must live and carry on good, Christian work, until it was her time to die. She consoled herself, ““I feel worn out & weary—this life is a struggle... I must strive to ‘fight the good fight’—& meet her at last.”¹⁷⁵ She also took comfort in the belief that Mollie was now in Heaven, and free from pain and suffering, writing, “This life is one series of disappointments—when I realize how much Mollie has been relieved from I am grateful that she is at rest—there is little but sorrow in this life.”¹⁷⁶ While Sarah clung to her faith in her attempt to overcome this latest trial since their flight from the Confederate South, she turned to the church and good works to keep herself going, and to help other refugees avoid what her family had gone through.

¹⁷³ July 2, 1864, Cooper Diary, 1864, Cornell.

¹⁷⁴ July 30, 1864, Cooper Diary, 1864, Cornell.

¹⁷⁵ July 11, 1864, Cooper Diary, 1864, Cornell. This is a reference to 1 Timothy 6:12 “Fight the good fight of faith, lay hold on eternal life, whereunto thou art also called, and hast professed a good profession before many witnesses.”

¹⁷⁶ July 29, 1864, Cooper Diary, 1864, Cornell.

Through the fall of 1864 and spring of 1865, Sarah continued her work on behalf of refugees, freedpeople, and soldiers, and remained involved in the church Sunday School and choir. She kept up visits to ladies in the community, as well as the sick from her church community, although these visits were few and far between, especially compared to her previous schedule. Despite her efforts to get back to life as normal, she admitted, “I cannot overcome the sad—sad feelings of loneliness that fill my soul.”¹⁷⁷ Sarah became much more secluded following Mollie’s death and her own deep depression. She spent much more time at home, and began to take naps regularly, at times even lying in bed all day. She also began to reminisce in each day’s entry about what was going on “a year ago today,” when Mollie was still alive. Finally, in the spring of 1865 Sarah was able to visit her sister Hattie, who was now living in occupied New Orleans. This time with her closest sister seems to have lifted her spirits a bit for the first time since Mollie’s death. Together, they explored the city and, in April, celebrated the Union victory that in 1861 Sarah had so fervently desired.

Nevertheless, four years and three cities later, Sarah at times felt as though she had lost everything. She had lost her home and many of her possessions when the family first fled Chattanooga while she was pregnant. She had since moved with two children to three different cities, and lived in numerous houses, all while trying to resettle into a sense of normalcy by creating a home where their family was all together. Then, just as her family was getting settled in occupied Memphis, and it seemed as though things were close to being back to normal, the war took something from her that could never be replaced. As Sarah recognized, Mollie’s life was cut too short by the vicissitudes of war, and in this case, what was lost as a result of displacement meant that life could never go back to how it was before the war.

¹⁷⁷ September 3, 1864, Cooper Diary, 1864, Cornell.

Sarah's example is in many ways similar to other refugees, including her reliance on family for support, her transience, and the early timing of her departure. Family aided the Cooper's when they arrived back in the North, just as many others, and Sarah was comfortable materially throughout her experience as a refugee. Yet, the individual circumstances of their displacement, such as the birth of a sickly child in the immediate wake of their flight, the loss of that child as a result of the refugee crisis, and Sarah's history of depression makes their experience unique as well.

It is important to recognize that not all refugees were affected by displacement in the same ways. Many refugees struggled with economic and emotional upheaval, though highly varied individual circumstances were at play in each individual situation and dictated the nuances of their experiences. While certain common factors are integral to understanding why and how certain native Northerners returned to the United States during the Civil War, political loyalty is not the defining factor. Unionism, alone, was not enough to propel these people out of the Confederacy and into the Union, but instead a constellation of other factors explains their movement and resettlement, including timing, location, gender, economic class, and wartime conditions. In addition to these factors, social networks were also important in ameliorating the refugee crisis. Each of the five examples in this chapter make clear that connections in the North were crucial for successful escape and resettlement. This is true not only for native Northerners, but for native Southerners who sought to flee from the Confederacy as well.

CHAPTER 2: “ESCAPED FROM DIXIE:” NORTH CAROLINA’S UNIONIST REFUGEES AND SOCIAL NETWORKING DURING THE CIVIL WAR

Under the cover of darkness one winter night in early 1863, North Carolina Unionist Bryan Tyson crept through the woods in Snow Camp, North Carolina and headed for Union lines. Fearing a third arrest for his anti-Confederate antics, Tyson had fled Moore County for neighboring Chatham County, and once in Snow Camp, he met with fellow Unionist Joshua Moon, a Quaker and a conductor on the Underground Railroad. With Moon’s guidance, Tyson fled 200 miles east to federally-occupied New Bern, where Tyson explained his situation and was permitted within Union lines.¹⁷⁸

Originally from Randolph County, Tyson was part of an old Quaker family, and was educated at a private academy in nearby Carthage.¹⁷⁹ By 1860, 30-year-old Tyson was living in neighboring Moore County and made a living manufacturing farming implements. Tyson also enslaved four people, and as the sectional crisis was intensifying in 1860, he opposed both abolitionists and secessionists as “extremists.” In 1862 he published a pamphlet outlining his views against abolitionists and against secessionist leaders, entitled *A Ray of Light; or, A Treatise on the Sectional Troubles Religiously and Morally Considered*. The pamphlet essentially argued that the Confederacy had illegally usurped power because no plebiscite was held regarding secession or joining the Confederacy. In his pamphlets, Tyson indicted the Confederate government in North Carolina as “government based upon usurped power and

¹⁷⁸ Bryan Tyson, “To the Editor of the Chronicle,” July 2, 1869, Woody Family Papers, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University. The Woody Papers contain another copy of the letter sent from Bryan Tyson to the editor of the *National Republican* (Washington, D.C.), July 8, 1869. See also Tyson’s statement, dated February 10, 1885, attached to a copy of his “Reunion Circular” from 1863, both located in the Rare Book Room, Library of Congress.

¹⁷⁹ For more on Tyson, see William T. Auman, “Bryan Tyson: Southern Unionist and American Patriot,” *The North Carolina Historical Review* 62, no. 3 (July 1985): 257-292. See also, William T. Auman, *Civil War in the North Carolina Quaker Belt: The Confederate Campaign against Peace Agitators, Deserters, and Draft Dodgers* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2014), 48-54.

against the will of a majority of the people at the South,” and furthermore, vowed “Never will I, for one, as long as breath animates my body and while there is even a remote chance for success, agree to [this usurpation].”¹⁸⁰ Tyson encouraged North Carolinians to resist tyrannical Confederate government rule, arguing that Confederate power was illegitimate because it was rooted in the illegal usurpation of power by secessionists without regard to the will of the people. Tyson advocated peace and reunion with the United States on a “constitutional basis,” meaning with slavery intact, and his argument was influential in the already heavily Unionist Quaker Belt of North Carolina.

Tyson was arrested for circulating this literature in October 1862 when it was first published, and he was forcibly taken to Raleigh as a recusant conscript for the Confederate Army. Nevertheless, Tyson was exempted from service after several influential friends intervened on his behalf, claiming Tyson was more valuable to the Confederacy as a manufacturer of agricultural machinery than as a soldier. Tyson returned to Moore County, and joined the Heroes of America, a secret and often militant Union society in the area.¹⁸¹ He also continued to circulate his ideas and literature, going so far as to hand out his pamphlets on a train headed for Richmond, which again led to his arrest. Governor of North Carolina Zebulon Baird Vance was no stranger to the increasing anti-Confederate sentiment in the state, and especially in the piedmont counties west of Raleigh, and released Tyson on the condition that he cease distribution of his pamphlets. Undeterred, Tyson continued to distribute his materials, and fled Moore County in early 1863 when he learned

¹⁸⁰ Bryan Tyson, *Ray of Light, or, A Treatise on the Sectional Troubles, Religiously and Morally Considered* (Brower’s Mills, N.C.: B. Tyson, 1862), 53.

¹⁸¹ For more on the Heroes of America, also known as the Red Strings, see William Auman and David Scarboro, “The Heroes of America in Civil War North Carolina,” *The North Carolina Historical Review* 58 (October 1981), 327-363. See also, Scott Reynolds Nelson, “Red Strings and Half-brothers: Civil Wars in Alamance County, North Carolina, 1861 – 1871,” 37-53 in John Inscoe and Robert Kenzer, *Enemies of the Country: New Perspectives on Unionists in the Civil War South* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2001).

he was likely to be arrested for a third time, and no doubt, treated with less leniency. In the face of this threat, he used his connections within the Heroes of America and the Quaker community to flee from illegitimate Confederate rule in favor of Union territory. From occupied New Bern, he was able to get transportation to Washington, D. C., where friend and fellow North Carolina exile Benjamin Sherwood Hedrick lent him money and helped him find somewhere to live in the immediate aftermath of his flight from the Confederacy.¹⁸² Shortly after, his reputation as a Unionist refugee helped get him a job in the Treasury Department. Once in Washington, D.C., Tyson would go on to assist in the resettlement of numerous other refugees from North Carolina as they fled from the Confederacy as well.

During the Civil War, native Southerners like Tyson fled from the Confederacy in droves. As was the case with native Northerners who fled from the Confederacy, Unionism alone was not enough to prompt Southerners to leave the Confederacy. As the cases of the Longleys, Thirza Finch, F. A. P. Barnard, Sarah Brown Ingersoll Cooper, and Eunice Stone demonstrate, factors such as class, gender, location, and the timing of flight affected the refugee experience for Northerners fleeing the Confederate South. Personal factors often outweighed politics and could prevent their immediate flight. The same is true here for Southerners who fled from the South—a constellation of factors had to align before Unionist Southerners would leave their native South.

In addition to factors like timing, location, class, and gender, this chapter explores how the desire to leave the South was compounded by the war itself, and how Confederate policies affected the refugee experience, particularly Confederate conscription policies. This chapter also considers how Unionism was often not the most significant factor in prompting

¹⁸² Bryan Tyson to B. S. Hedrick, April 5, 1865, Benjamin Hedrick Papers, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University (hereafter Hedrick Papers, Duke).

Southerners to flee from the Confederacy. Those who were Unionists did not necessarily flee right away but did so as individual circumstances facilitated or even demanded that they finally leave. For example, some Unionist-leaning Southerners fled when a nearby area was occupied by Union forces. Others only left once Confederate policies targeted them specifically, for example, the increasing draft age and the elimination of substitution and exemption policies. Unionism was an ancillary factor in flight from the Confederacy, but often it was self-preservation in the face of Confederate policies, or disaffection from Confederate policies altogether that motivated their immediate flight. Thus, some left their native South driven by Unionism, whereas others were driven instead by anti-Confederate sentiment.

In order to understand the role of Confederate policies and disaffection more thoroughly, this chapter focuses on refugees like Tyson, who fled from Confederate North Carolina under duress during the Civil War. Resistance to Confederate rule, and in particular, Confederate conscription, was not at all uncommon in Unionist strongholds during the Civil War. Areas like the Quaker Belt of North Carolina, where Tyson was from, produced hundreds of refugees, as they called themselves.¹⁸³ The area was known as a Unionist stronghold, and resistance to Confederate rule took many forms, as exhibited by those who fled from their Southern homes to escape Confederate rule. Specifically, this chapter focuses on groups of white, Quaker-affiliated, Unionist men who fled Confederate North Carolina and self-settled within Union lines, specifically, in Indiana.¹⁸⁴ They were almost entirely

¹⁸³ The Quaker Belt consists of fifteen counties in North Carolina: Alamance, Chatham, Davidson, Davie, Forsyth, Guilford, Iredell, Montgomery, Moore, Orange, Randolph, Stokes, Surry, Wilkes, and Yadkin. See William T. Auman, *Civil War in the North Carolina Quaker Belt: The Confederate Campaign against Peace Agitators, Deserters, and Draft Dodgers* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2014).

¹⁸⁴ In this study, Quaker-affiliated is used to encompass the wide range of people connected to the expansive Quaker community in the North Carolina Quaker Belt, including members of the church, birthright Quakers, attenders, former members disowned from the church, and others affiliated with the Society of Friends or familiar with Quaker beliefs. A growing number of refugees and displaced people in the 21st century are relying

composed of men who were recusant conscripts, deserters, and paroled prisoners of war. These refugees used a far-reaching network comprised of extended family and fellow Quakers to resettle inside Union lines and to find housing and jobs in the aftermath of wartime displacement.

White draft-age men avoiding Confederate military service exhibited a distinct pattern of resettlement that reveals the interconnectedness of the Union and Confederate home fronts during wartime. Although Northerners relied on social networks when they fled from the Confederacy as well, what is notable about this group of refugees is that they all fled from the same area of North Carolina and resettled primarily within the same area in Indiana.¹⁸⁵ Social network theory explains this phenomenon and plays a central role in this chapter in order to address the inner workings of social networks, particularly as utilized by refugees from the Quaker Belt of North Carolina. The men in this group of refugees relied on a network based on “sets of interpersonal ties” that connected refugees and their allies “through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin.”¹⁸⁶ This network is particularly significant because they used it to resettle themselves without state-sanctioned or formally organized aid. This group of refugees, white Southerners who resettled inside Union lines using an informal refugee assistance network based on their personal connections, is the focus of this chapter.

on networking to “self-settle” in the absence of adequate aid. See, for example, Lucy Hovil, “Self-settled Refugees in Uganda: An Alternative Approach to Displacement?” *Journal of Refugee Studies* 20, no. 4 (2007), pp. 599-620. For an exceptional study that analyzes post-U.N. refugees who fled from the same conflict in light of their government-resettlement or self-resettlement (often using social networks), see Liisa H. Malkki, *Purity and Exile: Violence, Memory, and National Cosmology among the Hutu Refugees in Tanzania*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

¹⁸⁵ These refugees fled from the Quaker Belt of North Carolina, described above, and fled to the Indianapolis-area of central and eastern Indiana, resettling in counties of Hamilton, Hendricks, Morgan, Rush, and Wayne, all of which had significant Quaker populations, especially Wayne.

¹⁸⁶ Massey et al, “Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal,” 43. See also Charles Tilly, “Transplanted Networks.”

An in-depth analysis of the experiences of this small but close-knit group of refugees adds further evidence that social networks were crucial to successful escape from Confederate rule, and crucial to successful resettlement in the Union. The lasting relationships that predated the Civil War, such as the extended family and a shared religious denomination, were the first important connections used by these refugees as they fled from the South. These pre-existing connections were repurposed to ameliorate the wartime refugee crisis, forming the core of the refugee network. As the refugee crisis intensified, important allies like Delphina Mendenhall and Benjamin Sherwood Hedrick became advocates for refugees and key figures in the refugee network, and, importantly, as the war went on, refugees themselves also played a crucial role in assisting their fellow refugees as they resettled. As the refugee crisis continued to grow, this network of refugees and allies from the Quaker Belt of North Carolina adapted and strengthened itself to meet the needs of wartime displacement. The experiences of these Unionist refugees demonstrate that mobility was shaped by social network.

Nevertheless, rather than integrating into their new communities, many of these refugees remained transient in an elusive search for the better opportunities and the comforts of their homes and lives before displacement. Refugees in this area of central Indiana regularly encountered fellow refugees from North Carolina in exile which expanded their opportunities to resettle and advance in their new society, and also provided news and updates on friends and family from home. Furthermore, the refugees who formed the network nearly all planned to return home at the earliest opportunity. These refugees exemplified an interesting balance as they attempted to maintain ties to their homes while resettling in their new communities, with the ultimate goal of returning to their Southern homes. During the Civil War, North Carolina refugees created an informal refugee assistance

network that grew into a temporary diaspora that provided both economic and emotional support to other refugees throughout the war.

The migration of Unionist Southerners out of the Confederacy began early in the war. Ezra Barker, a Quaker from Randolph County, North Carolina, was twenty-three years old in April 1861 when Confederate troops fired on Fort Sumter. The attack on Fort Sumter prompted United States President Abraham Lincoln's call for 75,000 troops, signaling to many the beginning of civil war. Eight days later, on April 23, before North Carolina even seceded from the Union, Ezra Barker fled the state to avoid involvement in the war, which as a Quaker, violated his pacifist principles.¹⁸⁷ Barker left Greensboro, North Carolina, heading North toward Danville, Virginia before turning West in a wide arc towards Quaker relatives in Indiana. This route, known as the Kanawha route, was a route used by family and Friends who moved West in the antebellum era, and was also a path used by Friends involved in the Underground Railroad, making it an ideal choice for wartime people on the run as well. Barker's brother had moved to Indiana a couple of years before and was living with their mother's relatives there. When Ezra Barker fled from Randolph County, he joined his extended family in Indiana, where he would remain for the duration of the war.

As Barker's story demonstrates, familial relationships were important, but were not the only significant ties between Quakers in the two regions. Unlike other Protestant denominations which split during the sectional crisis, Quakers, Union and Confederate, continued to share religious beliefs, in particular a commitment to pacifism and the abolition of slavery. In fact, this is why many North Carolina Quakers who migrated to Indiana did so in the antebellum era. Beginning in the 1830s, Quakers began to migrate to Indiana, as well

¹⁸⁷ "Ezra Barker's Waybill from North Carolina to the State of Indiana," April 23, 1861, Nicholas Barker Family Papers, Quaker Archives, Hege Library, Guilford College (hereafter Barker Family Papers, Guilford).

as other Midwestern states, like Illinois, Iowa, and Ohio, for the land available in a free state. Many of these Quakers were from North Carolina, and some were related to the young men who would later become refugees. During the Civil War, many Quakers felt that Confederate policies violated their religious freedom and did all in their power to resist Confederate service. Many Northern Quakers sympathized with their Southern Friends, indicating that at least for Quakers, the similarities between civilians North and South may have been greater than those dividing them.

Barker's journey also exemplifies the importance of past migration patterns for this group of refugees, including the actual physical route. The Kanawha Route was an old trail, and partial stage road by the 1860s, which led from the Quaker Belt of North Carolina to a Quaker community in Richmond, Indiana. The route covered nearly five hundred miles, passing from New Garden, North Carolina into Southwest Virginia before crossing into the mountains in western Virginia and roughly following the Kanawha River to its mouth at the Ohio River.¹⁸⁸ The trail was likely an old path used by American Indians in the region, but since the 1820s and 1830s had been increasingly traveled by formerly enslaved refugees fleeing slavery by night, and Quaker emigrants to Indiana by day. Quakers in the Confederacy were not only connected to Indiana Quakers by family ties and religious convictions, but Quakers in these areas had also been connected by the Underground Railroad.¹⁸⁹ Alonzo Wheeler, a Quaker from Guilford County, described how the system was adapted for Unionists during the Civil War:

There were a number of men who were loyal to the Union and they were well organized. My father, as one of the conductors on the so-called underground railroad would, after taking them in and feeding and cleaning them up and clothing them,

¹⁸⁸ Hiram Hilty, *Toward Freedom for All: North Carolina Quakers and Slavery* (Richmond, Ind.: Friends University Press, 1984), 74, 76, 95. See also Hiram H. Hilty, "North Carolina Quakers and Slavery" (PhD diss., Duke University, 1969).

¹⁸⁹ Hilty, "North Carolina Quakers and Slavery," 184.

conduct them to the next station located a proper distance so that he could start after night and get back home before dawn. They were passed from one person to the next, traveling after night until they got out of the thickly settled part of the state. After reaching the mountains they would travel by day, going through the mountains in the general direction they desired to go.¹⁹⁰

The Quaker's pre-war escape route was transitioned into wartime use to aid refugees. These pre-existing connections to the Union were instrumental for refugees who fled from the Confederacy, especially early on in the war.

Ezra Barker turned to his family when he fled from the South, and so did the Hill family from Guilford County, North Carolina. Nathan and Eliza Mendenhall Hill and their family lived in the Quaker Belt of North Carolina and were devoted to the Union and to the abolition of slavery. In 1861, Confederate vigilantes showed up at the family farm near Sandy Ridge and demanded to search the home for "abolition books," likely referencing Hinton Rowan Helper's *The Impending Crisis of the South*. Eliza Hill was home with her children when the armed men arrived and feigning that her husband would not return any time soon, she offered to cook for the men. While doing so, she took any letters or pamphlets that might get the family in trouble, and "burned them in the kitchen stove." She was able to send word to her husband not to return home but to stay where he was until she came to him. Later that night she got together a few provisions for her family and set off with the children to meet her husband. After the days events, the family decided to "abandon their home and everything in it and try to make their way north." Sam Hill, who was about four years old at the time, recounted years later how the family escaped the Confederacy:

To have started north would have been fatal, for we would have been made prisoners. We went to the station and father bought tickets for Georgia. In Georgia he bought tickets for Alabama, and from there we went to Tennessee and thence to Kentucky. We were now among strangers, who would not be so suspicious of us. Mother told all of us children to say, "We are going to visit our Aunt Nancy," when

¹⁹⁰ Alonzo LeRoy Wheeler, "My North Carolina Boyhood: A Reminiscence," *Indiana Magazine of History* 33, Issue 4, (Dec. 1937): 458-474 (henceforth Wheeler, "My North Carolina Boyhood," *IMH* 33).

people asked us where we are going. We didn't know where Aunt Nancy lived, so we were perfectly safe not to give our destination away.

After reaching Indianapolis, the family did in fact go to see Aunt Nancy, who lived in the Quaker settlement of Carthage, Indiana. The family stayed there for a few months and then moved again, this time joining other relatives in Minneapolis, where they would spend most of the rest of their lives.¹⁹¹

The Nathan Hill family fled the Confederacy in relative haste, taking a circuitous route to ensure their safe escape from Confederate North Carolina as known Unionists and abolitionists. Thus, individual circumstances like leaving in haste and the fear of being pursued affected the refugee's experience as well. While the Hills were Unionists, they may not have fled the South at all, or that early in the war, if it were not for their fear of persecution. Even for those fleeing because of Union sentiments early in the war, often the progress of war interfered with their plans.

As Civil War seemed imminent, Micajah and Sarah Jane Hill, both Quaker ministers from Guilford County, became "deeply concerned for the welfare of their children under the gathering omens of ill in the South," and, in response, they went ahead and sent their two sons to Indiana so they could avoid possible Confederate military service.¹⁹² Micajah, Sarah Jane, and four of their daughters planned to leave North Carolina as soon as possible. Micajah Hill carried a letter from former Governor J. M. Morehead that explained the group had no ill intentions toward the Confederate States of America and would not bear arms against the nascent nation or injure its cause. The family hoped this would suffice to let them pass safely into Union lines.

¹⁹¹ Tuhy, *Sam Hill*, 23.

¹⁹² Herman D. Williams, "War Time Reminiscences: A Journey from North Carolina to Indiana," in the Raymond and Helen Binford Papers, Quaker Archives, Hege Library, Guilford College (hereafter Binford Papers, Guilford). See also "Brief Life Sketch of Sarah Jane Bundy," Binford Papers, Guilford.

By the time the Hill Family set out for Indiana they had gathered a group of sixty others to join them on their journey. One carriage and nine wagons started out in September 1861, and with the exception of an accidental shooting and the near-death of Mary Hill Elliott's infant son from "the thrash," the trip into Eastern Tennessee went relatively smoothly.¹⁹³ However, when some of the men from the group explained their case to Confederate pickets, their request to cross the lines was denied. This, however, was to prevent the group from getting caught up in a skirmish, since there had been fighting in the area in the past several weeks as Confederate General Felix Zollicoffer's troops attempted to invade Kentucky through the Cumberland Gap.

With nowhere to go, and not very rushed, the group then returned to a Quaker community they had passed along the way, Lost Creek Friends Meeting, and stayed at that place for seven months. When Union troops occupied East Tennessee, a few Union soldiers began attending the Friends' Meeting, now led by Sarah Jane Hill. After learning of the Hill's attempts to move to Union lines and escape from the Confederacy, these officers helped the group take the oath of allegiance and secured the entire group passports into the United States. The group passed safely into Kentucky, and finally was able to meet up with their sons, as they had planned almost a year earlier. Once in Louisville, they completed the last leg of their extended journey "by rail" into Indiana.¹⁹⁴

Luckily, in the case of the Hill expedition, the members of the group were not pressed for time. Per Sarah Jane Hill's orders, the group did not travel on First Day (Sunday) in order to honor the Sabbath, and furthermore, a seven-month delay was not that disastrous of a factor for their flight. In fact, Sarah Jane Hill Bundy remembered the delay as a blessing,

¹⁹³ Williams, "War Time Reminiscences: A Journey from North Carolina to Indiana," Binford Papers, Guilford.

¹⁹⁴ Williams, "War Time Reminiscences: A Journey from North Carolina to Indiana," Binford Papers, Guilford.

recalling, “they felt that the delay was of divine ordering that they might help a needy flock in time of distress and peril.”¹⁹⁵

Many refugees, such as those fleeing immediate persecution and being pursued by enemies, would not have been able to wait seven months to pass legally into Union lines, passports in hand, and many even on the Hill expedition found another quicker route to safety. The Micajah Hill family was composed primarily of men above draft age and the women and young children in their families, in other words, non-combatants. This made the months long delay less of a threat to the group than it would have been to draft-age men like Micajah Hill’s sons, who left North Carolina earlier and arrived in Union lines quicker and in more haste.

In February of 1863, Jesse Dobbins, a recusant Confederate conscript was hiding out from Confederate enrolling officers in Boonville, North Carolina, an area known for its Union sympathies. Dobbins did not want to fight for the Confederacy, which he believed was illegitimate, and did not believe Confederate officials had lawful authority to conscript him. After several days on the run, it began to snow one night, causing him and several other deserters and draft dodgers to take refuge in a Quaker schoolhouse. Someone tipped off Confederate officers with the location of the Unionists, and the next day, the officers approached the schoolhouse. Shooting broke out, and within a few minutes, two Unionists and two Confederate soldiers were dead. Jesse Dobbins, his brother William, and a few other men managed to escape the schoolhouse and fled to Union territory.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁵ “Brief Life Sketch of Sarah Jane Bundy,” Binford Papers, Guilford.

¹⁹⁶ See William Henry Asbury Speer, *Voices from Cemetery Hill: the Civil War Diary, Reports, and Letters of Colonel William Henry Asbury Speer, 1861-1864*, edited by Allen Paul Speer (Johnson City, Tenn.: Overmountain Press, 1997). My sincere thanks to Dr. Speer for assistance researching the Dobbins family.

Jesse and William Dobbins and the company that joined them on the way to Union lines were running for their lives when they escaped the Bond Schoolhouse following the shoot-out. The men ran for four days until they were stopped by the Home Guard in Watauga County, North Carolina. The group of refugees lied to the authorities, saying they were Confederate enlistees on the way to Abingdon, Virginia. Once there, the men took advantage of an encounter with an Army officer to procure train passes to Knoxville, Tennessee. The men left Knoxville, and around Clinch Mountain they met a “friend who had been a pilot for the Union men” since the war began and who helped them to Kentucky, the closest Union state.¹⁹⁷

The four-week trip was a tiresome trek through 500 miles of hostile territory during the winter. The men waded nearly frozen creeks in the mountains in February, some too deep to touch the bottom, and slept exposed to the elements. Jesse Dobbins described how the men’s “clothing was froze some times so that we could hardly move our joints,” and also reported days at a time with no food.¹⁹⁸ The Dobbins brothers and company were fortunate to complete their journey, although, like many refugees, Unionism was not the immediate factor prompting them to leave the Confederacy.

The Dobbins example shows how Unionism alone did not cause Unionists to flee, but rather conscription, and the strict enforcement of it, prompted the men to finally flee their native South. Their example also demonstrates how the refugee experience changed over time—the introduction of conscription in 1862 was a major factor in prompting Southerners to leave the Confederacy, as was the enforcement of it in areas like the North Carolina Quaker Belt. The burden of the conscription act in 1862 was in some ways

¹⁹⁷ Speer, *Voices from Cemetery Hill*, 213.

¹⁹⁸ Speer, *Voices from Cemetery Hill*, 209.

ameliorated by the occupation of New Bern, North Carolina in 1862, as well as parts of Eastern Tennessee, because it offered alternative sites for the safety of Union territory and access to resettlement in the Union, which the Dobbins were able to take advantage of when they fled in 1863.

Some refugees fled east, to Union-occupied New Bern if that was the best opportunity for their escape from the Confederacy. Quaker refugees Eli and Mary Woody Branson fled central North Carolina through New Bern, traveling together from their home in Chatham County down to Goldsboro. From Goldsboro, “he had to take the bye ways & she went on by public conveyance” to New Bern.¹⁹⁹ Eli and Mary Woody Branson fled through New Bern because, as a married couple, that was the easiest way for them to escape the Confederacy together once the area was occupied by the Union. While sometimes families or large groups did flee the Confederacy, such as the Hill expedition, it was not very common for couples or young families to flee together like Eli & Mary Woody Branson did. Rarely did draft-age men leave along with these large groups, although young boys and men over draft-age would. For example, there was “Old Bob,” a man over the draft-age who fled to New Bern and then waited for his whole family to arrive so they could all flee the Confederacy together. Old Bob even “had a man employed to aid them in getting over.”²⁰⁰ This route to New Bern and eastern North Carolina, like the Kanawha Route, had also been used by Quakers to help enslaved people escape in years past and became crucial for white refugees as well when the Union began to occupy the North Carolina coast early in the war. The route refugees embarked on were determined by myriad factors, and timing of flight,

¹⁹⁹ J. R. Woods to Newton Woody, January 29, 1865, Woody Family Papers, Duke.

²⁰⁰ From J. C. Clapp to Newton Woody, March 11, 1865, Woody Family Papers, Duke.

location, gender, and the progress of the war were all important factors in prompting Southerners to flee their homes when they did.

Often the routes of refugees were not pre-planned but instead, they were executed in the moment, when an opportunity for mobility arose. For example, Confederate private T. R. Greeson and a fellow soldier had agreed to flee to Union lines together and created an escape plan. However, when Greeson was in Petersburg, a skirmish broke out, allowing him a chance to escape. Greeson regretted leaving his comrade behind, but explained his unplanned escape by saying, “I got a good chance and thought I had better make the trip when I had the chance.”²⁰¹ Such was the case with the Dobbins brothers as well, who may have contemplated their best options to escape the Confederacy throughout the war years, but were not prepared to embark on a specific route to Union lines when they climbed out of the back windows of schoolhouse under fire by Confederate military.

Not all refugees made it to Union territory. M. F. Farington left North Carolina with a group of 136 refugees, only 48 of whom made it to Union lines. Pursued by Confederate officials, the group scattered, and Farington supposed the nearly two-thirds of men who did not make it were “Caught and taken Back.”²⁰² Here, they could be imprisoned, tortured, and possibly executed. The route refugees took depended on individual circumstances, as did their successful completion of it.

The path a refugee embarked on to reach the Union depended on multiple factors, such as their personal risk involved in escaping, their starting point, and when they decided to flee. Ezra Barker’s path differed from that of Jesse Dobbins because they began at different locations and at different points in time. Ezra Barker followed the Kanawha Route

²⁰¹ T. R. Greeson to Newton Woody, March 19, 1865, Woody Family Papers, Duke.

²⁰² M. F. Farington to Jesse Dobbins, August 28, 1864, Jesse & William Dobbins Papers, Quaker Archives, Hege Library, Guilford College (hereafter Dobbins Papers, Guilford).

from North Carolina to Indiana in early 1861, in the steps of his older brother and hundreds of Quakers before him. Jesse Dobbins began further west than Ezra Barker, which made a route through Tennessee and into Kentucky a viable option. This is compounded by the fact that Eastern Tennessee was occupied by the Union at the time of the Dobbins' escape in 1863, making this the shortest route to Union lines from their location and at the time of their escape. Both Barker and the Dobbins brothers were of draft-age and had to flee quickly and quietly. Contrast this with the members of the Hill expedition, who were not traveling in haste or clandestinely, and waited seven months for passports to cross the border because, as noncombatants, the risk of their escape and potential for capture were much lower than the hundreds of deserters and draft-dodgers fleeing Confederate North Carolina.

The central Piedmont of North Carolina was well-known as a Unionist stronghold during the Civil War itself, and historians have argued that it was home to a bitter "inner civil war."²⁰³ Resistance to conscription was central to dissent during the Civil War, and the primary reason North Carolinians fled from the state during the war, including Quakers. In April of 1862, the Confederacy instituted a draft for men aged 18 to 35, and in October of 1862, the Confederate Congress raised the conscription age to 45.²⁰⁴ The Confederacy exempted official members of the Society of Friends from military service, but only after paying a \$500 tax. Most Quakers could not afford this tax, and some refused to pay it since

²⁰³ The region had three features that contributed to Union sentiment: economics, religion, and slavery. First, this section of the state had the most manufacturing, especially in tobacco and textiles, and there was a strong artisan class in the area as well. In part because of this more diversified economy, the area did not depend on slave labor to the same extent as other areas of the state. This region was a "society with slaves," not a "slaveholding society," with one estimate saying that slavery was only central to the daily lives of about 25% of the white population here. See Ira Berlin, *Generations of Captivity: A History of African-American Slaves* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 230; Brown, "North Carolinian Ambivalence," 9. Lastly, the strong presence and influence of Quakers, Wesleyan Methodists, and Moravians, all of whom did not fully support the war effort for religious reasons contributed to Unionist sentiment in the area as well. This Unionist sentiment remained after secession and became a problem for the Confederate North Carolina government.

²⁰⁴ Joe A. Mobley, *Weary of War: Life on the Confederate Home Front* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2008), 50.

they believed it qualified as supporting the war effort. “War Quakers,” or men with Quaker principles but not official members of the Society of Friends, were in an even worse predicament since they were unable even to qualify for the “Quaker Tax.”²⁰⁵ Some Quakers were able to find work in civil service in order to avoid military service, such as serving as a postmaster or working in the salt mines. Quakers who could not prove membership, afford the exemption tax, or find civil service work were arrested and forced to serve. Those who refused to serve often faced physical violence or imprisonment. In addition, hundreds of men either deserted or avoided conscription, often by “lying out” in the woods.²⁰⁶ Finally, hundreds of men made the decision to flee the Confederacy altogether.

The range of ways draft age Quakers avoided Confederate service is exemplified by the Bowman family who lived in Guilford County, North Carolina, in the middle of the Quaker Belt during the Civil War.²⁰⁷ William Bowman, the second oldest of Solomon and Nancy Bowman’s sons, fled the Confederacy and settled in Indiana as a refugee. Two of William’s four draft-age brothers avoided conscription through civil service. His brother Hiram was “burning cole for the government,” and his brother Daniel was “making salt peter.”²⁰⁸ These methods of avoiding conscription still offered aid to the Confederacy but was the safest way to resist Confederate authority. This may have been particularly important to Hiram Bowman, who had a wife and toddler to consider.²⁰⁹ William’s other two draft-age brothers, Samuel and Rhoddy, were “in the bushes.”²¹⁰ This was more dangerous, and also

²⁰⁵ Auman, *Civil War in the North Carolina Quaker Belt*, 46.

²⁰⁶ Ella Lonn, *Desertion during the Civil War*, introduction by William Blair (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 73.

²⁰⁷ *Seventh Manuscript Census of the United States (1850), Population Schedules, North Carolina, Guilford County, Southern Division*, stamped p. 329.

²⁰⁸ Newton Woody to William Bowman, January 9, 1865, Woody Family Papers, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University (hereafter Woody Family Papers, Duke).

²⁰⁹ *Eighth Manuscript Census of the United States (1860), Population Schedules, North Carolina, Guilford County, Southern Division*, p. 7.

²¹⁰ Newton Woody to William Bowman, January 9, 1865, Woody Family Papers, Duke.

more blatant in resisting the Confederacy. All of the draft age sons in the Bowman family avoided conscription in one way or another, but only William chose to take his dissent to the extreme of exiting the country.

This example of the Bowman family also demonstrates that Unionism alone did not propel Quaker families in the North Carolina piedmont to flee from the Confederacy. Importantly, the Confederacy itself at first offered several important ways to avoid service, such as civil service, and the Quaker tax, as mentioned above. The foremost consideration in these cases were often individual circumstances, especially family dynamics. Most refugees from this area in North Carolina were single draft-age men, but some married men did leave the Confederacy. Some married men who did not have children fled as well, but more often, married men sought to avoid conscription by other means for as long as possible, including substitution, exemption, civil service, paying the Quaker tax, or lying out in the woods. However, as the war went on, many of these options were no longer available, which affected many Unionists and disloyal North Carolinians who may not have otherwise fled from the Confederacy.

Take, for example, Philip Mock from Forsyth County, North Carolina. In 1861 Mock was drafted for service in the local militia and refused to join. Instead, he sent a substitute in his place. He was evidently drafted again in 1864, likely because the Confederacy had just increased the draft age and eliminated most exemptions as well as substitutions. At this point, Mock believed he had “tried in every way to keep out of it,” and he “had determined not to fight against the Union,” so, on October 20, 1864, Mock “left with a company of Union men and went North.” Mock explained, “I fixed up my rations,

and took a few articles of clothing and shouldered them and walked to Kentucky.”²¹¹ He would later resettle in Indiana for the duration of the war working as a blacksmith. Although he supported the Union more than the Confederacy and was clearly willing to go to great lengths to avoid military service, it was not his Unionism, but the imminent threat of conscription in 1864 that finally prompted him to leave his home behind.

Mary Stanley of Guilford County, North Carolina, reported that she had aided her four sons and a son-in-law in escaping the Confederacy, helping them prepare for their journey and “filled them up to go” before sending them “through the lines to the federals to keep them from being drafted into the rebel Army.” On the way, her youngest son, Gabriel, was “seized” by Confederate authorities and sent to join the Confederate service. Undeterred, Mary explained that shortly after, “when he come home sick on furlough I filled him up and sent him through the lines.”²¹² Thus, in the case of the Gabriel Stanley, Unionism was not enough to allow his initial escape of the Confederacy, and only after multiple attempts was he able to escape from the Confederacy and reach Union lines.

In Unionist strongholds like central North Carolina, the strength of Union sentiment in the area offered an extra layer of protection for those who did not want to join the Confederate military, serving as an important resource for the thousands in the area avoiding Confederate service by “lying out.” This is demonstrated in the example of the Bowman family, who had two sons living “in the bushes.” This was only possible thanks to

²¹¹ Phillip Mock (Forsyth Co., North Carolina) claim no. 15720, Allowed Case Files, Southern Claims Commission, 1871-1880, Settled Accounts and Claims, Third Auditor, Records of the Treasury Department Accounting Officers, Record Group 217, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

²¹² Mary Stanley (Guilford Co., North Carolina) claim no. 3653, Allowed Case Files, Southern Claims Commission, 1871-1880, Settled Accounts and Claims, Third Auditor, Records of the Treasury Department Accounting Officers, Record Group 217, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

the widespread Unionism in the area and the willingness to provide for these dissenters who created a network of their own to subsist on Southern soil during the Civil War.

Outliers, including draft dodgers and deserters, relied on networks of locals in the area in order to avoid capture. Women on the home front were vital to the success of outlier networks. They fed, clothed, and nursed deserters, and relayed important information to them as well. Outlier networks created complex systems of communication in order to know when it was safe to eat or visit family. These networks also alerted deserters and draft dodgers to deserter hunts led by the Home Guard, and later Confederate military. In the central piedmont of North Carolina, outliers often lived in underground homes or caves, and although uncomfortable and dangerous, “lying out” generally allowed them to have regular contact with their families.²¹³

Despite the networks in place to protect them at home, by late 1863 and early 1864, the bitter violence and the renewal of deserter hunts in central North Carolina began to prompt those who had thus far been lying out to decide to flee the Confederate state altogether instead. Constantine Stoltz, a man from Forsyth County, had “layed out a considerable time to keep from going in the Southern Army or homeguards,” but by 1864, had fled to Indiana with the help of Tandy Kiser, a man above the conscription age who “harbored and fed deserters & refugees & aided them to get to the Union lines.”²¹⁴ Others were not so lucky at getting away in time as the deserter hunts strengthened and the conscription act changed, and were instead caught.

²¹³ Lonn, *Desertion during the Civil War*, 73.

²¹⁴ Tandy Kiser (Forsyth Co., North Carolina) claim no. 14299, Allowed Case Files, Southern Claims Commission, 1871-1880, Settled Accounts and Claims, Third Auditor, Records of the Treasury Department Accounting Officers, Record Group 217, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C. See also the testimony of Constantine Stoltz filed in the Kiser claim.

This is what happened to Joseph B. Leonard of Davidson County, North Carolina. Leonard said, “They hunted me in the woods for about 2 years,” before he was finally caught and forced to join the Confederate Army. He was in the army about a week before he “deserted and went through the lines and went to Indiana,” where he stayed for the duration of the war.²¹⁵ Regarding his loyalty to the Union, he would later only say that “I went to keep out of the rebel army,” and professed little enthusiasm for the Union cause itself. Thus, anti-Confederate sentiment and an unwillingness to fight and die for the Confederate cause was often more central to motivating these Southerners to flee the Confederacy than professed devotion to the Union.

In the case of those Southerners who fled from the Confederacy, it is often difficult to ascertain between pro-Union sentiment and anti-Confederate sentiment. Loyalty during the Civil War was fluid and elastic and evolved in response to the hardships of war. Wartime loyalties were based on individual needs and self-preservation, and for this reason, were often pragmatic and opportunistic.²¹⁶

In an analysis of the people living in Union-occupied eastern North Carolina, Judkin Browning argues that the allegiance of Confederate residents was like that of a sliding scale. Confederate residents harbored “flexible loyalties” that were “liable to be more pro-Union or pro-Confederate at any given time, depending on their individual circumstances.”²¹⁷ Similarly, North Carolinians in the piedmont had “flexible loyalties” as well, which

²¹⁵ Joseph B. Leonard (Davidson Co., North Carolina) claim no. 1975, Allowed Case Files, Southern Claims Commission, 1871-1880, Settled Accounts and Claims, Third Auditor, Records of the Treasury Department Accounting Officers, Record Group 217, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

²¹⁶ For more on Civil War loyalty, see Georgia Lee Tatum, *Disloyalty in the Confederacy* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1934). For more on the ambivalent loyalties of North Carolinians in the piedmont, see David Brown, “North Carolinian Ambivalence: Rethinking Loyalty and Disaffection in the Civil War Piedmont,” in *North Carolinians in the Civil War and Reconstruction*, ed. Paul D. Escott (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008) 8.

²¹⁷ Judkin Browning, *Shifting Loyalties: the Union Occupation of Eastern North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 4.

responded and reacted to Confederate policies throughout the war. Loyalty was a spectrum, and a spectrum that applied to refugees as well.

Although the variations of loyalty are complicated and often difficult to distinguish, a significant part of the population in the North Carolina piedmont was more interested in keeping out of Confederate service than they were willing to actively support the Union. As the war went on and Confederate disaffection increased, more people began to flee from the state. Deserters, draft-dodgers, and paroled prisoners-of-war joined Unionist refugees who fled early in the war, although their loyalty to the Union is often more ambiguous. Nevertheless, whether they were truly Unionists or not, their actions stunted the Confederate war effort, and furthermore, reveal the inability of the Confederacy to retain its people, specifically the very people it believed owed allegiance and military service to the nascent nation.

As more and more draft-age Southern men fled from the Confederacy, connections in the North were crucial. As was the case with native Northerners, the above experiences all demonstrate the importance of pre-existing connections in the North, like family, for wartime refugees. In many cases, the pre-existing connections through their religious involvement in the Society of Friends also supported them as they were displaced. Other important allies that assisted these refugees include the disaffected North Carolinians, prominent advocates in both the North and the South that provided aid, and charitable organizations. Refugees who fled from Confederate North Carolina and attempted to resettle in the Union were aided by three main groups: family, Friends, and allies, who along with refugees themselves, were vital to the creation of the refugee's network.

The Society of Friends was an important connection for aiding the resettlement of white Unionist refugees, and they often worked in tandem with familial connections. Nathan

and Cyrus Barker, along with their brothers-in-law Thomas and Jacob Hinshaw, had been conscripted by the Confederate Army from the Randolph County community of Holly Springs. As Quakers, they had refused to bear arms or aid the war effort in any way, including paying the Quaker exemption tax, since the tax still aided the war effort and violated Quaker principles of pacifism.²¹⁸ The Barker family believed that paying the tax “would not be bearing a faithful testimony against war,” so the conscripts were taken to Camp French, where their continued refusal to bear arms resulted in harassment and abuse by Confederate soldiers.²¹⁹ Months later, the four men deserted the Confederate Army at the Battle of Gettysburg, and found temporary refuge in a nearby Quaker home until they were arrested as deserters by the Union Army and sent to Fort Delaware as prisoners of war.²²⁰

As Thomas Hinshaw explained, the group managed to avoid the battle because it was well known that they were conscientious objectors, and instead spent much of the battle in the hospital tending to people in their regiment. Their regiment began to retreat, but “not feeling bound to follow after them, or thinking it our duty to do so,” the group of North Carolina Quakers lingered behind and made camp for the night. The next day, they found a family of Friends in the neighborhood, and “finding we were about seven miles from Gettesburg, and was between the Rebel and Union pickets, and not feeling very well satisfied

²¹⁸ Nicholas and Catharine Barker to Cyrus and Nathan Barker, February 2, 1863, Barker Family Papers, Guilford. For more on the Barker Family, see Seth B. Hinshaw, *Mary Barker Hinshaw, Quaker: A Story of Carolina Friends in Civil War Times* (Richmond, Ind.: Friends United Press and Greensboro, N.C.: North Carolina Friends Historical Society, 1982).

²¹⁹ Nicholas and Catharine Barker to Cyrus and Nathan Barker, February 2, 1863, Barker Family Papers, Guilford. See also Fernando G. Cartland, *Southern Heroes: Or, The Friends in Wartime* (Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1895), esp. 195-201.

²²⁰ See Manuscript copy of “Some Account of the Trials and Travels that Thomas Hinshaw with others have had to Pass Through while kept in the Confederate Army,” Thomas Hinshaw Papers, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University (hereafter Thomas Hinshaw Papers, Duke). See also “Permission to pass freely through the Loyal States,” signed by James A. Hardie, July 29, 1863, Thomas Hinshaw Papers, Quaker Archives, Hege Library, Guilford College. See also Fernando G. Cartland, *Southern Heroes: Or, The Friends in Wartime* (Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1895), 246-251, and “Illustrations of Peace Principles,” *Friends’ Intelligencer* 37, no. 47 (Jan. 1881), 741.

to run to or from either of them, stayed at these Friends' houses." They were able to get their clothes washed and had begun working in a wheat field in return for room and board when they were arrested by Union pickets as prisoners of war and taken to Fort Delaware.²²¹

Here, they met William Hockett, a fellow conscientious objector from the North Carolina Quaker Belt. Hockett was conscripted in 1862, but as a devout Quaker, he refused to bear arms. In June 1863 he was arrested and forced into Confederate service, where he continued to refuse to bear arms, and was often physically abused for his stance on the war. His regiment soon began marching North to Pennsylvania, and throughout the Battle of Gettysburg Hockett continued to refuse to bear arms. In the aftermath of the battle, he straggled behind his regiment, the 21st N.C., and spent the night at the house of a man in the area. The next morning, he "Packed up to start, and the Union cavalry came along and took me prisoner."²²² He was first taken to Fort McHenry, then to Fort Delaware, where he soon learned that the Barker-Hinshaw group from neighboring Randolph County were also arrested by the Union as prisoners of war after deserting the Confederate Army as conscientious objectors. The men were already acquainted with one another, as Hockett noted in his diary that "we were glad to see each other."²²³ The men were soon visited by local Quakers Samuel Hilles and William Corse, who hoped to assist the Quaker prisoners in getting released from prison. Hilles and Corse also sent Robert Pearsall Smith, an influential Philadelphia man who worked with the United States Christian Commission, leaving the prisoners with money and blankets donated by Philadelphia area Quakers. The connections

²²¹ Manuscript copy of "Some Account of the Trials and Travels that Thomas Hinshaw with others have had to Pass Through while kept in the Confederate Army," 11, Thomas Hinshaw Papers, Duke.

²²² July 5, 1863, William Hockett Diary in Stokes-Evans-Cope Family Papers, MS 1169, Quaker & Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, PA.

²²³ July 15, 1863, William Hockett Diary in Stokes-Evans-Cope Family Papers, MS 1169, Quaker & Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, PA.

of the Barker-Hinshaw-Hockett group were crucial as they sought to be released due to their conscientious objection to Confederate service and become paroled prisoners of war, free to resettle in the North instead.

Shortly after their imprisonment, the men were released from Fort Delaware. Samuel Hilles, along with Quakers Thomas Evans, and James Graves, had presented the men's case to President Lincoln and the Secretary of War, Edwin Stanton, and were able to secure the release of the conscientious objectors and Unionists. Lincoln was known to sympathize with Quakers as well as Southern Unionists, which likely helped their case. Significant in this case is that the group of men were believed to be loyal to the Union. They were recognized as devout Quakers and genuine conscientious objectors who had honestly been conscripted against their will to fight for a cause that they did not support, primarily due to their religious beliefs. The abuse the men suffered by fellow Confederate soldiers when they continued to refuse to bear arms also attested to their conscientious principles, as did their work in hospitals during the Battle of Gettysburg, followed by their prompt desertion once in Union territory. Furthermore, it is significant that at this point in the war, prisoners of war who were willing to take the oath of the allegiance to the United States were eligible for release from prison, a guarantee which would disappear just after the Hinshaw-Barker-Hockett group was released in mid-July 1863.²²⁴

After their "friends in Philadelphia represented [their] case to the war department," the group of men affirmed the oath of allegiance, and were "discharged and sent to Indiana to [their] friends and relatives."²²⁵ The men stayed with Samuel Hilles in Wilmington,

²²⁴ Angela Zombek, "Citizenship – Compulsory or Convenient: Federal Officials, Confederate Prisoners, and the Oath of Allegiance," in Paul J. Quigley, ed., *The American Civil War and the Transformation of Citizenship* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2018), 122.

²²⁵ Nicholas and Catharine Barker to Cyrus and Nathan Barker, n.d., Barker Family Papers, Guilford. The copy of this letter in the archives at Guilford College is a handwritten transcription on which the transcriber wrote

Delaware for a few days before heading to Philadelphia to stay with Thomas Evans until they headed out to Indiana, with transportation and money provided by Quakers in the North. A few weeks later, Thomas Evans sent both of the Barker brothers five more dollars to aid their resettlement in “the West.”²²⁶

Ezra Barker, who had resettled in Indiana two years earlier, helped resettle his younger brothers, Cyrus and Nathan, after they were released from Fort Delaware and arrived in Indiana in 1863. Thomas and Jacob Hinshaw left Philadelphia a few weeks later, after Jacob recovered from an illness, and after their arrival, he wrote “I and Amos are living at Uncle John Davises Cyrus and Nathan at Uncle John Barkers Jacob at Ahimas Kendals. N. Cox, Ezra, and families living at home.”²²⁷ In the case of the Barkers and Hinshaws, the network formed by the Society of Friends and supplemented by familial connections led to their safe resettlement as Unionist refugees fleeing Confederate military service.

For the Alfred Wheeler family an even larger network of assistance facilitated their escape from Confederate North Carolina and resettlement in Indiana. The Wheeler family were Quakers and supporters of the Union. Alfred Wheeler was involved in the underground railroad, and aided numerous draft-dodgers and deserters hiding out in the Sandy Ridge area of Guilford County in the first few years of the war. His son Alonzo, who was eleven years old at the time, recalled, “I have carried many baskets of food to the woods and to the barn for the boys who were hiding out and hungry... I remember having stood out in the yard after dark, watching for the approach of any one who might come and find

that the date was illegible. The contents of the letter make clear that it was winter when the parents wrote the letter. Since the youngest sons had been taken prisoner of war in the summer of 1863, and had since been released and joined Ezra in Indiana, this letter is most likely from the last months of 1863 or the first months of 1864.

²²⁶ Thomas Evans to Nathan and Cyrus Barker, August 14, 1863, Barker Family Papers, Guilford.

²²⁷ Thomas Hinshaw to Mary Barker Hinshaw, August 6, 1864, Thomas Hinshaw Papers, Duke.

the conscripts eating supper.”²²⁸ At one point, their home was even searched for outliers by Confederate authorities for the suspicion of hiding conscripts.

Then, in 1864, Alfred Wheeler decided to sell his farm and move to Indiana. The reasons why are not entirely clear. Wheeler was a Unionist, but he was over the draft age. He may have been threatened for his Unionism, unknown to his son Alonzo, before selling the farm, or possibly just wanted to avoid the increasing violence in the area. It is also possible that the family had considered moving to Indiana anyway, to relocate, since several family members lived in Indiana. Regardless, Alfred “made a public sale in the fall of 1864 preparatory to leaving the state. Such a thing was almost unheard of, as conditions were such that nobody was leaving with his families.”²²⁹ They sold the family farm and were ready to head to Indiana.

First, however, the family decided to try to get passports to leave Confederate North Carolina. Alonzo recalled how “My father got two men of influence to assist him in getting a passport from the Governor of the state to go to Virginia.” The Wheelers did reach out to prominent Quakers in the area for help in getting passports, including Delphina Mendenhall, Jonathan Harris, and John Bacon Crenshaw. Alfred received documentation for his family of nine, and immediately set out for Greensboro to go to the bank and exchange all of his Confederate money for gold and silver. They set out on their journey, Alonzo recalled, “I thought to myself as the wagon drove out of the gate, ‘Good-bye old home.’” The family set out to Greensboro, “where we were to take the train for the eastern part of the state... We got on the cars and traveled towards the northeastern part of the state going via Raleigh and Weldon. We struck the Virginia state line at or near Murphy’s. This, as I remember, was as

²²⁸ Wheeler, “My North Carolina Boyhood,” *IMH* 33.

²²⁹ Wheeler, “My North Carolina Boyhood,” *IMH* 33.

far as the train ran.” And here, they encountered the Confederate pickets, who after close scrutiny, and intervention by influential Quaker minister Jonathan Harris, allowed the family to pass through the lines.²³⁰

Alonzo recalled how, “At the end of public transportation, we had to make our way the best we could. Father started out to find some one to haul us to the place he wanted to reach. The country in this section of Virginia had been pretty well devastated by the armies as it had been fought over. The railroad had been torn up and the rails piled on log heaps and heated red hot then bent so they could not be used again without being worked over.” Nevertheless, Alfred Wheeler knew this would be the case, and “informed himself before starting as to just where he intended going,” which was the home of a fellow Quaker named William Hare. They stayed in an abandoned farm house next to Hare and worked on Hare’s farm in exchange for food, bedding, and clothing. Alonzo recalled that “The day finally came when Hare loaded us into his wagons and started for the Yankee pickets.” When soldiers stopped them at the pickets Alonzo’s mother “told them how happy we were to see them and that we had been wanting to see the Yankees for a long time.” Then, “They put us in charge of a soldier who put us on the train, took us to Portsmouth and there put us in charge of the Sanitary Commission, where we remained over night,” before crossing into Union lines at Norfolk the next morning.²³¹

The involvement of the United States Sanitary Commission in the Wheeler’s family experience as refugees is important to note. The massive influx of Unionist refugees fleeing the Confederacy presented a dilemma for the Northern states to which they fled. As the Civil War progressed, the presence of these refugees was impossible to ignore, and Northern

²³⁰ Wheeler, “My North Carolina Boyhood,” *IMH* 33

²³¹ Wheeler, “My North Carolina Boyhood,” *IMH* 33.

citizens, especially women, worked extensively to aid refugees and raise money for their provisions. Civil War-era aid societies were a continuation of antebellum poor relief, and as many historians have demonstrated, these organizations provided an opportunity for women in particular to express their patriotism and engage in political culture. Aid for Union refugees was an extension of the aid Northern women provided for Union soldiers, widows, and orphans, as well as the aid provided for freedmen. Refugee relief societies, like soldier's aid societies, focused on Christian and humanitarian duty to provide for the less fortunate.²³² The plight of refugees became a larger issue as the war progressed and their numbers increased, and the number of refugees made it nearly impossible to deny them aid.

At first, aid for refugees was localized, with groups like the Louisville Relief Commission and the Cairo Relief Association, but as the war progressed and the number of refugees increased, refugee relief efforts became more organized regionally and nationally. As a founder of the American Union Commission, created to aid refugees in late 1864, would testify:

Local charities were started to relieve this misery at various points, and special appeals were addressed to the people of the North in our principal cities. But still in this sudden emergency, as I have said, there was a want of uniform policy and organization, both among the people at large and with the Government. To meet this state of facts—recognizing this as a vast national calamity, to be grappled with, with all the resources both of the Government and of popular charity—this COMMISSION was called into existence.²³³

The massive influx of refugees in 1864 in particular led to the creation of numerous refugee relief organizations, all of which emphasized the persecution compelling refugees to flee to the North, as well as the humane, Christian, and patriotic duty to provide refugees

²³² Lawson, *Patriot Fires*, 32. See also Patricia Richard, *Busy Hands*.

²³³ Rev. Joseph P. Thompson, "Speech of Rev. Dr. Thompson," in *Speeches of Hon. W. Dennison, postmaster-general, Rev. J.P. Thompson, D.D., President of the Commission, Col. N.G. Taylor of East Tennessee, Hon. J.R. Doolittle, U.S. Senate, Gen. J.A. Garfield, M.C., in the Hall of Representatives, Washington, Feb. 12, 1865*, ed. The American Union Commission (New York: Sanford Harroun, 1865), 9.

with temporary aid. Organizations like the United States Sanitary Commission, the United States Christian Commission, and others, soon began massive efforts to raise money and provisions to assist white refugees fleeing from Confederate territory in addition to their other efforts with wounded soldiers and freedmen.

Many local refugee relief organizations began to partner with these larger national organizations, such as the United States Sanitary Commission, the Western Sanitary Commission, or the American Union Commission, as refugee relief became more organized. These organizations played a significant role in aiding and resettling thousands of refugees during the Civil War, primarily in the Midwest and in the Mississippi and Ohio River Valleys—in other words, along the border between the Union and Confederacy. Cities in these areas like Cairo, Evansville, Louisville, St. Louis, and others had thousands of refugees pass through, as did many other Union cities, like port cities in the Northeast, where the Wheeler family interacted with the United States Sanitary Commission.

The Northern and Midwestern cities to which Unionist refugees fled during the war years were forced to respond to their presence. The intruding population was in a destitute condition, creating tension between wartime grievances and the practical demand, and Christian obligation, to offer humanitarian aid. While many cities debated whether or not to provide aid to Southern refugees, often out of fear of aiding guilty or subversive refugees, this was not a problem in the areas in north-central Indiana where most Quakers from North Carolina fled—the Indianapolis area, or more specifically, the Quaker-heavy Richmond area. The Indiana Union Refugee Relief Association was founded to help white Unionist refugees, and chapters were established in Jackson, Wayne, Randolph, Morgan, Rush, and Henry counties, all of which experienced an influx of refugees from the North

Carolina Quaker Belt.²³⁴ Walnut Ridge Friends Meeting in Carthage, Indiana raised over \$200 worth of clothing for destitute Southern refugees. Carthage, located in Rush County, Indiana, was an area many North Carolina refugees fled to, for example, Quaker couple Eli and Mary Woody Branson. Friends from the Whitewater Monthly Meeting in Wayne County, Indiana aided over 100 white refugees who fled to the Richmond area by providing them with food, money, and provisions like furniture. Thus, in this case, the Society of Friends and refugee relief associations came together to help ameliorate the refugee crisis and did so specifically in the areas of Indiana to which North Carolina Quakers were fleeing. Networks such as these reinforced the existing familial and Quaker connections between North Carolina and Indiana Quakers and were significant for most refugees who fled from the Confederacy, especially groups as large as the Wheeler family.

After the Wheeler family took oaths of allegiance and were free to go, they proceeded to Indiana, first by taking a steamboat from Norfolk to Baltimore, then taking “the cars” to Charlottesville, Indiana, where Alfred Wheeler’s brother-in-law Dix Coffin lived. They showed up at the Coffin farm unannounced, and Alonzo described that when his father arrived and “made his appearance and told who he was, they could not have been much more surprised had someone come from another planet.”²³⁵ The Alfred Wheeler family stayed at the Coffin farm for a week or so while their father looked for a farm to purchase, finally purchasing a place directly beside his cousin, Jesse Wheeler, another refugee from the North Carolina Quaker Belt.

The Wheeler family did not immediately flee North Carolina when it seceded for a number of reasons. Although active Unionists and devout Quakers, Alfred Wheeler was

²³⁴ See Jacquelyn S. Nelson, *Indiana Quakers Confront the Civil War* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1991), 73.

²³⁵ Wheeler, “My North Carolina Boyhood,” *IMH* 33.

above the draft age, and the family had mostly daughters. Alonzo, their oldest son, was only 11 in 1864, and therefore much too young for conscription. Thus, the individual circumstances of this family made it possible for them to remain in the Confederacy for longer, and because of this, the Wheeler family was also able to aid the numerous other outliers and refugees in their area before they left themselves.

Finally, when the family did decide to leave Confederate North Carolina, they applied and waited for passports before leaving. Fortunately, prominent acquaintances were able to help get these for the family of nine, and it was only with these connections within the Society of Friends that much of their escape was possible. The family rejoiced to be back in Union territory and received additional aid from the United States Sanitary Commission, showing the development of aid societies to ameliorate the refugee crisis. Finally, the family resettled in Indiana using familial connections, and while transient at first, they settled down and bought a farm near family in Indiana as well. Although the Wheeler family were Unionists, they remained in the Unionist stronghold in the South for the majority of the war. However, when they finally did leave the Confederacy, it was their social network that made it possible to leave and resettle elsewhere, including the assistance of family, fellow Quakers, aid societies, and prominent friends.

A crucial step for the Wheeler family's escape from the Confederacy was seeking passports to leave. The vast majority of those fleeing from North Carolina did so clandestinely and did not seek required legal documentation to leave Confederate North Carolina. Furthermore, for any men eligible for conscription, permission to leave the Confederacy would likely be denied, making gender, age, physical and mental ability, as well as profession and wealth important factors for those who desired legal documentation. Although the Confederate passport system was not centralized, by 1864 most Confederate

residents knew they needed to have documentation with them if they were to travel into or out of towns and cities or any area under martial law, near Confederate encampments, or across state lines.²³⁶ The system was recognized as a way to prevent desertion, and thus draft-age men were required to provide documentation of exemption to proceed through, and even non-combatants were required to identify themselves and their reasons for traveling. As Southerners began to flee in great numbers in 1864, numerous would-be refugees turned to prominent friends and acquaintances in search of assistance for acquiring necessary documentation.

By 1864, a growing number of North Carolinians and Confederate residents in general were growing weary of war and disaffection continued to increase. Rampant inflation, tax-in-kind and impressment policies, poverty, and food shortages were compounded by increase in the draft age, restrictions on exemptions based on profession, and Confederate violations of civil liberties. Women in Salisbury, North Carolina were so desperate for basic provisions that a group of 75 or more, wielding axes and hatchets, stormed a government depot in 1863 and stole ten barrels of flour.²³⁷ A few weeks later, a woman from Greensboro wrote Governor Vance informing him of the food shortages in the area and wrote that several armed women in search of food had been arrested for attempting to loot provisions from local speculators.²³⁸ As conditions deteriorated in the Confederacy in 1864, an increasing number of Quakers began to search for passes out of the Confederacy to join relatives in Indiana in search of better conditions, and a number of

²³⁶ See Mark E. Neely, Jr., *Southern Rights: Political Prisoners and the Myth of Confederate Constitutionalism* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1999), 2-6.

²³⁷ *Carolina Watchman*, March 23, 1863 in W. Buck Years and John G. Barrett, ed., *North Carolina Civil War Documentary* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 220.

²³⁸ Nancy Mangum to Z.B. Vance, April 9, 1863, in W. Buck Years and John G. Barrett, ed., *North Carolina Civil War Documentary* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 221.

wealthy, respected, and influential Quakers were crucial allies in helping these Quaker refugees acquire documentation.

Among the allies of Quaker refugees like the Wheelers was Delphina Mendenhall, a prominent Guilford County Quaker minister who had spent the first few years of the war resisting the Confederacy by advocating for conscientious objectors and against conscription. She had helped dozens of Quaker conscripts from Guilford County to obtain exemptions, occasionally by helping raise funds to pay the \$500 tax, and was known for hiding and feeding deserters, draft-dodgers, and escaped Union prisoners. She also helped numerous newly freedpeople and free black North Carolinians cross into Union lines, including a large group of enslaved people that she inherited and then attempted to free just as the Civil War was breaking out.²³⁹

In 1864, as more would-be refugees sought to procure documentation to satisfy Confederate officials as they traveled toward Union territory, Mendenhall promptly began to use her position to assist them. In order to do so more effectively, she turned to a fellow Quaker minister in Richmond, Virginia and her close friend, John Bacon Crenshaw, who had assisted her in many of her other activities during the war, like procuring exemptions for Quaker conscripts. In the fall of 1864, she wrote to Crenshaw, explaining that the documentation she had provided for a Quaker family of nine to cross the lines a few weeks earlier had been successful, and they were now heading to Indiana.²⁴⁰ Mendenhall wrote

²³⁹ Delphina Mendenhall to John L. Ham, February 1, 1879, Item 54, Paul W. Bean Civil War Papers, Special Collections at Raymond H. Fogler Library, University of Maine, available online at https://digitalcommons.library.umaine.edu/paul_bean_papers/54/, accessed 27 April 2020. Correspondence between Delphina Mendenhall and J.B. Crenshaw in the John Bacon Crenshaw Papers, Quaker Archives, Hege Library, Guilford College also documents her wartime activities as a Unionist. See also Victoria Bynum, *Unruly Women: The Politics of Social and Sexual Control in the Old South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 25.

²⁴⁰ Delphina Mendenhall to J. B. Crenshaw, September 15, 1864, John Bacon Crenshaw Papers, Quaker Archives, Hege Library, Guilford College (henceforth Crenshaw Papers, Guilford).

Crenshaw, “My certificates procured Passports for a family of 9 white women & children, who left yesterday for Indiana by way of Goldsboro – then by flag of truce.”²⁴¹ She described to Crenshaw how this system worked, explaining: “The papers I spoke of, are statements made by citizens in regard to the necessity & propriety of removal of certain person—and the certificate & seal of our CC. Clerk as to the respectability of the parties who make the statement—This sent to Richmond has in a small number of cases procured passports.”²⁴² Documents confirming identity and intentions, as well as exemption from military service, were imperative for those attempting to travel within the Confederacy, and for those trying to flee from it. J. B. Crenshaw would be an important ally in this situation, especially since he was a well-known and respected Quaker minister in Richmond, Virginia, and by this point in the war, well-known in the Confederate capital as an outspoken advocate for Quakers and conscientious objectors. The Confederate residents attempting to leave the country were usually unknown to the officials determining who received a pass, and thus a recommendation from a prominent Quaker in the area regarding the propriety of letting the residents proceed was an important step.

An increasing number of people began contacting Delphina Mendenhall and J. B. Crenshaw about procuring passports for them from 1864 until the end of the war, and for many, these connections were vital in helping them to cross the lines into Union territory. William Osborne, a 32-year-old Quaker from Randolph County, North Carolina, wrote J. B. Crenshaw asking him for assistance in procuring a passport. Osborne explained “Times is getting verry hard hear I do not know how to make a Living hear.” He noted that five of his siblings were already living in Indiana, and noted “I think I can do better to go to them.”²⁴³

²⁴¹ Delphina Mendenhall to J. B. Crenshaw, September 15, 1864, Crenshaw Papers, Guilford.

²⁴² Delphina Mendenhall to J. B. Crenshaw, October 7, 1864, Crenshaw Papers, Guilford.

²⁴³ Wm. T. Osbourne to J. B. Crenshaw, December 22, 1864, Crenshaw Papers, Guilford.

He also noted that he paid the \$500 Quaker tax in 1862, and was legally exempted, which was important information for the Confederate officials who would have been reluctant to issue a passport to a draft-age man otherwise. William Osborne left North Carolina shortly after receiving his recommendation from influential Quaker allies.

Delphina Mendenhall wrote a letter to Crenshaw, asking that Crenshaw would assist her fellow churchgoer, Moses Kersey, in getting a passport out of the Confederacy. She explained that Kersey had previously lived in Indiana wanted to return, adding that “he is a poor man, & it is with difficulty he can sustain his family here.” She further described Kersey as a “worthy member” of the Society of Friends and confirmed he was exempt from military service after paying the Quaker tax.²⁴⁴ Jonathan Harris, another prominent Quaker in the area, wrote a similar letter to J. B. Crenshaw, asking Crenshaw to obtain a passport for his acquaintance Thomas E. Anderson, a 26-year-old Quaker from Guilford County, North Carolina, as well as passports for his wife and two toddler sons. Harris vouched for Anderson’s character, saying he “is a Friend in good standing he is not a mischievous man & I am satisfied he will not communicate anything to the enemy that will be injurious to the confederacy.”²⁴⁵ Harris was sure to mention that Anderson paid the exemption tax, and therefore was not liable for military service to the Confederacy.

Harris similarly wrote to Crenshaw to request assistance in procuring passports for a family of seven from Guilford County, including a couple in their 70s, Lawrence and Rebecca Lancaster, their daughter, Katharine White, her two teenage daughters, Merinda and Cindarilla, the couple’s other daughter, Rebecca, and her 19-month-old son. He explained that “they are poor & are much scuffled to live” and that they would be better off if they

²⁴⁴ Delphina Mendenhall to J. B. Crenshaw, February 16, 1865, Crenshaw Papers, Guilford.

²⁴⁵ Jonathan Harris to J. B. Crenshaw, October 21, 1864, Crenshaw Papers, Guilford.

were able to get to their friends and relatives in Indiana. Harris further commented, “It will be no loss to the Confederacy for them to go.”²⁴⁶ The loss of these seven residents would not be significant, he implied, since none of them were eligible for military service or even civil service to aid the fledgling nation.

Important to recognize here is that these refugees, since they were all ineligible for military service, were in a position to apply for passports to legally cross the border into the United States, whereas for many refugees fleeing Confederate conscription this was not a feasible option. Also important is the role that social networks played in assisting these refugees to get passports and flee the Confederacy. Three people, Delphina Mendenhall, Jonathan Harris, and J. B. Crenshaw were able to assist over 30 refugees from Guilford and Randolph counties alone in getting to Union territory by recommending them for passports in the eight months from Fall 1864 until the war ended, and other people in the Quaker Belt area were involved in recommending their own friends and acquaintances as well, including former governors and officials, such as J. M. Morehead, William Alexander Graham, and Jonathan Worth.

As demonstrated in the examples above, extended family was an important connection for refugees, as were connections within the Society of Friends, and other influential advocates in the community more broadly. In addition to Quaker leaders Mendenhall, Harris, and Crenshaw in the South, many prominent Southern Unionists living in the North also served as advocates for Unionist refugees. Men such as Benjamin Sherwood Hedrick and Bryan Tyson, himself a refugee, used their contacts in the North to connect refugees with resettlement opportunities.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁶ Jonathan Harris to J. B. Crenshaw, December 6, 1864, Crenshaw Papers, Guilford.

²⁴⁷ Bryan Tyson fled North Carolina in 1863 after publishing an anti-Confederate pamphlet called *Ray of Light, or, A Treatise on the Sectional Troubles, Religiously and Morally Considered* (Brower’s Mills, N.C.: B. Tyson, 1862). For

For example, a young man from Snow Camp, North Carolina named Nathan Stafford wrote Bryan Tyson saying, “I am arrived in Baltimore a refugee & without means & I would like to know what the chance would be to git a job of work at Washington.” Stafford continued to list all of the acquaintances from his hometown with whom Tyson might be familiar in order to vouch for his own character. He explained that he “had to leave my family & go in to the army or leave the country to keep from going in to the servis in the confederate army,” and ultimately decided to flee the Confederacy. Stafford wanted access to Tyson’s network of refugee assistance, writing, “I hope you will recognize me... & if it is so that you could do anything for me I would be very glad for I want to go west but have no means & if I cant git a better job than I have it will take me all winter to git means to go to Indiana if you think that I can do any better in Washington I will come to Washington pleas do the bes[t] you can for me.” Stafford desired to move to the Midwest, where he had likely heard labor and land were both abundant, and likely also knew that many other people from his region of North Carolina had resettled there, but he was willing to go to Washington, D.C. instead if he could find work. Stafford hoped that listing their common acquaintances and demonstrating loyalty to the Union by avoiding conscription would lead Tyson to provide him aid for resettling via the refugee assistance network that had evolved in response to wartime demands.²⁴⁸

Another vital way Tyson and Hedrick aided North Carolinians was by securing the release of prisoners of war they believed to truly be Unionists. Tyson and Hedrick received hundreds of letters from prisoners of war, mainly distant relatives and old acquaintances,

more on Tyson see Auman’s *Civil War in the North Carolina Quaker Belt*, 48-54. See also William Auman, “Bryan Tyson: Southern Unionist and American Patriot,” *North Carolina Historical Review* 62 (July 1985), 257-292.

²⁴⁸ Nathan Stafford to Bryan Tyson, November 13, 1864, Bryan Tyson Papers, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University (hereafter Tyson Papers, Duke).

asking for food, clothes, chewing tobacco, and other provisions. However, a large number of those prisoners who addressed Hedrick and Tyson did so hoping one of the men would sympathize with their situation and procure their release.

Advocates such as Bryan Tyson and Benjamin Sherwood Hedrick became crucial contacts for prisoners of war who wanted to be released. Scores of prisoners of war turned to Hedrick and Tyson for assistance during the war. Among these men was Israel Lowdermilk, a prisoner of war from a Quaker family in Randolph County, that was acquainted with the Tyson family in Davidson County, North Carolina. Lowdermilk wrote to Tyson from prison camp at Elmira, New York, asking for advice saying, “I want to stay North and I dont no in what way to prosead [sic].”²⁴⁹ Tyson petitioned the Secretary of War for the release of Israel Lowdermilk on the grounds that he was a “thorough Unionist” and had been “caught in the woods by the militia and forced into the [Confederate] army.”²⁵⁰ Tyson was able to secure Lowdermilk’s release, and advocated for the release of at least 18 other men from North Carolina that he believed to be true Unionists, vowing “I believe all the foregoing to be thorough Union men and am willing to be placed in their situation should any prove false to the confidence reposed in them.”²⁵¹ Of these paroled prisoners of war who professed Union sympathies, many joined family in Indiana amongst the growing number of North Carolina refugees, including Israel Lowdermilk’s nephew, Elkanah.²⁵²

Once the prisoner exchange system collapsed at the end of July 1863, the release of prisoners of war who took the oath of allegiance and agreed to remain in the North was not guaranteed. Thus, these men began to reach out to any likely advocate for their release,

²⁴⁹ Israel Lowdermilk to Bryan Tyson, August 22, 1864, Tyson Papers, Duke.

²⁵⁰ Bryan Tyson to Edwin Stanton, draft, January 27, 1865, Tyson Papers, Duke.

²⁵¹ Bryan Tyson to Edwin Stanton, draft, January 27, 1865, Tyson Papers, Duke.

²⁵² K. H. Trogdon to Bryan Tyson, December 3, 1864, Tyson Papers, Duke.

including Tyson and Hedrick. Most prisoners who wrote in search of a release expressed their Union sentiment, and most also claimed to have been conscripted into the Confederate Army. The information in the letters regarding conscription and willingness to take the oath were meant to demonstrate the loyalty of the prisoner, since this was often imperative for securing their release.

Nevertheless, the loyalty of these prisoners of the war, like that of most professed Unionists, was difficult to judge. Many of the men only offered vague explanations of their loyalty and situation, leaving the possibility that they were just trying to say the right thing to procure release. In fact, some of the letters requesting release from prison upon taking the oath read like more like a script than a sincere affirmation of continued loyalty to the Union. Motivations for taking the oath of allegiance varied, and many prisoners who were willing to take it were not sincere, but simply wanted to secure their expedient release from prison at any cost.²⁵³ On more than one occasion, Hedrick asked third parties about the loyalty of a prisoner of war who had written to him for aid, and that evidently, he did not know well enough to be sure of their Unionism. Understandably, too. As prisoners of war, these men had clearly served in the Confederate Army, and therefore their loyalty to the United States was suspect, and details about their specific situation increased the likelihood of their release and restoration to citizenship and freedom.

Scores of prisoners of war from the Quaker Belt of North Carolina wrote to advocates like Hedrick and Tyson explaining that they had been conscripted despite their Unionism, with many explaining they were exempt from conscription until 1864 when many professional exemptions were eliminated, and the draft age was increased. These facts, again, were intended to demonstrate Unionism. Interestingly in this regard, a surprising number

²⁵³ Zombek, "Citizenship – Compulsory or Convenient," 113-115.

reported that they were captured by the Union intentionally, so that they would be able to take the Oath of Allegiance to the United States and remain safely within Union lines.

This is what John M. Tomlinson did. Tomlinson, an 18-year-old from Randolph County, North Carolina, was conscripted late in 1864 and joined the Confederate army to avoid the embarrassment of conscription. He explained that he did not want to fight for the Confederacy, that his sympathies had always been with the Union, and that he “premeditated desertion [sic].”²⁵⁴ He explained that he had deserted with the intention of being taken prisoner by the Union Army, so that he could take the Oath of Allegiance and secure his release in the United States. All Tomlinson needed was an opportunity to desert.

This opportunity arose during the Battle of Williamsport. Tomlinson recognized his opportunity, and “straggled” behind his company overnight, “with the hope of being overtaken early the next morning by the Union forces.” He hid in a wheat field, and in the morning, as anticipated, Union pickets arrested him as a prisoner of war. Tomlinson was sent to Old Capitol Prison and immediately inquired about the possibility of taking the oath of allegiance and “remaining in the Loyal states.”²⁵⁵ Nevertheless, five months later he was still in prison. His plan for freedom in the Union was not working as smoothly as he had imagined, so he turned to Bryan Tyson to help secure his release and shortly after, he moved to Ohio and then joined the Union Army. Tomlinson was one of several men from the North Carolina Quaker Belt to become a “galvanized Yankee,” that is, a former Confederate soldier who then joined the Union Army. He later wrote Tyson to thank him and assured him, “I do rejoice to see the cause of the Union prosper.”²⁵⁶ Tomlinson spent most of the

²⁵⁴ John M. Tomlinson to Bryan Tyson, November 2, 1863, Tyson Papers, Duke.

²⁵⁵ John M. Tomlinson to Bryan Tyson, November 2, 1863, Tyson Papers, Duke.

²⁵⁶ John Tomlinson to Bryan Tyson, June 6, 1864, Tyson Papers, Duke.

rest of the war on garrison duty at Harpers' Ferry, as a Union soldier in the 5th N.Y Heavy Artillery.

Alexander K. Pearce, a Confederate prisoner of war, also joined the Union Army. Pearce also claimed that he had deserted the Confederacy intentionally so he would be captured by Union troops and able to take the oath of allegiance. He recounted his experiences escaping across the Rappahannock River after straggling behind his company one night before reaching Union pickets belonging to the First Vermont Cavalry the next day, who took him in for questioning and also fed him the first meal he had had in three days. He joined the Union Army, explaining that "I never was contented in the Rebels service but here I am I feel it my duty to help defend our flag and demolish slavery."²⁵⁷ He stayed in the Union Army for the rest of the war, and continued to believe in the Union cause, saying, "I have no doubt but we will conquer it is a Rightious cause."²⁵⁸

Although originally Confederate soldiers, Tomlinson and Pearce both switched sides after intentionally getting arrested as prisoner of war by the Union army. Both men claimed not to have been secessionists, and both claimed to be conscripted before finally joining the Confederate Army. Both also claimed to desert at the first opportunity they had. Although the loyalty of galvanized yankees, like prisoners of war, was often suspect, these men not only abandoned the Confederacy, but they chose the Union instead.

Other Galvanized Yankees were less enthusiastic about their decision to switch sides. Thomas Needham, another young man from the North Carolina Quaker Belt, was evidently taken prisoner of war in 1864 after being conscripted into the Confederate Army. He wrote to Tyson to help get him out of prison, and while he was waiting for his release, Needham

²⁵⁷ A. K. Pearce to Bryan Tyson, May 9, 1864, Tyson Papers, Duke.

²⁵⁸ A. K. Pearce to Bryan Tyson, March 1, 1865, Tyson Papers, Duke.

learned that his brother, Harry, had died from illness while he was also a prisoner of war. Less than three months later, Thomas wrote Tyson again, saying, “I am not any longer a Rebel I have en listed in the United States Service and am out of Prison.”²⁵⁹ Unlike Pearce and Tomlinson, who profess support for the Union cause, Needham appears to be more prompted by pragmatic concerns, like securing his release from prison, and hopefully avoiding dying as a prisoner of war as his brother had.

While Unionism played an important role in prompting people to flee from the Confederacy, it was not always the primary factor. In many cases, individual circumstances determined by timing, gender, class, or location played an important part, as did Confederate policies like conscription, which created more disloyal sentiment when it was amended in 1864 to increase the age range and decrease possible exemptions. The pre-existing Union sentiment in the Quaker Belt grew as dissent increased, and so did the number of refugees. Regardless of their circumstances, however, all of these refugees, in one way or another, relied on their social networks to escape Confederate North Carolina and resettle in Union territory.

Newton Woody was another refugee who turned to Tyson and the informal refugee assistance network to find opportunities in the North. Woody, a Confederate conscript, wrote his wife, Susan Carsbie Woody, in late 1864 implying that he was fleeing the Confederacy, saying, “I have comensed to clime a mounting in my feelings that will Require all the nerve that I am able to command.” He then continued to make arrangements for all of her finances before closing with “I will write to you in dew time & when I think it is safe to do so.”²⁶⁰ His next letter to Susan was dated December 6, two days after his arrival in

²⁵⁹ Thomas Needham to Bryan Tyson, October 14, 1864, Tyson Papers, Duke.

²⁶⁰ Newton Woody to Susan Woody, November 16, 1864, Woody Family Papers, Duke.

Washington, D.C., and three weeks since his last letter to Susan. He informed her that he saw Bryan Tyson and told her of his plans to relocate further west, saying “I am going to Leave this city this day for Baltimore and the west write to me at Mooresville Indiana.”²⁶¹

Like many other refugees, Woody’s flight was clandestine—cryptic even to his wife—and his resettlement was aided by a network of allies like Bryan Tyson.

Once in Indiana, Woody continued to rely on his connections for resettlement opportunities. He wrote to several Quaker friends and acquaintances, the majority of whom he had been acquainted with in North Carolina and who were also Unionist refugees, in search of profitable land or labor. Unionist refugees themselves became the most numerous members of the assistance network as it grew and strengthened throughout the war. J.R. Wright, a North Carolina refugee who was living in Kokomo, Indiana, told Woody that “As for your trade I don’t know what could be done here but we will see & if there is any chance we will let you know.”²⁶² Another refugee, William Bowman, responded to Woody’s inquiry for work with better news, saying, “Come this is a good neighborhood for work and N. Carolinaans a plenty [sic],” and even included directions to his home in Morgan County, Indiana.²⁶³ Culoise Johnson sent Woody an enthusiastic bid for resettlement in Illinois, exclaiming, “I will say this much concerning our Prairie country that if, like others who have escaped from Dixie, you have wondered at the power and resources of the loyal States, when you have traveled further NorthWest you will be ready to exclaim that ‘the half had not been told you [sic].’”²⁶⁴ Despite Johnson’s eagerness, Woody did not take him up on his offer, nor did he settle down immediately upon his arrival in Indiana.

²⁶¹ Newton Woody to Susan Woody, December 6, 1864, Woody Family Papers, Duke.

²⁶² J.R. Wright to Newton Woody, December 22, 1864, Woody Family Papers, Duke.

²⁶³ William Bowman to Newton Woody, December 27, 1864, Woody Family Papers, Duke.

²⁶⁴ Culoise Johnson to Newton Woody, January 9, 1865, Woody Family Papers, Duke.

Instead, Woody remained transient for a few months after his arrival in Indiana, which was common for wartime refugees.²⁶⁵ Woody first stayed with Hiram Johnson in the Quaker community of Coffins Station, Indiana before traveling to Carthage, Indiana to assess opportunities there. Woody stayed in Carthage with another refugee, William Forbes, for about three weeks, laboring for his room and board. Apparently not satisfied in Carthage, he continued to write to friends and acquaintances in search of more stable resettlement opportunities.²⁶⁶

Woody had owned and operated a mill when he was living in North Carolina and hoped to find work as a millwright in Indiana, working many other jobs temporarily while searching for a mill to operate. In March, Woody found employment operating Mooresville Mills for a man named John Comer thanks to his connections in the Quaker community near Plainfield, Indiana, where he remained employed for the duration of the war.²⁶⁷ Thus, from the beginning of his flight, Woody relied extensively on the refugee assistance network as he considered his options for resettling in Indiana.

Interestingly, while Woody was still searching for a stable occupation, other refugees were contacting him and asking for tips on resettlement opportunities as well. In the same letter that J. R. Wright promised to let Woody know about job opportunities in Kokomo, he asked Woody “if you find any plase that will soot for my business let me know [sic].”²⁶⁸ Shortly after Woody left William Forbes’ locality, Forbes wrote Woody asking about better opportunities, saying “I have not rented a farm yet here doo you like that part of the country is their any good farms to rent pleas let mee know [sic].”²⁶⁹ Many refugees were transient,

²⁶⁵ Massey, *Refugee Life in the Confederacy*, 4.

²⁶⁶ William Forbes to Newton Woody, January 29, 1865, Woody Family Papers, Duke.

²⁶⁷ Newton Woody to M. & W. Livingston, March 26, 1865, Woody Family Papers, Duke.

²⁶⁸ J. R. Wright to Newton Woody, December 22, 1864, Woody Family Papers, Duke.

²⁶⁹ William Forbes to Newton Woody, January 29, 1865, Woody Family Papers, Duke.

and constantly searching for new opportunities. They often turned to fellow refugees for information on opportunities, and as the war went on and the network expanded, refugees themselves formed the core of the resettlement network.

Refugees continually relied on their connections in the refugee assistance network in search of economic opportunity. After Mary Woody Branson fled the Confederacy through Union-occupied New Bern alongside her husband, she asked her brother and fellow refugee, Newton Woody, for information on work opportunities as well as the wage rate near Mooresville Mills in hopes of finding her husband, Eli, a secure job when they first arrived in Indiana as refugees.²⁷⁰ When John Carsbie, Susan Carsbie Woody's brother and Newton Woody's brother-in-law, finally made his escape from "Rebeldom," he stayed with Woody for a time as he began to resettle.²⁷¹ The multiple connections Woody used, as well as the refugees who contacted him while they resettled, demonstrate the expansive refugee assistance network as well as the growing diaspora of Unionist refugees from North Carolina living within Union lines.

While these Unionist refugees relied on each other and other connections in the North to resettle, they, like Woody, often remained transient. The transient nature of refugee life was driven in part by the search for a job, as demonstrated by Woody's experience. J.R. Woods, an old friend of Woody from North Carolina, first found refuge in Terre Haute, Indiana but left after two weeks in search of work.²⁷² He found employment in Kokomo shortly after but was not fond of his employer, and informed Woody, "I now intend leaving this place in a few weeks as I do not like the man I am with and think I can do better

²⁷⁰ Mary Branson to Newton Woody, April 24, 1865, Woody Family Papers, Duke.

²⁷¹ J.R. Wright to John Carsbie, March 26, 1865, Woody Family Papers, Duke.

²⁷² J.R. Woods to Newton Woody, January 15, 1865, Woody Family Papers, Duke.

elsewhere.”²⁷³ Similarly, J.R. Wright told Woody, “I think some of going to Californy in the spring fur I never will like this country [sic].”²⁷⁴ A few weeks later, he updated Woody that “I don’t like this plase very well though I like the pay... I hope the day will soon come when we can go to our homes [sic].”²⁷⁵ The transient nature of these refugees stemmed not only from their search for work, but for many it also stemmed from homesickness.

Unionist refugees regularly wrote of how they missed family and friends from home, and of their desire to return home as soon as they could safely do so. Elkanah Lowdermilk reported that he had found work in Indiana, and was mostly satisfied, yet “I dont find any plase that seem like home to me But i think that i will Git to gow home nex Winter if i do you had Beter Believe that i will [sic].”²⁷⁶ Mary Woody Branson also longed for home, writing her brother, “I often think of my friends left behind. I am in hopes the time is not far distant when you can meet your loved ones in peace.”²⁷⁷ Although their resettled locations in the North provided safety and sustenance, many still did not feel at home.

Since many of these refugees were going through similar trials, they were able to offer emotional support to one another. After learning of Woody’s flight from North Carolina, J.R. Woods offered Woody his sympathy, saying, “I was truly glad to know that you had come through to safety but on the other hand I was sorrow to know that a man in your situation was forced to leave home and his family behind [sic].”²⁷⁸ Jesse Dobbins’ father died while Dobbins was in refuge, news which J. Martin relayed to Dobbins upon arriving in Union territory, over a year after Dobbins’ father’s death. Martin reassured Dobbins that his

²⁷³ J.R. Woods to Newton Woody, February 15, 1865, Woody Family Papers, Duke.

²⁷⁴ J.R. Wright to Newton Woody, January 29, 1865, Woody Family Papers, Duke.

²⁷⁵ J.R. Wright to Newton Woody, March 7, 1865, Woody Family Papers, Duke.

²⁷⁶ Elkanah Lowdermilk to Bryan Tyson, February 12, 1865, Tyson Papers, Duke.

²⁷⁷ Mary Branson to Newton Woody, April 24, 1865, Woody Family Papers, Duke.

²⁷⁸ J.R. Woods to Newton Woody, January 15, 1865, Woody Family Papers, Duke.

father “didnt complain of much misery [sic]” as he neared his death, and further consoled Dobbins by telling him that his father had come to accept Dobbins’ decision to flee the Confederacy, saying “he became satisfied that you was out of the reach of the rebs [sic].”²⁷⁹ The men consistently expressed and acknowledged one another’s hardships, and offered their own support. The refugees’ struggle to resettle was not only economic, but psychological and emotional as well, and the refugee assistance network aided both of these needs.

While living in refuge after escaping the Confederacy, J. R. Wright diagnosed himself with “the Blews.”²⁸⁰ Wright had originally arrived in Kokomo, Indiana with his brother Alpheus, but Alpheus later moved to Indianapolis for a job, leaving Wright alone in Kokomo. Wright was not satisfied with his work and detested his living conditions as well as the people living in Kokomo. Furthermore, he had not heard from his family, and was worried about his other brothers who remained in North Carolina. Wright confessed to Woody, “You think I hav the blews or am home sick I will say as fur Being home sick not any as fur the Blews a little [sic].”²⁸¹ Wright hoped “the day will soon come whin we can go to our homes that would cure you of the blews [sic].”²⁸² A couple of months later Wright claimed, “I am over the Blews they don’t affect me now [sic].”²⁸³ Nevertheless, he continued to say, “I am all the NC that is here now & I am verry lonely now [sic].”²⁸⁴ The absence of other refugees from home in his area was central to his dejection in refuge, and in lieu of

²⁷⁹ J. Martin to Jesse Dobbins, October 2, 1864, Dobbins Papers, Guilford.

²⁸⁰ J. R. Wright to Newton Woody, January 29, 1865, Woody Family Papers, Duke.

²⁸¹ J. R. Wright to Newton Woody, January 29, 1865, Woody Family Papers, Duke.

²⁸² J. R. Wright to Newton Woody, March 7, 1865, Woody Family Papers, Duke.

²⁸³ J. R. Wright to Newton Woody, March 26, 1865, Woody Family Papers, Duke.

²⁸⁴ J. R. Wright to Newton Woody, March 26, 1865, Woody Family Papers, Duke.

personal contact, Wright turned to the diaspora of North Carolina refugees for support through his correspondence.

Jesse Wright was not the only North Carolina refugee with the blues. Jesse Wheeler wrote of suffering from the blues as well while living as a refugee in Indiana during the Civil War. Wheeler was originally forced to flee North Carolina in 1860, after state authorities learned that he was circulating copies of Hinton Rowan Helper's *The Impending Crisis of the South*. He fled to Indiana along with his family. But Wheeler did not sell his sizable land holdings in North Carolina, evidently in the hope that he would one day be able to return. In the fall of 1861 Wheeler returned to now-Confederate North Carolina in an attempt to sell his land there, but before he was able to do so, someone reported his return to authorities, and Wheeler again had to flee.

Wheeler, unlike many others, was able to leave with his family, a fact which he acknowledged and for which he was grateful, yet he expressed similar views to wartime refugees regarding homesickness. He mourned, "I cannot give up the love of my native home, though banished and deeply wronged by a corrupt clique clothed with a little brief authority. I left many solid friends there, and a prettier home and more agreeable country to live in than I ever expect to meet with anywhere else. Oh how it grieves me to give it up to miscreants who now lord it there [sic]."²⁸⁵ Of particular interest is Wheeler's inability to settle down permanently in Indiana. He regularly wrote of his hesitancy to make any permanent decisions while in exile in case the opportunity to return to his home in North Carolina ever returned.

Wheeler was unwilling to move forward with any permanent plans until the uncertainties surrounding his land in North Carolina, as well as the possibility of his eventual

²⁸⁵ Jesse Wheeler to B. S. Hedrick, January 20, 1862, Hedrick Papers, Duke.

return, were resolved. In August of 1862 he wrote, “I have not formed my plan with regard to my future course but am still ‘waiting for something to turn up.’”²⁸⁶ Three months later, he updated that “I am still held in suspense and living from one day to another hoping ‘something may turn up’ which will enable to shape my course in the future at present all looks dark and uncertain.” He explained that he did not want to buy land in Indiana if there was still a chance of returning to North Carolina, writing, “I am loth to do it until all hope of being able to return to my own home is gone [sic].”²⁸⁷

Like many refugees, his transience was represented not only by his hesitance to put down new roots, but also by his willingness to consider uprooting again if a better opportunity presented itself. He had a “hankering wish” to move to California to join his son who had moved there during the Gold Rush.²⁸⁸ He mentioned this possibility, as well as the possibility of moving to Oregon, to his old friend and wartime confidant Benjamin Sherwood Hedrick on more than one occasion, but in the end, did not move to the Far West because “the distance and hardships of a journey there deters me from undertaking it.”²⁸⁹

Although willing to consider moving West, Wheeler was significantly more interested in the possibility of returning home, and like many other refugees, sought Hedrick’s connections in order to find a federal government position in occupied North Carolina. Hedrick, a commissioner in the United States Patent Office, had been able to pull strings to get his brother, John Hedrick, appointed to a federal position in occupied New Bern. He also vouched for other friends and acquaintances who sought federal positions, many of

²⁸⁶ Jesse Wheeler to B. S. Hedrick, August 15, 1862, Hedrick Papers, Duke.

²⁸⁷ Jesse Wheeler to B. S. Hedrick, November 16, 1862, Hedrick Papers, Duke.

²⁸⁸ Jesse Wheeler to B. S. Hedrick, August 15, 1862, Hedrick Papers, Duke.

²⁸⁹ Jesse Wheeler to B. S. Hedrick, January 20, 1862, Hedrick Papers, Duke.

whom were also Southern Unionists and refugees, and offered to help Wheeler obtain a federal government position as well.

Wheeler feared that he might not be able to return to occupied North Carolina since the charges against him for circulating *The Impending Crisis* were brought by the state and was unsure if he would remain a target even in federally-occupied eastern North Carolina. However, as the federal hold on eastern Carolina became clearer, Wheeler sought to apply for tax commissioner, with Hedrick aiding him with his application and endorsing his application as well. Unfortunately, Wheeler fell ill and was unable to fulfill the duties of commissioner, but nevertheless turned to his social network to defray the costs of his displacement.

While in exile in Indiana, Wheeler encountered other refugees from North Carolina on a regular basis, and throughout the war wrote frequently about the ever-increasing number of refugees from North Carolina arriving in Indiana. Since Wheeler was one of the North Carolina Unionists forced to flee the state earlier on, he was in more of a position to help those fleeing conscription later in the war. At times, he even provided aid, housing, and job opportunities to other refugees. In early 1862 he sought Hedrick's aid in securing a federal government job for a North Carolina refugee from Perquimans County named Elihu White. In 1864 another refugee named Joel Boling lodged with Wheeler and his family when he first fled to Indiana after deserting the Confederate Army. Furthermore, on more than one occasion, Hedrick consulted with Wheeler concerning the loyalty of North Carolinian prisoners of war before acting on their behalf. Tyson, Wheeler, and Woody all demonstrate how refugees themselves became increasingly important in aiding other wartime refugees, and how their contributions strengthened and expanded the network as the war continued.

The uncertainty of refugee life was a struggle shared by many Civil War refugees, and Wheeler's land dispute in North Carolina only compounded his frustration, so much so that he "took the blues."²⁹⁰ Wheeler, a fugitive after circulating Helper's *Impending Crisis* in 1860, returned to North Carolina in 1861 in order to sell part of his land. Before he could so, he had to flee again as a fugitive from Confederate rule. Once Wheeler fled from Confederate North Carolina, the state confiscated his land from him under the Sequestration Acts, which allowed Confederate authorities to confiscate land abandoned by "alien enemies."²⁹¹ He was unsure if he would ever be able to regain claim to his sizable acreage in North Carolina and was uncertain about the commitment and cost of purchasing land in Indiana. Wheeler and his family had been living in Indiana as refugees for nearly three and half years before Wheeler purchased a farm in Indiana. His new farm was located "among a settlement of my old Carolina neighbors and friends."²⁹² Only after settling in a community full of other North Carolinians, including many who fled after the war began, did he recover from his bout with the blues, though his desire to return home to North Carolina remained.

Wheeler's community, consisting mostly of North Carolinians and refugees, seemed to attract more refugees, and Wheeler documented the ever-increasing flow of refugees into the area. Wheeler fleetingly mentioned the arrival of North Carolina refugees in 1862 and early 1863, but after settling in his new community in Hendricks County, Indiana his reports of incoming refugees increased. In December of 1863 Wheeler reported "There have a number of N.C. refugees reached Indiana this fall. I have knowledge of over forty from Guilford and Randolp[h]."²⁹³ A month later he reported more arrivals and added his belief

²⁹⁰ Jesse Wheeler to B. S. Hedrick, June 10, 1863, Hedrick Papers, Duke.

²⁹¹ Daniel W. Hamilton, "The Confederate Sequestration Act," *Civil War History* 52, no. 4 (Dec. 2006): 373-408.

²⁹² Jesse Wheeler to B. S. Hedrick, June 10, 1863, Hedrick Papers, Duke.

²⁹³ Wheeler to B. S. Hedrick, December 4, 1863, Hedrick Papers, Duke.

that morale in the Confederacy must be low since “...of late desertions bona fide desertions are more frequent of which we have evidence by the number who have reached Indiana this fall.”²⁹⁴ Two weeks later he again commented on the influx of refugees to his area in Indiana, saying, “quite a number of my old acquaintances or their sons have arrived in this state within the last six months.”²⁹⁵ He also noted the arrival of 107 refugees from North Carolina at Louisville, including 33 who refused to take the oath of allegiance to the United States and were taken prisoner. By May of 1864 the number of refugees had again increased, as Wheeler reported, “Quite a lot of Carolinians refugees have reached Indiana since I last wrote to you I have the names and certain information of twenty six refugees and three deserters from the County of Guilford... Chatham, Randolph, and Forsythe have also sent respectable delegations [sic].”²⁹⁶ In 1864 conscription was amended to include even more able-bodied men, and areas like the Quaker Belt of North Carolina experienced increased dissent and resistance, including more men fleeing Confederate territory. In November of 1864 Wheeler wrote, “since I last wrote to you the number of refugees from North Carolina who have arrived in Indiana is much larger this season than at any other period since the commencement of the war.”²⁹⁷ He continued, “over a hundred have arrived in this month mostly from Guilford Forsyth and Davidson, more than five hundred have escaped from Guilford and the counties adjoining since the 1st of March last mostly young men to escape being drafted and forced into the rebel army.”²⁹⁸ The influx of North Carolina refugees into Indiana continually increased throughout the war, and the pre-existing connections of family

²⁹⁴ Wheeler to B. S. Hedrick, January 12, 1864, Hedrick Papers, Duke.

²⁹⁵ Wheeler to B. S. Hedrick, January 23, 1864, Hedrick Papers, Duke.

²⁹⁶ Wheeler to B. S. Hedrick, May 26, 1864, Hedrick Papers, Duke.

²⁹⁷ Wheeler to B. S. Hedrick, November 27, 1864, Hedrick Papers, Duke.

²⁹⁸ Wheeler to B. S. Hedrick, November 27, 1864, Hedrick Papers, Duke. In 1864 the counties adjoining Guilford included Forsyth, Davidson, Randolph, Alamance, and Rockingham. Chatham, Stokes, and Caswell were adjacent to Guilford.

and Friends were strengthened by allies and refugees into a network that eased displacement and led to resettlement in a temporary diaspora full of other North Carolina refugees.

Although many refugees, like Wheeler, were homesick, they found solace and support in the diaspora formed by other North Carolinians living as refugees in the North. Speaking of his displacement, Newton Woody wrote, “I am as well Satisfied as you could expect a man that has had to Leave everything that was near and dear to him by the ties of nature. But I do not regret the day I made my Leap from the Land of my Birth. I see every few days men that Keep cuming from our old counties Randolph Chatham Alamance & Guilford [sic].”²⁹⁹ Despite being displaced, the number of refugees from the Quaker Belt gave them a sense of community and of home. Kelly H. Trogdon echoed this observation, saying, “I found all of Randolph C.o. out heare all of my old Bush Boys... it seams like all of the Boys has left Randolph they is Some coming evry week [sic].”³⁰⁰ These men often visited each other, and updated each other frequently with information from home. These refugees created a strong, vibrant diaspora community, using their network to not only provide economic support but emotional support as well.

As the Civil War ended in April of 1865, the Unionist refugee diaspora began to dissolve as refugees headed home. Nevertheless, some of its members relied on the vast network they had created one last time in order to determine if it was safe for them to return. Many refugees feared retaliation for deserting or refusing service to the Confederacy in the wake of its failed bid for independence. Nicholas and Catharine Barker wrote their sons in Indiana asking why they had not returned home when so many other Unionist refugees had, reassuring them “we do not think there is any danger of you being troubled

²⁹⁹ Newton Woody to Bryan Tyson, February 8, 1865, Tyson Papers, Duke.

³⁰⁰ K.H. Trogdon to Bryan Tyson, January 9, 1865, Tyson Papers, Duke.

with the party strife that was prevalent when you left—all seems strong for the Union.”³⁰¹ James Hernley, a friend of Newton Woody, relayed him news that “you could go home any time you wished... evry thing was purfectally quiet in our old neighborhood [sic].” Hernley added, “We don’t know how soon we will go home yet but we think of makeing a trial in about five weeks if we get no unfaverable news from there [sic],” and invited Woody to join them on their return trip.³⁰² Thus, for many of these Unionist refugees, from the beginning of their flight to their return home, the refugee assistance network aided their journey. The interpersonal ties contributed by each refugee strengthened and broadened the network as the refugees sought to ease the economic and emotional toll caused by their flight to safety, creating a temporary diaspora that supported these refugees for the duration of the war.

This chapter highlights the inner workings of the network that assisted refugees from central North Carolina to relocate during the Civil War. In doing so, it reveals that Unionism alone was not enough to prompt many native Southerners to leave the Confederacy, and instead factors like, timing, location, and individual circumstances often had to come together to facilitate a successful escape from the Confederacy. Refugees used social networks to successfully leave the South and resettle in the Union during the Civil War, beginning with their pre-war connections in the North like extended family. As the war continued and the number of refugees continued to increase, important allies emerged to assist refugees, and many refugees themselves also began to provide aid to fellow refugees. These connections made it possible to escape, and then to find housing and employment once they had reached their destination. However, as the above examples indicate, in

³⁰¹ Nicholas and Catharine Barker to Ezra, Nathan, and Cyrus Barker, June 2, 1865, Barker Family Papers, Guilford.

³⁰² James Hernley to Newton Woody, May 27, 1865, Woody Family Papers, Duke.

addition to these basic needs, the network also provided an important level of emotional support to refugees as well.

Unionism alone was not sufficient to prompt Southerners to flee from the Confederacy, but for those who did leave, their experiences were shaped by social network. Social networks were crucial to the success of refugees, Northern and Southern, during the refugee crisis, especially in lieu of any organized aid. Social networks were crucial as well for those refugees who fled from Texas and crossed the international border into Mexico. However, in this case, the number of refugees became so large that many began to turn toward the federal government for assistance, a position that the government was not expecting, nor for which it was prepared.

CHAPTER 3: “A MOUTHFUL OF FREE AIR”: TEXAS REFUGEES AND THE CIVIL WAR REFUGEE CRISIS IN MEXICO

In December of 1861 Brownsville, Texas resident and former postmaster Gilbert D. Kingsbury was arrested as an “alien enemy” of the Confederate States of America and put in jail as a political prisoner.³⁰³ Kingsbury remained in jail for two days without formal charges, though, before he learned he was to be tried “as a spy, for treason, as an alien enemy.”³⁰⁴ A few days later, on New Year’s Eve night, 1861, Confederate soldiers went to move Kingsbury from the jail in Brownsville to a prison cell in San Antonio for trial, but as they left the prison yard, Kingsbury noticed that the guards on duty were not the usual guards. As the guards and Kingsbury exited the prison yard, Kingsbury offered to open the gate, explaining that the gate took the right touch to open. Instead, Kingsbury opened the gate just enough to slip through, and then shoved the heavy gate back against the guards on the other side. As Kingsbury outmaneuvered the guards and “SKEDADLED,” he shouted “Happy New Year” to the stunned guards behind him as he made his escape.³⁰⁵ He escaped

³⁰³ The Alien Enemies Act proclaimed “all natives, citizens, denizens or subjects of the hostile nation or government, being males fourteen years of age and upward, who shall be within the Confederate States and not citizens thereof shall be liable to be apprehended, restrained or secured and removed as alien enemies...” The act did not apply to those seeking to become citizens of the Confederate States, nor did it apply to citizens of the border states of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, or to residents of the District of Columbia, Indian Territory, or the territories of Arizona and New Mexico. The act also provided for the deportation or imprisonment of alien enemies following a fair trial, stating that judges “shall or may order such alien or aliens, person or persons to be removed out of the territory of the Confederate States or to be otherwise dealt with or restrained.” If the deportee were to re-enter the Confederate States during wartime, they were to be arrested, and “shall be at once delivered over to the nearest military authority to be dealt with as a spy or as a prisoner of war.” It is important to note that while immediately expedient to persecute loyal citizens of the United States, the act was intended as the policy for the foreigners from a hostile nation living in the Confederate States in any war the nation may ever fight. See *OR 2:2:1368-70*. Mark Neely has argued that this act “was intended to expel people who were not... ‘true southern men,’” and also “revealed an aggressive willingness to build a nation without help from any lukewarm or reluctant people.” He also notes that most enemy alien prisoners were people born in the North. See Mark E. Neely, Jr., *Southern Rights: Political Prisoners and the Myth of Confederate Constitutionalism* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1999), 147.

³⁰⁴ Gilbert Kingsbury to A. M. Kingsbury, May 30, 1862, Gilbert D. Kingsbury Papers, 1855-1874, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, The University of Texas at Austin (henceforth Kingsbury Papers, UT-Austin).

³⁰⁵ Gilbert Kingsbury to A. M. Kingsbury, May 30, 1862, Kingsbury Papers, UT-Austin.

across the Rio Grande into the Mexican border city of Matamoros, and fled immediately to the United States Consul, Leonard Pierce, Jr., to seek protection under the Stars and Stripes.

Kingsbury, known in Texas under the alias F. F. Fenn, was originally from New Hampshire, but had lived in Texas since 1855. Kingsbury served as postmaster in the border town of Brownsville, but when Texas seceded and the United States mail service was cut off, he refused to take an oath of allegiance to the Confederacy and was left without a job.

Kingsbury was aware of the Alien Enemies Act, and its follow-up order, the Sequestration Act, which provided for the arrest, imprisonment or deportation, and sequestration of property belonging to Alien Enemies, including those of Northern birth like Kingsbury. In December 1861, a letter Kingsbury sent to his brother in the North was intercepted by Confederate authorities. Although Kingsbury did not believe the letter to contain any “political sentiment,” it was likely his discussion of preferring to return North if not for the risk of losing his property under the Sequestration Act that flagged him as an “alien enemy” in the eyes of Confederate officials. Both Kingsbury and his courier were arrested in Brownsville on the grounds that the letters were inflammatory, until Kingsbury made his escape days later and sought refuge at the U.S. Consulate in Matamoros.

Kingsbury’s ability to seek protection at the United States consulate was only possible because he abandoned Confederate Texas and crossed an international border to seek asylum in Mexico. As a loyal American citizen, he sought consul with the representative of the United States government in the city, in this case, Consul Pierce. Kingsbury was one of several thousand to seek aid at the United States consulate in Matamoros, and hundreds more sought relief at consulates in Vera Cruz, Monterrey, Tampico, and more. The consuls in Mexico made the experience of Texas refugees unique, and it is important because it exhibits the role the United States federal government played in the Civil War refugee crisis.

In the first chapter we saw how myriad factors such as gender, class, location, timing, and social connections affected refugees' experiences during the Civil War. Unionism itself was not enough to prompt native Northerners to flee, but rather these various factors needed to come together in a way that encouraged and facilitated their escape and resettlement. Chapter 2 analyzed how the same was true for Unionist Southerners who fled from the Confederacy and took an in-depth look at how social networks were able to ameliorate the refugee crisis as it grew over the course of the war. This chapter turns the perspective southward, focusing on those refugees for whom the closest escape from the Confederacy was not Union territory, but Mexico. Many of the same factors from previous chapters persist, including timing, location, class, and social networks, but most central to the chapter is how the geographic features of Texas, including proximity to an international border, affected the refugee experience.

The relative isolation of Texas from the rest of the Confederacy and its distance from the rest of the Union made Mexico a major site of refugee resettlement, and particularly important in this regard was the international border.³⁰⁶ The international border made possible the existence of the United States Consulates in Mexico, and therefore, intervention by the U.S. federal government on behalf of refugees. Federal aid from the United States Consuls in Mexico was compounded when the vast shoreline of Texas facilitated the occupation of Brownsville, expanding the aid available to refugees. These extended interactions with the federal government set the experiences of many Texas refugees apart from refugees in the previous chapters. The availability of aid from the United States government was crucial in the experiences of thousands of Texas refugees, and yet the

³⁰⁶ For a discussion of the unique factors that affected the Civil War in Texas see James Marten, *Texas Divided: Loyalty and Dissent in the Lone Star State, 1856-1874* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1990).

refugee crisis grew to such a large scale that aid was often insufficient to meet the need. In this case, many Texas refugees came to rely on social networks to help support themselves while in exile where federal assistance fell short.

Texans who fled the state early in the war were often staunch Unionists who were outspoken about their loyalty to the stars and stripes. However, these Unionists had no easy way to get into the United States after the secession of Texas, and most had no choice but to make their escape through Mexico. Nevertheless, few of these refugees planned to stay in Mexico if they had the means to get to the United States, often taking passage to New York City via Havana. However, not all could afford to leave Mexico, and by early 1862 the foundations of social networks supporting refugees were forming in Mexico.

One of the earliest and most high-profile refugees to flee from Mexico was James Pearson Newcomb, a newspaper editor who operated the last remaining Unionist paper in Texas, the *Alamo Express* in San Antonio. On May 13, 1861 Confederate sympathizers burned the office of the *Alamo Express*, and at the urging of several of his friends, he left for Mexico for two weeks. However, he felt it was important to record that he “did not leave clandestinely, but in broad day-light, in the presence of friends and foes.”³⁰⁷ After two weeks in Mexico, he returned to San Antonio even though several people warned him against it, and as it became clear to him that living in Confederate Texas would not work, Newcomb fled for good in August of 1861. It was a difficult decision for him, in part because San Antonio was his home and he loved it. He wrote eloquently of his contemplations as he left Texas, including his last look at the city from a ridge above, noting, “The very air... now seemed tainted with foul breath of treason, and I cared to breathe it no longer.” He left San

³⁰⁷ James P. Newcomb, *Sketch of Secession Times in Texas and Journal of Travel from Texas through Mexico to California, including a History of the “Box Colony,”* (San Francisco: August 1863), 12.

Antonio with a party of other “refugees and emigrants” which grew larger as they traveled and included “several nationalities and many professions and trades.”³⁰⁸ Traveling in groups not only provided protection, but also companionship and commiseration, and help in planning for the future. Even early on, there was a wide range of people leaving Texas, and it was a common occurrence for refugees to travel together.

Once in Monterrey, the group’s intended destination, Newcomb mentioned that “hardly a week passes over without some arrivals.” Further, he described them as “Union refugees, who have sought Mexico as place of safety until the storm is over, or make it a passage way to the loyal States.” He noted several who embarked on ships headed for New York. Newcomb highlighted the presence of Texan refugees throughout his travels in Mexico, including those they met on the road on the way to Monterrey and those who joined Newcomb’s group. As “good fortune” had it, Newcomb found another refugee family to live with in Mexico as he contemplated where to resettle. The “B. Family” were Louisianans who had moved to Texas before the war, but “when secession smiled upon that once pleasant state, they preferred Mexico.” Thus, Newcomb not only traveled alongside other refugees from Texas, but was also able to live with another family of refugees in exile in Mexico, both of which reflect the growth of a support network for refugees in Mexico.³⁰⁹

Newcomb, however, intended to move on from Mexico, in part due to his condescension for the “undeveloped” country and its people.³¹⁰ Newcomb’s condescension had both elitist and racist undertones, and his time spent in Mexico reflected his wealth. Newcomb did not need a job as desperately as many Texan refugees in Mexico, and in fact, he spent his time in Mexico leisurely. He spent his days “reading, climbing hills, sauntering

³⁰⁸ Newcomb, *Sketch of Secession Times in Texas*, 3.

³⁰⁹ Newcomb, *Sketch of Secession Times in Texas*, 11.

³¹⁰ Newcomb, *Sketch of Secession Times in Texas*, 33.

through orange groves, beautiful *quintas* and flower gardens, or about the city seeing the same sights daily.”³¹¹ Nonetheless, Newcomb was also uninterested in settling in Mexico, explaining that despite enjoying the sights in Mexico, he “will soon be on the wing.”³¹²

Although Newcomb had hinted at his willingness to leave Mexico on multiple occasions, he describes his decision to move on as abrupt. After less than two months in Monterrey, he wrote, “We took a sudden notion to go to California, that is, the B. family, myself and others.”³¹³ He explained that the B. Family, much like Newcomb, were unsatisfied in Mexico and longed to “quit” that country.³¹⁴ He added, “For myself, I had determined to go somewhere, anywhere out of Mexico.”³¹⁵ Newcomb’s decision to head to California was also encouraged by the “rumor” that California troops were marching east to occupy Texas. Newcomb said, “if there be such an expedition I hope to join it.” As soon as they left Monterrey, Newcomb wrote “Our hearts were light and happy at being once more on the move,” now headed to the west coast port city of Mazatlán.³¹⁶

While on their journey to Mazatlán, where they hoped to book passage on a steamboat to California, five fellow refugees joined their group, three Irish and two Germans, “all from Texas and bound for California.”³¹⁷ Newcomb and his group of fellow refugees stopped in numerous cities in Mexico, attending bullfights and fairs, exploring new cuisine, music, and culture, and sightseeing churches, factories, and natural landmarks. During a two-week stopover in Durango, Newcomb arranged for a cicerone to guide him

³¹¹ Newcomb, *Sketch of Secession Times in Texas*, 11.

³¹² Newcomb, *Sketch of Secession Times in Texas*, 12.

³¹³ Newcomb, *Sketch of Secession Times in Texas*, 12.

³¹⁴ Newcomb, *Sketch of Secession Times in Texas*, 11.

³¹⁵ Newcomb, *Sketch of Secession Times in Texas*, 12.

³¹⁶ Newcomb, *Sketch of Secession Times in Texas*, 12.

³¹⁷ Newcomb, *Sketch of Secession Times in Texas*, 15.

around the city. Newcomb's wealth made his experience in Mexico similar to that of a tourist, rather than the destitution experienced by hundreds of other refugees in Mexico.

Despite his wealth, Newcomb knew that the next leg of their journey, from Durango to Mazatlán, would be dangerous. He recorded that "no wheeled vehicle" could travel beyond Durango, and so the group of Union refugees traveled with mules. The youngest daughters in the B. family were just toddlers, and rode "in large bread baskets, one on either side of an old gentle pack mule." He added that the girls "cried and were much frightened" at first, but seemed to have gotten used to the arrangement by the end of the day.³¹⁸

The group traveled on in this manner for several weeks, on increasingly treacherous roads. Newcomb described the last leg of the journey along "a narrow trail winding for the most part along the sides of immense mountains... just wide enough to admit our mules single file, with tremendous heights rising perpendicularly above us, and awful gulfs of space below us, one false step would cost a life." He added, "when I saw the baskets in which the little girls were, one scraping against the mountain side and the other pending over an abyss, I often shuddered."³¹⁹ And while, fortunately, the little girls stayed (relatively) safe in their bread baskets, the group lost a mule to the cliffs beneath the narrow path, and nearly lost a fellow traveler. Newcomb described how "one of the mules lost his footing and fell, bounding down the mountainside as an india rubber ball would down a flight of stairs, and dashing to pieces below." Several of the men on the expedition descended the cliff to recover the possessions that had been on the mule, and on the way back up, a dentist on the expedition nearly fell to the rocky depths below as well. The group was searching for a rope to throw the dentist as he hung to the cliffs, but he "rallied his strength and reached the trail,

³¹⁸ Newcomb, *Sketch of Secession Times in Texas*, 25.

³¹⁹ Newcomb, *Sketch of Secession Times in Texas*, 28.

almost by a superhuman effort.”³²⁰ Luckily for the group, they were nearing Mazatlán, and the end of their journey on the treacherous trail.

The group arrived safely in Mazatlán, and after waiting for a passage on a ship for nearly a month, the group left on a steamer bound for San Francisco in January 1862. Newcomb, in his usual style of condescension toward Mexico, wrote “it was with little regret I saw the shores of Mexico fade from view.” In contrast, “My heart beat with joy and gratitude, when I set my foot on American soil once more. It was delightful to see the starry flags waving.”³²¹ After the group arrived in California, Newcomb would join the Union Army’s expedition into New Mexico before returning to California and working as a journalist for the rest of the war. Newcomb’s experience reveals many things about the experiences of refugees, including the frequency with which refugees interacted with and supported one another, often by traveling in groups, a characteristic that is especially notable for someone who was fairly wealthy and able to spend his short stint as a refugee in Mexico leisurely. Other wealthy refugees also spent their time in Mexico largely as tourists, including S. M. Swenson, who was embarrassed upon being called a refugee once he was displaced in Mexico.³²²

Swen Magnus Swenson, a native of Sweden who immigrated to Texas in the 1840s, was a wealthy and prominent resident of Austin, who was accumulating fortunes in the railroad and cattle industries. As a Swedish immigrant, Swenson tried at first to lay low, maintaining that he had no stake in the conflict. Swenson traveled to occupied New Orleans

³²⁰ Newcomb, *Sketch of Secession Times in Texas*, 29.

³²¹ Newcomb, *Sketch of Secession Times in Texas*, 33.

³²² S.M. Swenson to Maria Swenson, December 6, 1863, Swen Magnus Swenson Papers, 1843, 1858-1896, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, The University of Texas at Austin (henceforth Swenson Papers, UT-Austin). Swenson wrote, “I was somewhat embarrassed however at being thought of a refugee... which my poor stack of Spanish was hardly equal to correct.”

for business, but he was arrested when he returned Texas. He was released, but shortly after, heard rumors of an order that provided for the arrest of all Union-supporting men and he escaped to Mexico.³²³ For nearly a year Swenson traveled through Mexico, bathing in the hot springs for his health, touring cathedrals, factories, and vineyards, attending bullfights, flamenco dances, fiestas, and festivals like the celebration of the Immaculate Conception in Monterrey, and dining with the likes of President Benito Juárez, General Tomás Mejía Camacho, and Governor Santiago Vidaurri.³²⁴ Wealthy refugees like Swenson and Newcomb were often able to have materially comfortable experiences while displaced, a marked difference from less wealthy refugees. Although his experiences as a refugee in Mexico were materially comfortable, refugees like Swenson and especially Newcomb fled from Texas because of persecution for outspoken Unionism.

Charles Anderson was another prominent and outspoken Unionist in Texas, and as a result of his Unionism, he and his family were also forced to flee from Texas into Mexico early in the war. Charles Anderson was originally from Kentucky, and after several years in Ohio, he and his family moved to Texas in 1858. Anderson was a Unionist, and spoke out strongly about his sentiments, including a speech following Lincoln's election in which he decried secession as a legitimate option and promoted the Union, saying, "Oh! may this flag of our Father's Union — our Union... stand and remain the most loved and treasured legacy to our latest posterity, co-existent with the earth, the air, the very sun himself."³²⁵ When, in August of 1861 the Confederacy issued a proclamation requiring all "alien enemies" to leave

³²³ S.M. Swenson to William Pierson, April 13, 1864, William S. Pierson Collection, 1795-1906, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, The University of Texas at Austin (henceforth Pierson Papers, UT-Austin).

³²⁴ See S.M. Swenson to Maria Swenson, December 11, 1863, January 11, 1864, Swenson Papers, UT-Austin.

³²⁵ Charles Anderson, "Speech of Charles Anderson, Esq. on the State of the Country, at a Meeting of the People of Bexar County, at San Antonio, Texas, November 24, 1860," (Washington, D.C.: Lemuel Towers, 1860), 15-6.

within forty days or be arrested and possibly deported, the Anderson family felt they had little choice but to leave voluntarily given their well-known Unionism.³²⁶ They sold all of their belongings and prepared to depart from Texas.

The family left in October 1861 and headed for the Mexican border. As the caravan headed toward Mexico, it was overtaken by Confederate soldiers and Charles Anderson was arrested, taken to San Antonio, and confined to house arrest in the Menger Hotel without any formal charges. Charles' family, consisting of his wife, Eliza, and daughters Kitty (16) and Belle (11), stayed with him for several days before Confederate soldiers forced the women to leave and continue on without him. Kitty, his sixteen-year-old daughter recorded the moment they left her father behind, uncertain of his future, describing how "Mother was crying, while I sat like a stone."³²⁷ The women left Texas comfortable materially, with roomy ambulances to ride in and guides to lead the way, but Kitty's diary makes clear that they still fled in confusion and fear.

Kitty and her family remained in fear, not only of being harmed or attacked while traveling, but also of Charles Anderson's unknown fate. She feared he could be killed for his Unionism, and prayed, "Kind Heaven grant us a nobler destiny than this we fear!"³²⁸ Their displacement from home and unexpected separation from her father took a toll on Kitty, who confided, "every day grows wearier I believe."³²⁹ Nevertheless, she tried to keep a strong face, especially for her mother's sake. Following one long day on the road, Kitty recorded, "Been jesting and laughing with the gentlemen. Wonder do they imagine how sad

³²⁶ For more on the Alien Enemies Act see footnote 358 and Mark E. Neely, Jr., *Southern Rights: Political Prisoners and the Myth of Confederate Constitutionalism* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1999).

³²⁷ October 3, 1861, Kitty Anderson Civil War Diary, 1861, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, The University of Texas at Austin (henceforth Kitty Anderson Diary, UT-Austin).

³²⁸ October 4, 1861, Kitty Anderson Diary, UT-Austin.

³²⁹ October 7, 1861, Kitty Anderson Diary, UT-Austin.

are the hearts with these smiling faces.”³³⁰ Their trip to the border with Mexico was uneventful, with Kitty remarking how they were “met with kindness at every turn.”³³¹ After two weeks the group finally reached Brownsville, as Kitty noted, “with less trouble than we expected—farless.”³³² The women stayed in a boarding house in Brownsville, on the Texas side of the border, still uncertain of Charles’ fate, and began planning to return to Ohio via a ship to New York.

However, like many refugees, they had trouble finding passage on a ship out of Matamoros. Matamoros was “a sleepy little border town,” that soon became a boom town in Mexico during the U.S. Civil War.³³³ Matamoros was an attractive destination for refugees because of its strategic location, just across the border from Brownsville, Texas, or as refugee Gilbert D. Kingsbury said, “nearly contiguous” to Texas.³³⁴ When he arrived from Texas in late 1863, refugee S. M. Swenson described the town as “semi Spanish, semi American” and noted that the “population now seems to be a jumble from all countries and languages—of foreigners the greatest part are Americans and of renegade Texans.”³³⁵ Swenson estimated that as many as 9,000 of these displaced Americans were living in Matamoros in 1863, an increase in population of almost 75% compared to the Matamoros population in 1861. This huge influx of refugees throughout the war made it difficult to find lodging in Matamoros and to secure transportation back to the United States.

The Anderson women had been waiting on news about an available ship for nearly a week when Kitty complained, “How weary I am of everything! We must wait & wait—how

³³⁰ October 11, 1861, Kitty Anderson Diary, UT-Austin.

³³¹ October 17, 1861, Kitty Anderson Diary, UT-Austin.

³³² October 17, 1861, Kitty Anderson Diary, UT-Austin. Emphasis in original.

³³³ Robert W. Delaney, “Matamoros, Port for Texas during the Civil War,” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 58, No. 4 (Apr., 1955), 473.

³³⁴ F. F. Fenn [Gilbert Kingsbury] to F. J. Herron, February 10, 1864, Kingsbury Papers, UT-Austin.

³³⁵ S. M. Swenson to Susan McReady Swenson, November 3, 1863, Swenson Papers, UT-Austin.

long I wonder until another vessel.”³³⁶ In the meantime, the Anderson women became friendly with a number of other Texas Unionists living in Brownsville, including a Mr. Kingsbury, who would soon flee Texas himself.³³⁷ These other Unionists visited with the women, arranged for their room and board, and even took the women sightseeing, including a trip into Matamoros that mesmerized Kitty.

After about three weeks in Brownsville, a rumor began spreading that Charles Anderson had escaped imprisonment in San Antonio and was fleeing to Mexico. Kitty was elated at the thought of his escape, but despite her joy, his escape also put the women in danger in Texas. Kitty recorded how they were warned that “Mother and I had better be moving. To Matamoros—Anywhere out of the power of these tyrants of Texas.”³³⁸ The next

³³⁶ October 26, 1861, Kitty Anderson Diary, UT-Austin.

³³⁷ Kitty notes a Mr. Kingsbury visiting the family and assisting them multiple times while they were in Brownsville and Matamoros. She does not identify his first name. It is unclear if this was Robert D. Kingsbury, dentist from San Antonio who would later be a refugee in New Orleans, or, if it was Gilbert D. Kingsbury, alias Frances F. Fenn, the Unionist postmaster in Brownsville who fled from Texas and spent the rest of the war in Matamoros collaborating with United States Consul Leonard Pierce to aid fellow Texas refugees. In her edited edition of Kitty Anderson’s diary, Nancy Draves identifies the “Mr. Kingsbury” who assisted the Anderson women as Robert Kingsbury. It is important to note that her identification is based on Jerry Thompson’s discussion of Kingsbury in his 2007 monograph *Cortina: Defending the Mexican Name in Texas* (Texas A&M University Press), however a consultation of Thompson’s own footnotes makes clear he is referencing Gilbert Kingsbury and the text most likely contains a typographical error (see Draves, 41, and Thompson, 31, 31n111, 47, 47n72, 51, 51n100, 68). The extensive effort, both financial and otherwise, that Gilbert Kingsbury devoted to refugees in Matamoros indicates that he could be the “Mr. Kingsbury” that Kitty Anderson mentions (see *Eighth Manuscript Census of the United States (1860), Population Schedules, Texas, Cameron County, Brownsville Ward 2, stamped p. 284* and National Archives and Records Administration (NARA); Washington, D.C.; *Record of Appointment of Postmasters, 1832-Sept. 30, 1971*, M841, Roll 121, which lists Franklin F. Fenn as postmaster in Brownsville from 1838 until the next recorded entry in 1865). New York native Robert B. Kingsbury was the Collector of Customs in Brownsville (see *Eighth Manuscript Census of the United States (1860), Population Schedules, Texas, Cameron County, Brownsville Ward 1, stamped p. 294*). He kept office for about a year after Texas joined the Confederacy, when in the fall of 1863, he took an oath of allegiance to occupying U.S. forces. Because of his service as a collector of customs, Robert Kingsbury was forced to apply for a special pardon after the war, in which Governor A.J. Hamilton recommended his pardon and explained that “in Brownsville Texas his purse and House were open to all the destitute refugees (and there were many) who were run out of the interior for their loyalty,” and he stated that “many poor refugees from Texas will always remember his generous aid” (See Robert B. Kingsbury, Amnesty Petition, June 17, 1865, Case Files of Applications from Former Confederates for Presidential Pardons (“Amnesty Papers”), 1865-67, Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, 1780s-1917, Record Group 94, Publication M1003, National Archives, Washington, D.C.). It is possible that this same Robert B. Kingsbury assisted the Anderson women since there is evidence that he helped refugees in Matamoros and that he knew Matamoros Consul Leonard Pierce. In short, either Gilbert D. Kingsbury or Robert B. Kingsbury could have been the “Mr. Kingsbury” that assisted the Anderson women as they fled Confederate Texas.

³³⁸ November 3, 1861, Kitty Anderson Diary, UT-Austin.

morning the rumor was confirmed, and shortly after, Mr. Kingsbury arrived to insist the women leave Brownsville and assist the women in getting across the border to Mexico. The women began packing at once, and the following morning, with Mr. Kingsbury's assistance, the women's trunks were loaded on a wagon, then, as Kitty said, "We put on our bonnets and off to the river."³³⁹ The women fled across the Rio Grande, in their second attempt to get to Mexico and the third time they had been displaced in as many months for their political sentiments.

Once safely in Matamoros, Kingsbury arranged another boarding situation for the Anderson women, and the women retired to their rooms to settle in. A few days later, with Kingsbury's help, they relocated again to what Kitty described as the "finest residence" and found the new living arrangements "altogether delightful," in a residence with a library, balcony, garden, and a servant.³⁴⁰ Thus, while again comfortable materially, the Andersons continued to worry about Charles Anderson, and in addition, began to worry about the ongoing war in Mexico.

Kitty noted the violence increasing in Matamoros due to the war in Mexico as soon as they arrived at their new residence, reporting "Matamoros is in revolution now and the 'Crinolinas' have barricaded some of the principle streets and are holding themselves right here... while the 'Rojos' are daily expected to attack."³⁴¹ The next day, the threat of violence in the streets of Matamoros increased, and Kitty noted how "Nearly all the women and children are leaving or have left for Brownsville. We consider ourselves more safe even here than with our former fellow countrymen in Texas."³⁴² Thus, while numerous people in

³³⁹ November 5, 1861, Kitty Anderson Diary, UT-Austin.

³⁴⁰ November 11, 1861, Kitty Anderson Diary, UT-Austin.

³⁴¹ November 11, 1861, Kitty Anderson Diary, UT-Austin.

³⁴² November 12, 1861, Kitty Anderson Diary, UT-Austin.

Matamoros fled from the conflict in Mexico to safety in Texas, the Anderson women, as refugees from the conflict in Texas, had nowhere to go in Texas, so were forced to remain in embattled Matamoros. Mr. Kingsbury, aware that the violence was increasing, sought to aid the women. He helped arrange their transportation to New York via Havana and the women were on the steamer within two hours, just before fighting erupted in the streets of Matamoros.

Although the women had escaped violence for the time being, their ship could not escape a storm in the Gulf of Mexico that raged for several days. The captain apparently attempted to change course for Vera Cruz instead of Havana, but the ship was caught in the storm regardless. Most on board the ship were incredibly sick as they rocked back and forth in the bottom of the small ship, including Eliza and Belle Anderson who were “so deathly sick they could scarcely move.”³⁴³ Kitty was seasick as well, and she recorded her anxiety over not being able to communicate with the rest of the passengers about what was going on since there was “not a single soul on board who can talk English.”³⁴⁴ Kitty complained about the uncomfortable accommodations on the ship, and about struggling to sleep. Kitty described how “the waves rolled angrily and the vessel rolled & rocked & groaned & grumbled, the sails, screeched & sighed and moaned while we lay on the cabin floor: reminded how helpless we were.”³⁴⁵ The storm sent the ship so off course that they had passed their new destination, Vera Cruz, and had to turn around, finally landing in Vera Cruz on November 29th. The women were visited by the United States Consul at Vera Cruz, Mark Dunnell, who immediately informed them that Charles Anderson was on his way to Vera

³⁴³ November 30, 1861, Kitty Anderson Diary, UT-Austin.

³⁴⁴ November 17, 1861, Kitty Anderson Diary, UT-Austin.

³⁴⁵ November 27, 1861, Kitty Anderson Diary, UT-Austin.

Cruz as well, so a few prominent Texans living in the city found suitable accommodations for the Anderson women while they awaited Mr. Anderson's arrival.

Several Unionists in the San Antonio-area had been shocked by Charles Anderson's arrest, including Ann Ludlum, a widow, and Jean-Charles Houzeau de Lehaie, a Belgian immigrant and scientist. Ludlum and Houzeau "were so indignant over the injustice" of Charles Anderson's arrest and imprisonment, that Ludlum devised a plan that, with Houzeau's assistance, would help Anderson escape from prison to asylum in Mexico.³⁴⁶ The Unionists were able to pass Anderson a note explaining they had plans for his escape into Mexico if he was able to escape the Confederate camp at Salado River where he was being held prisoner. One dark night he evaded Confederate sentinels and roamed into the darkness, searching for the house of Ann Ludlum. When he found the house hours later, the Unionists brought him inside, darkened his face, and gave him a vaquero's hat to wear before sending him on his way with provisions, including a horse to help make his escape.³⁴⁷

He fled towards Mexico in his disguise as a Mexican laborer, a disguise which deliberately manipulated contemporary assumptions about race, class, and labor, to his advantage as he attempted to flee inconspicuously into Mexico. Despite his efforts, he was recognized a few days later by a soldier on Confederate picket duty who warned Anderson not to cross the Rio Grande at Laredo, and taking his advice, Anderson instead crossed at Eagle Pass. He continued into Mexico, at first planning to join his family in Matamoros until learning that there were plans to kidnap and take him back across the river if he attempted to

³⁴⁶ "Our Father's Escape," Kitty Anderson Diary, UT-Austin. See also Jean-Charles Houzeau, *La Terreur Blanche au Texas et Mon Evasion* (Brussels, Belgium: Parent & Fils, 1862), 45-53.

³⁴⁷ The disguise of a Mexican laborer was also used by Jean-Charles Houzeau de Lehaie when he fled Texas shortly after Anderson. See Houzeau, *La Terreur Blanche au Texas et Mon Evasion*, 52. Ann Ludlum had to flee to Mexico as well following her assistance in Anderson's escape. See Nancy Draves, ed., *A Promise Fulfilled: The Kitty Anderson Diary and Civil War Texas, 1861*, (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2017), 75.

rejoin his family there. Instead, he continued traveling towards the interior of Mexico, running into numerous fellow refugees, including many German Texans who had relocated to Monterrey, before taking a vessel from Tampico to Vera Cruz, where his family and United States Consul Mark Dunnell were awaiting him. He then joined his family in Vera Cruz, and they all left together to the United States, with the help of the United States government and the burgeoning network of Texas refugees in Mexico.

Leonard Pierce, Jr., the United States Consul in Matamoros, consistently reported the presence of Unionist refugees who fled to the border city, which was just across the Rio Grande from Brownsville, Texas. In March 1862 Pierce reported “I am continually besieged [sic] with refugees and deserters most of them without funds who expect me to send them north. For many I have procured situations where they can earn a subsistence and others I have to provide for to the best of my ability.”³⁴⁸ Although Pierce was able to secure employment for some of these refugees, including some who he employed in the consulate office, others had to rely on what little means and connections they had. The refugees posed a major issue for the United States’ consuls in Mexico throughout the war, leaving them “at a loss how to proceed” in their cases, in part because which department of the United States government was liable for aiding the refugees was unclear, and would remain so for years to come.³⁴⁹

This confusion was partially due to the broad duties of United States consuls in the mid-nineteenth century. Although the primary goal of the U.S. consular service was to facilitate international trade, by the mid-nineteenth century the role of the consul had

³⁴⁸ Leonard Pierce, Jr. to William Henry Seward, March 21, 1862, Matamoros Consular Dispatches, Ramsdell Microfilm Collection, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, The University of Texas at Austin (henceforth Matamoros Consular Dispatches, UT-Austin).

³⁴⁹ Leonard Pierce, Jr. to William Henry Seward, March 1, 1862, Matamoros Consular Dispatches, UT-Austin.

expanded to include the “protect[ion] of the lives and property of US citizens abroad.”³⁵⁰

The obligation to “protect citizens abroad,” however, was vague, and throughout the world, U.S. consuls adapted their roles as they saw fit with little oversight. As United States citizens fled Confederate-controlled Texas to reach asylum in Mexico, U.S. consuls were obligated to respond, especially as the number of refugees grew into the tens of thousands over the course of the war.

Pierce requested additional funds from Congress to provide relief and transportation to displaced U.S. citizens, but, unlike their European counterparts, U.S. consuls did not have a relief fund to draw from in extraordinary situations like the Civil War refugee crisis in Mexico. The burden of aid often fell on those in Mexico who were sympathetic to refugees’ situations, including U.S. Consul Leonard Pierce himself. He reported that due to the “terrible state of affairs” in Texas, “all those that have the means of getting away are doing so, and there are now in this city some fifty who are endeavoring to get North & as many are without means. I have been helping them until I am completely run out.”³⁵¹ The number of refugees flocking to Matamoros and to the Consulate would only increase as Texas implemented conscription in 1862.

³⁵⁰ Nicole Phelps, “A Brief Introduction to the US Consular Service,” Researching the U.S. Consular Service blog, available at <https://blog.uvm.edu/nphelps/a-brief-introduction-to-the-us-consular-service/>. For an expanded version of Phelps’s introduction to the Consular Service, see Nicole Phelps, *U.S.-Habsburg Relations from 1815 to the Paris Peace Conference: Sovereignty Transformed* (Cambridge University Press, 2013), 103-196. See also C.S. Kennedy, *The American Consul: A History of the United States Consular Service, 1776-1914* (Greenwood Press, 1990) and Nicole Phelps, “One Service, Three Systems, Many Empires: the U.S. Consular Service and the Growth of U.S. Global Power, 1789–1924,” in *Crossing Empires: Taking U.S. History into Transimperial Terrain*, ed. Kristin Hoganson and Jay Sexton (Durham: Duke University Press, 2020), 135-158. Although many scholars note that consuls were obligated to protect citizens abroad, most research on the U.S. Consul system focuses on the facilitation of international trade and the growth of capitalism. In addition to Phelps and Kennedy, see Bernadette Whelan, *American Government in Ireland, 1790–1913: A History of the US Consular Service* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 2010) and Ferry de Goey, *Consuls and the Institutions of Global Capitalism* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2014).

³⁵¹ Leonard Pierce, Jr. to William Henry Seward, March 24, 1862, Matamoros Consular Dispatches, UT-Austin.

However, even those who arrived in Matamoros with the resources to return to the North were not always able to do so easily due to the high demand to travel on the few ships arriving in Matamoros, as seen in the case of the Andersons. Pierce reported the arrival of over one hundred Texas refugees in March of 1862 who wanted to head to the North, and as more and more refugees gathered in the border town, the harder it became to get out. As Pierce explained, “Within the last month there has arrived from Texas about one hundred who come for the purpose of getting to their homes in the North, but as most of them are short of friends when they arrive and there seldom being any facilities for getting through to New York direct they are forced to remain here until finally they become destitute of means to proceed further.”³⁵² Often in these cases, Pierce intervened to provide aid on their behalf, and at his own expense.

The role of Leonard Pierce in aiding refugees who fled from Texas to Mexico highlights the centrality of the international border to the Texas refugee experience. In the case of these Unionist refugees, the fact that Mexico was the closest refuge made it an incredibly popular destination, even if many of them found it an unattractive destination as well. Although they may have had condescending feelings regarding the neighboring country, the international border made possible the existence of the consulate office, which provided thousands of Texas refugees with relief during the Civil War. The Consul was able to intervene on their behalf, bringing their plight to the attention of the U.S. government, and use government resources to aid refugees, including rations, shelter, clothing, and, for some, transportation out of Mexico and back to the United States, usually via steamers headed for New York.

³⁵² Leonard Pierce, Jr. to William Henry Seward, April 7, 1862, Matamoros Consular Dispatches, UT-Austin.

While some refugees fled Texas early in the war, especially if they were outspoken Unionists, many people with Union sentiment who had lingered in Texas came under intense pressure beginning in April of 1862 when conscription began. Many of these men had been trying to lay low and avoid public debate, but as the demands of Confederate loyalty grew, it became more difficult for them to maintain their distance from the conflict. On April 24, 1862 martial law was imposed on Confederate Texas, and again Unionists who were trying to wait it out were put in a difficult position. Pierce witnessed, “They are still coming from Texas. Martial law and the Conscript act are forcing these to leave.”³⁵³ But as more and more refugees from Texas fled the Confederacy for Mexico, shelter and employment became scarcer. Pierce noted that there were so many refugees in Matamoros that “there being no employment for them here I have been forced to maintain them until they could leave at a heavy cost to myself, some of them being entirely destitute of clothing.”³⁵⁴

Thus, as the consulate, and the city, continued to be overburdened with refugees, the occupation of New Orleans by federal forces under Major General Benjamin Butler could not have been met with better timing for Texas refugees. The United States occupation of New Orleans opened many new opportunities for refugees, including a new destination to reach that was in much closer proximity to Texas than the rest of the United States. Additionally, and perhaps most importantly, the federal occupation of New Orleans also led to a new employer for displaced Texas Unionists: the United States Army.

Edmund J. Davis and John L. Haynes, both Unionists who had been trying to lay low in Texas, took immediate advantage of the occupation of New Orleans as they fled

³⁵³ Leonard Pierce to William Henry Seward, April 30, 1862, Matamoros Consular Dispatches, UT-Austin.

³⁵⁴ Leonard Pierce to William Henry Seward, April 30, 1862, Matamoros Consular Dispatches, UT-Austin.

Texas in May of 1862. Davis, originally from Florida, had been a judge in Texas, but in 1861 refused to take the oath of allegiance to the Confederacy because of his Union sentiment, essentially resigning his judgeship. Haynes had served in the state legislature as a representative for Starr County until 1861. Although both men were able to live fairly peacefully at home in Texas at first, the events of the spring of 1862 made it much more difficult for them to wait out the conflict and appear neutral, or reluctantly pro-Confederate, in public. As John L. Haynes described, “I fled from home, leaving wife children—all that man holds most dear—because in defence of a great principle such sacrifice sometimes become necessary.”³⁵⁵ The implementation of conscription in the Confederacy, and the lawlessness and Confederate vigilantism widespread in Texas made staying in Texas too dangerous for these two unwavering Unionists.

Together the men escaped to Mexico, accompanied by their friend William Alexander. Once in Mexico, Haynes and Davis secured transportation to recently occupied New Orleans. Upon reaching New Orleans, the Texas Unionists immediately explained their desire to establish a regiment of loyal Texans to fight for the United States, and even more specifically, their desire for the United States to invade Confederate Texas. Davis, Haynes, and a handful of other Texas Unionists believed that the strength of Union sentiment and growing Confederate dissent would make it possible for a U. S. military force to invade and occupy the state, re-establishing federal authority.

Davis and Haynes were so committed to this plan, that in August of 1862 they traveled from New Orleans to Washington, D. C. to pitch their plan to the President. After meeting with the men, Abraham Lincoln referred them to Secretary of War Edwin Stanton,

³⁵⁵ John L. Haynes to [?], June 16, 1864, John L. Haynes Papers, 1846-1945, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, The University of Texas at Austin.

explaining that “They think if we could send 2500 or 3000 arms, in a vessel, to the vicinity of the Rio Grande, that they can find the men there who will re-inaugurate the National Authority on the Rio Grande first, and probably on the Nuesces also.”³⁵⁶ Although Stanton was not supportive of invading Texas, he authorized Davis to raise a regiment of men and commissioned him Colonel of the First Texas Cavalry (U. S.). Haynes was commissioned Lt. Colonel, until he was promoted to Colonel when the Second Texas Cavalry (U. S.) was raised a year later in 1863.

Davis returned immediately to New Orleans to begin recruiting men, particularly Texas refugees, for the regiment. Haynes, in the meantime, remained in Washington with the goal of persuading the federal government to invade Texas. He was not the only Texan with this goal, though—at the same time, prominent Texan Andrew Jackson Hamilton was in Washington with the same mission.

Hamilton was born in Alabama but had lived in Texas since 1846. In 1859 he was elected to the United States House of Representatives. He was serving in Congress during the secession crisis, and actively sought to find compromise to the secession crisis as a member of the House-appointed Committee of Thirty-three. He also gave an important pro-Union speech before Congress not long before the session of Congress ended in March and Hamilton returned to Austin. Not long after arriving back in Texas, he publicly denounced secession as illegal and again stated his support for the Union, but he also recognized the danger of this outspoken Unionism and began planning to leave the state.

Like many Unionists in Texas, Hamilton knew the pressure was mounting to actively support the Confederacy in the spring of 1862. For Hamilton, in particular, there were

³⁵⁶ Roy P. Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (8 vol., New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1953).

numerous rumors of threats on his life, in addition to the threat of conscription and martial law. Although the exact movements and timing of Hamilton's escape are not well known, by August of 1862 he had reached Matamoros, reportedly escaping Austin on horseback along with fifteen other refugees, and narrowly missing a kidnapping attempt that instead caught and killed a different unfortunate member of Hamilton's group. It was rumored that there remained a reward for the capture of A. J. Hamilton, so upon his arrival in Matamoros, U.S. Consul Leonard Pierce, Jr. rushed him aboard a ship headed to New Orleans. The ship was in such a hurry that it left some crew members and its official papers behind.³⁵⁷

Hamilton safely reached New Orleans, and then, like Davis and Haynes, he headed for Washington D. C. to gain support for a federal invasion of Texas. He found himself to be a bit of a celebrity upon reaching the North, and was continually asked to give speeches, many of which he did, emphasizing the Union cause as well as advocating for the plight of Texas refugees. In addition to his many speeches, the man being proclaimed as a hero and a patriot was able to meet with Abraham Lincoln. Although a federal invasion of Texas still seemed unlikely, Hamilton was commissioned Brigadier General of Volunteers and Military Governor of Texas. Although military in name, Hamilton's role was primarily political, with the main goal of re-establishing United States authority in Texas. For the time being, Hamilton returned to New Orleans to operate from there.

Davis had already returned to New Orleans, where hundreds of Texas refugees were now joining the ranks of the U. S. Army. After the first regiment was filled, Collector of Customs at New Orleans George Denison, himself a refugee from Texas, recorded his opinion that another regiment could easily be raised, saying, "There will be no difficulty about this, as besides the company here—three or four companies can be raised in

³⁵⁷ Waller, *Colossal Hamilton of Texas*, 36.

Galveston. There are hundreds of refugees in the vicinity of Matamoros, anxious to join the army, for whom Gen. Butler will send a steamer.”³⁵⁸ Hundreds of refugees in Matamoros did in fact take government transportation to New Orleans in order to join the Union Army. The United States Consul at Matamoros continued to support refugees, and throughout the war, he provided transportation for many refugees from Texas to join the United States Army. He did this with the aid of numerous ship captains sympathetic to Unionist refugees, such as Charles Hunter, who took refugees from Matamoros to the United States on multiple occasions, and vowed, “I am most anxious to do all in my power to serve my country & protect all who have been driven from it by rebels & traitors.”³⁵⁹ Many of these refugees joined the Union Army at New Orleans, and others, like refugee William Cross, joined the United States Navy.³⁶⁰

In October of 1862, Denison reported “Seventy-three refugees from Texas have just arrived here from Matamoros, about one-third of whom are Germans—the remainder Americans.”³⁶¹ Many German Texans were Unionists because they were both against slavery and devoted to United States government.³⁶² The position of many of these German Unionists became increasingly difficult following conscription and martial law in Texas, which was compounded by persecution of and depredations against many German Texans by Confederate vigilantes.³⁶³ As a result, many German Unionists became refugees during

³⁵⁸ George Denison to Salmon P. Chase, October 27, 1862, *The Diary and Correspondence of Salmon P. Chase*, ed. Samuel H. Dodson, (New York: Di Capo Press, 1971), 328.

³⁵⁹ Captain Charles Hunter to Leonard Pierce, Jr., June 9, 1862, Pierce Family Collection, 1741-2011, Maine Historical Society, Portland, Maine (henceforth Pierce Family Collection, MHS).

³⁶⁰ William T. Cross to Leonard Pierce, Jr. June 15, 1862, Pierce Family Collection, MHS.

³⁶¹ George Denison to Salmon P. Chase, October 27, 1862, *The Diary and Correspondence of Salmon P. Chase* (New York: Di Capo Press, 1971), 328.

³⁶² Marten, *Texas Divided*, 113.

³⁶³ See Marten, *Texas Divided*, esp. 113-121. See also Jesus F. de la Teja, *Lone Star Unionism, Dissent, and Resistance: Other Sides of Civil War Texas* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016).

the Civil War, and a large number of Texas refugees joining the United States Army were German American. Among these were the men who fled the Nueces Massacre.

In the increasingly hostile climate toward Unionists and particularly German Unionists in Texas, in August of 1862 a group of about sixty Texas Unionists, almost all of whom were German, decided to head to Mexico. The men were all members of the Union Loyal League, whose purpose was to “peaceably secure its members and their families from being disturbed and compelled to bear arms against the Union, and to protect their families against the hostile Indians.”³⁶⁴ They departed from Kerr County on August 3 and headed towards the Rio Grande River where they planned to cross at its confluence with the Devil River. The Unionists did not send out scouts or attempt to cover their trail, in part because many of them believed that they had a right to peaceably leave Texas, citing a proclamation that said those opposed to Confederate rule had thirty days to leave. The lack of precaution on the part of the Texas Unionists prevented them from realizing that they were being followed by over 100 Confederate soldiers. Though heavily armed, the German Unionists were taken by surprise when the Confederate soldiers attacked them as they slept around three in the morning on August 10. A violent battle ensued, and nineteen German Unionists died in the battle. As the rest of the outnumbered German Americans retreated, nine badly wounded German Americans were executed by the Confederates as they attempted to surrender. Jacob K uchler, a German Unionist who served as a guide on the trip because of his familiarity with western Texas, returned to the scene of the massacre and “stood pale and shuddering at the sight of the fate which had befallen the poor wounded, who could not leave camp with the rest of us, having every one been murdered and mutilated by a cruel

³⁶⁴ John Sansom, *Battle of Nueces River in Kinney County, Texas, August 10th, 1862. As Seen and Reported by John W. Sansom* (San Antonio, 1905), 3.

foe.”³⁶⁵ As the Unionists fled the battle, most crossed into Mexico, and many of these would later go to New Orleans to join the United States Army.

Such was the case with William Huster, who fled the massacre and arrived in Matamoros “perfectly destitute” and “without any clothes or money,” and found refuge with United States Consul Leonard Pierce, Jr. in Matamoros.³⁶⁶ From there, Huster was one of hundreds of refugees to be transported to New Orleans, aboard one of the many ships arranged to do so by Pierce himself. Several other Nueces refugees reached out to Pierce for assistance in joining the Union Army as well, including seven who had “run the Secession gauntlet and escaped from Conscription, bondage, and death” and wished to join the Union Army as soon as they could.³⁶⁷ They asked Pierce for information on where and how to join the Union Army, and “what you or the government can do for us” regarding their displacement.³⁶⁸ Henry Schwethelm and two other German men fled the Nueces Massacre and traveled to Monterrey, and then on to Vera Cruz, where the consul in Vera Cruz arranged for them to be sent to New Orleans to join the Union Army. A large number of German Texan refugees fled into Mexico, and the U. S. Consulate and the occupation of New Orleans played an important role in their enlistment in the Union Army.

After enlisting the majority of refugees in New Orleans in the Union Army, and transporting many refugees from Matamoros to New Orleans, Davis received permission to

³⁶⁵ Guido E. Ransleben, *A Hundred Years of Comfort in Texas: A Centennial History* (San Antonio: Naylor, 1954) 97. For a debate on whether the Nueces was a battle, a massacre, or both, see: Stanley S. McGowen, “Battle or Massacre?: The Incident on the Nueces, August 10, 1862,” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 104, no. 1 (July 2000): 64-86.

³⁶⁶ Compiled Service Record for William Huster, *Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Union Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the State of Texas*, M402, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1780s–1917, Record Group 94, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

³⁶⁷ P. G. Temple to Leonard Pierce, Jr., August 13, 1862, Pierce Family Collection, MHS.

³⁶⁸ P. G. Temple to Leonard Pierce, Jr., August 13, 1862, Pierce Family Collection, MHS.

go to Mexico and recruit additional Texas refugees in person.³⁶⁹ Beginning in the fall of 1862, the United States began recruiting along the Texas-Mexico border. Although enlisting men in the United States Army while located on Mexican soil was a violation of Mexican neutrality, recruiters would send the volunteers to occupied New Orleans to enlist there. Pierce was central in the recruitment effort and consistently sent refugees to enlist in the Union Army at New Orleans, and later, at Brownsville. Pierce worked together with Davis in this effort. In November 1862, just after receiving permission to recruit along the border, Davis instructed Pierce: “All persons who can join us now, should be sent to the Mo. Of the Rio Grande, whence they will be carried to Galveston or some other point on the coast in occupation of the Union forces. Those of the Mexicans who can be induced to do so should also be sent.”³⁷⁰ Pierce provided relief and transportation for at least 400-800 Texas refugees to join the U.S. Army in New Orleans.³⁷¹ The United States Army eventually recruited 2,000 Unionist Texans and Mexican nationals through these efforts, which indicates how thousands of refugees spent the war, and also demonstrates how the federal government interacted with refugees.

Vital to recruitment along the border were *enganchadores*, recruiters for the United States Army who positioned themselves along the Rio Grande to recruit Tejanos and Mexican nationals to join the United States Army. Among these was Octaviano Zapata, a refugee from the Clareño massacre in Texas in April 1861. The Clareño massacre conflict began when a group of forty Tejanos led by Antonio Ochoa attempted to prevent officials in Zapata County from taking the Confederate oath of office and swearing their loyalty to the

³⁶⁹ Carl H. Moneyhon, *Edmund J. Davis of Texas: Civil War General, Republican Leader, Reconstruction Governor* (Fort Worth: TCU Press, 2010), 47.

³⁷⁰ Edmund J. Davis to Leonard Pierce, Jr., November 17, 1862, Pierce Family Collection, MHS.

³⁷¹ 40th Cong. 3rd session, *CG*, 1177 and 1240.

Confederacy.³⁷² Ochoa and his supporters “refused to bear allegiance to the Confederacy, and openly declared their intention of supporting no government except that of the United States.”³⁷³ They overtook the precinct, and many feared they would also be able to take over the county seat at Carrizo. Although Isidro Vela, a prominent Tejano landowner in the county was able to talk the men down, Ochoa and his men nevertheless issued a *pronunciamiento* (proclamation) denouncing Confederate rule.³⁷⁴

Upon learning of the Tejano Unionist’s uprising, Confederate Captain Matthew Nolan immediately headed for Zapata County to restore “law and order” and ensure there was no resistance to Confederate authority. He issued warrants for the arrest of Ochoa and eighty of his followers, and by the morning of April 15th, Nolan and the Confederates had surrounded the Tejano Unionists at Rancho Clareño. Taking them by surprise, the Confederates opened fire, killing a large number of Ochoa’s men as well as several noncombatants. Antonio Ochoa and many of his followers fled across the Rio Grande into Mexican territory.³⁷⁵

Located just across the border, Confederate officers viewed these Mexican-American Unionists as a threat to the Confederacy because of the fragility of Confederate control along the Rio Grande. Confederate Colonel John S. Ford warned other Confederate officers to watch out for “trouble” from those of Mexican descent living in Zapata County, warning

³⁷² Jerry Thompson, *Cortina: Defending the Mexican Name in Texas* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2007), 98.

³⁷³ W.H. Brewin to J.S. Ford, November 7, 1861, in *The War of the Rebellion: a Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series I, Volume IV, ed. United States War Department (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), 132 (henceforth *OR* series:volume).

³⁷⁴ Although not all historians have taken into account the political motivations of the Tejanos involved in the Clareño massacre and other violence along the border, and others disregard the importance of their political motivations, this group of men was motivated by their Unionism. For more on this see: Omar S. Valerio-Jiménez, “Although We Are the Last Soldiers”: Citizenship, Ideology, and Tejano Unionism,” in de le Teja, *Lone Star Unionism, Dissent, and Resistance*, 123-145. See also Omar S. Valerio-Jiménez, *River of Hope: Forging Identity and Nation in the Rio Grande Borderlands* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013), especially pp. 252-269.

³⁷⁵ Thompson, *Cortina*, 99.

“they are backed by a strong party in Guerrero [Nueva Ciudad Guerrero, Tamaulipas, Mexico], who avow the intention to take service to the North, should Mr. Lincoln send an invading force to the Rio Grande.”³⁷⁶ As historian Jerry Thompson has argued, the support of Tejanos and Mexicans along the border was important to the Confederacy, because without their support, “the flank of the Confederacy was dangerously exposed.”³⁷⁷ Those who fled the Clareño Massacre thus reflected the inability of the Confederate States of America to secure its borders and its inability to secure support from a vital and often overlooked portion of the population until it was too late.³⁷⁸

Zapata continued to use the porous international border to his advantage, using his time displaced in Mexico to recruit for the United States Army and raid Confederate supplies.³⁷⁹ After fleeing into Mexico after the massacre and settling his family among relatives in Nueva Ciudad Guerrero, Zapata began recruiting along the border, quickly recruiting over sixty men. He and his men, loosely attached to the U.S. Army, proceeded to raid Confederate trade, especially cotton exporting, along the border. Their battle cry was “*Que Viva la Union!*,” and Zapata continued to terrorize Confederates along the Rio Grande from the fall of 1861 after the Clareño Massacre until September 1, 1863, when he was killed on Mexican soil in a battle with Confederate soldiers led by Santos Benavides.³⁸⁰ Border raids served as a constant reminder of threat of the advancing Union army, as well as the inability of the Confederacy to secure support from its own members.

³⁷⁶ J. S. Ford to D. C. Stith, November 11, 1861, OR I:IV, 136.

³⁷⁷ Jerry Thompson, *Tejano Tiger: Jose de los Santos Benavides and the Texas-Mexico Borderlands, 1823-1891* (Fort Worth: TCU Press, 2017), 104.

³⁷⁸ Stephanie McCurry, *Confederate Reckoning: Power and Politics in the Civil War South* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010).

³⁷⁹ Thompson, *Tejano Tiger*, 123.

³⁸⁰ Thompson, *Tejano Tiger*, 126. It is important to point out that Confederate troops pursuit of Zapata into Mexican territory was a violation of Mexican neutrality.

Although not consequential militarily in the outcome of the war, the border raids and recruitment along the border were still important. First, it exposed the flank of the Confederacy, and demonstrated that the border was easily penetrated.³⁸¹ It also fundamentally demonstrated the inability of the Confederate States to retain the support, or even presence, of all of its residents, and served as a reminder that the Rio Grande was a tangible site of vulnerability for the Confederacy. Thus, these border raids by Mexican and Tejano Unionists and border recruitment by enganchadores were not only a reminder of the power and reach of the United States federal government but were also a reminder of the inability of the fledgling Confederate States to secure its borders.

One common factor that caused refugees to cross back and forth across the U.S. Mexico border was the movement of Confederate troops. When the threat of a battle was rumored in El Paso as Union commander E. R. S. Canby approached, one observer reported, “the merchants and most of the families of this part of the country have ‘pulled up stakes’ and gone to the Mexican side.”³⁸² Among those refugees who fled wartime violence in Texas was Agustina Villarreal de Benavides, wife of Confederate officer Jose Maria de los Santos Benavides. Although supporters of the Confederacy, Agustina Benavides fled into Mexico in order to avoid an anticipated battle. Fortunately for Benavides, the family had numerous important connections in Mexico, and Agustina along with the rest of Santos’ immediate family fled to Monterrey where longtime family friend and Governor of Nuevo Leon Santiago Vidaurri aided the pro-Confederate refugees.³⁸³

³⁸¹ Thompson, *Tejano Tiger*, 104. See also Michael L. Collins, *A Crooked River: Rustlers, Rangers, and Regulars on the Lower Rio Grande, 1861–1877*, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2018.

³⁸² J. F. Crosby to H. H. Sibley, October 27, 1861, OR I:IV 133.

³⁸³ Thompson, *Tejano Tiger*, 157.

John P. Kebey wrote from the border city of Ciudad Camargo in Tamaulipas to explain that rumors of the presence of Confederate troops under Santos Benavides had led to an influx of refugees from Texas, noting that even though the attack was only rumored and did not come to fruition, “notwithstanding all the citizens from there, Mexican and most of the American families has moved over here since this Excitement was in its height.”³⁸⁴ Although this U.S. Civil War-related incident along the border did not lead to violence, many other incidents did. Consul Pierce described how “the crowds of refugees from Texas do not diminish in the least, although it is very difficult, owing to the strict watch kept upon their movements, for them to get out. Many are arrested; some are hung; others are taken and pressed into service.”³⁸⁵ Pierce went on to describe the violence along the Rio Grande as “a perfect reign of terror.”³⁸⁶ Perhaps the most famous among these was the murder of Major W. W. Montgomery.

In October 1863, Union Colonel Edmund J. Davis was in Matamoros, Mexico on a mission to recruit refugees from Confederate Texas to join the Union Army. One night, after being taunted by new Union recruits from across the border, a group of Confederate soldiers crossed the Rio Grande into Mexico, killing several of the men and kidnapping Davis and another officer Major W.W. Montgomery and dragging them back into Texas. Montgomery was executed that night.³⁸⁷

The kidnapping quickly became a matter of international diplomacy, with Albino Lopez, the governor of the Mexican state of Tamaulipas, intervening to ensure Davis’ safe release. The kidnapping of Davis and Montgomery shows the precarious situation of

³⁸⁴ John P. Kebey to Leonard Pierce, Jr., November 9, 1863, Pierce Family Papers, MHS.

³⁸⁵ Pierce to Seward, May 5, 1862, OR I:9, 685.

³⁸⁶ Pierce to Seward, May 5, 1862, OR I:9, 685.

³⁸⁷ Marten, *Texas Divided*, 83.

refugees who fled from Texas during the Civil War, as well as the role of the international border in the experiences of refugees. Despite the violence along the border, however, Unionists continued to flee Texas for Mexico and occupied-New Orleans in large numbers. In addition to joining the United States Army in New Orleans and recruitment along the border, some joined along the border in places like Brownsville later on as the Union reclaimed more territory. Like the occupation of New Orleans, the occupation of Brownsville, Texas by the federal army in November of 1863 altered the landscape of the refugee experience.

For one thing, the occupation of Brownsville gave more Texans the opportunity to join the U.S. Army. Among these was Thaddeus McRae, a Presbyterian minister in Port Lavaca, Texas. McRae had bitterly opposed secession while living in Louisiana in January 1861 because “the right of secession or of State disintegration was neither contemplated by our fathers nor contained in the Constitution.”³⁸⁸ When Louisiana seceded he planned to move to the North, since the South was now a “region temporarily abandoned of God to its own devices and therefore destined for trouble,” but upon arriving in New Orleans, he learned of a presbytery in Texas that needed a minister. Texas had not yet seceded, and McRae hoped to prevent both the secession of Texas and the sectional schism within his denomination and regularly began preaching on the separation of church and state.

Nevertheless, shortly after his arrival in Texas the state seceded from the Union and joined the Confederacy. McRae lamented, “There I was again with a bastard flag, floating over me.”³⁸⁹ He continued to speak out against secession into the fall of 1861 when he

³⁸⁸ “The Autobiography of Rev. Thaddeus McRae,” Thaddeus W. McRae papers, 1866, 1880, 1929, Austin Seminary Archives, Stitt Library, Austin Presbyterian Theological Seminary.

³⁸⁹ “The Autobiography of Rev. Thaddeus McRae,” Thaddeus W. McRae papers, 1866, 1880, 1929, Austin Seminary Archives, Stitt Library, Austin Presbyterian Theological Seminary.

publicly refused to support the Confederacy by refusing to pray for the fledgling nation because he believed it was illegitimate. After this moment he described his life in Confederate Texas as “one of ceaseless anxiety and peril.”³⁹⁰ He was continually watched by “vigilance committees,” which he was certain would murder him, but his position in the clergy helped make it possible for him to avoid conflict despite his well-known Unionism. In 1863, however, a Confederate enrolling officer ignored McRae’s clerical exemption due to a personal disagreement and drafted him into the Confederate Army. McRae along with a Unionist friend headed for Mexico in October of 1863 and when they arrived in Matamoros, they learned from Union soldiers that the Union Army would soon be arriving in Texas. Certain that Texas would be in federal hands soon, the men returned home to Port Lavaca. They enlisted in the Union Army when federal troops reached Port Lavaca and headed for New Orleans on a federal transport headed out of occupied Brownsville. McRae joined the U.S. Army in New Orleans and served as a Chaplain for the 91st U.S. Colored Infantry.

The arrival of the United States Army in Texas also increased government involvement for destitute refugees. Although the United States consul in Matamoros had been involved in the plight of these refugees through provisions and protections, the arrival of the federal army across the river in Brownsville led to another potential resource for destitute refugees. One federal government employee wrote that as news spread of federal forces near Brownsville, “3,000 refugees have come in already.”³⁹¹ Many were also able to access government transportation to New Orleans. In fact, the federal government provided that “loyal persons without means—refugees—may obtain passes to New Orleans Free in

³⁹⁰ “The Autobiography of Rev. Thaddeus McRae,” Thaddeus W. McRae papers, 1866, 1880, 1929, Austin Seminary Archives, Stitt Library, Austin Presbyterian Theological Seminary.

³⁹¹ George Denison to Salmon P. Chase, October 27, 1862, *The Diary and Correspondence of Salmon P. Chase* (New York: Di Capo Press, 1971), 424.

the case of persons—loyal—who wish to go to New Orleans on their own private business—the price for transportation is Fifty Dollars—Those who are sent free must pay for or furnish their own subsistence.”³⁹² This federal intervention and transportation was crucial for ameliorating the refugee crisis along the border.

Not long after the arrival of the U.S. Army at Brownsville, commanding officer F. J. Herron offered to assist United States Consul Leonard Pierce, Jr. by relocating many of the destitute refugees living in Matamoros to federally-occupied Brownsville. Herron reported that because Consul Pierce was so overburdened providing for Texas refugees, “I relieved him to a certain extent by having the refugees and their families sent to this side where they are provided for as well as we are able.” He continued to describe the situation, saying, “All of them are entirely destitute of money and in many cases have nothing but the clothing they wear, which, after the rough journey they are compelled to make to get here is badly worn.” Unsure of how to proceed in their case, Herron explained, “I have been and am now as far as possible, providing for these families by placing them in the vacant houses, that have been repaired so as to make them habitable, issuing rations to them, and making each as are able, do work for the Government. Others have some help in the way of money, go to New Orleans and from there to their friends North.”³⁹³ Thus, the U.S. Army arrival in Brownsville altered the refugees’ experience. Although well-intentioned, it speaks to the continual displacement of refugees and transience. This became glaringly true with the retreat from Brownsville, as those who had sought protection under the U. S. flag were left behind in its retreat. Many fled back in Mexico.

³⁹² Charles Stevens to Leonard Pierce, Jr., January 15, 1864, Pierce Family Collection, MHS.

³⁹³ F. J. Herron to [?], February 2, 1864, Matamoros Consular Dispatches, UT-Austin.

Some were able to follow the United States Army as it retreated back to New Orleans. In August 1864, a Texas refugee living in New Orleans reported to Pierce that, “The city is full of Brownsville refugees male & female.”³⁹⁴ One such refugee was Melinda Rankin. A Presbyterian missionary originally from New Hampshire, Rankin had lived in Texas for several years running a school for Mexican girls. In September of 1862 she was forced to vacate her school under orders from the Confederacy, and with the aid of friends in the area she fled to Matamoros, Mexico. Rankin opened a school in Matamoros which she ran until March of 1863 when “on account of the prevailing troubles in both countries” she decided to head for the North until matters in Mexico became more “settled.”³⁹⁵ Rankin found passage on a government transport that was taking Union refugees to New Orleans, and after a short delay due to weather the group of about 100 refugees arrived in New Orleans. Rankin remained in federally occupied New Orleans working in hospitals and teaching freedpeople for several months until the Union occupation of Brownsville.

At the first opportunity Rankin followed the U.S. Army back to Brownsville and reopened her school. Nevertheless, this would be short-lived, as eight months later, the Union Army retreated from Brownsville again. Without protection, Rankin was forced to leave her school behind again, and as she uprooted her life for the second time, she described the pain she felt. She lamented, “This order to us in Brownsville was a sad and most unexpected event and I am fully aware of no event of the war which occasioned more pain to me personally than to be obliged again to surrender my work and turn over my repaired house into the hands of those whom I knew would treat it with sacrilegious

³⁹⁴ Isaac Moses to Leonard Pierce, Jr., August 12, 1864, Pierce Family Collection, MHS.

³⁹⁵ Melinda Rankin, *Twenty Years Among the Mexicans: A Narrative of Missionary Labor* (Chase & Hall: Cincinnati, 1875), 99.

abuse.”³⁹⁶ With little other choice, Rankin followed the United States Army and returned to New Orleans, where she resumed her work in freed people’s schools until 1865. As Rankin’s experience demonstrates, the U.S. occupation of Brownsville affected refugees and the movement of U.S. and Confederate troops affected refugees ability to flee and resettle, and demonstrates another way that the federal government shaped the contours of refugeedom for those fleeing Texas.

Alongside occupied New Orleans and Brownsville, Mexico remained an important asylum for Unionist refugees from Texas, and by 1862 refugees and their allies had already laid the foundations for a network assisting refugees who fled from Texas. Whereas those fleeing to Union territory from states like North Carolina often had to rely on wealthy acquaintances, family, and charity, to help them resettle in the aftermath of wartime displacement, for those who fled from Texas to Mexico, U.S. consuls played a crucial role in assisting refugees. Even when U.S. federal funds were not available to assist refugees, many consuls worked endlessly with their own resources and connections to support refugees who had fled to Mexico for refuge.

Matamoros had a widespread network that informally grew alongside the demand for refugee aid, especially as the United States government fell short in being able to provide aid to the thousands of Texas refugees requesting it. Matamoros was an attractive destination for refugees because of its strategic location, just across the border from Brownsville, Texas. Throughout the war thousands of refugees passed through Matamoros, and a significant number of them came into contact with the United States Consul, Leonard Pierce, Jr., who did more to ameliorate the Texas refugee crisis than any other individual.

³⁹⁶ Rankin, *Twenty Years Among the Mexicans*, 115.

Pierce, as the representative of the U.S. government in Matamoros, was an important advocate and ally of Texas Unionists who fled to Mexico. He was sympathetic to Texas refugees, and was the main support for the thousands of refugees who passed through Matamoros during the Civil War, including the hundreds he helped to transport to New Orleans and enlist in the Union Army. However, Pierce provided aid to hundreds of others as well. His correspondence is filled with letters from refugees asking him for aid or thanking him for his assistance. William Pye, an old acquaintance of Pierce, fled from Texas to Mexico to New York in June 1862, with Pierce's aid. Although Pye was glad to have "at last reached my home in Safety and Enjoyed a breathing spell," he wanted his family to join him in New Jersey, and worried that the worsening military conflict between France and Mexico would put his family in danger or limit their chances of escaping Texas.³⁹⁷ Pye wrote to ask if Pierce could aid his family in getting out of Texas as soon as possible, before tensions escalated in either war, and Pierce did. With Pierce's help, James Christian was also able to flee Texas through Mexico and return to Illinois, but a year later, he asked Pierce to help get his wife out of Confederate Texas as well.³⁹⁸ Pierce also provided transportation for another woman refugee, Mrs. Woolsey, who was traveling alone to join her son in Union-occupied New Orleans.³⁹⁹ Scores of people in the Northern U.S. contacted Pierce about helping their family members flee from Texas, to Mexico, and then to the United States.

Though Pierce was a central figure in aiding refugees, as were other consuls, refugees themselves played a significant role in aiding other refugees. One such refugee was Gilbert Kingsbury, who escaped imprisonment in Brownsville and fled into Matamoros on New Year's Eve 1861. Kingsbury became an important connection for many Texas refugees as

³⁹⁷ William M. Pye to Leonard Pierce, Jr., July 23, 1862, Pierce Family Collection, MHS.

³⁹⁸ James Christian to Leonard Pierce, Jr., July 25, 1863, Pierce Family Collection, MHS.

³⁹⁹ W. C. Woolsey to Leonard Pierce, Jr., December 13, 1864, Pierce Family Collection, MHS.

well. He described the “thousands” who left Texas for New York or New Orleans via Matamoros, if they were able to leave, and described the destitution of many who remained displaced in Mexico, which as a refugee himself, he sympathized with. He described how refugees, or “renegades” as some called them, had to work together to aid each other, especially since consuls could not cover the cost of aid. Overall, Pierce, Kingsbury, and the network in Matamoros demonstrates how numerous people came together to aid refugees, especially when government aid fell short.

A letter from Mrs. J. P. Bethell written in October 1863 gives insight into how the network of people aiding refugees in Matamoros worked. She explained to the Consulate that “When I arrived here, and finding that my husband had gone to N. O. I appealed to you, to know what I should do, as I was entirely destitute of money. You told me you would speak with Mr. Fenn [Kingsbury] & see what arrangement could be made.” Matamoros was full of refugees, and in addition to transportation out of Mexico, lodging was hard to come by as well. On Pierce’s request, Kingsbury found Bethell lodging in a “boarding house kept by Mr. Ross, near the stampe-press,” and her situation reflected the scarcity of accommodations in the town. Bethell complained that the boardinghouse house had “some 25 or 30 day laborers as boarders, with no Lady but myself. The room I occupy is not other than the same that all the men have for a sleeping room, with a canvass partition between them & myself. I need not tell you how much annoyed I have been by profane & Vulgar Language as well as Vulgar acts, both by day & night. Suffice it, the house is unfit for a Lady in every possible way.” In addition to her uncomfortable arrangements, her arrangements were only available for a week, during which time both of her children had become sick, and she again turned to Pierce, pleading, “I have not a dollar, nor even a friend in the place--, & I appeal to you again Mr Pierce—to know how I shall act,” adding further, “I am now trying

to sell some of my jewelry & other little things but as yet I have not succeeded.” She also inquired about the possibility of taking a ship out of Matamoros to New Orleans, where her husband had joined the Union Army.⁴⁰⁰ Her unfortunate situation shows how Texas refugees in Matamoros would aid one another using an informal network, especially when the government was short on resources.

Leonard Pierce, Jr., the consul in the border city of Matamoros, was deluged with refugees throughout the war, and while he assisted thousands in leaving Mexico for Union territory, hundreds of refugees fled to other cities in Mexico, either as their initial site of refuge, or after moving on from Matamoros. There were clusters of American refugees in cities throughout Mexico, especially cities near the border and port cities. Some of these refugees were just passing through on their way back to the United States, like J. P. Newcomb in Mazatlán, or the Anderson family in Vera Cruz. However, many of these refugees, like those in Matamoros, ran out of money as a result of their extended displacement. Others still, chose to stay in Mexico. Communities of refugees, especially those of German descent, sprung up throughout Mexico by those who wanted to temporarily settle in Mexico and wait out the war, and some even saw a future for themselves by moving to Mexico permanently. Refugees fleeing Confederate Texas sought refuge in cities throughout Mexico, and U.S. consuls were crucial to the expansive, informal network of assistance that developed to aid these displaced people.

In Monterrey, U.S. Consul Caleb B. H. Blood wrote to Pierce in Matamoros asking for his advice on how to address the influx of refugees in the area. Blood was on his way to begin his post at Monterrey, and in addition to hoping to start a Union regiment, he noted he had already heard reports of “over 300 men at Monterey fed by charity; that they have

⁴⁰⁰ Mrs. J. P. Bethell to Leonard Pierce, Jr., October 22, 1863, Pierce Family Collection, MHS.

been impatient for the United States consul to arrive” that he would have to work with when he arrived. But Blood went on to ask many of the same questions that Pierce himself had been grappling with in Matamoros, imploring “May I hope that some provision will be made for those sufferers, that the United States consul may not be disgrace in the eyes of other nations by driving away from his presence honorable citizens that seek the protection of this and their country; honorably for their country’s welfare thus reduced that they cannot feed themselves.”⁴⁰¹ Blood noted that at least six Texans fleeing to Mexico had been murdered within the week since he assumed his post. Nonetheless, through the combined efforts of Pierce and Captain Hunter, seventy refugees were able to make it safely out of Texas.

Among these were nine “Mexicans” that Hunter’s men rescued from “drowning in the surf.” Blood also noted that these refugees appreciated the rescue and in return, were “giving shelter and feeding the destitute Union men that make their escape from Texas.” And while Blood seemed to appreciate the relief the shipwrecked Mexicans were providing to Texan refugees, Blood also indicated that the United States government should be responsible for providing Unionist refugees with aid. But Blood planned to support refugees with or without federal funds, saying that if “If this matter cannot be redressed through the Government, then petitions should be circulated through cities. Those who contributed to feed foreign nations I know will not withhold from those Union refugees in Mexico.”⁴⁰²

About a week later in a private letter to Pierce he explained that on his arrival to Monterrey he noticed “There are many from Texas, mostly Germans, they have rented lands and do not beg.”⁴⁰³ He also mentioned those who wanted to relocate to the North, and Blood referred them to Pierce for assistance in getting out of Mexico and back to the United States. Blood,

⁴⁰¹ C. B. H. Blood to Leonard Pierce, Jr., June 4, 1862, Pierce Family Collection, MHS.

⁴⁰² C. B. H. Blood to Leonard Pierce, Jr., May 23, 1862, OR I:9, 686.

⁴⁰³ C. B. H. Blood to Leonard Pierce, Jr., June 4, 1862, Pierce Family Collection, MHS.

a wealthy man himself, would use his own finances, his connections to other wealthy allies of refugees, and his connections in the United States Foreign Service to help refugees throughout the war.

At the end of 1862, a refugee from Texas, Dr. J. Hough, wrote Consul Pierce in Matamoros explaining that he was living in Zacatecas, which had no U.S. Consul after the previous consul sided with the Confederacy and left his post. Hough noted “there are Several Americans here and all Union men but one.”⁴⁰⁴ He asked for particular updates on the war, as well as updates on prominent refugees like J.L. Haynes and A.J. Hamilton, and included, “A number of others from Texas who were prominent men Whom I knew, have come to this country for Safety.”⁴⁰⁵ Then, Hough also noted that he specifically wanted updates on the progress of the French intervention in Mexico, because “If the French Should make any movement to join the South I wish to know it for in that case I would be Strongly tempted to Join the northern Army.”⁴⁰⁶ Hough also recommended adding a consul to Zacatecas, aware of the benefit of a nearby consulate for the large numbers of displaced Americans in Mexico.

By 1863, the network of refugees in Mexico was not only seeking to assist refugees with basic necessities like food, shelter, transportation, and employment, but the network had grown to accommodate more specific, long-term requests as well. In May of 1863, Theodore Goldbeck wrote Consul Pierce with a very specific request. Goldbeck explained that “some of our Texas refugees” were engaged in the surveying business in Texas and

⁴⁰⁴ Dr. J. Hough to Leonard Pierce, Jr., December 9th, 1862, Pierce Family Collection, MHS.

⁴⁰⁵ Dr. J. Hough to Leonard Pierce, Jr., December 9th, 1862, Pierce Family Collection, MHS.

⁴⁰⁶ Hough mentioned being a Unionist who was persecuted by “cessionists” before fleeing to Mexico but apparently this was not enough to tempt him to join the United States Army. Dr. J. Hough to Leonard Pierce, Jr., December 9th, 1862, Pierce Family Collection, MHS.

needed adequate surveying equipment to make their livelihoods while displaced in Mexico.⁴⁰⁷

Goldbeck hoped to obtain surveying instruments for Unionist Texans from Pierce, and likely among those refugees in search of surveying instruments was Jacob K uchler.

After fleeing the Nueces Massacre, K uchler was seriously injured and spent several weeks recuperating with a man named Mr. Bess. While in Saltillo, Monterrey, and Parras, K uchler came across numerous German Texans he was acquainted with from Texas and befriended many more, including the family that was nursing him back to health. In addition, K uchler quickly found employment as a surveyor, and planned to bring his wife and family to Parras as quickly as he could make arrangements.

K uchler was motivated in part by his economic prospects in Mexico, assuring his wife, Marie, “prospects for surveying are very favorable for me, so that our livelihood is secured.”⁴⁰⁸ But he also feared for the safety of his family in war-divided Texas, especially when German Texans were regularly targets of violence. He wrote, “Although Vicksburg is taken, and the north is steadily advancing, the war may still last a year and the invasion of Texas will bring a brief time of terror during which I do not want to have you in Texas.”⁴⁰⁹

Nevertheless, K uchler willingly admitted that he was motivated not only by the desire for his family’s safety, but also by his desire to see the family he had been separated from for nearly a year. He explained, “I fought a hard fight before I came to the firm decision to expose you to the trials and tribulations of the journey; but you will forgive, when the longing to reunite with you and to live again surrounded by my youth’s heart has been mainly involved.”⁴¹⁰ He

⁴⁰⁷ Teo. Goldbeck to Leonard Pierce, Jr., August 26, 1863, Pierce Family Collection, MHS.

⁴⁰⁸ Jacob K uchler to Marie K uchler, April 28, 1863, Jacob Kuechler Papers, 1840-1907, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, The University of Texas at Austin (henceforth Kuechler Papers, UT-Austin). I am deeply grateful for the efforts of Malte Lehmann and Gregory King in translating K uchler’s letters from the original German.

⁴⁰⁹ Jacob K uchler to Marie K uchler, July 29, 1863, Kuechler Papers, UT-Austin. Emphasis in original.

⁴¹⁰ Jacob K uchler to Marie K uchler, April 28, 1863 Kuechler Papers, UT-Austin.

also missed their children, imagining what they must be like now, whether or not they are speaking well and doing well in school, and how they are all getting along with one another. He also lamented being away from little Ralph, “who doesn’t know his dad yet.” He promised Marie, “In a few weeks I will give you certain news whether we will find our future life here in Mexico. Living here in Parras should make up for the sad days you have lived (sic) in Texas.”⁴¹¹

Luckily for K uchler, the network of German Texans living in exile in Mexico brought him across the path of C. W. Thom . Thom  had fled to Mexico from New Braunfels “with the firm intention of looking for a new home here in order to protect his precious family from the dangers of war.”⁴¹² This acquaintance would become particularly important for K uchler, because after learning of the K uchler family’s situation, he agreed to help bring K uchler’s family to Mexico. K uchler explained to his wife that Thom  was “very willing to take you under his protection on the journey here and to assist you in everything with word and deed.”⁴¹³ When Thom  returned to Texas to retrieve his own family, he also took provisions and instructions back to Texas for Marie K uchler and family’s journey to join Jacob K uchler in Mexico and invited her to join his family on the long journey.

As the arrangements for Marie to join her husband in Mexico were finalized, he again assured her, “Don't worry about the future, my prospects of earning money are very good and we can hope to establish an independent life for ourselves in a few years. Parras will suit you in every way.”⁴¹⁴ Thus, because K uchler was able to ensure his livelihood in Mexico, at least for the foreseeable future, he planned to stay in Mexico. Once he was able to

⁴¹¹ Jacob K uchler to Marie K uchler, July 29, 1863, Kuechler Papers, UT-Austin.

⁴¹² Jacob K uchler to Marie K uchler, August 8, 1863, Kuechler Papers, UT-Austin.

⁴¹³ Jacob K uchler to Marie K uchler, August 8, 1863, Kuechler Papers, UT-Austin.

⁴¹⁴ Jacob K uchler to Marie K uchler, August 8, 1863, Kuechler Papers, UT-Austin.

use his network of fellow German Unionists to bring his wife and family to Mexico, he was certain to stay, and in fact remained in Mexico even after the cessation of hostilities in 1865.

Asylum in Mexico remained an important option for Mexican and Tejano refugees as well, many of whom also relied on personal connections to help resettle. Many of these Tejano refugees, like those who fled the Clareño massacre, had individual circumstances and past connections that made Mexico an attractive final destination. Whereas the Anderson family had connections in Ohio, many Tejanos had connections in Mexico that could help support them through displacement and resettlement. Many owned land on both sides of the border, or had family living in Mexico who were able to provide aid. For example, Octaviano Zapata, one of Ochoa's followers, escaped the massacre at Rancho Clareño and took refuge with relatives just across the Rio Grande in Nueva Ciudad Guerrero alongside his wife and three children. This shows the importance of past connections in determining refugee's plans, as well as the importance of networks of support in Mexico. Consider, for example, the case of Cesario Falcon, a Captain in the 1st Texas Cavalry (U. S.). After he joined the Union Army, some of Falcon's long-time enemies who had sided with the Confederacy murdered his father in retaliation for Falcon joining the Army. Falcon explained, "my own and my fathers family have been obliged to seek refuge on Mexican soil."⁴¹⁵ After fleeing into Mexico, his wife and children, along with the rest of his father's family, were struggling to get by, so Falcon resigned from the U. S. Army and joined his family in asylum in Mexico.⁴¹⁶

⁴¹⁵ Compiled Service Record for Cesario Falcon, *Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Union Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the State of Texas*, M402, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1780s–1917, Record Group 94, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

⁴¹⁶ Compiled Service Record for Cesario Falcon, *Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Union Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the State of Texas*, M402, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1780s–1917, Record Group 94, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Cesario Falcon was one of numerous officers to resign because of necessity within his family. As George Treviño, Eugenio Guzman, and Leandro Valerios described the situation, “We are all refugees from the neighborhood of the Rio Grande, and, because of the savage character of the warfare in that locality, have suffered at least as much for our loyalty as any other refugee.”⁴¹⁷ They described how family members had been murdered and assaulted, their livestock driven off, and their houses burned down, before adding, “those have been most fortunate who have escaped to poverty and suffering in Mexico.”⁴¹⁸ Similarly to Falcon, these men desired to return to exile in Mexico to support their families who had been forced to flee into Mexico as well.

The experiences of those who chose to stay in refuge in Mexico reveals much about the fluidity of life along the border and highlights the role of transnational loyalties for those along the border. In addition to Hispanic refugees who fled to Mexico because of connections or personal interest there, thousands of American Indian refugees also found an important asylum in Mexico during the Civil War. For some, like the Kickapoo, this would become their permanent refuge.

In 1861 as the United States splintered into war, American Indian Nations were forced to contend with the oncoming war as well. Matters in Indian Territory and Texas often became divisive, with numerous nations splitting into groups based on loyalty and interest in the United States’ Civil War. After refusing to sign a treaty supporting the Confederacy, many Kickapoo worried that they would become targets, and three different groups of Kickapoo traveled to Kansas to ensure more distance from the Confederacy and the war. The Southern Kickapoo joined thousands of other American Indian refugees in

⁴¹⁷ George Treviño, Eugenio Guzman, and Leandro Valerios to J. L. Haynes, June 10, 1865, Haynes Papers, UT-Austin.

⁴¹⁸ Treviño, Guzman, and Valerios to J.L. Haynes, June 10, 1865, Haynes Papers, UT-Austin.

Kansas, but soon became dissatisfied, in part because of ongoing conflict with the Osage who were in refuge nearby. Many Kickapoo also wanted to avoid interactions with the United States government. Thus, in the fall of 1862, many of the Southern Kickapoo refugees uprooted themselves again and headed for Mexico.

Under the leadership of Machemanet, a group of about 600 Southern Kickapoo were heading to Mexico when they were attacked by Confederates at the Little Concho River. The Kickapoo left their camp in haste and fled the rest of the way to Mexico. The Kickapoo arrived near Nacimiento in the Mexican state of Coahuila, an area where years before the Kickapoo had settled, and a small group had remained. The Southern Kickapoo refugees joined this group. Shortly after their arrival, the government of Coahuila offered the Kickapoo under Machemanet a land grant in return for protecting Mexican communities from Apache and Comanche raids.

After hearing of the successful resettlement of Machemanet's followers, as well as the deterioration of favorable conditions in Kansas and Indian Territory, the remaining Kickapoo determined to head south of the border as well, led by guides sent by Machemanet. Although the group numbered about 1,300, Confederates again attacked the group in a fight known as the Battle of Dove Creek, and after successfully defending their camp and forcing the Confederates to retreat, the Kickapoo refugees fled into Mexico, joining Machemanet's followers in Nacimiento on their permanent reservation designated by the Mexican government. Kickapoo leaders Machemanet, Papequah, and Pecan represented the Kickapoo to Mexican officials, and upheld their terms by defending the communities in Northern Mexico from Apache and Comanche raids for years to come.⁴¹⁹ Thus, the unique

⁴¹⁹ A. M. Gibson, *The Kickapoos: Lords of the Middle Border*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), 193-221.

circumstances along the Rio Grande frontier played an important role in shaping the refugee crisis, and also shows the importance of past connections for refugees fleeing Texas. This example in particular demonstrates one way in which Mexico was not only important for refugees, but in this case, refugees were also important for Mexico because they promised to protect Mexico in exchange for refuge.

While Mexico was an attractive asylum for many refugees fleeing Texas, including the Kickapoo, Mexican-Americans, and many German-Americans, more than any other reason, Texas refugees stayed in Mexico because they could not afford to leave. Although thousands of refugees from Texas only stopped briefly in Mexico before continuing on to the United States, thousands more sought aid and relief from consuls and other allies. But there were others still, especially lower-class refugees, who did not have access to the same social networks nor did they have access to the resources necessary to resettle in Mexico. This was the case with Joseph Freeborn Rowley, who spent two years on the run crisscrossing the Texas-Mexico border to avoid Confederate service.



Figure 3.1 “J.F. Rowley Leaving the Rebels.” From the J.F. Rowley Diary, 1863-1865, Cushing Memorial Library & Archives, Texas A&M University. Used with permission of Texas A&M University Library.

While Rowley was able to continue about his business early in the war, in late August 1863, he returned to Texas from a trip hauling cotton in Mexico just in time to learn that he

had been drafted. He avoided immediate conscription by exaggerating an illness, and then fled to Mexico. Fortunately, Rowley did have experience trading cotton in Mexico, and also had some knowledge of Spanish, both of which would make his experience as a refugee in Mexico more navigable. He stayed in Matamoros until the Union Army occupied Brownsville, and, like hundreds of other Confederate dissenters, he went to Brownsville to seek refuge and assistance. He attempted to get passage to occupied New Orleans for him and his stepson, Fred, but he specifically noted that he could not afford the \$100 fare for each of them. Instead, they got passes to travel by land to Port Lavaca which was rumored to also be in federal hands. On the way there, they had violent run-ins with Confederate sympathizers, including a shoot-out and a chase about 30 miles outside of Port Lavaca.

While on the run from these Confederate sympathizers, Rowley and his group ran into Confederate pickets, who chased them down. After numerous exchanges of gunfire, Rowley was shot in the upper thigh and quickly began losing blood and consciousness. Rowley surrendered himself to Confederate pickets, and although Rowley attempted to aid Fred in getting away, they caught Fred too. Rowley was deeply concerned with receiving a fair trial, and feared execution for his actions as a deserter, especially since violations of civil rights were widespread and widely feared in Confederate Texas. Rowley and Fred were arrested, and he recorded that “the charges aganst us was desertion Spies and trators [sic].”⁴²⁰ After spending several days chained to a tree in a Confederate camp to prevent his escape, Rowley was sent to Galveston where he claimed he was denied a trial and sentenced to be shot until an acquaintance intervened and had him placed in a Confederate regiment. Due to his injury, he was given furlough to return home, which Rowley alleged was only so that he

⁴²⁰ J.F. Rowley Diary, 1863-1865, Cushing Memorial Library & Archives, Texas A&M University (henceforth J.F. Rowley Diary, TAMU).

could be murdered by Confederate vigilantes on the way. He again spent several days on the run, and after throwing off his followers he arrived home. While home Rowley learned that his stepson Fred was being transferred to the same regiment, and the two made plans along with several others to desert the Confederate army and head for Mexico. Nevertheless, shortly after Rowley arrived back in camp, he became ill and was put in the hospital. Still undeterred, he escaped the hospital with several other men, and they hid in the brush by day and traveled by night for eight months. As Rowley described, “I was A man in the woods and Rite willd at times [sic].”⁴²¹ The men regularly went days at a time with no food or water, and rarely had shelter. Finally, Rowley determined to again flee to Mexico, leaving on April 25, 1865.

Another significant obstacle for Rowley and others traveling in similar clandestine circumstances was the geographic features defining the Texas-Mexico borderlands. The desert certainly played an important role in the men’s inability to find adequate food, water, and shelter. Just as perilous for the most destitute refugees was the number of rivers that had to be crossed before reaching relative safety in Mexico, most significantly the Rio Grande. Rowley and his traveling companions also had to cross the Guadalupe River. Rowley described how he and his traveling companions could hear the river roaring from miles away, and as the men jumped into the water one night to swim across the river, one of his friends and fellow refugees began to drown. Rowley described the incident, “my pardner was drowning when I swam to Him He Had sunk the 3 time all But one hand stuck up from the rist and all the Balance out of Sight & Him going down when I caut his hand [sic]” and drug him to shore.⁴²² As the men approached the much larger Rio Grande “very weakk and

⁴²¹ J.F. Rowley Diary, TAMU, 47.

⁴²² J.F. Rowley Diary, TAMU, 50.

starving [sic]" after 6 days subsisting on only parched corn, Rowley and his partner "fasend some chunks to gether [sic]," creating a raft of sorts. Then, Rowley swam across with their belongings as his friend floated across the river on the raft, but his friend got caught up in a current and again nearly drowned but washed ashore safely about a mile downstream.⁴²³

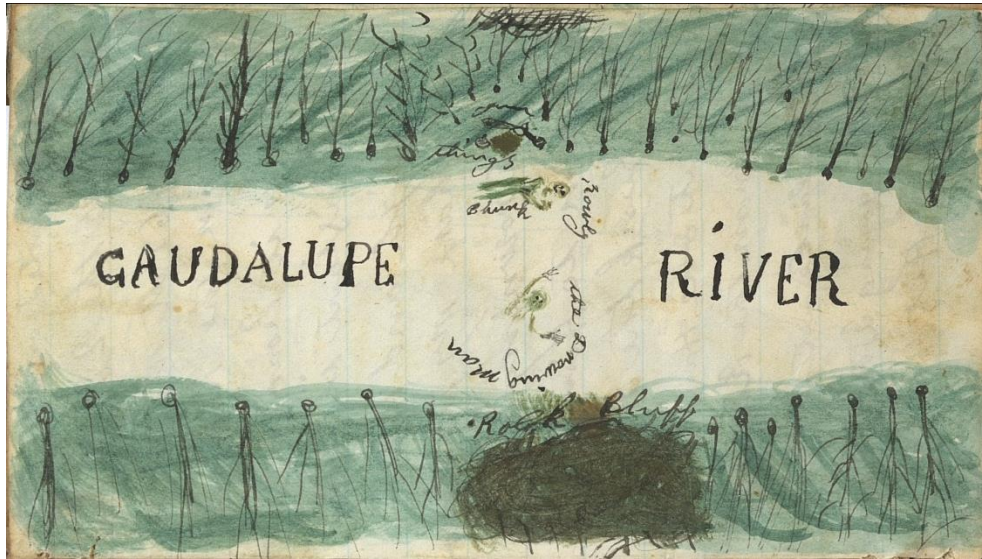


Figure 3.2 "Guadalupe River" drawing depicts Rowley and "the drowning man." From the J.F. Rowley Diary, 1863-1865, Cushing Memorial Library & Archives, Texas A&M University. Used with permission of Texas A&M University Library.

⁴²³ J.F. Rowley Diary, TAMU, 55-6.

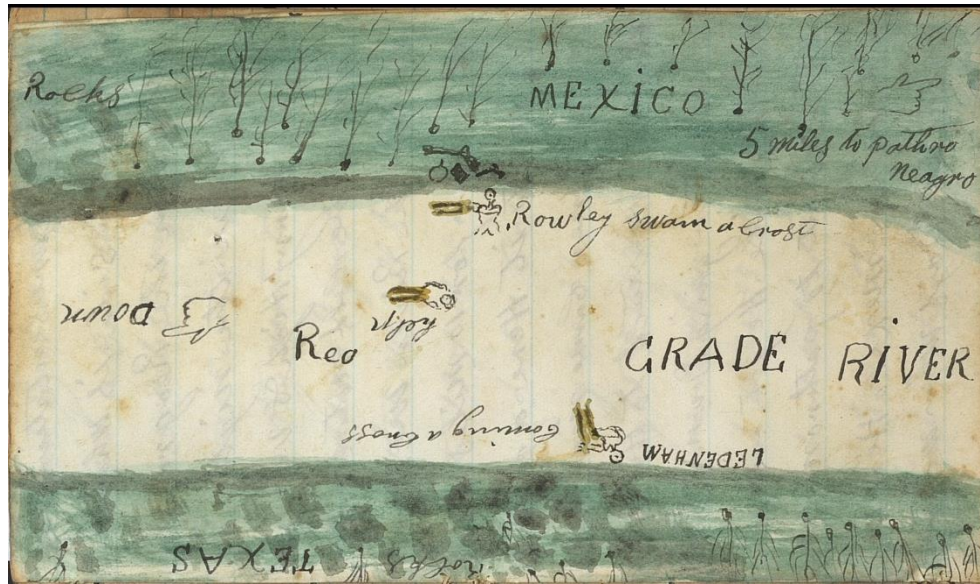


Figure 3.3 “Reo Grade River” drawing depicts Rowley and his partner, Ledenham, swimming and floating across the border from Confederate Texas into Mexico. From the J.F. Rowley Diary, 1863-1865, Cushing Memorial Library & Archives, Texas A&M University. Used with permission of Texas A&M University Library.

Although the men had successfully arrived in Piedras Negras after living in the bushes for eight months to escape Confederate forces, the men quickly ran into trouble again in Mexico, this time due to the conflict being waged in Mexico. Three days after arriving back in Mexico, Rowley and his companion were joined by a group of 15 other Texas refugees. This other group claimed to have been robbed by Mexican soldiers, and after joining up with Rowley, one member of the group reported the robbery to the Mexican commander in charge. The group of 17 camped for the night, but the next morning they split back up and went separate ways at a fork in the road. Shortly after, Rowley and his companion heard the exchange of gunfire in the distance and quickly realized the larger group had been attacked for reporting the robbery. Rowley and his companion made haste, fearing that they too might soon fall victim to the lawlessness along the border. The men made it safely to Mier (Tamaulipas) and planned to continue on to Camargo. On the road to Camargo Rowley’s group, now consisting of five Texas refugees, was halted by a group of

Mexican soldiers. Rowley had at least cursory knowledge of Spanish and had overheard a group of Mexican women discussing the anger many Mexicans felt towards Texans, especially since a recent rumor of an alliance between the Confederacy and the French in Mexico.⁴²⁴ Numerous Anglos had been murdered in the area since the rumor began, and this area along the Texas-Mexico border was well-known for lawlessness. The Mexican commander demanded the group of refugees to walk into the woods, but fearing they would be shot, Rowley described how he “made Beter use of my tongue than many a Smarter man [sic].” Rowley pleaded with the group of Mexican soldiers, saying “what we Had that they was welcom[e] to all we asked was life,” and continued to explain that “we was poor [wretches] Run from Home By the Rebels and that it wold do them no good to kill us for what we had they cold take & Be more than welcome [sic].”⁴²⁵ Rowley’s pleas apparently worked, and the group of refugees continued on. Two days after reaching Camargo, Rowley learned of the end of the war, and thus, he “started for Home in Texas again.”⁴²⁶

One of the things that stands out most in his experience as a refugee is his incredibly transient experience and continual displacement throughout the war. Rowley was constantly on the move as he continually “escapes from Rebeldom.”⁴²⁷ A significant factor in this is undoubtedly Rowley’s financial status. For example, Rowley was unable to afford passage to New Orleans like the numerous elite refugees who remained in the federally-occupied Crescent City in relative comfort for several years. Rowley could not afford passage, and thus had little choice but to head for Mexico. In fact, Rowley’s economic status also made it so that he was forced to swim across the Rio Grande to seek asylum in Mexico, which more

⁴²⁴ J.F. Rowley Diary, TAMU, 65.

⁴²⁵ J.F. Rowley Diary, TAMU, 70.

⁴²⁶ J.F. Rowley Diary, TAMU, 73.

⁴²⁷ J.F. Rowley Diary, TAMU, 52.

elite refugees avoided if possible. In fact, S. M. Swenson specifically distinguished that he had “too much pride to cross the river like others,” waiting to get an official pass instead of swimming across the border. This reflects his class status, especially in comparison to Rowley’s.

But, regardless, their experiences show how the border was tangible because it was embodied in the Rio Grande, which all refugees who fled from Texas to Mexico would have to cross at some point. Most of those whose circumstances allowed it crossed the border using bridges or boats, hundreds left Texas in circumstances that prevented these formal conveyances, and instead had to cross the border on horseback, or by swimming. And as these refugees crossed the Rio Grande, the border was tangible—they could see the border, and hear it as they approached, and those who swam across could literally feel the border as they crossed into asylum in Mexico.

Rowley’s experience is also important because it makes clear the importance of social connections and networking among refugees attempting to flee, even for those who did not seek aid from U.S. consuls. The existence of small, informal networks of refugees are consistently noted in the stories of many Texas refugees in Mexico, and nearly every Texas refugee at one point or another traveled alongside a group of other Texas refugees. Other refugees often provided important connections for resettlement as well. This was the case with Newcomb’s journey and his refugee roommates in Monterrey and on the journey to Mazatlán. Swenson noted a community of Texas refugees in every city he visited while in Mexico and these communities are evident in the records of U.S. consuls throughout Mexico, including Pierce.

In December of 1864, however, Leonard Pierce, Jr., left his post as U.S. Consul in Matamoros and was replaced by E.D. Etchison, who only served briefly before being

replaced. Nonetheless, in those months, Etchison was also unsure of how to address the ongoing refugee crisis. The same week he took his post he reported that “without instruction” from the State Department, he was unsure of what to do about the refugees who were still coming into Matamoros “for a mouthful of free air.”⁴²⁸ Etchison described the “Destitute, forlorn, hungry and naked, sick and emaciated, penniless, friendless” refugees “on the Mexican banks of the Rio Grande, begging for food to appease their hunger for garment to hide their nakedness, their pale faces & haggard looks, their sunken and [glazed] eyes haunt me in my dreams. I hear them exclaim My God! My God! Hast thou forsaken me.”⁴²⁹ He implored the United States to send aid to refugees in Mexico, writing, “Sons of New England Can you hear your brothers cry & refuse them aid.”⁴³⁰ Furthermore, Etchison’s experience also shows the growing number of pro-Confederate refugees fleeing into Mexico as the war dragged on, and as conscription extended to include more eligible men. And as was the case for those fleeing North Carolina, as the war dragged on the loyalty of many of those fleeing the Confederacy became ambiguous. He explained that many of the men were deserters, while other refugees were those “who have been fortunate enough to escape conscription,” including “some are men advanced in years, others are boys from 16.”⁴³¹ Although Etchison hoped to aid these refugees, increasing turmoil within Mexico caused him to leave his post early, and under somewhat unclear and suspect circumstances.

Amzi Wood, Etchison’s successor, would have no choice but to address the problem of refugees as well when he took over as consul in Matamoros in March 1865. Wood was a

⁴²⁸ E. Dorsey Etchison to [?], December 5, 1864, Matamoros Consular Dispatches, UT-Austin.

⁴²⁹ E. Dorsey Etchison to Brig. Genl. W. A. Pile, December 7, 1864, Matamoros Consular Dispatches, UT-Austin.

⁴³⁰ E. Dorsey Etchison to Brig. Genl. W. A. Pile, December 7, 1864, Matamoros Consular Dispatches, UT-Austin.

⁴³¹ E. Dorsey Etchison to [?], December 5, 1864, and E. Dorsey Etchison to Brig. Genl. W. A. Pile, December 7, Matamoros Consular Dispatches, UT-Austin.

strict Protestant New Englander who took much pride in his faith and moral character and in the rigor with which he questioned the loyalty of the refugees who sought his assistance at the consulate in Matamoros. As Etchison noted, many of those who were fleeing to Mexico at this point in the war were deserters or draft-dodgers, and many refugees who waited to flee until later in the war did so not out of love for the Union, but more as a result of disaffection from the Confederacy. When he took office, Wood was determined to aid only those refugees who he believed deserved aid because of their loyalty to the United States. In one instance, a woman with three small children came to Wood for transportation to New Orleans. When Wood learned that the woman's husband had volunteered for the Confederate Army and had served in it since, and she would not express a political opinion on the war, he refused to aid the woman. He described that "she wept like a child," but even though he felt bad for her, he justified that "I do not send any without a strict examination," and insisted that the woman, who had "no money or funds" was "wiser if not better" than when she came to beg for relief.⁴³² This was just one example of "secesh she Devils" who came to him with small children, pleading for relief and transportation to the United States.⁴³³ He shared another anecdote in which he questioned a group of four, including a clergyman and two women, who wanted passports to New Orleans. Halfway through filling out their passports, he "smelt something wrong" and began to question the group again.⁴³⁴ The group of refugees became angry, and cursed Yankees and the United States, and as the

⁴³² Amzi Wood to Phebe Wood, March 7, 1865, Amzi Wood Papers, #3460, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

⁴³³ Amzi Wood to Phebe Wood, March 27, 1865, Amzi Wood Papers, #3460, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

⁴³⁴ Amzi Wood to Phebe Wood, March 27, 1865. Amzi Wood Papers, #3460, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. Emphasis in original.

verbal confrontation escalated, Consul Wood pulled a gun on the refugees and demanded that they leave the U.S. Consulate.

Wood's strict stance was likely easier to adhere to in 1865 because there were fewer incoming refugees, and Wood was not nearly as overwhelmed with destitute refugees as Pierce reported from 1862-1864. Even with his strict examination, Wood still reported sending refugee Texans to New Orleans "by the scores" within his first month in Matamoros alone.⁴³⁵ Nonetheless, Wood's ability to address the Civil War refugee crisis in Mexico would be cut short by the intensifying French intervention in Mexico, especially as violence broke out in the state of Tamaulipas that Spring, with fighting spreading to Matamoros by April, sending the consulate into lockdown, and causing many Americans and Texans to flee into Brownsville. The comparison of Pierce and Wood is important because it demonstrates that there was no uniform approach to the refugee crisis in Mexico and shows how the perspective and approach of the individual U.S. consuls was key to how they addressed the refugee crisis.

But as Rowley's experience demonstrated, not all refugees sought assistance from the United States government. It is unclear whether or not Confederate draft-dodger J. F. Rowley would have met the level of scrutiny that Wood claimed to impose on refugees seeking relief at the consulate, and it is also unknown if Rowley was even aware that he could attempt to seek relief at the U.S. Consulate. Furthermore, the increased violence in Matamoros because of the French Intervention could have deterred Rowley, who was fleeing across the border at the same time as Mexican troops began fighting in Tamaulipas.

⁴³⁵ Amzi Wood to Phebe Wood, March 7, 1865, Amzi Wood Papers, #3460, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

Rowley, instead, remained transient, and instead found a network in groups of other refugees who were on the run.

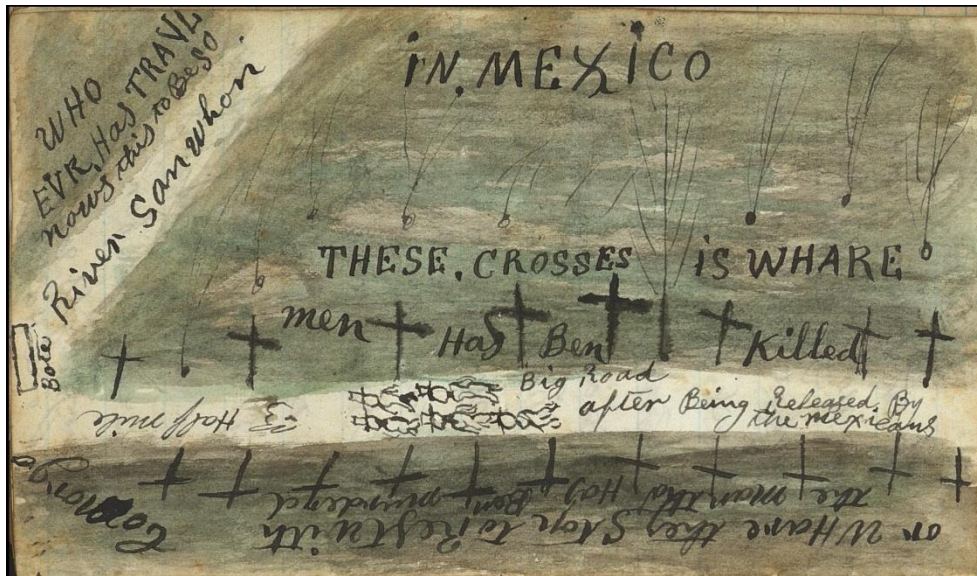


Figure 3.4 “In Mexico” This drawing depicts the crosses along the road to Camargo marking the graves of those murdered in the borderlands of Texas and Mexico. From the J.F. Rowley Diary, 1863-1865, Cushing Memorial Library & Archives, Texas A&M University. Used with permission of Texas A&M University Library.

Even though Rowley and hundreds of other refugees did not consult the U.S. consul, they still traveled in groups. This was in part because of the increased safety in numbers, especially in the borderlands between Texas and Mexico, and Rowley notes in his experience with the vigilantes in both Texas and Mexico. Just after Rowley and his traveling companion talked their way out of being killed by Mexican soldiers in Camargo, the men came upon “Drearys Road you ever seen [sic],” that was lined on either side about every 50 yards with crosses, each representing someone who had been murdered.⁴³⁶ Traveling in groups offered protection, as well as the opportunity to pool resources and form connections that could aid in resettlement. And while these connections could provide

⁴³⁶ J.F. Rowley Diary, TAMU, 71.

protection, transportation, economic relief, and even opportunities for resettlement, these connections also provided refugees with emotional support.

As was the case with Quaker refugees leaving North Carolina, refugees who fled from Texas also struggled with the emotional and psychological costs of displacement. Young Kitty Anderson recorded her fears and anxieties in her diary as she and her family tried to flee Texas, especially after her father was arrested and the women had to carry on without him. The sixteen-year-old recorded multiple times that she tried to hold her own composure for the sake of her parents and younger sister, but as they left her father behind in Texas, she wondered, “Leave him, to what? Death, perhaps, or a lifelong imprisonment! So still and quiet was that day, death seemed already in our midst.”⁴³⁷ As they traveled to the border town of Brownsville her thoughts were consumed by her father’s fate, as she wondered, “Oh, Father, my own dear Father, when will I ever see you again!”⁴³⁸ When her mother encouraged her to keep up her singing lessons “for her father’s sake,” Kitty recorded, that as she tried to sing “Every note seems to choke me.”⁴³⁹ As they neared the border, and father from her father in San Antonio, Kitty remarked “every day grows wearier I believe,” and this weariness characterized the rest of their journey from Brownsville, to Matamoros, and to Vera Cruz, where the family was once again reunited.

J.P. Newcomb was also lonely and dispirited as he fled from Texas, and while traveling through Mexico, Newcomb adopted a stray dog, Estrangero. Newcomb explained that the dog had found him near the border in Castroville, and that when he saw the dog “in extreme poverty, I befriended him.”⁴⁴⁰ Estrangero repaid Newcomb “by becoming [his]

⁴³⁷ Nancy Draves, ed., *A Promise Fulfilled: The Kitty Anderson Diary and Civil War Texas, 1861*, (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2017), 7.

⁴³⁸ Draves, ed., *A Promise Fulfilled*, 25.

⁴³⁹ Draves, ed., *A Promise Fulfilled*, 26.

⁴⁴⁰ Newcomb, *Sketch of Secession Times in Texas*, 16.

fri[e]nd and companion over the many rough miles [they had] traveled.”⁴⁴¹ Kingsbury, likewise, was lonely while living as a refugee in Matamoros, writing that “I am sadly alone and lonesome. I not only feel so, but I am so much isolated that if I should die while the war on hand continues, I have no heir except North and what I have would escheat to the government.”⁴⁴² His loneliness was compounded by the recent death of his wife and child, and while a refugee, Kingsbury’s loneliness led him to reach out to his estranged brother, with whom he had not spoken in nearly 20 years. Kingsbury explained, “in these trying last years of life in which the torrent has swept away my family—driven me into pauperdom and exile... I have often felt how sad a choice I made to not keep nearer to you.”⁴⁴³ He continued,

In moments of crisis—and I have several times been in danger of immediate death—In those moments I have always found my mind doing its work as calmly and vigorously as ever, but invariably my thoughts have turned to three or four friends living and dead. You and our mother and my little family of graves always spring spontaneously into my mind.⁴⁴⁴

The events of the war and Kingsbury’s loneliness prompted him to revive his relationship with his only remaining family member as a source of comfort during the war. These refugees were reaching out to find companionship during their displacement, and many others also relied on friendships to help offset the emotional and mental effects of displacement.

After fleeing to Mexico, S.M. Swenson’s correspondence also reflected the emotional and psychological toll of displacement, especially as he left his family behind in Texas.

Nonetheless, he was much more guarded in expressing his fear and anxiety to his wife than

⁴⁴¹ Newcomb, *Sketch of Secession Times in Texas*, 16.

⁴⁴² Gilbert D. Kingsbury to A. Milton Kingsbury, December 21, 1861, Kingsbury Papers, UT-Austin.

⁴⁴³ Gilbert D. Kingsbury to A. Milton Kingsbury, March 13, 1863, Kingsbury Papers, UT-Austin.

⁴⁴⁴ Gilbert D. Kingsbury to A. Milton Kingsbury, March 13, 1863, Kingsbury Papers, UT-Austin.

he was to his old friend William Pierson. In his letters to his wife, Susan, Swenson encouraged her to stay strong and hopeful, and rarely expressed his fears to her. At one point, he simply explained that he did not have the words to express his hopes and fears to her. He once briefly noted that the hot springs in Mexico were helping soothe his “anxiety.”⁴⁴⁵ Only after months without hearing from her, did Swenson begin to write more openly about his fear for her safety, saying, “I can therefore only trust in the goodness of god [sic] for your well being and Pray for your continued protection—May God grant you the children [and] us all his merciful favors, and trusting in his goodness I feel that it is now more than ever my duty to fall down on my Knees and adore Him.”⁴⁴⁶ A few weeks later, while touring San Luis Potosi, Swenson heard rumors of violence in Texas, and risked a dangerous journey back to Saltillo “owing to my anxiety to get back to the frontier,” where he would be able to receive news from Texas or correspondence from his wife.⁴⁴⁷

With Pierson, on the other hand, Swenson was more candid about his mental and emotional state while displaced and separated from his family. He confided to Pierson that “I long like a child to return to my family.”⁴⁴⁸ As the violence in Mexico between French imperialist and Mexican forces intensified, Swenson returned to occupied Brownsville, Texas, where Maj. Genl. F. J. Herron “sent him North.”⁴⁴⁹ From there, Swenson headed to occupied New Orleans, the closest point to Texas, and his family, that was unquestionably in Union hands. In New Orleans, Swenson’s fears for his family did not decrease, especially since he was even further away from them than in Mexico. From New Orleans, Swenson still wrote to Pierson to express his fears for his family’s safety, and to express his own

⁴⁴⁵ S.M. Swenson to Susan Swenson, December 6, 1863, Swenson Papers, UT-Austin.

⁴⁴⁶ S.M. Swenson to Susan Swenson, January 11, 1864, Swenson Papers, UT-Austin.

⁴⁴⁷ S.M. Swenson to Susan Swenson, February 28, 1864, Swenson Papers, UT-Austin.

⁴⁴⁸ S.M. Swenson to William Pierson, October 16, 1864, Pierson Papers, UT-Austin.

⁴⁴⁹ S.M. Swenson to William Pierson, April 13, 1864, Pierson Papers, UT-Austin.

depression and “despondency,” the presence of many of Swenson’s wealthy friends who were also living in occupied New Orleans seemed to lift his spirits.⁴⁵⁰

While networks in Mexico were growing over the course of the war, a network of refugees was also growing in Union-occupied New Orleans, reaching its height in late 1864 and 1865. In addition to serving as a site of enlistment for refugees from Texas, New Orleans also served as an attractive destination for wealthy Texas refugees during the Civil War.⁴⁵¹ These refugees developed a community in New Orleans that provided both economic and emotional support for other Unionist refugees.

When Swenson resettled in occupied New Orleans, he joined his close friend Thomas Howard DuVal in New Orleans, and the two became roommates while in exile. They would also frequently interact with other prominent refugees such as A. J. Hamilton and family, Dr. Richard Peebles, William P. de Normandie, as well as George Denison and numerous others. This group of elite Texas refugees created an informal network for refugees in exile in New Orleans. The group provided not only company for one another by attending plays, festivals and dinners, but they also provided assistance to one another through jobs and housing and procuring arrangements for families to reach New Orleans.⁴⁵²

Although these elite refugees had one another for company, and had found a safe refuge, the psychological and emotional toll of displacement still affected them. Their community also provided comfort in this case, and refugees would regularly gather to commiserate about their displacement and their fears for their families and the future.

⁴⁵⁰ S.M. Swenson to William Pierson, October 16, 1864, Pierson Papers, UT-Austin.

⁴⁵¹ See James Marten, “A Wearying Existence: Texas Refugees in New Orleans, 1862-1865,” *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 28, No. 4 (Autumn, 1987), 343-356.

⁴⁵² See February 3, 1865, March 11, 1865, February 12, 1865, and April 10, 1865, DuVal Diary, Thomas Howard DuVal Diary, Thomas Howard DuVal Papers, 1857-1879, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, The University of Texas at Austin (henceforth DuVal Diary, UT-Austin). Emphasis in original.

Displacement left an emotional burden, primarily due to separation from family, homesickness, and loneliness. Texas refugee John Hancock remarked how he “devoted most of the day to reading and unprofitable moping over my own condition and the probable situation of my family. How horrible this life is.”⁴⁵³ Hancock reported that those refugees who were separated from their families “daily suffer inutterable mental suffering from the terrible condition of their families [sic].”⁴⁵⁴

Many refugees dealt with depression as well. Swenson confided in his old friend Pierson that he and his roommate DuVal would “while away the evenings the best way we can, but there is no mistaking that our show of cheerfulness is not heartfelt.” Furthermore, he confessed “sometimes I feel very dispondent, and the time when I shall be permitted to rejoin my family seems like an uncertain speck in the distant future, while the monster of war is near at hand [sic].” Nevertheless, while Swenson was homesick and depressed, he believed that between him and DuVal, he was certainly “the most hopeful of us two,” and in this assessment he was probably correct.⁴⁵⁵

Thomas Howard DuVal was a federal district judge, and after Texas seceded, he refused to take the oath of allegiance to the Confederacy. DuVal, like many Texas refugees, hoped to wait things out and lay low at home during the war, but conscription and increasing violence in Texas made this more and more difficult. In May of 1861 he proclaimed in his diary:

It is said the Gov. is about to call out militia. If so, I shall be called out by a higher power than the Governor. My mind is deliberately made up to take no part in this revolution on the side of the Confederacy. Before I will be forced to take a gun in my hand to aid in breaking up the Government of my fathers, I will sacrifice all—

⁴⁵³ February 26, 1865, Hancock Diary, UT-Austin.

⁴⁵⁴ December 3, 1864, John Hancock Diary, UT-Austin.

⁴⁵⁵ S. M. Swenson to Pierson, November 14, 1864, Pierson Collection, UT-Austin.

even life itself. My conscience shall be free from what great crime, come what may [sic].”⁴⁵⁶

DuVal fled from Texas in October 1863, and after a short trip to Washington, D.C. to campaign for a Union invasion of Texas, he resettled in occupied New Orleans.

DuVal, like most refugees, longed for his family, and his diaries make clear the depths of his depression at being displaced without them. By February of 1864, after four months in exile, he mourned “I am greatly cast down at the gloomy prospects before me. Clouds and darkness have been around me ever since I left Washington, but now they are thicker than ever. A feeling of despair and recklessness is creeping over me which I can’t shake off.”⁴⁵⁷ Five long, gloomy days later, he wrote, “I am wretched & miserable beyond any other period of my life. A new source of unhappiness has been opened. It crushes me to the earth.” He continued to pour out his soul, writing, “I am suffering, mentally, the torments of the damned, and feel that death would be welcome in spite of all the darkness and mystery beyond it.” Despite these suicidal thoughts, he added, “How gladly would I take my place with a force marching towards Austin—and fight to get back home” and also that “If I had my wife and children with me I should go into Mexico with them and never return.”⁴⁵⁸ Perhaps it was this hope that prevented him from taking his life, or perhaps it was his return to occupied New Orleans, and the network of wealthy Texas refugees that became friends in exile. While this group of elite refugees did not struggle as much as most refugees with the economic cost of displacement, the emotional toll was still significant.

Most refugees in New Orleans were not part of this elite circle, although familiarity with the men in this network of refugees was important for working-class refugees. For

⁴⁵⁶ May 26, 1863, DuVal Diary, UT-Austin.

⁴⁵⁷ February 24, 1864, DuVal Diary, UT-Austin.

⁴⁵⁸ February 29, 1864, DuVal Diary, UT-Austin.

many working-class refugees, these were important connections to have because of the economic toll of displacement, and these men in powerful positions could offer aid. An acquaintance with them was at times required to vouch for loyalty to the Union, and also provided opportunities for jobs. Many found jobs at the working for the federal government through these connections, including Ridge Paschal. DuVal recorded Paschal's arrival in New Orleans, and shortly after, he and Andrew Jackson Hamilton "went to see [George] Dinison about Ridge. He told us to send him to him and he would give him some employment [sic]."⁴⁵⁹ DuVal likewise got a government position for another Texas refugee, noting that immediately upon his arrival in New Orleans, DuVal took him to see General Canby, "who gives him employment at once."⁴⁶⁰ Numerous other refugees in New Orleans were employed in the Customs House or Quartermaster's Department. Swenson additionally noted that his friend and fellow refugee Amos Morrill and "twenty other Texans are in the Custom House—all earning more than their expenses [sic]."⁴⁶¹ Thus, for many of these refugees, the network of prominent Texas refugees living in exile in New Orleans was important for their economic subsistence in exile.

Although these informal networks provided substantial support to Texas refugees, it was not lost on them that this was in part necessary because the federal government was not doing enough to aid refugees. John Hancock blamed the destitution of refugees on the U.S. government. Hancock was a prominent Texan refugee in New Orleans who refused to take the oath of the allegiance to the Confederacy, and after arriving New Orleans in 1864, he associated extensively with Texas refugees. He helped provide jobs to other refugees, as well

⁴⁵⁹ February 21, 1865, DuVal Diary, UT-Austin.

⁴⁶⁰ February 19, 1865, DuVal Diary, UT-Austin.

⁴⁶¹ S. M. Swenson to William Pierson, October 31, 1864, Pierson Collection, UT-Austin. Amos Morrill and Swenson fled to Matamoros together in the fall of 1863.

as introductions and recommendations, and he even invested in a fellow refugee's shingle business.⁴⁶² One morning after several Texas refugees stopped by his hotel in search of employment, Hancock complained of how "little consideration is shown them by the authorities representing that government they have clung to with such unflagging fidelity."⁴⁶³ He complained, venting, "Not a thought seems to have been given to the condition of these unfortunate refugees, who, because they remained true to the Federal Government, have been driven from their homes of comfort and some of affluence, in a state of great destitution."⁴⁶⁴ He continued, "Surely the government ought when practicable extend assistance to such of its citizens."⁴⁶⁵ Swenson also voiced his outrage at the plight of destitute refugees in New Orleans, and like Hancock, helped them in numerous ways including providing jobs. He told a close friend in the North that there were "in this City a number of refugees Texas women & children in great destitution and suffering," and asked him, "what would be your feelings if you were to find a respectable woman with an Infant—without food for herself or clothes for her child and many others in various degrees of destitution, would you not in addition to compassion burn with shame and like me grit your teeth and curse the cause while you felt the blood boil and your brain aching and dizzy."⁴⁶⁶ Anger at the inadequate government response to the refugee crisis was not limited to New Orleans, though.

While the network of fellow refugees supported many of those living in asylum in Mexico, many were still frustrated with lack of concern for their welfare especially since their displacement was precipitated due to their loyalty to the very government that met them

⁴⁶² December 29, 1864, John Hancock Diary, UT-Austin.

⁴⁶³ December 4, 1864, John Hancock Diary, UT-Austin.

⁴⁶⁴ December 3, 1864, John Hancock Diary, UT-Austin.

⁴⁶⁵ December 3, 1864, John Hancock Diary, UT-Austin.

⁴⁶⁶ S. M. Swenson to William Pierson, January 14, 1865, Pierson Collection, UT-Austin.

with an uncertain and undependable response. Edmund J. Davis decried the inadequate response of the federal government to the refugee crisis. He even went to Washington, D. C., vowing, "I shall endeavor to have this matter put in such a shape that our Government will no longer be disgraced by such parsimonious treatment of Refugees."⁴⁶⁷ Recognizing the shortcomings of the United States government in addressing the refugee crisis, Davis also felt that the federal government should reimburse those who had spent personal money to assist Unionist refugees, and he was not the only one who thought so.

Even with the United States consulate and several other prominent men supporting the refugees, Gilbert Kingsbury explained that by February of 1864 he had spent \$2970 on refugee aid, and requested that the federal government reimburse him for his expenditures on behalf of American citizens seeking asylum through the United States Consulate in Mexico. He estimated the number of refugees who had passed through Matamoros to be at least 5,000. He said "nearly all of this was expended for the board, rents, clothing, medical aid &c. for some Ten Families, women and children from Texas who were waiting for transportation to New Orleans to which place their husbands & fathers had previously fled, leaving them to follow as they best could." He justified their actions, saying, "every feeling of humanity and patriotism demanded from every loyal man in Matamoros as earnest and abundant a support for the Consul, as we had the power to give." In addition to himself, Kingsbury noted five other "Loyal American Residents" who provided Texas refugees with aid: "Mr. Thomas, Morehead, Peeler, Galvern, and Blood." However, Kingsbury also emphasized that, "every dollar I have made above my support has been expended as above stated. And General if it never comes back to me I shall never regret that I have given it all to my fellow fugitives. In any case I shall always look upon what I have done in this matter

⁴⁶⁷ E. J. Davis to Leonard Pierce, Jr., June 26, 1863, Pierce Family Collection, MHS.

with as much gratification as upon any act of my life. But I trust the Government will repay it.”⁴⁶⁸ Though neither man regretted the expenses spent to aid refugees, Pierce, too, would expend thousands on refugee aid, and in 1869, Congress debated whether or not to reimburse Pierce for aiding refugees during the Civil War.

A joint resolution to reimburse Pierce for his assistance to wartime refugees was introduced in 1869 and led to lengthy debate in the House of Representatives. Supporters of the resolution emphasized that Pierce deserved to be reimbursed because he had incurred the expenses on behalf of the government, while a handful of detractors questioned the proof the expenditures and tried to argue that Pierce had loaned the money personally and therefore the individual refugees were obligated to repay Pierce, instead of the federal government. The objections to the resolution were shut down largely thanks to three Congressmen who had personally interacted with Pierce during the war and were familiar with the refugee crisis in Mexico firsthand: Gen. Nathaniel P. Banks, Gen. Benjamin Butler, and Gen William A Pile. Each of these men had interacted with Pierce and Texas refugees while commanding troops near the Rio Grande, with each man reporting about how Pierce had aided destitute American citizens with no other means of support. Banks even reported that he contributed funds to Pierce to aid the refugees at the time when he was able. Each man also specifically noted that Pierce’s efforts were crucial to recruiting U.S. troops in the region. The men also emphasized from their own firsthand knowledge that Pierce was acting as a representative of the United States government when he assisted these refugees, and that it was his duty to provide them with relief. Butler argued, ““Here was a public officer, the only official representative of his country at that point, the only person to whom his

⁴⁶⁸ F. F. Fenn to F. J. Herron, February 10, 1864, Kingsbury Papers, UT-Austin. The “Loyal American Residents” that Kingsbury mentions included Jeremiah Galvan, Henry Peeler, Joshua Morehead, and Caleb B. H. Blood.

countrymen could fly for relief, the only person who could aid them; and he would have been a brute and a savage if he had turned them back. He did a patriotic duty, and one highly serviceable to the Government.”⁴⁶⁹ Butler believed it was Pierce’s “bounden duty” to aid the refugees, and that failing to do so would have been “derelict to his duty.”⁴⁷⁰ Austin Blair, who had introduced the resolution, opined that Pierce “was compelled, in a certain sense, to be the almoner of the Government, but he had to advance the money for that purpose out of his own pocket. He would have subjected himself to the censure and the severe censure of the Government if, under the circumstances, he had declined to aid these persons.”⁴⁷¹ Banks also defended the resolution, offering a legal explanation as to why Pierce could not hold the individual refugees accountable for his expenses: “The American consul at Matamoras has no legal claim whatever upon these people for reimbursement of the money he advanced to them. Having in what he did acted as consul he cannot sue them in his own right. He acted for the Government, and has no claim upon them whatever.”⁴⁷² Furthermore, Banks explained, “It was his official duty to render this assistance, but we admit that [the expenses were] not provided for by law. We want to provide for that now and to make compensation to him for the expenses he incurred in the performance of his official duty.”⁴⁷³ In the end, the majority of the House of Representatives and the Senate voted to pass the resolution, and would reimburse Pierce for \$9,506.81 in “expenditures made by him out of his private funds while United States Consul at Matamoras, Mexico... in aiding Union soldiers and refugees fleeing from Texas.”⁴⁷⁴ By voting to pass the resolution,

⁴⁶⁹ 40th Congress, 3rd sess., *CG*, 1176.

⁴⁷⁰ 40th Congress, 3rd sess., *CG*, 1176.

⁴⁷¹ 40th Congress, 3rd sess., *CG*, 1175.

⁴⁷² 40th Congress, 3rd sess., *CG*, 1176.

⁴⁷³ 40th Congress, 3rd sess., *CG*, 1176.

⁴⁷⁴ 40th Congress, 3rd sess., *CG*, 1240.

the crucial role of Leonard Pierce, Jr., and the United States consuls in Mexico was confirmed; and the United States also acknowledged that it was responsible for addressing the refugee crisis in the first place.

The international border between Texas and Mexico created different circumstances and different opportunities for those who fled from Confederate Texas. The most notable among these was the existence of U.S. consuls, like Pierce's post in Matamoros, which fundamentally altered the landscape of refugeedom for those fleeing the Confederacy through Mexico. Nonetheless, the thousands of refugees fleeing into Mexico overwhelmed the federal government's ability to respond, and by 1862, an informal network of refugees and their allies, including some in the United States government, had taken shape to support refugees when the federal government was not able to meet the demand. This network connected communities of Texas refugees throughout Mexico, and even into occupied New Orleans and occupied Brownsville. Thousands of refugees were able to escape Confederate Texas thanks to these networks and then endure the war in these refugee communities. While the international border was key to shaping the experiences of those who fled into Mexico, and in distinguishing them from refugees elsewhere, it is also significant because it demonstrates that the United States government knew they were responsible for aiding Civil War refugees—even if they struggled to do so on the ground. The Civil War refugee crisis in Mexico numbered in the thousands, and it demanded that the federal government get involved, but when the government could not meet that demand, informal networks helped to mitigate the crisis. And while the federal government struggled to abate the thousands of Civil War refugees in Mexico, it had to contend with an even bigger refugee crisis, as tens of thousands of American Indian refugees fleeing from Confederate forces demanded that the United States government protect them.

CHAPTER 4: “ALMOST LIKE ANOTHER TRAIL OF TEARS”: AMERICAN INDIAN REFUGEES TO KANSAS DURING THE U. S. CIVIL WAR

In early 1862 Commissioner of Indian Affairs William P. Dole was on a routine trip to Kansas when he learned that thousands of American Indian refugees led by Muscogee leader Opothleyahola were crossing into Kansas for protection by the United States government.⁴⁷⁵ He quickly learned that these refugees were allies of the United States and had fled Confederate-controlled Indian Territory while being pursued by Confederate forces in the middle of a blizzard, fighting three battles as they fled to safety in Kansas.

By the time they arrived in Kansas three months later, at least two thousand of them had died, and many had been captured by Confederate forces along the way. The six thousand refugees who were able to make their escape to Kansas, Dole reported, were in “a most deplorable condition.”⁴⁷⁶ He continued, describing “men, women, and children naked, starving, and without shelter. Numbers of them had been wounded in battle, and very many being barefooted, and otherwise exposed, were badly frozen. The sick and feeble, the dead and dying, were scattered along their route for a hundred miles or more.”⁴⁷⁷ A. B. Campbell, a surgeon in the United States Army, seconded Dole’s observations, saying, ““It is impossible for me to depict the wretchedness of their condition.”⁴⁷⁸ He described the camps the refugees had set up in Kansas, noting,

their only protection from the snow upon which they lie is prairie grass, and from the wind and weather scraps and rags stretched upon switches; some of them had

⁴⁷⁵ For more about Opothleyahola and the flight of his followers to Kansas see Lela J. McBride, *Opothleyahola and the Loyal Muskogee: Their Flight to Kansas in the Civil War* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co., 2000). For an incredibly engaging account of Opothleyahola’s flight based primarily on Muscogee oral history see Christine Schultz White & Benton R. White, *Now the Wolf Has Come: The Creek Nation in the Civil War* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1996).

⁴⁷⁶ June 5, 1862, Commissioner of Indian Affairs William P. Dole to Secretary of the Interior Caleb B. Smith, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1862* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1863), 147-8. (Hereafter cited as *AR CIA* and year.)

⁴⁷⁷ June 5, 1862, W. P. Dole to C. B. Smith, *AR CIA* 1862, 147-8.

⁴⁷⁸ February 5, 1862, Surgeon A. B. Campbell to Maj. James K. Barnes, *AR CIA* 1862, 151-2.

some personal clothing; most had but shreds and rags, which did not conceal their nakedness, and I saw seven, ranging in age from three to fifteen years, without one thread upon their bodies... They greatly need medical assistance; many have their toes frozen off, others have feet wounded by sharp ice or branches of trees lying on the snow; but few have shoes or moccasins. They suffer with inflammatory diseases of the chest, throat, and eyes.⁴⁷⁹

He questioned “why the officers of the Indian department are not doing something for them I cannot understand,” and implored “common humanity demands that more should be done, and done at once, to save them from total destruction.”⁴⁸⁰

While Army officials and Department of Interior officials all agreed that American Indian refugees needed assistance from the federal government, these two government agencies, as well as Congress, clashed repeatedly during the Civil War over how best to address the influx of refugees into Kansas. Although each government institution desired to aid these refugees on the grounds of “common humanity,” their efforts to do so were characterized by conflict and confusion between U.S. government agencies. Federal agencies sparred over which agency was obligated to aid these refugees, and conflict between and within these government agencies continually escalated the refugee crisis throughout the war.

As was the case with Unionist refugees in Mexico, federal government assistance to these loyal refugees fell short. This chapter expands on the role of federal government involvement in the Civil War refugee crisis, finding that for these American Indian refugees in particular, the poor planning and management on behalf of the United States government deeply affected the experiences of refugees.⁴⁸¹ This chapter details how the actions of the

⁴⁷⁹ February 5, 1862, A. B. Campbell to Maj. James K. Barnes, *AR CIA* 1862, 151-2.

⁴⁸⁰ February 5, 1862, A. B. Campbell to Maj. James K. Barnes, *AR CIA* 1862, 151-2.

⁴⁸¹ The refugee crisis in Kansas has long been recognized by scholars interested in Indian Territory during the Civil War and is known for the inadequacy and ineptness with which the federal government handled the crisis. David A. Nichols characterizes the response to the refugee crisis as inept in his book *Lincoln and the Indians: Civil War Policy and Politics* (Columbia, Mo.: University of Missouri Press, 1978) and furthermore points out the vast corruption associated with the Bureau of Indian Affairs in general. Sammy Buice refers to the response to the refugee crisis in Kansas as “grossly inadequate” in his dissertation “The Civil War and the Five Civilized Tribes: A Study in Federal-Indian Relations,” (PhD diss., University of Oklahoma, 1970), 75. See also White & White,

federal government, first initiated the refugee crisis, and then turns to how the government worsened the crisis through their three failed attempts to return these refugees to their homes in Indian Territory. These failed expeditions not only displaced even more people, but also contributed to food shortages, disease outbreaks, and death. Central to each of these failures was the inability of the Army, the Department of the Interior, and the United States Congress, to effectively communicate and coordinate with one another. The resulting clashes between these institutions plagued the Civil War refugee crisis in Kansas, increasing the number of refugees, and worsening their conditions, as well.

Tens of thousands of people from over twenty-five American Indian nations were displaced from Indian Territory during the Civil War, including nearly ten thousand American Indian refugees who fled to Kansas for Union protection in 1861 alone.⁴⁸² By 1864, this number had doubled, with 20,000 American Indians seeking protection from the Union Army due to the events of the Civil War. Of these twenty thousand refugees, most were women, children, and the elderly, since most able-bodied men had enlisted in the Union Army when the Union Indian Brigade was established in early 1862.⁴⁸³ Other refugees from Indian Territory fled to Missouri, Union-occupied Arkansas, Colorado Territory, and even Mexico, while still others fled elsewhere, such as Principal Chief of the Cherokees John

Now the Wolf Has Come: The Creek Nation in the Civil War (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1996) and Edward Danziger, Jr., "The Office of Indian Affairs and the Problem of Civil War Refugees," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 35, no. 3 (1969), 257-275. For the most recent narrative of the Civil War in Indian Territory, including the refugee crisis, see Mary Jane Warde, *When the Wolf Came: The Civil War and the Indian Territory* (Fayetteville: The University of Arkansas Press, 2013), and see also Annie Heloise Abel's comprehensive 1915 work *The Slaveholding Indians: The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, 1915). Christine Schultz White & Benton White, historians and members of the Muscogee Nation, accuse the federal government of "treachery and neglect" (150).

⁴⁸² Jerry Leon Gill lists the following nations as being displaced during the Civil War: "Anadarko, Caddo, Peneteka Comanche, Delaware, Ioni, Keechi, Kickapoo, Piankasaw, Quapaw, Sac-Fox, Seneca, Absentee Shawnee, Tawakoni, Tonkawa, Waco, Wichita, Wyandotte, and Yuchi Creek tribes." This is in addition to the "five tribes:" the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Muscogee, and Seminole Nations. See Jerry Leon Gill, "Federal Refugees from Indian Territory, 1861-1867" (Master's thesis, Oklahoma State University, 1967), 67.

⁴⁸³ For a history of the Union Indian Brigade see Wiley Britton, *The Union Indian Brigade in the Civil War* (Kansas City, Mo.: Franklin Hudson Publishing, 1922).

Ross, who escaped to live in Philadelphia with his wife's family, the Staplers, during the war.⁴⁸⁴ Thousands of Confederate-sympathizing refugees fled South often settling along the Red River or in Texas as well, leaving Indian Territory almost completely deserted.

If the mass movement of displaced people during the Civil War constituted a "refugee crisis," in no place was this more vividly true than the border between Kansas and Indian Territory.⁴⁸⁵ This chapter analyzes the experiences of these refugees, again looking at who fled, why they fled, when they fled, where they fled, and how they fled; then analyzes their experiences as displaced people during the Civil War. American Indian refugees suffered immensely as a result of their loyalty to the United States, experiencing hunger, starvation, exposure, frostbite, epidemic smallpox outbreaks, as well as the deaths of nearly ten thousand people.

The mass movement of displaced people from Indian Territory during the Civil War is not only significant in and of itself, but it also is important to consider the experiences of American Indian refugees alongside the experiences of other Civil War refugees, as this chapter does.⁴⁸⁶ The Civil War refugee crisis was incredibly diverse, and as historian David Silkenat has argued, in order to understand the refugee crisis, it must be studied in the context of the diverse experiences of different refugees, which "illuminates the dynamics

⁴⁸⁴ See Gary Moulton, *John Ross: Cherokee Chief* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1978), 178.

⁴⁸⁵ David Silkenat argues that displacement during the Civil War amounted to a refugee crisis in his monograph *Driven from Home*.

⁴⁸⁶ Although there are several works that include refugees who fled from Indian Territory during the Civil War, they are often presented as just a small part of the story. Most current work on refugees from Indian Territory during the Civil War are geographically focused on Indian Territory, or on a specific nation that fled from Indian Territory, such as Cherokees or Muskogees. For examples of works with geographic or national limits in scope see Warde, *When the Wolf Came*, White & White's *Now the Wolf Has Come*, and Confer's *The Cherokee Nation in the Civil War*.

between them.”⁴⁸⁷ Analyzing the experiences of American Indian refugees alongside other refugees is important, in part, because it shows that in many ways the experiences of these tens of thousands of people were vastly different from many others who fled from the Confederacy during the Civil War. Whereas many other wartime refugees relied on past connections and family to assist them as refugees, this was not as easily done for the nations where entire extended families and even communities were forced to flee together. Many of these refugees instead had few options of where to turn except the federal government.

This is one of the major differences between the experiences of refugees from Indian Territory and other refugees who fled from the Confederacy. Although many free refugees from elsewhere in the Confederacy came into contact with the military or federal government while fleeing from the Confederacy, whether it was the provost marshal, Union troops in the vicinity, or United States consuls in Mexico, their experiences as refugees were not as dependent on the decisions of the military and federal government officials around them because they had other connections and opportunities for assistance and resettlement.

The displacement of entire extended families and communities significantly reduced the options for American Indian refugees. The unique relationship between the United States and loyal American Indian refugees and the resulting expectation and obligation for protection tied their experiences as refugees more directly to the federal government than was the case for most other Civil War refugees. Their experiences as displaced people and their opportunities for resettlement were almost entirely contingent on the decisions of the federal government. The interactions, and at times, inaction, of the federal government and

⁴⁸⁷ Silkenat, *Driven from Home*, 4. For recent scholarship on black refugees see Manning, *Troubled Refuge*, and Amy Murrell Taylor, *Embattled Freedom*. See also Yael Sternhell, *Routes of War*, esp. chp. 2-3 and David Silkenat, *Driven from Home*, chp. 1. Black refugees are discussed in David Williams, *I Freed Myself* as well as Thavolia Glymph, “‘This Species of Property’: Female Slave Contrabands in the Civil War,” in *The Confederate Experience Reader: Selected Documents and Essays*, (New York: Routledge, 2008).

United States Army with these American Indian refugees is what characterized their experiences as displaced people during the Civil War.

As the secession crisis led to war, most American Indian nations initially hoped they would be able to stay out of a conflict that was not their own. Principal Chief John Ross strongly favored Cherokee neutrality and told Confederate emissaries that “I am—the Cherokees are—your friends, and the friends of your people; but we do not wish to be brought into the feuds between yourselves and your northern brethren. Our wish is for peace—peace at home, and peace among you.”⁴⁸⁸ Opothleyahola, a Muscogee leader, also refused an alliance with the Confederacy because, as he reminded his followers, “a long time ago they had made peace with their Great Father and agreed not to fight any more.”⁴⁸⁹ Baptiste Peoria, Chief of the Confederated Peoria people, explained that many loyal Indians did not want to “dig up the hatchet and fight their Great Father, after they had agreed to remain neutral.”⁴⁹⁰ James Scott (Muskogee), who was about ten years old at the time, remembered that “Opuithli Yahola’s heart was sad at all the war talk. He visited the homes of his followers... and gave them encouragement to face all these things, but above all things to stay out of the war. It was no affair of the Indians.”⁴⁹¹ As these examples demonstrate, many Native Americans hoped to stay neutral.

Although most of these nations hoped to avoid involvement in the U. S. Civil War, it is important to recognize that the location of Indian Territory was important strategically during the war, as was the loyalty of the people living there. Much of the story of refugees from Indian Territory is tied closely to these two overlapping problems. First, Indian

⁴⁸⁸ May 18, 1861, John Ross to Gentlemen from the Confederate States, *AR CIA* 1863, 233.

⁴⁸⁹ May 1, 1862, Baptiste Peoria to G. A. Colton, *AR CIA* 1862, 174.

⁴⁹⁰ May 1, 1862, Baptiste Peoria to G. A. Colton, *AR CIA* 1862, 174.

⁴⁹¹ Interview of James Scott, March 29, 1937, Volume 81, Indian-Pioneer Papers, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma (henceforth IPP WHC).

Territory was strategically located on the southwestern frontier of the United States and was the only land between Kansas and the Confederacy. Correspondingly, the loyalty of the people living in Indian Territory was important as well, especially for the large and influential nations composing the “Five Tribes,” or the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Muscogee (Creek), and Seminole Nations. A potential alliance of these nations with the Confederacy endangered the security of the United States southwestern border at the time. Furthermore, an alliance of any of the Five Tribes with the Confederacy increased the chances that other nations living in the borderlands would join in the fight against the United States, or wage wars of their own against the United States, a chance the United States could not afford to take.

Furthermore, the United States government was obligated to protect these Native American nations based on previous treaties. Years earlier, in exchange for removing these nations to Indian Territory, the United States government had sworn to protect them from enemies foreign and domestic. Therefore, thousands of American Indian refugees who were loyal to the United States turned to the federal government to uphold this promise when civil war broke out. When loyal American Indians first fled to Kansas in 1861, they were traveling directly to the U.S. Army, in the hopes that they would be protected as their treaties promised. They also hoped their warriors would join alongside the Union Army to reclaim Indian Territory, again fulfilling the treaty stipulations between the United States and numerous sovereign Indian nations.

While the majority of the nations in Indian Territory seemed determined to stay neutral in early 1861, the Choctaws had decided to side with the Confederacy, announcing

their intentions to side with the Confederacy in February 1861.⁴⁹² In part, the Choctaws allied with the Confederacy because the nation intended to “to follow the natural affections, education, institutions and interests of our people, which indissolubly bind us in every way to the destiny of our neighbors and brethren of the Southern states.”⁴⁹³ The Confederacy continued to pressure the Chickasaw, Cherokee, Muscogee, and Seminole nations to ally with them, often appealing to their common Southern roots. Only having lived in Indian Territory for 30 years since their removal, the members of the “five tribes” who inhabited most of Indian Territory were originally from the Southeast. Confederates attempted to use this appeal to shared Southern-ness, in particular focusing on the number of Indians who owned slaves, which seemed a likely factor in the five tribes allying with the Confederacy. This appealed to some tribal members more than others, and many nations, namely the Cherokee, Muscogee, and Seminole, were divided on what course of action to take.

American Indians were well aware of the issues leading to Civil War, and certainly for many of them the unequivocal preservation of slavery was an attractive quality of the Confederacy. Nevertheless, it was internal issues in each of the five tribes that factored most into individual decisions to support the Confederacy or not.⁴⁹⁴ This was especially the case among both the Muscogees and the Cherokees, where internal fissures remaining from their removal to Indian Territory from Georgia thirty years earlier came to a head alongside the United States secession crisis, and divided each of the two nations into opposing factions that generally sided with the Union or the Confederacy.

⁴⁹² Sammy David Buice, “The Civil War and the Five Civilized Tribes: A Study in Federal-Indian Relations,” (PhD diss., University of Oklahoma, 1970), 41.

⁴⁹³ Resolution of the General Council of the Choctaw Nation, February 7, 1861, in OR I:1, 682.

⁴⁹⁴ For historiography on this see: Confer, *The Cherokee Nation in the Civil War*; Buice, “The Civil War and the Five Civilized Tribes,” and Warde, *When the Wolf Came*.

In the 1830s the Cherokee Nation became deeply divided between those who wanted to go along with the federal government's policy of removal to Indian Territory, and those who did not. Chief John Ross went to Washington, D.C. to fight federal Indian Removal Policy, but upon his arrival, another delegation of Cherokees, led by John Ridge, was met by the federal government instead. The faction led by Ridge accepted Indian Removal and ceded their lands in the Southeast in exchange for land in Indian Territory, despite not having the authority to do so.⁴⁹⁵ This pro-removal faction, comprised mostly of Cherokees with mixed ancestry, was led by John Ridge, Major Ridge, and Elias Boudinot, all of whom were later executed for their fraudulent treaty, the Treaty of New Echota. These deep-rooted divisions among the Cherokee lingered as the division over the United States Civil War intensified, and Boudinot's brother Stand Watie became a leader of their old faction, which allied with the Confederacy. The anti-removal faction, still led by John Ross, hoped to remain neutral, but would eventually be known for sympathizing with the United States.

A similar schism resurfaced in the Muscogee Nation as well. The Lower Creek, who were generally of mixed racial heritage, were led by the McIntosh family, and had favored removal from the Southeast to Indian Territory in the 1830s. Those who had supported the McIntosh faction in the 1830s generally supported the faction again in 1861, which meant allying themselves with the Confederacy. The Upper Creek faction were generally full-blooded Muscogee, and followed their old and honored leader Opothleyahola, who had determinedly resisted their removal to Indian Territory decades earlier. In 1861, he was determined to resist allying with the Confederacy, and his group of loyalist Muscogees

⁴⁹⁵ Confer, *The Cherokee Nation in the Civil War*, 20.

quickly grew to include numerous members of other nations as well, including Unionist Cherokees.

As these old wounds were reopened and tension between factions increased, Chief John Ross again professed the official neutrality of the Cherokee Nation in May 1861, stating their policy “of non-interference in the affairs of the people of the States, and the observance of unswerving neutrality between them; trusting that God will not only keep from our own borders the desolations of war, but that He will, in infinite mercy and power, stay its ravages among the brotherhood of States.”⁴⁹⁶ The Muscogees still had not officially joined the Confederacy, either, and Opothleyahola continued to encourage his followers to avoid the conflict. The Confederacy, however, was actively pursuing alliances with the hesitant nations in Indian Territory, while the United States government remained distant and uninvolved in affairs there.

Then, in mid-May 1861, Secretary of War Simon Cameron ordered the withdrawal of all United States troops from Indian Territory based on the erroneous belief that its residents were pro-Confederate. This left the Territory and the loyal people living there vulnerable to attacks from Confederate troops, especially since Indian Territory was a strategic location for the Confederate States to attack Kansas and Missouri. In addition to the removal of troops, most federal Indian agents in Indian Territory resigned their positions and joined the Confederate government, often as Indian agents. As soon as Union troops left the Territory, Confederate Bureau of Indian Affairs Commissioner Albert Pike immediately began seeking new treaties with the nations in Indian Territory with the help of defecting Indian agents. After the withdrawal of federal troops in the middle of May, little option remained for the nations but to acquiesce to Confederate pressure and join them—or at least not resist them.

⁴⁹⁶ Cherokee Nation Neutrality Proclamation, Principal Chief John Ross, May 17, 1861, *AR CIA* 1863, 228.

When the United States abandoned loyal American Indians in Confederate-controlled Indian Territory, many Indians recognized that the United States had failed to uphold its treaty obligations with the various nations. Under the treaties signed by each of the five tribes and various other Indian Nations before their removal to Indian Territory, the United States had promised to protect each nation from “domestic strife and foreign enemies.”⁴⁹⁷ Opothleyahola had been present when these treaties were created thirty years earlier, and expected the United States to stand by their word as civil war broke out. In August of 1861 Opothleyahola wrote to Abraham Lincoln to remind him of the United States’ obligation to protect the Muscogee Nation, imploring him,

You said that in our new homes we should be defended from all interference from any people and that no white people in the whole world should ever molest us... should we be injured by any body you would come with your soldiers & punish them.⁴⁹⁸

Despite these promises, Opothleyahola continued,

But now the wolf has come. Men who are strangers tread our soil, our children are frightened & the mothers cannot sleep for fear... When we made our treaty at Washington you assured us that our children should laugh around our house without fear, & we believed you. Then our Great Father was strong. And now we raise our hands to him we want his help to keep off the intruder & make our homes again happy as they used to be...⁴⁹⁹

Opothleyahola and his followers believed not only that the United States was obligated to protect loyal American Indians, but also recognized the failure of the federal government to do so. Failing to uphold this treaty and abandoning Indian Territory triggered the refugee

⁴⁹⁷ This wording comes from the Treaty of New Echota, between the United States and the Cherokee Nation, but similar wording was used in each of the treaties with the five tribes, as well as various other Indian Nations that were removed to Indian Territory from their homelands in the years since. See Nichols, *Lincoln and the Indians*, 58.

⁴⁹⁸ August 15, 1861, Opotheyaholo and Ouktahnaserharjo to President Abraham Lincoln, in Annie Heloise Abel, *The Slaveholding Indians*, 245-6.

⁴⁹⁹ August 15, 1861, Opotheyaholo and Ouktahnaserharjo to President Abraham Lincoln. In Annie Heloise Abel, *The Slaveholding Indians*, 245-6.

crisis, by leaving American Indians without protection despite the expectation that the United States was obligated to provide protection and support.

While loyal Muscogees waited for a response from the federal government based on the hope and belief that the United States would provide assistance to Unionist American Indians, other nations responded to the betrayal of the U. S. government by allying with the Confederacy. The Chickasaw Nation sided with the Confederacy just a week after U. S. troops were withdrawn, specifically citing the withdrawal of troops and the federal government's "total disregard of treaty obligations towards us." Furthermore, the Chickasaw explained, "our geographical position, our social and domestic institutions, our feelings and sympathies, all attach us to our Southern friends." While they had hoped to remain neutral, when forced to choose, the Chickasaw declared that "as a Southern people we consider their cause our own."⁵⁰⁰ By the end of July, factions of the Muscogees and the Seminole had followed suit and allied with the Confederacy as well. The Cherokees remained hesitant, but four of the "five tribes" had officially allied with the Confederacy, and many other nations in Indian Territory, such as the Quapaw, and the Seneca and Shawnee, were considering Confederate alliances as well. It would be October before the Cherokee Nation officially allied with the Confederacy, and by then, so had factions of nearly every other nation in Indian Territory, including the Osage, Quapaw, Seneca and Shawnee bands, and affiliated tribes of the Wichita Agency.⁵⁰¹

As American Indian nations began to splinter over another nation's war, Union sympathizing Muscogees who dissented with the Confederate-allied majority began to

⁵⁰⁰ Resolutions of the Chickasaw Legislature, May 25, 1861, *OR* 1:3, 585.

⁵⁰¹ Gill, "Federal Refugees from Indian Territory, 1861-1867," 18-19. These treaties are the Confederate-Osage Treaty, October 2, 1861, Confederate-Seneca and Shawnee Treaty, October 4, 1861, and Confederate-Quapaw Treaty, October 4, 1861, in *OR* IV:1, 636-661.

assemble at Opothleyahola's sizable plantation in order to organize and plan to move to Kansas to join Union troops and seek Union protection for noncombatants.⁵⁰² Unionists from other nations joined them as well, including Wak-se-ah-ho-lah (Seminole), who left home in September 1861 after learning his name was on a list of men who were to going to be "pressed" into Confederate service. Wak-se-ah-ho-lah "would not serve on that side—he was a Union man—so he joined a party that were going to Kansas and left the Country."⁵⁰³ James Scott (Muscogee), who was ten years old at the time, recalled that as his family began to prepare to leave their farm in Muscogee Nation behind, "I did not fully realize or understand why I was given orders to round up the cattle. I wondered at the vast amount of cattle being killed and the meat being dried, the pork being cooked down, and all the other numerous preparations. At all the homes of the neighbors, I saw all sorts of preparations with little knowledge of its meaning."⁵⁰⁴

While the meaning of their flight was not entirely clear to young James Scott, the effort was clearly well-organized and widespread. He described how his family began their journey North to Kansas, and "As time passed, the neighboring Indians gathered and joined in with the other Indians... We were joined by other groups and we in turn joined other larger groups." He continued, "these were the Indians that Opuithli Yahola had mobilized... and consisted almost exclusively of the Muskogee factions of which he was the recognized grand old man who had led them only a few years before over the Trail of Tears."⁵⁰⁵ In addition to the thousands of Unionist Muscogees following Opothleyahola, dissenting

⁵⁰² McBride, *Opothleyahola and the Loyal Muskogee*, 162. A Muscogee council rejected the validity of the treaty with the Confederacy, and sent emissaries to United States troops in Kansas, with the hope that they would reinforce the Unionist American Indians. See Buice, 71.

⁵⁰³ Claim No. 88, Wak-se-ah-ho-lah, "Claims of Loyal Indians—Seminole," 1867, Special Files Of The Office Of Indian Affairs, 1807-1904, National Archives Microfilm Publication M574, Roll 11, Record Group 75, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

⁵⁰⁴ Interview of James Scott, March 29, 1937, Volume 81, IPP WHC.

⁵⁰⁵ Interview of James Scott, March 29, 1937, Volume 81, IPP WHC.

members of other nations joined them as well, including Seminoles under Unionist leader Billy Bowlegs, as well as Unionist Cherokees, Chickasaws, Yuchis, and Delawares.

As the column of loyal Indians grew and marched North to Kansas, word spread of their flight, and Confederate troops led by Stand Watie pursued and attacked the refugee Indians. In the first of these two battles, the Battle of Round Mountain and the Battle of Chusto-Talasa (Caving Banks), the Unionist refugees led by Opothleyahola were victorious and continued on their way to Kansas with the intention of joining up with Union troops. The third battle took place several weeks later, by which time the refugees believed they were no longer being followed. They later said, “We had thought the fighting was over and had no anticipation of the enemy gaining accessions. Our men were greatly scattered having gone out to kill game, hunt for food and select camping grounds. Only a few us could fight.”⁵⁰⁶ The Confederates were still pursuing them, however, and caught the refugees off-guard in the Battle of Achustenahlah.

By all accounts, this battle was chaos. Despite attempts to hold off Confederates on the snow-covered, rocky terrain, the few Unionist warriors left to defend the refugees were quickly overrun, and Confederates charged into the campgrounds, sending refugees running in every direction. Seminole refugee Samy recalled that “the attack was so sudden we had to leave everything and run for our lives.”⁵⁰⁷ As they fled, not all of the refugees were able to get away, including Samy’s companion So-fa-chi-e-kee, a Seminole woman captured by Confederate Seminoles led by John Jumper. Women, children, and the elderly had a bit of a head start, but the snow and ice slowed them down. As time wore on and they continued

⁵⁰⁶ Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, January 28, 1862. Cited in McBride, *Opothleyahola and the Loyal Muskogee*, 169.

⁵⁰⁷ Testimony of Samy, Claim No. 78, So-fa-chi-e-kee, “Claims of Loyal Indians—Seminole,” 1867, Special Files Of The Office Of Indian Affairs, 1807-1904, National Archives Microfilm Publication M574, Roll 11, Record Group 75, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

fleeing to Kansas, they left their possessions and livestock behind, and many families were separated along the way. James Scott remembered that in the chaos after the Battle of Achustenahlah, “we saw a little baby sitting on its little blanket in the woods. Everyone was running because an attack was expected and no one had the time to stop and pick up the child. As it saw the people running by, the little child began to wave its little hands. The child had no knowledge that he had been deserted.”⁵⁰⁸ In the chaos of the third attack, Opothleyahola’s forces were nearly decimated, and the “mad flight North began.”⁵⁰⁹

James Scott was sure to note that the hardships they endured on the way to Kansas were not only being pursued and attacked by Confederate forces. He recalled:

These were not the only attacks or suffering that we encountered on this trip. We faced many hardships, we were often without food, the children cried from weariness and the cold, we fled and left our wagons with much needed provisions, clothing and other necessities, many of our friends, loved ones perished from sickness, and we all suffered from the cold as it was during the winter time that we were on our flight to a neutral country.⁵¹⁰

The hardships were so terrible, that Joseph Bruner’s grandparents (Muscogee) described it to him as “almost like another “Trail of Tears.”⁵¹¹

Neither the United States Army nor the Office of Indian Affairs were prepared for the arrival of thousands of loyal American Indian refugees, and they were shocked when loyal Indians began to arrive in such large numbers and in such horrible conditions.⁵¹²

Commissioner of Indian Affairs W. P. Dole was in Kansas on a routine trip in early 1862, and upon visiting the Indian refugees he wrote that “The destitution, misery, and suffering amongst them is beyond the power of any pen to portray; it must be seen to be realized.”⁵¹³

⁵⁰⁸ Interview of James Scott, March 29, 1937, Volume 81, IPP WHC.

⁵⁰⁹ Interview of Joseph Bruner, February 28, 1938, Volume 12, IPP WHC.

⁵¹⁰ Interview of James Scott, March 29, 1937, Volume 81, IPP WHC.

⁵¹¹ Interview of Joseph Bruner, February 28, 1938, Volume 12, IPP WHC.

⁵¹² The newspaper first reported their arrival in Kansas on January 16, 1862. See McBride, *Opothleyahola and the Loyal Muscogee*, 173.

⁵¹³ February 13, 1862 from W. G. Coffin to W. P. Dole, *AR CIA* 1862, 145.

The bitter cold and the blizzard that coincided with their flight was perhaps the most damage-inflicting part of their journey. As the refugees began to arrive in Kansas, Union Army Surgeon A. B. Campbell reported, “They greatly need medical assistance; many have their toes frozen off, others have feet wounded by sharp ice or branches of trees lying on the snow.”⁵¹⁴ This is undoubtedly what led many to call their flight the “Trail of Blood on Ice.” Agent George Collamore seconded this report, noting that, “The women and children suffered severely from frozen limbs, as did also the men. Women gave birth to their offspring upon the naked snow, without shelter or covering, and in some case the new-born infants died for want of clothing, and those who survived to reach their present location did with broken constitutions and utterly dispirited.”⁵¹⁵ Collamore witnessed among these refugee patients, “a little Creek boy, about eight years old, with both feet taken off near the ankles; others lying upon the ground, whose frosted limbs rendered them unable to move about. Five persons in a similar situation the physician pronounced past recovery.”⁵¹⁶ In the first month after arriving in Kansas, over one hundred frostbitten limbs had to be amputated.⁵¹⁷ In addition, Doctor George A. Cutler, Agent to the Muscogee Nation, reported that two hundred and forty refugees from Muscogee Nation alone had died at refugee camps in Kansas after two months, with other nations reporting similar number of deaths.⁵¹⁸ In fact, most nations who fled reported the death of at least ten percent of their members.

As the weeks passed, more and more American Indian refugees continued to arrive at the refugee camps in Kansas. These groups were spread for 200 miles along tributaries of

⁵¹⁴ February 5, 1862, A. B. Campbell to Maj. James K. Barnes, *AR CIA* 1862, 152.

⁵¹⁵ April 21, 1862, George W. Collamore to W. P. Dole, *AR CIA* 1862, 156.

⁵¹⁶ April 21, 1862, George W. Collamore to W. P. Dole, *AR CIA* 1862, 156.

⁵¹⁷ April 21, 1862, George W. Collamore to W. P. Dole, *AR CIA* 1862, 156.

⁵¹⁸ April 21, 1862, George W. Collamore to W. P. Dole, *AR CIA* 1862, 156.

the Verdigris River, and “the sick and feeble, the dead and dying, were scattered along their route for a hundred miles or more.”⁵¹⁹ In February 1862, when the federal government first encountered the refugees, they numbered 4,500 people from at least six nations.⁵²⁰ Federal officials noted that each day more refugees arrived, including those who had been straggling behind, family members who had been separated, additional refugees who were displaced as Confederates pursued Unionists en route to Kansas, and families coming along behind the refugees to join them in safety.⁵²¹ By April, nearly 8,000 American Indian refugees were encamped along the Verdigris River in Kansas.

As more refugees joined the camps, the United States was unsure of what to do for these people.⁵²² Federal officials who saw the conditions of these people firsthand felt that “humanity” demanded they provide aid for these destitute people. Indeed, many of the soldiers in Kansas who first encountered the refugees gave them what aid they could, including food, clothing, and shoes. General David Hunter defended their use of Army supplies to aid refugees by saying he “fulfilled a duty due to our common humanity and the cause in which the Indians are suffering.”⁵²³

In addition to humanity, many supported aiding the Indian refugees because of the belief that the United States had indeed broken its respective treaties with each of the five tribes when the federal government withdrew troops from Indian Territory in April of 1861, leaving the nations with little choice but to acquiesce the Confederacy. In abandoning Indian Territory, they argued, the United States failed to protect the nations from “domestic strife

⁵¹⁹ June 5, 1862 from W. P. Dole to C. B. Smith, *AR CIA* 1862, 138.

⁵²⁰ “Creeks, slaves of Creeks, Seminoles, Quapaws, Cherokees, Chickasaws, Kickapoos” were specifically noted, along with “other tribes.” February 5, 1862, A. B. Campbell to Maj. James K. Barnes, *AR CIA* 1862, 151.

⁵²¹ February 6, 1862, Maj. Gen. D. Hunter to W. P. Dole, *AR CIA* 1862, 150.

⁵²² These refugee camps were at first impromptu, but their management was soon taken over by the federal government, including the procurement of condemned tents from the Army to use for the refugees. See September 24, 1863, *AR CIA* 1863.

⁵²³ February 6, 1862, Maj. Gen. D. Hunter to W. P. Dole, *AR CIA* 1862, 150.

and foreign enemies,” as was stipulated in their treaties.⁵²⁴ In the name of humanity and diplomacy, then, federal officials recommended aid for these refugees, but it soon became clear that this would be a large expense, and it required a special appropriation from Congress.

Gen. Hunter, the Federal official who first interacted with the refugees, immediately provided them with aid from Army stores, but also quickly informed Commissioner of Indian Affairs W. P. Dole that this aid was only temporary; advising Dole that these provisions would be exhausted in less than two weeks. After that time, the Department of the Interior “would be expected to make provision for them.”⁵²⁵ This early distinction between the obligations of the Department of the Interior and the obligations of the War Department on the behalf of refugees was integral to the clash of these institutions during the Civil War refugee crisis. On top of this conflict, it soon became clear that supporting the loyal refugees would be a large expense and it required a special appropriation from Congress, drawing another federal government institution into the mix, which also regularly clashed with the Department of the Interior and the War Department over how the refugee crisis should be addressed.

The federal government recognized early on the financial propriety of returning the American Indian refugees to Indian Territory as soon as possible, largely because it would relieve the burden of supporting them with provisions. Furthermore, many people were concerned about the exposed Kansas border, in particular, James “Bloody Jim” Lane, one of the first United States Senators from Kansas. Senator Lane began to advocate for an expedition to occupy Indian Territory and protect Kansas as early as June 1861, less than

⁵²⁴ See Nichols, *Lincoln and the Indians*, 56.

⁵²⁵ June 5, 1862, W. P. Dole to C. B. Smith, *AR CIA* 1862, 148.

two months after United States troops abandoned it. The influx of American Indian refugees to Kansas motivated Lane and many Kansans to campaign harder for an expedition to occupy Indian Territory, even proposing to enlist able-bodied American Indian refugees alongside white Union troops to help overtake the Confederate-controlled territory. This would not only accomplish the goal of protecting the Kansas border, but would also remove the thousands of American Indian refugees in Kansas back to Indian Territory, and away from white Kansas settlers.⁵²⁶

In March 1862, when Senator Lane had still not been granted his desired expedition, he introduced a bill to Congress to force the removal of American Indian refugees in Kansas back to Indian Territory, which also forced a decision on the issue of the proposed Indian Expedition. Lane was able to secure Abraham Lincoln's support for his plan for an expedition to Indian Territory, which began in June 1862.

The expedition was composed of white troops led by Colonel William Weer, as well as the large number of American Indians who had joined the Union Army as part of the Union Indian Brigade, and lastly, the Cherokee & Creek refugees who were accompanying the troops back to Indian Territory. Their mission was to "restore friendly intercourse with the tribes and return the loyal Indians that are with us to their homes."⁵²⁷ The troops were initially gaining ground, and managed to capture Tahlequah, the capital of Cherokee Nation, in July 1862. Nevertheless, internal struggles among the officers interfered with the mission when Col. Frederick Salomon arrested Col. William Weer, his commanding officer, on trumped up charges, which was likely related to unwillingness on the part of white troops to

⁵²⁶ See Nichols, *Lincoln and the Indians*, 39.

⁵²⁷ June 28, 1862, James A. Phillips to Col. W. R. Judson, OR 1:13, 456.

fight alongside and for American Indians.⁵²⁸ Salomon was strongly rebuked for his mutinous actions, but not before he led most of the white Union troops back to Kansas. As Union troops abandoned their mission and returned to Kansas, refugees who had hoped to return to their homes in Indian Territory had little choice but to follow the Union Army back to their refugee camps in Kansas. Scott Waldo McIntosh (Muscogee) recalled that “trouble arose among the officers and they again returned to Kansas,” and alongside them, the wives and children of Union soldiers “followed them and they too went back to the refugee camps in Kansas.”⁵²⁹ In the wake of the aborted mission, nearly two thousand more American Indians became refugees as well as they followed the Union Army’s retreat.

In particular, large numbers of Cherokee refugees fled from Indian Territory in the wake of the failed expedition. An Indian Agent in Cherokee Nation, E. H. Carruth, described the second exodus to Superintendent Coffin, explaining, “Even now, while I write, women and children, with every imaginable means of conveyance, are passing the house on their way to find the protection and bread their own country cannot give.”⁵³⁰ He encouraged Coffin to provide for these new refugees as well, saying, “The suffering has already commenced, and if it be the intention of the government to furnish the suffering Indians here with the necessaries of life, it should take measures for it immediately.”⁵³¹ Without provisions, Carruth concluded, “The imagination can picture the future only with famine and misery.”⁵³²

⁵²⁸ July 18, 1862, F. Salomon to Commanders of the Indian Expedition, *OR* 1:13, 476. See also Danziger, “Office of Indian Affairs and the Problem of Civil War Refugees,” 267. Danziger speculates that this mutiny may have been related to the use of white troops sent to work with American Indian soldiers to protect American Indian women and children in Indian Territory. Regarding unwillingness of white troops to fight alongside American Indians see also Nichols, *Lincoln and the Indians*, 52.

⁵²⁹ Interview of Scott Waldo McIntosh, July 12, 1937, Volume 58, IPP WHC.

⁵³⁰ July 25, 1862, E. H. Carruth & H.W. Martin to W. G. Coffin, *AR CIA* 1862, 160.

⁵³¹ July 25, 1862, E. H. Carruth & H.W. Martin to W. G. Coffin, *AR CIA* 1862, 160.

⁵³² July 25, 1862, E. H. Carruth & H.W. Martin to W. G. Coffin, *AR CIA* 1862, 160.

Significantly, on this expedition, the Union Army arrested Chief John Ross as a prisoner of war on July 18. In the days before his arrest, word had spread that the Union Army was nearby, and 200 Cherokees gathered in Tahlequah and Park Hill to profess their allegiance to the Union and join the Union Army.⁵³³ Ross had been determined to keep the Cherokee Nation out of the United States Civil War, but gave in to Confederate pressure in October of 1861. Despite this, many Cherokees chose to sympathize with the Union, and it was a well-known rumor that John Ross himself was still a Unionist.

As soon as Ross encountered Union officers, he made clear that the United States had failed to uphold treaty stipulations to the Cherokee Nation and reiterated the immense pressure he was under to support the Confederacy after the United States government abandoned Indian Territory. At one point Ross compared the Cherokees' choice of allegiance to drowning, saying

We are in the situation of a man standing alone upon a low, naked spot of ground, with the water rising rapidly all around him. He sees the danger but does not know what to do. If he remains where he is, his only alternative is to be swept away and perish. The tide carries by him, in its mad course, a drifting log. It, perchance, comes within reach of him. By refusing it, he is a doomed man. By seizing hold of it he has a chance for his life. He can but perish in the effort, and may be able to keep his head above water until rescued, or drift to where he can help himself.⁵³⁴

Union officers sympathized with his situation, and many were convinced of Ross' Unionism, including Agent Carruth, who remarked that "we have the best of evidences that he rejoiced that he was arrested." Agent Carruth continued, "his [Ross'] heart is in the Union cause, but the force of circumstances has compelled him not only to waver in his allegiance to the government of the United States, but to ally himself with the rebels."⁵³⁵ As Union Army officials and American Indian refugee leaders had predicted, now that the Union Army had

⁵³³ "Report of Capt. Harris S. Greeno, Sixth Kansas Cavalry," July 17, 1862, *OR* 1:13, 162.

⁵³⁴ Moulton, *John Ross*, 172-3.

⁵³⁵ July 19, 1862, E. H. Carruth & W. H. Martin to W.G. Coffin, *AR CIA* 1862, 158-9.

arrived in Indian Territory, many expressed their “true allegiance,” whether genuine or opportunistic.⁵³⁶ However, this put them in more danger when Union forces under Col. Weer mutinied and retreated to Kansas, causing many of these people to flee as well. As one Union officer explained, “A large number of refugee Indians and their families are following the retreating army for protection, having exposed themselves to the fury of the rebels by declaring for the Union.”⁵³⁷

These refugees “who, on account of the destruction and scarcity of subsistence among them, were compelled to follow our army for food,” numbered over 1,500 people, and “this estimate receives constant addition from fresh arrivals.”⁵³⁸ Agent Carruth added, “Their sufferings are only exceeded by those so familiar to you last winter among the fugitives on the Verdigris and Neosho rivers.”⁵³⁹ As the new refugees began to follow these troops and the refugees who had tried to return home fled back to protection under the Union army in Kansas, most of the new refugees stopped and camped in the vicinity of Fort Scott, Kansas, and by October, their numbers had reached over 2,000. While composed primarily of new Cherokee refugees and formerly displaced Creek refugees, members of other nations joined them at Fort Scott as well, especially since after the retreat of the Union Army, the “Cherokee Nation was again controlled by the South,” including guerillas and bushwhackers who showed little mercy in the aftermath of the failed expedition and Ross’ decision to switch sides.⁵⁴⁰

As the country was overtaken by these bushwhackers, many more people fled to Kansas as well, such as a Seminole woman named Jenny who fled Indian Territory in

⁵³⁶ July 21, 1862, James Blunt to Edwin Stanton, *OR* 1:13, 486.

⁵³⁷ August 6, 1862, William A. Phillips to R. W. Furnas, *OR* 1:13, 184.

⁵³⁸ September 28, 1862, from E. H. Carruth and H. W. Martin, *AR CIA* 1862, 167.

⁵³⁹ September 28, 1862, from E. H. Carruth and H. W. Martin, *AR CIA* 1862, 167.

⁵⁴⁰ Interview of Scott Waldo McIntosh, July 12, 1937, Volume 58, IPP WHC.

October of 1862 “to get among her brethren & under the protection of the United States.”⁵⁴¹ The circumstances of Jenny’s decision to flee in the fall of 1862 are unclear, but she was most likely fleeing increased violence in the aftermath of the failed Indian Expedition. Whether she fled due to irregular military forces or Confederate troops is unclear, however. A number of minor battles and skirmishes in the area after the failed Union expedition, like the Battle of Old Fort Wayne, caused Confederate troops to retreat into Cherokee Nation, and irregular Confederate partisans were wreaking havoc in the area as well. She may have been seeking protection from either of these pro-Confederate groups, and a number of other Seminoles made their way to Kansas that season as well. Mary, another Seminole refugee, had originally tried to leave Indian Territory with Opothleyahola’s group in late 1861, but was captured by Confederate-sympathizing Seminoles as she attempted to flee to Kansas. After nearly a year as prisoner of war, she managed to escape in October 1862 and finally “joined her people in Kansas.”⁵⁴² The failed expedition thus not only ensured that the federal government would have little choice but to continue to support American Indian refugees but increased the number of refugees as well.

Department of Interior officials were unsure of how to deal with the situation as winter approached, especially with the increase in refugees, and were debating sending them all back to Kansas. The Department of the Interior could more easily provide for the thousands of refugees if they were closer to supply lines and all in the same place.

Meanwhile, General James Blunt ordered a thousand of the Cherokee refugees at Fort Scott

⁵⁴¹ Claim No. 16, Jenny, “Claims of Loyal Indians—Seminole,” 1867, Special Files of The Office of Indian Affairs, 1807-1904, National Archives Microfilm Publication M574, Roll 11, Record Group 75, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

⁵⁴² Claim No. 250, Mary, “Claims of Loyal Indians—Seminole,” 1867, Special Files Of The Office Of Indian Affairs, 1807-1904, National Archives Microfilm Publication M574, Roll 11, Record Group 75, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

to move to Neosho, Missouri. Blunt ordered this move without consulting with anyone, and Department of Interior officials were shocked. As Coffin reported to Dole, "...to my utter surprise... the military authorities, without notice to or consultation with me or any of the Indian agents, took forcible possession of them" and moved over one thousand Cherokee refugees at Fort Scott to Neosho, Missouri. Coffin felt Neosho was a horrible location to move the refugees, calling it "one of the worst, if not the very worst, secession strongholds in Missouri."⁵⁴³ Furthermore, removing this portion of the refugees to Neosho complicated providing the refugees with subsistence, by creating another camp to supply, and also because of the cost of carrying supplies over such a long distance to reach the new refugee camp at Neosho.⁵⁴⁴

While the Cherokee refugees moved to Neosho would remain there for the winter, the Office of Indian Affairs officials continued to discuss other living arrangements for the remaining refugees, especially to decrease the cost of provisions. The most promising was the possibility of relocating many of the Cherokee and Muscogee refugees to lands on the Sac & Fox Reservation in Kansas. The Sac & Fox Nation had offered the use of their lands to temporarily resettle American Indian refugees in the late Summer of 1862, and Superintendent Coffin thought the option of relocating the refugees to Indian lands in Kansas was a promising solution for the time being.⁵⁴⁵ He believed this would reduce costs for the federal government and explained to the Cherokee refugees that "...it is deemed necessary to use the most rigid economy" in providing for them. He continued,

in order to accomplish that object, and supply your necessary wants with the least expense possible, the department has decided and instructed me to remove all the

⁵⁴³ W.G. Coffin to W. P. Dole, September 24, 1863, *AR CIA* 1863, 175.

⁵⁴⁴ W.G. Coffin to W. P. Dole, September 24, 1863, *AR CIA* 1863, 175.

⁵⁴⁵ Buice, "The Civil War and the Five Civilized Tribes," 128.

southern refugee Indians to the Sac and Fox reservation. The Creek refugee Indians are now being moved to the latter place.⁵⁴⁶

In response to this proposal, a committee formed by members of the Cherokee Nation declined to be relocated, saying, "It is the wish of the refugees, if they cannot immediately go to their own homes, to remain upon their own lands, or where they now are."⁵⁴⁷ Thus, the Cherokees continued to express a desire to return to their homes in Indian Territory, or, at the least, to not be displaced again, only to be removed further from their homes. For many of them this would have been the third relocation since they first fled Indian Territory in 1861. A few weeks later, however, the Cherokee refugees were informed that they would not be able to return to their lands in Indian Territory until the next Spring at the earliest if they wanted Union protection, and the refugees relented and moved to the Sac & Fox Reservation for the winter, which was vacant due to the winter migration of the Sac & Fox people.⁵⁴⁸ As the year 1863 approached, nearly 6,000 Creek and Cherokee refugees were living at the Sac & Fox Agency, in addition to the approximately 1,200 Cherokee refugees at Neosho, Missouri, the 1,500 Cherokees at Fort Scott, and the 2,000 Cherokee and Seminole refugees at Neosho Falls, Kansas. Although these temporary arrangements were beneficial for the federal government, and made it easier to provide for the refugees, federal government agencies and the refugees themselves continued to push for a successful return to Indian Territory at the earliest practicable moment.

While many American Indians themselves were anxious to return to their homes, they certainly did not plan to return without protection. As Chief John Ross wrote:

...the Cherokee refugees and warriors are very desirous of being removed into their own country, without further delay, where they can effectively co-operate with the

⁵⁴⁶ W.G. Coffin to the Cherokee Refugee Indians, October 31, 1862, *AR CIA* 1862, 170.

⁵⁴⁷ L. W. Hilderbrand, James Waters, Sikiki, Joseph Dubal, members of committee chosen by the Cherokees, to W. G. Coffin, October 31, 1862, *AR CIA* 1862, 171.

⁵⁴⁸ W. G. Coffin to W. P. Dole, November 10, 1862, *AR CIA* 1862, 169.

federal troops in protecting their people, and repelling any invasion of the enemy, &c. I deem it to be my duty, therefore, respectfully, to urge the propriety and necessity of the government re-establishing a military post within the Cherokee country, and to occupy it with ample force, as the base of operations for successfully prosecuting the war in that department, embracing the Indian territory and the adjacent States.⁵⁴⁹

Ross confirmed that the Cherokees were anxious to return home, and United States government officials in Kansas and Washington desired this solution as well.

The federal government wanted to return them to Indian Territory largely because of the cost of providing for them in Kansas. Almost as soon as the 1862 expedition failed, the United States was again planning to return the Indian refugees to their homes in Indian Territory. Again, it was argued that “economy and good policy require their return.”⁵⁵⁰ Ideally, the refugee Indians may be able to get to their own lands in time to plant crops to support themselves for most of 1863. Nevertheless, this would require adequate military protection for these civilians once they returned to Indian Territory, and providing enough troops was difficult to guarantee. Thus, the United States government was unable to plan a second expedition to Indian Territory until enough troops could be spared to ensure protection.

While both the American Indians and government officials were anxious for the refugees to return to Indian Territory, perhaps most anxious for the removal of Indian refugees from Kansas were white settlers in Kansas who felt threatened by their presence. One Kansan described the “strong and increasing anxiety on the part of the white settlers” for the removal of American Indians, and petitioned for them to be returned.⁵⁵¹ In addition to white Kansans primary motivations, the desire for land, and underlying racism, the now-

⁵⁴⁹ John Ross to W.P. Dole, April 2, 1863, *AR CIA* 1863, 227.

⁵⁵⁰ Col. W.H. Phillips to A. G. Proctor, February 17, 1863, *AR CIA* 1863, 197.

⁵⁵¹ S. C. Pomeroy, “A Memorial,” November 15, 1862, *AR CIA* 1863, 347.

secondary argument to occupy Indian Territory to secure the exposed flank of the Union still applied as well, as did the extreme cost to the government to supply the Indian refugees with basic provisions. Senator Lane used these motivations, in addition to exploiting the desire of refugees themselves to go home, to again introduce a bill in Congress to force the removal of American Indians in Kansas back to Indian Territory, and it passed the Senate in early 1863.⁵⁵²

The pressure from officials in Congress and the Department of the Interior officials in Washington to plan another expedition was hard to resist, despite the insufficient number of military troops available to protect the refugees. By February 1863, Superintendent W. G. Coffin relented to his superiors in Washington and ordered the removal of all Cherokee refugees back to Indian Territory. He expressed his disapproval to his superior, Commissioner of Indian Affairs W. P. Dole, protesting that he did order their removal, “but not, I must confess, without some misgivings as to the safety of the movement.”⁵⁵³ While, ideally, this expedition would not be cut short by mutinous troops, as had the failed expedition in 1862, the problem remained of securing enough troops to clear Indian Territory of Confederates and guerillas, and then to maintain Union control so that the American Indians the United States had vowed to protect could return to their homes, rebuild their lives, and try to plant enough crops to support themselves without government support in the coming year.

In March of 1863, with the expedition planning in the works, W. G. Coffin again advised his superior, Commissioner Dole, of the shortage of troops in Indian Territory, citing in particular a recent attack on two Cherokee chiefs by guerillas in Cherokee Nation.

⁵⁵² Nichols, *Lincoln and the Indians*, 62; Buice, “The Civil War and the Five Civilized Tribes,” 155.

⁵⁵³ W.G. Coffin to W.P. Dole, February 24, 1863, *AR CIA* 1863, 195.

Coffin stated, “This confirms the opinion I have so often expressed of the danger of returning the refugees to their homes until the country is fully occupied by the military authorities.”⁵⁵⁴ Furthermore, he resisted efforts to return the refugees back to Indian Territory until this protection was, in fact, secured, asserting, “until I am satisfied that it can be done with some degree of safety, and without having them all butchered, I take not the responsibility of recommending their removal.”⁵⁵⁵ Unfortunately, Coffin’s advice went unheeded.

The expedition, composed mostly of Cherokee refugees, made it back to Cherokee Nation by May, but Superintendent Coffin’s fears for their safe return were quickly confirmed. General James Blunt and his troops had initially been able to defend Indian Territory fairly successfully, but in May, most of his troops were sent to re-enforce Union troops in Missouri, and Blunt stated that he “should not at all be surprised if the force which is left with the Cherokee refugees should have to fall back into Kansas.”⁵⁵⁶ By the end of the month, Indian Agent James Harlan, who had helped return the refugees to Indian Territory, deeply regretted the decision to return them. He reported that “The whole country is infested with roving bands of bushwhackers in search of plunder, who take everything where they go, of value to themselves, or injury to the Cherokee families. If any resistance is made, or one known to be a soldier is found, they murder without mercy.”⁵⁵⁷ He described how Stand Watie “entered the territory in three different raids and drove the women into Fort Gibson, took everything he could ride, or drive, or carry off, and destroyed their crops, and

⁵⁵⁴ W.G. Coffin to W.P. Dole, March 17, 1863, *AR CIA* 1863, 198.

⁵⁵⁵ W.G. Coffin to W.P. Dole, March 17, 1863, *AR CIA* 1863, 198.

⁵⁵⁶ W.G. Coffin to W.P. Dole, May 2, 1863, *AR CIA* 1863, 199.

⁵⁵⁷ Justin Harlan to W.G. Coffin, May 26, 1863, *AR CIA* 1863, 203.

prevented the tending of everything planted.”⁵⁵⁸ He summed up the destruction caused by Confederate partisans by warning, “Destitution, total and entire, followed his last raid.”⁵⁵⁹

After the second expedition, nine thousand people, nearly seven thousand of whom were refugees, were trapped within the 1.5 square miles of Union-controlled Fort Gibson, which was surrounded by the enemy. Alongside most of the Cherokee refugees, Agent Harlan retreated into the safety of the fort. As he contemplated their situation at Fort Gibson, he regretted, “Every promise has failed. I am now satisfied that I committed an error in bringing them here.”⁵⁶⁰ He blamed Colonel Phillips, who led the expedition, saying, “I did not know that he would not or could not protect them.”⁵⁶¹

Many federal officials in the Department of the Interior placed the blame for the second failed expedition on the Army. Superintendent of Indian Affairs W. G. Coffin reported to Secretary of the Interior Charles E. Mix that the expedition failed “on account of the inability of the military authorities to furnish the promised protection to these Indians in the Cherokee nation.”⁵⁶² He reported that he continued to furnish the refugees with provisions as well as he could, but his efforts were hampered by the “disappointments, annoyances, and interferences shown on the part of the military authorities of the Indian country.”⁵⁶³ By this point, Superintendent Coffin had clearly become frustrated by the ongoing situation involving the American Indian refugees, especially as he struggled to coordinate with the Army, complaining that the Department of the Interior would inevitably have to support the thousands of refugees forever “unless there should be more efficient

⁵⁵⁸ Justin Harlan to W. G. Coffin, August 8, 1863, *AR CIA* 1863, 215.

⁵⁵⁹ Justin Harlan to W. G. Coffin, August 8, 1863, *AR CIA*, 1863, 215.

⁵⁶⁰ W.G. Coffin to W.P. Dole, July 11, 1863, *AR CIA* 1863, 210; J. Harlan to W.G. Coffin, May 26, 1863, *AR CIA* 1863, 204.

⁵⁶¹ J. Harlan to W.G. Coffin, May 26, 1863, *AR CIA* 1863, 204.

⁵⁶² W. G. Coffin to Charles E. Mix, August 31, 1863, *AR CIA* 1863, 217.

⁵⁶³ W. G. Coffin to Charles E. Mix, August 31, 1863, *AR CIA* 1863, 217.

military management in this department than we have yet had.”⁵⁶⁴ Coffin continued to blame the Army for the ongoing refugee crisis, including their original abandonment of Indian Territory, the mutinous first failed expedition in 1862, and the second failed expedition in 1863.

In addition to blaming the Army for the second failure to return refugee American Indians to Indian Territory and their new situation trapped inside the besieged fort, Coffin asked for relief for the refugees at Ft. Gibson, warning, “...if not re-enforced soon, they must certainly perish.”⁵⁶⁵ It took nearly six weeks for the first provision train to reach Fort Gibson, and again officials found the refugees in a destitute condition. Henry Smith, a government contractor who drove the wagon train full of provisions to Ft. Gibson reported, “These Indians, in part, were lying under trees and on the wayside, exposed to the hot sun, half starved and naked, and a great many of them sick with dysentery and diarrhea.”⁵⁶⁶ The conditions at the fort led to a smallpox outbreak, which killed hundreds of the refugees and soldiers in the besieged fort. Such was the case with Blackbird Doublehead’s sister (Cherokee), who moved to Fort Gibson with her infant for protection, only for both her and the baby to succumb to the smallpox epidemic raging in fort.⁵⁶⁷ Sock-to-koth-ko (Seminole) had fled to Kansas with Opothleyahola’s group in 1861, but returned to Indian Territory in 1863, likely as part of the Indian expedition. She found Union protection again at Fort Gibson, only to die from the outbreak of smallpox there in 1863.⁵⁶⁸ Louisa, another

⁵⁶⁴ W. G. Coffin to W.P. Dole, October 23, 1863, *AR CIA* 1863, 221.

⁵⁶⁵ W. G. Coffin to W. P. Dole, June 11, 1863, *AR CIA* 1863, 202.

⁵⁶⁶ Henry Smith to W.G. Coffin, July 16, 1863, *AR CIA* 1863, 212.

⁵⁶⁷ Interview of Blackbird Doublehead, September 14, 1937, Volume 25, IPP WHC.

⁵⁶⁸ Claim No. 155, Sock-to-koth-ko, “Claims of Loyal Indians—Seminole,” 1867, Special Files Of The Office Of Indian Affairs, 1807-1904, National Archives Microfilm Publication M574, Roll 11, Record Group 75, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Seminole refugee who had fled to Kansas with the first group in 1861, returned to Indian Territory “with our Army” in 1863, but died in July “while we were at Fort Gibson.”⁵⁶⁹

In addition to the Cherokee refugees who were part of the return expedition to begin with, the destruction caused by Watie’s men and other guerillas in the Indian Territory caused more people to flee. It was likely due to this increased violence that Seminole woman Thle-po-tsee and her husband fled to Union protection in 1863. Although Thle-po-tsee had hoped to leave Indian Territory in 1861 with Opothleyahola’s group, she was very ill and unable to make the journey. She stated that she was unable to get out of Indian Territory until 1863, “when the opportunity afforded for escape, and my husband and myself left all we had & made our way to Fort Gibson—then occupied by Federal Troops.”⁵⁷⁰ In the aftermath of the second failed expedition, Indian Agent A. G. Proctor reported the “complete abandonment by the loyal people, of all the towns and settlements in the Cherokee nation,” and that “...the entire population has fled for protection either to Kansas, or within our army lines at Gibson.”⁵⁷¹ Henry Smith reported back to Coffin in Kansas, saying the second attempt to return American Indian refugees to Indian Territory was “an entire failure.”⁵⁷² Thus the second failed expedition created a third wave of refugees from Indian Territory, and this time sent them fleeing to Union protection at Fort Gibson.

As Fort Gibson became overcrowded, supplies continued to be scarce and disease continued to run rampant, so the federal government again considered relocating many of the refugees at Fort Gibson back to Kansas. This would, at least, decrease the cost of

⁵⁶⁹ Claim No. 225, Lina, “Claims of Loyal Indians—Seminole,” 1867, Special Files Of The Office Of Indian Affairs, 1807-1904, National Archives Microfilm Publication M574, Roll 11, Record Group 75, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

⁵⁷⁰ Claim No. 18, Thle-po-tsee, “Claims of Loyal Indians—Seminole,” 1867, Special Files Of The Office Of Indian Affairs, 1807-1904, National Archives Microfilm Publication M574, Roll 11, Record Group 75, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

⁵⁷¹ A.G. Proctor to W. G. Coffin, November 18, 1863, *AR CIA* 1863, 223.

⁵⁷² Henry Smith to W.G. Coffin, July 16, 1863, *AR CIA* 1863, 212.

providing for the refugees. In the summer of 1863, William McIntosh (Muscogee) was “assigned to move the Creek families to Kansas to refugee camps by wagon train,” again displacing the Muscogee families, many of whom had been displaced multiple times by this point.⁵⁷³

In addition to those who fled to Fort Gibson on their own, in the following weeks, Colonel William Phillips ordered people living in Cherokee Nation to Fort Gibson for protection, again augmenting the growing number of refugees at the Fort, and many were sent off to Kansas.⁵⁷⁴ This is what happened to Dennis Vann (Cherokee), a formerly enslaved person, who ended up in Kansas as a refugee during the war as a result of this order. A woman named Katie Williams inherited Vann along with other enslaved people, but in 1861 she freed them. They were all still living on the same farm as Williams when they were ordered out in 1863 and told to move to Fort Gibson for protection. Vann, Williams, and the other residents of the farm all went to the fort, but “Ft. Gibson became so crowded with refugees that the Government sent the Vann slaves and others to Franklin County, Kansas” until the end of the war.⁵⁷⁵

Tennessee James and her sister Samantha Lane Hillen (Cherokees) left Indian Territory as a result of this order as well. The teenaged sisters had “remained on the old home place” with their grandfather for the first two years of the war until they were ordered out of their homes “for safety and protection” in 1863.⁵⁷⁶ Due to overcrowding at Fort Gibson, they eventually ended up in Kansas, where they rented a farm. Their grandfather sympathized with the Confederacy, which explains why they were able to remain in

⁵⁷³ Interview of Scott Waldo McIntosh, July 12, 1937, Volume 58, IPP WHC.

⁵⁷⁴ Henry Smith to W.G. Coffin, July 16, 1863, *AR CIA* 1863, 212.

⁵⁷⁵ Interview of Dennis Vann, March 23, 1937, Volume 93, IPP WHC.

⁵⁷⁶ Tennessee Lane James, April 22, 1937, Volume 47, IPP WHC; Interview of Samantha Lane Hillen, June 30, 1937, Volume 42, IPP WHC.

Cherokee Nation fairly safe for the first two years of the war, until they were ordered out. Furthermore, they were likely able to rent a farm in Kansas instead of joining a refugee camp because unlike many refugees from earlier in the war, they did not flee in chaos and were able to take money and other provisions with them to Kansas.

Josephine Andre Reid Wood (Cherokee) described a similar situation for her family, who were able to remain at home for the first couple of years of the war until they were ordered out by federal soldiers. She recalled that her father “would not join the Union army because he did not believe in freeing the Negroes and making them citizens of the United States, but thought they should be deported to their native country; neither would he join the Confederate army and fight the Union.”⁵⁷⁷ As fighting in Cherokee Nation intensified, her father decided to move the family south, likely to the Red River where thousands of pro-Confederate refugees lived in Confederate refugee camps similar to those for Unionist refugees in Kansas.⁵⁷⁸ Nevertheless, as the family loaded up their wagons and prepared to head South in the summer of 1863, her father was arrested by federal soldiers. Josephine, who was about six years old at the time, explained that they were ordered out of Cherokee Nation, “and father, mother and we three children were loaded in an army wagon with others that were being taken north to Fort Scott, Kansas,” likely due to the overcrowding at Fort Gibson.⁵⁷⁹ Once reaching Kansas, her father “immediately engaged in the saddle and harness business, as that was his trade and at which he was an expert,” and continued to run this business at Fort Scott until the end of the war.⁵⁸⁰ This family relocated from Indian

⁵⁷⁷ Interview of Josephine Andre Reid Wood, November 27-29, 1937, Volume 100, IPP WHC.

⁵⁷⁸ For more information on Confederate-sympathizing American Indian refugees encamped on the Red River or in Choctaw Nation, see Warde, *When the Wolf Came*, 181-196, and Confer, *The Cherokee Nation in the Civil War*, 124-134.

⁵⁷⁹ Interview of Josephine Andre Reid Wood, November 27-29, 1937, Volume 100, IPP WHC.

⁵⁸⁰ Interview of Josephine Andre Reid Wood, November 27-29, 1937, Volume 100, IPP WHC.

Territory to Kansas as refugees once ordered to do so by federal soldiers, and the father was likely able to engage in his business as a saddler because the family was able to take some belongings, such as his tools, with them as they relocated. The majority of refugees, especially those who fled early in the war, or fled from violence, however, remained dependent on the federal government for provisions.

The second failed expedition, which was initially embarked upon in part to reduce the cost to the federal government of subsisting loyal refugees, created more refugees, most of whom were reliant on the federal government for aid, and again brought up the frequent question of providing for the number of refugees drawing provisions from the government. Without a crop to harvest and subsist on in the coming months, foodstuffs would again have to be provided by the federal government, but it was much more costly to provide for growing number of refugees at Fort Gibson than it had been in Kansas. As Agent Harlan explained, “The nearest point where provisions can be procured is Fort Scott, a distance of one hundred and sixty-five miles, and it has to be hauled there from a distance.”⁵⁸¹ Harlan and Coffin recommended “their speedy removal from the Indian Territory to a locality where subsistence can be procured more readily at lower figures, and where the ruinous rates of transporting the same can be avoided.”⁵⁸² This need was especially pressing as the winter months approached, and transporting supplies would become even more difficult, in part due to “the uncertainty of transporting freight over a country watered by large streams without bridges or ferries.” Furthermore, as one Indian agent explained, “if we depend on hiring our transportation from Kansas there cannot be provisions enough sent between now and fall to sustain these people during the winter.” He further added, “My humble advice is,

⁵⁸¹ Justin Harlan to W. G. Coffin, August 8, 1863, *AR CIA* 1863, 218.

⁵⁸² W. G. Coffin to W. P. Dole, August 10, 1863, *AR CIA* 1863, 214.

to move all who will go, say two thousand of them, to southern Kansas, to be fed during the winter; and, with that number less on our hands, and vigorous action in supplying the balance, we may succeed in getting through without starvation.”⁵⁸³

In November of 1863, most of the refugees remained at Fort Gibson, numbering about 8,000 people. Coffin decided that due to the difficulty of providing for refugees within Indian Territory, “prudence, common sense, economy, and safety imperiously demand, all those refugee Indians who are not useful in clearing out the rebels of and holding the Indian country should be moved to southern Kansas, where they can be well, regularly, surely, and cheaply fed.”⁵⁸⁴ Thus, nearly 2,000 refugees, mostly Cherokees, would be displaced again, due in no small part to the ineptitude of the federal government.

As the refugee crisis continued to grow, refugees were spread across Indian Territory and Kansas, from Fort Gibson, to Fort Scott, and elsewhere. Many Muscogee and Cherokee refugees at Fort Gibson and Fort Scott were sent to spend the winter of 1863 back at the Sac & Fox Reservation. Since the Sac & Fox had again vacated the reservation for the winter, the U.S. government “permitted the refugee Creeks, Cherokees, &c., to occupy all the vacant houses on the reserve.”⁵⁸⁵ Indian Agent Martin noted that the arrangement seemed to work well, and “many of them seem to appreciate it as a great blessing to shield them from the cold blasts of winter.”⁵⁸⁶ The willingness of the Sac & Fox to aid and support American Indian refugees from different nations was important in ameliorating the refugees crisis. In addition, other American Indian Nations offered aid to suffering American Indian refugees during the war as well.

⁵⁸³ A. G. Proctor to W. G. Coffin, July 31, 1863, *AR CIA* 1863, 219.

⁵⁸⁴ W. G. Coffin to Charles E. Mix, August 31, 1863, *AR CIA* 1863, 218.

⁵⁸⁵ H.W. Martin to H.B. Branch, October 20, 1863, *AR CIA* 1863, 256.

⁵⁸⁶ H.W. Martin to H.B. Branch, October 20, 1863, *AR CIA* 1863, 256.

Beginning in 1863, members of the Quapaw, Seneca, and Seneca & Shawnee found refuge on the Ottawa Reservation in Kansas. Thanks to this arrangement, these refugees “provided themselves with comfortable houses, and are well and amply supplied with subsistence and a limited quantity of clothing.”⁵⁸⁷ The arrangement was intended to be short-lived, until the nations under the Neosho Agency could be relocated to Indian Territory, but in the fall of 1864 they still remained on the Ottawa Reservation, and “the Ottawas have very kindly consented for the destitute refugee Indians to remain on their lands till spring.”⁵⁸⁸ Later in the year, the Quapaw, Seneca, and Seneca & Shawnee requested not to be removed to Indian Territory until their safety there could be assured, and stated that their current living arrangement was satisfactory until the time they could safely return to their lands in Indian Territory. They reported that they had already planted crops in their camps in Kansas, and that their lands in Indian Territory were in the middle of “bushwhacker territory.”⁵⁸⁹ Additionally, all available men to protect them at home were serving in the Union Army and therefore would not be able to protect their families and crops in Indian Territory from Confederate partisans. These reasons, along with the “full consent” of the Ottawas for the refugees to remain on their lands, were satisfactory to the government as well, especially since it relieved them of providing for these refugees.⁵⁹⁰

The refugee crisis not only sent American Indians fleeing to Kansas, Missouri, and Union-occupied parts of Arkansas, but to the Midwest, the Northeast, and Colorado, as well. In the summer of 1861 numerous white missionaries to the various Indian nations were forced out of Indian Territory by Confederate soldiers. Prominent among these missionaries

⁵⁸⁷ P.P. Elder to W.G. Coffin, September 20, 1863, *AR CIA* 1863, 187.

⁵⁸⁸ Peter P. Elder to W.G. Coffin, September 15, 1864, *AR CIA* 1864, 316.

⁵⁸⁹ P.P. Elder to W.G. Coffin, N.d., *AR CIA* 1864, 331.

⁵⁹⁰ P.P. Elder to W.G. Coffin, N.d., *AR CIA* 1864, 331.

was the Robertson family, composed of William Schenck Robertson, Ann Eliza Worcester Robertson, and their four children, Ann Augusta, Alice, Grace, and Samuel.

Alice Robertson, who was seven years old in 1861, remembered that they left their homes in Muscogee Nation after “Father, a New Yorker, was pronounced without any hearing to be a Yankee Abolitionist and given 24 hours time to leave.”⁵⁹¹ These Confederate soldiers watched as “Father and Mother packed up as best they might their few things.”⁵⁹² She noted that “a two-horse wagon sufficed, well loaded, to take all their personal possessions,” and the next morning the family went to Cherokee Nation, where Ann Eliza Worcester Robertson’s parents, who were also missionaries, lived.⁵⁹³ After a few days in exile at the Worcester home in Tahlequah, the family received some “friendly warnings,” and again packed their things, leaving many sentimental possessions behind, and “started on our dangerous journey toward the Federal lines.”⁵⁹⁴ They were “hospitably received” the first night of their journey at a Moravian Mission in northeastern Indian Territory, and on the second day they crossed into Missouri.⁵⁹⁵

They stopped for the night at a stranger’s house, only to find that a Muscogee woman living there had coincidentally been a student of William Robertson’s years earlier. Nevertheless, her husband, a white man, had Confederate sympathies, and wanted to turn over the Unionist Robertson family to Confederate partisans as Yankee spies, which almost certainly would have resulted in William’s death. The woman managed to alert the family to her husband’s plan, and William slipped out of a window before dawn in search of Union

⁵⁹¹ Reminiscences of Alice Mary Robertson, Series 1, Box 2, Folder 4, Papers of the Robertson and Worcester Families, 1815-1932, McFarlin Library, The University of Tulsa, Tulsa, OK (henceforth PRWF, Tulsa).

⁵⁹² Reminiscences of Alice Mary Robertson, PRWF, Tulsa.

⁵⁹³ Reminiscences of Alice Mary Robertson, PRWF, Tulsa.

⁵⁹⁴ Reminiscences of Alice Mary Robertson, PRWF, Tulsa.

⁵⁹⁵ Reminiscences of Alice Mary Robertson, PRWF, Tulsa.

authorities. He returned a few hours later with a Union soldier and passes into Union lines for all of his family members, thwarting the pro-Confederate man's plan. The Robertsons then went to Union troops at Rolla, Missouri, and after their passes were checked, journeyed on to St. Louis, and then to William's parent's home in Winneconne, Wisconsin. They lived here for about a year and a half, with William serving as a substitute schoolteacher, before finding a more permanent job and moving to Illinois in 1863. A few months later, the family again uprooted, this time to Northeastern Kansas, where the Robertsons operated a mission school for Sioux orphans.

The family spent much of the war years reliant on extended family members back in the Northeastern United States for clothes, fabric, and other small provisions, and at times were given provisions by various church groups in the Northeast as well. The family struggled financially and remained transient following their initial displacement. Ann Eliza was anxious about the family's uncertain future, confiding in her lifelong friend and fellow missionary-turned-refugee Nancy Thompson, "We have never either of us been in such suspense as to the future before, but thousands in our once happy country are worse off, far."⁵⁹⁶ While Ann Eliza acknowledged their hardships, she also realized that compared to many American Indians back home, they still had much to be thankful for.

In addition, to the Robertsons' numerous other missionary families fled from Indian Territory to the Union, such as Sue L. McBeth, who fled Choctaw Nation in 1861 and returned to a former position at Fairfield University in Iowa.⁵⁹⁷ Harriet Sheldon Latta, a white woman who fled from Indian Territory to Fort Davis in occupied Arkansas during the war also considered moving to the Northeast. When lawlessness in Arkansas forced her to

⁵⁹⁶ Ann Eliza Worcester Robertson and William Schenck Robertson to Nancy Thompson, February 24, 1862, Series 2, Box 19, Folder 4, PRWF, Tulsa.

⁵⁹⁷ "Biography of S. L. McBeth, Missionary," Series 1, Box 1, Folder 18, PRWF, Tulsa.

again seek safety for her and her children, she escaped to Utica, New York, where she was originally from and still had family living.⁵⁹⁸

Nancy Hitchcock, a former missionary in Cherokee Nation, was not able to leave Indian Territory until 1863, after her husband had been assaulted by Confederate partisans who promised to return to kill him if he did not leave Indian Territory within five days. The middle-aged Hitchcock's left along with four other families who had not yet fled due to the difficulty of transporting elderly family members and went to Saint Louis. Nancy Hitchcock explained that, "We journeyed together till we reached St. Louis, there we separated, Mrs. W. to go to Robertsons in Centralia, Illinois, Mrs. Palmer & children to go to Chicago, while Mr. P. came round this way with us, then went on to his brother in Napoleon, Ohio. His wife & daughter are with her friends in Portland, Maine; they expect to commence housekeeping in Fitchville, Ohio, in October."⁵⁹⁹ Thus, many families who had the connections to do so fled to family members in the North and West when they left Indian Territory as refugees. Some American Indian families were able to flee to the North as well, most notably, the family of Cherokee Chief John Ross, who spent most of the war living with his in-laws, the Staplars, in Philadelphia.⁶⁰⁰

However, these experiences also demonstrate that relocating to the Northeast or Midwest was only a viable option for some refugees who fled from Indian Territory. An important factor was having connections to people outside of Indian Territory, which many American Indians simply did not have. Often entire extended families and even entire communities fled to Kansas or Fort Gibson, leaving no one to turn to for aid. Most of these families also had a certain level of wealth to be able to reach these places, which not all

⁵⁹⁸ Interview of Aminda Latta Hanley, December 2, 1927, Volume 38, IPP WHC.

⁵⁹⁹ N. Hitchcock to Brother & Sister Orr, September 1, 1864, Series 2, Box 12, Folder 5, PRWF, Tulsa.

⁶⁰⁰ Moulton, *John Ross*, 178.

refugees had, and for some American Indian refugees who did, it was lost as they fled to Kansas in chaos.

It is also important to note that some American Indian refugees who supported the Union did not seek protection from the Union in Kansas, but further west. As Indian Agent Samuel Colley reported in January of 1863, some members of the Wichita and Affiliated tribes, who had lived near Fort Cobb in western Indian Territory fled northwest to Colorado during the Civil War, rather than to Kansas. Their assigned Indian agent had joined the Confederate Army, and so “they were forced to either leave their homes and all their property or take up arms against the government; so they packed up what few things they could and started north with their families.” A thousand refugees from the Caddo, Hainai, Shawnee, and southern Comanche tribes fled from their homes and traveled by night to avoid Texan Confederates who had been harassing them at their homes. Immediately upon arriving in Colorado Territory, Agent Colley reported, they “sent their leaders on to make a treaty of peace with the Indians of my agency, and to ask permission of them to remain in this part of the country until such time as they may be able to go back to their own lands,” an arrangement which they accepted. Furthermore, Agent Colley “assured them that the government was friendly to them, and that I had no doubt but that the time would soon come when they would be safe in returning to their own country.”⁶⁰¹ He reported that on arrival, “They were destitute of both clothing and provisions, having been robbed of everything by the rebels before leaving Texas; and had it not been for the abundance of buffalo, many must have died from starvation.”⁶⁰²

⁶⁰¹ Samuel Colley to W.P. Dole, January 25, 1863, *AR CIA* 1863, 135-6.

⁶⁰² Samuel Colley to W.P. Dole, June 30, 1863, *AR CIA* 1863, 138.

By June, this settlement of loyal refugee American Indians had grown to 1,500 people, ranging from Fort Larned, Kansas, into Colorado Territory, and they had yet to receive any aid from the federal government. Agent Colley noted that by that point, “They had selected a beautiful grove for their encampment, built themselves huts thatched with grass, dug wells, &c., and were anxiously waiting the arrival of their goods and provisions.”⁶⁰³ Unlike the tens of thousands of American Indian refugees who had fled to Kansas, primarily Cherokee, Muscogee, and Seminole, the refugees in the Colorado area did not flee to the United States Army for protection, as did most American Indians refugees to Kansas, Missouri, and Arkansas. Instead, they formed an alliance of their own with American Indian nations already in the Colorado area to ensure their access to land to subsist from, greatly reducing the issue of the cost of provisions and reliance on the federal government. Colorado also experienced much less military action than the Kansas-Indian Territory border, securing more stability for refugees who fled to Colorado instead. Furthermore, the nations that fled to the Colorado area did not have to worry as much about white settlers forcing them to leave, since this area was still more sparsely populated, and land was in less demand than in eastern Kansas. The cost of providing for the large numbers of refugees in Kansas and at Fort Gibson, alongside white Kansans commitment to their removal, made the experiences of those refugees much more dependent on government policies, including the transience caused by the multiple failed expeditions to Indian Territory.

American Indian refugees in the Colorado area did request some provisions, mostly clothing and blankets, and after several months, Agent Colley was able to secure a special requisition to provide for their needs. Upon receiving the supplies Colley reported that “They seemed highly delighted and perfectly satisfied and wished me to inform their Great

⁶⁰³ Samuel Colley to W.P. Dole, June 30, 1863, *AR CIA* 1863, 138.

Father at Washington that they would always remain loyal to the government of the United States.”⁶⁰⁴ This affirmation of loyalty was important, and reflects the importance of maintaining amicable relations with American Indian Nations during the United States Civil War.

Some might question why the subsistence of American Indians was of such importance to the United States government during the Civil War. Agent Colley clearly believed the loyalty of Indian nations was important during the Civil War, noting that, “in view of the very important geographical position occupied by those Indians between the white settlements in southern Kansas and those within the rebel States, no effort on my part has been spared to counteract the machinations of the enemy, and to hold them in loyalty to the United States government.”⁶⁰⁵ The United States could not take the chance that the members of the five tribes and other refugee nations from Indian Territory might ally themselves with, and then fight for, the Confederacy on the United States’ sparsely protected southwestern flank. United States officials feared not only the five tribes and other nations from Indian Territory joining against them, but they also feared the possibility that these refugees may influence Plains Indians to join the Confederacy as well, or wage war on the United States on behalf of their own nations. The Confederacy actively pursued alliances with various Plains Indians nations like the Comanche and Kiowa into early 1865, which likely would have left the southwestern United States in a precarious position. Recent events in Minnesota among the Dakota Sioux had reinforced the need to confirm amicable relationships with indigenous nations, especially those who could be disaffected by events

⁶⁰⁴ S. G. Colley to W.P. Dole, June 30, 1863, *AR CIA* 1863, 138.

⁶⁰⁵ W.G. Coffin to W. P. Dole, September 24, 1863, *AR CIA* 1863, 173.

related to the Civil War.⁶⁰⁶ Therefore, many Indian Agents spent a considerable amount of time affirming the loyalty of as many Indian Nations as possible.

Superintendent Coffin provided an example of the importance of such alliances and friendly relations, saying, “The great protection which the Osages have rendered to the southern frontier for the last eighteen months is ample proof to indicate the value of this retention. Last spring they utterly destroyed a band of nineteen rebel officers, who, according to the instructions and other papers found upon their persons, were fully commissioned and authorized by the rebel leaders to proceed to enroll and organize the rebels in Colorado and Dakota Territories.”⁶⁰⁷ In addition to this, the Office of Indian Affairs expended a large amount of effort in planning a council of tribes from the plains. Agent Colley argued that “Such a council, properly conducted, I feel satisfied would result, first, in bringing back to the government all the wild tribes of the southwestern border; secondly, in making peace between the loyal Indians and the tribes above mentioned. Take them all together, and you will have a formidable force for the protection of our frontier.”⁶⁰⁸ Thus, as 1864 approached, the United States government remained invested in the loyalty of American Indian nations, especially those who had fled to the Union Army for protection and joined that same Army to fight against the Confederacy.

As had been evident since the refugee crisis began, the best way to ensure that American Indians stayed on good terms with the United States was relocating them to their own lands and protecting them there. This policy would of course also ease the financial

⁶⁰⁶ For recent scholarship on the “Dakota War” see, for example, Anderson, Gary Clayton Anderson, *Massacre in Minnesota: The Dakota War of 1862, the Most Violent Ethnic Conflict in American History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2019); Beck, Paul N. Beck, *Columns of Vengeance: Soldiers, Sioux, and the Punitive Expeditions, 1863-1864* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013); and Linda M. Clemmons, *Dakota in Exile: The Untold Stories of Captives in the Aftermath of the US–Dakota War* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2019).

⁶⁰⁷ W.G. Coffin to W. P. Dole, September 24, 1863, *AR CIA* 1863, 173.

⁶⁰⁸ H.W. Martin to W.G. Coffin, June 18, 1863, *AR CIA* 1863, 208.

burden on the United States government and appease land-hungry white Kansans who were still anxious to relocate refugee Indians. In fact, in March 1864, Senator Jim Lane for a third time introduced legislation in Congress to remove *all* Indians from Kansas, including the thousands of refugees from Indian Territory, and American Indians who were already living on reservations in Kansas.⁶⁰⁹ This time, he set aside all strategical pretensions, demanding that American Indians be removed from Kansas because “those tribes occupy central positions, holding large tracts of productive country in the very heart of our state.”⁶¹⁰ This legislation passed in March 1864, and in order to fulfill it, a third attempt to occupy Indian Territory and return refugee American Indians would be necessary, putting significant pressure on the Office of Indian Affairs and the United States Army.

On this third attempt, however, the same problem remained. As Major General James Blunt explained to Commissioner of Indian Affairs W. P. Dole in February, 1864, “there is at present a serious obstacle, viz: the inadequacy of the military force for their protection.”⁶¹¹ While the Army was still addressing the problem that had plagued the first two attempts to return to Indian Territory, and had also led tens of thousands of American Indians to become refugees in the first place, the Bureau of Indian Affairs had learned from their past mistakes in returning to Indian Territory, and this time were determined to get the American Indians back in time to plant a crop that they could use to provide for themselves. As Superintendent Coffin explained to Commissioner Dole, “the success of the movement depends almost entirely on two points—*getting them home in time, and protection when there.*”⁶¹² He urged Commissioner Dole that they needed to go ahead and begin preparations for their

⁶⁰⁹ Nichols, *Lincoln and the Indians*, 62. Emphasis mine.

⁶¹⁰ 38th Congress, 1st sess., March 3, 1864, *CG*, 921.

⁶¹¹ Maj. Gen. Jas. Blunt to W.P. Dole, February 5, 1864, *AR CIA* 1864, 322.

⁶¹² W.G. Coffin to W.P. Dole, February 22, 1864, *AR CIA* 1864, 324. Emphasis in original.

return, since by late February, they were already running out of time to make the long return journey and also plant crops in time. Along with his encouragement to begin preparations immediately, he included an estimate for the cost of returning the 8,000 refugees in Kansas and supporting them alongside the refugees who had already been returned to Indian Territory and were based at Fort Gibson following the failure to resettle them at home a year earlier. Coffin estimated that for the six months until the journey was completed, and a crop could be raised, the United States would be responsible for supporting over 22,000 American Indian refugees, and at a cost of ten cents per capita per day, expenditures would exceed an estimated \$403,167.⁶¹³

Nevertheless, preparations for their return were halted, partially impeded by a change in military commands that resulted in insufficient forces in Indian Territory to protect the refugees. Again Department of Interior officials voiced their frustration with the Army, with one Indian Agent complaining that the continual changes in military command impaired the “efficiency” with which the Indian Agents could aid the refugees.⁶¹⁴ Coffin seconded this, complaining that the change in departments was “very materially retarding the progress of removing the southern refugee Indians now in Kansas to their homes,” and that, there were not enough forces to provide “necessary protection” to relocate the refugees.⁶¹⁵

By early May, the refugees remained in Kansas, and Congress wanted answers about the situation, and costs, regarding the American Indian refugees. In part due to the recent passage of Lane’s legislation to remove all Indians from Kansas, including the refugees, Congress inquired “for the ‘reason, if any exists, why the refugee Indians in the State of

⁶¹³ W.G. Coffin to W.P. Dole, February 22, 1864, *AR CIA* 1864, 324. This figure does not include the cost of agricultural implements such as seed, draft teams, plows, etc. which would bring the total estimate to \$473,470.30.

⁶¹⁴ A.G. Proctor to W. G. Coffin, November 18, 1863, *AR CIA* 1863, 225.

⁶¹⁵ W.G. Coffin to W.P. Dole, April 26, 1864, *AR CIA* 1864, 330.

Kansas are not returned to their homes.” Commissioner Dole informed Secretary of the Interior J. P. Usher, that “the same causes which made these Indians refugees have hitherto prevented their return to their homes.” The lack of United States military protection had caused their flight, had stunted two expeditions to return them to Indian Territory, and continued to prevent their return in mid-1864. Dole stated, “To return these refugees to their homes, under such circumstances, would have been to consign them to almost certain annihilation, a crime against humanity too revolting to be contemplated.” He continued, “Under the existing circumstances there seems to be no other safe and humane course to be pursued but to retain them in a place of safety, and provide for their wants as far as the means at the disposal of the department would admit.”⁶¹⁶ While Congress certainly was not entirely pleased with this response, diplomatic and humanitarian concerns dictated that it still provide aid to the refugees.

While Congress again appropriated money to support Indian refugees, they had limited the appropriations specifically for the support of American Indian refugees’ removal to Indian Territory and barred the use of any of the money from being spent in Kansas. Therefore, they “virtually reduce[d] the alternative to moving or starving.”⁶¹⁷ Coffin reported that the refugees’ return home was scheduled to begin on May 16th, but Coffin informed Dole that, “I confess not without serious misgivings as to the safety or economy of the move.”⁶¹⁸ It took a week or two longer than Coffin anticipated to get the refugees started back home, but it was a large undertaking to begin with. Once they got moving, Coffin reported, “Our train, when strung out in marching order, is about six miles long; and then the thousands that walk or stray out ahead and all along for two or three miles behind, it

⁶¹⁶ W.P. Dole to J. P. Usher, May 11, 1864, *AR CIA* 1864, 335.

⁶¹⁷ W.G. Coffin to W.P. Dole, May 14, 1864, *AR CIA* 1864, 337.

⁶¹⁸ W.G. Coffin to W.P. Dole, May 14, 1864, *AR CIA* 1864, 337.

really makes a sight that is worth seeing.”⁶¹⁹ While the young, elderly, and sickly refugees rode in wagons, over 3,000 refugees walked the 300 mile journey on foot, accompanied by their chickens, ducks, and dogs, which also numbered over 3,000.⁶²⁰ Dwight Hitchcock, a doctor for the Union Army at Fort Gibson and son of missionary refugee Nancy Hitchcock, saw this train of refugees as well, noting that it was “one of the most furlorn [sic] spectacles,” and lamented, “Oh what a tale of individual and accumulated suffering such scenes unfold. And every day adds to the heap of wretchedness.”⁶²¹ Three weeks later they reached Fort Gibson, “in pretty good shape,” as Coffin reported. He also reported that “have had six deaths on the road, (one by lightning,) and about sixteen births.” Furthermore, they had “three legs broken, all children, from eight to twelve years of age, by falling out of the wagons and wheels running over them.” Although Coffin was pleased that the initial move went well, he was dismayed that they arrived too late to plant a crop, and was further dismayed that “if there were yet time, the military do not hold any territory outside of Fort Smith and Fort Gibson.”⁶²² Due to the delay caused by the change in military commands, and compounded by the fact that the military had not regained control of Indian Territory, the returned refugees would not be able to plant a crop, and would thus have to be supported by the federal government until the next Spring.

Coffin reported that the refugees would have to be supported on the grounds of Fort Gibson, alongside the Cherokees who had returned on a failed expedition a year before. The costs for providing for refugees at Fort Gibson would be more than if they had remained closer to supply lines in Kansas, and now there were over 16,000 refugees at the

⁶¹⁹ W.G. Coffin to W.P. Dole, June 3, 1864, *AR CIA* 1864, 340.

⁶²⁰ W.G. Coffin to W.P. Dole, June 7, 1864, *AR CIA* 1864, 341.

⁶²¹ Dwight Hitchcock to Ann Eliza Worcester Robertson and William Schenck Robertson, June 2, 1864, Series 2, Box 18, Folder 1, PRWF, Tulsa.

⁶²² W.G. Coffin to W.P. Dole, June 16, 1864, *AR CIA* 1864, 342.

fort to provide for, all women, children, and the elderly, and most of whose male family members were fighting in the Union Army. Coffin doubted that the appropriations for their relief would be enough, and lamented, “a vast amount of absolute suffering must be the consequence, and is, so far as I see, utterly unavoidable.”⁶²³

The refugees, most of whom were Muscogees, were dismayed at the failed expedition as well. Several of their Chiefs wrote to the United States government to assist them, saying:

The Creek chiefs desire to say this to our father: To whom must a suffering child call for help except to its father? We therefore call upon you as our father, to help us in this our time of need. We can see nothing but starvation before us. Already we have had a taste of what is to come this winter. Our agent is doing all he can for us. If there was food in the country, he would get it for us; but there is none here. We did not get here in time to raise anything for ourselves; we are therefore destitute of everything. Months intervene between the arrival of each train, and the supplies they bring are barely sufficient to keep us alive from day to day.⁶²⁴

They implored the government for more support, saying, “...the whole country is a waste, and the suffering must be much greater next winter than it was last, unless the most prompt and energetic steps are taken to procure and transport supplies to this place.”⁶²⁵

Conditions did not improve as the fall approached, and both refugees and Indian agents became increasingly dismayed with the situation. Indian Agent for the Cherokees, James Harlan, stated:

There is no one thing which has done more, or as much, to keep away the Indians who have gone south from returning to our standard, and to cool the ardor of the loyal Indians in our army, than the niggardly manner in which the women and children of the loyal Cherokees have been fed and clothed. If there is a necessity for

⁶²³ W.G. Coffin to W.P. Dole, June 16, 1864, *AR CIA* 1864, 342.

⁶²⁴ Chiefs Ok-Ta-Ha-Sus-Hur-Gar, Ka-Pit-Cha-Fir-E-Co, Ko-We-Ta-Mic-Co, Mic-Co-Hut-Ka, Tus-Te-Nuk-E-Mu-Chu-A-Hi-Ko-Gee, and Tul-La-De-Gu-La-Cha-Po-Ka to W. P. Dole, June 16, 1864, *AR CIA* 1864, 343-344.

⁶²⁵ Chiefs Ok-Ta-Ha-Sus-Hur-Gar, Ka-Pit-Cha-Fir-E-Co, Ko-We-Ta-Mic-Co, Mic-Co-Hut-Ka, Tus-Te-Nuk-E-Mu-Chu-A-Hi-Ko-Gee, and Tul-La-De-Gu-La-Cha-Po-Ka to W. P. Dole, June 16, 1864, *AR CIA* 1864, 344.

feeding and clothing them, (and I believe there is,) it ought to be, at least, decently done.⁶²⁶

Despite this admonition, by October of 1864, the need for provisions at Fort Gibson to aid the refugees was “so great and urgent” that Lincoln provided a special requisition of \$200,000 for their aid.⁶²⁷ Nevertheless, conditions hardly improved for these refugees, and with little other option, most of them remained in the vicinity of Union protection at Fort Gibson for the remainder of the war, suffering from the same hardships that had plagued them since their original displacement four years earlier. Thousands of these American Indian refugees would remain displaced, living in refugee camps at Fort Gibson, as they attempted to rebuild their lives and their livelihoods in the aftermath of the destruction and displacement brought on by the U.S. Civil War.

⁶²⁶ J. Harlan to W.G. Coffin, September 30, 1864, *AR CIA* 1864, 310-311.

⁶²⁷ Cited in Nichols, *Lincoln and the Indians*, 63.

PART II: AFTERMATH

CHAPTER 5: “YOU DONT [K]NOW HOW BAD I DO WANT TO SEE YOU COME HOME”: WARTIME REFUGEES RETURN AND REBUILD THE SOUTH

In April 1865, John Hancock sat in his hotel in New Orleans, contemplating the year that had passed since he had left his wife and children behind and fled Confederate Texas for Union-occupied New Orleans on account of his loyalty to the Union. Hancock fled from Austin through Mexico, and had spent the past twelve months in New Orleans assisting scores of less fortunate Texas refugees in the city and socializing with an elite circle of wealthy Texas refugees.⁶²⁸ Following the jubilant news of Union victory, and the devastating news of Abraham Lincoln’s assassination, John Hancock reflected on his experiences as a refugee from the Confederacy, writing, “It has been a year of painful anxiety and gloom.” His gloom was driven largely by homesickness and separation from his family, and now that the Union was being restored, Hancock hoped to be able to return home to his family in Texas within a few weeks. While he was elated at the possibility of seeing his family, he was concerned about their future in Texas, complaining, “the future holds out no gleaming promise of peaceful security.” After the struggles of wartime displacement, Hancock greatly desired peace and security, but he was uncertain he would be able to find it in Texas in the aftermath of the Civil War. In the wake of the failure of the Confederacy, Hancock pondered two questions as he considered returning home: “If the war is to degenerate into assassinations and murders whose life is secure? And when will law, order, good government and social order be restored?”⁶²⁹

⁶²⁸ See the John Hancock Diary, UT-Austin. For more on Hancock and refugees in New Orleans, see Marten, “A Wearying Existence,” 343-356 and Marten, *Texas Divided*, 71-2.

⁶²⁹ April 20, 1865, Hancock Diary, UT-Austin.

These two questions were among the foremost in the minds of refugees who fled from the Confederacy, and examining their decisions to return, or not, can begin to demonstrate how the Civil War affected postwar migration in the American South. As Hancock indicates, a significant number of refugees were hesitant to return to the former Confederacy for fear of retribution for their wartime actions. However, this hesitation points to a deeper underlying question about how political loyalties and wartime actions would continue to affect refugees in the aftermath of war. The threat of violence in the former Confederacy was the most immediate concern for refugees considering returning to their former Southern homes, but, as Hancock's second question reveals, it was not the only factor affecting their decision to return to the South.

Hancock's second question—when will law, order, good government and social order be restored—was more complex. Refugees like Hancock wanted to know what kind of South they would be returning to if they returned at all. Hancock wondered when the reported lawlessness—a symptom of the economic, social, and political instability in the former Confederacy—would be replaced with peace, law and order, and a Constitutional form of government. Though this sounded similar to calls for law and order coming from former Confederates determined to keep formerly enslaved people under their control, for Hancock the return of law and order was tied to his first question about violence, and in this case referred specifically to fears of former Confederates inflicting violent retribution on fellow white southerners who had been Unionists during the war, and often leaned Republican in the aftermath of the war. As white refugees like Hancock considered returning to their homes in the war-ravaged South, they wanted to know how long it would be until they could safely resume life as normal—and when, or if, that would be possible in the South in the aftermath of the Civil War.

Although Civil War refugees have been an increasingly popular topic of study in recent years, little attention has been given to the aftermath of the Civil War refugee crisis. David Silkenat's monograph on the Civil War refugee crisis in North Carolina calls attention to the postwar lives of refugees, noting, "the cessation of hostilities rarely resulted in an uncomplicated return to their antebellum lives. Instead, it created a new chapter of the refugee experience."⁶³⁰ Nevertheless, Silkenat did not pursue this new chapter of the refugee experience in his monograph, nor did Mary Elizabeth Massey in her comprehensive 1964 monograph *Refugee Life in the Confederacy*. Massey only hints at the lasting impact of Civil War refugees, suggesting that the movement of Confederate refugees injured the ability of the South to recover after the war, but she confines this to the final pages of the book, and does not fully pursue this observation.⁶³¹ The postwar plight of refugees and the lasting influence of the Civil War refugee crisis remain largely unstudied. This chapter, however, takes a "new revisionist" stance by positing that it is imperative to consider the long-term effects of the refugee crisis in order to understand the full impact of the Civil War on the nation and its people.⁶³²

In the South this is especially true because many of those wartime refugees who returned did so specifically to influence the reconstruction of the former Confederacy. As Hancock indicates, wartime refugees often feared violence on their return to the South, but those who returned overwhelmingly did so with the intention of influencing the future of

⁶³⁰ Silkenat, *Driven from Home*, 220.

⁶³¹ See Massey, *Refugee Life in the Confederacy*, 281-2.

⁶³² "New revisionist" scholarship, as Yael Sternhell has termed it, challenges the longstanding romanticization of the Civil War by focusing on the immense toll the war took on American society. New revisionism seeks to expose the destruction and human cost of the war, as well as to understand the lasting effects of the Civil War on American society. For two wonderful overviews of this scholarship see: Yael Sternhell, "Revisionism Reinvented?," and Edward Ayers, "Worrying about the Civil War." For examples of this scholarship see Drew Gilpin Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death in the American Civil War*, Megan Kate Nelson, *Ruin Nation*, Brian Craig Miller, *Empty Sleeves*.

their communities, often using their wartime experiences to help rebuild their communities in the former Confederacy. This chapter focuses on how refugees who returned to the South helped to reconstruct their communities. It focuses on the reasons wartime refugees returned to the South, the challenges they faced in doing so, and examines the lasting influence these refugees had on the reconstruction of their Southern communities, and on the South more broadly.

In late 1864 North Carolinian Newton Woody was conscripted into the Confederate Army. Shortly after, he wrote a cryptic letter to his wife, Susan Crosbie Woody, implying that he was dodging the draft and fleeing from the Confederacy, saying, “I have comensed to clime a mounting in my feelings that will Require all the nerve that I am able to command [sic].”⁶³³ Three weeks later, he wrote to her from Indiana, where he had successfully escaped and resettled among hundreds of other refugees who fled from the Confederate South. Susan, with the help of neighbors, carried on the farm and “Woody’s Mill” as well as she was able, but provisions and cash were scarce, and she found herself struggling on her own in Confederate North Carolina. She told her husband, “I have put over an uneasy time since November but hope we may be spared to see each other again and spend the balance of our days together in peace.” When news of the surrender came in 1865, Susan looked forward to her husband’s return, writing to him in Indiana and imploring him “Newton you dont now how bad I do want to see you come home [sic].”⁶³⁴ She also reported that their children, “pore litle things [sic],” badly wanted him to return as well.⁶³⁵

Newton was “loansum [sic]” in his refuge in Indiana, and he hoped to see his family soon, but like many others who abandoned the Confederacy, he was concerned about any

⁶³³ Newton Woody to Susan Woody, November 16, 1864, Woody Family Papers, Duke.

⁶³⁴ Susan Woody to Newton Woody, July 18, 1865, Woody Family Papers, Duke.

⁶³⁵ Susan Woody to Newton Woody, August 9, 1865, Woody Family Papers, Duke.

retribution he might face for his wartime loyalties if he decided to return to the South.⁶³⁶ He heard rumors that there were some in his community who were “Ready to [attack] Refugees when they cum [sic] home & [accuses] them of Deserting of their Country.”⁶³⁷ Refugees from throughout the South recognized the potential danger of returning to their former homes. Certainly many of them feared violence and retribution for abandoning the Confederacy, and for arguably contributing to its failure by fleeing in the face of Confederate conscription, and therefore were hesitant to return to the South immediately. Unrepentant Confederates throughout the South were retaliating against freedpeople, white northerners, and southern white Unionists, often regarding white Unionists as Republicans and dangerous allies of freedpeople, regardless of their actual political views. Wartime refugees—including many who were draft-dodgers or Confederate deserters—feared that their wartime actions would make them targets for former Confederates if they returned to the South.

Rumors of attacks on wartime refugees like this one were common. Another rumor from Randolph County, North Carolina, delayed the return of refugees from the Barker and Hinshaw families. In 1862, Quaker brothers Nathan and Cyrus Barker, and their brothers-in-law, Thomas and Jacob Hinshaw, were conscripted into the Confederate Army, but, as conscientious objectors, they refused to bear arms. The four men deserted the Confederate Army months later at the Battle of Gettysburg, and found temporary refuge in a nearby Quaker home until they were arrested as deserters by the Union Army and sent to Fort Delaware as prisoners of war.⁶³⁸ Here, they met fellow North Carolina Quaker William

⁶³⁶ Newton Woody to Susan Woody, July 16, 1865, Woody Family Papers, Duke.

⁶³⁷ Newton Woody to J.R. Wright, August 27, 1865, Woody Family Papers, Duke.

⁶³⁸ See “Some Account of the Trials and Travels that Thomas Hinshaw with others have had to Pass Through while kept in the Confederate Army,” Thomas Hinshaw Papers, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University (hereafter Thomas Hinshaw Papers, Duke). See also Fernando G. Cartland, *Southern Heroes: Or, The Friends in Wartime* (Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1895), 246-251, and “Illustrations of Peace Principles,” *Friends’ Intelligencer* 37, no. 47 (Jan. 1881), 741.

Hockett, who had also been drafted, refused to bear arms, deserted the Confederate Army, and been taken prisoner of war at Gettysburg.⁶³⁹ A few weeks after their arrest, and with interventions from local Quakers in Delaware, the Secretary of War ordered the group of five Quakers to be released. The federal government ordered the men to stay within the loyal states, and fellow Quakers sent the men to Indiana to live with extended family, where they spent the remainder of the war.⁶⁴⁰

The Barker and Hinshaw families, who in total saw fourteen immediate family members flee to Indiana during the war, desperately wanted their sons to return to North Carolina to help on the family farms, but the sons feared retaliation for their Unionism.⁶⁴¹ This was especially concerning when a rumor reached them in Indiana that fellow refugee William Hockett had been killed on the way home, along with other wartime refugees returning to North Carolina. Their parents wrote in July 1865 to let them know that “the report is not true—the[y] all came home well and without any dif[f]iculty on the way that I have heard of and many others have returned and I have not heard of any meeting with any disturbance on the way.”⁶⁴² Months later in November, Nicholas and Catherine Barker again

⁶³⁹ See William Hockett Diary in Stokes-Evans-Cope Family Papers, MS 1169, Quaker & Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, PA. See also Cartland, *Southern Heroes*.

⁶⁴⁰ Permission to pass freely through the Loyal States signed by James A. Hardie, July 29, 1863, Thomas Hinshaw Papers, Quaker Archives, Hege Library, Guilford College. See also Thomas Evans to Nathan and Cyrus Barker, August 14, 1863, Barker Family Papers, Quaker Archives, Hege Library, Guilford College; hereinafter cited as Barker Papers, Guilford.

⁶⁴¹ The Barker and Hinshaw families were related by multiple marriages, with three Barker siblings marrying three Hinshaw siblings, and two other Hinshaw siblings marrying Barker cousins. All four of the Barker sons lived in Indiana as refugees for at least part of the Civil War, including Ezra Barker, Simeon Barker, Nathan Barker, and Cyrus Barker, and three of the Hinshaw sons lived as refugees in Indiana during the war, Thomas Hinshaw, Jacob Hinshaw, and Amos Hinshaw. Ruth Hinshaw Barker, wife of Simeon Barker and sister of Thomas and Jacob Hinshaw, also spent part of the war in Indiana, as did Mary Barker Hinshaw, wife of Thomas Hinshaw, and Elizabeth Barker Hinshaw, wife of Jacob Hinshaw and cousin to the Barkers. When Mary Barker Hinshaw and Elizabeth Barker Hinshaw decided to join their refugee husbands in Indiana in late 1863, they took their children as well, Francis Hinshaw (b. 1858) and Delphina Hinshaw (b. 1860), and Elihu Hinshaw (b. 1860) and Seth Hinshaw (b. 1862), respectively. Of the fourteen family members who fled to Indiana, seven returned to North Carolina.

⁶⁴² Nicholas and Catherine Barker to Thomas & Mary Hinshaw, Ezra & Mary E. Barker, Cyrus and Nathan Barker, July 19, 1865, Barker Family Papers, Guilford.

asked their four sons to return from Indiana to aid their parents in their struggles during the aftermath of the war, saying, “things are in so unsettled a state that it is hard for us to know how to get along,” noting this was especially the case without their children there to help on the farm.⁶⁴³ Their parents implored them: “We do often think of our boys and cannot help desiring to know wheather [sic] any of our children expects to return to us or not—we do not think there is any danger of any of you being troubled with the party strife that was prevalent when you left—all seems strong for the Union.”⁶⁴⁴ Their brother, Simeon Barker, who had already returned to North Carolina, also wrote to assure his brother Nathan that he had “not heard of one person failing to come unmolested and I think that thee could come back and live here better than thee has any idea of.”⁶⁴⁵ It was only after this that Nathan Barker, as well as Thomas & Mary Barker Hinshaw and their children, returned to their Southern homes.

As more and more refugees returned home safely, they wrote to let those who remained know that it was at the least safe to return, if they wanted to do so. Newton Woody received numerous letters encouraging him to return and assuring him that all was safe. Alex McPherson, who was running the mill in Woody’s absence, confirmed “every thing is quiate in this cuntry [sic].”⁶⁴⁶ Woody’s sister-in-law Mattie Crosbie assured both Woody and her husband John, “you can come home without being molested as there is no Secesh these days.”⁶⁴⁷ James Hernley, a refugee living in Ohio, assured him of reports that “evry thing was purfectally quiet in our old neighborhood [sic]” and said, “you could go

⁶⁴³ Nicholas and Catherine Barker to Ezra and Mary E. and Cyrus Barker, November 4, 1865, Barker Family Papers, Guilford.

⁶⁴⁴ Nicholas and Catherine Barker to Ezra, Nathan, and Cyrus Barker, and Mary Barker Hinshaw and her husband Thomas Hinshaw, Undated letter from Summer of 1865, Barker Family Papers, Guilford.

⁶⁴⁵ Simeon and Ruth Hinshaw Barker to Nathan Barker, July 22, 1865, Barker Family Papers, Guilford.

⁶⁴⁶ Alex McPherson to Newton Woody, August 10, 1865, Woody Family Papers, Duke.

⁶⁴⁷ Mattie A. Crosbie to Newton Woody, June 23, 1865, Woody Family Papers, Duke.

home any time you wished.”⁶⁴⁸ Charley Causey reminded Woody that his family needed him and were “looking for you to come home,” pointing out “if you want to go home now is the time for Evry Thing is quiet [sic].”⁶⁴⁹ In addition to Woody’s wife and children longing for his return, Woody had an entire community ensuring him that it was safe for him to do so, and that he would not be abused for his wartime actions as a refugee. This was in part because of the Quaker community in this area of North Carolina, which had been deeply divided and full of Confederate dissenters throughout the war.⁶⁵⁰ In the Quaker Belt, Unionist refugees were returning to communities in which many residents held similar views during the war, whereas in some parts of the Deep South, refugees would be returning to areas where they had been among the only Unionists.

In other parts of the South, violence was more pervasive, and frequently directed at refugees and Unionists specifically. This was especially the case in Texas, where Unionists were in the minority. As part of the 1868 Texas Constitutional Convention, a committee of legislators provided a report on violence in Texas since June 1865, written by Texas refugee and chaplain at the convention, Rev. Thaddeus McRae. The committee found that in the three years since June 1865, 470 white people had been murdered, and 429 freed people had been murdered, with the number of homicides increasing each year since the war ended. The committee reported that “a very large portion of the whites murdered were Union men, and that the criminals, with remarkably few exceptions, were and are disloyal to the

⁶⁴⁸ James Hernley to Newton Woody, May 27, 1865, Woody Family Papers, Duke.

⁶⁴⁹ Charley C. Causey to Newton Woody, June 11, 1865, Woody Family Papers, Duke.

⁶⁵⁰ Historians have argued that the piedmont of North Carolina, especially the Quaker Belt region, was home to a bitter “inner civil war” during the Civil War. The Quaker Belt consists of fifteen counties in North Carolina: Alamance, Chatham, Davidson, Davie, Forsyth, Guilford, Iredell, Montgomery, Moore, Orange, Randolph, Stokes, Surry, Wilkes, and Yadkin. See William T. Auman, *Civil War in the North Carolina Quaker Belt: The Confederate Campaign against Peace Agitators, Deserters, and Draft Dodgers* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2014).

Government.”⁶⁵¹ After reviewing the evidence in these nearly 1,000 homicide cases, the report concluded: “multitudes who participated in the Rebellion, disappointed and maddened by their defeat,” had become “intensely embittered” against freed people and Unionists. These former Confederates were “determined to resist by every means promising success, the establishment of a free Republican State government” and were committing these murders “as to compel them to abandon the advocacy of impartial [universal] suffrage or fly from the State.”⁶⁵² This report was created in the midst of Congressional Reconstruction, when Texas was required to create a new state constitution that ratified the 13th and 14th Amendments. Thus, the violence directed toward both white Unionists and freedpeople was driven by white supremacy. As the report indicates, hundreds of Texans left Texas permanently due to white supremacist violence after the war, including wartime refugees Swen Magnus Swenson, Gilbert Kingsbury, and Thaddeus McRae, who compiled the report on violence in postwar Texas.

As the report on violence in Texas indicates, deep divisions remained in the former Confederacy, often driven by politics, and often resulting in violence towards freedpeople and white Unionists, including those who were compelled to flee from the state due to their Unionism. Not all of these were fortunate to escape the threat of violence successfully. Reading Wood Black, founder of the city of Uvalde in Western Texas, spent the Civil War in Mexico after he fled Texas following the murders of German Unionists living nearby. Black was originally from New Jersey, and was raised a Quaker, both of which likely contributed to

⁶⁵¹ “Report of Committee on Lawlessness and Violence,” June 30, 1868 in *Journal of the Reconstruction Convention, which met at Austin, Texas, June 1, A.D., 1868* (Tracy, Siemering & Co., 1870), 195. The committee was chaired by Caldwell, and other members included Whitmore, Sumner, Evans, Bledsoe, Cole, and Bell. McRae was not a delegate at the convention, but rather the chaplain and a clerk. He compiled the report on behalf of the committee.

⁶⁵² “Report of Committee on Lawlessness and Violence,” June 30, 1868 in *Journal of the Reconstruction Convention*, 195.

his disaffection and departure from the Confederacy. When Black was living in Mexico as a refugee, his wife, Jane, abandoned their property in Uvalde to live with him, and in her absence, much of their property in Texas was stolen or destroyed.⁶⁵³ Although Black wanted to return to Uvalde after the war, he was unable to abandon his affairs in Mexico, in part because of the effect of the war on their finances. When the war ended, Black complained that if not for the destruction of their property by Confederates, he “would not be compelled to stay here [in Mexico] to make a living,” where he remained to manage the sheep business he had started during the war.⁶⁵⁴ Despite his continued residence in northern Mexico, Black remained prominent in western Texas, especially Uvalde and Eagle Pass, and in 1866 he was elected to the state legislature as a Unionist. It was his election to the legislature that finally prompted Black to return, indicating that the ability to help shape the future of Texas was central to his decision to return.

In the legislature, Black strongly supported the Fourteenth Amendment, arguing that “the people of the North intend to make this vote a test of loyalty.”⁶⁵⁵ Black was well aware that Congress was growing tired of white Southern resistance, and he believed that securing a Republican form of government for the state as soon as possible was important. Along with it, Black desired wartime Unionists, who were predominantly Republican, to stay in power, and he had plans to help them do so. In April of 1867 he explained to his wife “I intend to go to work to improve Uvalde as soon as I can get some of my business

⁶⁵³ R.W. Black to Jane McKinney Black, November 30, 1865, Reading Wood Black Papers, 1847-1892, 1934, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, The University of Texas at Austin (henceforth Black Papers, UT-Austin).

⁶⁵⁴ R.W. Black to Jane McKinney Black, November 30, 1865, Black Papers, UT-Austin.

⁶⁵⁵ Speech cited in Ike Moore, ed., *The Life and Diary and Reading W. Black: A History of Early Uvalde* (Uvalde, Texas: Calithump Press for the El Progreso Club, 1934), 30. It should also be noted here that as a representative from western Texas, one of Black’s central concerns was American Indian affairs. Black was engaged in American Indian affairs in postwar Texas, and was specifically involved in negotiations with Lipans and Kickapoos along the border whom white Texans accused of cattle stealing and taking white children captive.

arranged.”⁶⁵⁶ He wrote to fellow wartime refugee James P. Newcomb regarding how to found a Union League in Uvalde to help organize and protect Unionists and Republicans.⁶⁵⁷ Just as Black was in the midst of forming a Union League to increase the political strength of Unionists in reconstructing western Texas, an old friend, Tom Wall, interfered in Black’s political organizing. Wall was an old business associate with whom Black once had a falling out over a business deal, which was intensified by their divergent opinions on secession, the Confederacy, and, now, the future of the nation.⁶⁵⁸ Black was leaning up against the wall outside of a local store, when Wall walked up and shot him, reportedly demanding the \$100 Black owed him as he did so.⁶⁵⁹ Ironically, Wall fled to Mexico, and despite efforts by Texas officials to extradite Wall, he never faced trial or otherwise stated exactly why he killed Black. Nonetheless, reports in Texas at the time agreed that a relatively small outstanding debt between two business associates was unlikely to have prompted Black’s murder, whereas his support of the 14th amendment and attempts to organize a Union League would have been common motives for murder in Reconstruction Texas.⁶⁶⁰ Black’s murder is just one of thousands that reflected the growing relationship between white supremacist violence and politics in the postwar South, epitomized by the first iteration of the Ku Klux Klan. Actual violence in the postwar South varied by place and time, and many refugees were able to return to the South peaceably, but the threat of violence remained a genuine concern for wartime refugees as they considered if they could safely return and rejoin their families in their former Southern homes.

⁶⁵⁶ R. W. Black to Jane McKinney Black, April 4, 1867, Black Papers, UT-Austin.

⁶⁵⁷ R.W. Black to J.P. Newcomb or Judge Stribling, September 28, 1867, Black Papers, UT-Austin.

⁶⁵⁸ See, for example, Reading Wood Black to S. S. Brown, November 28, 1865 and Tom Wall to Reading Wood Black, February 13, 1867, Black Papers, UT-Austin. See Moore, *The Life and Diary and Reading W. Black*, 32, and James Marten, *Texas Divided*, 44, 79-80.

⁶⁵⁹ Moore, *The Life and Diary and Reading W. Black*, 32.

⁶⁶⁰ *San Antonio Express*, October 22, 1867 in *The Life and Diary and Reading W. Black*, 32-3.

While violence was a major deterrent for those considering returning to the South, and it indeed prompted many to leave the South behind altogether, other refugees took longer to return to their former homes for additional reasons beyond violence. This is reflected in the experience of Reading Wood Black, who wanted to return to Uvalde permanently to live with his wife and young children after the war, but was unable to simply abandon the business affairs which had sustained him as a refugee in Mexico. Jacob Kuchler had a similar experience. Kuchler had been the leader of the German Unionists attacked at the Nueces River as they fled Confederate Texas for safety in Mexico in 1862, and shortly after, he settled in Parras, Mexico, alongside numerous other Texas refugees. While in Mexico, Kuchler had found employment as a surveyor and was contracted by the imperial Mexican government to map territory in Northern Mexico. In 1867, Kuchler was still working as a surveyor in Mexico, but the throes of the French Intervention in Mexico were intensifying as France began to withdraw its troops and Mexican Republican forces regained control of the country. He wrote to his wife, "The political situation seems very precarious and it is not yet clear whether the imperial or liberal party will take over."⁶⁶¹ In April 1867, Emperor Maximilian fled to Queretaro, but the city soon fell under siege by Mexican forces.

Although Kuchler's stake in the outcome of the French Intervention in Mexico, as an imperial government contractor and as a German immigrant, is not entirely clear, Kuchler seemed to have set his sights on returning to Texas, if possible. He told his wife, Marie, that after he finished the survey he was working on of part of the Sierra de la Peña mountain range, he would have enough money to be able to return to San Antonio and look for another job. At the same time, he had to consider the approaching foreign war, writing to his wife, "It may still take another month for the political question of this country to be decided

⁶⁶¹ Jacob Kuchler to Marie Kuchler, April 17, 1867, Kuechler Papers, UT-Austin. Emphasis in original.

at Queretaro and, as things stand now, it is very possible that the theatre of war will be moved here.” Just as K uchler was facing the possibility of finding himself within a warzone again, he was appointed Collector of Customs at San Antonio. In fact, it appears that K uchler wanted to return to Texas in part because of the changes promised by Congressional Reconstruction. He wrote to his wife not only that he hoped to return to Texas safely from war-torn Mexico, but also specifically noted “Congress in Washington has adopted vigorous measures against the South that have been implemented to provide more security for life and property than has been the case.”⁶⁶² By the end of 1867, he wrapped up his business affairs in Mexico, and returned to Texas, where he would become a prominent Republican and spokesman for German Texans during Reconstruction, serving as a delegate at the 1868 Constitutional Convention, and as Commissioner of Texas General Land Office beginning in 1870 where he specifically promoted German immigration.

Business affairs initially kept James P. Newcomb in his wartime refuge in California as well. Since fleeing Texas via Mexico in 1861, Newcomb had been living in California, where he joined a group of Union soldiers known as the Carleton Column, who were marching East from California to the Rio Grande in an effort to prevent a Confederate invasion.⁶⁶³ Back in California, he remained fairly transient, becoming involved in a number of mining ventures, and working for a number of newspapers including the *San Jose Tribune* and the *San Jose Times*, both of which failed. When hostilities between the United States and the Confederacy ceased in 1865, Newcomb was in San Francisco operating a new newspaper, the *American Flag*. It was only when his wife, Jane Davis Newcomb, and their

⁶⁶² Jacob K uchler to Marie K uchler, April 17, 1867, Kuechler Papers, UT-Austin.

⁶⁶³ Dale A. Somers, “James P. Newcomb: The Making of a Radical,” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 72, no. 4 (April 1969), 460.

infant son died in 1866 that Newcomb decided to return to Texas and enter into politics to shape the future of Texas.

For many other refugees, it was not the threat of violence, or preoccupation with personal affairs that prevented their immediate return to their Southern homes, but instead, it was the financial cost of uprooting and traveling back to the South. This was the case for thousands of refugees who were too destitute to procure transportation back to the South, including many Quakers from North Carolina. Even after scores of Newton Woody's friends assured him that it was safe to return, Woody sought financial assistance in doing so.

John Crosbie, Woody's brother-in-law and a wartime refugee, returned to North Carolina from Indiana in August 1865. He quickly wrote to Woody: "I will say that you need not hesitate about coming home for anything that I have seen or heard of, I think that you need have no fears at all every thing is perfectly quiett [sic]."⁶⁶⁴ In addition to assuring Woody that his political loyalties and wartime actions would not endanger him in the Unionist stronghold in North Carolina, Crosbie also gave Woody some vital additional information about how to return to the South. Crosbie was aware of Woody's financial situation as a refugee and was eager to share information on how Woody could return to the South despite his socioeconomic class.

Crosbie noted that if Woody went to the Department of War in Washington, D.C., a man named Gen. O.O. Howard, the director of the newly founded Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, would help Woody get a pass for free or reduced fare on transportation back to their homes in the South.⁶⁶⁵ Crosbie used the transportation provided by the BRFAL, and so did Nathan Barker on his return from Indiana.⁶⁶⁶ Following Crosbie's

⁶⁶⁴ John Crosbie to Newton Woody, August 10, 1865, Woody Family Papers, Duke.

⁶⁶⁵ John Crosbie to Newton Woody, August 5, 1865, Woody Family Papers, Duke.

⁶⁶⁶ Nathan Barker to Ezra & Cyrus Barker, August 6, 1865, Barker Family Papers, Guilford.

recommendation, Woody and a traveling companion, H. Stewart, applied for free transport to return to North Carolina, receiving a pass from Indianapolis to Greensboro as “destitute loyal refugees” from the BRFAL.⁶⁶⁷

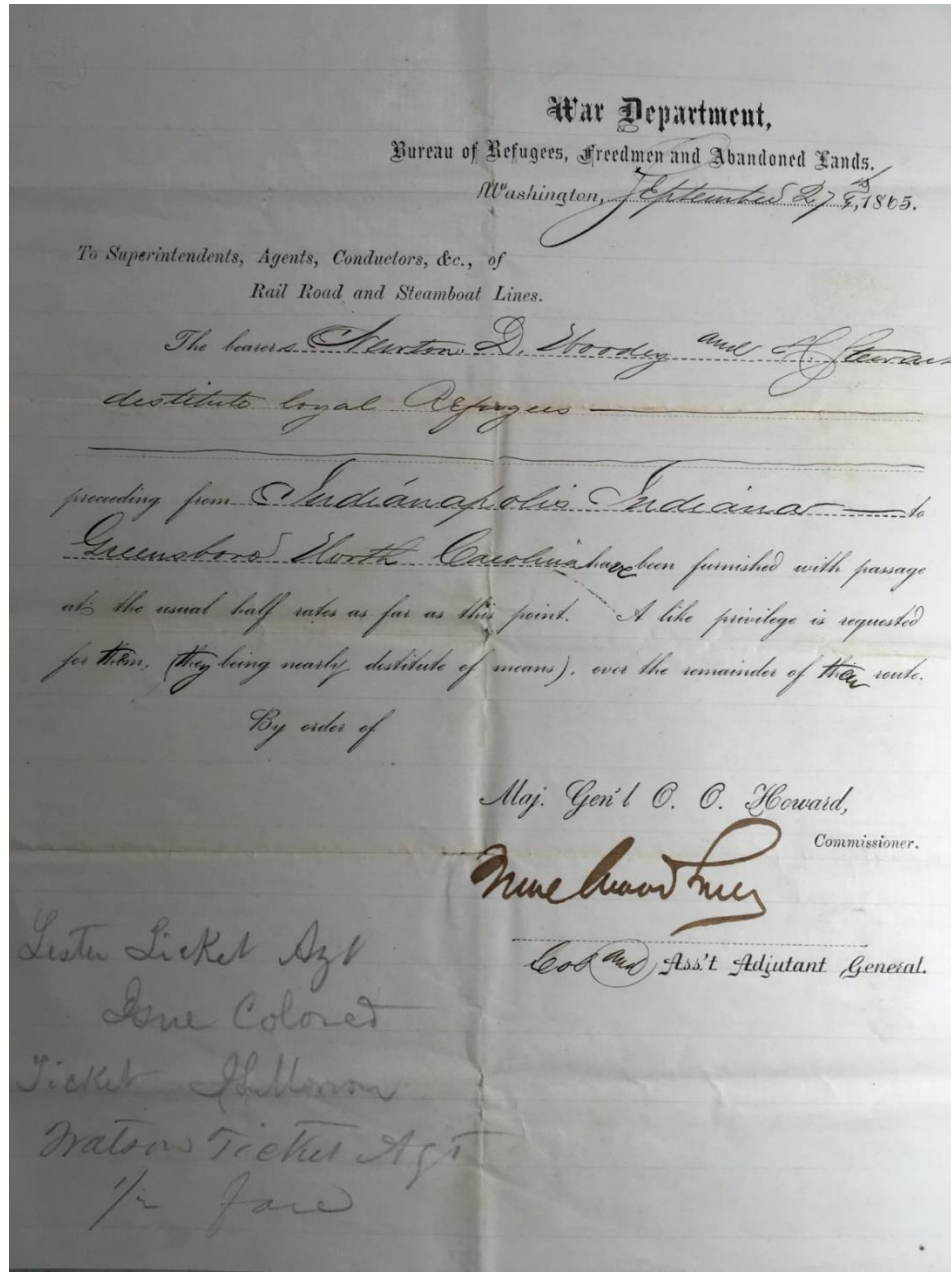


Figure 5.1 Newton Woody’s pass from the Freedmen’s Bureau as a “destitute loyal Refugee.” From the Woody Family Papers, Rubenstein Library, Duke University.

⁶⁶⁷ War Department, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, to Superintendents, Agents, Conductors &c. of Rail Road and Steamboat Lines, September 27, 1865, Woody Family Papers, Duke.

The formal name for the Freedmen’s Bureau, the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands is often overlooked, but the inclusion of half a million loyal white refugees was key in winning Congressional support to found the Bureau.⁶⁶⁸ Republican Senator John P. Hale of New Hampshire objected to the founding of a Freedmen’s Bureau that made no provision “for any suffering white persons, loyal refugees that have been driven from their homes on account of their fidelity and attachment to this Government.”⁶⁶⁹ Hale furthermore refused “to neglect my own kith and kin to legislate for the exclusive protection and benefit of colored men.”⁶⁷⁰ Similarly, Democratic Senator Reverdy Johnson of Maryland complained that supporters of the bill were “so wedded... to the black race that he loses sight for the moment of what is due the white race.”⁶⁷¹ The version of the bill lacking provision for white refugees was later amended to include them along with freed people, and this bill, known commonly as the “Freedmen’s Bureau Bill” was passed less than two weeks later on March 3, 1865. The existence of these half a million white refugees played a key role in establishing the Freedmen’s Bureau and is one of the most important legacies of the Civil War refugee crisis.

Although the BRFAL is most well-known for the role it played in the lives of recently freed people, returning, and resettling loyal white refugees who fled from the Confederacy was an important goal for the Bureau in the postwar years as well, including the return of hundreds of refugees like Newton Woody, Nathan Barker, and John Crosbie to the South. The BRFAL provided transportation for 1,778 white refugees to return to the South between May and November of 1865, and also paid for 1,946 freedpeople to return to the

⁶⁶⁸ Senator Henry Smith Lane uses this estimate when speaking on H. R. 51, 38th Cong., 2nd sess., *CG*.

⁶⁶⁹ Senator John Parker Hale speaking on H. R. 51, 38th Cong., 2nd sess., *CG*, 984.

⁶⁷⁰ Senator John Parker Hale speaking on H. R. 51, 38th Cong., 2nd sess., *CG*, 984.

⁶⁷¹ Senator Reverdy Johnson speaking on H. R. 51, 38th Cong., 2nd sess., *CG*, 990.

South.⁶⁷² After 1865, the number of people using BRFAL transportation dropped significantly, with only 168 more people aided from November 1865 to March 1869.⁶⁷³ As David Hopkins notes in his dissertation on white refugees in Missouri and Arkansas, the purpose of the transportation program was “transitioning displaced whites back to some kind of normalcy.” Hopkins furthermore notes that the Bureau would provide transportation for individuals or even entire families so that they could “be with others who could provide assistance, easing their transition back into peacetime.”⁶⁷⁴ In order to help destitute refugees get back on their feet, the BRFAL even provided some white refugees with transportation to locations outside of the South where they had family or other means of assistance, including places like Michigan or New York.⁶⁷⁵

In addition to transportation, loyal white refugees were able to access all of the Freedmen’s Bureau’s other resources as well, including food rations, clothing, medical care, education, and even land redistribution. BRFAL agents in numerous localities throughout the South regularly assisted more white refugees than they did freed people, for example, in the month of September 1865, in Alabama, 45,771 white refugees received rations as opposed to 36,925 freedpeople. That same month the BRFAL distributed an even higher number of rations in Missouri and Arkansas, with 309,456 rations for white refugees and only 161,766 rations issued to freedpeople.⁶⁷⁶ Hundreds of thousands of white wartime refugees relied on government aid as they returned and resettled throughout the South, and

⁶⁷² Andrew Johnson, *Message from the President of the United States Transmitting the Report of the Commissioner of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands*, 39th Cong., 1st sess., 1865, H. Doc. 11, 14.

⁶⁷³ Paul S. Peirce, *The Freedmen’s Bureau: A Chapter in Reconstruction* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1904), 99-100.

⁶⁷⁴ David Hopkins, Jr., “‘A Lonely Wandering Refugee’: Displaced Whites in the Trans-Mississippi West during the American Civil War, 1861-1868,” PhD diss., (Wayne State University, 2015), 289.

⁶⁷⁵ Hopkins, “‘A Lonely Wandering Refugee,’” 290.

⁶⁷⁶ *Report of the Commissioner of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands*, 39th Cong., 1st sess., 1865, H. Doc. 11, 16.

this aid lasted for years after the end of hostilities. Like aid for freedpeople, the aid provided to white refugees, especially in the form of rations, was not limited to 1866. In March 1867, in Missouri and Arkansas, the BRFAL issued 1,705,055 rations, nearly 75% of which were issued to white refugees.⁶⁷⁷ The Bureau not only provided loyal refugees like Woody with assistance in returning to the South with government-funded transportation, but also assisted refugees in resettling into their lives and communities in the postwar South.

When it came time to debate legislation to renew the BRFAL in early 1866, supporters in Congress stressed the Bureau's interactions with white refugees, despite opposition Democrats incorrectly insisting that the Freedmen's Bureau only helped freedpeople. Indeed, the *Congressional Globe* contains numerous statistics on the aid the Bureau provided for white refugees, as Republicans attempted to prove that the Freedmen's Bureau assisted both white and black people displaced by the war. This same debate was held after Johnson vetoed the BRFAL legislation in 1866, and again when it was being considered for renewal in 1868. In 1868, Republican supporters highlighted how the BRFAL had worked for years to assist white refugees on the same terms as freed people, and again legislators who opposed the Freedmen's Bureau criticized that it was unfair because it provided assistance only for freed people, a claim which was fundamentally untrue.⁶⁷⁸

Despite outright denial in Congress, many former refugees, like Newton Woody and Nathan Barker, knew from their own experience that the BRFAL provided assistance to loyal white refugees as well. Although the BRFAL provided some aid for wartime refugees who were returning to the South, government aid was not sufficient to meet the needs of the millions of people seeking assistance from the BRFAL, and much like during the war itself,

⁶⁷⁷ Thomas Dawes Eliot speaking on H.R. 598, March 11, 1868, 40th Cong., 2nd Sess., *CG*, 1814.

⁶⁷⁸ Eliot speaking on H.R. 598, March 11, 1868, 40th Cong., 2nd Sess., *CG*, 1814.

numerous charitable aid societies and relief associations worked alongside the Bureau to assist refugees and freedpeople struggling in the aftermath of the war in the South.⁶⁷⁹

Among these were organizations from the wartime, such as the United States Christian Commission, and the United States Sanitary Commission, both of which provided aid for freedpeople and displaced or destitute white people in the aftermath of the Civil War. Other local and regional organizations, like the Western Sanitary Commission, also operated, as well as numerous organizations operated by the Society of Friends, such as the Friends' Association of Philadelphia for the Aid and Elevation of the Freedmen. Whereas most aid organizations were either specifically for freedpeople, or available to both white refugees and freedpeople, Friends in Baltimore instead created two parallel organizations, the Baltimore Association for the Moral and Intellectual Improvement of the Colored People in Maryland, and the Baltimore Association to Advise and Assist Friends of the Southern States, which was initially created to assist destitute white refugees arriving in the Union.⁶⁸⁰ Often simply called the Baltimore Association, the organization expanded its efforts after the war to support the communities these refugees were from, and to encourage them to return, operating primarily in North Carolina, playing an important role in helping those displaced and impoverished by the Civil War.

The Baltimore Association to Advise and Assist Friends of the Southern States was officially founded in the spring of 1865 in response to the large numbers of North Carolina Quakers, especially conscripted men, who were passing through Baltimore on the way to Quaker communities in Indiana. Hundreds of white refugees had been passing through the

⁶⁷⁹ Hopkins, "A Lonely Wandering Refugee," 255-256.

⁶⁸⁰ See Zora Klain, *Quaker Contributions to Education in North Carolina* (Philadelphia: Westbrook Publishing, 1925). See also Scott A. L. Beck, "Freedmen, Friends, Common Schools and Reconstruction," *The Southern Friend: Journal of Quaker History* 17 (Jan. 1995).

area since 1861, and Quakers had often worked together to assist them as they resettled within the Union, as in the 1863 case of the Barkers and Hinshaws. Over the course of the war, these efforts began to coalesce into the Baltimore Association to Advise and Assist Friends of the Southern States, which began to organize and operate informally in 1864, under the leadership of Francis T. King. Their initial efforts were restricted to providing aid to displaced Quakers while they were in Baltimore, and also in providing transportation for them to move out West. The association sent over 400 Friends out West in this manner in 1865 alone.

Nonetheless, this significant migration of Quakers out of the South was a concern to Quakers in the North, who wanted to retain their denomination's reach throughout the nation. According to members of the Baltimore Association, "though we discouraged this emigration, we could not wonder at it, as they fled from the ravages of war to join relatives who had prospered in the West, and who gave them cordial welcomes."⁶⁸¹ In response, the association began to expand its operations to include assisting those struggling in the South to prevent their departure. In the early summer of 1865, the Association sent two Friends, Sarah F. Smiley and Richard C. Janney, to distribute provisions, such as food and clothes, at two Quaker communities near Goldsboro, which saw much of the fighting from Sherman's campaign in North Carolina. While they were already in North Carolina, the representatives also visited the more numerous Quaker communities in the central and western Piedmont and found that many Quakers there were interested in working alongside the Baltimore Association to rejuvenate their communities in the aftermath of the war, specifically through education.

⁶⁸¹ "First Annual Report of the Baltimore Association of Friends, to Advise and Assist Friends of the Southern States, with Accompanying Statements, read at a general meeting, held at Friends' Meeting House, Courtland St., 23rd of 10th mo., 1866," (Baltimore: William Boyle, 1866), 4.

Education had long been important in the Society of Friends. In the aftermath of the Civil War, the need for education was even more widespread since most schools were forced to close during the war “from the need of their [the children’s] labor at home, the scarcity of books and the conscription of teachers.”⁶⁸² The Baltimore Association noted that as a result most children “had lost four years of instruction, the period of a country child’s school life.”⁶⁸³ The Baltimore Association worked alongside local Friends Meetings to reestablish schools at monthly meetings, and representatives Sarah F. Smiley and Richard C. Janney visited each to assess the meetings’ wants and needs in regards to reopening schools.⁶⁸⁴ In 1865 when their efforts began, at least 20 Friends schools had resumed operating in the state, and in 1866, the Baltimore Association help fund ten more schools, which taught 940 white students, over half of whom were children of Friends. By the beginning of the 1867, there were over 2,000 students attending the 30 monthly meeting schools, and eight more were built that same year so that schools “might be more accessible to Friends living remotely.”⁶⁸⁵ In addition to helping fund the construction of new schools, the Baltimore Association also provided salaries for teachers, nearly all of whom were North Carolina Friends, and also contributed over 1,200 textbooks to be distributed among the Friends schools.

Wartime refugee Simeon Barker was among those who helped the Baltimore Association as they started opening schools for white children in North Carolina Quaker communities. Simeon, who also volunteered at a local freedmen’s school, mentioned as early as June 1865 the impact that the Society of Friends was having on education in Quaker

⁶⁸² “First Annual Report of the Baltimore Association,” 4.

⁶⁸³ “First Annual Report of the Baltimore Association,” 4.

⁶⁸⁴ See the Sarah Smiley Journals, 1865-1867, Quaker Archives, Hege Library, Guilford College.

⁶⁸⁵ “Second Annual Report of the Baltimore Association of Friends, to Advise and Assist Friends of the Southern States,” (Baltimore: William Boyle, 1868), 13.

communities. Simeon reported back to his brother, Ezra, in Indiana: “There is schools going into operation in almost every Monthly Meeting for the purpose of endeavoring to make up for the four years of war in which time there was comparatively little done in the way of education and it is I think the expectation that other Yearly Meetings will pay the tuition which I think will be a great favor on those that have children to school.”⁶⁸⁶

Simeon himself would soon become involved in the effort to reopen schools with the aid of the Baltimore Association. In 1866 Simeon Barker was appointed by Centre Monthly Meeting in Randolph County to oversee the establishment of another school for the meeting.⁶⁸⁷ Along with Simeon, Himelius Hockett was also appointed, the son of William Hockett, who had himself been harassed, assaulted, and tortured by Confederate soldiers after he was conscripted and refused to bear arms. Among his punishments was to be tied up, suspended, and pierced with bayonets, which his enlisted Confederate neighbors did on more than one occasion before members of the Society of Friends raised the \$500 exemption fee for Quaker conscientious objectors that secured his release. With the help of Hockett and Barker, by 1867, the Centre Meeting had expanded from two schools to five, and now enrolled 256 local white students.⁶⁸⁸

For those who had experienced such loss during the war, the re-opening of schools seemed to represent a return to life as normal. According to Hinshaw family oral history, Thomas and Mary Barker Hinshaw discussed reopening the Holly Spring meeting school in their community while they were traveling back to North Carolina from Indiana with their

⁶⁸⁶ Simeon and Ruth Barker to Ezra and Mary E. Barker, 1866 (no month/day), Barker Family Papers, Guilford. The letter is not dated, but this section of the letter is clearly labeled as “4th day the 20th,” which based on the calendar for 1866, would have to be Wednesday, June 20, 1866.

⁶⁸⁷ See Center Monthly Meeting records, 1866. Cited in Zora Klain, *Quaker Contributions to Education in North Carolina*, p. 174-5.

⁶⁸⁸ See Center Monthly Meeting records, 1866. Cited in Zora Klain, *Quaker Contributions to Education in North Carolina*, 175.

children, Francis, 7, and Delphina, 5. Francis asked his parents if he would be able to attend New Garden Boarding School one day, and Mary said she wished they had a high school in their own community. Thomas agreed to the idea, and even told Mary he would donate some of their own land for the school, which they would call Evergreen Academy.⁶⁸⁹ In October of 1865, Holly Spring Monthly Meeting appointed Thomas Hinshaw to head a committee “to look out suitable places for schools and also to set up schools among us as thought best.”⁶⁹⁰ Thomas Hinshaw donated just over an acre of land, and with additional assistance from the Baltimore Association to Advise and Assist Friends of the Southern States, the high school was up and running by 1867, and was supported by the Baltimore Association until that Association disbanded in the 1890s. Evergreen Academy would operate in the Holly Spring community near Ramseur until 1921, when it was replaced by the expanding public school system. Many other Baltimore Association-supported Friends schools, however, were absorbed into the expanding public school system in the early twentieth century, such as Sylvan Academy of the Cane Creek meeting in present-day Snow Camp, which operates as a public elementary school with the same name over 155 years later.⁶⁹¹

In addition to funding country schools for local meetings, the Baltimore Association also worked fervently to restore normal operations at New Garden Boarding School. The boarding school was operated by the North Carolina Yearly Meeting and had served as a high school for Quaker students throughout the state since 1837. The school had struggled

⁶⁸⁹ For an account of this family story see Seth B. Hinshaw, *Mary Barker Hinshaw, Quaker: A Story of Carolina Friends in Civil War Times* (Richmond, Ind.: Friends United Press and Greensboro, N.C.: North Carolina Friends Historical Society, 1982), 119.

⁶⁹⁰ Holly Spring Monthly Meeting Minutes, October 1865. Cited in Seth Hinshaw, *Friends at Holly Spring: Meeting and Community* (Greensboro, N.C.: North Carolina Friends Historical Society, 1982).

⁶⁹¹ Klain, *Quaker Contributions to Education in North Carolina*, 167.

to continue operations during the war years, and the future of the school remained uncertain after hostilities ceased. From 1865 to 1866, the Baltimore Association provided \$5,000 for the school, half of which was meant for building improvements, and half to provide tuition scholarships for 36 students.⁶⁹² The next year, the Association provided another \$1,200 for scholarships intended for Friends who lived too remote even to attend one of the 38 local meeting schools being operated by the Association. The Baltimore Association report in 1867 claimed that “we hope to see the Boarding School the centre of our education system,” and in just two years the Association had helped to double the number of schools and students attending them.⁶⁹³ Nonetheless, in 1867 local Quakers began asking the Association for help in transitioning New Garden Boarding School into a college, which was initially denied in favor of placing a college in nearby High Point. The Baltimore Association continued to provide financial support and advice for the boarding school as needed, but it was not until 1888 that the Association joined with local Quakers to re-charter the school as Guilford College.⁶⁹⁴ By the end of their efforts to revive and sustain New Garden Boarding School, and transition it to Guilford College, the Baltimore Association had expended nearly \$23,000.

Nearly as soon as the Baltimore Association initiated their work to rejuvenate education in North Carolina Quaker communities, they realized that they would also need a teacher training school, which would “elevate the standard of education and be of permanent benefit to our schools.”⁶⁹⁵ Beginning in the summer of 1866 the Association hosted an annual Normal School, which in its first year helped prepare 50 teachers, 22 of

⁶⁹² “First Annual Report of the Baltimore Association,” 5.

⁶⁹³ “Second Annual Report of the Baltimore Association,” 7.

⁶⁹⁴ Dorothy Gilbert, *Guilford: A Quaker College* (Greensboro, N.C.: J.J. Stone, 1937), 115-118.

⁶⁹⁵ March 31, 1866, *Friends’ Review: A Religious, Literary and Miscellaneous Journal* 19 (Philadelphia: Merrihew & Son, 1866), 488.

whom began working for Baltimore Association-supported schools the following school year.⁶⁹⁶ In 1867, the number of attendees increased to 106, which the Association felt demonstrated the “great interest” in the training school, concluding, “we can hardly overestimate the benefits of such a school.”⁶⁹⁷ The Baltimore Association oversaw and funded these annual normal schools until 1872, when they overturned them to the North Carolina Yearly Meeting.⁶⁹⁸ By the late 1870s these normal schools had become so popular that numerous counties began to partner with the North Carolina Yearly Meeting in hosting the annual normal school sessions each summer. Among these was an annual normal school hosted jointly by the Yearly Meeting and the Guilford County Board of Education, which began in Greensboro in 1876, and laid the foundations for the State Normal and Industrial School, now known as UNC-Greensboro.⁶⁹⁹

The Baltimore Association was originally created to support white Quaker refugees fleeing from the South through Baltimore, but in the aftermath of the Civil War, the association found that it needed to support these wartime refugees as they returned home, and also support the communities to which they were returning. This need became even more apparent as Quaker families continued to leave North Carolina in great numbers in the aftermath of the war’s destruction. Quaker migration to the West had slowly siphoned off thousands of Friends as they headed West in search of free labor and free land, and in the aftermath of the war, this migration only increased, prompted in part by families of wartime refugees who were tempted by promises of a better future in the West. In 1866, over 5,000

⁶⁹⁶ “First Annual Report of the Baltimore Association,” 8.

⁶⁹⁷ “Second Annual Report of the Baltimore Association,” 6.

⁶⁹⁸ Damon D. Hickey, “Pioneers of the New South: The Baltimore Association and North Carolina Friends in Reconstruction,” *Quaker History* 74, No. 1 (Spring 1985): 1-17. See also Klain, *Quaker Contributions to Education in North Carolina*.

⁶⁹⁹ Klain, *Quaker Contributions to Education in North Carolina*, 262-5. Klain goes into great detail to demonstrate how the Baltimore Association and North Carolina Yearly Meeting began to influence county and eventually state governments to fund normal schools, especially UNC-G.

Quakers reportedly left North Carolina to migrate West under the leadership of Addison Coffin.⁷⁰⁰ To stop the flow of migration Westward and retain religious influence in the South, the Baltimore Association intensified its efforts in Quaker communities in the South. At first these efforts included provisions of food, clothing, and access to medical care, but soon the need for education soon became clear, as did the need for agricultural advancement.

In the first annual report of the Baltimore Association, President Francis T. King explained that they were hoping to help the North Carolina Yearly Meeting implement a plan for improved agriculture, saying, “without it, it will be impossible to prevent the emigration of many young people whose energy and ambition have been stimulated.”⁷⁰¹ King felt “There is no doubt that for a year to come most Southern Friends will find it hard to struggle against the effects of the war, but there is a commendable energy among them to rise above these difficulties, especially by adopting an improved method of farming, now that they have free labor and the offer of aid from our Association.”⁷⁰² The detrimental effects of the war were compounded by the beginning of a drought that would affect crops for two to three years to come, exacerbating an already difficult recovery in the aftermath of the war.

In the late fall of 1866 the North Carolina Yearly Meeting met and discussed a plan for agricultural advancement, reporting, “Friends are anxious to form Agricultural Clubs in each of the Quarterly Meetings, and act in concert with a resident Superintendent of Agriculture, who should have a depot for seeds, farming implements, &c., or a small model

⁷⁰⁰ Gilbert, *History of Guilford College*, 112.

⁷⁰¹ “First Annual Report of the Baltimore Association,” 6.

⁷⁰² “First Annual Report of the Baltimore Association,” 16.

farm, at a central point—our Association was pledged to move promptly in the matter.”⁷⁰³ By the next year, the Baltimore Association had contributed nearly \$4,000 for the purchase of a 200-acre model farm located near the Springfield Friends Meeting on the edge of High Point. William A. Sampson operated the model farm, including the distribution of seeds, fertilizer, and agricultural implements, and also hosted lectures on scientific agriculture that attracted people from throughout the state. Among the first endeavors was to distribute clover seed to prevent soil erosion, and also to distribute manure for farmers to use as fertilizer, including bones ground at the model farm’s bone mill and imported bat guano.⁷⁰⁴ By 1869, President of the Baltimore Association Francis King reported that their agricultural efforts had “revolutionized whole neighborhoods.”⁷⁰⁵ Three years after their efforts began, there were 17 agricultural clubs attended by over 1,500 people each month, and hundreds of local subscribers to the national publication the *American Agriculturalist*.⁷⁰⁶ In fact, the Baltimore Association’s methods were so effective, that the state studied the High Point model farm as it developed state Agricultural Experiment Stations beginning in 1877.⁷⁰⁷

These agricultural clubs also served as precursors to local chapters of the Farmers Alliance and the Grange.⁷⁰⁸ It should not come as a surprise that these agriculture clubs would form a core group of North Carolinians interested in the People’s Party in the late 1890s. Numerous Quakers, Quaker refugees, and wartime refugees more broadly, embraced populism in the latter part of the 19th century, and at least one wartime refugee, Bryan Tyson, became a populist candidate for political office in the 1890s.

⁷⁰³ “First Annual Report of the Baltimore Association,” 16.

⁷⁰⁴ Hickey, “Pioneers of the New South,” 5. Seth Hinshaw, *The Carolina Quaker Experience, 1665-1985: An Interpretation* (North Carolina Friends Historical Society, 1994), 168.

⁷⁰⁵ Quote from Baltimore Association records and cited in Hickey, “Pioneers of the New South,” 5.

⁷⁰⁶ Hickey, “Pioneers of the New South,” 5.

⁷⁰⁷ Hickey, “Pioneers of the New South,” 5.

⁷⁰⁸ Hickey, “Pioneers of the New South,” 5.

Tyson spent the years before the war making agricultural implements and was a notorious Confederate dissenter from North Carolina. He fled from the Confederacy in 1863 after publishing a number of anti-Confederate pamphlets that promoted peace with slavery intact. While Tyson briefly visited North Carolina after the war, like many others, he sought better opportunities elsewhere, and returned to Washington, D.C. to operate various mail contracting routes throughout the South and West, a business which would become quite profitable. He also operated a pension agency to assist those who wanted to file war pensions or other claims against the government. Washington, D.C. remained his primary residence until 1894, when he returned to Moore County, North Carolina and quickly became involved in local politics. By the 1890s, he was a strong believer that a third party was necessary, particularly for the interests of “the great masses of the working people,” for whom he considered himself an appropriate representative.⁷⁰⁹

Tyson was drawn to the People’s Party as a result of his increasing dissent from the Democratic Party, which was based on the belief that it no longer had interest in “the toiling masses.”⁷¹⁰ Many Southern populists, like Tyson, were suffering economically, and they believed that the reforms demanded in the 1892 Omaha Platform would help revitalize the Southern economy and the South more broadly. In 1895, he delivered a speech at a political gathering in Moore County, and an attendee reported, “he showed very conclusively that our only hope for financial relief is for the dissatisfied Democrats and Republicans to come out and join the Populists or Alliance in sufficient force to gain a grand and noble victory in 1896.”⁷¹¹ In his writings for the *Progressive Farmer*, Tyson also indicates the relationship he saw

⁷⁰⁹ *Carthage Blade*, August 11, 1896.

⁷¹⁰ *Carthage Blade*, August 11, 1896.

⁷¹¹ J. G. Seawell, “Messrs. J. P. Sossaman and Bryan Tyson Address the People at Big Oak Moore County, N.C.” *Progressive Farmer*, October 8, 1895.

between the People's Party and the Civil War. In both cases, Tyson believed, corruption in office and disregard for constituents had led to disaffection, and by 1895, "in the midst of a most distressing money famine," Tyson feared that "further delay in this important matter will be sure to unnecessarily end in either a bloody revolution or the destruction of the government, one or probably both."⁷¹² Tyson feared the consolidation of political power in the hands of the few, as had been the case in the South in the 1850s and 1860s, and was apparent in both major political parties by the 1890s.

Nonetheless, Tyson also believed that the demands of the Omaha Platform were "on the whole impractical for the reason that too much is asked for at once," and advocated a gradual implementation of Populist reforms.⁷¹³ Tyson explained, "the railroad purchase and the sub-treasury plan are bitter pills for dissatisfied Democrats and Republicans—many refuse to take them," and therefore unlike most Populists, Tyson felt these reforms should be introduced after other more popular Populist policies, like the direct election of Senators, had been successfully implemented. For this reason, he considered himself an "Independent Populist" candidate, a title he used to distinguish himself from "Fusionists" in Eastern North Carolina, an inter-racial coalition of Republicans and Populists who presented a sincere threat to rule by the state's conservative Democratic party.

Although Tyson was a proponent of most of the same policies as North Carolina Fusionists and members of the People's Party more broadly, but simply planned to introduce the reforms more gradually, one important reform Tyson did not advocate was civil service reform. While many Populists believed that civil service reform was important for replacing the corrupt spoils system, Tyson had benefitted from the spoils system when

⁷¹² "The Only Remedy for the Financial Difficulties," *Progressive Farmer*, January 7, 1896. See also Bryan Tyson, "One Term of Four Years for Office-holders," *Progressive Farmer*, December 24, 1895.

⁷¹³ *Carthage Blade*, January 5, 1897.

he was appointed to a civil service position while living in Washington, D.C. as a displaced refugee during the Civil War, and continually held out hope that he would again be appointed to a civil service position under each new administration. The North Carolina General Assembly would not nominate Tyson as a Senator in 1896 or 1897, and Tyson also failed to obtain a civil service position, which he believed was a result of his wartime Unionism. Tyson had long believed that “the fact that [he] was opposed to Jeff. Davis and his Crowd during the war [had] been against [him] politically,” and so in 1906 when he again failed to obtain a civil service position under the Roosevelt administration, Tyson expressed his anger that he was not offered a civil service position despite “his great sacrifices for the Union” to then-Secretary of War William Howard Taft.⁷¹⁴

This was not the only way that Tyson’s Civil War experiences continued to shape his political views. As the United States became involved in the Spanish-American War in 1898, Tyson saw deep connections between that situation and the Civil War. Tyson wrote an anti-war article for the Raleigh-based *Progressive Farmer*, emphasizing that both wars were caused by corrupt government leaders, and fought at the expense of “the great masses of the people” and “in the interest of the very rich people.” He warned that, like during the Civil War, in 1898 the people would “not fight for the government with the unanimity that is generally supposed.”⁷¹⁵ He concluded his anti-war article with a famous anti-war poem by eighteenth-century English Quaker John Scott of Amwell, “The Drum.” Though Tyson only included the first stanza of the poem in his article, his experiences as a Civil War refugee had exposed him to the “ravag’d plains,”

And burning towns, and ruin’d swains,
And mangled limbs, and dying groans,

⁷¹⁴ Bryan Tyson to William Howard Taft, July 12, 1906, cited in William T. Auman, “Bryan Tyson: Southern Unionist and American Patriot,” 291.

⁷¹⁵ “The War Question,” *The Progressive Farmer*, May 10, 1898.

And widow's tears, and orphans moans;
And all that misery's hand bestows,
To fill the catalogue of human woes.

He hoped the nation and its people would avoid entering another war just thirty years after the war that had torn apart his life, and the nation itself.

Displacement during the war would have long-term consequences for many refugees, including those wartime refugees who used their experiences from displacement to rebuild their lives in the South. Although Thomas Hinshaw was able to build and run the local high school in the aftermath of the Civil War, an apparent heart attack in 1869 prevented him from strenuous activities, and he turned over his agricultural pursuits to his sons. Nonetheless the barn that his son, Amos Hinshaw, built in postwar Randolph County, North Carolina was undeniably influenced by Thomas Hinshaw and his experiences as a Civil War refugee. Sometimes known as a Swiss-style barn, *The Architectural History of Randolph County* explains that the structure is “without parallel in the county,” and furthermore describes:

It is said that Thomas Hinshaw brought the concept of this structure from Indiana where he lived as a refugee Quaker during the Civil War. The most unusual feature of the barn is an earthwork-and-stone wagon ramp leading to the second floor, one of two originally. The ramp allowed wagons to drive their loads into the loft, unload and drive out the other side.⁷¹⁶

Although this efficient style of barn was, and is, unique in the South, it was common throughout parts of Pennsylvania and the Midwest with sizable populations of Swiss

⁷¹⁶ Lowell McKay Whatley, Jr., *The Architectural History of Randolph County, North Carolina*, compiled by Dawn McLaughlin Snotterly and edited by Jerry L. Cross, (Durham, NC: Fisher-Harrison, 1985), 150. There is also a newspaper article on this, “Building blocks—a reflection on style in Randolph County,” Asheville *Courier-Tribune*, August 12, 2015, available online at <https://www.courier-tribune.com/article/20150812/LIFESTYLE/308129952> (accessed March 23, 2021). Note that this article incorrectly states that Amos was one of the children who accompanied Mary Barker Hinshaw to Indiana in 1863-4. Amos Hinshaw, who built the barn to his father's specifications, was not yet born during the Civil War. This mistake is likely due to mixing Amos Hinshaw up with the uncle he was named after, who was a refugee in Indiana during the Civil War, although this uncle never returned to the South.

immigrants, either of which would have been observed by Thomas Hinshaw during his experiences as a refugee. Family history indicates that Thomas Hinshaw also built a greenhouse for his wife, Mary Barker Hinshaw, based on ones similar to those they had seen in Indiana while displaced during the Civil War.⁷¹⁷

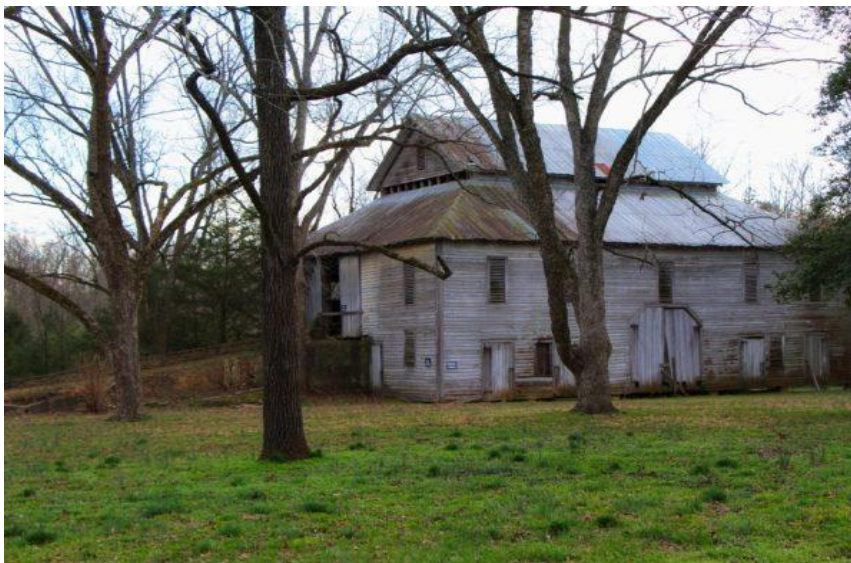


Figure 5.2 Hinshaw Barn showing ramp to the loft. Photograph by Stefanie Greenhill.

It was not only the Hinshaw family who brought back ideas for rebuilding their Southern communities from the places they had lived and based on the experiences they had as wartime refugees. As Newton Woody deliberated the risks of returning to the South, and waited to hear from friends and loved ones about the safety of doing so, he took advantage of the extra time in Indiana to attend agricultural fairs. He explained to his wife that the agricultural fairs “will Be of Benefit to me when I cum home [sic].”⁷¹⁸ This may have especially been the case as he preferred the type of mill he had been operating in Indiana to those in North Carolina. Although he does not give technical details about the differences between the mill he rented and operated in Indiana and the mill he owned back in North

⁷¹⁷ Hinshaw, *Mary Barker Hinshaw, Quaker*, 144.

⁷¹⁸ Newton Woody to Susan Woody, July 16, 1865, Woody Family Papers, Duke.

Carolina, he believed operating the Indiana mill was easier on his health and hoped to be able to implement a similar mill in North Carolina.

Upon returning to North Carolina, Woody continued to operate his mill in southern Guilford County, and farm his land in Chatham County, but in the aftermath of the Civil War, he also worked to expand his land holdings and mill operations throughout the Piedmont. By 1897, Woody, along with his sons, was inspired to begin another project: the High Falls Manufacturing Company in Moore County.⁷¹⁹ Located along the Deep River, the site consisted of a spinning mill, a cotton mill, and a grist mill. The “model mill village” played an important part in the community at the turn of the century, offering jobs to its residents, and developing yarns, fabrics, flour, and other products. Alongside schools, the High Falls cotton mill also built and operated a Quaker meeting house as part of the village. The dam built by the High Falls Manufacturing Company would also be used to provide rural residents with electricity, and although the textile mill closed, the dam provided hydroelectric power for Hydrodyne Industries until 2018.⁷²⁰ Based on the family expertise in the industry, one of Woody’s grandsons would develop a hydroelectric dam on the nearby Rocky River in Chatham County to provide power for rural residents, known as the Rocky

⁷¹⁹ A number of secondary sources indicate that John Warren Woody, the Quaker refugee originally from Guilford County and faculty member at Guilford College, was the person who founded High Falls Manufacturing Company. Although primary sources do indicate that John Warren Woody was involved as a stakeholder and trustee at High Falls Manufacturing Company, he did not start the company, but rather his cousin Newton Dixon Woody did. Newton Dixon Woody owned the land containing the 15-foot Big Falls in Moore County as early as 1889, as part of his numerous mill operations in central-Piedmont counties, and operated the mills along with his eldest son John Robert Woody. John Robert Woody, son of Newton, was President of the company when it was incorporated in 1904 as the High Falls Manufacturing Company, and his two other brothers worked at the company as well, with Thomas N. Woody as Secretary, Treasurer, and Buyer, and William Eli Woody as Superintendent.

⁷²⁰ See Jaymie Baxley, “High Falls Dilemma: Save the Fish or Save the Dam?” *Southern Pines Pilot*, September 4, 2018 (updated September 6, 2018), available online at https://www.thepilot.com/news/high-falls-dilemma-save-the-fish-or-save-the-dam/article_0f16dff0-b051-11e8-9a93-0b3375f4675d.html (accessed March 23, 2021). See also “It’s High Falls, not Highfalls,” *Asheboro Courier-Tribune*, November 21, 2014, available online at <https://www.courier-tribune.com/article/20141121/LIFESTYLE/311219739> (accessed March 23, 2021).

River Power and Light Company in 1922, at the age of 21.⁷²¹ Newton Woody's involvement in manufacturing at the turn of the century demonstrates that wartime refugees who had returned to the former Confederacy years earlier not only rebuilt and reconstructed their war-ravaged communities, but they also played a key role in ushering in the era of the New South.

⁷²¹ The "Hoosier Dam," sometimes called the "Woody Dam," is located along the Rocky River in Chatham County, North Carolina, and was used to generate hydroelectricity for rural residents beginning in 1922. This dam would be operated by the Woody's until it was purchased by Carolina Power & Light in 1957, which closed the power plant in 1962. Although the plant has changed hands several times, it has not been in use since. It is unclear if the nickname "Hoosier Dam" is related to the Woody family's time and expertise gained while Newton Woody was in Indiana.

CHAPTER 6: “A CLOUD THAT WILL OBSCURE US FROM THE FULL LIGHT OF FREEDOM’S DAY”: WARTIME REFUGEES RECONSTRUCT A WHITE SUPREMACIST SOUTH

Wartime refugees not only helped to revive their communities in the South, but many also became influential in postwar politics, and in doing so, played important roles in reconstructing the former Confederacy. The influence of wartime refugees in postwar politics is significant because it represents another important way that wartime loyalty affected the postwar lives of former refugees, and the postwar South more broadly. At least 11 Reconstruction-era governors had been displaced during the war, and scores of other wartime refugees returned to the South specifically to have a hand in shaping Reconstruction politics.⁷²² While wartime refugees who returned to the South often played an important role in reconstructing their communities, they did so in a way that benefitted their own interests first and foremost. In no state was the influence of wartime refugees in postwar politics more evident than in Texas.

As soon as the war ended, refugee-turned-Union general Andrew Jackson Hamilton was named the provisional governor of Texas. Hamilton had been serving in Congress during the secession crisis, and he gave an important pro-Union speech before Congress just as the session of Congress ended in March, before returning to his home in Austin. Not long after arriving back in Texas, he publicly denounced secession as illegal, declared his support

⁷²² At least 11 Reconstruction governors in former Confederate states were displaced during the war, including, Andrew Jackson Hamilton (TX), Edmund J. Davis (TX), William Gannaway Brownlow (TN), Dewitt Clinton Senter (TN), William Marvin (FL), Elisha Baker (AR), Isaac Murphy (AR), William Hugh Smith (AL), James Madison Wells (LA), Benjamin Franklin Flanders (LA), and P.B.S. Pinchback (LA). Numerous refugees, including some of those who served as governors, would also serve in the United States Congress in the aftermath of the war, and many also served in various state legislatures and agencies in the South following the war as well. For more on Unionism and the Republican party in Texas see James Alex Baggett, “Origins of Early Texas Republican Party Leadership,” *Journal of Southern History* 40, No. 3 (Aug., 1974): 441-454 and Dale Baum, *The Shattering of Texas Unionism: Politics in the Lone Star State during the Civil War Era* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1998), chp. 4-5.

for the Union, and began making preparations to leave the state. Although the exact movements and timing of Hamilton's escape are not well known, by August of 1862 he had reached Matamoros, Mexico, reportedly escaping Austin on horseback along with fifteen other refugees.⁷²³ It was rumored that there was a reward for Hamilton's capture, so upon his arrival in Matamoros, U. S. Consul Leonard Pierce, Jr., rushed him aboard a ship headed to Union-occupied New Orleans. The ship was in such a hurry that it left some crew members and its official papers behind as it headed for Union territory. Hamilton safely reached New Orleans, and then, he headed for Washington D. C. to gain support for a federal invasion of Texas. Although the federal invasion of Texas was shelved for the time being, Hamilton was commissioned Brigadier General of Volunteers and Military Governor of Texas. Although military in name, Hamilton's role was primarily political, with the main goal of re-establishing United States authority in Texas.

It was no surprise, then, in the aftermath of the Civil War, that Hamilton, a refugee who had remained loyal to the United States, and who actively supported the Union war effort would be seen as a trustworthy candidate for political office during Presidential Reconstruction. Hamilton was appointed provisional governor by Andrew Johnson in the summer of 1865 and he soon announced that the state must hold a Constitutional Convention comprised of men loyal to the United States government who would then draft a new constitution that acknowledged the end of slavery and repudiated the Confederate war debt.⁷²⁴ Numerous wartime refugees would serve as Governors in former Confederate states during Reconstruction, often as Republicans, and many of these were elected or appointed

⁷²³ For more on Hamilton see John L. Waller, *Colossal Hamilton of Texas: A Biography of Andrew Jackson Hamilton, Militant Unionist and Reconstruction Governor* (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1968).

⁷²⁴ Waller, *Colossal Hamilton of Texas*, 64. See also Telegram from Andrew Johnson to A.J. Hamilton, February 13, 1866, Records of Andrew Jackson Hamilton, Texas Office of the Governor, Texas State Library and Archives Commission.

specifically because of their wartime Unionism. Hamilton's postwar political appointment, and his ambitions in office, were directly tied to his wartime loyalties and actions as a refugee. Wartime loyalty was important in postwar politics not only because it helped refugees like Hamilton obtain political office, but also because of the push to disfranchise former Confederates.

The lasting importance of wartime loyalty was most evident through the distrust of, and then the disfranchisement of, former Confederates throughout the South. Only men who were loyal to the government could serve as delegates in the state constitutional convention, meaning only those men to whom Johnson's general amnesty proclamation applied, or who were able to apply for pardons, and willing to take the oath of allegiance to the United States. Johnson's general amnesty proclamation pardoned all former Confederate citizens for participating in the rebellion, either "directly or indirectly," except those belonging to fourteen classes, who were required to individually petition the President for clemency.⁷²⁵ Anyone who had not taken the oath or received a pardon were not considered

⁷²⁵ Andrew Johnson, "Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction," May 29, 1865. Available online by UNC School of Education, Learn NC: North Carolina Digital History, <http://www.learnnc.org/lp/editions/nchist-civilwar/4807> (accessed February 20, 2021). The 14 classes of exception are: "1st, all who shall have been pretended civil or diplomatic officers or other domestic or foreign agency of the pretended Confederate government; 2nd, all who left judicial stations under the United States to aid the rebellion; 3d, all who shall have been military or naval officers of said pretended Confederate government above the rank of colonel in the army or lieutenant in the navy; 4th, all who left seats in the Congress of the United States to aid the rebellion; 5th, all who resigned or tendered resignations of their commissions in the army or navy of the United States to evade duty in resisting the rebellion; 6th, all who have engaged in any way in treating otherwise than lawfully as prisoners of war persons found in the United States service, as officers, soldiers, seamen, or in other capacities; 7th, all persons who have been, or are absentees from the United States for the purpose of aiding the rebellion; 8th, all military and naval officers in the rebel service, who were educated by the government in the Military Academy at West Point or the United States Naval Academy; 9th, all persons who held the pretended offices of governors of States in insurrection against the United States; 10th, all persons who left their homes within the jurisdiction and protection of the United States, and passed beyond the Federal military lines into the pretended Confederate States for the purpose of aiding the rebellion; 11th, all persons who have been engaged in the destruction of the commerce of the United States upon the high seas, and all persons who have made raids into the United States from Canada, or been engaged in destroying the commerce of the United States upon the lakes and rivers that separate the British Provinces from the United States; 12th, all persons who, at the time when they seek to obtain the benefits hereof by taking the oath herein prescribed, are in military, naval, or civil confinement, or custody, or under bonds of the civil, military, or naval authorities, or agents of the United States as prisoners of war, or persons detained for offenses of any kind, either before or after conviction; 13th,

loyal and were unable to participate politically. Wartime refugee Swen Magnus Swenson feared that this would result in violence in postwar Texas, and noted in particular that many former Confederates “who have just laid down their arms which they have used for four years in the indeavor [sic] to destroy the Govt.” were shocked to learn that they “should not now be permitted and preferred—in the organization of that state.”⁷²⁶ While former Confederates were politically powerless, wartime refugees, on the other hand, were generally eligible to exercise the full rights of citizenship, including the vote. At times, they even used the vote to disfranchise or otherwise punish former Confederates.

The impetus to disfranchise former Confederates was especially strong in the immediate aftermath of the war, a trend that is closely related to the violence in postwar Texas.⁷²⁷ Ex-Confederates often conflated wartime refugees and Unionists with the cause of freed people, as reflected in the violence directed toward both groups in the postwar years. In the three years since June 1865, former Confederates murdered 429 freed people in Texas, whereas they murdered 470 white people, most of whom were Unionists.⁷²⁸ Initially, most wartime refugees responded to this violence by banding together and supporting the Republican party, and along with it, the disfranchisement of former Confederates.

all persons who have voluntarily participated in said rebellion, and the estimated value of whose taxable property is over twenty thousand dollars; 14th, all persons who have taken the oath of amnesty as prescribed in the President’s proclamation of December 8th, A.D. 1863, or an oath of allegiance to the government of the United States since the date of said proclamation, and who have not thenceforward kept and maintained the same inviolate.” See also J.T. Dorris, *Pardon and Amnesty under Lincoln and Johnson: The Restoration of the Confederates to Their Rights and Privileges, 1861-1898* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953), 187.

⁷²⁶ S. M. Swenson to William Pierson, June 1, 1865, Pierson Papers, UT.

⁷²⁷ See Baum, *The Shattering of Texas Unionism*, 126.

⁷²⁸ “Report of Committee on Lawlessness and Violence,” June 30, 1868 in *Journal of the Reconstruction Convention, which met at Austin, Texas, June 1, A.D., 1868* (Tracy, Siemering & Co., 1870), 195. The committee was chaired by Caldwell, and other members included Whitmore, Sumner, Evans, Bledsoe, Cole, and Bell. McRae was not a delegate at the convention, but rather the chaplain and a clerk. He compiled the report on behalf of the committee.

Directly after taking office in 1865, Hamilton pushed for the punishment of former Confederates for violence against Unionists by disfranchising them.⁷²⁹ Hamilton arrived back in Texas in late August 1865, receiving only a lukewarm reception in pro-Confederate Houston, but receiving a grand parade upon his return to his residence in Unionist-leaning Austin. Hamilton delivered an address on the occasion, celebrating the Union victory, but also condemning fire-eaters and diehard secessionists whom Hamilton blamed for secession and Confederate usurpation of power in Texas. Two weeks later, on September 11, 1865, Hamilton delivered an “Address to the People of Texas,” in which he first publicly outlined his role as provisional governor, including overseeing an upcoming Constitutional Convention, as directed by President Andrew Johnson. Alongside information about the restoration of the state to the Union, Hamilton also made clear that only loyal citizens were allowed to vote for delegates to the convention or serve as delegates.⁷³⁰

The delegates assembled at Austin on February 7, 1866. Early in the convention, Governor Hamilton addressed the delegates, encouraging his fellow Texans to adopt the “spirit and principles, to the actual changes that attended the progress of the late war, and followed the overthrow of the rebellion.”⁷³¹ Hamilton then set forth the specific actions that he believed would demonstrate that Texans had accepted the outcome of the war: disavow secession, recognize the end of slavery, enact provisions to protect freedpeople and their rights to property and legal action, and repudiate the Confederate war debt.⁷³² Hamilton believed if these goals could be accomplished, Texas would be readmitted to the Union,

⁷²⁹ Baum, *The Shattering of Texas Unionism*, 129.

⁷³⁰ Waller, *Colossal Hamilton of Texas*, 85.

⁷³¹ A. J. Hamilton to Gentlemen of the Convention, February 10, 1866, *Journal of the Texas State Convention: Assembled at Austin, Feb. 7, 1866, Adjourned April 2, 1866* (Austin: Southern Intelligencer Office, 1866), 21.

⁷³² Waller, *Colossal Hamilton of Texas*, 88.

which was especially important and time-sensitive as Congress became more disaffected with Presidential Reconstruction.

Despite Hamilton's instructions to focus on a speedy readmission to the Union, the convention became sidetracked by a number of divisive issues, among them, the loyalty of delegates, which both Hamilton and President Johnson believed to be of significant importance. The first days of the convention were marked by a debate over whether men who could not take the general Amnesty Oath and had not been issued a special pardon could participate in the convention.⁷³³ Edmund J. Davis, a wartime refugee, soon became the most vocal proponent of forcing delegates with questionable loyalty to leave the convention, although this measure was sent to a committee, and never addressed again.⁷³⁴ In addition to supporting the disfranchisement of former Confederates, Davis, like Hamilton, supported extending limited civil rights to freedpeople, and also supported black suffrage, but both measures were met by considerable opposition, causing many Republicans in the convention to worry about the future of the state if it were to fall into the hands of former Confederates. As a result, during the 1866 Convention, Davis also became an important proponent of the division of Texas into multiple states.⁷³⁵ A postwar measure unique to Texas, many Unionists and refugees believed it would lead to a new state in Western or Southwestern Texas that was controlled by Unionists, and could be admitted to the Union in its own right.⁷³⁶ In the end, Texas was not divided, but the convention did renounce secession, repudiate the war

⁷³³ February 9, 1866, *Journal of the Texas State Convention: Assembled at Austin, Feb. 7, 1866* (Austin, Texas: Southern Intelligencer, 1866), 9-13 (henceforth *Journal of the Texas State Convention, 1866*). See also Baum, *The Shattering of Texas Unionism*, 145.

⁷³⁴ Monday, February 12, 1866, *Journal of the Texas State Convention, 1866*, 29. See also Moneyhon, *Edmund J. Davis*, 81.

⁷³⁵ See March 7, 1866, March 16, 1866, March 17, 1866, and April 2, 1866 in *Journal of the Texas State Convention, 1866*. For more on the Reconstruction proposition to divide Texas into multiple states, see Ernest Wallace, *The Howling of the Coyotes: Reconstruction Efforts to Divide Texas* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1979).

⁷³⁶ Moneyhon, *Edmund J. Davis*, 85.

debt, and acknowledge limited rights of freedpeople. A statewide election to accept the new Constitution took place in June 1866, and the constitution passed.

Shortly after, an election was held for Governor between Unionist Party candidate Elisha M. Pease and Conservative candidate James M. Throckmorton, who had remained a Unionist until Texas seceded in 1861 and he supported the Confederacy. Although Pease tried to use Throckmorton's wartime disloyalty against him, many Throckmorton supporters accused him of bringing up issues that had been settled by the war, and Throckmorton overwhelmingly won the election.⁷³⁷ The victory of Conservative candidate Throckmorton signified to many former Confederates' continued resistance to the outcome of the war. Davis in particular criticized the outcome of the election, saying the results "ought to satisfy every loyal man North and South that the Secession party is just as well defined and just as intensely malignant against the Union and Unionists as in the palmiest days of the Confederacy."⁷³⁸ The hesitance, and at times, outright defiance, of many Texans to accept the supremacy of the Union and the civil rights of freedpeople only added to Congressional support for a new plan for Reconstruction.

Indeed, Throckmorton would become problematic as Texas struggled to be readmitted to the Union, as would the state legislature. The legislature refused to ratify the Thirteenth Amendment or consider the civil rights proposed in the Fourteenth Amendment, and also enacted a series of black codes to regulate the behavior of freedpeople. Throckmorton encouraged defiance of the federal government, even after the state was put under military rule as a result of Congressional Reconstruction in March 1867. Throckmorton was also known for his leniency toward former Confederates, especially

⁷³⁷ Carl H. Moneyhon, *Republicanism in Reconstruction Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1980), 47.

⁷³⁸ E. J. Davis to E. M. Pease, July 14, 1866, quoted in Moneyhon, *Edmund J. Davis*, 92.

when recommending pardons, and constantly complained that the Freedmen's Bureau and occupying U.S. military forces were interfering in civil affairs that Throckmorton believed were under his jurisdiction. With Throckmorton and a Confederate-sympathizing legislature, Texas became increasingly violent, and Unionists and freedpeople were regularly murdered without punishment.⁷³⁹ Some even alleged that the governor's Texas Rangers were meant to obstruct Reconstruction as much as they were meant to protect the frontier from American Indian attacks. By July 1867, General Charles Griffin, commander of the district of Texas, recommended to General Philip H. Sheridan that Throckmorton be removed from office, and Sheridan obliged, calling Throckmorton an "impediment to the Reconstruction of the State."⁷⁴⁰ In his place, Sheridan appointed former governor and wartime Unionist Elisha M. Pease as governor.

Under Pease's term, among the most important events was the Constitutional Convention required before the state could be readmitted to the Union under Congress's plan for Reconstruction. Of the 90 delegates, at least twelve were white refugees, meaning that over 10% of those at the Convention had been displaced during the Civil War.⁷⁴¹ E. J. Davis, a refugee and increasingly popular radical Republican, was elected President of the Convention. The Convention, which lasted from June 1868 to February 1869, was able to accomplish important things, including drafting a new state constitution that aligned with

⁷³⁹ See "Report of Committee on Lawlessness and Violence," June 30, 1868 in *Journal of the Reconstruction Convention, which met at Austin, Texas, June 1, A.D., 1868* (Tracy, Siemering & Co., 1870).

⁷⁴⁰ Philip Sheridan, SO 105, July 30, 1867, Printed Orders, Fifth Military District, R.G. 94, National Archives and Records Administration.

⁷⁴¹ See "List of Delegates to the Reconstruction Convention: As Announced in Special Order No. 213, dated Headquarters Fifth Military District, New Orleans, LA., April 13th, 1868," in *Journal of the Reconstruction Convention: which met at Austin, Texas* (Austin, TX: Tracy, Siemering & Co., 1870), 533-5. These refugees include: A. J. Hamilton, E. J. Davis, Lemuel D. Evans, Colbert Caldwell, William E. Oakes, Francis Asbury Vaughan, Joseph W. Talbot, Frederick W. Sumner, William Phillips, Jacob Kuchler, J. P. Newcomb, and W. W. Mills. For comparison, nine delegates at the convention were Black. Seventy-two of the delegates were white Republicans, twelve of whom were "carpetbaggers." Fourteen of the delegates were Union veterans, and thirteen were Confederate veterans. Six delegates were immigrants. For a demographic breakdown of delegates at the 1868-9 Constitutional Convention see Moneyhon, *Republicanism in Reconstruction Texas*, 236-247.

Congressional Reconstruction requirements. The new convention also encouraged the ratification of the 14th amendment, and supported suffrage for Black men. The 1868 Convention again considered the possibility of dividing Texas into multiple states, with many Republicans and wartime refugees arguing this would protect them from violence perpetrated by former Confederates, but this plan was never actualized.⁷⁴²

One of the most important consequences of the Convention was the growing schism between moderate and radical Republicans. Infighting in the Republican Party dominated the convention and, in addition to seriously delaying productivity, tensions erupted into at least four different fistfights between delegates, one including wartime refugee J.P. Newcomb.⁷⁴³ By 1869, moderates or Conservatives, under A. J. Hamilton, and Radicals, under E. J. Davis, were primarily divided over two things: their attitude toward black rights, and their attitude toward former Confederates. As Carl Moneyhon notes in his 1980 monograph *Republicanism in Reconstruction Texas*, though, it was only as Conservative Republicans began to turn their backs on black rights and, consequently, lose black voters, that they opted for more conciliatory measures towards former Confederates.⁷⁴⁴ Radical Republicans, on the other hand, had a multi-racial coalition consisting of Unionists like E.J. Davis, freedmen such as Union League organizer and convention delegate George Ruby, as well as Tejano allies like the 400 members of el Club Mexicano-Texano formed in San Antonio by Epistacio Mondragón, Juan M. Chávez, José Fermín Cassiano, Juan E. Barrera, Agustín Gutiérrez, and Antonio P. Rivas.⁷⁴⁵ By the end of the convention, the two factions

⁷⁴² Among the wartime refugees who supported the division of the state were J. P. Newcomb and E.J. Davis. See *Journal of the Reconstruction Convention: which met at Austin, Texas* (Austin, TX: Tracy, Siemering & Co., 1870) and Moneyhon, *Republicanism in Reconstruction Texas*, 92.

⁷⁴³ Marten, *Texas Divided*, 132.

⁷⁴⁴ Moneyhon, *Republicanism in Reconstruction Texas*, 100.

⁷⁴⁵ For more on the Mexican-Texan Club see Arnaldo De León, *The Tejano Community, 1836–1900* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 30 and Judith Berg Sobré, *San Antonio on Parade: Six Historic Festivals* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2003), 40, 80-1.

of the party were solidified, and would remain so through the election of 1869, in which two former refugees, Davis and Hamilton, were pitted against one another.

The Texas gubernatorial election of 1869 between E. J. Davis and A. J. Hamilton would have multiple significant ramifications. First among them was the deepening rift between moderate and radical Republicans. The election of 1869 in Texas was representative of the different visions for the Reconstructed South that existed even among former refugees. How different would the New South be? How would wartime loyalty and action affect their lives in the aftermath of the war? How would refugees negotiate their wartime Unionism with postwar race relations? Whereas conservative Republicans were willing to compromise on their commitment to punishing former Confederates in order to maintain white supremacy, radical Texas Republicans often found themselves broadening their views to accept changing race relations if it ensured that former Confederates would not return to power.

Although Davis and Hamilton were the candidates for Governor, their different stances on Reconstruction and the future of the South represented a larger schism between white people throughout the former Confederacy. Wartime refugees were among those who struggled with balancing the need to restore loyal government with the changes in race relations resulting from emancipation and Reconstruction. Among those who struggled to balance these two topics was wartime refugee-turned-politician James P. Newcomb, who became more gradually more radical as Reconstruction continued in Texas.⁷⁴⁶

Newcomb fled San Antonio in 1861 after his Unionist newspaper the *Alamo Express* was destroyed by secessionists. He escaped through Mexico to California, where his

⁷⁴⁶ See Dale A. Somers, "James P. Newcomb: The Making of a Radical," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 72, no. 4 (April 1969), 449-469, for an analysis of Newcomb's political transformation.

Unionism began to transform to Republicanism. Historian Dale Somers has argued that it was Newcomb's allegiance to the United States that encouraged his transition from antebellum Know-Nothing, to Unionist refugee, to radical Republican, and that his time in California as a refugee was instrumental in this transition.⁷⁴⁷ Throughout his five years in California, Newcomb became increasingly more vocal and radical in his Republican views. Upon returning to Texas, Newcomb's political views were considered radical and dangerous by other Texans, even if he was not as radical as Republicans elsewhere. Unlike many other refugees, Newcomb did not seem intent on punishing former Confederates, but he did compromise his views on race in order to ensure the recreation of a loyal government in Texas. In 1867, when he returned to Texas, Newcomb explained that he favored civil rights for freedpeople, saying, "As to the Freedmen, I am prejudiced in favor of the White race, but I see in the question of Negro suffrage, left unsettled, great trouble in the future—a cloud that will obscure us from the full light of freedom's day."⁷⁴⁸ Although Newcomb was admittedly racist, he feared that abandoning the civil rights of freedpeople would enable former Confederates to return to power, and endanger even the limited progress that had been made since the defeat of the Confederacy.

Newcomb served as a delegate to the 1868-9 state constitutional convention and was a vocal supporter of the radical Republican faction and was also well-known from his Republican newspaper influence. Newcomb explained that Congressional Reconstruction was necessary because "otherwise there will be no peace, no equality of citizens, no law or order, in the South, and gradually one state after another will be controlled by the wealthy land-owners of these States and present a solid front for repudiation and in opposition to all

⁷⁴⁷ Somers, "James P. Newcomb," 460.

⁷⁴⁸ Newcomb, cited in Somers "James P. Newcomb," 464.

that has cost the nation so much of its precious blood and treasure.”⁷⁴⁹ Newcomb’s support for Congressional Reconstruction demonstrates how the possibility of former Confederates returning to power encouraged him to temporarily keep his political views more aligned with “radical” Republicans, even if this was out of self-interest rather than support for Black civil rights.

The majority of refugees gradually embraced more conservative views in response to Congressional Reconstruction’s demands for civil rights, a transition which revealed their adherence to white supremacy and solidarity above all else. John Hancock was one former refugee who initially returned to Texas and aimed to get involved in politics in order to restore loyal government to Texas, but despite his pre-war and wartime Unionism, did not embrace the Republican party postwar.

At the close of the war, many refugees swore vengeance on former Confederates, and strongly supported the requirements of the amnesty oath and pardon. In particular, refugees and Unionists feared the possibility that former Confederates would be able to return to political office. Unlike these refugees, though, Hancock worried that the disfranchisement of former Confederates would perpetuate wartime divisions and prevent the reunification of the nation. Hancock recorded, “I regret this bitterness of feeling and fear it presages evil for the future,” and recommended “the better plan would be to treat the Rebels now that they are defeated with leniency.”⁷⁵⁰ Hancock’s diary entries following the surrender at Appomattox in April 1865 indicate that he supported leniency toward former Confederates at least in part because he feared that lingering wartime divisions would cause violence in postwar Texas, and that if this was the case, his wife and son might find

⁷⁴⁹ J.P. Newcomb, “An Appeal in Behalf of the Republicans of Texas,” in the James Pearson Newcomb, Sr., Papers, 1835-1941, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, The University of Texas at Austin.

⁷⁵⁰ May 14, 1865, Hancock Diary, UT-Austin.

themselves in danger because of Hancock's Unionism. Hancock wanted to return to his family in Texas, and he believed his lenient stance toward former Confederates could help ensure the peaceful restoration of Texas to the Union. Indeed, Hancock returned to Texas in June 1865 specifically to "influence as far as I may be able the public mind to the acceptance of the changed condition of things and harmonize all parties to an early establishment of civil authority."⁷⁵¹

Following his return to Texas, Hancock was elected as a delegate to the Texas Constitutional Convention of 1866, campaigning on a platform of leniency for former Confederates. In one of his speeches in late 1865 he encouraged Texans to "let the past bury the dead, seize the present, and calmly and dispassionately consider the future."⁷⁵² In addition to his support for the return to the status quo for former Confederates, it was also clear that Hancock preferred race relations to resume the status quo as much as possible as well. Hancock had no interest in the rights of freedpeople and was known for his remark that he was as likely to support black suffrage as he was to support giving mules the right to vote.⁷⁵³ As Presidential Reconstruction was replaced with Congressional Reconstruction, Hancock transitioned from a Unionist to a staunch Democrat, and would serve as a Democratic U. S. Senator for Texas in the 1870s. Despite his displacement as a result of the Confederate experiment, Hancock quickly abandoned many of his fellow refugees who supported more radical Reconstruction policies, and instead, promoted a quick return to a constitutional form of government, which, for Hancock, was also a white supremacist government. Hancock's distance from the Republican party, like many others, was prompted

⁷⁵¹ June 2, 1865, Hancock Diary, UT-Austin.

⁷⁵² Cited in Marten, *Texas Divided*, 133. Originally from a speech reprinted in the *Galveston Weekly News*, December 19, 1865.

⁷⁵³ Marten, *Texas Divided*, 133.

by his willingness to abandon black rights and compromise on punishing former Confederates in order to restore a white supremacist government to power in Texas.

The juxtaposition of Newcomb and Hancock, and Davis and Hamilton, reflects just how tenuously the refugees' Unionism had been tied to antislavery and racial equality. While the majority of wartime refugees involved in Texas politics initially expected the South to fundamentally change as a result of Confederate defeat, the fatal fracturing of the Republican party in Texas demonstrated that most white Texans did not expect a revolution in the aftermath of the war, but instead hoped for a return to the status quo. Although this was not entirely possible in the aftermath of the war and emancipation, the restoration of white supremacist government soon became a central tenet of the Reconstructed South, and wartime refugees were torn over accepting "redemption," or again espousing views that would make them a target for white supremacist violence in their home state. Indeed, it was this fear that prompted John Hancock to encourage leniency toward former Confederates, and to so openly detest the Republican party and its acceptance of changing racial norms.⁷⁵⁴ Wartime refugees embraced the restoration of white supremacist government to avoid violence during Reconstruction, which also reveals that most refugees were never committed racial equality. Their political views reflected their own self-interest, especially as Reconstruction-era violence intensified. Although most wartime refugees and Unionists abandoned the Republican Party gradually, the small measures of racial equality required by Congress increasingly led white voters, including former refugees, to embrace conservative, white supremacist views, despite their initial intentions to reconstruct a constitutional government in the state that excluded former Confederates.

⁷⁵⁴ See the John Hancock diary, especially May 14, 1865 and June 2, 1865.

While the gubernatorial race of 1869 was symbolic of the fracturing Republican party in Texas, Radical Republicans were nonetheless able to prevail and elect E. J. Davis for governor. Davis's victory was likely thanks in part to the endorsement of President Ulysses S. Grant, which identified him as the "true" Republican candidate—an especially important endorsement when the two major candidates in the election were both Republicans. Davis's victory, in part, was also a result of white voter apathy, especially among Democrats and former Confederates, many of whom boycotted the election because they refused to vote for a radical Republican like Davis, but also refused to compromise their defiance of Reconstruction by voting for A. J. Hamilton, another wartime refugee, Unionist, and Republican.⁷⁵⁵ Davis's Republican victory in 1869 was also significant since it led to the end of Reconstruction in Texas. Shortly after Davis and the Republican legislature took office in January 1870, they ratified the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, and elected Senators to represent the state in the U.S. Congress. Davis wrote to President Grant informing him that Texas had completed the requirements for readmission, and shortly after, Congress affirmed Texas's restoration to the Union.

While Davis's election played a major role in helping restore the state to the Union, it would also deal a major blow to the Reconstruction-era strength of the Texas Republican Party. The fracturing that was so evident during the election would only worsen with Davis as Governor. Historians note Davis's term for its controversial radical policies, the most controversial of which was the creation of the Texas State Police.⁷⁵⁶ This is one reason why

⁷⁵⁵ By the time of the 1869 election, nearly all eligible black men were registered to vote, but the return of the franchise to former Confederates put white voters in the majority for the first time since the end of the war. Despite this advantage for conservative voters, Davis still won the election, although by less than 800 votes. The number of Texans who remained disfranchised for Confederate involvement in 1867 is not clear, but historian Dale Baum argues that white voter apathy led to a Radical majority. See Baum, *The Shattering of Texas Unionism*, 238 and Waller, *Colossal Hamilton of Texas*, 130. For an analysis of quantitative data related to this election see Baum, *The Shattering of Texas Unionism*, 165-174.

⁷⁵⁶ Waller, *Colossal Hamilton of Texas*, 131.

divisions within the Republican Party continued to deepen, prompting more and more Texans to abandon the Republican Party, even wartime refugees and Unionists. Although the Davis administration attempted to counter its image as “Black Republicans” and attract white voters, his reluctance to abandon the interests of black voters in order to cater to white voters would solidify the downfall of the Texas Republican Party. In 1872, all four Congressmen from Texas were Democrats, including wartime refugee John Hancock. The Democrats won a majority in the state legislature in 1872, and with the election of Democrat Richard Coke for Governor in 1873, the state had been fully “redeemed,” and white supremacist government restored. It would be over a century before Texas voters elected another Republican governor, Bill Clements, in 1978. Although most wartime refugees returning to Texas hoped that the conservative men who had advocated Texas secession would not be returned to power, their fear of undoing the work of the rebellion was only secondary to their fear of Black civil rights.

The desire to punish former Confederates through disfranchisement was not specific to Texas, and the eventual abandonment of this platform in favor of white supremacy is evident in other former Confederate states as well, including Tennessee. Before the Civil War even ended, Military Governor of Tennessee Andrew Johnson was punishing Tennesseans with Confederate sympathies.⁷⁵⁷ Johnson had previously disfranchised Confederates and Confederate sympathizers to prevent them from voting for McClellan for President in 1864, and he supported a stricter version of the amnesty oath than was required under Presidential Reconstruction to prevent former Confederates from regaining political power. At the same time, a group of East Tennessee Unionists who supported Lincoln’s re-

⁷⁵⁷ Wilson D. Miscamble and William G. Miscamble, “Andrew Johnson and the Election of William G. (“Parson”) Brownlow As Governor of Tennessee,” *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 37, No. 3 (Fall 1978): 313.

election and Confederate disfranchisement proposed a state convention to be held in December 1864. With Confederates disfranchised, Unionists were the only options for delegates to the convention. The convention, held in January 1865, was significant because of the preliminary steps delegates took to restore the state to the Union. Military Governor Andrew Johnson encouraged the convention to amend the state constitution to abolish slavery, which they did, as well as repudiating the ordinance of secession and declaring all laws since secession null and void. The state was well on its way to readmission to the Union, and the next step was for the people to ratify the changes to the state constitution, and to elect governors and state representatives. The convention then nominated William Gannaway Brownlow as the candidate for governor.⁷⁵⁸

Brownlow, a journalist and Methodist preacher often known as the “Parson,” was from the Unionist-stronghold in Eastern Tennessee, and he had remained staunchly Unionist when Tennessee finally seceded from the Union and joined the Confederacy. He was outspoken about his Union loyalty, including in his Unionist newspaper the Knoxville *Whig*. In 1862, tired of Brownlow’s pro-Union activities, Confederate officials arrested and effectively banished him from the Confederate States, by escorting him to Union-occupied Nashville.⁷⁵⁹ From there, Brownlow would embark on a year-long speaking tour, sharing the story of his arrest and exile, before returning to occupied Nashville in 1863, and then occupied Knoxville that fall, where he resumed operations of his newspaper under the vindictive title *Knoxville Whig and Rebel Ventilator*.

⁷⁵⁸ See Miscamble and Miscamble, “Andrew Johnson and the Election of William G. (“Parson”) Brownlow As Governor of Tennessee,” *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 37, No. 3 (Fall 1978): 308-320.

⁷⁵⁹ Brownlow’s wife, Eliza, and their children were escorted safely out of Confederate Tennessee with passage to Union-occupied Norfolk. See E. Merton Coulter, *William G. Brownlow: Fighting Parson of the Southern Highlands* (1937, reprinted, Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999), 210. See also OR II:1, 902-931. I also want to note that Parson Brownlow and I share a birthday which I think is pretty cool.

With Confederates disfranchised, Brownlow was easily elected Governor in 1865, and while in office, he pursued the punishment of former Confederates with vengeance. Although his first action in office was to ensure the state legislature ratified the Thirteenth Amendment, he was quick to encourage a series of bills punishing former Confederates for rebelling against the United States. The bills disfranchised any person who had supported the Confederacy for five years, except in the case of Confederate political and military leaders, who were disfranchised for fifteen years.⁷⁶⁰ Brownlow would later support revising this law to an even stricter standard by requiring voters to prove their loyalty to the Union before registering to vote. Encouraged in no small part by personal animosity, Brownlow proposed measures to fine anyone wearing a Confederate uniform, and even proposed a law to prevent ministers who were former Confederates from performing legal marriage ceremonies.⁷⁶¹ In fact, Brownlow personally wanted to banish former Confederates from east Tennessee, but this forced relocation of wartime enemies was never realized.⁷⁶² Although many radical Republicans supported Brownlow's disfranchisement of Confederates, conservative Republicans began to see Brownlow's vengeance as despotic, especially once he also began to advocate for civil rights for freed people.

Immediately after the legislation that became the Fourteenth Amendment was introduced in Congress, Brownlow recommended it to the state legislature in 1866, recognizing that ratification of the amendment would likely lead to Tennessee's readmission to the Union. As the state legislature assembled to vote on the amendment, conservative Republicans began to leave the capitol building in an attempt to prevent a quorum from

⁷⁶⁰ Coulter, *William G. Brownlow*, 269. As a student of Dunning school historian J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, Coulter's 1937 biography of Brownlow reflects many of the outdated biases associated with Dunning, including the romanticization of the Lost Cause narrative and the demonization of Reconstruction.

⁷⁶¹ Coulter, *William G. Brownlow*, 269.

⁷⁶² Coulter, *William G. Brownlow*, 273.

being present for the vote. Brownlow turned to the United States Army, who caught and arrested two of the representatives. The men were taken back to the statehouse, ensuring that a quorum was present when the Tennessee General Assembly ratified the amendment, which successfully resulted in the state's readmission to the Union under Presidential Reconstruction, the only former Confederate state to do so.⁷⁶³

Although Brownlow's legally questionable move prevented Tennessee from having to undergo Congressional Reconstruction, it began to deepen the schism between radical and conservative Republicans in the state. Of particular concern to conservatives were the lengths Brownlow and radical Republicans were willing to go to in order to prevent former Confederates from regaining power, including acknowledging the civil rights of freedpeople in the Fourteenth Amendment. In February 1867 the state legislature passed a bill acknowledging the right of Black men to vote, and the support of Black voters and the continued disfranchisement of former Confederates led to Brownlow's overwhelming re-election to a second term as governor.⁷⁶⁴

Despite Brownlow's re-election, his actions continued to drive a wedge in the Republican party. The Ku Klux Klan, composed primarily of embittered and disfranchised former Confederates, continued to threaten violence against Black voters and white Unionists, leading Brownlow to impose martial law in nine Tennessee counties in early 1869. In addition, the legislature granted the governor power to nullify election returns if he believed disfranchised voters had illegally cast a ballot, and Brownlow used this power widely. Brownlow's detractors, including conservative Republicans and Democrats, used all of these actions as evidence of Brownlow's despotism, and many began to defect from the

⁷⁶³ Coulter, *William G. Brownlow*, 313-315.

⁷⁶⁴ Coulter, *William G. Brownlow*, 330-339.

Party when the radical Republicans commitment to black civil rights became clear. Whereas in the immediate aftermath of the Civil War, numerous wartime refugees-turned-Republican politician wanted to disfranchise former Confederates, by the late 1860s, most were beginning to soften their stance toward former Confederates.

This was the case with DeWitt Clinton Senter, a wartime refugee and Republican politician who had initially supported Brownlow and radical Republicans. Senter, an East Tennessee Unionist, had been elected to the state Senate in 1865, and in 1867 he became Speaker of the Senate. In 1869, Governor Brownlow resigned to take a seat in the U.S. Senate, and as Speaker of the Senate in Tennessee, Senter became governor. Despite having supported Brownlow's disfranchisement policies in the immediate aftermath of the war, shortly after taking office it became clear that his views had become more conservative. As a newly appointed Governor facing re-election in just a few months, Senter supported restoring the franchise to former Confederates, and also disbanded the state police being used to suppress Klan violence.⁷⁶⁵

Unlike Brownlow, Senter was willing to compromise on the punishment of former Confederates when it became clear that radical Republicans wanted to continue expanding the rights of freedpeople. Like many wartime refugees from Texas, Senter abandoned the radical Republicans in favor of a white supremacist government. Senter's election in 1869, and the election of a conservative majority in the General Assembly, was the first step toward the "redemption" of Tennessee. Texas and Tennessee, nonetheless, are only two examples of how commitment to white supremacy began to overshadow wartime loyalty in the aftermath of the Civil War, even among wartime refugees. Wartime refugee and Reconstruction Governor of Alabama William Hugh Smith likewise became more lenient

⁷⁶⁵ Coulter, *William G. Brownlow*, 392-3.

toward former Confederates as changing race relations threatened white supremacy.⁷⁶⁶ Even J. P. Newcomb would eventually abandon his support of Black civil rights in favor of white supremacy, becoming the leader of the “Lily White” faction of Texas’ Republican Party in the 1890s, as white politicians implemented poll taxes and other legal maneuvers to disfranchise Black male voters.

Initially, the disfranchisement of Confederates was important to most Unionists, but as time wore on, the importance of wartime loyalties began to fade, and was replaced with a renewed commitment to white supremacy. Although political advantage for former Unionists was eliminated with the “redemption” of Southern states by former Confederates in the mid-1870s, the temporary political power wielded by white wartime refugees in the aftermath of the war had a lasting effect on reconstructing the former Confederacy and incorporating it back into the Union—and ironically, in redeeming it for former Confederates and jointly restoring white supremacist government. These refugees were a crucial variable in Reconstruction politics and following the evolution of their political views provides insight on the evolution of Southern states in the aftermath of the Civil War, and also provides insight into the death of Reconstruction.

The scope of wartime refugee involvement in Texas Reconstruction politics makes it an important area to focus on the transition away from Republicanism in the South. Numerous former Confederate states, and thousands of white residents within them, embraced increasingly white supremacist views as Reconstruction continued. White supremacist government in the aftermath of the Civil War did not only affect freedpeople, but also affected relations with Native Americans, especially in western states like Texas.

⁷⁶⁶ Walter L. Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1905), 125, 501, 736.

In Texas, securing peace and safety for white residents not only prompted numerous politicians to abandon Black civil rights, but also to continue their efforts to colonize Indigenous lands in western Texas with white “settlers.” Before his murder in October 1867, Reading Wood Black had been developing a plan to get rid of all American Indians in southern and western Texas. He wrote to Governor James Throckmorton with information on the movements of Native Americans in the area, including Lipan Apaches who had confirmed they had taken American children as captives, and Kickapoos who were allegedly stealing cattle. Black explained that if he had the authority from the federal government to treat with these and other tribes, he would be able to induce the Kickapoo to return to Missouri and take the other small bands that Black deemed problematic with them. Black would “thereby rid the entire southern Texas frontier of Indian depredations After the removal of these small bands and the reestablishing of the Military posts on the El Paso road it will be very easy to prevent any Indians living south of said road [sic].”⁷⁶⁷ Black continued with his plans for ridding far Western Texas of American Indians, writing that the trans-Pecos region needed more white permanent residents, and even proposing that the state donate land for a settlement and provide irrigation for it, which would be the only way to ensure the settlement remained permanent. Black believed that “Such a settlement would protect the entire western frontier. And by encouraging a line of settlement from red river across the panhandle, it would relieve the most of Texas from Indian depredations, and open an immense extent of grazing country to settlement [sic].”⁷⁶⁸ Although Black would not

⁷⁶⁷ Reading Wood Black to James W. Throckmorton, January 6, 1867, Reading Wood Black Papers, 1847-1892, 1934, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, The University of Texas at Austin.

⁷⁶⁸ Reading Wood Black to James W. Throckmorton, January 6, 1867, Reading Wood Black Papers, 1847-1892, 1934, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, The University of Texas at Austin.

live to pursue this plan for western Texas, many other Texans also envisioned white settler colonialism in the West.

Black's approach of eliminating Indigenous groups and replacing them with desirable white emigrants is the most basic element of settler colonialism. Historian Michelle Cassidy explains that nineteenth-century settler colonialism required "the removal of Indigenous people in order for settlers to permanently occupy the land," as Black describes for postwar Texas.⁷⁶⁹ Black was not the only wartime refugee who would encourage the displacement of American Indians from Indigenous lands for the benefit of white emigrants, as immigration and internal improvements became central to Republican attempts to reconstruct Texas. Indeed it was part of the Radical Republican platform endorsed by Texas Republicans in 1868, which stated:

That the Republican party of Texas earnestly desires the encouragement of internal improvement and immigration, and will, as a party, press the adoption of measures having these ends in view. That in connection herewith, we condemn the demagogical use of the term of "carpetbagger" and other terms of reproach applied to strangers who may come among us, designed to keep alive the prejudices of the ignorant and deter immigration.⁷⁷⁰

Those endorsing the platform included wartime refugees E.J. Davis and Jacob K uchler. During the 1868 Constitutional Convention, Edward Degener, a German-American Unionist whose two sons were killed as they attempted to flee from Texas at the Nueces incident in 1862, chaired a committee for immigration which reported that the new state Constitution should require the creation of the Texas Bureau of Immigration. The

⁷⁶⁹Michelle Cassidy, "The Contours of Settler Colonialism in Civil War Pension Files," Muster: The Blog of The Journal of the Civil War Era, published June 28, 2019, accessed April 21, 2020, <https://www.journalofthecivilwarera.org/2019/06/the-contours-of-settler-colonialism-in-civil-war-pension-files/>. See also Paul Barba, "A War for Settler Colonialism," Muster: The Blog of The Journal of the Civil War Era, published March 3, 2020, accessed April 21, 2020, <https://www.journalofthecivilwarera.org/2020/03/a-war-for-settler-colonialism/>. For more on settler colonialism see Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (December 2006): 387-93.

⁷⁷⁰Houston *Union*, June 9, 1869.

committee specifically stated that the Bureau was necessary to ensure the immigration of white emigrants and immigrants from places already acquainted with free labor, and specifically noted the unsuitability of white Southern laborers because of their supposed unfamiliarity with free labor—and likely also intended to prevent the immigration of former Confederates. Instead, the state report specifically noted that German and Scandinavian migrants either directly from Europe or from the Northern and Midwestern U.S. would make ideal emigrants.⁷⁷¹ Although a common impetus for supporting immigration was the desire to bring in those that were loyal to the United States government, it is also important to note that this method of increasing white residents in Texas is part of the history of U.S. settler colonialism, a specific form of white supremacist government.

District commissioners for the Bureau of Immigration were required to submit demographic information about emigrants to Texas, including their origin, the terms of the land sale or lease, and also required them to report how the land was being used. Reports on land usage were required every twelve months, and included such information as: the number of acres under cultivation, what crops were cultivated, the need for laborers in the area and average wages, the type of other industries in the area, like textile mills, and any information on mineral or metal stores in the area.⁷⁷² These statistics were meant not only to keep track of Texas residents, but were also specifically designed to encourage the cultivation and productivity of the land by white emigrants, thereby ensuring permanent white settlement.

The 1870 Act organizing the Texas Bureau of Immigration also encouraged the formation of immigration associations which purchased land to sell to immigrants, often

⁷⁷¹ Edward Degener to E. J. Davis, “Report of the Immigration Committee,” June 28, 1868, *Journal of the Reconstruction Convention, which met at Austin, Texas, June 1, A.D., 1868* (Tracy, Siemering & Co., 1870), 162-169.

⁷⁷² See “Act organizing the Texas Bureau of Immigration” in Kuechler Papers, UT-Austin.

after a fixed period of labor, in exchange for passage to the United States and access to land.⁷⁷³ Jacob K uchler, originally an emigrant from Hesse-Darmstadt, worked in numerous ways in the aftermath of the war to encourage white settlement in western Texas through European immigration. K uchler not only supported and worked in cooperation with the Texas Bureau of Immigration, but he was also a shareholder in one of the state’s immigration agencies, the Texas Colonization, Land, and Trust Company, founded in the 1870s. In 1873 the TCLTC released a circular promoting migration to Northwestern Texas, saying, “in its large tracts of rich and unoccupied lands and unsurpassed advantages in other respects offers to the settler, and capitalist seeking profitable and secure investment, numberless and unequalled opportunities to secure competence and wealth.”⁷⁷⁴ Not only does this advertisement ignore that the land in Northwestern Texas was traditionally Comanche and Lipan Apache land, it also promoted settler colonialism in association with the promises of capitalism.

Land was central to immigration and colonization schemes, and to settler colonialism itself. The Bureau of Immigration, as established in the 1869 State Constitution, provided that each emigrant head of family was entitled to a tract of 160 acres and each male emigrant, not head of family, was entitled to 80 acres.⁷⁷⁵ The land would become the emigrant’s property after three years of occupation and after paying for the tract of land to be surveyed. This required the Bureau of Immigration to work closely with the Texas General Land Office, and in 1870, military commander for the District of Texas Joseph

⁷⁷³ See “Act organizing the Texas Bureau of Immigration” in Kuechler Papers, UT-Austin.

⁷⁷⁴ Circular of the Texas Colonization, Land and Trust Company with a brief description of Texas, Northwestern Texas, and Young Country (Grayson County, Texas, 1873?), 1, cited in Sandra Roff, “Visions of a New Frontier: Nineteenth Century Texas Guidebooks in the New York Public Library and New York Historical Society Collections,” *East Texas Historical Journal* 29, no. 2 (1991): 15-25.

⁷⁷⁵ Edward Degener to E. J. Davis, “Report of the Immigration Committee,” June 28, 1868, *Journal of the Reconstruction Convention, which met at Austin, Texas, June 1, A.D., 1868* (Tracy, Siemering & Co., 1870), 163.

Reynolds appointed Jacob Kuchler as the Commissioner of the Texas General Land office. Kuchler served from January 1870, when the state had approximately 92 million acres with no legal claim, to January 1874, when the state had not quite 84 million acres of land with no claim.⁷⁷⁶ Over his four-year term, the state of Texas issued claims for over 8 million acres of land in the state. Among his duties was to oversee the issuing of land grants and claims, including those tracts allotted to immigrants, survey land in Southern and Western Texas that had yet to be surveyed, collect information on mineral and metal stores, and work with railroads to allot land for tracks and survey the land along the railroad route. These initiatives are all examples of settler colonialist policies in Reconstruction Texas that were encouraged by refugees who had been displaced during the Civil War, but who actively worked to displace non-white people for their own benefit.

Beginning in the 1870s, Kuchler became involved in a number of railroad projects in Texas. He was contracted as a surveyor for both the International-Great Northern Railroad and the Gulf, Western Texas, and Pacific railroads. Both of these railroads were intended to improve the speed and safety of travel and trade to and from less-populated areas of Texas to cities like San Antonio and Austin. The IGN ran from Hearne, Texas, southwest through Austin, San Antonio, and to the border town of Laredo, while the GWTP ran from San Antonio southeast to Victoria, Texas, near the Gulf of Mexico. In 1878, Kuchler was contracted to survey for the Texas & Pacific Railroad, which was planned as a southern transcontinental railroad extending from Marshall, Texas, to San Diego, California.⁷⁷⁷ The

⁷⁷⁶ In January, 1870, the state listed 92,161,244 acres of land with no claim. In February 1874, just after Kuchler's term ended, the state listed 83,783,751 acres of land with no claim. This is a difference of 8,377,493 acres within four years. Report of the Commissioner of the Texas General Land Office (Austin: Von Boeckmann, Moore & Schutze, 1899), 8-10.

⁷⁷⁷ See W. J. Powell, *Report of a Land re-Survey of Texas & Pacific Railway Lands in the 80 Mile Reservation made in 1930-1 for Klob, Rumsey and Abrams* (1931), 2. The Texas & Pacific did not reach San Diego, but joined the Southern Pacific tracks in Sierra Blanca, Texas, then part of El Paso county.

railroad had 2,600 land certificates that they needed to be surveyed in the area between the Pecos River and the Rio Grande in far western Texas. Kuchler had a team of about ten men, and a military escort of about ten men, to survey the area of 1.6 million acres in western Texas and locate the 2,600 land claims. Later surveyors in the twentieth century would note that Kuchler's survey was not entirely accurate, nor done to the degree of accuracy expected, but they also note "his instructions were to run enough lines to explore the country and take up the amount of land called for in the certificates."⁷⁷⁸ Kuchler was not hired to complete a full survey of the trans-Pecos region, but simply to survey it accurately enough to locate as many land claims as possible, and ensure that future white emigrants would be able to settle in the area with ease, again with little interest in the resulting effects on Indigenous groups like the Lipan Apaches. Settler colonialist policies like government-sponsored immigration, distribution of land, and construction of railroads demonstrate the overlap of the restoration of white supremacist government in the South and settler colonialism in the West. The settler colonial impulse in the post-Civil War era is even more evident in Indian Territory.

Whereas numerous white refugees worked to advance white supremacist government and settler colonialist policies, tens of thousands of Native American refugees returning to Indian Territory were desperately trying to avoid the establishment of a government led by white men. Maintaining tribal sovereignty and retaining ownership of their lands had been an ongoing struggle for the Five Nations and other nations in Indian Territory, and in the aftermath of the Civil War, the struggle for sovereignty would only continue. These nations realized that they were more vulnerable when they were divided, and sought to meet quickly to resolve internal divisions. The first major step was settling conflicts between Union and

⁷⁷⁸ See W. J. Powell, *Report of a Land re-Survey of Texas & Pacific Railway Lands in the 80 Mile Reservation made in 1930-1 for Klob, Rumsey and Abrams* (1931), 9.

Confederate factions within each nation, and in order to accomplish this, nearly a dozen American Indian nations planned to meet at Fort Smith, Arkansas in September 1865. Among these nations were the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Muskogee, Seminole, Osage, Seneca, Shawnees, Seneca and Shawnee, Quapaws, Wyandottes, and Wichitas.

Nonetheless, upon arriving at Fort Smith, many of these nations were surprised to find that the Office of Indian Affairs wanted to use the opportunity to reconstruct the relationship of each nation with the federal government by signing new treaties. Mikko Hut-kee, speaking for the Muskogee, explained, “Our people at home supposed that we came to meet and come to terms with our rebel brothers, and we thought that was all we had to do at this council.”⁷⁷⁹ He further explained that if the goal was to make a new treaty with the United States, the Muskogees would need to have another tribal council meeting to authorize a treaty and discuss the demands made by the U.S. government before he could agree to them. Pascofa, a Seminole delegate, Silas Armstrong, a Wyandotte delegate, S. G. Valier, a Quapaw delegate, and Ex-tor-lut-kee (John Lewis), a loyal Chickasaw delegate, all responded similarly to Mikko Hut-kee upon learning that the intention of the council was not to ensure peace between and within Indian nations, but for each nation to draw up new treaties with the United States.

These nations grew more concerned as federal government officials laid out the reasoning for the new treaties and listed seven stipulations the United States required for the treaty. After opening the council with a prayer in Cherokee, Commissioner D. N. Cooley immediately explained that the council was “to renew their allegiance to the United States,” which was necessary since:

⁷⁷⁹ “Official Report of the Proceedings of the Council with the Indians of the West and Southwest, Held at Fort Smith, Arkansas, in September, 1865,” *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1865* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1866), 316. (Hereafter cited as *AR CIA* and year.)

portions of several tribes and nations have attempted to throw off their allegiance to the United States, and have made treaty stipulations with the enemies of the government, and have been in open war with those who remained loyal and true, and at war with the United States. All such have rightfully forfeited all annuities and interests in the lands of Indian territory. But with the return of peace, after subduing and punishing severely in battle those who caused the rebellion, the President is willing to hear his erring children in extenuation of their great crime. He has authorized us to make new treaties with such nations and tribes as are willing to be at peace among themselves and with the United States.⁷⁸⁰

The seven items required by the federal government included measures for “peace and amity among themselves, each other as tribes, and with the United States,” but it also required Indian nations living in Indian territory to assist the United States in suppressing Plains Indians who might fight against the United States. The demands also required the abolition of slavery and the incorporation of freedpeople into the nation, a significant measure for the 7,000 people formerly enslaved by the Five Nations, especially since these requirements were not yet in place for former Confederate states. The most concerning requirements recommended by the federal government for the new treaty, however, were measures allowing the settlement of American Indians from outside of Indian Territory on “surplus lands,” and a stipulation that the nations agree to one consolidated form of civil government that represented all of the people in Indian Territory.

The concern over the division and sale of surplus land and the form of civil government was intertwined. Many American Indians feared not only the loss of their lands to other nations, and perhaps, eventually, white emigrants, but they also realized that their influence would be limited in a consolidated government, especially as more, diverse nations were relocated to Indian Territory, and even more so if the territory were to be opened to white emigrants. As one representative from the Southern Cherokee delegation explained,

⁷⁸⁰ “Official Report of the Proceedings of the Council with the Indians of the West and Southwest, Held at Fort Smith, Arkansas, in September, 1865,” *AR CIA* 1865, 314.

“The consolidation of all the nations and tribes in the Indian Territory into one government is open to serious objection. There are so many, and in some instances antagonistic, grades of tastes, customs, and enlightenment, that to throw the whole into one heterogeneous government would be productive of inextricable confusion.”⁷⁸¹ As the nations from Indian Territory faced these possibilities for the future, many resisted reaching an immediate decision, especially after the misleading pretenses that brought them to Fort Smith.

Furthermore, part of the problem in drafting a treaty was the remaining divisions within the nations. As the federal government realized, these were not just lingering divisions over loyalty during the Civil War, but the divisions in fact dated back to the forced removal of the Five Nations from their homes in the Southeast in the 1830s. These divisions continued after the arrival of the Five Nations in Indian Territory, and were exacerbated by the United States Civil War, with many nations splintering along these pre-existing lines into factions that supported either the Confederacy or the United States. These divisions were so deep that the federal government commissioners adjourned the council, saying, “no final treaties could be now concluded... until the differences between the loyal and disloyal portions were healed.”⁷⁸² The delegates returned home and were expected to meet again in Washington to finalize details of the new treaties.

In addition to reinforcing divisions within the Nations, the Fort Smith Council also made clear to these American Indian nations that they were intended to be punished for their involvement in the Civil War. Federal government officials made this clear through the introductory speech at the council and the seven stipulations required for a new treaty. However, perhaps more than anything, the intention to punish American Indians, and the

⁷⁸¹ “Report of D. N. Cooley, as President of the Southern Treaty Commission,” *AR CIA* 1865, 116.

⁷⁸² D. N. Cooley to James Harlan, October 31, 1865, *AR CIA* 1865, 35.

flimsy pretenses for doing so, were made glaringly clear in the federal government's vilification of John Ross.

As soon as the Fort Smith Council began, the federal government refused to recognize Ross as Chief, instead relying on acting chief Lewis Downing to represent the Cherokee Nation. Indeed, documents indicate that Cooley specifically targeted Ross, although the reason why is not entirely clear.⁷⁸³ In the summary of events at the Fort Smith Council, Cooley addressed the group as "bona fide rebels," a term to which those representing loyal factions of the Cherokee strongly objected. Chief Ross sent a written statement to his delegates, laying out the events of the Civil War as they had happened, with special attention to how the United States broke their treaties with the Five Nations by abandoning Indian Territory in 1861, and how Ross had little option but to acquiesce to Confederate forces once they took over Cherokee Nation. Cooley mocked this version of events in his annual report, saying "they attempted to charge the causes of their secession upon the United States, as having violated its treaty obligations, in failing to give the tribe protection, so that it was *compelled* to enter into relations with the Confederacy."⁷⁸⁴ Cooley added to this by saying that under Ross's leadership, the Cherokee had "at the very opening of the rebellion, entered into an alliance with it, and raised troops for it, and urged the other tribes to go with them."⁷⁸⁵ It is important to note here that the United States did, in fact, break its treaties with the Five Nations, and furthermore, the United States government admitted that failure and used it to justify supporting the nearly 30,000 American Indian refugees who came to them for aid and protection during the Civil War. It is also important to note that the Cherokee Nation was neutral, exhibiting what Cherokee delegates would call

⁷⁸³ Moulton, *John Ross*, 184-192.

⁷⁸⁴ D. N. Cooley to James Harlan, October 31, 1865, *AR CIA* 1865, 35.

⁷⁸⁵ D. N. Cooley to James Harlan, October 31, 1865, *AR CIA* 1865, 35.

a “sort of Kentucky neutrality,” until the Nation was invaded by Confederate forces.⁷⁸⁶ Ross finally signed a treaty to ally the Cherokee Nation with the Confederacy, but not until September of 1861, making the Cherokee the last of the Five Nations to acquiesce to Confederate demands, not precipitators of secession as Cooley implies. Cooley also employed a highly selective series of documents to establish the Ross’s “bad faith” before inducing the federal government to refuse to recognize John Ross as chief of the Cherokee.

The counterfactual vilification of Ross is significant because it is indicative of the larger aims of the United States government—to obtain land from American Indian nations and use those lands to constrict the movements of American Indians, and then use any surplus to encourage the emigration of white “settlers,” all under the pretense of punishing Confederate-allied Indians for treason. Obfuscating Ross’s loyalty, and the intricately complicated situation of the Cherokee Nation and numerous others, the 1865 Report to the Secretary of the Interior includes a brief extract at beginning, which reads,

Civilized and powerful tribes, however, residing within the Indian territory, united early in the year 1861 with the Indians of the prairies immediately west and north, for hostile operations against the United States. In flagrant violation of treaties which had been observed by us with scrupulous good faith, and in the absence of any just ground of complaint, these confederated Indians entered into an alliance with the rebel authorities and raised regiments in support of their cause. Their organized troops fought side by side with rebel soldiers, and detached bands made frequent assaults on the neighboring white settlements which were without adequate means of defence, and on the Indians who maintained friendly relations with this government. This state of things continued until the surrender of the rebel force west of the Mississippi. Hostilities were then suspended, and, at the request of the Indians, commissioners were sent to negotiate a treaty of peace. Such preliminary arrangements were made as, it is believed, will result in the abolition of slavery among them, the cession within the Indian territory of lands for the settlement of the civilized Indians now residing on reservations elsewhere, and the ultimate establishment of civil government, subject to the supervision of the United States.⁷⁸⁷

⁷⁸⁶ D. N. Cooley to James Harlan, October 31, 1865, *AR CIA* 1865, 94.

⁷⁸⁷ “Extract from the Report of the Secretary of the Interior relative to the Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,” *AR CIA* 1865, iii. See also *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior*, 1865, 7-10.

The extract then assures, “the perfidious conduct of the Indians in making unprovoked war upon us has been visited with the severest retribution.”⁷⁸⁸ The extract uses this information to conclude “every reasonable effort should be made to induce the Indians to adopt agricultural and pastoral pursuits.”⁷⁸⁹ This version of events is intentionally misleading, and undoubtedly used to the advantage of the United States government as a pretense for obtaining more American Indian land for white emigrants. In fact, this version of events is easily proven wrong simply by reading the actual contents of the 1865 Report, even if the reader only considered the federal government’s perspective of events. Documents and voices of American Indians within the federal government’s 1865 report also disprove the blanket disloyalty alleged by the federal government in the extract, as does every Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1862 to 1864.

The refusal to recognize John Ross as Chief of the Cherokee, nonetheless, only made the treaty-making process more difficult since it intensified divisions between Union and Confederate factions of the Cherokee Nation. As Blackbird Doublehead recalled, two major parties existed in Cherokee Nation, “the National Party and the Downing Party. Most of the men who belonged to the National Party were those who served in the Northern Army. The Downing Party was made up of those who favored the South.”⁷⁹⁰ Lingering divisions between Union and Confederate factions were dangerous though, and at least one federal official observed, “They have a domestic feud, of long standing, which prevents them from coming together for mutual aid and support in their manifold troubles.”⁷⁹¹

⁷⁸⁸ “Extract,” *AR CIA* 1865, iii.

⁷⁸⁹ “Extract,” *AR CIA* 1865, iv.

⁷⁹⁰ Interview of Blackbird Doublehead, September 14, 1937, Volume 25, Indian-Pioneer Papers, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma (henceforth IPP WHC).

⁷⁹¹ D. N. Cooley to James Harlan, October 31, 1865, *AR CIA* 1865, 38.

As divisions within the Cherokee Nation continued to prevent a new treaty with the United States, wartime divisions continued to affect the Muskogee Nation as well. As Scott Waldo McIntosh explained that in the aftermath of the Civil War it was the clear that, “Surely the poor Creeks had suffered for no good cause on the part of any of them. They were aware of this, although an enmity still existed between them.”⁷⁹² When they met at the Fort Smith Council, the Muskogees felt that, “All they really had left was their land, and now they were being told they would have to share a part of it with their wild Indian neighbors back in the states.”⁷⁹³ McIntosh notes that while at first the federal government demands were met with some resistance, “People however began to rehabilitate their homes and farms and finally agreed to be peaceful among themselves. They swore allegiances to the Federal Government and allowed other Indians to take part of their lands for a nominal sum. They let the negroes share in their tribal lands, and permitted railroads to take a portion of their lands for right-of-ways.”⁷⁹⁴

Ross looked on as the other nations displaced by the war treated with the United States and saw how the federal government used divisions within other Indian nations to their advantage by pitting factions of nations against one another.⁷⁹⁵ Doing so had ensured that all seven of the federal government stipulations made their into the final treaty in 1866, and it also included other provisions for railroad right-of-ways. Indian Nations that still remained divided had little collective power to resist these demands, and in June 1866, four of the Five Nations signed new treaties with the United States.

⁷⁹² Interview of Scott Waldo McIntosh, July 12, 1937, Volume 58, IPP WHC.

⁷⁹³ Interview of Scott Waldo McIntosh, July 12, 1937, Volume 58, IPP WHC.

⁷⁹⁴ Interview of Scott Waldo McIntosh, July 12, 1937, Volume 58, IPP WHC.

⁷⁹⁵ William G. McLoughlin, *After the Trail of Tears: The Cherokees' Struggle for Sovereignty, 1839-1889* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 224.

Despite convening in Washington, D.C. in January of 1866, the Cherokee Nation remained bitterly divided. In fact, the Southern Cherokee faction wanted the division to become permanent, and actively promoted treaties that would create two distinct Cherokee Nations within Indian Territory.⁷⁹⁶ Principal Chief John Ross, finally recognized by President Andrew Johnson, had no intention of splitting the nation in two, and believed that the federal government was simply entertaining the two separate Cherokee commissions for leverage.⁷⁹⁷ As the treaty commission continued for the better part of the year, John Ross, now aged 75, struggled with failing health, which prevented him from treating in person. This also lengthened the course of the negotiations, but by July, a treaty had finally been drafted. The treaty met all seven of the required stipulations, but it too contained right-of-ways for two railroad tracks in Cherokee Nation, one running North-South and one running East-West. Nonetheless, Ross was able to ensure that the right-of-ways only extended 100 feet from each side of the track, and further ensured that only the Cherokee government could grant trading licenses, and also required the establishment of a District Court in Indian Territory. Although Ross strongly objected to the demand for a consolidated civil government, he worked diligently to ensure the clause providing for an eventual territorial government could not be enacted until all of the Indian Nations in Indian Territory agreed to its creation.⁷⁹⁸ Although it would be years before the Five Nations lost their sovereign governments to a consolidated territorial government, the postwar treaties with the federal government were an important step in that direction. This is undoubtedly an important consequence of the Civil War refugee crisis on American Indian nations in Indian Territory, and throughout the American West.

⁷⁹⁶ McLoughlin, *After the Trail of Tears*, 223.

⁷⁹⁷ McLoughlin, *After the Trail of Tears*, 223.

⁷⁹⁸ McLoughlin, *After the Trail of Tears*, 227.

In fact, Blackbird Doublehead believed that the schism between the Cherokees that had been exacerbated by the Civil War never truly healed, and led to other important consequences for Indigenous groups, like the Dawes Act. In 1937, over 75 years after the Civil War began and worsened century-old divisions between the Cherokee, Doublehead explained that “as long as there are three Cherokees alive in the United States, they will never forget this hatred.”⁷⁹⁹ He further believed “this division of the Cherokees caused the Allotment law to pass.”⁸⁰⁰ The Federal Government manipulated these divisions in the aftermath of the Civil War to extend federal control in Indian Territory and obtain Indigenous land.

Nonetheless, the shift in Indian policy from the Civil War to Reconstruction—which went from supporting loyal American Indian refugees by the thousands, to denying American Indians had been loyal at all within just a few months—is another example of the government’s abandonment of racial equality and justice in favor of white supremacy and reunion during the Reconstruction era. The aftermath of the war in Indian Territory, including the lingering divisions within American Indian nations, created a moment of opportunity for the federal government to force the cession of even more American Indian land for the creation of other American Indian reservations, and eventually open them for white settlement. In the aftermath of the war, Indian Territory was within the sights of white Americans who wanted to exploit the land and then govern it and its occupants with white men. The Fort Smith Council, the vilification of John Ross, and the final 1866 treaties all indicate that the refusal to recognize American Indian loyalty in the aftermath of the war was

⁷⁹⁹ Interview of Blackbird Doublehead, September 14, 1937, Volume 25, IPP WHC.

⁸⁰⁰ Interview of Blackbird Doublehead, September 14, 1937, Volume 25, IPP WHC.

a strategic maneuver employed to further the interests of white supremacist American imperialism.

Another important, and more immediate consequence of the war to American Indian refugees themselves was the destruction of Indian Territory. Among these refugees was Chief John Ross, who had spent the war years in Philadelphia and Washington, D.C. Once he returned to Indian Territory in August 1865, Ross “hastened to our once lovely Home and witnessed the ruins and desolation of the premises.”⁸⁰¹ He lamented “the family Homestead reduced to ashes by the hand of rebel incendiaries,” leaving him “a stranger & Homeless, in my own country.”⁸⁰² Ross was not alone in this feeling. Destruction in Indian Territory was so extensive, and the threat of danger still remained, and thousands of refugees lived within the grounds of Fort Gibson for up to two years after the Civil War ended in 1865.

Scott Waldo McIntosh (Muskogee) explained, “The Creek Nation was in a pitiable condition. Many of the Creeks had been killed or died of hunger and exposure. Their homes and barns were burned to ashes by opposing armies. Their horses had been stolen and their cattle killed and eaten or left to go wild in the Cane brake and their farms were grown up with weeds and underbrush.”⁸⁰³ One federal official wrote, “Their land has been desolated by the demon of war till it lies bare and scathed, with only ruins to show that men have ever dwelt there.”⁸⁰⁴ Another explained, “The Cherokee have lost almost all they had but their lands, and that stripped of fences, houses, mills, and left to them by the enemy, almost as it

⁸⁰¹ John Ross to Annie Ross, September 18, 1865, in *The Papers of Chief John Ross: Volume 2, 1840-1866*, ed. Gary Moulton (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), 649.

⁸⁰² John Ross to Sarah Stapler, August 31, 1865, in *The Papers of Chief John Ross: Volume 2*, 646.

⁸⁰³ Interview of Scott Waldo McIntosh, July 12, 1937, Volume 58, IPP WHC.

⁸⁰⁴ D. N. Cooley to James Harlan, October 31, 1865, *AR CIA* 1865, 37.

was in the state of nature.”⁸⁰⁵ The destruction of Indian Territory was so widespread, he concluded, “None have wholly escaped.”⁸⁰⁶

This led some federal officials, like Cherokee Agent James Harlan, to conclude that loyal American Indians deserved compensation for their wartime losses. Beginning in 1866, the loyal Muskogee, Seminole, Choctaw, and Chickasaw were eligible to file a claim for reimbursement, a form of temporary assistance intended to help American Indian refugees get back on their feet. The Cherokee, however, were unable to file claims for reimbursement from the federal government due to the postwar claims of blanket disloyalty by the federal government. Beginning in 1866, loyal Muskogee refugees filed 1,523 claims for reimbursement for property destroyed during the war, and loyal Seminole, Choctaw, and Chickasaw were able to file claims as well. The federal government paid over \$2 million for the claims filed by the Muskogee, but the average applicant received \$922, or about 37% of the amount that they requested to be reimbursed.⁸⁰⁷

For example, in 1869 Mary Ann Grayson, a freedwoman and member of the Muskogee Nation, filed a claim in 1869 as the guardian of her two teenaged nieces, Mary and Clarissa. In August of 1863, following the Battle of Honey Springs, depredations by Confederates near North Fork Town, Creek Nation prompted the girls’ mother, Matilda Grayson, to flee from their home with both children “secretly and in a hasty manner,” after which “they repaired to the Camp of the Refugees at [Fort] Gibson.”⁸⁰⁸ Although the widowed Matilda fled to the Fort with the hopes of keeping what remained of her family

⁸⁰⁵ J. Harlan to E. Sells, October 1, 1865, *AR CIA* 1865, 287.

⁸⁰⁶ J. Harlan to E. Sells, October 1, 1865, *AR CIA* 1865, 288.

⁸⁰⁷ The average is based on the sample including only plus or minus one standard deviation of raw data.

⁸⁰⁸ Claim of Mary Ann Grayson, Claim No. 153, Records Relating to Loyal Creek Claims, 1869 – 1870, Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, Civilization Division, 1849-ca. 1881, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1793 – 1999, Record Group 75, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C (henceforth Claim No., Records Relating to Loyal Creek Claims, 1869 – 1870, RG 75, NARA).

safe, the Fort was raging with smallpox, and Matilda became ill and died shortly after their arrival. Mary Ann Grayson was also a refugee at Fort Gibson, and agreed to care for Mary and Clarissa after their mother's death. After the war, she filed a claim as the guardian of Mary and Clarissa, filing for reimbursement of Matilda's estate totaling \$1,080, for six horses (estimated at \$450), five cows and calves (\$75), 55 hogs (\$250), 200 bushels of corn (\$200), 35 bushels of potatoes (\$30), and the house and kitchen furniture and utensils (\$75). Mary Ann Grayson was awarded \$442.50, or about 40% of her claim. Her file notes that although the testimony had confirmed the loss of the property, "the amount claimed, however, is in some instances considered excessive."⁸⁰⁹ For example, while Mary Ann believed the horses to be valued at about \$75, she was allotted \$25 for each, and was similarly allotted \$8 per head of cattle instead of the \$15 she claimed, and only \$2 per hog instead of \$4.50. For corn, she received 50 cents a bushel instead of \$1, and for potatoes she also received 50 cents a bushel, instead of the 85 cents she claimed. Finally, she was allotted one-half of the amount requested for the household furniture and kitchen utensils, a percentage that is nearly completely consistent across all 1,523 claims regardless of circumstances. The prices awarded for horses varied widely, based on the quality of the horse, but the prices for most items, like cows, hogs, sheep, and bushels of corn were standardized, and any unique items, like carpenter's tools or surgical instruments, were usually allotted at one-half the claimed value.

Although these measures undoubtedly helped wartime refugees trying to rebuild their lives in Indian Territory, the 37% reimbursement average would have made it difficult for Muskogees to return to life as normal. Even if some claimants did in fact deliberately overestimate the value of their property, it is unlikely that claimants did so by such a large

⁸⁰⁹ Claim of Mary Ann Grayson, Claim No. 153, Records Relating to Loyal Creek Claims, 1869 – 1870, RG 75, NARA.

margin across the board. Furthermore, the standardized prices that the federal government used to determine reimbursement would not have provided enough compensation for the claimants to replace the entire amount of property lost. For example, the federal government allotted \$8 for each cow, but on average, cattle cost about \$21 per head from 1867-1870.⁸¹⁰ Not only would the reimbursement awards not provide enough compensation to replace property “necessarily abandoned and lost” during the war, but it also failed to take into account the additional financial burden of the destruction itself. While a claimant might receive half of amount they requested for agricultural implements, this would not only fail to replace their property in full. It also did not take into consideration the financial and physical burden of tilling and fertilizing the scorched earth left behind in the aftermath of the war. A claimant might be able to purchase a few head of cattle with the claim award, but the claimant was on their own to ensure that destroyed fences and burned barns were replaced. Thus, the federal government’s measures to reimburse loyal American Indian refugees for the hardships they faced during the war fell short of the needs and expectations of wartime refugees, much like the federal government’s shortcomings during the wartime refugee crisis itself.

Civil War refugees were involved in transforming not just their communities, but in transforming the South, and the nation, as well. Wartime refugees who returned to their former Southern homes struggled to balance the impulse of working to better the whole with serving their own interests. Perhaps the most significant and lasting of these interests

⁸¹⁰ Livestock Historic Data: Cattle, Value 1867 – 2012, United States Department of Agriculture – National Agricultural Statistics Service, available online from the Washington Field Office of the USDA’s National Agricultural Statistics Service, accessed November 18, 2020, https://www.nass.usda.gov/Statistics_by_State/Washington/Publications/Historic_Data/livestock/catval.pdf. It is also worth noting that if the federal government intended to reimburse claimants for the value of the property at the time it was abandoned the prices for most items would have been much higher based on the wartime economy. For example, the average price for cows from 1861-1863 was \$36.76. See *Bi-Monthly Report of the Agricultural Department for January and February 1864* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864), 33.

was the role that white Unionist refugees played in reinforcing white supremacy in the aftermath of emancipation. Although white supremacist violence in the aftermath of the war included targeting white Unionists and Republicans, wartime refugees who returned to the former Confederacy initially benefitted from their wartime loyalties in the aftermath of the war because it increased their political influence. Many wartime refugees even helped restore their states to the Union, especially as the disfranchisement of former Confederates provided opportunities for Unionists and Republicans to control political office. However, the acknowledgement of civil rights for Black people required during Congressional Reconstruction increasingly made even most of these initial allies reunite with former Confederates and help restore white supremacist government, an effort that also required renewed vigor for white settler colonialism in areas west of the Mississippi, like Texas and Indian Territory. By considering how white wartime refugees influenced the social and political Reconstruction of the postwar South, we can see their consistent pursuit of the “Union” at the expense, over time, of racial equality, which demonstrates the refugees’ implication in the triumph of white supremacy in the South—and throughout the nation.

CHAPTER 7: “A MIGHTY EMPIRE NOW NEARLY IN ITS INFANCY:” THE LASTING EFFECTS OF THE CIVIL WAR REFUGEE CRISIS ON THE REUNITED NATION

When hostilities between the United States and the failed Confederate States ended in 1865, those who had fled from the Confederacy and the violence of war began to consider the possibility of returning to their former Southern homes. After fleeing Confederate Texas because of threats on his life due to his Union loyalties, Swen Magnus Swenson spent the majority of the war in Mexico and his native Sweden before moving to federally-occupied New Orleans in 1865. When the Civil War ended, he feared that returning to Texas would be dangerous as a Unionist, and as he weighed his options from his refuge in New Orleans, his central concern was the safety of his wife and children, who he had left behind in Texas.

Although Swenson’s wife, Marie, hoped for his “speedy return” to Texas, Swenson confided to his old friend William Pierson, “I am nevertheless more uneasy about them now than I have been heretofore.”⁸¹¹ In June, Swenson again wrote to Pierson in the North explaining, “the condition of the People of Texas I have cause to fear, is very alarming, from internal strife, and depredations of desperadoes.”⁸¹² Swenson noted that the violence in Texas was related to political and social instability, represented through the juxtaposition of defeated Confederates and emancipated former slaves. He complained that the lawlessness arose from those who “have not awoke to the spirit of the times,” specifically, those Texans who “cannot realize that the Negro is free—or that men, who have just laid down their arms which they have used for four years in the indeavor [sic] to destroy the Govt.—should not now be permitted and preferred—in the organization of that state.”⁸¹³ Furthermore, he

⁸¹¹ S. M. Swenson to William S. Pierson, June 1, 1865, William S. Pierson Collection, 1795-1906, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, The University of Texas at Austin (henceforth Pierson Papers, UT-Austin).

⁸¹² S. M. Swenson to William S. Pierson, June 1, 1865, Pierson Papers, UT-Austin.

⁸¹³ S. M. Swenson to William S. Pierson, June 1, 1865, Pierson Papers, UT-Austin.

explained, he had a final reason, “even more potent—viz—I don’t want my children to be familiarized with the trials and crimes, which I think I can foresee as taking place in Texas for a year or two to come.”⁸¹⁴ Given the violence and lawlessness reported in Texas, Swenson decided it was best to move permanently to the North, although he maintained his extensive land holdings and his ranch in Texas, which still operate over 150 years later. Swenson and his family resettled in Brooklyn in the fall of 1865, where he prospered as a banker and financier, eventually helping to start National City Bank, now known as Citibank.

As Swenson’s story demonstrates, after hostilities came to a close, many refugees found more risks in returning to the former Confederacy than in remaining in their wartime locations or seeking other opportunities outside of the South. Among these risks were the political, economic, and social instability in the postwar South, which often culminated in violence; not to mention that many had found stability in the new lives they had reconstructed in refuge. The aftermath of the Civil War in the South prevented many refugees from returning to their former Southern homes, and instead numerous refugees chose to pursue their futures elsewhere. Civil War refugees had already endured upheaval and uncertainty during the war years, and the risks of returning to the South in the aftermath of the war included more upheaval and uncertainty. The postwar decisions of Civil War refugees who chose not to return to the former Confederacy indicate that many refugees believed their future prospects would be more promising outside of the war-ravaged South than within it—and many of them would go on to have prosperous and influential lives elsewhere.

The decisions and post-war experiences of those refugees who chose not to return to the former Confederacy or their former Southern homes in the aftermath of the Civil War is

⁸¹⁴ S. M. Swenson to William S. Pierson, June 1, 1865, Pierson Papers, UT-Austin.

the focus of this chapter. This chapter will consider the range of ways the Civil War refugee crisis had a lasting influence, first by focusing on the reasons certain refugees did not return to the South. The uncertainty and instability that resulted from the destruction of the former Confederacy made many refugees hesitant to return, especially in the aftermath of their own displacement and relocation. The chapter then turns to the lasting effects of displacement on individual refugees by analyzing how wartime displacement continued to affect their lives, specifically, through the examples of F.A.P. Barnard and Sarah Cooper, who would both go on to have influential lives in the years after the war. In doing so, the lasting influence of refugees on the nation begins to come into focus. Finally, the chapter examines how the Civil War refugee crisis and wartime refugees would play an important role in the United States settler colonialism of the American West. Considered together, it is clear that the vast movement prompted by the Civil War was not an inconsequential phenomenon contained to the war years alone, but, rather, it was an event that had significant and lasting effects. The lasting effects of the Civil War refugee crisis indicate that one of the most enduring legacies of the Civil War was the movement of people it prompted throughout the nation.

As Civil War refugees debated whether to return or not, their concerns reveal the futures they imagined for themselves in the former Confederacy as compared to their future prospects in their current place of refuge, or even in another location altogether. The decisions of those who did not return indicates that many refugees were hesitant to return to the former Confederacy as a result of the lasting effects of the Civil War. This included the economic, political, and social instability in the South, but for refugees, the most immediate question was often if their wartime loyalties would increase the instability and uncertainty they would face if they returned to the South.

Many refugees feared violence or retaliation for their wartime loyalties, and this made many hesitant to return to the former Confederacy. The threat of violence in the postwar South varied over time and space, and although many refugees were able to return safely to their homes following the war, not all were willing to return to the hostile environment they anticipated in the South. For refugees like Swenson, rumors of violence prompted them to seek a new life elsewhere without giving the former Confederacy a second chance. Thaddeus McRae, on the other hand, decided to return to Texas after the war ended, but lasting divisions over political loyalties and the threat of violence would soon prompt him to leave the South permanently.

After fleeing Texas through federally-occupied Brownsville in 1864, McRae, a Presbyterian minister, joined the United States Army as a chaplain for 91st regiment of the United States Colored Troops. Thus not only was he a Unionist and a self-proclaimed abolitionist, but also a refugee who acted on those principles to serve the United States, as well as its highly contentious use of black soldiers against Confederate troops. When the war ended, McRae considered from the safety of New Orleans what he should do next. His family returned to Lavaca, Texas in October of 1865, and McRae returned in January 1866, “very poor and uncertain as to what a day might bring forth.”⁸¹⁵ He reported that the town was “hostile” and he attempted to return to his church to preach, but soon found that many members of his congregation would not forgive him for his wartime loyalty.⁸¹⁶

Even his wife, Annie, was held accountable for their Union sympathies. She went into labor while McRae was still in New Orleans, and McRae explained that the women in

⁸¹⁵ “The Autobiography of Rev. Thaddeus McRae,” 30-31, Thaddeus W. McRae papers, 1866, 1880, 1929, Austin Seminary Archives, Stitt Library, Austin Presbyterian Theological Seminary (henceforth McRae Papers, APTS).

⁸¹⁶ “The Autobiography of Rev. Thaddeus McRae,” 30-31, McRae Papers, APTS.

Lavaca, Texas “refused to wait on my wife then in her hour of suffering” on account of their Unionism.⁸¹⁷ The newborn died shortly after. The family uprooted and moved to Austin a month later to preach to a congregation that had remained predominantly Unionist during the war, hoping to find a more welcome reception, and from the pulpit, McRae publicly thanked God for preserving the Union. Soon after, people began to threaten him on the streets, and McRae claimed that newspapers began to report about his Unionism, saying he was “denounced as a ‘disturber,’ ‘the Beecher of Texas,’ ‘the Seward of the State.’”⁸¹⁸ While serving as chaplain and clerk for the state Constitutional Convention of 1868, McRae wrote a report on violence in postwar Texas, and shortly after, he decided to leave the hostility in postwar Texas behind permanently. He explained, “I was tired of strife. I longed for peace, for brotherly love. I felt that I had some right to rest. Yet I saw plainly that the coveted boon would not come in my day in the South.”⁸¹⁹ He added that this conclusion was strengthened by the “violence of the Ku Klux,” and that he “had a strong desire to rear my children under better influences than those present in Texas.”⁸²⁰ He and his family left the South behind in hopes of a future with less strife, moving briefly to Pennsylvania in 1869, before permanently resettling in Cedar Rapids, Iowa in 1875. As McRae’s postwar experiences indicate, deep divisions remained in the former Confederacy, often driven by politics, and often resulting in violence.

The political and social turmoil in the South after the fall of the Confederacy, and the violence that resulted from both, prompted both McRae and Swenson to move on from the South. Others were prompted by the economic conditions in the postwar South. This was

⁸¹⁷ Thaddeus McRae to David Fairley, May 9, 1866, McRae Papers, APTS.

⁸¹⁸ “The Autobiography of Rev. Thaddeus McRae,” 30-31, McRae Papers, APTS.

⁸¹⁹ “The Autobiography of Rev. Thaddeus McRae,” 30-31, McRae Papers, APTS.

⁸²⁰ “The Autobiography of Rev. Thaddeus McRae,” 30-31, McRae Papers, APTS.

the case with Henry Watson, a New Englander who had been living in Alabama as a wealthy plantation owner for 26 years when the Civil War began. Watson left Confederate Alabama in May of 1861 for Massachusetts, encouraged by his belief that secession was illegal, but he quickly became disaffected from the Union war effort. In particular, Watson criticized the possibility of emancipation becoming an objective of the Union war effort, which would significantly affect Watson since he kept over 100 human beings enslaved for his profit.⁸²¹ Disaffected from both North and South, Watson eventually took his entire family to spend the Civil War in self-imposed exile in Germany.⁸²²

After spending the entirety of the Civil War in Europe, Henry Watson ruminated over what his next steps should be while aboard a steamer from Le Havre to New York. He reflected that since leaving Confederate Alabama, his life “has been so quiet, so free from excitement, care and anxiety that I would gladly have lengthened this state of quietude.”⁸²³ As he returned to the now reunited United States, Watson felt he needed to assess the “state of matters, & of public feeling both at the North and the South before I can form any sensible conclusions of what it is practicable or proper to do.”⁸²⁴ He felt obligated to return to his abandoned plantation in Alabama to “resume the care of my affairs and relive [sic] my friends of their responsibilities,” and furthermore, “aid if [he] could in healing the gaping

⁸²¹ See Henry Watson Papers, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University. See also “Yankees in King Cotton’s Court: Northerners in Antebellum and Wartime Alabama,” (PhD diss., University of Alabama, 2002), 95-126.

⁸²² Other Civil War “refugees” spent the war in self-imposed exile in Europe as well. In general, these were wealthy families with pre-existing connections in Europe, including numerous families from New Orleans who had family members in France. Several of these families supported the Confederacy but were unwilling to sacrifice their lives for the fledgling nation, and others only left New Orleans following Union occupation. See, for example, the Grima Family Papers and the Gilmore Family Papers, housed in the Historic New Orleans Collection in the Williams Research Center and the C.L. Burckmyer Correspondence at the South Carolina Historical Society. My thanks to D’Lane Compton for their assistance accessing part of the Grima Family Papers.

⁸²³ Henry Watson to unnamed Friend, September 5, 1865, Henry Watson Papers, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University (henceforth Watson Papers, Duke).

⁸²⁴ Henry Watson to unnamed Friend, September 5, 1865, Watson Papers, Duke.

wounds and repairing the dilapidations caused by the war.”⁸²⁵ However, Watson also feared violence in the former Confederacy, especially due to his ambiguous wartime loyalty and the fact that he was absent for the war itself, and he certainly did not want his children to return to the insecurity the family may face in Alabama. He concluded that “When I have looked into my own affairs, have learned what the people of each section want & what they are likely to do, and what we may calculate upon for the future I shall determine what I shall do.”⁸²⁶ Watson, like many others considering whether or not to return to the former Confederacy, was conflicted about whether to return or not, and wanted to weigh his options before making a decision. He wanted to evaluate whether the North, or the former Confederacy, would be better for his future, and the future of his children.

After settling his children into their home in Massachusetts, Watson returned to his plantation in Alabama in December 1865 to see the aftermath of the war for himself. Like much of the rest of the South, economic instability, including high prices, and the scarcity of provisions, and money, plagued postwar Alabama. In addition, Watson had lost much of his wealth, from the loss of Confederate stocks and bonds, and, more significantly, as a result of the emancipation of the over 100 people he had formerly enslaved at his plantation. As Watson attempted to salvage what he could of his business interests in Alabama, he reported back to his brother, wartime refugee Sereno Watson:

Every thing is in such a disorganized uncertain condition here that no one knows what to do, what he can do, what he would do. I have been in many troubles in the course of my life but I never before was in one in which I did not see, or think that I saw some way to get out and in consequence could decide upon action of some sort. I am at a loss now. I am completely at sea.⁸²⁷

⁸²⁵ Henry Watson to unnamed Friend, September 5, 1865, Watson Papers, Duke.

⁸²⁶ Henry Watson to unnamed Friend, September 5, 1865, Watson Papers, Duke.

⁸²⁷ Henry Watson to Sereno Watson, December 10, 1865, Watson Papers, Duke.

In the face of the uncertain future in the South, he sold his home in downtown Greensboro, Alabama, and entered into an arrangement with his former overseer George Hagan to operate Watson's plantation on his behalf. Watson felt his business prospects as a planter in the South were dim in the aftermath of the war, explaining to one friend, "I sold my house & furniture—am carrying on my plantation there but I shall sell if I can, cotton raising is all over now."⁸²⁸ Although Watson was concerned at first that his wartime loyalties would prevent his peaceable return to Alabama, it was the dire economic conditions in the postwar South, and the uncertainty of progress in the future, that persuaded Watson to abandon his Alabama plantation, and return to his native New England permanently.

With little in the South to attract them to return, some refugees instead chose to remain in the lives they had reconstructed for themselves since fleeing from the South. Many wartime refugees had settled into new homes and careers since their displacement from the South, such as William and Mary Longley, who had returned to Massachusetts after abandoning their iron foundry and fleeing Confederate Georgia in 1861. Upon returning to Massachusetts, William quickly found employment in another iron foundry, making swords and bayonets for the Union Army, and Mary helped assist in this work as well by etching the insignias of various regiments on the weapons. William also served in two different Union Army regiments, and when the war ended, and William was discharged from the United States Army, he returned to Cumberland Mills to work, although he was now employed as bookkeeper. No records survive to indicate if the Longley's ever considered returning to Georgia or reclaiming William's iron foundry there, but with steady employment near family

⁸²⁸ Henry Watson to Thomas E. Hart, August 30, 1866, Watson Papers, Duke.

and friends, and with a first child on the way in late 1865, the family remained happily and comfortably in the North.⁸²⁹

Thirza Finch similarly remained in her native New York after she fled Virginia with her younger brother as the Second Battle of Bull Run began, and this was likely due, in part, to the modest and peaceful life she enjoyed among her extended family there. However, in Thirza's case, the decision to remain in New York was compounded by her status as an unmarried woman being supported by her male relatives, and may not have been altogether her decision. Following her father's death in 1862, white middle class customs dictated that Thirza would be dependent on her remaining male relatives, a role her eldest brother Richmond readily accepted, and her three other brothers assisted with as well. After the war ended, her brother and fellow refugee, Edwin, remained in New York to continue his education at a nearby college. Her other brothers had also resettled in upstate New York, as had her sister Emily, and brother-in-law Watson, who were both wartime refugees as well. With her male providers living in New York, Thirza may have had little choice in remaining there, especially as an unknown mobility-related disease continued to limit the use of her legs. While Thirza may have had little role in deciding to stay in New York, her diary entries from late 1865 indicate that she was comfortable there, and happy as well, especially in the presence of their extended family. Whereas gender expectations and familial connections had originally prevented Thirza from fleeing Virginia as a refugee at her earliest chance, gender and family now served to keep her remaining in the North at war's end.

Many refugees, such as Frederick Augustus Porter Barnard, remained where they had fled because they had remade comfortable lives for themselves since being displaced during

⁸²⁹ Biography of William Longley containing an Account of his Flight from the South during the Civil War, Hammond Family Papers, Maine Historical Society, Portland, Maine.

the war. Barnard expressly admitted that since fleeing Confederate Mississippi and being hired as the President of Columbia College in New York, he had attained a certain level of comfort that he certainly would not find in the former Confederacy. Although he seemed to miss the University of Mississippi, which he had worked to improve for nearly a decade, he wrote to a former colleague in Oxford that “my present position comes as near to being all I could wish as any man is likely to attain in this world.” He lauded, “We have a Faculty entirely harmonious, a body of students of very gentlemanly character, a Board of Trustees of enlightened and liberal views, and no end of cash.”⁸³⁰ He continued to brag about his recently constructed home on the premises of the college, which boasted over 24 rooms, and noted his annual salary of \$6,000 before concluding, “We are now very comfortable.”⁸³¹ Although his displacement had originally left him homeless and without any job prospects, the appointment as President of Columbia College had clearly improved his fortunes, and abandoning his new level of comfort to return to war-ravaged Mississippi was imprudent given the circumstances.

Promising futures outside of the South, including burgeoning careers like Barnard’s, encouraged refugees to remain in their place of refuge. The same was true for Charles Anderson, who fled Texas after escaping imprisonment by Confederate forces for his outspoken Unionism.⁸³² Following his escape through Mexico in 1861, he went on a brief tour of Europe speaking against international recognition of the Confederacy, and served as a commissioned officer in the 93rd Ohio Infantry, before he was elected as Lieutenant

⁸³⁰ F.A.P. Barnard to Eugene W. Hilgard, October 5, 1865, Barnard Papers, RBML.

⁸³¹ F.A.P. Barnard to Eugene W. Hilgard, November 30, 1865, Barnard Papers, RBML.

⁸³² For more on the experiences of the Anderson family as they fled from Texas to Mexico, see Nancy Draves, ed., *A Promise Fulfilled: The Kitty Anderson Diary and Civil War Texas, 1861*, (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2017).

Governor of Ohio in 1863 on the Republican ticket.⁸³³ When hostilities between the United States and the Confederacy ceased in 1865, Anderson was serving as Lieutenant Governor, and in August 1865, the death of Governor John Brough in office designated former refugee Charles Anderson as the 27th Governor of Ohio. Given these circumstances, returning to Texas was unlikely, especially when compounded by the sale of their Texas stud ranch forced by the Confederate Alien Enemies Act of 1861. With nothing left behind in Texas, and in the midst of a career as a Republican politician in Ohio, the Anderson family chose not to return to Confederate Texas, and instead, continued with the new lives they had made for themselves in the loyal States.

Remaining in their place of refuge was tempting especially for those who by the time war ended, were already happily integrated into new communities. Nathan Branson Hill and his family resettled in the “Quaker Hills” neighborhood in Minneapolis among their extended family after fleeing from North Carolina, and by the end of the war, Hill had become a fairly prominent doctor, running a medical practice alongside fellow North Carolina Quaker and wartime refugee, Alfred Hadley Lindley. Although no extant records explicitly state why the Hills chose to stay in Minneapolis, the family transferred their church membership from Deep River Meeting in Randolph County, North Carolina to Minneapolis Meeting in July of 1865, indicating that the family felt at home in their place of refuge, and intended to remain there.⁸³⁴

⁸³³ See David T. Dixon, *The Lost Gettysburg Address: Charles Anderson's Civil War Odyssey* (Santa Barbara, CA: B-list History, 2015).

⁸³⁴ See John E. Tuhy, *Sam Hill: The Prince of Castle Nowhere* (Goldendale, WA: Maryhill Museum of Art, 1991), 24. Tuhy uses the Hill's family change of meeting membership to indicate that this was when the family first left North Carolina and arrived in Minnesota. In actuality, the family fled in 1861, and only changed their church membership in the aftermath of the war. The Nathan Hill family left North Carolina due to their Unionism and arrived in Minnesota by August 1861, as noted in the diary of Abby Swift Mendenhall, sister-in-law to Nathan and Eliza Mendenhall Hill through Abby's marriage to Richard Junius Mendenhall, brother of Eliza Mendenhall Hill. Richard Junius Mendenhall was a fairly prominent businessman in Minneapolis, having moved there from North Carolina in 1856. During the Civil War, he was President of the State Bank of

For North Carolina Quakers like the Hills, the decision to remain was likely in part due to how seamlessly many of these refugees blended in, especially those who fled to Quaker-dominated areas in the West where they already had extended family and friends living. For example, when Ezra Barker fled from North Carolina to Indiana in 1861, he joined relatives who had already moved to the area in previous years. Ezra and his three brothers Simeon, Cyrus, and Nathan, also wartime refugees, lived with their extended relatives when they first arrived in Hamilton County, Indiana during the Civil War. This area of Indiana had a large Quaker population, including entire communities who had emigrated there from North Carolina in the mid-1800s. The presence of extended family and familiar customs certainly was welcomed by refugees who fled during the war years and eased their resettlement in the wake of displacement. In addition, Cyrus Barker and Ezra Barker both married Quaker women from Indiana since their displacement, which undoubtedly factored into their decision to remain in Indiana. While Simeon and Ruth Hinshaw Barker, Thomas and Mary Barker Hinshaw, and unmarried Nathan Barker all returned to North Carolina after their wartime displacement, their two brothers who were married to Indiana women did not return to their former Southern homes, indicating how integration into new communities encouraged many wartime refugees to remain where they were when the war ended.

In fact, Indiana became even more popular among North Carolina Quakers after the Civil War, many of whom abandoned their lives in the war-ravaged former Confederacy in favor of the presumed prosperity in Quaker regions of Indiana. In early 1866, Simeon Barker reported back to his brothers in Indiana, “The condition of our country is not very

Minnesota and also owned Mendenhall Florist of Minneapolis. See Abby Grant Swift Mendenhall, “Some Extracts from the Personal Diary of Mrs. R. J. Mendenhall: Also press notices, and some early and later correspondence to her, by her, etc.” (Minneapolis: 1900), 154-5.

desirable.” Chief among these concerns was the economic instability in the area, as money and provisions were scarce, prices were high, and few were able to collect debts. He reported that the result was “Such a stir amongst the people going Westward I have never known before, there is so many going and wanting to go.”⁸³⁵ Among these was his younger brother, Nathan Barker, who had returned to North Carolina to help his family, but in early 1866, Simeon reported that Nathan “does not seem to be fully reconciled to a Carolina home yet.”⁸³⁶ Nathan had attempted to convince his parents that the entire family should emigrate to Indiana in the aftermath of the war, but had little luck persuading them. Nonetheless, Nathan Barker still had “the Western fever,” and as a result of the difficult conditions in the former Confederacy, scores of fellow Quakers in the area continued to leave for Indiana.⁸³⁷ Given this postwar emigration, it should come as little surprise that many wartime refugees who had already fled to Indiana thought it would be best to stay, for reasons ranging from the fear of violence and retribution in the South, the welcoming Quaker communities they joined in Indiana alongside extended family, and finally, the promising futures they hoped for in the West.

As Nathan Barker’s “Western fever” and the large-scale migration from North Carolina to Indiana indicate, many wartime refugees simply saw a more promising future for themselves somewhere other than the war-ravaged former Confederacy. For wartime refugees, the Civil War had already destroyed their livelihoods, and the political, economic, and social instability in the postwar South resulted in uncertainty about the future. The

⁸³⁵ Simeon and Ruth Barker to Ezra and Mary E. Barker, March 4, 1866, Barker Family Papers, Guilford. See also Nicholas and Catherine Barker to Ezra Barker, August 31, 1866, Barker Family Papers, Guilford.

⁸³⁶ Simeon and Ruth Hinshaw Barker to Ezra and Mary E. Barker, Undated letter, 1866, Barker Family Papers, Guilford.

⁸³⁷ Simeon and Ruth Barker to Ezra and Mary E. Barker, March 4, 1866, Barker Family Papers, Guilford. See also Nathan Barker to Ezra Barker, undated letter, 1866, Barker Family Papers, Guilford.

destruction of the former Confederacy encouraged them to pursue a new life outside of the American South in aftermath of the Civil War, and many of those who chose to do so prospered elsewhere.

In his Inaugural Address as President of Columbia College in 1864, F. A. P. Barnard reflected on how his wartime displacement, although full of uncertainty, had led him to his new position at Columbia. He lamented:

...the bitterness of that stern necessity which has forced such hearts to tear themselves from places made dear by the remembrance of many peaceful and happy years,— from all the traces they may have left of the earnest labors of a life,—from communities with whose interests their own have long been blended, and from friends whose many kindnesses have made them dearer than kindred, — in order to seek a sky beneath which patriotism shall not be crime, to find an atmosphere where loyalty may be free to breathe.⁸³⁸

Despite struggling with homelessness, unemployment, and general instability as a result of his flight from the South, as he was inaugurated as the President of Columbia College two years later, he believed, “There is something in the chain of incidents which has placed me in my present situation which seems to me remarkably to disclose the directing hand of Providence.”⁸³⁹ Barnard believed that, were it not for the war and his wartime displacement, he would not have been in a situation to be elected President of Columbia College.

Displacement caused by the Civil War affected refugees in varying ways, but for many, their wartime experience as a refugee had a lasting effect on their life. The most important effect was often the basic fact of their displacement, and the resulting geographic relocation, which simply changed the opportunities and the choices they faced. For many, this is the most evident lasting effect of the war on their lives—the decision to resettle in a

⁸³⁸ *Proceedings at the Inauguration of Frederick A. P. Barnard, S.T.D., LL.D., as President of Columbia College*, (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1865), 26.

⁸³⁹ *Proceedings at the Inauguration of Frederick A. P. Barnard, S.T.D., LL.D., as President of Columbia College*, (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1865), 25.

place of refuge rather than return to the war-ravaged South, based on the belief that the future was more promising elsewhere. But this was not the only way displacement affected them in the aftermath of the war. For others, the wartime loss of loved ones, and the loss of community, continued to affect their lives in the aftermath of war. Material losses, such as residences, structures, and livestock, were common, and the instability of displacement, especially financially, could affect refugees for years to come. Wartime displacement was also a traumatic experience for many refugees, and the psychological and emotional consequences of their experiences weighed more heavily on some refugees later in life than others.

As wartime displacement affected the lives of refugees in the aftermath of the Civil War, many of these refugees would also have important impacts on their host communities, including F. A. P. Barnard. After leaving Confederate Mississippi because he had better prospects in the Union, Barnard became the President of Columbia College in 1864, and immediately after the war ended, chose to stay in his comfortable position rather than return to the war-ravaged South. Barnard felt that his position as President of Columbia College was providential, and he did not disappoint in the opportunity. In the two year since he fled from the Confederacy, the hope of returning to his career, or any career, in academia seemed dashed for the foreseeable future. Presented with the opportunity to return to his work in education, despite his wartime losses, Barnard was determined to prove his abilities as he began reconstructing his life and his career.

By the time of the surrender at Appomattox, Barnard had succeeded in opening a School of Mines for Columbia College. The school was modeled after the famed *École des Mines* in Paris and the European university more broadly, which he had studied while in

Europe for international scientific expositions in 1867, 1869, 1873, 1878, and 1881.⁸⁴⁰ The addition of the School of Mines made Columbia College one of the few in the nation that was transitioning from a liberal arts curriculum to one based on scientific study, and the growing devotion to engineering in particular would help to improve Columbia's reputation and enrollment.

Despite his work to advance Columbia's reputation, Barnard remained attached to the University of Mississippi. Part of his interest was in seeing that the University over which he had presided for nearly a decade was in capable hands, but part of his interest was personal as well. Immediately after the war ended, Barnard was preoccupied with his relationships with his former friends and colleagues in the South, expressing his hopes that their interactions after the war would be amicable. His concerns over relationships with former colleagues also reveal Barnard's concern with his reputation in the aftermath of the war. He expressed his sincere regret to a close friend and colleague, Professor Eugene W. Hilgard, for not sending a letter of recommendation to the University of Mississippi on his behalf, but told Hilgard that he feared it might do more harm than good among "the doubtful ones or those whom my apostacy [sic] had possibly alienated."⁸⁴¹ Shortly after this explanation, Hilgard informed Barnard that he recently overheard one of the trustees at the University of Mississippi applauded because "he had purged the University at last of Yankee influence."⁸⁴² Barnard was incensed that his forced departure from the South would be celebrated in this way, and fumed:

Was it a result of Yankee influence that the University, in my time, emerged from the insignificance of a petty country college, commanding no respect and exercising no influence whatever upon public opinion or upon the cause of popular education

⁸⁴⁰ John Fulton, *Memoirs of Frederick A. P. Barnard, Tenth President of Columbia College in the City of New York* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1896), 341, 363.

⁸⁴¹ F.A.P. Barnard to Eugene W. Hilgard, September 6, 1865, Barnard Papers, RBML.

⁸⁴² F.A.P. Barnard to Eugene W. Hilgard, April 5, 1866, Barnard Papers, RBML.

in Mississippi to the rank of a recognized power in the state, regarded with pride by the most enlightened of of [sic] its citizens, & looked upon with favor by the whole people?⁸⁴³

Barnard believed his record of accomplishments at the University of Mississippi was clear and was certain that he had improved the reputation of the University tremendously. Thus, he was particularly angered that his wartime loyalties would outweigh his contributions to the betterment of the University, the state, and the South as a whole—and sought instead to exert his efforts on advancing his own reputation as an educator and scientist, and the reputation of Columbia College more broadly.

By 1866, just two years after Barnard launched the School of Mines, it had doubled in size twice, and twice had to find a larger building to house the quickly growing school. Barnard praised the success of the School of Mines, which “met exactly an important public want long felt and beginning to be urgent,” and “proved an extraordinary and gratifying success.”⁸⁴⁴ While the success of the School of Mines was important to Barnard, it was more important as a first step in Barnard’s vision for the future of Columbia. He explained that it was “but a step in the direction of that larger development to which all indications point as the manifest destiny of Columbia College.”⁸⁴⁵ For the foreseeable future, this manifest destiny included a School of Civil Engineering, and a new astronomical observatory. But for Barnard, the destiny of Columbia College was to become “the nucleus of what will one day be the great university of the city—possibly of the continent.”⁸⁴⁶

In the midst of the growth and success of Columbia, Barnard wrote to his friend and colleague Eugene W. Hilgard asking how efforts to get the University of Mississippi

⁸⁴³ F.A.P. Barnard to E.W. Hilgard, April 5, 1866, Barnard Papers, RBML.

⁸⁴⁴ F.A.P. Barnard, *Annual Report of the President of Columbia College made to the Board of Trustees, June 4, 1866* (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1866), 25 (henceforth Barnard, *Annual Report to Board of Trustees*, and year).

⁸⁴⁵ Barnard, *Annual Report to Board of Trustees*, 1866, 27.

⁸⁴⁶ Barnard, *Annual Report to Board of Trustees*, 1866, 29

“resuscitated” were going.⁸⁴⁷ Barnard believed that education in the recently conquered Confederacy would lag behind that of the North for years to come. He was not alone in this view, and he was not wrong.⁸⁴⁸ Five years after the Civil War had ended Barnard discouraged young northern men from moving to the postwar South to become teachers. He explained that he told multiple schools in the South to look within the South for teachers rather than in the North, and discouraged the practice of Southern colleges to hire northern teachers “who, for the very fact of their extraction, will be looked on unkindly by more than half of your white citizens.” Barnard, in turn, told young white northern men who were approached with teaching offers in the South, “If you consult your own happiness you will stay where you are. The time may come—it is to be hoped it will come soon—when men in every capacity of life will be chosen for what they are capable of doing, rather than for the section in which they were born. But it has not come yet.”⁸⁴⁹ Barnard felt, that in part, the inferiority of the university system in the South was due to remaining divisions from the Civil War. This is also reflected in his advice to his colleague Eugene Hilgard in 1873 when Hilgard was considering transferring from the University of Mississippi to the University of Michigan. Barnard appealed to Hilgard, likely informed by his own experience, to move to Ann Arbor, because “the scientific brotherhood of which it will make you a member is vastly larger than, in your day, you will ever be able to find in Mississippi or its neighboring states,” and furthermore, that “it is infinitely better base for prospective operations, and an infinitely better stepping stone to something more desirable than itself, than Oxford can ever be.”⁸⁵⁰ Barnard realized that, in addition to his displacement during the Civil War, the war

⁸⁴⁷ F.A.P. Barnard to E.W. Hilgard, March 24, 1866, Barnard Papers, RBML.

⁸⁴⁸ See Michael David Cohen, *Reconstructing the Campus: Higher Education and the American Civil War* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012).

⁸⁴⁹ F.A.P. Barnard to E.W. Hilgard, September 29, 1870, Barnard Papers, RBML.

⁸⁵⁰ F.A.P. Barnard to E.W. Hilgard, February 11, 1873, Barnard Papers, RBML.

interrupted his hopes for a career in the South, destroyed decades of his research, and severed the companionship of his fellow academics. Over a decade after his displacement during the Civil War, Barnard believed the divisions between the North and the South still lingered, and his postwar hostility toward the South was not only due to his belief that education in the South was inferior, but also a result of wartime displacement's continuing influence on his life.

The war not only set back education in the South, but it also set back Barnard's career, and it was this that lingered in Barnard's mind the most. Immediately after the war, he focused on the fractured relationships between himself and colleagues who remained in the South, as well as on his reputation in the aftermath of the war, as seen in his indignant response to the charge that the University of Mississippi was free of "Yankee influence" since his absence. The immediate issues of grievances against colleagues, however, faded away in just a few years, and would not be the most lasting consequence of his wartime actions on his career. He explained that when his house in the South was ransacked during the war, he lost copies of nearly all of his scientific papers, including articles, journals, textbooks, and a lifetime of his own scientific research. In particular, Barnard worried about a clock that he had been experimenting with which he left behind when he abandoned the South in 1862 as a refugee. Barnard emphasized his experience of "years of great distress and anxiety" as a refugee, and "to say nothing of the constant struggle to live," another consequence of his wartime flight was the loss of his life's research, including projects like the clock. He lamented, "I shall have to begin anew, and think out the matter from the beginning."⁸⁵¹ Barnard's career was affected by the Civil War in other ways as well, including an instance in which he had to embarrassingly explain to a colleague at the University of

⁸⁵¹ F.A.P. Barnard to E.W. Hilgard, February 6, 1869, Barnard Papers, RBML.

California-Berkeley who came to him for advice that he was unfamiliar with the Morrill Land Grant Act and its use since the Civil War. Barnard explained, “When the bill providing for agricultural and mechanical education passed Congress, I was out of the educational field, and without any expectation of ever being in it again... I did not therefore follow up with any attention, the action of the state legislatures on the subject.”⁸⁵² The Civil War, and Barnard’s wartime displacement, thus continued to affect him in his career well into his life.

Among the most important ways wartime displacement affected Barnard was by encouraging his desire to advance his own reputation, and that of Columbia College. By 1868, Barnard looked back at his time in Mississippi, and regretted having to leave it under the circumstances he did. He explained, “my life there was a happy life; for I believed (whether rightly or wrongly) that I was making it a useful one.”⁸⁵³ After Barnard’s career and life in Mississippi began to fall apart at the outbreak of the Civil War, Barnard was unsure he would ever again have the chance to work in academia, either as scientist or educator. When the opportunity at Columbia arose, Barnard again had the chance to make himself “useful,” and was driven by the desire to reconstruct the reputation and career that had been stunted by the war.

As Barnard continued to expand the School of Mines in the 1860s, he also began to lay the foundation for reforms like elective courses, graduate study, and co-education. Barnard had been deeply influenced by his explorations of European colleges and universities while traveling for various scientific expositions, and the structure of European higher education seemed superior to Barnard. For Barnard, his reforms were necessary for making Columbia a true university, which was the object of Barnard’s manifest destiny plan.

⁸⁵² F.A.P. Barnard to E.W. Hilgard, October 10, 1866, Barnard Papers, RBML.

⁸⁵³ F.A.P. Barnard to E.W. Hilgard, December 12, 1868, Barnard Papers, RBML.

The School of Mines had been his first crusade, and Barnard's next would be transforming the curriculum from a curriculum of fixed study to a curriculum with specialized elective courses.

Barnard was among many progressive Northern educators who were modeling their growing colleges after the European university, and elective courses were "the key" to the transition in Barnard's opinion.⁸⁵⁴ Barnard argued that "The first business of education is, therefore, to find out what the individual is fit for; the next is to make the most of him in that for which he is fit."⁸⁵⁵ Therefore, he believed that an elective-based curriculum was "a special system of training, adapted to the idiosyncrasies of the individual."⁸⁵⁶ He argued that in addition to helping students as they chose professional careers, this system would also increase the prestige of the college. He argued, "By limiting students to a certain number of subjects, sufficient time may be allowed the teacher to do his subject justice. The college may at the same time enlarge the scope of its teaching and embrace in its general scheme of instruction every subject of literary or scientific interest, without in any degree diminishing the thoroughness with which each branch is taught."⁸⁵⁷ A college based on elective courses, Barnard believed, was also better suited for graduate and professional schools, and Barnard believed this to be the logical next step for university after transitioning to elective courses. Barnard understood this would be a gradual process, but by 1879, he had managed to secure the beginnings of an elective-based curriculum at Columbia.

⁸⁵⁴ Barnard, *Annual Report to Board of Trustees*, 1879, in John Fulton, *Memoirs of Frederick A. P. Barnard, Tenth President of Columbia College in the City of New York* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1896), 393.

⁸⁵⁵ F.A.P. Barnard, "Should Study in College be Confined to a Uniform Curriculum or Should it be Made to any Extent Elective?" in *Eighty-Sixth Annual Report of the Regents of the University of the State of New York* (Albany, New York: Argus Co., 1873), 621.

⁸⁵⁶ Barnard, "Should Study in College be Confined to a Uniform Curriculum or Should it be Made to any Extent Elective?" in *Eighty-Sixth Annual Report of the Regents of the University of the State of New York* (Albany, New York: Argus Co., 1873), 621.

⁸⁵⁷ Barnard, *Annual Report to Board of Trustees*, 1879, in John Fulton, *Memoirs of Frederick A. P. Barnard, Tenth President of Columbia College in the City of New York* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1896), 393.

Just as Barnard cemented his elective system in place in 1879, he turned his attention to another controversial reform: co-education. Barnard had been tolerant of women in higher education for several years, allowing them to attend lectures alongside men at the discretion of the professor, although these classes were not for credit, and could not be counted toward matriculation in any college. Barnard had used this policy at the University of Mississippi, as well as at Columbia, and the policy drew little attention. In his 1879 Report to the Board of Trustees, however, he turned his attention to women's education at Columbia for the first time and explained this informal policy with the hope of making it formal.

His report increased attention to the topic, and a number of opponents on the Board of Trustees helped to instead establish a rule preventing women from attending lectures altogether, on the grounds that students who had no intention of matriculating could not attend courses. Absent from these early discussions was the possibility of women matriculating and obtaining a degree, but rather the focus was on the short-term goal of allowing women to attend courses. Barnard did not press the subject with urgency, instead believing that co-education was a gradual process, just like the transformation from college to university.

Although Barnard did not see the issue of co-education to be urgent enough to push the Trustees on the issue, he was in fact fairly progressive in his views on women in education compared to many other educators at the same time. Many advocates of women's education, both male and female, supported the female coordinate institutions, or "annexes," that many established college's were establishing for young women, including Harvard,

Oxford, and Cambridge.⁸⁵⁸ Barnard, on the other hand, promoted the equal admission of women to Columbia College, on equal terms with male students, including access to the same course of study.⁸⁵⁹ Barnard recognized the hesitance of many to promote co-education, and argued “If young men and young women can sit side by side in a theatre or a concert or a lecture hall in the city, I see no reason why they cannot just as well sit side by side to receive instruction in a college.”⁸⁶⁰ Barnard corresponded with numerous women belonging to the Association to Promote Women in Higher Education in New York City, and he disagreed with many on the question of co-education or coordinate institution. Barnard felt that co-education would add more value to the education of women, and to higher education as a whole, but many advocates were supportive of the compromise of women’s annexes for the time being. Throughout the 1880s Barnard supported numerous efforts to advance the interests of women in education, and advised women’s groups on conducting public opinion campaigns, uniting to petition the Board of Trustees at Columbia , and attracting press coverage to the issue.⁸⁶¹ In 1881, he concluded his report to the Board of Trustees, saying it was “only a question of time; and that, whatever may happen this year or the next, Columbia College will yet open her doors widely enough to receive all earnest and honest seekers of knowledge without any distinction to class or sex.”⁸⁶² Barnard believed that not only higher education as a whole would benefit, but also individual students, and, importantly, the reputation of Columbia College. Barnard wrote that Columbia should be on “the right side now,” especially since the location in New York City would “furnish a more

⁸⁵⁸ Among these were Caroline Sterling Choate and Annie Nathan Meyer. See Rosalind Rosenberg, *Changing the Subject: How the Women of Columbia Shaped the Way We Think* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 55.

⁸⁵⁹ F.A.P. Barnard to Caroline Sterling Choate, March 22, 1883, Barnard Papers, RBML.

⁸⁶⁰ F.A.P. Barnard to Mrs. Henry E. Pellew, November 16, 1881, Barnard Papers, RBML.

⁸⁶¹ F.A.P. Barnard to Mrs. Henry E. Pellew, November 16, 1881 and F.A.P. Barnard to Caroline Sterling Choate, June 1, 1882, Barnard Papers, RBML.

⁸⁶² Barnard, *Annual Report to Board of Trustees*, 1882, in John Fulton, *Memoirs of Frederick A. P. Barnard, Tenth President of Columbia College in the City of New York* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1896), 418.

conspicuous example than any other” and that it would be “unquestionably followed” by Yale and Princeton, along with other institutions of higher education in the United States.⁸⁶³ Although he was unable to convince the board to admit women to Columbia College, the college’s coordinate institution for women, Barnard College, was posthumously named in his honor.⁸⁶⁴

By the mid-1880s, in his 70s, Barnard had become much more reclusive in his work, but it nonetheless remained clear that the Civil War had a lasting influence on not only his career ambitions, but on his worldview as well. In 1885, twenty years after the end of hostilities between the North and South, Barnard still believed sectional divisions to be the most pressing issue facing the country. He wrote to President-elect Grover Cleveland, “The particular matter in which, as I trust and believe, the success of your administration is to be most signally marked, is destined to be the restoration between the different sections of our common country of that harmony which has been so long and so painfully interrupted, and the making of all our people in fact what they have been so long in name but only in name—an united people.”⁸⁶⁵ After his wartime experiences of losing his home, his career, his material goods; followed by homelessness, unemployment, and the uncertainty and transience of refugee life; and the lingering effects of the war on his personal and professional life, these personal circumstances intensified Barnard’s animosity towards the South even in the years after the Civil War. Initially, they encouraged him to make a lasting impact on Columbia College, and bring it to world-renown as “the college of the future.”

⁸⁶³ F.A.P. Barnard to Caroline Sterling Choate, January 13, 1883, Barnard Papers, RBML.

⁸⁶⁴ Barnard’s wife, Margaret, did not consider the naming of Barnard College to be an honor because her husband had specifically encouraged co-education of men and women on equal terms, not the use of separate coordinate institutions or annexes specifically for women. See specifically the condolence correspondence following Barnard’s death, 1889-1890, Barnard Papers, RBML. See also Fulton, *Memoirs of Frederick A.P. Barnard*, 422.

⁸⁶⁵ F.A.P. Barnard to Grover Cleveland, January 9, 1885, Barnard Papers, RBML.

Wartime displacement had a lasting effect on Barnard in the aftermath of the war, and he, in turn, had a lasting effect on the community in which he found refuge.

As Barnard neared eighty years old, he reminisced with his old friend and colleague Eugene Hilgard about “the period before the sky fell on us in Mississippi.” Barnard recalled, “That was a period of great excitement in which one sometimes lived a month or two in a day. And yet, though we suffered heavy troubles, there was a great deal very enjoyable after all.” Barnard highlighted one particular experience as a refugee during the Civil War that he cherished, explaining:

I remember one of these maps which had for me a particular interest; it was an outline map of the whole territory of the Union, in which we drew the line of demarkation showing the extent to which each of the contending parties had military occupation. This line had to be moved every few months and I used to note with great gratification the steady advance of this line of demarkation upon the territory of the Confederate States of America.⁸⁶⁶

He remembered how he wished the line on the map would advance toward the Gulf Coast, presumably so he could return to his life and career in Mississippi. He brought his reminiscence to a halt though and reminded himself “to let these by-gones be by-gones,” because by the time the line reached Mississippi, he had been elected President of Columbia College, where he was quickly able to re-establish his career and life comfortably and bring acclaim to the university that had given him an opportunity to recover from his wartime displacement.⁸⁶⁷

Wartime refugees had a lasting influence in the aftermath of the Civil War, and for many refugees, wartime displacement had a lasting influence on their lives as well. For some, these two are intertwined, such as F. A. P. Barnard, who was elected President of Columbia College while displaced, and was driven to bring it as much acclaim as possible following his

⁸⁶⁶ F.A.P. Barnard to Eugene W. Hilgard, January 13, 1886, Barnard Papers, RBML.

⁸⁶⁷ F.A.P. Barnard to Grover Cleveland, January 9, 1885, Barnard Papers, RBML.

wartime experiences. Displacement affected the lives of these refugees in deeply personal ways, including the threat of violence, homelessness, unemployment, financial insecurity, material losses, and the loss of loved ones. These losses were difficult to overcome, and in some cases, these losses would affect them for years after their displacement. Barnard was mostly able to overcome the career setback caused by his displacement, but, more importantly, it was these losses that prompted him to devote years to proving his reputation as a scientist and educator, in part by continually working to improve Columbia College. Like Barnard, displacement during the Civil War, and her experiences as a refugee, would affect Sarah Cooper for years to come. As her displacement continued to shape her postwar life, she, in turn, would shape postwar California.

Sarah Cooper understood that her life would never return to normal in the aftermath of the Civil War. She lost her home and most of possessions when she fled from Chattanooga in 1861 with her four-year-old daughter Hattie, and another child on the way. She arrived in her native upstate New York in mid-August and gave birth to a daughter less than a week later. Cooper eventually returned to federally-occupied Memphis with her two daughters and her husband, Fen, who had recently begun working for the United States Treasury Department. They spent the remainder of the war in occupied Memphis, with Cooper spending much of her time and energy caring for the less fortunate among her fellow wartime refugees, black and white.⁸⁶⁸ It was through her involvement in the Association for the Relief of White Refugees she had founded for this purpose that she came into contact with a refugee family with smallpox. The disease spread to Cooper's

⁸⁶⁸ In addition to starting an Association for the Relief of White Refugees in Memphis in 1863, Cooper also helped start the Memphis Colored Orphan Asylum, which was founded by Martha Canfield in 1864. See Sarah Cooper Diaries from 1863 and 1864, Sarah Brown Ingersoll Cooper Papers, #6543, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

children, and her two and a half-year-old daughter, Mollie, died just a few days later.⁸⁶⁹ The death of her daughter was just one of the ways that wartime displacement would affect Sarah Cooper and her family for the rest of their lives.

Although the United States prevailed in April of 1865, Sarah remained in a deep depression for the remainder of the year, wishing she could reunite with her “darling Mollie,” as well as her two sons who had died as newborns before the war began. Even after the war ended, the impact of the war on her family left her mental health in crisis, and her physical health was declining as well. At her first opportunity, Sarah visited her sisters, whom she had not seen since 1861, in Nashville and Chattanooga, before spending several months in Iuka, Mississippi, where the mineral springs were rumored to bring good health. Sarah’s health did improve slightly, and signs of her depression began to fade, but the family soon began to question their future in the postwar South.

Sarah Cooper and her husband, Fen, intended to remain in Tennessee, which had been their home since their marriage in 1854. Indeed, their attachment to Tennessee is part of the reason they moved to occupied Memphis during the war. However, in the aftermath of the failure of the Confederacy, former secessionists in Tennessee wanted nothing to do with Northerners and Unionists like the Coopers, often branding them as “Radical Republicans” with little regard to their politics. Although neither Fen nor Sarah were “radical Republicans,” they were Northerners and Unionists. It was well known that Fen fled from the Confederacy due to his Union sentiments, and it was also known that he was appointed to a position with the U.S. Treasury Department in occupied Memphis in return for the upheaval caused by the family’s loyalty to the United States. Following the assassination of

⁸⁶⁹ Undated news clipping, Box 10, Folder 13, Sarah Brown Ingersoll Cooper Papers, #6543, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. See also, Cooper Diary, 1864, Cornell.

Abraham Lincoln, Andrew Johnson's succession to the Presidency intensified divisions between Democrats and Republicans.

The disparaging treatment of "radicals" was only encouraged by the anti-Republican antics of fellow Tennessean and now President, Andrew Johnson. As the President and Congress fought over how to reconstruct the nation, the Coopers began to face an increasingly hostile climate in postwar Tennessee. Johnson's notorious defiance of Republicans in Congress, which would later lead to his impeachment, was in full swing in 1866, and even minor government employees were at risk of retaliation for their political stances.

Among these was Fen Cooper, who wrote to Sarah in August of 1866 explaining that the Treasury Department was the latest of Johnson's targets, especially in Johnson's home state of Tennessee. He included a clipping from the *Memphis Daily Avalanche* which reported the "good news" that "every Radical holding office in this city is to be removed."⁸⁷⁰ The article continued, "the guillotine is working with all the speed of a circular saw," and announced the removal of three Northerners employed by the Internal Revenue Service and boasted of their replacement with Southerners. The article encouraged "Let the President make a clear sweep while he is cleaning the Augean stable. Gist and Cooper are trembling like a pyramid of jelly. Cut off their worthless heads."⁸⁷¹ While Fen assured Sarah that he believed this beheading was figurative, he told her that there was "a class in the South as violent & rebellious as before the war and they are bound to oust every man of Northern

⁸⁷⁰ August 23, 1866, Sarah Cooper Diary, 1862, Sarah Brown Ingersoll Cooper Papers, #6543, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library (henceforth Cooper Diary, 1866, Cornell).

⁸⁷¹ August 23, 1866, Cooper Diary, 1866, Cornell.

birth, however he may demean himself.”⁸⁷² In the face of this hostile environment in Tennessee, the Coopers began to make plans for Sarah and Hattie to leave the South.

By the end of 1866, Sarah and Hattie were planning to move to St. Paul, Minnesota, although they could not travel that far north until the icy rivers melted and were again navigable. They moved in June of 1867, encouraged by the hostile environment in postwar Tennessee, as well as the hostile climate in Memphis. The dusty, humid climate took a toll on Sarah’s lungs, and although she sought to recuperate at mineral springs with supposed healing qualities in Iuka, Mississippi, her lungs continued to bother her, and they hoped that a colder climate would improve her health. The sojourn in St. Paul would also allow Sarah to focus more on her writing, especially as she began her second novel manuscript “The Bankrupt’s Daughter,” following the rejection of her first manuscript, “Onward; or the Orphan’s Watchword.”⁸⁷³ While Sarah focused on improving her health, caring for Hattie, and working on her manuscript, Fen planned to remain in Tennessee as long as he was able to continue his work with the IRS, resigning in February 1868, just before Andrew Johnson was impeached for obstructing Congress.⁸⁷⁴

Shortly after Fen’s resignation from the IRS in Tennessee, he began to consider relocating to Minnesota with his wife and daughter. He planned to invest in and operate the International Hotel in St. Paul, but it burned to the ground in February 1869, just before he finalized his involvement. Sarah confessed that she was “continually thinking of our future,”

⁸⁷² August 23, 1866, Cooper Diary, 1866, Cornell.

⁸⁷³ Edward Parker to Sarah B. Cooper, April 16, 1867, Sarah Brown Ingersoll Cooper Papers, #6543, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library (henceforth Cooper Papers, Cornell). Sarah Cooper’s first manuscript, “Onward; or the Orphan’s Watchword,” is not among her extensive papers in the archives at Cornell, although letters explaining the reason it was rejected are in her correspondence. Her second manuscript, “The Bankrupt’s Daughter,” was also rejected, and the original manuscript can be found in her papers at Cornell.

⁸⁷⁴ Hugh McCulloch to Halsey Fenimore Cooper, March 5, 1868, Cooper Papers, Cornell.

and as she watched the International Hotel burn, she wrote, “Thus were blasted all my prospects in that direction.”⁸⁷⁵

With few other prospects, Fen proposed that the family relocate to California. Sarah recorded that she was “really startled” by Fen’s “proposition to start for California.”⁸⁷⁶ Nonetheless, she wrote, “I shall write Fen that we will go. I am ready to go with him almost anywhere.”⁸⁷⁷ Sarah was anxious about their move to California. As always, though, Sarah had faith in her husband, and, more importantly, God, writing that “I am not to be distressed God orders all our ways for us. He knows what is best.”⁸⁷⁸ Sarah’s willingness to move out West was prompted in part by her desire for a home where her family could be together. In the years since their wartime displacement, the family had remained transient, and often, separated, constantly boarding in others houses, and without a home of their own since abandoning Chattanooga.⁸⁷⁹ Eight years later, Sarah desperately desired “a nice snug home of our own” for her family, and her hope in the promise of a new life and new future for her family was in the West.⁸⁸⁰

In June of 1869, Sarah, Fen, and Hattie Cooper boarded one of the first through-trains aboard the newly completed Transcontinental Railroad, taking it from Council Bluffs, Iowa to Sacramento, California in search of a new home.⁸⁸¹ Aboard the Transcontinental Railroad, Cooper first came into contact with the *Overland Monthly*. Cooper had aspired to be

⁸⁷⁵ January 31, 1869 and February 3, 1869, Sarah Cooper Diary, 1869, Sarah Brown Ingersoll Cooper Papers, #6543. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library (henceforth Cooper Diary, 1869, Cornell).

⁸⁷⁶ April 22, 1869, Cooper Diary, 1869, Cornell.

⁸⁷⁷ April 22, 1869, Cooper Diary, 1869, Cornell.

⁸⁷⁸ April 30, 1869, Cooper Diary, 1869, Cornell.

⁸⁷⁹ Sarah left Memphis for Minnesota in June of 1867, living there until moving to San Francisco in late May of 1869. See Diaries from 1867 and 1869, Sarah Brown Ingersoll Cooper Papers, #6543, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

⁸⁸⁰ January 10, 1869, Cooper Diary, 1869, Cornell.

⁸⁸¹ May 26-June 8, 1869, Cooper Diary, 1869, Cornell.

a writer since her childhood, and she had experience working as a newspaper editor at the *Chattanooga Advertiser*, and was a regular contributor to a number of newspapers such as the *Memphis Appeal* and the *St. Paul Pioneer*.⁸⁸² The *Overland Monthly* was founded by Bret Harte to advance the literary culture of the West, and ran under the tagline “Devoted to the Development of the Country.”⁸⁸³ As she headed out West herself, Cooper was impressed as she perused the *Overland Monthly*, and shortly after arriving in San Francisco, she began working and writing for the magazine. Literary scholar Mike Owens argues that “Cooper must be credited as one of the foundational voices of the *Overland’s* heyday.”⁸⁸⁴ By extension, she was fundamental in advancing respect for literary culture and scholarship in the West. Cooper was the “editress” of the *Overland* by 1872, and had written a series on “Ideal Womanhood” and “Ideal Motherhood” for the magazine, in addition to writing and editing most of the book reviews and the “Etc.!” section of the magazine. Cooper also wrote three short stories for the *Overland*, including one about a wartime refugee named Mrs. Lyle.⁸⁸⁵

Sarah Cooper’s short story “Brave Mrs. Lyle” appeared in the January 1873 edition of the *Overland*. This story centers on a family from Arkansas who are trying to remain safely in Confederate territory despite their father, Mr. Lyle, hiding out to avoid Confederate conscription. Confederates begin to search for the father, and threaten Mrs. Lyle and her

⁸⁸² See Sarah Brown Ingersoll Cooper Papers, #6543, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

⁸⁸³ According to the literary scholar Mike Owens, the magazine was “designed to advance California culture and openly compete with Boston’s famous *Atlantic Monthly*.” See David Michael Owens, “Back from ‘That Literary Hell, the Footnote’: Sarah B. Cooper’s *Overland Monthly* Writings,” *American Literary Realism* 50, No. 1 (Fall 2017), 76.

⁸⁸⁴ David Michael Owens, “Back from ‘That Literary Hell, the Footnote’: Sarah B. Cooper’s *Overland Monthly* Writings,” *American Literary Realism* 50, No. 1 (Fall 2017), 77.

⁸⁸⁵ Cooper wrote an additional short story based during the Civil War entitled “Old Uncle Hampshire” which was published in November 1872, and the eponymous character is an archetypal “loyal slave.” Cooper also published a short story about the Christian treatment of unwed mothers called “Zanie” which was published in November 1873. For more on Cooper’s literary career see David Michael Owens, “Back from ‘That Literary Hell, the Footnote’: Sarah B. Cooper’s *Overland Monthly* Writings,” *American Literary Realism* 50, No. 1 (Fall 2017): 76-88.

neighbor, Mrs. Nourse, for information on the whereabouts of the outliers. The women refuse, and instead Mrs. Lyle clandestinely rides through the night to warn Mr. Lyle to flee to Union lines. As she returned to her home, she found Mrs. Nourse's house on fire, and after taking Mrs. Nourse, her blind and aging mother, and her infant son into her own home, Mrs. Lyle soon received a note threatening all of their lives. The group of three adults and seven children flee to Union-occupied Memphis, but quickly come into contact with a measles outbreak, which kills Mrs. Nourse and her mother, as well as two of the children. The remaining refugees are provided with hospital beds by the "Society for the Protection of Refugees," and they all recover, eventually reuniting with Mr. Lyle, who had joined the Union Army.

The story, Sarah Cooper told her sister, was based on "a true story of one of the bravest women I ever met."⁸⁸⁶ Years later, Cooper would also reveal that indeed the story was based on the Arkansas refugee who gave her youngest daughter, Mollie, the small-pox that would kill her at age two. As literary scholar Mike Owens has argued, Mrs. Lyle represents the standard of ideal womanhood, and ideal motherhood, that was a common archetype in the late nineteenth century. Furthermore, her fiction writing represents an interesting Western spin on Civil War literature that focuses on moral imperatives of individuals over the "romance of reunion" or "Lost Cause" narrative typical in Eastern publications following the war.⁸⁸⁷ It is also important to note how much the experience of Mrs. Lyle, and the unnamed refugee woman on whom she is based, mirrors that of Cooper's own wartime experiences, including displacement on account of Union loyalty, and the untimely death of children from epidemic outbreaks in places of refuge.

⁸⁸⁶ Sarah Cooper to Julius Skilton, December 20, 1872, Cooper Papers, Cornell.

⁸⁸⁷ Mike Owens, "The Most Interesting Woman You've Never Heard Of: The Life and Work of San Francisco's Sarah Brown Ingersoll Cooper," Professorial Lecture, Valparaiso University, April 20, 2017.

For Cooper, these wartime experiences strengthened her already devout Christianity, inspired in part by her fervent belief in the “Discipline of Suffering.”⁸⁸⁸ Cooper believed that faith in God would get her through even the toughest of times, and that although it may be unclear at the moment, tough times would work out for the best, and in doing so, strengthen both faith and character. Following Mollie’s death during the war, and the family’s continued transience, Cooper repeatedly reminded herself that “strength is made perfect in weakness,” and to have faith in God’s plan for her life, often writing on this subject to the sister with whom she was closest, Harriet Ingersoll Skilton.⁸⁸⁹ She believed that although her family had experienced many sorrows, including the premature deaths of three children, “strength has been born of conflict.”⁸⁹⁰ She acknowledged her belief that “God makes no mistakes, and say what we will, Our Heavenly Father permits these things and it must be for some purpose.”⁸⁹¹ Cooper would later reflect that this was a lesson she learned “during the progress of the war.”⁸⁹² She explained:

All seemed like defeat. But I found afterward, that these were but the maneuverings before the battle—the secret operations of the Great Army—the strategic movements of the different battalions. Even so, the troops of Time must go through their preparatory evolutions. March on! March on! Sturdy crusaders under the Great King! Obey the orders of the Great Leader, whether they be, “Ground arms!”—“Shoulder-arms!”—“Present arms!”—or “Forward march!” It is enough for us to know that He plans and leads the campaign. He plans and leads the campaign of every individual life; and every one who follows this Leader will be led forth to victory.⁸⁹³

⁸⁸⁸ See “Discipline of Suffering,” Box 9, Folder 13, Cooper Papers, Cornell.

⁸⁸⁹ December 20, 1862 and December 21, 1862, Cooper Diary, 1862, Cornell, Sarah Brown Ingersoll Cooper Papers, #6543. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. This is a reference to 2 Corinthians 12:9 “And he said unto me, My grace is sufficient for thee: for My strength is made perfect in weakness. Most gladly therefore will I rather glory in my infirmities, that the power of Christ may rest upon me.”

⁸⁹⁰ Sarah Ingersoll Cooper to Harriet Ingersoll Skilton, August 20, 1874, Cooper Papers, Cornell. Emphasis in original.

⁸⁹¹ Sarah Ingersoll Cooper to Harriet Ingersoll Skilton, October 14, 1874, Cooper Papers, Cornell. Emphasis in original.

⁸⁹² “Character Building,” Box 9, Folder 4, Cooper Papers, Cornell.

⁸⁹³ “Character Building,” Box 9, Folder 4, Cooper Papers, Cornell.

These wartime experiences would continue to shape the course of Sarah Cooper's life.

Cooper's wartime experiences not only reaffirmed her piety, but it also led to her active devotion to Christian charity. For Cooper, charity and Christianity were inextricably intertwined, and it was during the war years that she first began to develop her philosophy about Christianity and social aid. This philosophy, spelled out in many of her writings, is similar to what would become known as "Social Gospel." Cooper herself, however, called it "practical Christianity," in which she felt Christians should actively support social reforms and practice Christ's command to love their neighbors, rather than hollowly proclaiming "the musty old creeds and formulas of a dead theology."⁸⁹⁴ Cooper emphasized this "practical Christianity" in many of her writings, both fiction and non-fiction, and Cooper's support of this idea of Christian charity is clearly reflected in the story of Mrs. Lyle and her life-saving experience with the quasi-fictional "Society for the Protection of Refugees."

Since relocating to occupied Memphis during the Civil War, Sarah Cooper had been devoted to aiding those in her community in need. In Union-occupied Memphis, this included founding her Association for the Relief of White Refugees, as well as her involvement aiding orphan asylums, and nursing injured soldiers. Once in San Francisco, her impulse to help the less fortunate continued. Sarah was involved in raising money for a number of charitable causes, including multiple fundraisers for the Yellow Fever epidemic in Memphis in 1878, as well as helping raise money for the Mills Seminary, a women's college in San Francisco that was threatened with bankruptcy.⁸⁹⁵ She also served on the executive

⁸⁹⁴ Sarah Ingersoll Cooper to Harriet Ingersoll Skilton, February 24, 1881, Cooper Papers, Cornell.

⁸⁹⁵ See Sarah Ingersoll Cooper to Harriet Ingersoll Skilton, October 14, 1878, Cooper Papers, Cornell. Altogether, Sarah mentions raising \$1,357.60 for victims of the Yellow Fever outbreak in Tennessee, including a part that was donated to the Leath Orphan Asylum. As part of the "Ladies' Committee," she helped raise \$13,000 for the Mills Seminary in an effort to help it avoid bankruptcy.

board for numerous other charitable societies, including the Woman's Union Mission School to Chinese Women and Children.

In addition to assisting these various organizations, Cooper spent much of her time assisting those in the community in need informally. In 1878 she began to record how many visitors she had each day, and after 18 months, found that she averaged at least three a day, and at times had as many as 13 people come to ask her for assistance in a single day. She wrote her sister, Harriet, "there are at least one or two persons to see me every day to secure assistance in some way. No minister has more calls in that direction than I. How delighted I should be to have it in my power to help these poor souls—As it is, I have to go out and try and interest those who have means." She gave an example of a family with a husband in the hospital with badly broken hip, leaving his wife and 13 month old child with no financial support that she procured aid for, as well as young boy of 13 who needed medical care but whose impoverished family could not afford it until Cooper intervened.⁸⁹⁶ While she helped as many as she could, and tried to never turn away any one in need, she was unable to focus primarily on her charity work as she had in Memphis because the Cooper family relied on her income as a writer to support themselves financially, especially in the economic depression following the Panic of 1873.

By 1879, when many were beginning to recover from the Panic of 1873, the Coopers continued to struggle. First, a mining investment that Fen Cooper expected to pay off shortly fell through when the mine flooded with water, and less than a month later, Fen was fired from his job at the Internal Revenue Service. Fen had originally been appointed to the IRS after the family fled Chattanooga as refugees in 1861, a federal patronage he received in part due to his well-known loyalty to the federal government. Fen had consistently been

⁸⁹⁶ Sarah Ingersoll Cooper to Harriet Ingersoll Skilton, January 31, 1879, Cooper Papers, Cornell.

appointed to posts in the IRS since, and it remained one of the lasting vestiges of their wartime Unionism. When Fen was fired in 1879, Sarah was outraged, and wrote a letter to Fen's recently-appointed superior, railroad magnate William A. Gavett, defending her husband and condemning his firing from the job he had long held as a badge of honor for his loyalty to the government. Sarah fumed:

We have loved this Government. We have given up everything we possessed in testimony of our allegiance to it. We left the home of early married years and the friends whom we fondly loved, because we loved the Government. Aye-more, we left the graves of our children, dearer to mother-heart than anything on earth, we left these behind because we loved our country even better than these. We have proved our love to this Government in all the eventful past. We love it still...⁸⁹⁷

Sarah knew that it was their wartime loyalty that not only created the financial instability that the family had dealt with since their displacement, but she also recognized that this loyalty, and Fen's resulting federal patronage, had offered a sole source of stability, and had helped them to begin to recover from their displacement as much as they were able. Therefore, when Fen was fired from the IRS fifteen years later, Sarah took it as a personal attack not only on her family, but on the sacrifices her family had made because of their loyalty to the United States. With all her family had lost and suffered, Fen's career with the IRS had been one of the only benefits, and Sarah decried not only the loss of this source of stability, but the loss of recognition from the government for what her family had been through. Thanks to Sarah Cooper's meddling in Washington, a \$50 bribe, and the spoils system, once the aftermath of the elections had died down, Fen was able to recover his government job the next year. Regardless, it is clear that nearly fifteen years later, wartime loyalty had continued to play an important role in the family's lives, and, while evident in both Fen's IRS career

⁸⁹⁷ Sarah Cooper to William A. Gavett, March 19, 1879, Cooper Papers, Cornell.

and Sarah's writing career, the lasting effects of their wartime experiences were most clearly reflected in her continually growing commitment to Christian charity.

In December 1878 Sarah Cooper visited the Silver Street Free Kindergarten, the first free kindergarten in San Francisco. Cooper was impressed by the school, and its teacher, Kate Douglas Smith, and shortly after visiting she began planning to create another kindergarten in the city based on the same model.⁸⁹⁸ She published a series of newspaper articles explaining that free kindergartens for impoverished children in the city was a remedy against "hoodlumism," and believed that education in early childhood could serve to make these impoverished children flourishing members of society. She praised the charitable effort on Silver Street, which left 40 children "made happy; taught to love one another; taught to respect each other; taught habits of neatness, order, regularity, industry and frugality... taught habits of observation and concentration; taught gentleness, consideration and love for each other and for all that God has made."⁸⁹⁹ Cooper's views on this topic were clearly influenced by the popular belief at the time that poverty and criminal activity was hereditary, and thus she believed that intervening in the lives of impoverished children in their early childhood with education would prevent this supposedly genetic trait from occurring, and instead replace it with traits like "patience, industry, perseverance and thrift."⁹⁰⁰ For Cooper, free kindergartens embodied her philosophy of practical Christianity, and were the culmination of her devotion to Christian charity that began flourishing during her time as a refugee during the Civil War.

⁸⁹⁸ It should be noted that Kate Douglas Smith later married and changed her name to Kate Douglas Wiggin, the author of the classic *Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm*, along with numerous other books and stories primarily meant for young readers, as well as some adult fiction, and non-fiction essays on kindergarten theory and practice.

⁸⁹⁹ Sarah Cooper, "Kindergarten in San Francisco: A Visit to the Silver Street Kindergarten," *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, December 14, 1878.

⁹⁰⁰ Sarah Cooper, "The Kindergarten: Its Wards," *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, December 21, 1878.

Cooper at this point already had a model for her kindergarten in mind, based on the teachings of German kindergarten pioneer Friedrich Froebel, and also Kate Smith's Silver Street example, but she still required financial support for her institution. Cooper's final newspaper article on the importance of free kindergartens in San Francisco emphasized the need for financial support. She implored her readers and potential donors that free Kindertens would benefit society as a whole as they developed impoverished children into valuable members of society, and argued, "The simple question is: Shall we expend our energies and means in making useful and valuable citizens of these unfortunate children, or shall we be taxed to support systems of penalty and pain? It is one of two alternatives. There is no middle ground."⁹⁰¹ She continued, "All that is needed to accomplish this is money. There are many who have been blest with abundance. There are many who are grieving over the loss of little ones, and life seems to them a barren thing."⁹⁰² Cooper then quoted Elizabeth Peabody, founder of the Boston Kindergarten Association, who said:

"If I could only reach those women whose lives seem to them bereft of all love and comfort by the loss of all they felt dearest and best and most necessary in their hearts, I would say to them: Do not nurse and cherish your grief, but prove yourself worthy of the love whose loss you bemoan... in no manner can you accomplish this better than by supplying the wants of little children..."⁹⁰³

Cooper herself knew the grief that Peabody spoke of, and her private correspondence makes evident that the loss of her daughter 14 years earlier, during the Civil War, still weighed heavy on her mind as she was beginning her Kindergarten.⁹⁰⁴ Cooper likely included Peabody's call for financial support from those who had lost children because it spoke to her

⁹⁰¹ Sarah Cooper, "The Kindergarten: Its Wards," *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, December 21, 1878.

⁹⁰² Sarah Cooper, "The Kindergarten: Its History and Progress," *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, December 28, 1878.

⁹⁰³ Sarah Cooper, "The Kindergarten: Its History and Progress," *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, December 28, 1878.

⁹⁰⁴ See, for example, Sarah Cooper to Harriet Skilton, November 10, 1879, in which Sarah alludes to wondering if she could have been more attentive to Mollie's health and prevented her death during the Civil War. Cooper Papers, Cornell.

personally, and it spoke to other women in San Francisco who had lost young children as well. Amongst these was Jane Stanford, whose fifteen-year-old son, Leland Jr., died from typhoid fever in 1884. The Stanfords would contribute over \$20,000 to Cooper's Golden Gate Kindergarten Association by 1886, and seven kindergartens in the city were named in Leland Stanford Jr.'s honor and funded solely by Jane and Leland Stanford.⁹⁰⁵ Numerous other prominent Californians would become supporters of Cooper's kindergartens as well, including Phoebe Hearst, mother of journalist William Randolph Hearst, and millionaires Charles and Miranda Lux, who had made fortunes from the cattle industry. By 1892, the Golden Gate Kindergarten Association was supported by over sixteen California millionaires, and in that year alone, Jane Stanford pledged \$100,000 to continue the work of Cooper's organization.⁹⁰⁶

Just as Sarah's kindergarten work was beginning to flourish, in March 1885, Fen was again fired from his job with the Internal Revenue Service, leaving the family struggling to pay their mortgage. Unable to get his job back, in part because of civil service reform, and suffering from the patriarchal pressures to provide for his family, Halsey Fenimore Cooper committed suicide in December 1885 by swallowing carbolic acid. Sarah was still grieving over the death of her oldest sister, Jennie Schley, in August of that same year, when she and Hattie returned home from church services to find Fen dead on the couch, along with a suicide note, which read:

I am weighed down with a grief and agony untold, and must seek what rest there may be in mother earth. Softening of the brain, old age creeping on, and pauperism, is more than I can endure. Your lives, so useful and so noble, should not be

⁹⁰⁵ *Seventh Annual Report of the Golden Gate Kindergarten Association* (San Francisco: Spaulding & Co., 1886), 11. Cooper Papers, Cornell.

⁹⁰⁶ *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Golden Gate Kindergarten Association* (San Francisco: Spaulding & Co., 1892), 122. Cooper Papers, Cornell.

burdened by one who devotedly loves you, but who has failed to provide. And now Good by.⁹⁰⁷

Fen's already tragic death was compounded by a Christmas gift-in-the-works, unbeknownst to Fen, in which wealthy friends, led by millionaires Charles and Miranda Lux, had raised the money to pay off the Cooper's mortgage.

In the wake of Fen's suicide, the Luxes offered the Cooper women a living allowance that would allow them to devote themselves fully to their charitable work. Sarah's kindergarten work continued to grow, and in 1892 she was elected the first president of the International Kindergarten Union. In addition to this work, she also became involved in the woman's suffrage movement in the early 1890s.

Cooper's involvement with woman suffrage is noteworthy because she was initially an anti-suffragist, so much so that in 1871, not long after moving to San Francisco, Sarah Cooper published an article in the *Overland Monthly* entitled, "Woman Suffrage—*Cui Bono?*?" which argued that women stood to lose more than they would gain if they had access to the ballot.⁹⁰⁸ Woman suffrage, she initially feared, would destroy woman's sacred place and role in society as moral and spiritual teacher.

Twenty years after publishing her anti-suffrage essay, her view would be radically different. By the 1890s, Cooper had begun to support woman suffrage because she now believed it to be the best way for women to perform their moral and spiritual obligations to society. At a speech at a pro-suffrage campaign Cooper explained that it was her charitable Christian work with free kindergartens that encouraged her reversal of opinion:

⁹⁰⁷ Halsey Fenimore Cooper to Sarah and Harriet Cooper, December 6, 1885, Cooper Papers, Cornell.

⁹⁰⁸ Sarah Cooper, "Woman Suffrage—*Cui Bono?*," *Overland Monthly* Vol. 8, No. 2, (Feb. 1872): 156-165. Cooper Papers, Cornell. Cooper argues that that the right to vote would not "elevate woman to a higher altitude, either intellectually, socially, or morally, or add to her beauty, honor, or happiness (157)." This article appeared just after her series on "Ideal Womanhood," and Cooper is clearly relying on a common belief at the time that politics was too dirty for the ideal woman.

I am a suffragist because it has been shown me clearly that I cannot do my duty to these children and to these homes, without being so... Friends and foes alike tell us that politics is a dirty pool, and they would fain protect us from its debasing influences... woman has no right to be perched upon a pedestal while great social questions which involve the very life of a community, are pressing for solution. We believe there are great and grand principles, which if properly applied, would reform, ennoble and uplift.⁹⁰⁹

Cooper's work with kindergartens, beginning in 1879, was initially within the sphere of acceptable women's outreach because it was devoted to the moral and spiritual enrichment of children, and therefore an outward extension of ideal womanhood and motherhood. Nonetheless, as Cooper continued her work with these children she came to realize that her efforts to encourage and practice "practical Christianity" would be even more influential if women had political power through the ballot.

As Cooper became more and more involved in woman suffrage, her daughter Hattie, now nearly 40-years-old, continued to struggle with mental illness. Hattie had initially exhibited signs of depression following Sarah Cooper's heresy trial in 1881, and her father's suicide in 1885 led to increased signs of mental instability. Her erratic behavior was a great concern to her mother, though Hattie's symptoms would often subside for months at a time. In 1895, Hattie's symptoms again began to worsen as Sarah Cooper became involved in another controversy at her church, this time involving the preacher, Reverend Charles Oliver Brown, who had been accused of having an adulterous affair with another woman.⁹¹⁰ Sarah Cooper called for Brown's removal from First Congregational Church, and the affair and

⁹⁰⁹ Why I Believe in Woman Suffrage, Cooper Papers, Cornell.

⁹¹⁰ In response to the allegations, made in December 1895, Brown denied the charges and had the woman who accused him arrested for extortion, based on the charge that she attempted to blackmail him with a falsified story about the affair in exchange for money. At the same time, a handful of other women in his church charged Rev. Brown with sexual harassment. Several of these women confided in Sarah Cooper as they considered how to respond, and they informed Cooper of Brown's threats to have them imprisoned if they testified against him, as he had done with the initial woman who reported his adulterous affair. In April 1896, Rev. Brown resigned and moved to Chicago, where he became pastor of another church. Statement on the Brown Affair, Box 7, Folder 29, Cooper Papers, Cornell.

ensuing court case received coverage nationally.⁹¹¹ Before the case ended, however, the church became deeply divided over whose side of the story was true, and an ardent supporter of Rev. Brown drew Hattie Cooper into the drama by calling her a “small-pox, speckled-face creature.”⁹¹² Sarah Cooper defended her daughter, but the insult hurt them both deeply, especially as it brought back to mind the cause of Hattie’s scars: the smallpox that had killed her little sister, Mollie, over thirty years earlier. A newspaper reported that the insult was “harder to bear” when the Coopers “remembered what brought this sorrow to our home,” and Sarah Cooper relayed the story of the Arkansas refugee who had fled to occupied Memphis, asked Sarah Cooper’s refugee aid society for assistance, and unintentionally infected both Mollie and Hattie Cooper with small-pox in the process.⁹¹³ The unwanted public attention, compounded by the memory of Mollie’s death, intensified Hattie’s depression, and in the months following the highly-publicized insult, Hattie would make multiple attempts to kill herself. Sarah Cooper was aware of her daughter’s depression and attempted suicides, and made every attempt to prevent her suicide, short of having her daughter institutionalized. On the night of December 11, 1896, the night before Sarah Cooper’s 60th birthday, Hattie Cooper waited for her mother to fall asleep before turning on the gas jets, which by the morning, had asphyxiated them both. Tragically, this was how Sarah Cooper’s life would come to an end, and along with it, her devotion to practical Christianity that had driven her since she and her family became refugees during the Civil War.

⁹¹¹ “Says They are True,” *Indianapolis Journal*, December 31, 1895; “Tell Divergent Stories,” *Omaha Daily Bee*, December 30, 1895; “Two Strange Stories,” *San Francisco Call*, March 12, 1896.

⁹¹² Statement on the Brown Affair, Box 7, Folder 29, Cooper Papers, Cornell.

⁹¹³ Statement on the Brown Affair, Box 7, Folder 29, Cooper Papers, Cornell.

As Sarah Cooper's storied life demonstrates, displacement during the Civil War affected refugees for years to come. Displacement during the war resulted in the death of one of her daughters, and also took away their home. Cooper believed the family would finally settle into a home of their own after moving to California, and the federal patronage her husband was rewarded with in return for the family's loyalty to the government would be a major source of stability for the family as they moved on. Cooper would use the family's wartime experiences to help get her literary career off the ground as well. The lasting effect of wartime displacement on Cooper's life is seen most clearly in her devotion to aiding those less fortunate than herself, which began with the association she founded to assist fellow refugees during the war. Her growing commitment to practical Christianity eventually led to her kindergarten work, and this, in turn, led to her commitment to woman suffrage later in life. In Sarah Cooper's case, her wartime experiences as a refugee and the impact she would later have as she resettled permanently in the West were intertwined.

In the aftermath of the Civil War, many, such as Sarah Cooper, saw the West as a place to start anew. Nonetheless, the American West was still occupied by thousands of indigenous peoples, and in the wake of the Civil War, the push to colonize the West with white emigrants only increased. Before and during the Civil War, the United States had actively encouraged the immigration and migration of white people as part of its nation-building mission in the American West. In the aftermath of the war, the United States' settler colonialism in the West continued. In the nineteenth-century, settler colonialism required "the removal of Indigenous people in order for settlers to permanently occupy the land," and despite their own familiarity with displacement, numerous wartime refugees would have

a hand in claiming American Indian lands for white emigrants in the aftermath of the Civil War.⁹¹⁴

Among these was Sereno Watson, a native Northerner who fled Confederate Alabama in April 1861 to return to Union territory. Sereno spent most of the war years working for family friend Henry Barnard at the *Journal of Education*, and split his time between Hartford, Connecticut and his brother, Henry Watsons's, estate in Northampton, Massachusetts. Sereno had long been interested in biology, especially plants and botany, and he spent much of his time at Henry's estate recording details of his cultivation of plants.⁹¹⁵ Late in the war, Sereno went on a trip to Livingston, Guatemala, to help on a surveying expedition. He stopped in Nevada on his return and observed the diverse plants in the American Southwest as well before returning to the Northeast. Shortly after this trip, Sereno began to consider returning to school to study as a scientist. Sereno briefly considered moving back to Alabama after the war, before his brother, Henry, abandoned his plantation, in January of 1866. Sereno then began a specialized education at Sheffield Scientific School, part of Yale University. Sereno studied mineralogy, and with his new education in hand, he headed out West in search of a promising career and future.

Sereno had considered moving out West for years, and now, with no hope of returning to the South, and a history of bad career luck in the Northeast, Sereno finally headed out West in 1867. After a few weeks in California, Sereno learned of the federally-funded scientific expedition to explore the fortieth parallel across six states and territories,

⁹¹⁴Michelle Cassidy, "The Contours of Settler Colonialism in Civil War Pension Files," *Muster: The Blog of The Journal of the Civil War Era*, published June 28, 2019, accessed April 21, 2020, <https://www.journalofthecivilwarera.org/2019/06/the-contours-of-settler-colonialism-in-civil-war-pension-files/>. See also Paul Barba, "A War for Settler Colonialism," *Muster: The Blog of The Journal of the Civil War Era*, published March 3, 2020, accessed April 21, 2020, <https://www.journalofthecivilwarera.org/2020/03/a-war-for-settler-colonialism/>. For more on settler colonialism see Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (December 2006): 387-93.

⁹¹⁵ See Sereno Watson Diary, March-December, 1863, Watson Papers, Duke.

and 100,000 acres of the “unexplored” West.⁹¹⁶ The expedition, conducted as the United States Geological Expedition of the Fortieth Parallel, was headed by Clarence King, a fellow graduate of Sheffield Scientific School, which is likely where Sereno Watson and King first met. Watson volunteered to join the expedition in any capacity that was available, and began volunteering as a topographical assistant.⁹¹⁷ Watson joined the United States Geological Expedition as a volunteer and was not initially paid for his work, but was promoted to head botanist in March 1868, after failing health forced Dr. William Bailey to abandon the position and return to the East. Watson described the nature of their work to his nieces Minnie and Rosa,

“Well, the government [has recently] sent out a party to make an exploration through this part of the country along the 40th parallel of latitude... its rocks, & plants & birds & bugs, & fishes, measuring the mountains, & finding out as much as possible about it. I have got into this party and for that last three weeks I have been roving about from one place to another, climbing mountains, gathering plants, making observations with barometers & thermometers, cracking rocks, & playing the vagabond generally. There are ten others in the main party, besides 30 soldiers, and teamsters, cooks, &c.”⁹¹⁸

Sereno’s description elucidates the tasks of the exploration of the West, and is emblematic of the era in which Western exploration was conducted by academics working alongside the military. Watson’s scientific research in the West conducted on these expeditions marked the continued use of federal government funding and force to explore and populate the West for the benefit of white settlers.

⁹¹⁶ William H. Goetzmann, *Exploration and Empire: The Explorer and the Scientist in the Winning of the American West* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966), 434.

⁹¹⁷ William H. Goetzmann, *Exploration and Empire: The Explorer and the Scientist in the Winning of the American West* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966), 434. See also Roger Lawrence Williams, “Sereno Watson: Botanist by Inadvertence,” in *“A Region of Astonishing Beauty”: The Botanical Exploration of the Rocky Mountains*, (Lanham, MD.: Roberts Rinehart, 2003), 101-104.

⁹¹⁸ Sereno Watson to his niece Minnie, August 11, 1867, Sereno Watson Papers, Botany Libraries, Gray Herbarium Library, Harvard University.

The King Expedition was one of four postwar expeditions that promoted the settler colonial mission of the nation in the West.⁹¹⁹ The Clarence King expedition was important in the transformation of the American West, and was intended to be so from the start. Professor J. D. Whitney from Yale wrote to California Senator John Conness promoting King's proposal for a geological and geographical expedition, saying "I believe that the cause of science will be subserved and the material interests of the country advanced by such exploration."⁹²⁰ Central to the mission of the expedition was surveying land for railroad routes. Historian Richard Bartlett argues that "Because of their efforts, large parts of the American West were mapped with enough accuracy to be useful to miners, lumbermen, railroad builders, ranchers, and farmers."⁹²¹ Historian Richard White has expanded on the importance of exploring Western lands, detailing how the mapping, cataloguing, and surveying of the fortieth parallel "created the means and knowledge by which settlers could survive in an unfamiliar land."⁹²² White focuses in particular on how the surveys were a compromise between academic research expeditions and military expeditions, and that they importantly still played a role in suppressing Native American life as they encouraged and facilitated white settlement in the western lands they studied.⁹²³ The King Expedition was important for the nation in its imperializing mission, and would also prove to be important in Sereno Watson's career.

⁹¹⁹ See Richard Bartlett, *Great Surveys of the American West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980) and Goetzmann, *Exploration and Empire*.

⁹²⁰ J. D. Whitney to John Conness, November 9, 1866, National Archives, R.G. 77, Office of the Chief of Engineers, Letters Received, Third and Fifth Divisions, File Number Secretary of War 245, in Bartlett, *Great Surveys of the American West*, 143.

⁹²¹ Bartlett, *Great Surveys of the American West*, 374.

⁹²² Richard White, *It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own: A New History of the American West*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 130.

⁹²³ White, *It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own*, 129-132. See also Goetzmann, *Exploration and Empire*, 437.

Watson had never been able to hold steady employment since his graduation from Yale in 1854, and while his wartime displacement first seemed an unwanted interruption in his most successful career yet, it was during the war that he realized his desire to obtain a career in the natural sciences, a position which he would obtain in the postwar era. After joining the King Expedition as a volunteer, Watson quickly impressed the other scientists on the expedition, with both the depth and breadth of his scientific knowledge, and with his work ethic. After he replaced Dr. William Bailey, Watson ably demonstrated his expertise in botany, and his report on Botany from the findings of the expedition secured his position as an important American botanist.⁹²⁴ Watson's surviving correspondence exhibits the importance of his research for other white Americans living in the West through the demand for his volume on Botany from at least 12 other scientists working with the United States Army in the West asking for copies. After his work with the King Expedition was completed, he began working at the Herbarium at Harvard University under renowned botanist Asa Gray in 1873, a position Watson would hold until his death in 1892. While at Harvard, Watson would take several more trips for scientific research, including taking part in the forest survey of the Northwest in connection with 1880 census. Watson benefitted personally from the postwar impetus to explore the West, which launched his career, and the lasting influence of Watson's role in these scientific expeditions is not only evident in the foundations laid by their early scientific research, but also in the role their research played in facilitating and promoting white settlement in the West in the aftermath of the Civil War.

Numerous other refugees would play a role in the United States' imperializing mission after they fled from the Confederacy as well. Colonel John Feudge, a native of

⁹²⁴ Goetzmann argues that Watson's report Botany "almost immediately became a classic," *Exploration and Empire*, 459.

Ireland, was a Unionist living in Texas when the war broke out. He fled in the summer of 1861 after he “was forced to abandon and sacrifice his business and property.”⁹²⁵ Feudge escaped Texas thanks to “the friendly assistance, as well as the official interposition in his behalf of the French consul, F. Gilbean, of San Antonio,” who assisted him in boarding a small coaster which was deft enough to run the blockade.⁹²⁶ Feudge joined the Union army in Louisville, Kentucky, and after being mustered out on in June 1865, he was commissioned as an Indian agent for the Colorado River Indians in Arizona by President Andrew Johnson.

Many of the American Indian nations in Arizona Territory had recently been involved in armed conflicts with one another, prompted largely by the arrival of white settlers, which had displaced the Chemehuevis and the Pintahs. These displaced nations sought to move across to the west bank of the Colorado River, which were traditionally Mojave, Yuma, and Yavapai lands, leading to “open hostilities” between the nations.⁹²⁷ When Feudge arrived in Arizona in 1865, among his initial tasks were to convince the nations within his agency to take up farming and live on the recently-allotted reservation lands, rather than living a traditional nomadic lifestyle.⁹²⁸

In particular, in 1866, Feudge labeled the Yavapai as a threat, saying, “They appear to be determined to dwell in the interior and pursue the chase. They bear a very bad character, and travellers dread them, and pray for their extermination.”⁹²⁹ Furthermore, he described

⁹²⁵ “Colonel John Feudge” in *An Illustrated History of Southern California embracing the counties of San Diego San Bernardino Los Angeles and Orange and the peninsula of lower California*. Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1890), 510.

⁹²⁶ “Colonel John Feudge” in *An Illustrated History of Southern California embracing the counties of San Diego San Bernardino Los Angeles and Orange and the peninsula of lower California*. Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1890), 510.

⁹²⁷ George W. Leighy to D. N. Cooley, September 27, 1865, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1865* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1865), 140. (Hereafter cited as *AR CIA* and year.)

⁹²⁸ Commissioner of Indian Affairs D. N. Cooley to Secretary of the Interior O.H. Browning, October 22, 1866, *AR CIA* 1866, 27.

⁹²⁹ John Feudge to Superintendent of Indian Affairs G. W. Leighy, October 1, 1866, *AR CIA* 1867, 166.

them as “predatory,” and noted “Ranch-men and other citizens are incessantly calling for protection against these Indians depredations, and grossly censure the Indian officers, and denounce the government because protection is not furnished them.”⁹³⁰ As white emigrants continued to move to Indigenous lands and displace American Indians, tensions rose.

In December 1866 the hostile situation in Arizona intensified when Superintendent G. W. Leighy was murdered and his body mutilated, allegedly by “hostile Indians.” The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Charles Mix, explained that Leighy’s murder was “believed to have been the deed of the Tonto band of Apaches, the inciting motives being, it is thought, to terrify the whites and cause them to leave the Territory.”⁹³¹ Although the actual motive and culprits of Leighy’s murder are unclear, in the minds of Americans colonizing the West, American Indians were a threat that had to be removed or contained for the benefit of white Americans. Upon learning of Leighy’s death, Feudge complained that hardly a week passed without some type of atrocity, and expressed his belief that the American Indians in his agency “will be emboldened to treat us with defiance, and become a scourge to the whole country” until a white military force was able to “overpower” them.⁹³² By the end of 1866, Feudge had made little progress to assimilate Colorado River Indians, and the death of Leighy in particular signified American Indian resistance to white encroachment on indigenous lands in the aftermath of the Civil War.

Despite these initial setbacks, Feudge worked actively to attract more and more Colorado River Indians to the reservation permanently. Central to his efforts were ensuring that irrigation was available, making an agricultural lifestyle possible in the desert climate.

⁹³⁰ John Feudge to G. W. Leighy, October 1, 1866, *AR CIA* 1867, 166.

⁹³¹ Charles E. Mix to O. H. Browning, November 15, 1867, *AR CIA* 1867, 10. It is possible that in referring to the “Tonto band of Apache” Mix mistakenly meant the Yavapai since white emigrants often mistook the Yavapai for their Apache neighbors to the West.

⁹³² John Feudge to Commissioner of Indian Affairs D. N. Cooley, December 15, 1866, *AR CIA* 1867, 168.

Feudge recognized that “they *cannot* be induced to abandon their nomadic and roving habits and settle permanently” without irrigation.⁹³³ Nonetheless, it was not only irrigation, but agricultural methods in general that these formerly nomadic peoples would need to learn once restricted to the reservation, and many were hesitant to acquiesce to white demands for an agricultural lifestyle. By 1868, when an irrigation system was up and running on the reservation, it provided a sort of attraction for the many Colorado River Indians not yet living on the reservation, who would skeptically visit the reservation to investigate if and how irrigation worked, and to observe life on the reservation in general. Feudge believed that those who saw the irrigation canal for themselves were prompted to favorably reconsider living on the reservation. After one of these groups visited the reservation from their ancestral lands in the mountains, Feudge wrote, “many of the Indians, now scattered through the country, are constantly speaking of the reservation, and purpose coming on it soon.”⁹³⁴ Feudge advanced the cause of the United States in Arizona Territory, including the displacement and containment of American Indians to benefit white emigrants.

At the close of Johnson’s administration Feudge settled in San Bernardino, California on a ranch of about 100 acres.⁹³⁵ In addition to advancing settler colonialism in Arizona Territory in the immediate aftermath of the war, his eventual settlement in California also reflects the United States imperialist spirit. Feudge was a member of the Cooper Ornithological Club, which had a particular interest in studying birds native to the American West, especially the California Condor.⁹³⁶ Feudge’s attachment to settler colonialism in the

⁹³³ John Feudge to Superintendent of Indian Affairs G. W. Dent, August 1, 1868, *AR CLA* 1868, 139. Emphasis in original.

⁹³⁴ John Feudge to Superintendent of Indian Affairs G. W. Dent, August 1, 1868, *AR CLA* 1868, 139.

⁹³⁵ “Colonel John Feudge” in *An Illustrated History of Southern California Embracing the Counties of San Diego San Bernardino Los Angeles and Orange and the Peninsula of Lower California*, (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1890), 510.

⁹³⁶ Walter K. Fisher, ed., *The Condor: Magazine of Western Ornithology*, Vol. VI, (Jan. 1904), 26.

West is also represented by his involvement in The San Bernardino Society of Pioneers, which he remained involved with until his death.⁹³⁷ Feudge also remained active in the Grand Army of the Republic for the rest of his life, signifying his lasting attachment to his wartime experience as a refugee turned Union soldier as well.⁹³⁸ As Feudge's postwar experiences demonstrate, wartime refugees would go on to play important roles in colonizing the American West.

In the aftermath of the Civil War, Sue McBeth was another refugee who resettled in the West working with American Indians. McBeth had been working as a missionary to the Choctaw in Indian Territory in 1861 when Indian Territory was overtaken by Confederate forces during the Civil War, and missionaries were ordered out. McBeth was among those who fled to Union territory, and spent the rest of the Civil War working at Fairfield University in Iowa. Late in the war, she joined the United States Christian Commission in Missouri, which was an important organization that offered aid to Union refugees like McBeth herself.⁹³⁹ By 1873, McBeth had moved to Idaho Territory, where she was a missionary to the Nez Perce. McBeth viewed American Indian culture as inferior, and promoted the assimilation of the Nez Perce into white American culture, as well as the containment of American Indians with the reservation system.⁹⁴⁰ She explained "While, a knowledge of the Bible and of books has been & is our chief aim, yet we try and always have tried in every way in our power to advance their civilization."⁹⁴¹ In addition to her mission of

⁹³⁷ Remains of the Late Colonel John Feudge Are Laid to Rest, *San Bernardino County Sun*, April 4, 1902.

⁹³⁸ Remains of the Late Colonel John Feudge Are Laid to Rest, *San Bernardino County Sun*, April 4, 1902.

⁹³⁹ "Biography of S. L. McBeth, Missionary," Series 1, Box 1, Folder 18, PRWF, Tulsa.

⁹⁴⁰ See Emily Greenwald, *Reconfiguring the Reservation: The Nez Perces, Jicarilla Apaches, and the Daves Act* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002), 53. See also Ferenc Morton Szasz, *The Protestant Clergy in the Great Plains and Mountain West, 1865-1915* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 180-1 (originally printed by the University of New Mexico Press, 1988).

⁹⁴¹ Sue L. McBeth to Rev. J.C. Lowrie, Feb. 2, 1878, available online from the University of Idaho Library, *Kate and Sue McBeth: Missionary Teachers to the Nez Percé*, last updated April 24, 2000, accessed April 18, 2020, <https://www.lib.uidaho.edu/mcbeth/suetochurch/slowrie2278.htm>.

Christian civilization, McBeth further hoped that her students would carry on the civilizing mission as well, writing “we hope there are among them those who will be good teachers both of the Gospel and of its attendant civilization – perhaps to more tribes than their own (more than one invitation has come to the native preachers from neighboring tribes).”⁹⁴² Like Feudge, and Sereno Watson, McBeth was advancing the imperializing mission of the United States in the West.

McBeth worked with the Nez Perce for twenty years, from 1873 to 1893, and was joined by her sister, Kate, in 1879. The women operated a school for training Nez Perce men to become Protestant preachers, and Sue McBeth also created a grammar and dictionary from Nez Perce to English. McBeth’s mission among the Nez Perce was “to try—with Gods help—to raise up a native ministry and trained elders... who will be the leaders in a Christian civilization.”⁹⁴³ McBeth believed that assimilation for the Nez Perce was important, and she believed the key to this was Christianity.⁹⁴⁴ By 1878, the Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions was boasting that the Nez Perce were “now a settled people, many of them prizing the fruits of industry and the blessings of education,” which they felt was thanks largely to missionary efforts like McBeth’s.⁹⁴⁵

Watson, Feudge, and McBeth worked to “civilize” the West for the benefit of white settlers, and hundreds of Civil War refugees would be among those settlers. Among these was Arvazena Spillman Cooper, who, in April of 1863, fled from the violence in war-torn

⁹⁴² Sue L. McBeth to Rev. J.C. Lowrie, Feb. 2, 1878, available online from the University of Idaho Library, *Kate and Sue McBeth: Missionary Teachers to the Nez Percé*, available online at last updated April 24, 2000, accessed April 18, 2020, <https://www.lib.uidaho.edu/mcbeth/suetochurch/slowrie2278.htm>.

⁹⁴³ Sue McBeth to Rev. T. M. Boyd, May 12, 1887, quoted in Michael C. Coleman, “Christianizing and Americanizing the Nez Perce: Sue L. McBeth and her Attitudes to the Indians,” *Journal of Presbyterian History* 53, No. 4 (Winter 1975), 342.

⁹⁴⁴ Coleman, “Christianizing and Americanizing the Nez Perce,” 342.

⁹⁴⁵ Sue McBeth to Rev. T. M. Boyd, May 12, 1887, quoted in Coleman, “Christianizing and Americanizing the Nez Perce,” 342.

Missouri and started on the Overland Trail with her husband Daniel, her father-in-law, and her infant daughter Belle. The Coopers were Unionists, but Arvazena described that “at that time we had no thought of being Abolitionists, but the rebels treated us as such.”

Furthermore, “as we were in that dreadful borderline, that was raided continually by guerilla bands and ‘bushwhackers,’ ... we longed exceedingly to get away.”⁹⁴⁶ In the midst of violence in the borderlands, Arvazena was nearly desperate for safety for her family, explaining, “I felt I would venture anything, to live where law and order reigned again, and was eager to make the attempt.”⁹⁴⁷ As they left her native Missouri behind, even with the hope of security and prosperity in the West, she nonetheless “let a kind of wordless grief take possession of me.”⁹⁴⁸ Arvazena’s depression intensified as the trip wore on, and she reflected on how “my inward gloom was so unnatural and morbid.”⁹⁴⁹ The wartime displacement, and strenuous journey West with a baby who could not walk yet, and another on the way, weighed heavy on Arvazena, but she kept her growing depression to herself as they continued West.

Arvazena’s depression worsened as white settlements became few and far between, and she complained, “the country seemed more and more in the possession of the Indians.”⁹⁵⁰ The Cooper family had felt threatened by “aggressive” American Indians begging from white emigrants at Fort Laramie, and just a few days later, they found a scalp at abandoned camp, which Arvazena felt was evidence of hostile American Indians in the area.⁹⁵¹ Not far past Fort Laramie, then, the Cooper family “began to think seriously of

⁹⁴⁶ Arvazena Cooper, “Our Journey Across the Plains from Missouri to Oregon,” 1 in Arvazena A. Cooper Papers, CB C784, Special Collections & University Archives, University of Oregon Libraries, Eugene, Oregon (henceforth Arvazena A. Cooper Papers, UO). Page numbers reference the typescript copy of the narrative. I would like to thank Stephanie Burns for her assistance accessing this source during the COVID-19 pandemic.

⁹⁴⁷ Cooper, “Our Journey Across the Plains,” 2, Arvazena A. Cooper Papers, UO.

⁹⁴⁸ Cooper, “Our Journey Across the Plains,” 3, Arvazena A. Cooper Papers, UO.

⁹⁴⁹ Cooper, “Our Journey Across the Plains,” 8, Arvazena A. Cooper Papers, UO.

⁹⁵⁰ Cooper, “Our Journey Across the Plains,” 8, Arvazena A. Cooper Papers, UO.

⁹⁵¹ Cooper, “Our Journey Across the Plains,” 7, Arvazena A. Cooper Papers, UO.

making up a train for mutual protection.”⁹⁵² While so far they had been “neighborly” with those other travelers with whom they had gotten along, they were not actually travelling together. Arvazena’s spirits seemed to lift as they joined a wagon train, and she was able to share her experience with other women.

The emigrants soon began to choose groups to travel with, and the Coopers joined a train of 73 wagons headed for Oregon. There was conflict among those on the wagon train, as was common, but, in the Coopers train, this was due to wartime loyalties. Arvazena described how tensions between two factions making up their train intensified, “for the Johnson train were mostly rebel, and ours mostly union.”⁹⁵³ One day that Spring, the tension finally hit a breaking point. The live stock on the train stampeded, throwing the train into disarray, which quickly led to threats for the wagon train to break apart into two factions. Arvazena observed these events, including the stampede, from a bed in their wagon as she went into labor, giving birth to a son, Charles, shortly after. As the men in both camps continued to argue, Arvazena’s wagon broke away, and Arvazena clung to her hours-old baby as the runaway oxen nearly flipped the wagon before they were finally caught.

The runaway wagon experience was traumatic for Arvazena, and was likely compounded by her post-partum condition. As the wagon train continued out West, Arvazena began to have nightmares about the runaway wagon. The nightmares continued, and, in addition to the worrying over her newborn, Arvazena was constantly worrying that her eighteen-month-old, Belle, might fall out of a wagon, fall ill, or encounter some other fatal problem along the Oregon Trail, and Arvazena grew anxious for the trip to come to an end. In the weeks after her son’s birth, she described that their journey felt “like a jumble of

⁹⁵² Cooper, “Our Journey Across the Plains,” 9, Arvazena A. Cooper Papers, UO.

⁹⁵³ Cooper, “Our Journey Across the Plains,” 13, Arvazena A. Cooper Papers, UO.

jolting wagon, crying baby, dust, sagebrush and the never ceasing pain, that did not let up, till we were away up Burnt river.”⁹⁵⁴ Soon after, they reached the California-Oregon split in the trail. The Coopers had heard several people talking about the bounty and fertility of the Willamette Valley in Oregon, and Arvazena noted “as we were not gold crazy... we went on to this goodly land as fast as possible.”⁹⁵⁵ The Coopers initially bought 200 acres of land, paying “five dollars an acre in live stock.”⁹⁵⁶ The land the Coopers purchased in Oregon was in fact purchased with some of the stock they had received as payment for land sold in Missouri before they left. Arvazena would go on to have thirteen more children born in Oregon, and later in life, she would also operate a small orphanage. In 1889, the Coopers would take advantage of the 1862 Homestead Act, and many of their children would obtain land in the West this way as well. Daniel Cooper was an active Republican, and in the early 1890s, he would serve as special agent in the Land Office, assisting other white settlers in applying for and obtaining government land.⁹⁵⁷

As the pioneer experience of Arvazena Cooper reveals, the violence of the Civil War prompted numerous travelers to head West on the Overland Trail. Arvazena notes the Unionist and Confederate factions along the trail, as well as their tendency to band together. Not all of these were Unionists, as the conflict in Arvazena’s train demonstrates, but they nonetheless were prompted to move West as a result of the Civil War. Charles P. Blakeley, for example, fled from Missouri in 1863, after he escaped a Union prison where he was taken as a prisoner of war after deserting the Confederate Army. He fled to Denver, and

⁹⁵⁴ Cooper, “Our Journey Across the Plains,” 29, Arvazena A. Cooper Papers, UO.

⁹⁵⁵ Cooper, “Our Journey Across the Plains,” 29, Arvazena A. Cooper Papers, UO.

⁹⁵⁶ Cooper, “Our Journey Across the Plains,” 30, Arvazena A. Cooper Papers, UO.

⁹⁵⁷ Daniel J. Cooper (Wasco County, Oregon), homestead patent no. 574 (issued February 28, 1889); “Land Patent Search,” digital images, *General Land Office Records* (<http://glorerecords.blm.gov/PatentSearch>; accessed 16 April 2020.) See also “Daniel J. Cooper,” in *An Illustrated History of Central Oregon* (Spokane, Washington: Western Historical Publishing, 1905), 368-9.

from there, he and his family journeyed to Virginia City, Montana, where Blakeley would serve in the Territorial Legislature in 1866, and the First State Legislature in 1889, before finally serving as an Agent in the Land Office. Blakeley's displacement during the Civil War thus resulted not only in he and his family settling in the West, but Blakeley also advanced the nation-building project in the West in multiple ways in the aftermath of the Civil War.

Numerous wagon trains headed out West during the Civil War, and among the emigrants were many who fled from the violence and upheaval caused by the Civil War, such as Arvazena Cooper and Charles Blakeley. During the Civil War itself, trains were led across the plains in safety by military officers attached to the United States Emigrant Escort Service.⁹⁵⁸ This federal government initiative was designed to protect emigrants headed out West by providing them with military protection, primarily against "hostile Indians," and was a key part of settler colonial initiatives during the war.⁹⁵⁹ Not surprisingly, the influx of white emigrants to Indigenous lands in the American West increased hostilities between white "settlers" and those on whose land they were settling, at times even leading to armed conflict, but nonetheless, guides like Captain Medorem Crawford led tens of thousands of

⁹⁵⁸ Congress established the United States Emigrant Escort Service in March 1861 "for the protection of emigrants on the overland routes between the Atlantic Slope and the California and Oregon and Washington frontier." The agency afforded emigrants with a military escort providing "protection not only against hostile Indians, but against all dangers, including starvation, losses, accidents, and the like." The final Army Appropriations Bill for 1862 (H.R. No. 899) had an amendment attached which provided \$50,000 for the United States Emigrant Escort Service. For the debate on the Emigrant Escort Service amendment see 36th Cong, 2nd session, *Congressional Globe: Containing the Debates and Proceedings of the Second Session of the Thirty-Sixth Congress, Also, of the Special Session of the Senate* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Globe Printing Office, 1862), 1212-3, 1219, and 1249-51. See also Secretary of War Simon Cameron to Captain Henry E. Maynadier, April 4, 1861, in *The War of the Rebellion: a Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series I, Volume 50, ed. United States War Department (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), 460 (henceforth OR series:volume).

⁹⁵⁹ Secretary of War Simon Cameron to Captain Henry E. Maynadier, April 4, 1861, OR I:50, 460.

emigrants out West during the war years, including those fleeing from the destruction of the war itself.⁹⁶⁰

Arvazena Cooper concludes her travel narrative by noting, “our large train had scattered to different parts of Oregon, Washington and Idaho, and when we stopped our party consisted of Grandpa’s two wagons and our one.”⁹⁶¹ As the Coopers began resettling in Oregon, scores of other emigrants from their wagon train and others were navigating wartime displacement as they settled in the West as well. In late 1865 General Dodge reported that 12,000 white emigrants had traveled along the Overland Trail that fall, remarking that that the protection of emigrant roads during the Civil War had produced an “immense yearly emigration which is forming a mighty empire now nearly in its infancy.”⁹⁶² Indeed this may be the most lasting significance of wartime displacement: the role it played in prompting white Southerners to settle permanently in the West.

Although the wartime refugees who chose to remove to and remain in the West often had an influence on their communities, it is important to note that their children did as well. Among these was Dr. Belle Cooper Ferguson, the daughter of Arvazena Cooper that fled Missouri with her family as a toddler, and whose childish antics make up the core of her mother’s travel narrative. After a childhood in Oregon, Belle initially married Dr. Willard Rinehart, who encouraged her interest in medicine. After his death in 1893, she attended the Medical University in Portland, graduating in 1897. In 1901 Belle started a medical practice with colleague Dr. Mary Johnson, and when she remarried to Dr. Elmer Ferguson, he helped her expand her medical practice into a hospital in The Dalles, Oregon which still operates

⁹⁶⁰ Medorem Crawford escorted over 10,000 white emigrants westward in 1862 alone. See Medorem Crawford, “Report on the Emigrant Road Expedition from Omaha, Nebr. Ter., to Portland, Oreg., June 16-October 30, 1862,” OR I:50, 155.

⁹⁶¹ “Our Journey Across the Plains,” 30, Arvazena A. Cooper Papers, UO.

⁹⁶² November 1, 1865, Major General G. M. Dodge to Lieutenant Colonel Joseph McBell, OR I:48, 343.

120 years later as Mid-Columbia Medical Center.⁹⁶³ Similarly, Nathan Branson Hill's son Richard Junius Hill, who was about 8 years old when they fled North Carolina, would follow in his father's footsteps and become a prominent physician and socialite in Minneapolis in the late nineteenth century, at one point serving as President of the Minnesota State Medical Association. Nathan Branson Hill's other son, Sam Hill, who was about four years old when the family left North Carolina in 1861, would also achieve prominence in the West.

Sam Hill spent his childhood in a well-to-do Quaker family in Minneapolis, and after studying as a lawyer at Haverford College and Harvard, he returned to Minnesota to take the bar. He had only been working briefly as a lawyer when his success attracted the attention of prominent Minneapolis lawyer and railroad executive, James J. Hill.⁹⁶⁴ Under the tutelage of J.J. Hill, Sam Hill began to make his own fortunes from the railroad, and his social position was solidified through his marriage to Mary Hill, the eldest daughter of J. J. Hill.⁹⁶⁵ At the turn of the century, Sam moved to Seattle, and continued his management of railroads, especially in Oregon and Washington. As the twentieth century approached, Sam Hill also began to actively promote paved roads in the Northwest. Hill was one of the founding members of the Washington State Good Roads Association at the turn of the century, which would lead to the creation of the Washington Department of Transportation in 1905. He devoted considerable resources to researching paving methods, first focusing on macadam roads, and he used his land in Maryhill, Washington to test seven different paving methods

⁹⁶³ "Dr. Belle (Rinehart) Ferguson" in *An Illustrated History of Central Oregon* (Spokane, Washington: Western Historical Publishing, 1905), 331.

⁹⁶⁴ For more on James J. Hill see Michael Malone, *James J. Hill: Empire Builder of the Northwest* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996).

⁹⁶⁵ Sam Hill and Mary "Mamie" Hill would have two children before quickly becoming estranged. Although Sam supported Mamie and their children financially, the couple had little contact, and Sam had multiple children outside of his marriage. It should also be noted here that Sam Hill was known for his eccentric and sometimes "manic" behavior, most clearly represented in his mysterious "castle" in Maryhill, Washington. See John E. Tuhy, *Sam Hill: The Prince of Castle Nowhere* (Goldendale, WA: Maryhill Museum of Art, 1991)

on what is now known as the Maryhill Loops Road. Hill also traveled internationally, including numerous trips to Japan, for research on paving methods. In addition to his work with roads, Hill would also operate numerous utility companies, including telephone, gas, and electric companies, in the Pacific Northwest in the early twentieth century.

Throughout the first decade of the twentieth century, Hill's main focus would continue to be the promotion of paved roads. He helped to establish the first professorship in highway engineering in the nation at the University of Washington in 1907, and by 1913 had convinced the Oregon legislature to pave the Columbia River Highway. In 1916, Hill would serve as an important advocate for the Pacific Highway (U.S. Route 99), spanning from the U.S.-Canada border, to the U.S.-Mexico border, and a major travel route until it was replaced by Interstate 5 in the 1970s. Hill's influence in the Pacific Northwest as the nineteenth century turned to the twentieth century was significant and lasting, and those traveling along the scenic Historic Columbia River Highway today can pull over to view a monument dedicated to Sam Hill. When the monument was dedicated just after Hill's death in 1932, Governor Julius Meier proclaimed that Sam Hill "lifted Oregon out of the mud, put an end to the isolation of our communities, and changed the whole mode of life of our people."⁹⁶⁶ Thus, wartime displacement, and those displaced by the war, continued to have a lasting effect on their communities, on the West, and on the country, into the twentieth century. Civil war refugees themselves endured through the early part of the twentieth century, and with them, the legacy of the Civil War refugee crisis carried on.

The displacement of hundreds of thousands of Americans caused by the Civil War had a lasting influence in numerous ways. The decision of many refugees not to return to their former Southern homes reflected two effects of the Civil War: first, the aftermath of

⁹⁶⁶ Speech of Governor Julius Meier, May 13, 1932, quoted in Tuhy, *Sam Hill*, 277.

the Civil War in the South made many refugees hesitant to return. The economic, political, and social upheaval in the South that often culminated in violence made many refugees look to resettle elsewhere. While this violence was at times more imagined than real, it nonetheless reflects refugee's concern over how their wartime loyalties would continue to affect them in the aftermath of the Civil War. Secondly, the displacement of refugees and ensuing relocation and resettlement outside of the South, especially when compounded by the general deterrent from the South, is one of the most important legacies of the refugee crisis. Many refugees remained in their place of refuge, or moved out West. The basic movement was monumental in many of these refugees lives, as was the influence many of these refugees would later have in their host communities.

Numerous Civil War refugees would become prosperous and influential in the aftermath of the Civil War, and among them were those who were driven by their experiences during the war itself. In the aftermath of the Civil War, displacement continued to affect some refugees more than others, in both material and immaterial ways. As the examples of Sarah Cooper's family and F.A.P. Barnard demonstrate, the experience of wartime displacement affected refugees in various ways, and for some, it would motivate their later contributions to their new communities. The example of Sereno Watson in the West also brings into light the importance of wartime displacement in prompting later career success, as well as a lasting influence on the nation, especially in the West.

As Watson and Cooper demonstrate, many Civil War refugees would end up in the West, and in doing so, would become integral to the United States imperializing mission in the region. Refugees like Watson, Feudge, and McBeth, as explorer, Indian agent to the Colorado River Indians, and missionary to the Nez Perce, are emblematic of settler colonialism in the West. Despite their own experience with displacement, they all envisioned

a reunited nation that integrated white Americans into the West at the expense of Indigenous peoples. These individuals all played an important role in securing the West for white emigration and empire, but more significant were the hundreds of thousands of white emigrants who planned to “settle” on these Indigenous lands. Arvazena Cooper, Charles Blakeley, and the tens of thousands of emigrants that Captain Medorem Crawford led safely out West are all representative of the influx of emigrants that would heighten tensions with scores of American Indian nations, resulting in numerous wars fought to ensure the survival of white Americans on the Indigenous lands they seized in the American West.

Taken together, these three lasting ways that wartime displacement affected refugees and the nation make clear the Civil War Refugee Crisis was a significant event with a significant impact, with refugees themselves affecting the nation well into the twentieth century, and consequences that reverberate to this day. The Civil War Refugee Crisis prompted massive displacement throughout the nation, which shaped the nation in the aftermath of the war. The mass movement of refugees during the war and its aftermath remains one of the most lasting, and yet understudied, repercussions of the Civil War.

CONCLUSION: THE MEMORY OF THE CIVIL WAR REFUGEE CRISIS

Over half a million free people from fled the Confederate States under duress during the Civil War, seeking refuge in the United States, Mexico, Sweden, Germany, and more. Civil War refugees were a heterogeneous group of people, with varying motivations, logistical considerations, and experiences. This dissertation examined the contours of refugeedom, accounting for changes over time and space, for those who interacted with government officials and relief agencies, for the role of social networks in mitigating the refugee crisis, and how the aftermath of the refugee crisis affected refugees and the nation. The mass displacement of people during the Civil War was a significant historical event deserving of scholarly attention, but the Civil War refugee crisis was not only consequential during the war itself. As this dissertation has demonstrated, Civil War refugees went on to shape the Reconstruction of the South and of the nation, and I have argued that of the most enduring legacies of the Civil War was the movement of people it prompted throughout the nation.

If the Civil War refugee crisis, which led to the displacement of over half a million free people, was such a significant event, however, it is important to consider why its significance, and even its existence, has been obscured from historical and public memory for so long. Historian and Rev. Tim Tyson asked this question of his home state of North Carolina in a 2015 op-ed titled, “Commemorating North Carolina’s anti-Confederate heritage, too.”⁹⁶⁷ Tyson mentions the white Unionists and anti-Confederate dissenters who dodged the draft to avoid Confederate service, explaining that “the unanimous Confederate

⁹⁶⁷ Timothy B. Tyson, “Commemorating North Carolina’s anti-Confederate heritage, too,” *Raleigh News and Observer*, August 16, 2015 (updated August 17, 2017), available online at <https://www.newsobserver.com/opinion/op-ed/article31123988.html> (accessed March 10, 2021).

white South is nothing but a cherished myth” and arguing that “it is also high time that other kinds of North Carolinians get some monuments.”⁹⁶⁸ This dissertation has examined the experiences of hundreds of these “other kinds of North Carolinians” who fled the South altogether rather than support the Confederacy, and these North Carolinians are just a small fraction of the half a million people displaced during the Civil War refugee crisis, who similarly remain obscured from public memory. Although interest in Civil War refugees is growing, few public monuments commemorate or even acknowledge the existence of white refugees.⁹⁶⁹ One of the only examples is the “Treur de Union” monument to the German and German-American refugees who fled from Texas in 1862, specifically commemorating those were killed in the Nueces incident as they attempted to flee Confederate Texas for asylum in Mexico. Although it may seem that Union victory would cast Unionist refugees as people worthy of commemoration, they remain absent from historical and popular memory.

Just as 21st-century refugee crises have prompted new scholarship on past refugee crises like that during the U.S. Civil War, current events, especially surrounding the Black Lives Matter movement, have also prompted renewed scholarship on Civil War memory and commemoration. Many of these works examine the role of the white supremacist Lost Cause narrative in shaping the memory of the American South, and also the roles of groups like the United Daughters of the Confederacy in perpetuating and commemorating the Lost Cause

⁹⁶⁸ Timothy B. Tyson, “Commemorating North Carolina’s anti-Confederate heritage, too,” *Raleigh News and Observer*, August 16, 2015 (updated August 17, 2017), available online at <https://www.newsobserver.com/opinion/op-ed/article31123988.html> (accessed March 10, 2021).

⁹⁶⁹ Camp Nelson National Historic Site, established in 2018, tells the story and preserves the history of African American refugees from slavery who enlisted in or aided the Union Army, as well as their families and other refugees who spent part of the war in the refugee camp at Camp Nelson. For more on the establishment of Camp Nelson as a National Monument, see the Presidential Proclamation available at <https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2018/10/31/2018-24027/establishment-of-the-camp-nelson-national-monument> (accessed March 12, 2021).

myth.⁹⁷⁰ Among these recent works is Adam Domby's *The False Cause* which examines the historically inaccurate falsehoods and outright lies that underpinned the Lost Cause, especially in North Carolina. The Lost Cause of the Confederacy promotes the belief that the Confederacy's cause was a just and noble one, erasing the role of slavery and emphasizing the valiant support and sacrifices of Southerners for the Confederacy. Crucial to the Lost Cause narrative was the idea that all Southerners, white and black, free and enslaved, wholeheartedly supported the Confederacy's bid for independence—papering over the reality that around one million of these Confederate residents, white and black, would flee by the war's end.⁹⁷¹ Domby explains how “Confederate mythmakers excised the memory of Southern dissenters, Unionists, deserters, draft dodgers, and even ambivalent southerners from their retelling of the war” because “denying that dissent existed served to help create unified, loyal Confederates in the minds of white southerners.”⁹⁷² The existence of hundreds of thousands of refugees trying to escape from the Confederacy undermined the false but widespread belief, even among some historians, that all white Southerners supported the Confederacy, whereas their erasure buttressed the white supremacist Lost Cause narrative. As the Lost Cause myth became dominant in the early twentieth century, Civil War refugees and the Civil War refugee crisis was largely forgotten. Although Domby is not the first to argue that the erasure of dissent and Unionism in the South helped to reinforce the historically inaccurate Lost Cause, Domby examines what specific falsehoods led to this

⁹⁷⁰ See, for example, Adam Domby, *The False Cause: Fraud, Fabrication, and White Supremacy in Confederate Memory* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2020), and Karen Cox, *No Common Ground: Confederate Monuments and the Ongoing Fight for Racial Justice* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2021). See also Karen Cox, *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* (University Press of Florida, 2003), and Caroline Janney, *Burying the Dead but Not the Past: Ladies' Memorial Associations and the Lost Cause* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008).

⁹⁷¹ Congress estimated that half a million white people fled from the Confederacy during the Civil War, along with about half a million freedpeople, which produces a combined figure of about one million Civil War refugees.

⁹⁷² Domby, *The False Cause*, 7, 61.

erasure, including the increasing acceptance of deserters as veterans, and even falsified pensions records filed by deserters, draft-dodgers, or their widows.⁹⁷³ Among these falsified pension records were several deserters and draft dodgers who fled to Union lines, including Joseph Yokely and David Yokely, who escaped to Indiana, among hundreds of other refugees from North Carolina, but still applied for Confederate pensions.⁹⁷⁴ Although this erasure of Southern dissent was prompted by financial considerations, it nonetheless served to reinforce the Lost Cause myth of a Solid South, a falsified history that left little room for the existence or analysis of refugees.

The Lost Cause myth is a primary reason that the Civil War refugee crisis has disappeared from public memory and been overlooked by historians, but it is not the only historical narrative that suppresses the memory of the Civil War refugee crisis. The erasure of the Civil War refugee crisis from historical memory is also a result of the widespread belief in American exceptionalism. First defined by Alexis de Tocqueville in 1835, the idea of American exceptionalism dates back to the Puritans, and has evolved over time in order to support a narrative of United States history that emphasizes liberty, democracy, and, increasingly over time, traits like moral superiority, material prosperity, and global power.⁹⁷⁵ The “national myth” of American exceptionalism, similarly to the myth of the Lost Cause, leaves little room for the mass displacement of hundreds of thousands Americans that

⁹⁷³ Other scholars include Victoria Bynum, *The Long Shadow of the Civil War: Southern Dissent and its Legacies* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), John Inscoe, *Race, War, and Remembrance in the Appalachian South* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2010), Jonathan Dean Sarris, *A Separate Civil War: Communities in Conflict in the Mountain South* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2006), Richard Starnes, “‘The Stirring Strains of Dixie’: The Civil War and Southern Identity in Haywood County, North Carolina,” *North Carolina Historical Review* 74, no. 3 (July 1997): 237-259.

⁹⁷⁴ See Dombey, *The False Cause*, 76-77, 94-99. David Yokely applied for a Confederate pension as though he were a loyal Confederate, not a deserter who fled from the Confederacy. Joseph Yokely’s wife, Cordelia Yokely, applied for a widow’s pension based on Joseph’s Confederate service, despite knowing that he deserted and fled to Indiana. David’s widow also applied for pension based on his Confederate service, though she may not have been familiar with his wartime service as a much younger second wife.

⁹⁷⁵ Godfrey Hodgson, *The Myth of American Exceptionalism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 1-16, 92.

amounted to a refugee crisis.⁹⁷⁶ American exceptionalism supports the belief that refugee crises and mass displacement do not happen in the United States of America, and this erroneous idea has been evident as many Americans have failed to empathize with displaced people during the recent refugee crises in Europe, the Mediterranean, and Central America. Several tenets of American exceptionalism, including material prosperity, and more vague but still patriotic notions like freedom and liberty, preclude the idea that a refugee crisis could happen in the United States—and has helped to overshadow the scale and influence of the Civil War refugee crisis.

This dissertation has only begun to uncover the contours of refugeedom during the Civil War, but in doing so, it reveals the massive scale and the lasting influences of the Civil War refugee crisis. Hundreds of thousands of residents of the Confederacy “escaped from Dixie” during the Civil War, a mass movement that was impossible to miss during the war itself but has been largely forgotten in the 160 years since. The mass movement and displacement of the Civil War refugee crisis defined the wartime experiences of hundreds of thousands of Americans during the war years and would shape the aftermath of the war in the South and in the nation more broadly, prompting this dissertation to conclude that the Civil War should be reconsidered as a migratory event.

⁹⁷⁶ Hodgson, *The Myth of American Exceptionalism*, 16.

APPENDIX: INDEX TO THE “CLAIMS OF LOYAL INDIANS—CREEK.”⁹⁷⁷

****Note the language reflects the original terms used in the ledger when recorded in 1867. Some of these terms are derogatory and/or outdated.**

Claim No.	Name of Claimant	Race	Sex	Age	Amount of Claim	Amount of Award	Remarks	other comments in Ledger
1	Stepney Harrod	Freed.	M	50	180	105	Refugee	
2	Harry Irland	Freed.	M	40	655	232.5	Refugee	
3	Sugar T. George	Freed.	M	33	421	228	Soldier	
4	Jim Dyle	Freed.	M	38	788	352	Refugee	
5	Thomas Robbins	Freed.	M	35	413.25	284.62	Refugee	
6	Ned Dyle	Freed.	M	40	839	335.5	Refugee	
7	William Robinson	Freed.	M	55	165	92	Refugee	
8	Polly Nero	Free Col'd.	F	50	450	205.5	Widow of Freedman	
9	Sophy Kennard	Free Col'd.	F	55	475	274	Widow of Free Man	
10	Adam Dyle	Freed.	M	40	600	170	Soldier	
11	Mary Irland	Free Col'd.	F	45	65	65	Widow of Free Man	
12	Jacob Hawkins	Freed.	M	45	1345.5	612.75	Refugee	
13	John Carter	Freed.	M	40	665	270	Refugee	
14	Ned Robbins	Freed.	M	35	655	222.5	Refugee	
15	Aaron Grayson	Freed.	M	50	2316.5	1185	Refugee	
16	Thomas Connor	Freed.	M	55	5983	2319	Refugee	
17	Silas Marshall	Free Col'd.	F	27	1960.5	1013.5	Refugee	wife of Monday Marshall
18	Monday Marshall	Freed.	M	40	765	280	Refugee	
19	Polly Irland	Free Col'd.	F	50	784	317.5	Refugee	widow
20	Morris McIntosh	Freed.	M	45	1437	433	Refugee	
21	Samuel Barnett	Freed.	M	38	744	502.5	Soldier	
22	Hardy Grayson	Freed.	M	40	620	320	Refugee	
23	Warrior Marshall	Halfbreed	M	32	1025	475	Refugee	
24	Hagan Marshall	Freed.	F	80	533	265	Refugee	widow
25	Hannah Grayson	Freed.	F	30	325.25	147.62	Refugee	spinster
26	Dennis Harrod	Freed.	M	35	1302	492	Soldier	
27	Joe Sells	Freed.	M	33	2433.25	1025.12	Refugee	
28	George Marshall	Creek	M	35	2290	902.5	Soldier	claim includes wife's

⁹⁷⁷ See the Index to the Records Relating to Loyal Creek Claims, 1869 – 1870, Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, Civilization Division, 1849-ca. 1881, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1793 – 1999, Record Group 75, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

29	Green McGilvray	Freed.	M	33	315	170	Soldier	
30	Saucer Bradley	Freed.	M	35	200	75	Soldier	
31	Sally Perryman	Freed.	F	50	82.5	52.25	Refugee	spinster
32	Sukey Flems	Freed.	F	55	340	172	Refugee	widow
33	Joe Fife	Freed.	M	80	588	272	Refugee	
34	Robert Benjamin	Freed.	M	36	673.25	303.62	Soldier	
35	Milly Kernell	Freed.	F	45	403	219.5	Widow of Refugee	
36	Jenny Grayson	Free Col'd.	F	70	290	107	Widow of Refugee	
37	Delilah Conner	Freed.	F	50	1805	695	Widow of Refugee	
38	Marquis D. L. Mitchell	Halfbreed Creek	M	53	1368	374.5	Refugee	
39	John D. Bemo	Creek	M	50	5045	2206.66	Refugee	
40	Phoebe Grayson	Freed.	F	30	550	414	Refugee	widow
41	Topley Stedham	Freed.	M	70	829	186	Refugee	
42	Louisa Tiger	Creek	F	24	2569	886.5	Refugee	
43	Kissee Sells	Freed.	F	60	414	210.75	Refugee	widow
44	Harry Colonel	Freed.	M	45	310	135	Refugee	
45	Perry McIntosh	Halfbreed	M	44	636.5	366.25	Refugee	
46	Mitchell Beames	Free Col'd.	M	57	1139	599.5	Refugee	
47	Abram Colonel	Freed.	M	28	595	435	Soldier	
48	Grace Colonel	Freed.	F	42	61	34	Refugee	wife of George Lowry
49	Rachel Colonel	Free Col'd.	F	40	2170	1110	Refugee	widow
50	Hardy Stedham	Freed.	M	40	730	326	Soldier	
51	Charles Anderson	Freed.	M	45	450	251	Refugee	
52	Dinah Grayson	Free Col'd.	F	40	315	157.5	Refugee	widow
53	Jacob Bernard	Freed.	M	40	685	215	Soldier	
54	Snow Sells	Freed.	M	33	393.75	179.87	Soldier	
55	Joseph Cooney	Free Col'd.	M	65	12436	5708	Refugee	
56	Soda Hawkins	Freed.	M	55	795	223	Refugee	
57	Peter Momioux	Mexican	M	48	1427	620.5	Soldier	adopted citizen
58	Simon Brown	Freed.	M	30	440	207.5	Soldier	
59	Hannah Bruner	Free Col'd.	F	45	1290	632.5	Refugee	widow
60	Sampson Pond	Freed.	M	39	2265	961.5	Refugee	
61	James Cobb	Freed.	M	40	2697.5	1046.75	Refugee	
62	George Monday	Freed.	M	33	329	138.12	Soldier	
63	Willis Monday	Freed.	M	35	342	136	Refugee	
64	Abe Prince	Freed.	M	31	680	281	Soldier	
65	Alexander McGilvray	Free Col'd.	M	40	429	215.5	Refugee	
66	George Hector	Freed.	M	80	998	289	Refugee	
67	Billy Caesar	Freed.	M	30	960	365	Soldier	
68	Morris Tucker	Freed.	M	38	1084	348	Refugee	
69	William Hawkins	Freed.	M	33	1415	387.62	Soldier	

70	John Cooks	Freed.	M	30	669	284.5	Soldier	
71	Miley Cooks	Freed.	F	35	790	414	Widow of Soldier	
72	Denisy Hardridge	Free Col'd.	F	30	1940	973	Refugee	spinster
73	Peter Smith	Freed.	M	40	563	299	Refugee	
74	Fred. Franklin	Freed.	M	40	670	326	Refugee	
75	Mory Marshall	Freed.	M	38	891	298	Refugee	
76	William Marshall	Freed.	M	36	1816	507	Refugee	Teamster QM2
77	Jack Marshall	Freed.	M	80	422.75	225.37	Refugee	
78	Tom Sanders	Freed.	M	30	757	194.75	Refugee	
79	Mandy McIntosh	Freed.	F	30	101	47	Refugee	spinster
80	Adam King	Freed.	M	55	620	282.5	Refugee	
81	Judy Lon	Freed.	F	36	290	97	Refugee	wife of Pearson Lon
82	Fanny Stedham	Freed.	F	50	335.5	216	Admix. And Guardian	widow
83	Robert Lewis	Freed.	M	30	2320	651	Refugee	
84	Rachel Lewis	Freed.	F	35	2320	760	Refugee	widow
85	Monday Hardridge	Freed.	M	38	595	184.5	Refugee	
86	Gilbert Lewis	Freed.	M	42	595	232.5	Refugee	
87	George Abram	Freed.	M	50	255	99.5	Refugee	Teamster QM
88	Hagan McQueen	Freed.	F	46	570	172	Widow of Soldier	
89	Milly Grayson	Freed.	F	30	880	477.75	Refugee	spinster
90	Aha-har-hago	Creek	M	42	3880	1915	Refugee	
91	Jacob Perryman	Freed.	M	35	1581	674.5	Soldier	
92	Hector Perryman	Freed.	M	50	927	372	Refugee	
93	Kitty Perryman	Freed.	F	35	541	247.25	Refugee	spinster
94	Lewis Marshall	Freed.	M	42	1429	594.5	Teamster in Q.M. Dept.	
95	Dennis Marshall	Freed.	M	35	672	306	Soldier	
96	Manam Marshall	Freed.	M	40	630	285	Soldier	
97	Hunter Grayson	Freed.	M	55	1713	631.5	Refugee	Hospital Nurse
98	Troy Stedham	Freed.	M	55	2602	1166.25	Soldier	
99	William McIntosh	Freed.	M	45	2345	644.5	Refugee	
100	Calvin Jimison	Freed.	M	33	860	340	Refugee	
101	Sage Barnwell	Freed.	M	40	398	174	Soldier	
102	Toby Drew	Freed.	M	33	3225	1173.33	Soldier	
103	Paulina Davidson	Freed.	F	30	1840	743.33	Refugee	widow
104	Thomas Marshall	Freed.	M	36	338	129	Soldier	
105	Sally Perryman 2nd	Freed.	F	80	1615	470.5	Refugee	widow
106	James Quabner	Free Col'd.	M	30	1485	672.5	Soldier	
107	Betsey Quabner	Free Col'd.	F	32	643	280.5	Refugee	Spinster
108	Anna Bruner	Freed.	F	35	245	109	Widow of Soldier	

109	Winnie July	Freed.	F	40	774	320.25	Widow of Soldier	
110	Joseph Hawkins	Freed.	M	38	565	312.5	Refugee	
111	Molly Hawkins	Freed.	F	70	320	115	Refugee	Widow
112	Joseph Howard	Freed.	M	36	1045	454	Refugee	
113	Sarah Davis	Free Col'd.	F	60	5417	2770.75	Refugee	widow
114	Matilda McIntosh	Freed.	F	26	410	183.33	Refugee	wife of Jos. McIntosh
115	Amy Kernell	Freed.	F	34	1315	508.58	Refugee	widow
116	William Peter	Freed.	M	35	730	328	Soldier	
117	Tamar Taylor	Free Col'd.	F	35	691	305	Refugee	Spinster
118	Samuel Tucker	Freed.	M	45	2150	907.25	Refugee	
119	Nancy Marshall	Freed.	F	35	386	113	Widow of Soldier	
120	Jack Bruner	Freed.	M	60	1100	515	Refugee	
121	Mary Cobey	Freed.	F	30	220	125	Refugee	wife of Geo. Barnwell
122	Sam Prince	Freed.	M	38	915	336.66	Refugee	Teamster Q.M. Dt.
123	Betsey Singleton	Freed.	F	30	1060	388	Refugee	Spinster
124	Louisa Nero	Freed.	F	50	460	182.5	Refugee	widow
125	Priscilla Coleman	Free Col'd.	F	50	481	232.62	Refugee	widow
126	Jane McHardy	Free Col'd.	F	45	6610	1533	Widow of Refugee	
127	Caesar Bruner	Free Col'd.	M	80	1700	865	Refugee	
128	Nancy Lovett	Freed.	F	40	735	339.5	Widow of Soldier	
129	James McGilvray	Freed.	M	40	585	261	Refugee	
130	John Jefferson	Free Col'd.	M	43	1038	424	Refugee	Teamster Q.M.D.
131	Aleck Gouge	Freed.	M	45	991	693	Refugee	
132	Love Jimboy	Freed.	M	35	400	175.5	Soldier	
133	Sam Melford	Freed.	M	60	250	110	Refugee	
134	Ned Kernell	Freed.	M	35	575	247.5	Refugee	
135	Tally Lewis	Freed.	M	36	350	155	Soldier	
136	Thomas Ab	Freed.	M	36	190	97.5	Soldier	
137	Isaac Marshall	Freed.	M	36	467	188	Refugee	Teamster Q.M.D.
138	Rachael Anderson	Freed.	F	35	175	82	Widow of Soldier	
139	Gabriel Jimison	Freed.	M	32	534	226.75	Soldier	
140	Abram Yarger	Freed.	M	38	487	260	Refugee	
141	Solomon Renty	Freed.	M	31	695	320.5	Soldier	
142	Clory Johnson	Freed.	F	36	372	138.5	Widow of Refugee	
143	Thomas Bruner	Free Col'd.	M	33	1280	628.5	Interpreter 1st Ind. Reg.	
144	Jack McGilvray	Freed.	M	34	590	277.5	Soldier	
145	Lispcomb McGilvray	Half breed creek	M	36	9670	4335	Soldier	
146	Easter Loudon	Freed.	F	35	809	344.25	Refugee	Spinster

147	Pompey Redmouth	Freed.	M	35	515	251	Refugee	
148	Phillis Bruner	Free Col'd.	F	75	800	383	Widow of Refugee	
149	Sharper Bruner	Freed.	M	33	915	388.5	Refugee	
150	Sam Skiff	Freed.	M	33	675	162.5	Refugee	
151	Pickett Reuty	Freed.	M	45	790	485	Soldier	
152	Annie Francis	Halfbreed Creek	F	40	950	420	Widow of Refugee	
153	Mary Ann Grayson	Freed.	F	40	1440	780	Widow of refugee	
154	Charles Reuty	Freed.	M	30	900	350	Soldier	
155	William Franklin	Free Col'd.	M	33	1890	880	As Administrator &c.	
156	August Deer	Freed.	M	35	325	100	Soldier	
157	Polly Deer	Freed.	F	45	380	177.5	Widow of Refugee	
158	Nancy Adams	Free Col'd.	F	40	1238	428.25	Widow of Refugee	
159	Henry Reed	Free Col'd.	M	32	900	499	Refugee	
160	Corr Tom (Chief)	Free Col'd.	M	45	3915	1950	Refugee	Chief of Freedmen
161	Diana Quabner	Free Col'd.	F	40	1575	602.5	Widow of Soldier	
162	Eliza Bruner	Free Col'd.	F	35	650	236	Refugee	Spinster
163	Jinny Warrior	Freed.	F	38	940	435	Refugee	widow
164	Clory Warrior	Free Col'd.	F	80	1680	817.5	Refugee	widow
165	George McGilvray	Freed.	M	31	522	263.5	Soldier	
166	Sikey Lewis	Freed.	F	40	340	129.5	Refugee	widow
167	Mary Ann Grayson	Freed.	F	40	1080	442.5	As Administrator and guardian	
168	Hannah Lovett	Freed.	F	30	40	17	Refugee	Spinster
169	Rena McGilvray	Freed.	F	80	100	75	Refugee	widow
170	Robert Grayson	Free Col'd.	M	43	1350	537.5	Refugee	
171	Betsey Harry	Free Col'd.	F	42	1045	460	Refugee	widow
172	Benjamin McQueen	Freed.	M	42	650	280	Refugee	
173	Abby McGilvray	Freed.	F	38	260	120	Refugee	widow
174	Chief McGilvray	Freed.	M	35	165	82.5	Refugee	
175	George McGilvray	Freed.	M	75	500	212.5	Refugee	
176	Wilson Lowe	Freed.	M	36	260	109	Refugee	
177	Monday Durant	Free Col'd.	M	55	5030	2462.5	Refugee	
178	Eliza Peter	Freed.	F	38	940	414	Refugee	widow
179	Tyra Durant	Free Col'd.	F	70	1260	580	Refugee	married
180	Scipio Lovett	Freed.	M	45	505	247.5	Refugee	
181	Jesse Franklin	Freed.	M	40	1630	795	Refugee	
182	Abram Caesar	Freed.	M	40	155	100	Soldier	
183	Lah tah Harjo	Creek	M	45	4031	1745.5	Soldier	

184	Susannah Carr	Halfbreed Creek	F	30	512	240.5	Refugee	Spinster
185	Delia Kernell	Freed.	F	80	730	311.5	Refugee	widow
186	Frances Reed	Free Col'd.	F	30	275	145	Refugee	spinster
187	Samuel Barnett	Freed.	M	40	600	250	Refugee	
188	Jane Long John	Creek	F	45	2865	1325	Widow of Soldier	
189	Robert Bruner	Freed.	M	38	365	161	Refugee	
190	Wax e Harjo	Creek	M	35	3165	1510	As Administrator &c.	
191	Sarah McQueen	Creek	F	40	90	47.25	Refugee	widow
192	Dick Barnett	Freed.	M	60	1125	536.5	Refugee	
193	Se-hoh-ka	Creek	F	40	7356	2851.5	Widow of Soldier	officer
194	Emanuel Jefferson	Free Col'd.	M	40	910	360	Refugee	
195	Morris Barnett	Freed.	M	40	345	172.5	Refugee	
196	Benjamin Ab	Freed.	M	33	440	195	Soldier	
197	Tarter Drew	Free Col'd.	M	80	2200	965	Refugee	
198	Rachael Durant	Freed.	F	40	70	38.5	Widow of Soldier	
199	Betty sancho	Freed.	F	38	220	120	Widow of Soldier	
200	Judy Corbrey	Freed.	F	30	320	177.5	Refugee	Spinster
201	Emanuel Warrior	Freed.	M	34	1125	400	Refugee	Spinster
202	Judy Fields	Freed.	F	50	175	93.5	Refugee	widow
203	Hackless Corbrey	Freed.	M	45	510	340	Refugee	Teamster Q.M.D.
204	Scipio Sancho	Freed.	M	38	580	288.5	Soldier	
205	Morris Kernell	Freed.	M	60	205	109	Soldier	
206	Julia Gibson	Free Col'd.	F	46	790	375.5	Refugee	widow
207	James Kernell	Freed.	M	40	390	169	Soldier	
208	Roley Scott	Creek	M	35	1990	840	Refugee	
209	Jack Smith	Free Col'd.	M	40	1645	558.5	Refugee	
210	Ben Sancho	Freed.	M	45	640	271	Soldier	
211	Redman Kernell	Freed.	M	45	826	338	Soldier	
212	Peter Stedham	Freed.	M	40	742	264.16	Soldier	
213	Hannah Bruner	Freed.	F	31	575	180	Refugee	widow
214	Nellie Holmes	Freed.	F	45	350	244	Refugee	Widow
215	Joseph Sambo	Freed.	M	35	435	165	Soldier	
216	Wox-e-harjo	Creek	M	35	4640	2062	Soldier	
217	Lizzy-cot-char- micco	Creek	F	40	4525	1892.5	Widow of Soldier	officer
218	Fred Toby	Freed.	M	30	237	101	Refugee	
219	Priscilla Franklin	Freed.	F	45	608	284	Refugee	widow
220	Jack McGilvray	Freed.	M	34	1075	427	As Admr. & Guardian	
221	Jeffroey Gouge	Freed.	M	75	720	380	Refugee	
222	Tyra Folsom	Freed.	F	35	350	246	Refugee	Spinster

223	Anthony Merrill	Freed.	M	50	820	383.5	Refugee	
224	Cyrena Jacobs	Freed.	F	50	235	142.5	Refugee	widow
225	Nancy Franklin	Freed.	F	40	440	195	Refugee	Spinster
226	Sam Tiger	Freed.	M	35	452	275.5	Refugee	
227	Molly Bruner	Freed.	F	30	565	220.5	Refugee	Spinster
228	Billy Hawkins	Free Col'd.	M	45	2723	1506.5	Soldier	
229	Johnson Kernard	Freed.	M	45	480	180	Refugee	
230	Flora Stedham	Freed.	F	40	390	189.5	Refugee	Spinster
231	John Kernell	Freed.	M	40	510	230	Soldier	
232	Hagar McQueen	Free Col'd.	F	80	500	235	Refugee	widow
233	Walter Grayson	Creek	M	30	3770	1591.5	Soldier	
234	Sah-lah-hich-che	Creek	M	40	8440	3717.5	Refugee	
235	Cho-mar-thle-fixico	Creek	M	40	5537	2946	Refugee	
236	Mary	Creek	F	33	9319	3976.5	Refugee	Spinster
237	Rosanna	Creek	F	30	5535	2177.5	Refugee	Spinster
238	Milley	Creek	F	30	1860	1195	Refugee	Spinster
239	Sim-me-se-ho-ke	Creek	F	30	1500	950	Refugee	Spinster
240	Richard Perryman	Creek	M	31	12395	6441.5	Soldier	
241	Yah-to ka harjo	Creek	M	40	5655	2607.5	Soldier	
242	Ho-po-thle-ha-ne-hah	Creek	M	40	4887	1759.5	Soldier	
243	Mah-Cho-Ke	Creek	F	50	9645	2607.5	Refugee	Widow
244	Hah-Ke	Creek	F	35	2210	718	Refugee	Spinster
245	John Harrico	Creek	M	40	2090	1132	Soldier	
246	Chus-e-micco	Creek	M	40	4110	1822.5	Soldier	
247	Che pah ne	Creek	M	30	1810	686	Refugee	
248	Jesse Walker	Creek	M	35	2150	801.25	Soldier	
249	Sally	Creek	F	50	3820	1652.5	Refugee	Widow
250	Yos-tah	Creek	F	35	1550	737.5	Refugee	Spinster
251	Elizabeth Goodwin	Creek	F	30	170	90	Refugee	(now married)
252	Lucy-chee	Creek	F	60	12069	4364.5	Refugee	Widow
253	Nicey Pah-no-see	Creek	F	25	4070	1418	Refugee	Spinster
254	E-cho-e-mar-thla	Creek	M	80	4561	1514	Refugee	
255	Judy	Creek	F	90	3565	1445	Refugee	Widow
256	Davis Anderson	Creek	M	24	20120	8260	Soldier	
257	Kizzie Haynes	Creek	F	33	5866	2022.5	Refugee	Widow
258	Chin-che-hee	Creek	M	33	8220	2245	Soldier	
259	Cho-fah-la	Creek	M	40	1520	353	Soldier	
260	Char co te nay	Creek	M	36	1040	257	Soldier	
261	David Steele	Halfbreed	M	31	5365	1605	Refugee	
262	Peggy Fields	Creek	F	40	19192	7696	Refugee	Widow
263	Daniel Childers	Halfbreed	M	35	7100	3300	Soldier	
264	Benjamin Fife	Creek	M	32	1508	614	Refugee	

265	Long Jim	Creek	M	50	1970	585	Soldier	
266	Ah go ke nee	Creek	F	22	4335	1140.5	Refugee	Spinster
267	Tas-co-ner	Creek	M	30	704	278	Refugee	
268	Tah-co-te-nay	Creek	M	38	1420	345	Soldier	
269	Ne-hah-thlocco-co-chunk-ne	Creek	M	55	365	140	Soldier	
270	Sim-me-he-chi-kee	Creek	M	55	6225.5	2077	Soldier	
271	Daniel Haney	Creek	M	28	805	291	Soldier	
272	Hefsey	Creek	F	45	600	251	Refugee	Widow
273	Ko-ny-ka	Creek	M	38	1749	735	Soldier	
274	Tah-pan-no-mee	Creek	M	28	762	357	Soldier	
275	An-nee	Creek	F	30	1590	625	Refugee	(now the wife of Long Jim)
276	Cap-pee-co-nay	Creek	M	50	1818.5	514.25	Soldier	
277	Kan thla we thla	Creek	M	26	760	330	Soldier	
278	Tah-co-on-nay	Creek	M	30	5119	1414	Soldier	
279	Kitty Pickett	Creek	F	30	2065	560	Refugee	Spinster
280	Po-co-thle-nay	Creek	M	33	4394	1392	Soldier	
281	Mar-shea	Creek	M	33	1159	379	Soldier	
282	Long Jim	Creek	M	50	1090	330	As Admr. & Guardian	
283	Sah-u-quan-nay	Creek	M	53	1646	571	Soldier	
284	Timothy Barnett	Creek	M	45	2769	957.5	Soldier	(A Uchee)
285	Co-Kah-san	Creek	M	45	4115	1025	Refugee	
286	Kah-ko-fah	Creek	F	22	2105	625	Refugee	Spinster
287	Johnny Micco	Creek	M	33	1240	404	Soldier	
288	Kah-co-wee-nay	Creek	M	30	1205	323	Refugee	
289	Sah-cut-yah-thlo-nay	Creek	M	32	1550	445	Soldier	
290	Ah-la-ah-con-te-nay	Creek	M	25	1358	462.5	Refugee	
291	Fo-co-a-nay	Creek	F	45	1930	564	Refugee	Widow
292	Lucy (of Uchee Town)	Creek	F	32	1608	384	Refugee	Widow
293	Pah-cho-nay	Creek	M	35	1215	365	Soldier	
294	Ah-ha-co-na-nay	Creek	F	45	2555	642	Refugee	Spinster
295	Tah-co-te-nay	Creek	M	36	2745	666	Soldier	
296	Jim Barnett	Free Col'd.	M	40	1601	695.5	Soldier	
297	John R. Moore	Halfbreed	M	36	9574	3167	As Administrator &c.	
298	John cha che ah	Creek	M	45	4105	1062.5	Soldier	
299	Kitty (of Uchee Town)	Creek	F	33	1460	435	Widow of Soldier	
300	Shar nah kee	Creek	M	50	1227	408.5	Soldier	
301	Thars hue thle	Creek	M	23	309	107	Soldier	(census 3433)
302	Har ten nay	Creek	F	50	3740	1057.5	Refugee	Widow

303	George Safley	White	M	52	1560	550	Soldier	(an adopted citizen)
304	Yah lah ho nay	Creek	M	53	3273	1039	Soldier	
305	Cup-pit-chah	Creek	M	36	2587.5	1101.25	Soldier	
306	Tah-co-twa	Creek	M	55	1538	470.5	Soldier	
307	Co-Kath-le-nay	Creek	M	33	810	305	Soldier	
308	Henry Johnson	Creek	M	30	1583	427.5	Soldier	
309	Char tar tay	Creek	M	48	9478	2514	Soldier	
310	Co po thle nay	Creek	M	32	4354	1034	Soldier	
311	Ker see	Creek	F	30	1780	500	Refugee	Spinster
312	Tah-con-thla	Creek	F	30	3280	1030	Widow of Soldier	
313	Co-sah-hon nay	Creek	F	30	880	260	Widow of Soldier	
314	Lucy-nee	Creek	F	28	895	268	Refugee	Spinster
315	Shah-con-te-nay	Creek	F	26	2780	705	Refugee	
316	Co-qua-an	Creek	M	55	1002	376	Soldier	
317	Thla-kee	Creek	F	50	5234	1277.5	Widow of Soldier	
318	Me-Kah	Creek	F	22	1370	395	Refugee	Spinster
319	Su-see	Creek	F	50	2575	822.5	Refugee	(census 2871)
320	Lu-lee	Creek	F	55	6840	1630	Refugee	Widow
321	Wath-le-nay	Creek	F	55	2736	943	Widow of Soldier	
322	Cah-che-pee	Creek	F	32	1185	350	Widow of Soldier	
323	De-san-ton-nay	Creek	M	40	3970	955	Soldier	
324	Mary Pickett	Creek	F	40	6585	2137.5	Widow of Soldier	
325	Sah-co-co-wee	Creek	F	40	330	120	Widow of Soldier	
326	Tah-co-con-thla	Creek	F	26	1572	452	Refugee	Spinster
327	Charley	Creek	M	33	1170	410	Soldier	
328	San-nay	Creek	F	35	2065	570	Widow of Soldier	
329	Narcissa Hardridge	Creek	F	31	1580	560	Refugee	Widow
330	Goliah Rowland	Creek	M	52	1180	395	Soldier	
331	Tah-we-thla-nay	Creek	M	42	6640	1330	Soldier	
332	Sah-con-thla-nay	Creek	M	23	4850	1450	Soldier	
333	Ko-co-thla-nay	Creek	F	45	4460	1220	Widow of Soldier	
334	John Fee	Creek	M	28	2869	804	Soldier	
335	Tiger	Creek	M	38	1418	356.5	Soldier	
336	Lucy-nay	Creek	F	26	809	373	Widow of Soldier	
337	Ho thle chee	Creek	F	24	4745	1515	Refugee	Spinster
338	Ma-jor	Creek	M	32	1865	597.5	Soldier	
339	Doe Barnett	Creek	M	42	4820	1650	Soldier	

340	Long Jim	Creek	M	50	2375	590	As Administrator &c.	
341	Cho-ne-se-air	Creek	M	41	1090	300	As Administrator &c.	
342	Chee-lah-harjo	Creek	M	60	1095	433	Soldier	
343	Mary Clinton	Creek	F	32	2070	835	Refugee	Spinster
344	Mer-yah-ker	Creek	F	38	3222	952	Refugee	Widow
345	Prince	Creek	M	43	509	119.5	Soldier	
346	Mark Sims	Creek	M	31	8096	2890.5	Soldier	
347	Saw-wee	Creek	F	67	4235	1342.5	Widow of Soldier	
348	Marshee Marshall	Creek	M	30	1180	370	Soldier	
349	Shee-nah-kee	Creek	M	52	5404	1462	As Administrator &c.	
350	Samuel Brown	Halfbreed	M	28	2676	1008	Soldier	
351	Tah fah	Creek	F	66	9842	2746	Refugee	Widow
352	Charley Brown	Creek	M	50	5798	1936.5	Soldier	
353	Co-toc-see	Creek	M	25	2185	707.5	Soldier	
354	Tah-sah-ton-nay	Creek	M	32	2680	1010	Soldier	
355	Co-u-hay	Creek	M	37	2505	700	Soldier	
356	Et-tah-hon-nay	Creek	M	59	1595	430	As Administrator &c.	
357	Ti-con-ton-nay	Creek	M	46	3798	1029	As Administrator &c.	
358	John Soffey	Creek	M	23	1017	343.5	Refugee	
359	Sof-fee-nay	Creek	M	35	1190	305	Soldier	
360	Louisa Barnett	Halfbreed	F	28	2641	860.5	Refugee	Spinster
361	Kah-ko-wee-nay	Creek	F	55	1452	388.5	Refugee	Widow
362	Caw-tah-nay	Creek	F	19	3950	1070	Refugee	Spinster
363	Sof-ten-nay	Creek	M	34	775	275	Soldier	
364	Le na	Creek	F	33	1656	695	Refugee	Widow
365	Sah-co-wee	Creek	M	60	9910	2970	Refugee	
366	Sef-ah-quain	Creek	F	50	3475	1075	Widow of Soldier	
367	San-wee	Creek	F	62	5610	1285	Widow of Soldier	
368	Mer-yah-ker	Creek	F	38	400	158	As Administrator &c.	
369	Tah-fah	Creek	F	66	3462	981	As Administrator &c.	
370	Kah-tah-con-nay	Creek	M	45	2280	705	Soldier	
371	Tom Bull	Creek	M	24	1350	425	Refugee	(cripple)
372	Com-pe-se-ah-nay Brown	Creek	M	26	3894.5	1107.25	Refugee	
373	John Buck	Halfbreed	M	31	1875	597.5	Soldier	

374	E-ton-nay	Creek	M	30	13445	5075	Soldier	
375	Sally Brown	Creek	F	36	3512.5	1406.75	Refugee	Widow
376	Lo chee Barnett	Creek	F	50	5140.5	2164.25	Refugee	
377	Co-at hon-nay	Creek	M	21	1752	520	Refugee	
378	Is-pah-he-cher	Creek	M	32	8371	4000	Soldier	
379	Sah-so-thlin-nay	Creek	M	46	2097.5	723.75	As Administrator &c.	
380	Ah-tah-kin-nay	Creek	M	33	418	140	As Administrator &c.	
381	Co-Kath-le-nay	Creek	M	28	1470	460	As Administrator &c.	
382	Ah-see	Creek	M	26	2760	745	Refugee	
383	Billy Grimes	A Seminole	M	32	2254	1565	As Administrator &c.	
384	Tommy	Creek	M	28	261.5	0	In Rebel Army. <u>No award.</u>	
385	Cho-harjo-micco	Creek	M	52	216	138	Soldier	
386	Jesse	Creek	M	30	1339	635	Refugee	
387	William F. Brown	White	M	48	18118.5	7845	A Citizen of Nation by adoption	
388	Co-tah-hee-chee	Creek	F	53	2089	1056	Refugee	Widow
389	Su-see	Creek	F	50	1615	907.5	As Administrator &c.	
390	Lah tah-micco	Creek	M	30	953	633	Soldier	
391	Taylor Post-oak	Creek	M	40	20296	6995	Soldier	
392	Lieutenant Adam	Creek	M	50	4648	1515	Soldier	(an officer)
393	It che hah swar	Creek	M	32	4195	1565	Soldier	
394	No kus ce lee	Creek	M	32	3679	1642	Soldier	
395	Hannah	Creek	F	48	2243	801.5	As Administrator &c.	
396	Ma-ley-ah	Creek	F	23	1438.5	539	Refugee	Spinster
397	Milley Deer	Halfbreed	F	32	14913.5	5247.5	Refugee	(now wife of Matte-cokekee)
398	Sah wy ho kah	Creek	F	62	4118	2245	Refugee	Widow
399	Hannah	Creek	F	48	7251	2580	Refugee	Widow
400	Mah-te-lo-ke	Creek	M	29	1967	745	Refugee	
401	Sah-hah-kee	Creek	F	38	975	352.5	Refugee	Widow
402	Polly	Creek	F	37	3061	1707	Refugee	Widow
403	Te may ee	Creek	M	31	3968	1453	Soldier	
404	See-hah-yee	Creek	M	26	1377	756.5	Refugee	
405	Cal bor tee	Creek	M	38	3729	1275	Soldier	
406	Lizzie	Creek	F	33	1314	566	Refugee	(now wife of David Stoke)
407	Meh-chee	Creek	M	29	1200	385	Soldier	

408	Sa-pi-che-chee	Creek	M	38	1980	650	Soldier	
409	Chim che pee	Creek	M	38	3769	1000	As Administrator &c.	
410	Mah te lo ke	Creek	M	29	2152	771	As Administrator &c.	
411	Kiz-ze-zla	Creek	F	27	1972	646	Refugee	Widow
412	James Jefferson Jr.	Creek	M	27	2260	857	Refugee	Claims for self & wife
413	James Jefferson Sr.	Creek	M	50	2441	934	Soldier	
414	Tah-co-te-nay	Creek	M	40	3129	1257	As Administrator &c.	
415	Ar tus see harjo	Creek	M	34	806	273	Soldier	
416	Caesar	Creek	M	25	4329	1995	Soldier	(name "Pocotchec")
417	See-pah	Creek	M	24	1085	402.5	Refugee	
418	Is-poke-yo lo ho la	Creek	M	85	4704	1553	Refugee	
419	Tah co te nay	Creek	M	40	1535	680	As Administrator &c.	
420	Funkee Thlocco	Creek	M	60	10336	4568	Soldier	
421	Ne ha thlocco chee	Creek	M	45	6464	2475	Soldier	
422	Louisa McGilvray	Creek	F	25	4928	1979	Refugee	(now wife of Micco harjo)
423	Win-nay	Creek	F	26	2097	946	Refugee	Spinster
424	Fos-ter	Creek	M	34	3698	1560	Refugee	
425	Spo co kee	Creek	M	36	3160	1516	As Administrator &c.	
426	Fos-ter	Creek	M	34	3826	1408	As Administrator &c.	
427	Es po co ke mar thla	Creek	M	39	3867	1136	As Administrator &c.	
428	O chee harjo	Creek	M	34	2712	925	Soldier	
429	Louisa Barnett	Creek	F	50	8329	4620	Refugee	Widow
430	Fee-ney	Creek	F	33	8124	2936	Widow of Soldier	
431	See lah	Creek	F	55	2039	724.5	Refugee	Widow
432	Mary Adkins	Halfbreed	F	33	2657	814	Refugee	
433	Lylie Pigeon	Halfbreed	F	50	8867	2510	Refugee	
434	Ti-ko	Creek	F	28	3587	1240	Refugee	Spinster
435	Es tah ka fo ne	Creek	M	25	3225	1105	Soldier	
436	Sut char kee	Creek	M	32	13077	5010	Refugee	
437	Che tum ho	Creek	M	27	13440	4135	Soldier	(cripple)
438	Fos-ter	Creek	M	34	2678.5	1145	As Administrator &c.	

439	Mah te lo ke	Creek	M	29	6558	2581	As Administrator &c.	
440	Cow e tah micco	Creek	M	35	5222	1865	Refugee	
441	Lucy Barnett	Creek	F	28	14737	3545	Refugee	(now wife of Is par he chee)
442	He lis Fix eco	Creek	M	60	1146	528	Refugee	
443	Tas se ki ah hut ke	Creek	M	32	887	435	Soldier	
444	Is po co kee	Creek	M	37	3331	1605	Refugee	
445	Polly	Creek	F	30	1108	475	Refugee	Spinster
446	Joe Kah	Creek	M	28	1269	522	As Administrator &c.	
447	No cose harjo	Creek	M	25	1123	517	Soldier	
448	Polly Thomas	Halfbreed	F	25	4473	1650	Refugee	Spinster
449	Nah-fee-chee	Creek	F	48	592	247.5	Widow of Soldier	
450	Yel kee harjo	Creek	M	42	3002	1070	As Administrator &c.	
451	Robert Brown	Halfbreed	M	26	5692	2029	As Administrator &c.	
452	Mut tul e chee Barnett	Creek	M	33	19205	6965	Soldier	
453	O chee harjo	Creek	M	34	1165	415	As Administrator &c.	
454	Cot char ho mar te	Creek	M	55	752	338.5	Soldier	
455	Louisa Book	Creek	F	53	2140	825	Refugee	Widow
456	Taylor	Creek	M	22	3930	1160	Refugee	
457	Sah hul ho kee	Creek	F	55	2750	1200	Refugee	Widow
458	Quah te lah	Creek	M	25	1240	425	Soldier	
459	Lieutenant Adam	Creek	M	50	3250	980	As Administrator &c.	
459	Sam mie	Creek	M	28	1225	455	Refugee	
460	Echo he cho chee	Creek	M	42	1455	550	Soldier	
461	U-nah	Creek	M	26	5953	2032	Refugee	
462	Tse-se ki ah harjo	Creek	M	43	1500	552	Soldier	
463	Katie	Creek	F	29	10320	3480	Refugee	Spinster
464	Dorsey	Creek	M	23	19610	4902	As Administrator &c.	
465	Micco-chup-co	Creek	M	30	2340	872	Soldier	
466	Sal-tee	Creek	F	38	1108	419	Widow of Soldier	
467	Sun dee	Creek	M	22	440	207	Refugee	
468	To tee	Creek	F	31	2460	985	Widow of Soldier	
469	Sil-lah	Creek	F	35	413	275	Refugee	(wife of No co see, a Seminole)

470	Co wok co chee	Creek	M	35	6825	3132.5	As Administrator &c.	
471	Claiborn Lowe	Creek	M	53	2390	827	Soldier	
472	No ke chee	Creek	F	55	3425	1320	Refugee	Widow
473	Eliza	Creek	F	50	4308	1594.5	Widow of Soldier	
474	San-tha-pee	Creek	M	32	6076	2026	Soldier	
475	Co-wok-co-chee	Creek	M	32	6193	1659	Soldier	
476	Wallace McNack	Halfbreed	M	32	4630	2096	As Administrator &c.	
477	Con char tee	Creek	M	55	1952	800	Soldier	(cripple)
478	Ne hah harjo	Creek	M	35	1678	663.5	Soldier	
479	Taylor Post-oak	Creek	M	40	1700	688.5	As Administrator &c.	
480	Taylor Post-oak	Creek	M	40	5184	1109.5	As Administrator &c.	
481	Wee key	Creek	F	50	19090	7555	Refugee	Widow
482	Lo dy	Creek	F	23	1687	572	Refugee	Spinster
483	Co-wok-co-chee	Creek	M	35	8915	3606.5	As Administrator &c.	
484	Ho lot to chee	Creek	M	40	4080	1688	Soldier	
485	Ah cha kee	Creek	F	60	3403	1380	Refugee	Widow
486	A leck ee	Creek	M	35	2429	1024	As Administrator &c.	
487	Judy	Creek	F	60	2767	1393.5	Widow of Soldier	
488	Ma ley an na	Creek	F	40	4647	2217	Refugee	Widow
489	Ho ye pah	Creek	F	50	3746	1479	Widow of Soldier	
490	Sin tah	Creek	F	36	7535	2963	Widow of Soldier	
491	Lizzie Haney	Creek	F	38	2070	835	Refugee	Widow
492	Tommy	Creek	M	40	1343	512	Refugee	
493	David	Creek	M	23	355	134	Refugee	
494	Nicey	Creek	F	35	685	283	Widow of Soldier	
495	Mut tah ha kee	Creek	M	25	3480	1400	Soldier	
496	Kah-pe-cha	Creek	M	43	4589	1429.5	As Administrator &c.	
497	Lizzie (O se e ne ah)	Creek	F	36	10099	3264	Refugee	Widow
498	Washington	Creek	M	50	205	73	As Administrator &c.	Not final--see 27911/05-No rightful legal heirs
499	Washington	Creek	M	50	1301	451	As Administrator &c.	

500	Jacob	Creek	M	40	652	312	As Administrator &c.	
501	Funkee Thlocco	Creek	M	60	4510	1862.5	As Administrator &c.	
502	Chok cha tee	Creek	M	75	1540	646	As Administrator &c.	
503	To chee	Creek	F	22	578	291	Refugee	(now wife of Watlee, who was a rebel soldier)
504	Jacob	Creek	M	40	396	215	Soldier	
505	Jennie	Creek	F	25	3950	1660	Refugee	Widow
506	Ok-tars-sae-harjo (Sands)	Creek	M	60	18080	3270	Refugee	
507	Teek ton e chee	Creek	M	30	4760	1691	Soldier	
508	Wot co fixeco	Creek	M	40	1635	617.5	Soldier	
509	Ne ah thlocco harjo	Creek	M	26	2200	770	Soldier	
510	Co as chart fixeco	Creek	M	35	645	242.5	Soldier	
511	Leo mah te harjo	Creek	M	43	5078	1639	Refugee	
512	Ho peeth harjo	Creek	M	56	5550	2035	Refugee	
513	Co nip harjo	Creek	M	35	7260	2121	Refugee	
514	Tul loof harjo	Creek	M	45	9048	2986.5	Refugee	
515	Jacob	Creek	M	30	8979	5216	Refugee	
516	Oak chun yah hola	Creek	M	50	1688	687	Soldier	
517	E fi ah hola	Creek	M	48	2725	950	Soldier	
518	Co as chart fixeco	Creek	M	45	1880	695	Soldier	
519	David Barnwell	Halfbreed	M	26	1545	229	Soldier	
520	Eliza Goodwin	Creek	F	60	5555	1917	Widow of Soldier	
521	Ha lot fixeco	Creek	M	30	1930	680	Soldier	
522	Chu yah hola	Creek	M	33	7090	1695	Soldier	
523	Cot chee mar thla	Creek	M	40	4260	1730	Soldier	
524	Cot chee chee	Creek	M	45	6100	2683	Soldier	(Lieut. Co. G 1st regt)
525	He nee hah	Creek	M	30	4355	1644.5	Refugee	
526	Fos chut che ohola	Creek	M	40	5825	2434	Soldier	
527	Sul lah ti gee	Creek	F	43	4525	1627.5	Refugee	Widow
528	Hilliby mar thla	Creek	M	58	3060	1075	Soldier	
529	Ho ats cot e fixeco	Creek	M	50	2896	1153	Soldier	
530	Lup ho ke	Creek	F	48	6480	2210	Widow of Soldier	
531	Sukee	Creek	F	36	910	235	Refugee	Spinster
532	So say yee	Creek	F	38	800	290	Refugee	Widow
533	Wox e ho la tah	Creek	M	28	3692	1438	Soldier	
534	Hep see	Creek	F	46	980	364	Refugee	Widow

535	Cho-was-tah-e-chupco	Creek	M	34	1235	390	Soldier	
536	Kim ah tla	Creek	M	43	826	276	Refugee	
537	Cot char micco	Creek	M	51	2955	1160	Soldier	
538	Fix e co (Arbeka Town)	Creek	M	46	4400	1390	Soldier	
539	Fah harjo	Creek	M	50	4517	1521	Soldier	
540	Yoat kis harjo	Creek	M	46	21260	6907.5	Soldier	
541	E fer e mar thla	Creek	M	35	7516	2331	Soldier	
542	Fos harjo	Creek	M	36	4170	1485	Refugee	
543	Lid-dy	Creek	F	55	7150	2480	Widow of Soldier	
544	Sim me hah kee	Creek	F	50	1800	610	Widow of Soldier	
545	Pin fix e co	Creek	M	36	4345	1615	Soldier	
546	Hum hah chee	Creek	F	46	3860	1395	Widow of Soldier	
547	Cho harjo	Creek	M	25	2550	900	Refugee	
548	Ah cho fixeco	Creek	M	30	11445	3840	Soldier	
549	Cot sa ho mar thla	Creek	M	38	1905	732.5	Soldier	
550	Moc lus e mar thla	Creek	M	28	1770	626	Refugee	
551	Robin	Creek	M	28	7070	2490	Soldier	
552	Tommy harjo	Creek	M	41	1168	407.5	Soldier	
553	Con tul e mar thla	Creek	M	47	1796	612.5	Refugee	
554	Lah pee chee	Creek	F	86	1987	721.5	Refugee	Widow
555	Ah che ah hola	Creek	M	50	2250	832	Soldier	
556	So-ti ee chee	Creek	F	28	5800	2100	Refugee	Spinster
557	Pin nee mar thla	Creek	M	37	1035	356	Soldier	
558	To fo lah gee	Creek	F	41	950	370	Refugee	Widow
559	Ben Tyler	Creek	M	35	2735	937.5	Refugee	
560	Ah fah lo gee	Creek	M	36	5450	1845	Soldier	
561	Jackson	Creek	M	30	7190	2620	Soldier	
562	Sim kill ho hee	Creek	F	60	3345	1190	Widow of Soldier	
563	See mah yee	Creek	F	33	2030	705	Widow of Soldier	
564	Louisa (Arbeka Town)	Creek	F	39	2370	724	Widow of Soldier	
565	Tal wah fixeco	Creek	M	36	3811	1306.5	Soldier	
566	Ah tus harjo	Creek	M	30	3915	1392.5	Soldier	
567	Armstrong	Creek	M	32	1935	0		No award
568	Hul lut hal ya	Creek	F	50	2925	1075	Widow of Soldier	
569	Con chart harjo	Creek	M	32	5580	1980	Refugee	
570	Que cuss fixeco	Creek	M	33	1417	484.5	Refugee	
571	Co at co chee mar thla	Creek	M	46	4650	1630	Soldier	
572	Oak chum e mar thla	Creek	M	46	7775	2742.5	Soldier	
573	Ah-chut luk harjo	Creek	M	33	6275	2027.5	Soldier	

574	So cot te mar thla	Creek	M	60	3130	1140	Refugee	(cripple)
575	Wox e o hola	Creek	M	62	5818	1848.5	Refugee	
576	Hin ne ah fixeco	Creek	M	25	3790	1300	Soldier	
577	No cos e lu chee	Creek	M	70	4625	1615	Soldier	(captn. Of Co.)
578	Lo at chee harjo	Creek	M	33	4945	1805	Soldier	
579	Ho pul harjo	Creek	M	36	5700	1985	Soldier	
580	Thle-chum me harjo	Creek	M	33	6940	2465	Refugee	
581	No cos fixeco	Creek	M	32	7305	2623.5	Soldier	
582	Oh sut ye hola	Creek	M	34	4655	1646	Soldier	
583	Co no harjo	Creek	M	48	5810	2108	Soldier	
584	Ho tul te harjo	Creek	M	33	6240	2174	Soldier	
585	Con char tee micco	Creek	M	40	3945	1396	Soldier	
586	Hoak-tee	Creek	F	47	8260	2980	Refugee	Widow
587	Mun ah to yee	Creek	F	52	3350	1200	Refugee	Widow
588	Yah-to wyh	Creek	F	47	5390	1895	Refugee	Widow
589	Yah-kup ho ee	Creek	F	43	6500	2260	Refugee	Widow
590	Lyn dah	Creek	F	40	7520	2658	Widow of Soldier	
591	Susannah	Creek	F	53	3725	1106	Widow of Soldier	
592	Choak chat harjo	Creek	M	42	2780	939.5	Soldier	
593	Lizzy	Creek	F	22	810	305	Refugee	Spinster
594	Ty yee cha	Creek	F	38	6220	1990	Widow of Soldier	
595	Jim-my	Creek	M	27	4100	1375	Refugee	
596	Simpson	Creek	M	29	7460	2470	Refugee	
597	Toat kis harjo	Creek	M	32	3435	1127.5	Soldier	
598	Sah yee	Creek	F	41	1725	614	Refugee	Widow
599	Ty yee (a dwarf)	Creek	F	39	931	293	Refugee	Spinster
600	Mal lee	Creek	F	57	1250	442.5	Widow of Soldier	
601	Cho was tah e mar thla	Creek	M	46	6660	2245	Soldier	
602	Us se nior holo	Creek	M	59	467	176	Refugee	
603	Wox e harjo	Creek	M	35	3170	1070	Soldier	
604	Maria Noble	Free Col'd.	F	40	933	375	Refugee	Widow
605	Hah chee nuppa	Creek	M	37	2260	804	Soldier	
606	Mic ke mar thla	Creek	M	33	5645	1985	Soldier	
607	Yah hi e mar thla	Creek	M	35	4280	1495	Soldier	
608	Ne ah harjo	Creek	M	60	6569	2373	Soldier	
609	Co nup harjo	Creek	M	45	4730	1690	Soldier	
610	Lo cho fixeco	Creek	M	32	5535	2013	Soldier	
611	Ah tus fixeco	Creek	M	55	2720	970	Soldier	
612	He ne ho chee	Creek	M	25	4500	1555	Refugee	
613	Ho ful he ne ah	Creek	M	35	4745	1760	Soldier	

614	Echo e fixeco	Creek	M	38	3385	1144	Soldier	
615	Fos hut e micco	Creek	M	30	4100	1430.5	Refugee	
616	Co no e ohola	Creek	M	30	10789	1624.5	Refugee	
617	Pah ho sim ne ah	Creek	M	25	2475	863	Refugee	
618	Seba	Creek	M	32	2027	810	Soldier	
619	I-ah-te-harjo	Creek	M	60	7115	2095	Soldier	
620	William Bruner	Freed.	M	33	1385	627	Soldier	
621	Sally Sancho	Freed.	F	40	240	128	Refugee	Widow
622	Aaron Sancho	Freed.	M	33	460	180	Soldier	(Not paid--see 27911/05--no rightful legal heirs.)
623	David McQueen	Halfbreed	M	38	2020	884	Soldier	
624	Ah-ke tin yah hola	Creek	M	55	10024	3593	Soldier	
625	Tick Key	Creek	M	27	2350	810	Refugee	
626	Co-bih-cho chee	Creek	M	29	3300	1175	Soldier	
627	See po pee	Creek	F	52	5050	1795	Widow of Soldier	
628	Hi ut kah	Creek	F	43	5170	1750	Widow of Soldier	
629	See o thle gee	Creek	F	62	5110	1832	Refugee	Widow
630	So ho e lah gee	Creek	F	34	8100	2910	Refugee	Widow
631	Hoak te lay ney	Creek	F	38	2150	745	Widow of Soldier	
632	O chee harjo	Creek	M	28	2850	985	Refugee	
633	Oak chum harjo	Creek	M	27	5985	2147.5	Refugee	Widow
634	Ah see ho gee	Creek	F	41	5250	1875	Refugee	Widow
635	Mis Kah	Creek	F	28	5028	1777		
636	Toak ko e ho chee	Creek	F	60	10320	3591	Widow of Soldier	
637	Los Kee	Creek	F	27	2480	890	Refugee	Spinster
638	No cose fixeco	Creek	M	40	3250	1100	Soldier	
639	Hul but e harjo	Creek	M	40	6665	2510	Refugee	
640	Jin ny	Creek	F	24	2660	955	Refugee	Widow
641	Yah cose yah hola	Creek	M	45	1140	414	As Administrator &c.	
642	Peter Wolf	Freed.	M	45	1160	485	Refugee	
643	Wi-cey	Creek	F	38	1540	525	Refugee	Widow
644	Wi nee	Creek	F	70	2495	995	Refugee	Widow
645	Morris McGilvray	Free Col'd.	M	40	1910	0		No award
646	Ah nee	Creek	F	80	1015	400	Refugee	Widow
647	Ok chi ah harjo	Creek	M	30	1665	626	Refugee	
648	Samuel Wade	Freed.	M	38	738	300	Soldier	
649	Cho lo fixeco	Creek	M	35	2235	789	Soldier	
650	Ok cha a mar thla	Creek	M	60	4625	1580	Soldier	
651	No cos e micco	Creek	M	23	4205	1514	Refugee	
652	Yo ho la chup co	Creek	M	25	3175	1175	Refugee	

653	Tah mus chus ha chup co	Creek	M	25	6885	2408.5	Refugee	
654	Nah feet skah	Creek	F	40	2430	911	Refugee	Widow
655	E nah hin ne ah	Creek	M	36	4364	1568.5	Soldier	
656	Sukey Barnett	Creek	F	25	6180	1713	Refugee	(now the wife of Jas. McCain Seminole)
657	Timothy Barnett	Creek	M	40	561	322.5	As Administrator &c.	
658	Littee fixeco	Creek	M	25	3400	1260	Refugee	
659	At ber tee harjo	Creek	M	32	6305	2127	Soldier	
660	Cho fox co nah	Creek	M	48	7147	2705	Soldier	
661	Co sa harjo	Creek	M	32	5085	1813	Refugee	
662	Rachael Yarger	Freed.	F	50	1311	347	Refugee	Widow
663	Siah Barnett	Halfbreed	M	45	1111	460	Refugee	
664	Co yo tee	Creek	F	90	560	265	Refugee	Widow
665	Winey McQueen	Creek	F	70	1923	690	Refugee	Widow
666	Jim Barnett	Halfbreed	M	30	1670	670	Soldier	
667	Sump sey	Creek	M	26	900	350	Soldier	
668	Pah nos ky	Creek	M	27	2890	1060	Refugee	
669	Caesar (of Tulsey L.R.)	Creek	M	26	2020	760	Refugee	
670	Pah ho se mar thla	Creek	M	38	2650	910	Soldier	
671	Char gee	Creek	M	29	6810	2390	Soldier	
672	Clo kus harjo	Creek	M	47	2545	885	Soldier	
673	Tom sy	Creek	M	30	13000	4375	Refugee	
674	Nero	Creek	M	36	12240	4256	Soldier	
675	Ne ha ha chee chee	Creek	M	37	1850	675	Soldier	
676	Sandy	Creek	M	26	1600	565	Soldier	
677	Fee nah	Halfbreed	F	41	1700	620	Widow of Soldier	
678	Jim my	Creek	M	34	1850	810	Soldier	
679	Yah hola	Creek	M	41	2750	1000	Soldier	
680	Joe McGilvray	Freed.	M	46	2000	737.5	Soldier	
681	Tommy harjo	Creek	M	58	6950	2360	Soldier	
682	To-ny	Creek	M	29	1120	480	Soldier	
683	Ich hars e o hola	Creek	M	39	2400	830	Soldier	
684	Spoke oak harjo	Creek	M	46	2250	875	Soldier	
685	Ah he co chee	Creek	M	33	1450	560	Soldier	
686	Mee kee lee	Creek	M	39	2500	965	Soldier	
687	Ho-tul-gee	Creek	M	43	1550	600	Soldier	
688	Cose i ohola	Creek	M	47	2725	1295	Refugee	
689	Yah to a harjo	Creek	M	49	3150	1155	Soldier	
690	Micco hutky	Creek	M	45	13600	4960	Soldier	(2nd Chief Creek Nation)
691	Ah ha look fixeco	Creek	M	25	1135	430	Refugee	

692	Co cot e fixeco	Creek	M	26	3415	1181	Refugee	
693	Lizzy	Creek	F	50	5175	1870	Refugee	Widow
694	Sah-say-yee	Creek	F	50	7035	2527	Refugee	Widow
695	Ki e tee	Creek	F	26	7240	2522	Refugee	Spinster
696	Ah-tu et chee	Creek	F	33	5525	1980	Refugee	Spinster
697	Thlee sah ho he	Creek	F	36	3075	1100	Refugee	Spinster
698	We le cot chee	Creek	F	45	5930	2127	Refugee	Widow
699	Lew roy se tee	Creek	F	30	4515	1630	Refugee	Spinster
700	Tilley	Creek	F	50	2750	1000	Refugee	Widow
701	Kin dah	Creek	F	40	4730	1612.5	Widow of Soldier	
702	Si lah	Creek	F	33	3610	1255	Widow of Soldier	
703	Lot ho gee	Creek	F	65	5084	1915.5	Refugee	Widow
704	Tim mon tel lech ta	Creek	F	70	2605	902.5	Refugee	Widow
705	Toke til li gee	Creek	F	35	8825	2872.5	Widow of Soldier	
706	Tis see hoke tee	Creek	F	60	3690	1295	Widow of Soldier	
707	Milly	Creek	F	33	4350	1550	Refugee	Spinster
708	Ma ho ye ah	Creek	F	35	5680	1985	Widow of Soldier	
709	Ah-tum me chee	Creek	F	45	4775	1627.5	Widow of Soldier	
710	Hia-tah	Creek	F	22	3058	1039	Refugee	Spinster
711	Sukey	Creek	F	36	1445	505	Refugee	Widow
712	Kis see	Creek	F	23	6445	2282.5	Refugee	Spinster
713	Ah plee	Creek	F	30	6225	2172.5	Refugee	Spinster
714	Soat ley	Creek	F	85	5100	1794	Refugee	Widow
715	Ke is tee	Creek	M	24	4200	1515	Refugee	
716	Yah ho lo chee	Creek	M	47	4050	1425	Soldier	
717	Wo at co fixeco	Creek	M	38	3375	1225	Soldier	
718	Ho tul ke fixeco	Creek	M	28	4250	1365	Soldier	
719	To by	Creek	M	28	3280	1160	Soldier	
720	Ne he chis ka harjo	Creek	M	38	3230	1229	Soldier	
721	Sim mah	Creek	F	47	1800	620	Refugee	Widow
722	Fos hah chee chee	Creek	M	30	7250	2530	Soldier	
723	Soh kih nah ta	Creek	F	41	2560	949	Widow of Soldier	
724	Wox e harjo (Fish Pond)	Creek	M	45	3650	1270	Soldier	
725	Foak loat ka	Creek	F	47	1830	650	Widow of Soldier	
726	Ah-ha-lock yo hola	Creek	M	43	4300	1580	Soldier	
727	Tah noats ho e	Creek	F	60	3900	1360	Refugee	Widow
728	Cho-fo-lup yo hola	Creek	M	50	3290	1221	Refugee	
729	Oak cha e yohola	Creek	M	59	5200	1825	Refugee	Widow

730	Ah wah kih cha	Creek	F	50	3750	840	Widow of Soldier	
731	Yah hi kee	Creek	M	33	3280	1160	Soldier	
732	Cot chi ohola	Creek	M	50	3050	1055	Soldier	
733	Co as shut te marthla	Creek	M	45	1975	760	Soldier	
734	Fix o meet chee	Creek	M	45	2600	925	Soldier	
735	Cot sah fixeco	Creek	M	36	2630	925	Soldier	
736	Emarthlachupco	Creek	M	35	2300	825	Soldier	
737	Tom my ohola	Creek	M	43	3275	1217.5	Soldier	
738	Miss tah	Creek	F	35	5320	1895	Widow of Soldier	
739	Wellup ho chee	Creek	F	50	7280	2425	Widow of Soldier	
740	Sah hi yee	Creek	F	33	2340	870	Widow of Soldier	
741	Cha hal ho kee	Creek	F	45	4088	1434	Widow of Soldier	
742	Sim ah pe yah kee	Creek	F	65	2380	840	Refugee	Widow
743	See li nee	Creek	F	33	2352	846	Widow of Soldier	
744	Tat see pee	Creek	F	65	2270	815	Refugee	Widow
745	Ne hi ohola	Creek	M	33	4170	1495	Soldier	
746	Fech tchar	Creek	F	60	3570	1295	Refugee	Widow
747	See me hee	Creek	F	55	1405	360	Widow of Soldier	
748	Lucy	Creek	F	38	2020	740	Widow of Soldier	
749	Ful kee nah	Creek	F	36	2920	1087.5	Widow of Soldier	
750	Mar thlee	Creek	F	35	6580	2355	Widow of Soldier	
751	Jin nie	Creek	F	33	1080	374	Widow of Soldier	
752	So ke yo kee	Creek	F	35	2340	856	Widow of Soldier	
753	I yum kah	Creek	F	22	2265	786	Refugee	Spinster
754	Lou i nee	Creek	F	48	425	169	Widow of Soldier	
755	Chi e see	Creek	M	24	3070	1108	Refugee	Widow
756	Micco mippa	Creek	M	50	3820	1367	Soldier	
757	Too see	Creek	M	46	3485	1314	Soldier	
758	Tus se ke ah micco	Creek	M	70	11886	4070.5	Refugee	
759	Shah a nok harjo	Creek	M	25	4060	1410	Refugee	
760	Hul dah	Creek	F	35	5775	2175	Widow of Soldier	
761	Ti e nah	Creek	F	55	3590	1275	Refugee	Widow
762	Ics kah nee	Creek	F	65	2985	1010	Refugee	Widow
763	Sa wah	Creek	F	60	5280	1945	Refugee	Widow
764	Wes lee	Creek	F	30	4360	1590	Widow of Soldier	
765	Tah hi kee	Creek	F	43	855	315	Refugee	Widow

766	Ke ni ah	Creek	F	26	2000	670	Refugee	Spinster
767	Mi ney	Creek	F	28	3330	1140	Refugee	Spinster
768	Loas kah	Creek	F	30	265	105	Widow of Soldier	
769	Mariah	Creek	F	31	1100	365	Refugee	(now wife of Tyler)
770	Chees kah	Creek	F	32	3550	1160	Refugee	Widow
771	Eliza "La-zer"	Creek	F	27	650	260	Refugee	Widow
772	Nuf fy	Creek	F	41	935	339	Refugee	Widow
773	Ke nah tah	Creek	F	38	1155	407.5	Refugee	Widow
774	Yulth kah	Creek	F	39	1250	470	Widow of Soldier	
775	Mee sect ho hee	Creek	F	41	1450	550	Refugee	Widow
776	No ats ho hee	Creek	F	28	1250	480	Refugee	Spinster
777	Loas kah	Creek	F	33	1220	440	Refugee	(now married)
778	Me lin da	Creek	F	27	13820	4968	Refugee	Spinster
779	Too chee	Creek	F	29	2550	940	Refugee	Spinster
780	Te po af	Creek	F	26	1950	730	Refugee	Spinster
781	Sha tah pe hee	Creek	F	32	3100	1050	Refugee	Spinster
782	Wan ho kee	Creek	F	30	2450	850	Refugee	Widow
783	Che toh kee	Creek	F	34	1120	390	Widow of Soldier	
784	Nah se tah	Creek	F	85	915	340	Refugee	Widow
785	Thla sa ho ee	Creek	F	53	910	325	Widow of Soldier	
786	Betsey	Creek	F	37	1805	620	Refugee	Widow
787	Polly	Creek	F	36	470	184	Refugee	Widow
788	Cow ah po ky	Creek	F	45	9950	3675	Refugee	Widow
789	She mun nee	Creek	F	38	3145	1155	Refugee	Widow
790	Shah noats ho nee	Creek	F	25	4335	1572.5	Refugee	Spinster
791	Seel wah	Creek	F	33	5930	2070	Refugee	Spinster
792	Si lee	Creek	F	32	6385	2315	Refugee	Spinster
793	Li lee	Creek	F	35	4440	1650	Refugee	Spinster
794	Peggy	Creek	F	38	2230	920	Widow of Soldier	
795	Nar cis see	Creek	F	25	1910	739	Refugee	Spinster
796	Pah hos fixeco	Creek	M	40	4435	2036	Refugee	
797	Mah tup e ohola	Creek	M	40	4240	1525	Refugee	
798	Ok ti ah chee micco	Creek	M	55	5863	2096.5	Refugee	
799	Thloe thlo e ohola	Creek	M	50	4935	1685	Soldier	
800	Sam Taylor	Creek	M	33	4556	1534.5	Refugee	
801	Su sey	Creek	M	30	1950	685	Soldier	
802	Ne hi ah hola	Creek	M	55	3071	1080.5	Refugee	
803	Cah bit cha harjo	Creek	M	28	2850	1022	Refugee	
804	E chee yah hola	Creek	M	23	3150	1065	Refugee	
805	Sim pah see	Creek	M	26	5440	1845	Soldier	

806	Tah bee	Creek	M	30	7485	2462.5	Soldier	
807	Tommy Micco	Creek	M	26	5502	1966.5	Refugee	
808	Ho Kee leesah	Creek	M	60	5050	1815	Soldier	
809	No cose ly harjo	Creek	M	56	3450	1255	Refugee	
810	Co wee harjo	Creek	M	25	2450	895	Refugee	
811	William	Creek	M	24	2900	975	For self & as Guardian	
812	Kee-lah	Creek	M	25	2150	750	Soldier	
813	El-sie	Creek	F	43	4450	1550	Refugee	Widow
814	Lo wi na	Creek	F	26	3350	1200	Refugee	Spinster
815	Ah yo kee	Creek	F	37	2200	810	Refugee	Widow
816	Co a ty	Creek	F	33	2820	1010	Refugee	Widow
817	Why e kee	Creek	F	37	3100	1135	Refugee	Widow
818	Ne co wee	Creek	M	31	4540	1610	Soldier	
819	Lah tah micco	Creek	M	28	7000	2580	Soldier	
820	Co ah co che	Creek	M	27	2250	800	Refugee	
821	Cha chee (or George)	Creek	M	25	1550	625	Soldier	
822	Co bih cha ha chu chee	Creek	M	29	2000	730	Refugee	
823	Simon Berryhill	Creek	M	35	4100	1595	Soldier	
824	Jack Kernell	Creek	M	41	3000	1070	Soldier	
825	Micco chup co	Creek	M	38	1950	810	Soldier	
826	Cot chi yo hola	Creek	M	43	1620	605	Soldier	
827	Peter	Creek	M	35	1395	528	Soldier	
828	Cho e kah	Creek	M	43	5280	1849	Soldier	
829	Hul but e harjo	Creek	M	40	1800	775	As Administrator &c.	
830	Martha Carter	Halfbreed	F	26	265	125	Refugee	(wife of Scipio Noble, a Seminole col'd.)
831	Ah shah hin ne hah	Creek	M	35	5895	2092.5	Soldier	
832	Micco fixeco	Creek	M	25	3670	2173	Refugee	
833	Pah ho she ohola	Creek	M	26	2255	612.5	Refugee	
834	Louisa	Creek	F	45	12771	4456.5	Widow of Soldier	
835	Tah Kee	Creek	M	32	2005	727.5	Soldier	
836	Say lee	Creek	F	40	2670	910	Refugee	Widow
837	May pah	Creek	F	50	8625	2837.5	Widow of Soldier	
838	Lah nee	Creek	F	26	4040	1375	Refugee	Spinster
839	San nah gee	Creek	F	38	3227	1128.5	Refugee	Widow
840	Sah pah kah	Creek	F	33	6529	2285.5	Widow of Soldier	
841	Lucy	Creek	F	40	4220	1523	Widow of Soldier	
842	Sul wee	Creek	F	27	4570	1548	Refugee	Spinster

843	Nan cee	Creek	F	33	4000	1375	Refugee	(now wife of Pin nee smarthla)
844	I kee	Creek	F	33	4385	1495.5	Refugee	(now wife of No cos fix ico)
845	Sal lee gah	Creek	F	36	5430	1890	Widow of Soldier	
846	Mee sah ho kee	Creek	F	50	4960	1750	Widow of Soldier	
847	An e tee	Creek	F	25	4350	1500	Refugee	Spinster
848	Chee mah e yah	Creek	F	50	2443	851.5	Refugee	Spinster
849	Rose Bruner	Freed.	F	40	1550	750	Refugee	Widow
850	To lung gee	Creek	F	35	3090	1183	Widow of Soldier	
851	Pah ho e mar thla	Creek	M	33	5236	1773	Soldier	
852	Con bih che fixeco	Creek	M	35	4685	1617.5	Soldier	
853	Ne ah thloc e mar thla	Creek	M	28	2955	1002.5	Refugee	
854	Tecumseh Bruner	Freed.	M	40	5063	2203.5	Refugee	
855	Lucy Bowlegs	Freed.	F	40	822	90	Refugee	Widow
856	Cot cho ho mar te	Creek	M	40	3220	1100	As Administrator &c.	
857	Fixeco (Arbeka)	Creek	M	46	1900	700	As Administrator &c.	
858	E fer e mar thla	Creek	M	35	1505	550	As Administrator &c.	
859	E fer e mar thla	Creek	M	35	925	320	As Administrator &c.	
860	Sah wah no kee	Creek	M	45	6050	2100	As Administrator &c.	
861	Tus te nug chup co	Creek	M	38	3545	1279	As Administrator &c.	
862	Cah bih chu chee	Creek	M	33	955	355	As Administrator &c.	
863	Tah ho ee	Creek	F	48	2750	1020	Refugee	Widow
864	Co ahs tee	Creek	F	36	1350	505	Refugee	Widow
865	Tus te ho kee	Creek	F	30	1775	640	Refugee	Widow
866	Scipio Barnett	Freed.	M	50	1145	485	As Administrator &c.	
867	Micco harjo	Creek	M	34	2320	810	Refugee	
868	Wah ty	Creek	F	35	3800	1160	Refugee	Widow
869	Pah hos harjo	Creek	M	31	3250	1190	Soldier	
870	Lo cha	Creek	F	29	1960	655	Refugee	Widow
871	Hah kee	Creek	F	53	3300	1150	Refugee	Widow
872	clow e chee	Creek	F	42	3295	1145	Refugee	Widow
873	Sah ne kih ke	Creek	M	33	2950	1025	Soldier	

874	Clis ah wayh ke	Creek	M	25	3990	1406	Soldier	
875	Su Key	Creek	F	27	2450	850	Refugee	Widow
876	Bet sey	Creek	F	30	3220	1135	Refugee	Widow
877	Tim mah ni e che	Creek	F	44	3250	1125	Refugee	Widow
878	Frank	Creek	M	26	5050	1740	Soldier	
879	Eu puck li ta gee	Creek	F	52	2785	965	Refugee	
880	Micco hutky	Creek	M	45	2625	930	As Administrator &c.	
881	Micco hutky	Creek	M	45	3500	1295	As Administrator &c.	
882	Eu fal ah fixeco	Creek	M	35	8970	3135	Soldier	
883	Tal ma chus micco	Creek	M	55	8205	2837.5	Refugee	
884	Tah co che harjo	Creek	M	35	6185	2177.5	Soldier	
885	Ho tul ke thlocco	Creek	M	60	7720	2750	Refugee	
886	Co chus micco	Creek	M	50	5242	1851	Refugee	
887	He lah be ne ah thlocco	Creek	M	40	5345	1891.5	Soldier	
888	Hah lock he guchee	Creek	M	35	5230	1815	Soldier	
889	Tul nah harjo	Creek	M	33	7850	2730	Refugee	
890	Cah chu chee harjo	Creek	M	30	4660	1609	Refugee	
891	Cot cha fixeco	Creek	M	26	8295	2922.5	Refugee	
892	Taas keeg harjo	Creek	M	25	5190	1814	Refugee	
893	Fos hut che ohola	Creek	M	26	4380	1535	Refugee	
894	Tul mah see	Creek	M	24	2800	1025	Refugee	
895	Tchar klee	Creek	M	30	2345	820	Soldier	
896	Is par hi kee	Creek	M	32	5685	2052.5	Soldier	
897	Kah ho yee	Creek	F	65	5930	2092.5	Refugee	Widow
898	Ah be ki ah hola	Creek	M	26	5375	1947.5	Refugee	
899	Hee bah	Creek	M	28	2360	840	Soldier	
900	Mut tu cher	Creek	F	43	7005	2465	Widow of Soldier	
901	Timothy Barnett	Creek	M	40	8970	3148	As Administrator &c.	
902	Timothy Barnett	Creek	M	40	3350	1205	As Administrator &c.	
903	Lucy (Okfusky)	Creek	F	33	7100	2505	Widow of Soldier	
904	Kim haar	Creek	F	35	5095	1771	Refugee	Widow of soldier
905	Ahs la tee gee	Creek	F	34	5025	1755	Refugee	Widow of soldier
906	Sukey	Creek	F	69	690	265	Refugee	Widow of soldier
907	Sim mah lah che	Creek	M	30	2300	795	Soldier	
908	Wi-ley	Creek	M	26	2850	965	Soldier	

909	Ho yah e chee	Creek	F	26	3500	1255	Refugee	Spinster
910	Hich ho yah	Creek	F	55	3025	1085	Refugee	Widow
911	Ho yum ho e	Creek	F	70	1100	390	Refugee	Widow
912	Mee ley	Creek	F	29	1950	700	Refugee	Spinster
913	Sah que e kah	Creek	F	30	2660	1029	Refugee	Spinster
914	Yee fee	Creek	F	28	2150	745	Refugee	Spinster
915	Eliza (a Greenleaf)	Creek	F	31	7165	2426	Refugee	Spinster
916	Pit ty (ditto--a Greenleaf)	Creek	F	28	4550	1590	Widow of Soldier	
917	Cho yo hola	Creek	M	60	2080	742	Refugee	
918	Wo at ko yohola	Creek	M	32	2085	775	Soldier	
919	Mun ah tee che	Creek	F	48	2800	1000	Refugee	Widow
920	Tum e mah to che	Creek	M	27	825	325	Soldier	
921	Sunley	Creek	M	26	2650	925	Soldier	
922	Oak chum fixeco	Creek	M	34	1850	630	Soldier	
923	Paro Bruner	Freed.	M	38	1070	437	Refugee	
924	Chin-nah	Creek	F	22	6030	2155	Refugee	(now wife of Lochofixeco)
925	Suk kin nah	Creek	F	33	6280	2157.5	Widow of Soldier	
926	Hull kee	Creek	F	40	1845	682.5	Refugee	Widow of Soldier
927	Sal Lee	Creek	F	50	6610	2280	Refugee	Widow of Soldier
928	Mun nah chi kee	Creek	F	50	7370	2522.5	Refugee	Widow
929	Mis tul lee	Creek	F	40	7250	2465	Widow of Soldier	
930	Lee zee	Creek	F	25	5420	1910	Refugee	Spinster
931	Cot chu chee	Creek	M	45	7330	2610	As Administrator &c.	
932	Cot chu chee	Creek	M	45	2880	1025	As Administrator &c.	
933	Cot chu chee	Creek	M	45	2840	1050	As Administrator &c.	
934	Yah tah wa harjo	Creek	M	49	1300	460	As Administrator &c.	
935	Yah tah wa harjo	Creek	M	49	2115	740	As Administrator &c.	
936	Yah tah wa harjo	Creek	M	49	1275	470	As Administrator &c.	
937	Spoke oak harjo	Creek	M	46	2000	705	As Administrator &c.	
938	Spoke oak harjo	Creek	M	46	1780	660	As Administrator &c.	
939	Echu e ka	Creek	M	50	4500	1578	As Administrator &c.	

940	Echu e ka	Creek	M	50	1495	550	As Administrator &c.	
941	Nero (Tulsey L.R.)	Creek	M	36	2375	842.5	As Administrator &c.	
942	Ah che o hola	Creek	M	40	825	280	As Administrator &c.	
943	Yah ho lah	Creek	M	33	17250	5880	As Administrator &c.	
944	Yah ho lah	Creek	M	33	950	350	As Administrator &c.	
945	Ne ha ha cho chee	Creek	M	35	2750	975	As Administrator &c.	
946	Ne ha ha cho chee	Creek	M	35	3250	1110	As Administrator &c.	
947	Ne ha ha cho chee	Creek	M	35	1850	630	As Administrator &c.	
948	Jack (Uchee)	Creek	M	28	8330	2900	As Administrator &c.	
949	Cah pit che harjo	Creek	M	33	980	360	As Administrator &c.	
950	Molly (Beaver)	Creek	F	30	580	213	Refugee	Widow
951	Ni cey	Creek	F	30	880	332.5	Refugee	Widow
952	Yah to a harjo	Creek	M	31	3300	1085	Soldier	
953	Eu thli e kee	Creek	F	42	1890	670	Widow of Soldier	
954	Tum e mar thla	Creek	M	40	13810	4844	Refugee	
955	Pin fixeco	Creek	M	36	1750	680	As Administrator &c.	
956	Pin fixeco	Creek	M	36	2200	825	As Administrator &c.	
957	Tus ta nug chup co	Creek	M	38	4925	1735	As Administrator &c.	
958	Tus ta nug chup co	Creek	M	38	2560	935	As Administrator &c.	
959	Hul but e harjo	Creek	M	40	2550	885	As Administrator &c.	
960	Fixeco (Pin)	Creek	M	36	2120	760	As Administrator &c.	
961	Efer e mar thla	Creek	M	35	2640	930	As Administrator &c.	
962	Efer e mar thla	Creek	M	35	1475	510	As Administrator &c.	

963	Tul loaf harjo	Creek	M	36	1550	560	As Administrator &c.	
964	Tul loaf harjo	Creek	M	36	3350	1210	As Administrator &c.	
965	Fus hut cho yohola	Creek	M	40	4050	1410	As Administrator &c.	
966	Scipio Barnett	Free Col'd.	M	57	12132	4249	Refugee	
967	Ah tus ho pah ye	Creek	M	60	4800	1710	Refugee	
968	Ah-ha lock harjo	Creek	M	28	5850	2225	Soldier	
969	Co nip e mar thla	Creek	M	48	2700	1015	Soldier	
970	Lah tah harjo	Creek	M	39	3400	1260	Soldier	
971	Co nip harjo	Creek	M	42	1350	505	Soldier	
972	Tul sim yohola	Creek	M	28	9100	3220	Soldier	
973	Fos harjo	Creek	M	26	2550	950	Refugee	
974	Pah ho se mar thla	Creek	M	40	2150	840	Soldier	
975	Wo at co fixeco	Creek	M	35	3150	1155	As Administrator &c.	
976	Co chus fixeco	Creek	M	54	4350	1555	Refugee	
977	Ho tul ke ohola	Creek	M	26	1350	510	Refugee	
978	Cho lah fixeco	Creek	M	34	1925	710	Soldier	
979	Cho micco	Creek	M	26	1125	440	Soldier	
980	Tul ma chus fixeco	Creek	M	27	1450	555	Refugee	
981	Ah ha lock fixeco	Creek	M	37	1670	610	Soldier	
982	Ho ke lissah	Creek	M	40	1050	405	As Administrator &c.	
983	Les lie	Creek	F	29	2370	895	Refugee	Widow
984	Ah tus le ho mar te	Creek	M	28	3300	1225	Soldier	
985	Te cum she	Creek	M	28	720	290	Soldier	
986	Fah harjo	Creek	M	33	2230	790	Soldier	
987	Cah bit cha harjo	Creek	M	48	4570	1645	Soldier	
988	Pin harjo	Creek	M	50	3175	1198.5	Soldier	
989	Cher loke kee ohola	Creek	M	55	4740	1800	Soldier	
990	Thle chum me harjo	Creek	M	55	7930	2830	Refugee	
991	Lit tiff harjo	Creek	M	35	2610	975	Soldier	
992	Tus se ki ah hut kee	Creek	M	46	7180	2620	Soldier	(Chief of Town)
993	Co nup e ohola	Creek	M	38	3730	1427	Soldier	
994	Pee ho yee	Creek	F	45	3320	1160	Widow of Soldier	
995	Foke lo ti gee	Creek	F	35	2395	871	Widow of Soldier	
996	Fix ee	Creek	F	70	5225	1943.5	Refugee	Widow
997	Full Kah	Creek	F	45	1990	705	Refugee	Widow

998	Wa at tee	Creek	F	48	2645	1028.5	Refugee	Widow
999	Jin nee (Weogoffkee)	Creek	F	38	1720	590	Refugee	Widow
1000	Su zee	Creek	F	35	2630	944	Refugee	Widow
1001	A man dee	Creek	F	30	1800	690	Refugee	Widow
1002	Ho yet chee	Creek	F	33	2705	1009	Widow of Soldier	
1003	Hut chu nuppa	Creek	M	38	1960	720	As Administrator &c.	
1004	Tuk har kee	Creek	F	30	4935	1825.5	Refugee	Spinster
1005	Hi yet kah	Creek	F	30	4485	1566.5	Refugee	Spinster
1006	Louisa	Creek	F	45	5090	1872.5	Refugee	Widow
1007	No cos e lut chee	Creek	M	55	775	266.5	As Administrator &c.	
1008	No cos e lut chee	Creek	M	55	775	266.5	As Administrator &c.	
1009	Loo san nee	Creek	F	65	5820	2150	Refugee	Widow
1010	George Sullivan	Halfbreed	M	28	2100	850	Soldier	
1011	Warren Buckus	Freed.	M	33	250	108	Refugee	
1012	Fus hut cho yohola	Creek	M	26	2150	750	As Administrator &c.	
1013	Oak chum e mar thla	Creek	M	46	3900	1380	As Administrator &c.	
1014	Fos harjo	Creek	M	36	4100	1400	As Administrator &c.	
1015	Co was at fixeco	Creek	M	35	3400	1260	As Administrator &c.	
1016	Co was at fixeco	Creek	M	35	3350	1175	As Administrator &c.	
1017	Co no harjo	Creek	M	48	2550	910	As Administrator &c.	
1018	Co no harjo	Creek	M	48	2950	1075	As Administrator &c.	
1019	Echo yo hola	Creek	M	33	2250	795	As Administrator &c.	
1020	Fos harjo	Creek	M	36	1950	700	As Administrator &c.	
1021	Sim me hah ye	Creek	F	63	6780	2440	Widow of Soldier	
1022	Tah hoke ni eche	Creek	F	64	1650	560	Refugee	Widow
1023	Jack Kernell	Creek	M	32	3000	1180	As Administrator &c.	
1024	Charles Hutky	Creek	M	40	3300	1200	As Administrator &c.	

1025	Hul but e harjo	Creek	M	32	6350	2355	Soldier	
1026	Wah dy	Creek	M	25	3300	1200	Soldier	
1027	Se mow wak ke e ke	Creek	M	26	2050	750	Soldier	
1028	Con chart harjo	Creek	M	43	2050	765	Soldier	
1029	Oak chum harjo	Creek	M	26	2835	1114	Soldier	
1030	Emar thla harjo	Creek	M	35	4085	1424	Soldier	
1031	Ho pah a che	Creek	M	30	2150	810	Refugee	
1032	No cose yo hola	Creek	M	31	3200	1220	Soldier	
1033	Oak chum e mar thla	Creek	M	24	2250	860	Refugee	
1034	O such e ohola	Creek	M	65	8450	2995	Refugee	
1035	Mah ye	Creek	F	32	2200	800	Widow of Soldier	
1036	Sim mah me	Creek	F	54	1405	495	Refugee	Widow
1037	Fanny	Creek	F	58	2650	935	Widow of Soldier	
1038	Betsey	Creek	F	29	4350	1430	Refugee	Widow
1039	Sukey	Creek	F	24	1600	590	Refugee	Spinster
1040	Co nah he	Creek	F	19	1450	520	Refugee	Spinster
1041	Ho mah hi e te	Creek	F	32	1350	490	Widow of Soldier	
1042	Betsey	Creek	F	27	3140	1000	Refugee	Widow
1043	Lo si	Creek	F	45	1900	705	Widow of Soldier	
1044	Tul wa fixeco	Creek	M	36	1900	770	As Administrator &c.	
1045	Tuckabatchie yah hola	Creek	M	38	2060	740	As Administrator &c.	
1046	Jack Kernell	Creek	M	32	1200	455	As Administrator &c.	
1047	Lo chee harjo	Creek	M	38	8000	2810	As Administrator &c.	
1048	Lo chee harjo	Creek	M	38	7535	2681	As Administrator &c.	
1049	Co nip harjo	Creek	M	42	4115	1742.5	As Administrator &c.	
1050	Co nip harjo	Creek	M	42	3465	1307.5	As Administrator &c.	
1051	Co nip harjo	Creek	M	42	4150	1400	As Administrator &c.	
1052	Ne ah harjo	Creek	M	45	3040	1210	As Administrator &c.	
1053	Ne ah harjo	Creek	M	45	7100	2500	As Administrator &c.	

1054	See ba	Creek	M	32	4975	1757.5	As Administrator &c.	
1055	See ba	Creek	M	32	3390	1235	As Administrator &c.	
1056	Ho pul him ne ah	Creek	M	32	3070	1170	As Administrator &c.	
1057	O such e ohola	Creek	M	65	2480	882.5	As Administrator &c.	
1058	O such e ohola	Creek	M	65	2495	900	As Administrator &c.	
1059	Fos hut che micco	Creek	M	35	3145	1162.5	As Administrator &c.	
1060	Fos hut che micco	Creek	M	35	5665	2015	As Administrator &c.	
1061	Ah tus fixeco	Creek	M	40	2190	775	As Administrator &c.	
1062	Ah tus fixeco	Creek	M	40	3110	1105	As Administrator &c.	
1063	Con chart e micco	Creek	M	40	2845	997.5	As Administrator &c.	
1064	Con chart e micco	Creek	M	40	2210	770	As Administrator &c.	
1065	Cho fok ka nah	Creek	M	38	2700	940	As Administrator &c.	
1066	Cho fok ka nah	Creek	M	38	2780	946	As Administrator &c.	
1067	Ho poelth harjo	Creek	M	40	4920	0	As Administrator &c.	No award
1068	Pah ho fixeco	Creek	M	40	1870	660	As Administrator &c.	
1069	Pah ho fixeco	Creek	M	40	2220	515	As Administrator &c.	
1070	Ho tul ke harjo	Creek	M	28	2775	0	As Administrator &c.	No award
1071	Ho tul ke harjo	Creek	M	28	5015	1789	As Administrator &c.	
1072	Thle chum me harjo	Creek	M	55	4965	1732.5	As Administrator &c.	
1073	Thle chum me harjo	Creek	M	55	2230	800	As Administrator &c.	

1074	Hin nee ho chee	Creek	M	28	1860	670	As Administrator &c.	
1075	Sock ho ta e ke	Creek	F	40	1690	600	Refugee	Widow
1076	Becky	Creek	F	46	5700	1925	Refugee	Widow
1077	Mar ge	Creek	F	32	2050	730	Refugee	Widow
1078	Lah tah harjo	Creek	M	49	3550	1275	As Administrator &c.	
1079	Con chart harjo	Creek	M	38	1850	830	As Administrator &c.	
1080	Co nip e mar thla	Creek	M	45	2400	880	As Administrator &c.	
1081	Co nip e mar thla	Creek	M	45	1890	680	As Administrator &c.	
1082	Ah tus ho pah e	Creek	M	40	2250	810	As Administrator &c.	
1083	Ah tus ho pah e	Creek	M	40	2100	750	As Administrator &c.	
1084	Emar thla harjo	Creek	M	35	3480	1260	As Administrator &c.	
1085	No cose yo hola	Creek	M	31	5200	1870	As Administrator &c.	
1086	Pah ho se mar thla	Creek	M	40	2115	786	As Administrator &c.	
1087	Pah ho se mar thla	Creek	M	40	1200	460	As Administrator &c.	
1088	Ah tus hin ne ha	Creek	M	35	2450	875	As Administrator &c.	
1089	Pah ho se mar thla	Creek	M	40	5700	1960	As Administrator &c.	
1090	Nin ne chup ah harjo	Creek	M	35	1705	630	As Administrator &c.	
1091	Ne hi yohola	Creek	M	40	3110	1080	As Administrator &c.	
1092	Cow pitch e fixeco	Creek	M	27	4350	1525	As Administrator &c.	
1093	Tul lup harjo	Creek	M	40	6790	2375	As Administrator &c.	
1094	Sam Taylor	Creek	M	40	2500	875	As Administrator &c.	
1095	Sam Taylor	Creek	M	40	2080	720	As Administrator &c.	

1096	Ok ti ah chee micco	Creek	M	45	6620	2365	As Administrator &c.
1097	Ok ti ah chee micco	Creek	M	45	7500	2648	As Administrator &c.
1098	Thla thlo yohola	Creek	M	40	4990	1740	As Administrator &c.
1099	Thla thlo yohola	Creek	M	40	4890	1710	As Administrator &c.
1100	Mah tup e ohola	Creek	M	40	3440	1225	As Administrator &c.
1101	Mah tup e ohola	Creek	M	40	4150	1445	As Administrator &c.
1102	Tee wy	Creek	M	25	6800	2410	Refugee
1103	Con chart e micco	Creek	M	40	2445	842.5	As Administrator &c.
1104	Louisa Benson	Halfbreed	F	35	1845	755	As Administrator &c.
1105	Tal wa fixeco	Creek	M	36	785	290	As Administrator &c.
1106	Tuckabatchie yah hola	Creek	M	38	2325	815	As Administrator &c.
1107	Wa ka low	Creek	M	45	930	350	As Administrator &c.
1108	Cho quar te fixeco	Creek	M	36	2010	730	As Administrator &c.
1109	Cho quar te fixeco	Creek	M	36	3280	1145	As Administrator &c.
1110	Thloc lo harjo chee	Creek	M	30	7750	3285	Soldier
1111	Thloc lo harjo chee	Creek	M	30	857	312.5	As Administrator &c.
1112	Thloc lo harjo chee	Creek	M	30	5190	1835	As Administrator &c.
1113	Tul ma chus e micco	Creek	M	55	5880	2075	As Administrator &c.
1114	Tul ma chus e micco	Creek	M	55	6900	2410	As Administrator &c.
1115	Co a chus micco	Creek	M	42	4625	1652.5	As Administrator &c.
1116	Ho tul ke thlocco	Creek	M	58	5350	1880	As Administrator &c.

1117	Cot chu che harjo	Creek	M	30	4915	1742.5	As Administrator &c.	
1118	Too see	Creek	M	40	1525	514	As Administrator &c.	
1119	Wah tu lah	Creek	M	35	2610	969	Refugee	
1120	Micco harjo	Creek	M	45	1750	650	As Administrator &c.	
1121	Ah ke tin yohola	Creek	M	40	2100	760	As Administrator &c.	
1122	Ah ke tin yohola	Creek	M	40	2650	925	As Administrator &c.	
1123	Up nee	Creek	M	27	4450	1475	Soldier	
1124	Sit co lah ke	Creek	F	45	2200	800	Refugee	Widow
1125	Tul ma chus fixeco	Creek	M	27	1300	465	As Administrator &c.	
1126	Tul ma chus fixeco	Creek	M	27	1080	400	As Administrator &c.	
1127	Yah ho lo chee	Creek	M	33	1550	555	As Administrator &c.	
1128	Oak chi yah hola	Creek	M	40	1550	580	As Administrator &c.	
1129	Jefferson (2nd)	Creek	M	29	2200	800	Soldier	
1130	Ah ah te harjo	Creek	M	40	2355	841	As Administrator &c.	
1131	Ah thlan harjo	Creek	M	40	2500	915	As Administrator &c.	
1132	Hul but e harjo	Creek	M	32	3100	1100	As Administrator &c.	
1133	Co os at fixeco	Creek	M	35	1100	410	As Administrator &c.	
1134	Pah hose yo hola	Creek	M	40	2050	730	As Administrator &c.	
1135	Ah wah tak lik ka	Creek	M	41	2308	804	Soldier	
1136	Pas co gee chee	Creek	M	35	980	360	Soldier	
1137	George Hickory	Creek	M	30	5620	2023	Soldier	
1138	Tah ho pee	Creek	F	65	3275	1172	Refugee	Widow
1139	Tah co sah harjo	Creek	M	30	7550	2705	Soldier	
1140	Nin ne chup pa harjo	Creek	M	35	3500	1372.5	Soldier	
1141	Ah be que che micco	Creek	M	35	9600	3440	Soldier	
1142	Thlee wah thlee a harjo	Creek	M	30	3800	1405	Soldier	
1143	Ho chee harjo	Creek	M	45	5300	1800	Soldier	

1144	Becky Hope	Free Col'd.	F	35	1600	545	Refugee	Widow
1145	O-kee-shee	Creek	F	40	9025	3122.5	Refugee	Widow
1146	O fo lee chee	Creek	F	65	3480	1200	Refugee	Widow
1147	Ah po pee	Creek	F	50	2000	700	Widow of Soldier	
1148	O tow e seet	Creek	F	45	2900	1000	Widow of Soldier	
1149	Jenny	Creek	F	25	3050	1069	Refugee	Spinster
1150	Fanny Hope	Halfbreed	F	70	12705	4517	Refugee	Widow
1151	Sallee (Greenleaf Town)	Creek	F	50	545	195	Widow of Soldier	
1152	Ho thlee hi yee	Creek	F	30	2200	810	Widow of Soldier	
1153	Wo at co harjo	Creek	M	23	2555	850	Refugee	
1154	Sam mee	Creek	M	30	13775	4825	Refugee	
1155	No co se mar thla	Creek	M	31	6600	2380	Soldier	
1156	Cow pitch e fixeco	Creek	M	27	11150	4170	Refugee	
1157	Cho e le harjo	Creek	M	38	1750	640	Soldier	
1158	Wox e me co che	Creek	M	28	12250	4425	Soldier	
1159	Is bul kee	Creek	F	40	4200	1450	Widow of Soldier	
1160	Sil-by	Creek	F	28	14450	5120	Refugee	Spinster
1161	Cho was tah e fixeco	Creek	M	39	3550	1260	Refugee	
1162	Ah ha lock harjo	Creek	M	44	7570	2680	Refugee	
1163	Sop sy	Creek	F	38	5550	2020	Refugee	Widow
1164	Ah che o hola	Creek	M	48	10000	3775	Soldier	
1165	To puth la harkee	Creek	F	44	1870	640	Refugee	Widow
1166	Dave Gilliard	Halfbreed	M	54	5210	1870	Soldier	
1167	Milly (Topaffka)	Creek	F	24	5800	2100	Refugee	Spinster
1168	Susaw (Tuwathlocco)	Creek	F	37	4800	1650	Widow of Soldier	
1169	Nah poatch e fixeco	Creek	M	28	13350	4820	Soldier	
1170	Pee eke y [Peggy]	Creek	F	25	6600	2410	Refugee	Spinster
1171	Stepney	Halfbreed	M	23	11200	3910	Refugee	
1172	Sutam McGilvray	Freed.	M	65	2560	960	Refugee	
1173	Colly Man yack	Halfbreed	M	70	5600	2165	Refugee	
1174	Thomas Adams	Halfbreed	M	33	13600	4919	Refugee	
1175	Scilla	Freed.	F	50	1270	470	Widow of Soldier	
1176	Mary Grayson	Freed.	F	60	2190	790	Refugee	Widow
1177	Sally (Tommy harjo)	Creek	F	46	5250	1740	Widow of Soldier	
1178	Sally (of Charlie)	Creek	F	34	2590	1010	Refugee	Widow
1179	Se o thli e ke	Creek	F	41	7050	2405	Refugee	Widow
1180	Lit tif harjo	Creek	M	36	7650	2725	Soldier	
1181	Arth tum ka	Creek	M	33	10200	3460	Soldier	
1182	Nelly Hope	Free Col'd.	F	40	2180	765	Refugee	Widow

1183	Martha Porter	Halfbreed	F	35	2750	1002.5	Refugee	Widow
1184	John Grayson	Free Col'd.	M	56	3975	1557.5	Refugee	
1185	Matilda Grayson	Halfbreed	F	60	10500	3705	Refugee	Widow
1186	Shawnee Collins	Halfbreed	M	50	2090	855	Refugee	
1187	Martha Grayson	Halfbreed	F	45	6725	2340	Refugee	Widow
1188	An nie (Hillaby)	Halfbreed	F	26	1020	373	Refugee	Spinster
1189	Billy Lumpkin	Creek	M	35	1360	540	Soldier	
1190	Melinda Grayson	Halfbreed	F	45	705	285	Refugee	Widow
1191	Tot ka bi hee	Creek	M	40	4345	1633	Soldier	
1192	Lucindee	Creek	F	75	1195	455	Refugee	Widow
1193	So fa lo te	Creek	F	60	4505	1755	Refugee	Widow
1194	Co la mee harjo	Creek	M	40	1255	458	Soldier	
1195	Milly (Hickory Town)	Creek	F	20	1355	542	Refugee	Spinster
1196	Lem Grayson	Freed.	M	30	895	435	Refugee	
1197	Simpson Grayson	Creek	M	33	8930	3235	Refugee	
1198	Wei sey	Creek	F	60	1040	365	Widow of Soldier	
1199	La die	Creek	F	20	870	320	Refugee	Spinster
1200	Tie e tah kee	Creek	M	33	905	340	Soldier	
1201	Sah lete kah	Creek	M	30	675	280	Soldier	
1202	No cose harjo	Creek	M	30	740	295	Soldier	
1203	Thla sah ho ee	Creek	F	60	955	322.5	Refugee	Widow
1204	Se pe chih pe	Creek	M	65	855	330	Refugee	
1205	Thomas Carr	Halfbreed	M	27	1300	465	Refugee	
1206	Tal wa micco	Creek	M	46	3250	1150	Refugee	
1207	John Francis	Halfbreed	M	31	3150	1220	Soldier	
1208	Dickson Gray	Halfbreed	M	29	3750	1400	Soldier	
1209	Cho was tah e micco	Creek	M	45	2450	940	Refugee	
1210	Ah thus se mar thla	Creek	M	48	1435	555	Soldier	[Blind]
1211	Co se tah	Creek	M	30	1725	660	Soldier	
1212	To co thle	Creek	M	26	860	345	Soldier	
1213	Ah tus hin ne hah	Creek	M	50	1010	415	Soldier	
1214	E cho fixeco	Creek	M	68	1100	410	Soldier	
1215	Ah ha lock harjo	Creek	M	27	678	328	Refugee	
1216	Sallie	Creek	F	22	2810	630	Refugee	Spinster
1217	Tin kah ke	Creek	F	34	1915	694.5	Refugee	Spinster
1218	Ah ha lup te o hola	Creek	M	40	2025	775	Soldier	
1219	Amy McGilvray	Creek	F	33	5350	1830	Widow of Soldier	
1220	Mol lee	Creek	F	60	1300	500	Refugee	Widow
1221	Liza (widow of Billy)	Creek	F	45	6250	2460	Refugee	Widow
1222	Dave Man yack	Creek	M	35	1850	725	Soldier	

1223	Oh fus ku chee	Creek	M	35	1650	610	Soldier	
1224	Nicey	Creek	F	40	550	220	Widow of Soldier	
1225	Mar see	Creek	F	35	1175	467.5	Refugee	Widow of Soldier
1226	E cup e tin ne	Creek	M	30	870	336	Soldier	
1227	Ti e see	Creek	F	38	2565	980	Widow of Soldier	
1228	Bob (North Fork)	Creek	M	25	1119	486	Soldier	
1229	William Nero	Free Col'd.	M	50	12945	6200	Refugee	
1230	William Nero	Free Col'd.	M	50	5075	1765	As Administrator &c.	
1231	Sill by	Free Col'd.	F	30	3045	1105	Refugee	Widow
1232	Polly (Miller)	Creek	F	30	715	270	Widow of Soldier	
1233	Min nee hin nee	Creek	F	30	3900	1430	Refugee	Spinster
1234	Lizzy Batchee	Creek	F	38	6075	2062.5	Widow of Soldier	
1235	Sampson	Creek	M	30	3100	1125	Soldier	
1236	Martha Perryman	Creek	F	45	2215	810	Refugee	Widow
1237	Martha Childs	Creek	F	28	2675	830	Refugee	Married
1238	Hul but ah	Creek	M	33	1700	615	Soldier	(now blind)
1239	Sam my	Creek	M	28	2770	980	Soldier	
1240	Maley	Creek	F	45	2925	1040	Refugee	Spinster
1241	Si ka	Creek	F	45	900	335	Refugee	(now the wife of Cab Pitcher)
1242	Betsey	Creek	F	65	1795	672.5	Refugee	Widow
1243	Sim mah ho yee	Creek	F	32	4525	1550	Refugee	Widow
1244	Jin ney (Hillaby Town)	Creek	F	35	935	351	Widow of Soldier	
1245	Cho e lee	Creek	M	43	1700	625	Soldier	
1246	Ok lus e mar thla	Creek	M	38	2590	1025	Soldier	
1247	Lu cin da	Halfbreed	F	33	5260	1845	Refugee	Widow
1248	Milley	Creek	F	40	1275	477.5	Refugee	Widow
1249	Stephen	Creek	M	33	2825	1045	Soldier	
1250	Ah sin ye ohola	Creek	M	35	900	340	Refugee	
1251	Ah cho lee	Creek	M	35	635	236.5	Soldier	
1252	Moses Scott	Halfbreed	M	35	2415	913.5	Soldier	
1253	Jin nie (Pin Harjo)	Creek	F	30	675	252.5	Widow of Soldier	
1254	John (The chummy harjo)	Creek	M	30	1425	490	Soldier	
1255	Rose (Lah tah harjo)	Creek	F	45	3720	1165	Refugee	Widow
1256	Lit ho yah	Creek	F	55	1460	415	Refugee	Widow
1257	Sah yee	Creek	F	35	1200	390	Refugee	Widow
1258	David Berryhill	Creek	M	28	4025	1417.5	Refugee	
1259	Kizzie Scott	Creek	F	50	5735	2130	Refugee	Widow

1260	Cot chu chee harjo	Creek	M	45	6991.5	2418.5	As Administrator &c.	
1261	Eu fal ah fixeco	Creek	M	35	6137.5	2195	As Administrator &c.	
1262	Eu fal ah fixeco	Creek	M	35	7475	2580	As Administrator &c.	
1263	Ho yee (Ok fus kee Town)	Creek	M	21	6350	2180	Refugee	
1264	Tul see yah hola	Creek	M	25	8922.5	3100	Refugee	
1265	Lizzie Bruner	Creek	F	24	15800	5440	Refugee	Spinster
1266	Osuch e harjo	Creek	M	40	975	527	Refugee	
1267	George Hickory	Creek	M	30	3950	1430	As Administrator &c.	
1268	Wiley	Creek	M	45	1875	657.5	As Administrator &c.	
1269	Tah co sah harjo	Creek	M	40	10250	3575	As Administrator &c.	
1270	Nin ne chup pe harjo	Creek	M	35	2000	670	As Administrator &c.	
1271	Nin ne chup pe harjo	Creek	M	35	1475	492.5	As Administrator &c.	
1272	Wox se micco	Creek	M	40	1800	595	As Administrator &c.	
1273	Tobe McIntosh	Freed.	M	48	1510	835	Refugee	Teamster in QM Dpt
1274	David (Tul-see Canadian ?)	Creek	M	30	2160	986	Soldier	
1275	Ah bec co che micco	Creek	M	45	9750	3455	As Administrator &c.	
1276	Petu (Topaffka Town)	Creek	M	40	4050	1475	Soldier	
1277	Nan nie	Creek	F	39	6850	2380	Refugee	Widow
1278	Lah chas see	Creek	F	35	7850	2725	Refugee	Widow
1279	Jim Key	Creek	F	40	2585	906	Widow of Soldier	
1280	Tin mul gee	Creek	F	30	12150	4245	Widow of Soldier	
1281	Nancy Bruner	Creek	F	30	5700	2060	Refugee	Spinster
1282	Fie ha gee	Creek	F	55	1010	475	Widow of Soldier	
1283	Tee mah see	Creek	M	28	1195	484.5	Refugee	
1284	E why e kah	Creek	F	40	1015	432.5	Widow of Soldier	
1285	Ner vee	Creek	F	45	1017.5	435	Widow of Soldier	
1286	Mol lie (Greenleaf Town)	Creek	F	25	860	367.5	Refugee	Spinster
1287	Ah ha le mar thla	Creek	M	50	1170	445	Soldier	

1288	Louisa	Creek	F	35	2550	945	Widow of Soldier	
1289	Thompson Perryman	Creek	M	40	5094	1841	Refugee	
1290	Sar lie chee	Creek	F	40	7200	2480	Refugee	Widow
1291	Pie sey	Creek	F	40	5500	2046	Refugee	Widow
1292	Jacob (Hillaby Town)	Creek	M	35	1885	737.5	Soldier	
1293	Thle wah ha le harjo	Creek	M	38	2255	870	Soldier	
1294	Fus such ye ohola	Creek	M	40	1280	490	Soldier	
1295	Mah see	Creek	M	32	5060	1754	Soldier	
1296	Lo ney	Creek	M	40	670	245	Soldier	
1297	William Grayson	Halfbreed	M	30	7500	2640	Soldier	
1298	Miss tee lee	Creek	M	33	2650	930	Soldier	
1299	Sah lee	Creek	F	35	1975	700	Widow of Soldier	
1300	Taylor	Creek	M	30	1375	520	Soldier	
1301	Te wah hok tee	Creek	F	60	1900	645	Widow of Soldier	
1302	Mah fee	Creek	F	35	5525	1957.5	Refugee	Widow of Soldier
1303	Ka tee	Creek	F	33	1575	585	Refugee	Widow of Soldier
1304	Oh why kee	Creek	F	50	3580	1299.5	Widow of Soldier	
1305	Noth cup micco	Creek	M	40	4375	1552.5	Soldier	
1306	Susan	Creek	F	40	2535	867.5	Refugee	Widow
1307	Ah yo co chee	Creek	F	35	1035	387	Widow of Soldier	
1308	Sal lah ho kee	Creek	F	65	1660	582.5	Refugee	Widow
1309	Es tah hi yee	Creek	F	90	1800	660	Refugee	Widow
1310	Judy Grayson	Free Col'd.	F	30	830	323	Widow of Soldier	
1311	Thomas Adams	Halfbreed	M	33	1185	455	As Administrator &c.	
1312	Thomas Adams	Halfbreed	M	33	1185	455	As Administrator &c.	
1313	Moses Scott	Halfbreed	M	35	2730	1050	As Administrator &c.	
1314	Moses Scott	Halfbreed	M	35	2700	985	As Administrator &c.	
1315	Moses Scott	Halfbreed	M	35	1200	430	As Administrator &c.	
1316	Thle wah ha le harjo	Creek	M	38	1475	552.5	As Administrator &c.	
1317	Thle wah ha le harjo	Creek	M	38	1875	720	As Administrator &c.	

1318	Thle wah ha le harjo	Creek	M	38	1350	530	As Administrator &c.	
1319	Sarah Jeffray	Freed.	F	80	1075	382.5	Refugee	Widow
1320	Elizabeth J Carter	Halfbreed	F	30	940	459	Refugee	Spinster
1321	Jacob	Creek	M	40	2370	870	As Administrator &c.	
1322	Legus Perryman	Halfbreed	M	31	8125	2840	Soldier	
1323	O such e harjo	Creek	M	40	6162.5	2180	As Administrator &c.	
1324	Sanford W. Perryman	Halfbreed	M	33	6495	2133	Soldier	
1325	John W. Perryman	Halfbreed	M	30	1575	515	Soldier	
1326	Josiah Perryman	Halfbreed	M	40	2825	995	Soldier	
1327	Thomas Perryman	Halfbreed	M	30	2825	970	Soldier	
1328	Samuel Perryman	Creek	M	90	7925	2537.5	Refugee	
1329	Fus so ye ohola	Creek	M	45	3125	1100	Soldier	
1330	Co no ya ohola	Creek	M	34	3195	1078	Soldier	
1331	Sin toe hoe kee	Creek	F	45	5680	1950	Refugee	Widow
1332	Wiley Der e saw	Creek	M	35	5680	1950	Soldier	Widow
1333	Cot so fixeco	Creek	M	40	3540	1260	Soldier	
1334	Louisa Warrior	Freed.	F	45	550	262.5	Refugee	Widow
1335	Jinny	Creek	F	35	1250	407.5	Refugee	Widow
1336	Lizzy (Lochapoka)	Creek	F	38	2550	969	Widow of Soldier	
1337	Martin Wilson	Creek	M	30	1900	650	Soldier	
1338	Lewis Bruner	Creek	M	40	5460	1236.5	Soldier	
1339	Jim	Creek	M	33	1110	420	Soldier	(in Compy E)
1340	Lucy char ty	Creek	F	34	2550	860	Refugee	Widow
1341	Polly	Creek	F	50	2890	1030	Refugee	Widow
1342	Sally	Creek	F	30	5775	1352.5	Widow of Soldier	
1343	Tommy harjo	Creek	M	35	885	333	Soldier	
1344	James Fisher	Halfbreed	M	45	6575	2215	Refugee	Teamster QMD
1345	Co as shut te marthla	Creek	M	45	2925	1012.5	As Administrator &c.	
1346	Co as shut te marthla	Creek	M	45	1500	535	As Administrator &c.	
1347	Sah hue thla	Creek	F	45	1595	590	Refugee	Widow
1348	John Grace	Creek	M	40	1770	625	Soldier	
1349	Napoleon B. Childers	Halfbreed	M	30	7325	2545	Soldier	
1350	No cose fixeco	Creek	M	90	1285	511	Refugee	
1351	Marshall Kelly	Creek	M	40	2195	810	Soldier	
1352	Micco nup pah	Creek	M	50	2150	785	As Administrator &c.	

1353	Micco nup pah	Creek	M	50	2550	960	As Administrator &c.	
1354	Fix ho mitch chee	Creek	M	45	3165	170	As Administrator &c.	
1355	Fix ho mitch chee	Creek	M	45	3230	1105	As Administrator &c.	
1356	Charley Brown	Creek	M	45	6980	2390	Refugee	
1357	Fok lu tee	Creek	F	50	3750	1415	Refugee	Widow
1358	Sawney Collins	Creek	M	50	1300	480	As Administrator &c.	
1359	Sawney Collins	Creek	M	50	1430	555	As Administrator &c.	
1360	Lucy Hughes	Free Col'd.	F	80	335	130.5	Refugee	Widow
1361	No cose harjo	Creek	M	27	2345	870	Refugee	
1362	Che lok ye ohola	Creek	M	40	4575	1655	As Administrator &c.	
1363	Micco emarthla	Creek	M	33	4700	1675	As Administrator &c.	
1364	Thle chum me harjo	Creek	M	55	4772	1742	As Administrator &c.	
1364	Jacob Morey	Creek	M	30	332	121	Soldier	
1366	Pin harjo	Creek	M	50	3020	1185	As Administrator &c.	
1367	Thle chum me harjo	Creek	M	55	5020	1870.5	As Administrator &c.	
1368	Tus se ki ah hut kee	Creek	M	46	4910	1810	As Administrator &c.	
1369	Tus se ki ah hut kee	Creek	M	46	3066	1153	As Administrator &c.	
1370	Isaac Smith	Freed.	M	30	185	115	Soldier	
1371	Peggy	Creek	F	35	2875	1005	Refugee	(now married)
1372	Absalom Kernell	Creek	M	40	6050	2275	Soldier	
1373	Pansy Collins	Creek	F	55	5945	3190	Widow of Soldier	
1374	John Yarger	Creek	M	45	32196	12203	Refugee	
1375	Dinah Fish	Creek	F	55	510	210	Widow of Soldier	
1376	Sampson Chisholm	Halfbreed	M	40	8565	3032.5	As Administrator &c.	
1377	Samuel Yarger	Creek	M	25	17880	6602	Refugee	
1378	Dinah (Hillaby Town)	Creek	F	33	825	290	Refugee	Spinster
1379	Nancy Kernell	Creek	F	40	3500	1335	Refugee	Spinster
1380	Rose Smith	Creek	F	26	8655	3047	Refugee	(now married)

1381	Sil lah Scott	Creek	F	35	54225	23690	Refugee	Widow
1382	Mul sey Jacob	Halfbreed	F	35	775	278	Refugee	Spinster
1383	Doctor Toney	Freed.	M	35	450	155	Refugee	Teamster QMD
1384	Mary Barnett	Creek	F	55	6110	2095	Refugee	Widow
1385	In tee wah	Creek	F	33	3955	1367.5	Refugee	Spinster
1386	Cane Andrew	Creek	F	50	480	195	Refugee	Widow
1387	Its cho e mar thla	Creek	M	80	1845	680	As Administrator &c.	
1388	Its cho e mar thla	Creek	M	80	2440	930	As Administrator &c.	
1389	Its cho e mar thla chee	Creek	M	45	8350	2138	As Administrator &c.	
1390	Its cho e mar thla chee	Creek	M	45	9804	3482	As Administrator &c.	
1391	Octi yah che harjo	Creek	M	40	3975	1440	Soldier	
1392	Co chees harjo	Creek	M	33	3225	1572.5	Soldier	
1393	Cho co li ce harjo	Creek	M	40	1175	450	Soldier	
1394	Ar ah te harjo	Creek	M	40	1798	620	Soldier	
1395	Its cho e mar thla	Creek	M	45	5600	2040	Soldier	
1396	Fox ey	Creek	M	35	1215	410	Soldier	"K" Co
1397	Tul ma chus fixeco	Creek	M	35	2280	850	Soldier	
1398	Co ah co chee	Creek	M	28	1375	520	Refugee	
1399	Tum sey	Creek	M	55	1295	511	Soldier	(discharged for disability)
1400	Its so was ti ee	Creek	M	45	1775	650	Refugee	
1401	Simpson Grayson	Halfbreed	M	40	7300	2445	As Administrator &c.	
1402	Ho lok too che	Creek	M	45	7400	2750	As Administrator &c.	
1403	Ho lok too che	Creek	M	45	10475	3730	As Administrator &c.	
1404	Ho lok too che	Creek	M	45	3650	1375	As Administrator &c.	
1405	Sin hue tha	Creek	F	40	4790	1815	Widow of Soldier	in (Capt Co D 1st Ind. Regt)
1406	Sippee	Creek	F	45	6175	2200	Refugee	Widow
1407	Tah co sah harjo	Creek	M	40	2750	950	As Administrator &c.	
1408	Tah co sah harjo	Creek	M	40	4360	1555	As Administrator &c.	
1409	Wie see	Creek	F	50	6025	2275	Refugee	Widow
1410	Sah pin co li kee	Creek	F	60	1835	710	Refugee	Widow
1411	Haley	Creek	F	50	1335	515	Refugee	Widow

1412	Sah lee gee	Creek	F	45	2480	922	Widow of Soldier	
1413	Kut tey	Creek	F	30	5550	1890	Refugee	(now wife of Ed Bearn)
1414	Susan White	Creek	F	36	3420	1190	Refugee	Widow of Soldier
1415	Thle wah lea le harjo	Creek	M	30	2225	850	As Administrator &c.	
1416	Sinda	Creek	F	39	1070	405	Widow of Soldier	
1417	Hepsee	Creek	F	50	1225	467	Refugee	Widow of Soldier
1418	Lina	Creek	F	50	2175	805	Widow of Soldier	
1419	Annie (widow of Thomas)	Creek	F	33	1225	450	Widow of Refugee	
1420	Co tah	Creek	F	30	1300	475	Refugee	(now wife of Lit tif fee)
1421	Cah pit cha ha chu chee	Creek	M	28	1600	570	Refugee	
1422	Pun cher	Creek	M	34	3450	1330	Soldier	
1423	George Tiger	Creek	M	33	700	295	Soldier	
1424	Hum its ah	Creek	M	35	5530	1992	Soldier	
1425	Ho tul kee harjo	Creek	M	40	2720	980	Refugee	
1426	Ah ha lock fixeco	Creek	M	55	3160	1115	Soldier	
1427	Cha paf harjo	Creek	M	40	875	325	Soldier	
1428	John White	Creek	M	35	650	220	Soldier	
1429	Richmond Bruner	Halfbreed	M	30	2550	950	Soldier	
1430	Dick Bruner	Halfbreed	M	33	1825	705	Soldier	
1431	Its has fixeco	Creek	M	33	1525	535	Soldier	
1432	Josiah	Creek	M	34	3650	1270	Soldier	
1433	Toak paf ka Jin	Creek	M	33	4855	1817	Soldier	
1434	Lo tee	Creek	F	43	6450	2255	Widow of Soldier	
1435	Pah sinda	Creek	F	50	4325	1615	Refugee	Widow
1436	Cho was tah e harjo	Creek	M	35	1525	560	Soldier	
1437	Dave Man yack	Creek	M	35	1950	700	As Administrator &c.	
1438	Dave Man yack	Creek	M	35	725	280	As Administrator &c.	
1439	Yah te kah harjo	Creek	M	40	1250	460	As Administrator &c.	
1440	Yah te kah harjo	Creek	M	40	2175	805	As Administrator &c.	
1441	Cho was tah e micco	Creek	M	45	1555	635	As Administrator &c.	
1442	Dickson Gray	Creek	M	40	820	315	As Administrator &c.	

1443	John Francis	Creek	M	40	875	320	As Administrator &c.	
1444	Its cho e mar thla	Creek	M	80	3395	1250	As Administrator &c.	
1445	James Perryman	Halfbreed	M	71	4150	1470	Refugee	
1446	Ho lok too che	Creek	M	50	9250	3215	As Administrator &c.	
1447	Nancy Bruner	Creek	F	50	2400	835	Widow of Soldier	
1448	Jim my (Lochapoca)	Creek	M	30	1330	470	Refugee	
1449	Le ni tee	Creek	F	50	2250	825	Widow of Soldier	
1450	Tom mee fixeco	Creek	M	33	935	405	Soldier	
1451	Tus ta nah co chee	Creek	M	28	1130	404	Refugee	
1452	Ho lok too che	Creek	M	50	8325	2950	Soldier	
1453	Tul mah see	Creek	M	60	1725	630	Refugee	
1454	Wat tee	Creek	M	35	1710	658	Soldier	
1455	To-ney	Creek	M	45	745	258.5	Soldier	
1456	John Bruner	Creek	M	30	1855	707	Refugee	
1457	Siah (Lochapoca)	Creek	M	25	2075	785	Refugee	
1458	Tuckabatchie	Creek	M	40	880	325	Soldier	
1460	Young Bearn	Creek	M	30	3240	1225	Soldier	
1461	William Goodwin	Creek	M	30	6310	2265	Refugee	
1462	War-ney	Creek	M	30	6150	2445	Refugee	
1463	David M. Hodge	Halfbreed	M	28	9103	2822	Refugee	
1464	Samuel Bradley	Creek	M	35	1680	660	Soldier	
1465	Oc ti ah chee	Creek	M	35	4195	1503	Soldier	
1466	Ho ke lis sah harjo	Creek	M	48	3985	1480	Refugee	
1467	Tus se ki ah harjo	Creek	M	43	2370	850	As Administrator &c.	
1468	Lucy	Creek	F	38	1020	389	Refugee	(now wife of Nelson)
1469	Robert Kernall	Freed.	M	60	475	220	Refugee	
1470	Daniel Lewis	Freed.	M	65	275	120	Refugee	
1471	O such e harjo	Creek	M	48	5940	2216	Soldier	
1472	S. W. Perryman	Halfbreed	M	40	20650	7455	As Administrator &c.	
1473	He ne ho chee	Creek	M	38	4050	1495	Soldier	
1474	Mah pee yah	Creek	F	55	3625	1330	Refugee	Widow
1475	Mis tee ho kee	Creek	F	60	2850	1080	Widow of Soldier	
1476	John D. Bemo	Creek	M	50	18926	5804	As Administrator &c.	
1477	Samuel Kotcher	Freed.	M	80	793	286.5	Refugee	

1478	Sampson Chisholm	Halfbreed	M	33	2950	1215	Refugee	
1479	Joseph Davidson	Free Col'd.	M	28	225	150	Refugee	
1480	Thla thlo harjo	Creek	M	40	2075	720	Soldier	
1481	Jane Johnson	Freed.	F	33	524	214	Refugee	
1482	Cot chee mar thla	Creek	M	28	3100	1090	Refugee	
1483	Tus se ki ah harjo	Creek	M	43	1970	720	As Administrator &c.	
1484	Tah ma kah	Creek	M	33	2400	865	Soldier	
1485	Hum me chi e che	Creek	M	30	5225	1845	Soldier	
1486	Elizabeth	Creek	F	35	2580	880	Refugee	(now married)
1487	Tee wah lee	Creek	F	35	1270	455	Refugee	(now wife of Kit sa fixeço)
1488	Lydia	Creek	F	38	2125	780	Refugee	Spinster
1489	Betsey	Creek	F	55	5612	2037	Refugee	Widow
1490	Nah ti hi e kah	Creek	F	55	3650	1230	Refugee	Widow
1491	Martha Hunter	Creek	F	28	9095	3360	Refugee	(now married)
1492	Dick man yack	Halfbreed	M	70	6200	2220	Refugee	
1493	Tucker	Freed.	M	38	2300	875	Soldier	
1494	Frank Goodwin	Halfbreed	M	35	3920	888	Soldier	
1495	Kate Barnett	Halfbreed	F	33	570	240	Refugee	Widow
1496	James Hawkins	Freed.	M	50	1430	615	Refugee	
1497	Micco char tee	Creek	M	55	7438	2811	Soldier	
1498	Adam	Free Col'd.	M	40	2738	1022	Soldier	
1499	Lo as ky	Creek	F	35	525	235	Widow of Soldier	
1500	Sal he yah	Creek	F	60	845	299	Refugee	Widow of Soldier
1501	Joe Goodwin	Creek	M	65	4655	1740	Refugee	
1502	William	Creek	M	30	2850	970	Refugee	
1503	Henderson	Halfbreed	M	30	1045	402.5	Refugee	
1504	Tee po yee	Creek	M	40	4850	1790	Refugee	
1505	Edmond	Halfbreed	M	30	4750	1759	Soldier	
1506	John	Creek	M	40	695	277	Soldier	
1507	Alexander man yack	Creek	M	33	3150	1140	Soldier	
1508	Isaac	Creek	M	40	1385	585	Soldier	
1509	Sis see per chee	Creek	M	40	4120	1490	Soldier	
1510	Nicey Deer	Halfbreed	F	30	3230	1225	Widow of Soldier	
1511	John Yarger	Creek	M	40	1200	570	As Administrator &c.	
1512	Taylor Post-oak	Creek	M	40	3015	1120	As Administrator &c.	
1513	Sally Horner	Creek	F	40	1850	665	Widow of Soldier	
1514	Mary Martin	Creek	F	40	1070	395	Refugee	Widow

1515	Ho tul kee fixeco	Creek	M	40	2650	945	Soldier	
1516	Lah tah fixeco	Creek	M	35	1350	460	Soldier	
1517	John Yarger	Creek	M	40	4665	1745	As Administrator &c.	
1518	Frank Goodwin	Halfbreed	M	35	2125	757.5	As Administrator &c.	
1519	Micco char tee	Creek	M	50	3820	1530	As Administrator &c.	
1520	Peter Porter	Creek	M	55	3200	1115	Soldier	
1521	Sah co fah nay	Creek	M	30	680	271	Soldier	
1522	Alexander Hawkins	Freed.	M	30	650	267.5	Soldier	
1523	Nancy Barnett	Freed.	F	50	1035	365	Refugee	(married)

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VITA

Stefanie Greenhill anticipates completing her Ph.D. in History at the University of Kentucky in May 2021. She completed her M.A. in History at NC State University in 2015, and her B.S. in History at NC State University in 2013. She worked as a Teaching Assistant at NC State University from 2013 to 2015 and a Teaching Assistant at the University of Kentucky from 2015 to 2017. She has also worked as an Instructor of Record at the University of Kentucky from 2020 to 2021. She also served as a graduate student intern for the Civil War Governors of Kentucky Digital Documentary Edition in the summer of 2016. She has received external grants and fellowships from the Society of Civil War Historians, the North Caroliniana Society, and the North Carolina Friends Historical Society. She has received several grants, fellowships, and awards from the University of Kentucky, including the Dean's Competitive Research Fellowship from the College of Arts & Sciences, the Bryan Dissertation Fellowship, a Charles Roland Fellowship, a Lance Banning Memorial Fellowship, a Gilbert-Crowe Fellowship for Graduate Student Development, a Dorothy Leathers Fellowship, and a Robert Lipman Award. She has published a blog post titled "A White Man's Empire: The United States Emigrant Escort Service and Settler Colonialism during the Civil War" with *Muster: The Blog of The Journal of the Civil War Era* and available online at <https://www.journalofthecivilwarera.org/2020/07/a-white-mans-empire-the-united-stated-emigrant-escort-service-and-settler-colonialism-during-the-civil-war>.

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