

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL THEOPHILUS HUNTER HOLMES, C. S. A., FOUNDER OF FORT HOLMES

By Carolyn Thomas Foreman¹

Theophilus Hunter Holmes, like many graduates from the United States Military Academy, resigned from the Army at the beginning of the Civil War, joined the Confederate service and there attained high rank. He was a son of Governor Gabriel Holmes² and his wife Mary (née Hunter) Holmes, and was born in Sampson County, North Carolina, November 13, 1804.³

Theophilus H. Holmes received his appointment to West Point from his native state in September, 1825. Four years later upon his graduation, he was assigned as a second lieutenant to the Seventh Infantry, and served in that famous regiment many years.

Few officers in the United States Army saw longer service on the frontier of his day than Holmes. He fought in both the Florida wars against the Seminole Indians and in the Mexican War. He was stationed at different times in a period of thirty years at the noted army posts in the Indian Territory—Fort

¹ This article on Lieutenant-General Theophilus Hunter Holmes has been adapted for publication in *The Chronicles* from an original manuscript with annotations on "Theophilus Hunter Holmes, Lieutenant-General Confederate States Army," by Carolyn Thomas Foreman. This is one of many manuscripts generously contributed by Mrs. Foreman in her extended researches and writing through a long period of years, now on file in the Editorial Department for future publication in *The Chronicles*.—Ed.

² Gabriel Holmes was born in Sampson County, North Carolina, 1769; attended Harvard College; studied law at Raleigh, North Carolina and practiced law at Clinton in that State. He became a state senator in 1807; governor of his native state 1821-1823; elected to the House of Representatives of the U. S. Congress in the Nineteenth, Twentieth and Twenty-first Congresses. He died near Clinton, North Carolina, September 26, 1829.—*A Biographical Congressional Dictionary 1774 to 1903*, (Washington, 1903), p. 602.

³ Holmes' quaint given name was from that of Saint Theophilus of Adana in Cilicia, who lived in the Sixteenth Century, and his middle name "Hunter" was that of his mother. Captain Holmes married Laura Wetmore, in 1841, who was a niece of George Edmond Badger. (George Edmond Badger, born April 13, 1795, at Newbern, North Carolina, was a student at Yale College for two years. He served in the House of Commons of North Carolina in 1816; served as judge of the Superior Court in 1820; appointed Secretary of the Navy, by President Harrison March 5, 1801, reappointed by President Tyler; elected a United States Senator 1816 and in 1819; member of the North Carolina State Convention of 1801. Died at Raleigh, North Carolina, May 11, 1856. He is said to have ranked with Daniel Webster, John J. Crittenden and other great lawyers.—*Dictionary of American Biography*, edited by Damas Malone (New York, 1937), Vol. 1, pp. 685-6.)

Gibson, Fort Towson, Fort Washita and Fort Arbuckle.⁴ He is best known in Oklahoma history, however, as the officer in charge of the building of the military post on the Canadian at the mouth of Little River in 1834, named Fort Holmes in his honor.

Lieutenant Holmes' career began when he was sent to Fort Jesup, Louisiana, in 1830, where he remained through 1831. He was with the armed forces on the Arkansas River in 1832 before he was sent to Fort Gibson, from which post he set out two years later with a detachment of the Seventh Infantry to construct a new military post and quarters for a garrison of two companies on the "Big Osage War and Hunting Trail" near the mouth of Little River. This location had been pointed out the spring before, by Captain J. L. Dawson when opening a military road in this vicinity out of Fort Gibson, as a place where "The Site for a small Garrison at Little River is very eligible, being high and dry, free from marsh or low ground and contiguous to a fine spring of pure water."⁵

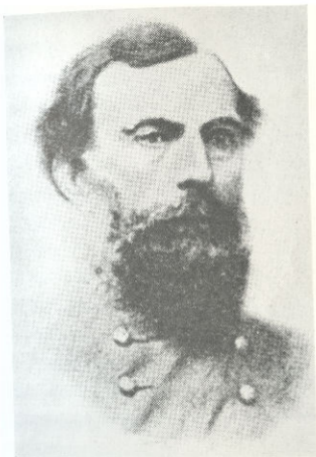
Lieutenant Holmes in command of a detachment from the Seventh Infantry began the work on the new fort, first known as "Camp Canadian," on June 21. Plans called for the building of a stockade post eighty yards square, enclosed by pickets with a block house at two angles. A force of fifty to seventy men worked through the summer "felling and getting timber for block houses, making clapboards and laths, sawing plank, quarrying, dressing laying stone, laying foundations, building chimneys, burning charcoal, blacksmithing, and making hay."⁶

⁴Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army* (Washington, 1903), Vol. 1; and Brevet Major-General George W. Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U. S. Military Academy* (New York, 1868), Vol. 1.

⁵Grant Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier* (Norman, 1933), p. 129.

⁶J. S. Lieutenant T. H. Holmes constructed the military post at the mouth of Little River, under orders from Brigadier-General Henry Leavenworth, Commander of all the troops of the Southwestern Frontier (by General Order, February 12, 1834), who arrived at Fort Gibson on April 28, 1834 (Grant Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest* (Cleveland, 1925), p. 114).

A year after the founding of Fort Holmes, Major R. B. Mason in command of a detachment of Dragoons set out west from Fort Gibson, and established an encampment on the east side of the Canadian River at a location about five miles northeast of present Lexington, in Cleveland County. This temporary encampment is referred to in the records as "Camp Mason," and also as "Camp Holmes." It was here that the U. S. Commissioners held the first peace treaty with the Comanches and Wichitas, in Oklahoma, in August, 1835. This meeting with the Plains Tribes and other tribes in attendance at the second Camp Holmes was a great event in the history of Oklahoma, and has been the subject of published articles and many references in volumes on the history of this State. See Grant Foreman's *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest* and his article on "The Journal of the Proceedings of Our First Treaty with the Wild Indians, 1835," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIV, No. 4 (December, 1936); also, Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "General



Lieutenant General Theophilus Hunter Holmes, C.S.A., Founder
of Fort Holmes, 1834, in Indian Territory

The summer of 1834 saw the famous Dragoon Expedition under the command of General Henry Leavenworth set out from Fort Gibson southwest to the old Wichita Village ("Toyash Village") on the North Fork of Red River to meet and make peace among the Plains Tribes, the Kiowa and the Wichita having recently been at war with the Osage. General Leavenworth arrived en route at Lieutenant Holmes' Camp Canadian, and was overtaken here by Colonel Henry Dodge and his staff on June 25, with Dragoons following a few hours later.⁷ The *Journal of the Dragoon Expedition*, kept by Lieutenant T. B. Wheelock, has this entry:⁸

June 25.—Colonel Dodge and staff reached Camp Canadian, on the west bank of the Canadian, thirteen miles from the last camp, at (twelve o'clock; reported to General) Leavenworth, whom we found in camp; command came up at two o'clock. Road today through open, level prairie, well watered; crossed the Canadian half a mile below the mouth of Little river; Canadian two hundred yards wide, bed nearly dry, low banks; Indian name signifies "river without banks." Near the east side passed Lieutenant Holmes, 7th Infantry, with a company of the 7th regiment of Infantry. Lieutenant Holmes just commenced building a fort and quarters for two companies. At Camp Canadian another sulphur spring, and good grazing and water.

The Expedition set forth the next morning, leaving twenty-seven sick men at Camp Canadian, in charge of Assistant Surgeon Hailes and Lieutenant Abert G. Edwards. Among the sick was Lieutenant Philip St. George Cooke who recovered enough to go back to Fort Gibson where he saw the return of the Dragoon Regiment a month later, its ranks decimated by death from sickness and accident, including that of its commander General Leavenworth, the worst disaster in the early annals of the Army. Lieutenant Cooke wrote a bitter indictment of the Jackson Administration for sending inexperienced

Richard Barnes Mason, *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, No. 1 (March, 1941); and "The Diary of Assistant Surgeon Leonard McPhail on his Journey to the Southwest in 1835," edited by Col. Harold W. Jones, U. S. A., *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 3 (September, 1940). A handsome stone, historical marker has been erected by the Colonial Dames for the second Camp Holmes, on U. S. Highway #77, at Lexington, in Cleveland County. The Oklahoma Historical Society erected an official Oklahoma Historical Marker for Fort Holmes, at Bilby, in Hughes County, on U. S. Highway #270.

⁷ George B. Shirk, "Peace on the Plains," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 1 (Spring, 1950), gives the complete *Journal of the Leavenworth Expedition of 1834*, with annotations and map of the route followed in Oklahoma.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 11. Thompson B. Wheelock of Massachusetts was appointed to West Point in 1818. He first served in the Fourth Artillery and later in the Third Artillery and the Second Artillery. He resigned June 30, 1829, and served as president of Woodward College at Cincinnati College; returned to the army and became a first lieutenant of the Dragoons September 19, 1833. He died by his own hand June 15, 1836.—Heitman, *op cit.*, vol. 1; *Army and Navy Chronicle*, Washington, D. C., July 21, 1836.

men on the ill-fated expedition through the western wilderness during the hottest part of the summer.⁹

Fort Holmes was garrisoned for about a year, its site at that of present Bilby, in Hughes County. The location was advantageous for the crossing at the Canadian River on the old Osage Trail which was followed by early military expeditions, western emigration and traders with the Plains Indians including the noted Jesse Chisholm as a young man. A firm of traders, Edwards and Shelton, established a trading post about 1836 across Little River, a few miles southwest, that flourished for many years known as Edwards Trading House or "Port Edwards," the term "fort" being a holdover from the earlier military post not far away. Later cartographers marked this post on maps as "Old Fort Holmes" for it became an important landmark on the military road leading to Texas rather than military post. Just before the Civil War when a road was marked out west from Fort Smith for carrying the U. S. mails by way of Old Fort Holmes and Edwards Store through the Indian Territory, an iron bridge—one of several across streams in the Territory—was constructed where the road crossed Little River in this vicinity. Some of the stone abutments of this bridge which was destroyed during the Civil war can be still seen near the sites of Old Fort Holmes and Edwards Store.¹⁰

Lieutenant Holmes was on recruiting duty during 1836-1837, returning to his regimental headquarters at Fort Gibson as adjutant of the Seventh Infantry in 1836. He was commissioned Captain December 9, 1838, and continued at Fort Gibson in the Cherokee Nation for another year during Indian Removal to the Indian Territory. He took part in the Seminole War in Florida, 1839-1842, in command of Company C of the Seventh Infantry. From 1843 to 1848 he was in garrison at different times at New Orleans Barracks, at Pass Christian (Mississippi) and in Texas.¹¹

In the Mexican War, Captain Holmes served in the defense of Fort Brown¹² on May 3-9, 1846. He fought in the Battle of Monterey on September 21-23, and was brevetted Major on September 23, for gallant conduct in several conflicts before that city. He served with the forces at the siege of Vera Cruz, May

⁹ Forman, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest*, p. 129; and Otis E. Young, *The West of Philip St. George Cooke* (Glendale, Calif., 1955).

¹⁰ J. Y. Brice, "Temporary Markers of Historic Interest," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VIII, No. 3 (September, 1930), p. 289. The ruins of the abutment to the iron bridge on Little River were visited in locating noted Oklahoma historic sites in 1949.—Ed.

¹¹ Cullum, *op. cit.*, p. 359.

¹² Brownsville, Texas.

9.29, 1847, and was stationed in Mexico through the early part of 1848, returning to Jefferson Barracks for 1848-1849.¹²

Captain Holmes was soon again ordered to serve in threatened hostilities with the Seminoles in Florida whence he embarked aboard the steamer *Fashion* on February 28, 1850, sailing for New Orleans in charge of a party of Seminoles headed by their chiefs, Ca-pit-chu-che and Ca-cho-fixico. The *Fashion* reached New Orleans on March 13, all on board having suffered a wretched voyage and sea sickness.¹⁴

Captain Holmes returned to Jefferson Barracks, and set out for Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, where he was on duty until 1851. His next assignment was Fort Washita, Indian Territory, where he was in command more than three years.¹⁵ When Fort Towson was abandoned in 1854, Captain Holmes was one of eleven officers who were transferred to Fort Arbuckle.¹⁶ He was commissioned with the rank of major on March 3, 1855 while serving with the Eighth Infantry. He was stationed at different times at Fort Bliss, Texas, and Fort Stanton, New Mexico in 1858-59, where he took part in the expedition against the Navaho Indians. Major Holmes was superintendent of General Recruiting, from July 1, 1859, to April 6, 1861, resigning from the Army on April 22, 1861.¹⁷

Holmes returned to his native state where he assisted the Governor in organizing the North Carolina troops for the approaching war, and was placed in command of the Southern Department of Coast Defense. President Jefferson Davis, his classmate and intimate friend in the Military Academy at West Point, appointed Holmes Brigadier-General in the Confederate Army on June 5, 1861, and transferred him to Virginia in command of three brigades to which six batteries were assigned. General Holmes became known as the "Defender of the James

¹² Heitman, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, and Cullum *op. cit.*, Vol. 1.

¹⁴ Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, (Norman, 1934), p. 251.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 139 note 9, 141; and *Advancing the Frontier* p. 139.

¹⁶ Fort Arbuckle's was on Wild Horse Creek, the location about 7 miles northwest of present Davis, in Garvin County. The post was first called Camp Arbuckle located about 2 miles northwest of present Byars, in McClain County, from whence it was moved in the spring of 1851, the site on Wild Horse Creek having been selected by Captain R. B. Marcy shortly after traveling the road from Fort Smith to Dona Ana, New Mexico. Camp Arbuckle was established in 1850, by Captain Marcy, on the south side of the Canadian River some miles west of Old Fort Holmes and Edwards' Store.—George H. Shirk, "The Site of Old Camp Arbuckle," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1949); and Grant Foreman, "Fort Arbuckle," *ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 1 (March, 1928).

¹⁷ Cullum, *op. cit.*, p. 259; *Apoleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, (New York, 1884), Vol. 3, pp. 241-42.

River," having a part in the engagement at Acquia Creek¹⁹ and in other campaigns in Northern Virginia. He commanded a reserve brigade under General P. G. T. Beauregard at the Battle of Bull Run in July, 1861.²⁰ Holmes was commissioned major-general, and returned to North Carolina to command a Division in the Confederate Army. Vigorous defense measures in the state required necessary changes, in which President Davis tendered his old friend a lieutenant-general's commission which Holmes at first declined. He finally accepted the commission when urged by the President, having been placed in command of the Trans-Mississippi Department with headquarters at Little Rock, Arkansas, on July 16, 1862. Holmes hastened west, and assumed his command at Vicksburg, Mississippi, on July 31, 1862, signing himself in *General Orders No. 1* as "Th. H. Holmes, Major-General, Provisional Army C. S." The rank of Lieutenant-General was conferred on him, by President Davis, as noted in a letter dated October 27, 1862, from George W. Randolph, Secretary of War, C. S. A.²¹

The Trans-Mississippi Department included the Indian Territory where General Holmes had served so many years in the regular Army before the War and where, during the War, 10,000 to 11,000 troops from the Five Civilized Tribes served in the Confederate service. The Indian Territory as part of General Holmes' Trans-Mississippi Department was under the command of Brigadier-General Albert Pike.²² Late in 1862, the Confederate Indian forces in the Indian Territory were placed under the command of Brigadier-General Douglas H. Cooper, with the First Cherokee Regiment under Colonel Stand Watie; the First Choctaw and Chickasaw Regiment, under Colonel Tandy Walker and the First Creek Regiment, under Colonel D. N. McIntosh.²³

Following the defeat of the Confederate forces at the Battle of Pea Ridge in Arkansas, in the spring of 1862, there were many difficulties in the Trans-Mississippi Department with frequent changes of the commanding officers and necessary reorganization of the armed forces. The summer of 1862 saw trouble with Albert Pike, Commander of the Department of the Indian Territory, C. S. A., prominent citizen, writer and poet of Arkansas who had come from New England and settled

¹⁹ Acquia Creek is a deep tidal channel, ten miles long, in Stafford County, Virginia. The river port of Acquia Creek was one of considerable commercial importance before the Civil War.—*Lippincott's Gazetteer of the World*, (Philadelphia, 1858), p. 16.

²⁰ *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. IX, p. 176.

²¹ *War of the Rebellion, Official Records*, Series 1, Vol. XIII, pp. 855, 860, 906.

²² *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 978.

²³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 844; *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p. 908.

here in the West in the 1830's. His arrest was ordered by Major-General T. C. Hindman, Commanding the District of Arkansas, for insubordination, Pike's biographer later stating that this was the "most distressing" period in Albert Pike's life and that "he was not good enough soldier to accept the orders of his superiors." Pike was arrested at Tishomingo, Chickasaw Nation, in November, 1862, by a detachment of Missouri Cavalry, and was taken to Little Rock where he was granted a leave of absence from his command by General Holmes until a decision in his case could be made.²³

Lack of funds for the payment of the troops and for purchase of necessary supplies harassed the Trans-Mississippi Department in the Confederate Army. Two of General Pike's chief complaints were the lack of equipment for his command and money to pay his soldiers in the Indian Territory. Secretary of War, James A. Seddon,²⁴ of the Confederate States wrote from Richmond to General Holmes:²⁵

I have received your letter of the 25th ultimo in reference to the urgent need of money for your command. In addition to the sum of \$4,888,567 carried out by Major Carr, the sum of \$2,500,000 was sent to him in charge of a special agent, who left this city on October 18, and had not reached your headquarters at the date of your letter. It is hoped that these amounts will be sufficient to meet the most pressing claims, and if more funds are necessary you are requested to forward estimates made out by bonded officers, as no money can legally be paid from the Treasury to any others. The sums mentioned above do not include \$1,152,393 lately sent to the Quartermaster of General Pike's command. The Quartermaster-General reports that in no instance has the reasonable estimate of any bonded Quartermaster been received and not acted on the same day it reached his office.

The Trans-Mississippi Department had been divided into districts by command of General Th. H. Holmes on August 20, 1862: the District of Texas, the District of Louisiana and the District of Arkansas, the latter composed of the states of Missouri and Arkansas and the "Indian country west thereof."²⁶ A further change came when these forces were constituted the "Southwestern Army" of the Confederate States, Lieutenant-

²³ *Ibid.*, W. B. Morrison, "Fort McCulloch," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IV, No. 3 (September, 1926), p. 219. Muriel H. Wright, "General Douglas H. Cooper," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXII, No. 2 (Summer, 1954), pp. 166, 171.

²⁴ James Alexander Seddon was born at Falmouth, Virginia, July 13, 1815. Graduated from the University of Virginia in 1835 and elected a representative to Congress from his native state from 1845 to 1847, and again from 1849 to 1851; member of the "Peace Congress" in July, 1861. He became Confederate Secretary of War in 1862. Died in Goochland County, Virginia, August 19, 1860.—Charles Lanman, *Directory of the United States Congress, 1774 to 1903*. (Washington, 1903), pp. 789-95.

²⁵ Official Records, Vol. XXII, p. 897; Vol. XIII, pp. 624-5.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 677.

General E. Kirby Smith in command with headquarters at Shreveport, Louisiana, on January 14, 1863.²⁷ Lieutenant-General Holmes assumed command of the District of Arkansas on March 18. He was superseded in this command by Major-General Sterling Price, C. S. A., after the Battle of Helena, on July 24 but resumed command of the District of Arkansas on September 25, 1863.²⁸

Helena, a strategic point on the west side of the Mississippi River in Arkansas, had been entered by Federal forces in June, 1862, during the attempted invasion of Arkansas, and fortified. Frequent skirmishing through the summer and fall in the vicinity had brought victory to Confederate troops on October 25, 1862, a congratulatory message—*General Orders No. 33*—out of the Trans-Mississippi Department by order of General Holmes, citing the gallant conduct of Captains Johnson and Corley and "the brave men of their command" with heavy losses to the Federals in the capture of prisoners and supplies in the fight.²⁹ Helena, however, was soon heavily garrisoned by Federal troops because the necessary reinforcements from the east at the time for the Trans-Mississippi Department could not be sent to carry on any Confederate plans for an attack on the stronghold. Reliable information in the hands of Lieutenant-General Holmes pointed to the capture of Helena, a practical move by the Confederate forces as a means of raising the siege against Vicksburg farther down the river in Mississippi, in the early summer of 1863. A report from General Holmes, dated from Little Rock, June 15, 1863, to Lieutenant General E. Kirby Smith said, "I believe I can take Helena, Arkansas. Please let me attack it." A reply came immediately from General Kirby Smith at Shreveport, Louisiana, "Most certainly do it."³⁰ The Secretary of War, J. A. Seddon, of the Confederate States, had strongly recommended the move against Helena by the "Southwestern Army" in May, stating "Its policy is so apparent that it is hoped it will be voluntarily embraced and executed."³¹

General Holmes assembled his expeditionary army of 7,646, and advanced through Arkansas to Fort Curtis, principal defense of Helena, in Phillips County.³² He found the fortifica-

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 2, 3.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 3, 4, 5.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 907.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p. 407.

³¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p. 407.

³² Fort Curtis was named for General Samuel Ryan Curtis a native of Ohio who was appointed to the Military Academy at West Point July 1, 1827. After his graduation in 1831 he became a second lieutenant and joined the Seventh Infantry at Fort Gibson in 1832. He resigned in 1832 and had a distinguished career as a civil engineer until he became adjutant general of

tions much stronger than he had supposed. Graveyard Hill was attacked at daylight on July 4, and the fortifications captured, General Holmes later reporting that the Confederate troops here "when brought into position and ordered forward, behaved magnificently, charging the rifle-pits and breastworks, and taking the hill without a halt." On the other hand the attack on Hindman Hill was unsuccessful because the officer of reinforcements "utterly failed to render the slightest aid" in the assault.³³ The gallant Confederate officer in charge of the attack was then driven back by the Federal troops under the command of General Mayberry Prentiss,³⁴ his garrisoned forces numbering 4,129.

General Holmes had met with a resistance at Helena entirely beyond his expectations. Not only were the Confederates mowed down by the fire from the fortifications but the gunboat *Tyler* lying in the river endeavored any column that poured through the ravines to support the attack.³⁵ A retreat was ordered before noon on the day of the battle. General Holmes made his report to the Chief of Staff on the Helena expedition in August, stating that he wrote it "with deep pain".³⁶

... My retreat from Helena was effected in the most perfect order and without the slightest demoralization of any kind My loss, as near as is ascertained, is 173 killed, 687 wounded, 728 missing; total 1,538 I commanded brave, gallant and willing troops, and should have succeeded in the capture of Helena, for though the difficulties were very great, they were not insurmountable, and the misfortune of failure was in a very great measure consequent on the men not being well in hand after success. . . . As the expedition failed, which should have succeeded, I refrain from all expressions of commendation, believing that the brave officers and men who distinguished themselves will willingly forego the applause due them in consideration that our beloved country reaped no benefit from their exploits.

Lieutenant-General Holmes was finally relieved of his command in the Trans-Mississippi Department chiefly because of his age, and returned to North Carolina where he was in

Ohio for the purpose of organizing his state's quota of volunteers for the Mexican War. After a very distinguished civil and military career he died December 26, 1866 at Council Bluffs, Iowa, aged sixty years.—Callum, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 397.

³³ *Official Records*, Vol. XXII, pp. 406-11; and *The Photographic History of the Civil War*, (New York, 1911), Vol. 1, p. 365. General Holmes' command comprised Price's Missouri and Arkansas brigades; and Nunn's and Shelby's Cavalry.

³⁴ Benjamin Mayberry Prentiss of Virginia, joined the First Illinois Infantry as a first lieutenant and adjutant June 18, 1816 and received his captain's commission June 17, 1817. He became captain of the Tenth Illinois Infantry April 29, 1851; colonel, Apr 20, 1861; brigadier general of volunteers the next month; major general November 29, 1862. He resigned October 28, 1865 and died February 3, 1891.—Heisman, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 805.

³⁵ *Photographic History of the Civil War*, Vol. 1, p. 365.

³⁶ *Official Records*, Vol. XXII, p. 411.

charge of Confederate reserves until the close of the War. He lived his last days in Cumberland County, North Carolina, passing to his reward at Fayetteville on June 20, 1860. The year before his death he had written to his old friend who had once served in the Seventh Infantry of the Regular Army, Confederate Commissary General Lucius Ballinger Northrup who referred to Holmes as "the old paladin." In this "fresh and charming letter," Holmes had said: "As for Jefferson Davis I look upon him as the great sacrifice of the age, his and not Lee's name should fill the hearts of the Southern people."³⁷

The *Raleigh Observer* in an editorial on June 22, 1860, described Lieutenant-General Theophilus Hunter Holmes as "simple in his tastes, brave, true, and just in his deportment . . . a splendid example of an unpretentious North Carolina gentleman and patriot."

³⁷ *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. IX, p. 176.