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Vol. VI.

JULY, 1906

No. 1

*The*  
**North Carolina Booklet**



GREAT EVENTS  
IN  
NORTH CAROLINA  
HISTORY



PUBLISHED QUARTERLY  
BY  
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY  
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

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THE INDIAN GALLOWS, BERTIE COUNTY.

As it appeared in 1846.



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*The*  
**NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET**

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*“Carolina! Carolina! Heaven’s blessings attend her!  
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her.”*

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Published by  
**THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY**  
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# THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET.

Vol. VI

JULY, 1906

No. 1

## THE FOREWORD.

The sources of information regarding our Indians are both meagre and unsatisfactory, history lends but little aid, tradition is silent, you must seek elsewhere than in books. There is a way we may study—even see them if we will—let me tell you the secret; I came upon it one evening just after sunset when I was hunting wild forget-me-nots along an idle brook away off in Pleasant Valley. If you wander alone through the deep everglade of a southern dismal you will sometimes stop suddenly to examine what you know is the faded footprint of a moccasined foot, or, if the hour is propitious, you will listen and listen again as you catch the sound of a warwhoop echoing and re-echoing through the deepening twilight of the forest. Or it may be that you will find an arrowhead or a broken tomahawk in a ramble through a summer field.

One night when the moon was full, and I sat under a tree by the deep mirror of a certain silver stream, the air grew suddenly heavy with the drowsy sweetness of the lotus in blossom, there was a troubling of the waters as by the angel's touch upon the Pool of Bethesda, the leaves clapped fitfully together like elfin cymbals at a fairy dance, a few, twisting from their stems, came fluttering down upon the river, and went sailing off like a phantom squadron; the sedges rustled violently at the water's hem—it was an enchanted spot, and I saw as in a dream two painted warriors drag a bound victim hurriedly into a canoe, and push off into the stream, but as I turned to observe them closely they blended into the dreamland of the other shore—the trick then lies in the imagination—in the embroidered fancy of a midsummer-night's dream.

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## THE INDIAN TRIBES OF EASTERN NORTH CAROLINA.

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BY RICHARD DILLARD, M.D.

---

“Ye whose hearts are fresh and simple,  
Who have faith in God and nature,  
Who believe that in all ages  
Every human heart is human.  
That in even savage bosoms  
There are longings, yearnings, strivings  
For the good they comprehend not,  
That the feeble hands and helpless,  
Groping blindly in the darkness,  
Touch God’s right hand in that darkness  
And are lifted up and strengthened;  
Listen to this simple story.”

The first Indian tableau upon which the curtain of our history rises is the royal reception of Amidas and Barlow by Granganameo “in the delicate garden abounding in all kinds of odoriferous flowers” on the Island of Wocokon. The last is when, chagrined by the defeat and failure of the Tuscarora War, they are driven forever from the shores of the Albemarle. The scenes between are interspersed with acts of kindness and of cruelty, bloody massacres and the torch, with long interludes, in which the curtain is so closely hauled down that not a ray of light reaches us, so that the pathfinders of history can scarcely discern a single blazed tree to guide them through that untrodden solitude.

The mural frescoes by Alexander in the Congressional Library most beautifully tell the story of the evolution of learning in five allegorical paintings; the first is a picture of a cairn built by a prehistoric man to commemorate some important event; the second is oral tradition, an ancient storyteller surrounded by a group of attentive listeners; the third

is represented by hieroglyphics carved upon an Egyptian obelisk; the fourth is the primitive American Indian painting upon his buffalo skin the crude story of the chase, the conflict, or the war-dance, while the last is the beautiful consummation of them all—the printing press. Our own alphabet, through a long series of elaboration covering many centuries, originally came from picture-writing. All knowledge began with units, and the compounding of those units in different ways like the grouping of atoms to form various chemical substances produced classified knowledge, or science in all of its labyrinthine detail. The language of the Indian is metaphorical, and essentially picture-writing, not only picture-words representing material objects, but sound-pictures, that is the formation of words in imitation of the sounds they are intended to represent. He speaks mostly with his eyes, using gestures, grimaces and grunts where his language is inadequate, and emphasis is required. The Iroquois, which were composed partly of Eastern North Carolina Indians after the Tuscarora War, are especially metaphorical, and of course in studying their language we study the language of the different tribes which compose them. When the weather is very cold they say “it is a nose-cutting morning.” They use the hemlock boughs to protect them from the snow, and when one says “I have hemlock boughs” he means that he has warm and comfortable quarters. It is said that twelve letters answer for all Iroquois sounds, viz.: A E F H I K N O R S T W. The Algonquins, the Iroquois and the Mobilians are considered the three primitive stocks, and the dialects now spoken throughout the country are traced by ethnologists directly to them.

Thoreau says in his *Walden* that the Puri Indians had but one word for the present, the past, and the future, expressing its variations of meaning by pointing backward for yesterday—forward for tomorrow—and overhead for to-day.

The beautiful euphonic Indian names are so intermingled with our own names and history that time cannot erase them. Let us analyze a few of their words and our application of them. I suggest the following derivation of the word *Roanoke* as applied to both Roanoke river and Roanoke Island. Wampum, the Indian money, their current medium of exchange and equivalent of gold, was of two kinds—*Wampum Peak*, and *Wampum Roanoke*: It was made of a species of conch-shell (*Buccinum Undatum*), and shaped like beads, the darker colors being the most valuable. This was usually strung and worn around the waist as a belt, and served the double purpose of ornament and money. These belts were passed from one nation to another in making treaties and in other important transactions, e. g., "By my wampum belt I pledge thee." Now when Menotoscon, king of the Chowanokes, found that the English were principally in quest of gold, he beguiled them with all kinds of rocco stories about a great river, evidently our Roanoke, which rose in a western country, and abounded in mussels filled with pearls, and that the sands of this river were of gold, hence the English named it Roanoke, and as Roanoke meant money or gold, by metonymy Roanoke river means river of gold, a name not inappropriate at this day, considering the wealth of its fields and the richness and vastness of the forests which girt its shores. By the same fanciful analysis Roanoke Island may mean island of money or gold, from the great quantity of wampum shells abounding in that vicinity. The suffix *peak* appears in the words Chesapeake, Dessamonpeak, Corapeake and others, and also gives them a significance of profusion or wealth. Mattercomock or Machicomock Creek, to the west of Edenton, means Temple of God, doubtless from the exquisite beauty of the stream and the tall cypress trees along its banks, which stand like huge elaborately carved Corinthian columns supporting the dome of the sky.

The name of the section of country along the Chowan above Edenton now called Rockyhock was derived from the Indian word *Rakiock*, meaning cypress tree, which by metathesis and the corruptions of successive generations is now spelled Rockyhock, meaning literally the Land of Cypress Trees. Chowan means paint or color—hence the county is the land of rich colors, from the variety and magnificence of its flora, and the myriad hues of its emerald forests, or it might have been that the Indians obtained their dyes and paints there. To the beautiful reflection of trees and sky upon a placid stream they gave the name of glimmerglass, shimmering mirror. The proximity of the Chowanokes to the Tuscaroras brought them into frequent communication, and there was in consequence some similarity of dialect, a great many of their words had in common the suffix *ock*, e. g., Uppowock, Mattercomock, Rakiock, Moriatock and Ohanock. The original spelling of Currituck was Coratuc, Tar River was Tau, meaning river of health, and Hatteras was Hattorask. Little River was Kototine, Perquimans River was Ona, Albemarle Sound was called Weapomeiock, Yeopim was originally Jau-pin. Durant's Neck was Wecocomicke. The Chowan River was called Nomopana. Captain John Smith, in his map of Virginia made in 1606, changes the vowels and spells Chowan *Chawon*, and gives to that tribe a large portion of the territory southeast of the Powhattan River, now the James. Theodore de Bry's map, 1590, gives the Chowans the vast territory along the upper Albemarle and Chowan River. Pasquotank at one time was spelled Passo-Tank, and was derived from the Indian *Passaquenoke*, meaning the woman's town.

Resting upon the very bosom of nature, amid the most picturesque and beautiful surroundings they possessed neither music nor poetry. Grave, imperturbable and mute, their souls did not burn with the glowing tints of the autumn forest, or thrill at the echo from the hills, or at the grandeur

and mystery of the great solitudes, fresh with the virginity of nature, or the long light upon the rivers. They hearkened not the song of the summer bird whose flight of ecstasy drew bars of golden music across the sky, nor the soft reed notes of Dio Pan's flute, nor the arpeggios swept from Apollo's lyre—the star-embroidered peace of the midnight heavens they heeded not, but without any of the embellishments of civilization they had a picturesqueness and beauty of costume entirely in harmony with the wild state of nature.

We are well assured that the early Indians had a good idea of botany, knew the uses of the different plants, and gave them names descriptive of their qualities and physical appearances, though they knew nothing of classification. A great deal of the flora which existed here then is now entirely extinct, the law of the survival of the fittest applying more strongly to the vegetable kingdom than to any other; during my own observation one species of ground-pine in this country has entirely disappeared. Many of the wild flowers we know and see every day are really adventives from Europe, or plants which have escaped from cultivation in gardens, and are literally tramping it over the country. The botanical characteristics of our forests reveal the fact that some parts of them were in cultivation very many years ago, for pine is the original growth, and in successive rotation come gum, oak, etc: Nature does not falter, she has her own ways—her own days for doing her work, man can meddle, but cannot hinder her. Remove the earth from a piece of land, deep enough to destroy all remains of the previously existing vegetation, and when the soil reforms upon it again she will persistently repeat the law by first producing pine, and then on in regular rotation again. Now the occurrence of oak thickets in most unexpected places argues strongly that the Indians had small clearings or assarts where they grew their tobacco and maize.



It is difficult to believe that they did not love and enjoy the wild flowers which grew so profusely about them. Did they not pause in the chase to exult in the fragrance of the pine and the myrtle, or linger to inhale the delicate perfume of the wild grape in blossom, or to be lifted up by the redolence of the jessamine? Was there no "impulse from the vernal woods," no swelling of the heart in the springtime—

"When daisies pied and violets blue,  
And lady-smocks all silver-white,  
And cuckoo-buds of yellow hue  
Do paint the meadows with delight?"

Thanks to the fertile pen and sharp-eyed observation of Harriot we know something of their plants and their uses. He says they dyed their hair and persons with the roots of Chappacor, of which I cannot conjecture the English equivalent unless it be the *Sanguinaria* or Bloodroot, still flourishing in our forests, but the secret is hidden down deep in the chalice of its corolla, its beautiful white petals are silent, and cannot be invoked. Kaishackpenauk was a root eaten as food, and resembled very much our Irish potato, while Ope-nauk was nothing more than the *Apios Tuberosa*, growing in our lowlands, it also served them as food. Coscushaw may be the Tuckahoe or Arrowhead, of which hogs are fond, and grows in muddy pools and bogs. Ascapo was the Myrtle, and the Sassafras they called Winauk. The Prince's Pine was Pipsissewa, and Habascon was the horse-radish. One of our beautiful wild trailers wears gracefully the name of Cherokee Rose, but I condemn the sentiment which named Lobelia, a very poisonous plant, Indian Tobacco, and the Indian Turnip is also most inappropriately named. The Squaw Vine still paints its berries red in autumn to honor the Indian maiden. They knew different poisons and did not hesitate to use them stealthily and without scruple upon their personal enemies. Prominent among their list of poisons was a white

root which grew in fresh marshes, and may have been Cicely, or Fool's Parsley, belonging to the poisonous hemlock family. In Hyde County was the Matternuskeet or Maramikeet of the Machapungo Indians, Lake Matternuskeet was called by them Paquinip, or Paquipe. Upon the shores of this lake grows and flourishes as nowhere else an apple called the Matternuskeet, maturing late but succulent and full of excellence. The tradition is that an early settler and hunter killed a wild goose upon the lake and upon opening its craw found an apple seed which he carefully preserved and planted, and which grew rapidly, and bore luscious fruit.

The North Carolina grape called Scuppernong was originally found on Scuppernong River, a tributary of Albemarle Sound, by an exploring party sent out by Amidas and Barlow. One small vine, with roots, was transplanted to Roanoke Island in 1584, where it is still growing and bearing grapes every year. In 1855 it covered nearly one and one-half acres. Some contend that the proper spelling should be *Noscuppernong*, but the late Rev. Wm. S. Pettigrew, who was deeply versed in Indian legend and lore always held that it should be *Escappernong*. Messrs. Garrett & Co. have named one of their excellent wines made from these grapes Escappernong. An old writer of North Carolina history says "there are no less than five varieties of grapes found about the Albemarle Sound, all of which are called Scuppernongs, to-wit, black, green, purple, red and white." The darker varieties are generally conceded to be seedlings, as the original grape can at present be reproduced only by layering or by grafting upon the wild grape. The cause of the change in color of this grape is beautifully woven by Mrs. Cotten into the Legend of the White Doe or the Fate of Virginia Dare. The transposition into prose has been so graphically made that I give it verbatim. "Okisko, a brave warrior of the tribe that had given shelter to the unfortunate Lost Col-



VIRGINIA DARE.

From a fanciful sketch by Porte Crayon in 1857.



ony of Sir Walter Raleigh, fell in love with the governor's granddaughter, Virginia Dare, the first white child born on American soil. The jealous rage of Chico, the great magician, changed her into a white doe which baffled all the hunters' attempts to capture it, for it had a charmed life and nothing but a silver arrow or an arrow dipped in the magic fountain of Roanoke could slay the beautiful creature. Now Wanchese, the great hunter of Pomouik, has crossed the waters, and there had received as a present a silver arrow. Armed with this he lay in wait for the white doe. Near him also was Virginia Dare's faithful lover, Okisko, armed with an arrow that had been dipped in the magic fountain. The magician Wenaudon, rival of Chico, had explained to Okisko that only by piercing to the heart the white doe with this magic arrow could the fair Virginia be liberated and restored to him, thus unknown to each other the two warriors awaited the coming of the white doe, one armed with the silver arrow that meant death, the other armed with the magic arrow that meant restored life the Okisko's love. Suddenly cut in the clearing jumped the startled doe; twang went the bowstrings, both arrows fled straight to the mark. To the wonder of Wanchese he saw a beautiful white girl laying where he had seen the doe fall. To the horror of Okisko he saw the arrow piercing his loved one's heart. As if shocked by the awful tragedy the magic spring died away. In its place Okisko saw growing a tiny grapevine, it seemed a message from his lost love, he watched it grow and blossom and bear fruit. Lo! the grapes were red; he crushed one and lo! the juice was red—red as his dear Virginia's blood. Lovingly he watched and tended the vine, and as he drank the pure red juice of the grape he knew that at last he was united to his love—that her spirit was entering into his—that he was daily growing more like her, the being he loved and worshipped—the joy he had lost, but now had found again in the magic seedling." It is

a fact that a species of white deer is still seen in the country around Pungo and Scuppernong Lakes, but the penetrating ball of the Winchester possesses a counter charm to the magical spell of the Indian magician Chico, and the white doe often falls a victim before its unerring aim.

The mother Scuppernong vine implanted upon the Island of Roanoke, as ancient as our civilization, has sent its branches like the English speaking race over our broad land, the excellence of its amber clusters dropping the honey-dew of knowledge and delight—spreading like a banyan, its broad arbor is a sacred aegis of Minerva, which will shield and hide for aye the mysterious secret of the Lost Colony.

Who gave us Indian Corn the Agatowr, that beautiful tasseled staff of life whose waving fields are a symbol of our country's bounty and wealth—this maker of brawn and muscle and of the gray stroma of the brain? I answer each red ear blushed with the red man's skin. It was cultivated and eaten here before the granaries of the Pharaohs were overflowing from the wheat fields of Egypt, or the Libyan threshing-floors were groaning under the fatness of the harvest. The Indian method of preparing it for food was by hollowing out the end of a large stump and pounding the grain by means of a log suspended to an overhanging bough.

Who gave us Uppowock, the divine tobacco? That companion of solitude and life of company! The fabled Assidos of the middle ages, which drives away all evil spirits! The nerve stimulant destined to supplant hashisch, opium, betel, kava-kava, and all others! Emissaries from China and Japan are buying American tobacco with the purpose of substituting it for the injurious opium habit of those countries. This is the herb which that rare old cynic philosopher so beautifully praises and censures by antithesis in his wonderful Anatomy of Melancholy, the book Doctor Johnson missed his tea to read, as "divine, rare, superexcellent tobacco, which goes far

beyond all the panaceas, potable gold and philosophers' stones—a sovereign remedy to all diseases, a virtuous herb if it be well qualified, opportunely taken and medicinally used, but as it is commonly abused by most men 'tis a plague, a mischief, a violent purger of goods, lands and health—devilish and damned tobacco, the ruin and overthrow of body and soul.”

The Indians held Uppowock their tobacco in high esteem, attributed to it magical powers. It was the gift of the gods; they often burnt it upon their sacred fires, and cast it upon the waters to allay the storm, they scattered it among their weirs to increase the catch of fish, and after an escape from great danger they would throw it high into the air as if to requite the gods themselves.

Eastern North Carolina is rich in literature based upon the history, the legends, the traditions of its Indians. The White Doe or Fate of Virginia Dare is as musical as Hiawatha, and tells the story of the change of Virginia Dare into the shape of a white doe to which I have alluded elsewhere.

That erudite scholar, Col. R. B. Creecy, in his *chef d'oeuvre*, the Legend of Jesse Batz, tells delightfully the story of Jesse Batz, a hunter and trapper who dwelt upon an island in the Albemarle Sound, opposite the mouth of Yeopim River, now called Batz's Grave (the U. S. Geog. Soc. gives the spelling Batts), but then called Kalola from the number of sea gulls congregating there. Hunting, trapping, and frequently engaging in the chase with the Indians Batz became intimately associated with the Princess Kickawana, the beautiful daughter of Kilkanoo, the king of the Chowanokes. Batz loved her at first sight, and she in turn loved the white man.

When Pamunkey made war upon Kilkanoo Batz fought with the Chowanokes, and in a hand-to-hand encounter took Pamunkey prisoner and helped to drive the hostile tribe back

into Virginia. For this act of bravery he was adopted into the Chowanoke tribe with the name of Secotan or Great White Eagle. The current of love between him and Kickawana ran along smoothly, and with an immunity from sorrow beyond the usual lot of mortals until one night when the Indian maiden was paddling in her canoe across from the mainland to the island, as she frequently did to visit her lover, a thunderstorm swept the Albemarle like the besom of destruction:

"The wind was high, and the clouds were dark,  
And the boat returned no more."

Batz never more left his island home, and to this day it is called Batz's Grave. Its azure outline in dim perspective upon the glistening page of the Albemarle seems the far-off island of some half-forgotten dream. At one time it belonged to George Durant, Jr., and contained many acres; the erosion of the tides has been so continuous and rapid that scarcely an acre now remains. This constant sloughing of its banks causes the magnificent timber to fall into the water in great windrows, like broad swaths of grain beneath the sturdy stroke of some giant reaper, but the ceaseless murmur of each receding wave upon its lonely beach will sigh out for-aye, in a throbbing tumultuous undertone, the story of those unfortunate lovers. One of the few landmarks left by the Chowan Indians is a part of the soundside road leading to Drummond's Point, which curves and re-curves upon itself at least a dozen times in a distance of two miles. The tradition is that the road was made by the early settlers along the course of the old Indian trail; over this road doubtless passed and repassed Kickawana on her visits to the island home of Jesse Batz, and it takes but a touch of fancy for the benighted traveler along this lonely road to see the lithe form of Kickawana just receding around the next bend.



One of the most interesting chapters in our history is the account given by Dr. John Brickell, of Edenton, in his history of North Carolina of a trip among the Indians. He was appointed by Gov. Burrington to make an exploration into the interior, with a view of securing the friendship of the Cherokee Indians. He left Edenton in 1730 with ten men and two Indians, and traveled fifteen days without having seen a human being. At the foot of the mountains they met the Indians, who received them kindly and conducted them to their camp where they spent two days with the chief, who reluctantly permitted them to return. They built large fires and cooked the game which the two Indians killed and served it upon pine-bark dishes, at night they tethered their horses and slept upon the gray Spanish moss (*Tillandsia Usneoides*), which hung from the trees. They lived in truly Robin Hood style, and the tour seems to have been more for romance and adventure than for scientific search. It is a counterpart in our history of the adventures of the Knights of the Golden Horse Shoe to the Blue Ridge of Virginia under Gov. Spotswood. Dr. Brickell had a brother who settled in Hertford County in 1739, the Rev. Matthias Brickell, from whom is descended some of the best families of that county.

The Indian Gallows, a poem by William H. Rhodes, published in 1846, deserves the highest place among the Indian classic literature of North Carolina.

The Indian Gallows was located in the Indian woods of Bertie County, a tract of land formerly owned and occupied by the Tuscaroras. It was a remarkable freak of nature in that the branch of one oak grew so entirely and completely into another oak some twenty feet asunder that it was impossible to discern from which tree the cross-branch grew. The cross-branch also had large limbs growing upward from it. This natural curiosity stood until 1880, when a severe

storm uprooted one of the oaks, the other soon commenced to decay and was cut down in 1892 and made into relics.

The story of it runneth thus: A band of pilgrims exiled by religious persecution from England were hurled tempest-tossed upon the shores of North Carolina, they made their way under all sorts of difficulties and contentions with adverse fates up the Albemarle Sound to the settlement now called Edenton. The parents of the heroine Elnora, invited by the friendly chief of the Tuscaroras, decided to make their homes in the wilds across the sound. Roanoke, the son of the old Tuscarora king, soon fell in love with Elnora, and at the planning of the Indian Massacree in 1711, set out on foot to warn his white friends of their danger, but arrived just in time to see their cabin in flames and a band of Tuscaroras cut down Elnora's aged parents. Elnora herself by a superhuman effort eluded the grasp of the murderous chief Cashie and hid in the Indian Woods, where she was afterwards found by the faithful Roanoke. Enduring all sorts of hardships they eventually found a boat, and steering safely down the Moriatock River, reached the sound. On and on they paddled through the darkness of the night under the midnight sky, not knowing whither they were going, each angry wave greedy to swallow up their little canoe. Elnora exhausted, and with hands all blistered, often despaired, and would have thrown herself into the dark waters had she not been sustained and comforted by Roanoke. Just at the crucial moment of their despair Aurora with her dew-drop touch threw open the rosy chambers of the East, and the streaks of dawn went ploughing golden furrows in the wake of the morning star. Dawn is the hour of resignation and peace, they were comforted and cheered as they sighted the headland at the entrance of Edenton Bay, they soon reached the shore where they told the story of their misfortunes to a crowd of eager listeners, among whom was Henry, Elnora's lover, just

arrived on a ship from England. The Tuscaroras, when they found out that Roanoke had fled to Edenton with Elnora, infuriated by his action and the escape of the white maiden, set out at once with a flotilla of canoes to take the fort at Edenton<sup>1</sup> and massacre the inhabitants, but they were driven hopelessly back by the well-prepared settlers, Henry and Roanoke fighting gallantly side by side. After the rout of the Indians Roanoke lingered sadly at Edenton. Elnora showed him every kindness and consideration, but her heart belonged unreservedly to Henry.

“As time fled on Roanoke forgot to smile,  
 And lonely walks his saddened weeks beguile:  
 A secret grief sits gnawing at his soul,  
 Deep are the sorrows that his mind engage,  
 Kindness can soothe not—friends cannot assuage.”

Desperate and dejected at his disappointment in love he returned to his tribe in Bertie and met with resignation his fate. At the council of the chiefs he was condemned to be burned at the stake the next morning at dawn, when the sentence was pronounced the tragic Cashie exclaimed—

“No—not the stake!  
 He loves the paleface; let him die  
 The white man’s death! Come let us bend a tree  
 And swing the traitor, as the Red-men see  
 The palefaced villian hang. Give not the stake  
 To him would the Red man’s freedom take,  
 Who from our fathers and our God would roam,  
 And strives to rob us of our lands and home.  
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 They seize him now and drag him to the spot  
 Where death awaits, and pangs are all forgot.”

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<sup>1</sup>Opposite the old Hathaway lot, on Water Street, could be seen a few years ago the foundation of what is supposed to have been the old fort built to defend the town against the attacks of the Indians, and this might have been the one in which Elnora and Roanoke took refuge. Watson, in his *Journey to Edenton in 1777*, says that it was then defended by two forts.

There is a striking analogy between the motif of the Indian Gallows and Campbell's Gertrude of Wyoming. Roanoke and Outalisse, the Mohawk chief, were very similar characters.

One of the largest and most remarkable Indian mounds in Eastern North Carolina is located at Bandon on the Chowan, evidently the site of the ancient town of the Chowanokes which Grenville's party visited in 1585, and was called Mavaton.<sup>2</sup> The map of James Wimble, made in 1729, also locates it at about this point. The mound extends along the river bank five or six hundred yards, is sixty yards wide and five feet deep, covered with about one foot of sand and soil. It is composed almost exclusively of mussel shells taken from the river, pieces of pottery, ashes, arrow heads and human bones, this may have been the dumping ground of the village. The finding of human bones beneath the mound might suggest that it is the monument of their distinguished chiefs, just as the ancient Egyptians built pyramids above their illustrious Pharaohs. Pottery and arrow heads are found in many places throughout this county, especially on hillsides, near streams, and indicate that they were left there by temporary hunting or fishing parties. Even the Indians of the present day are averse to carrying baggage of any kind, and the frail manner in which some of their pottery was made shows that it was for temporary purposes only. Certain decorations on their pottery occur sufficiently often among the Indian tribes of the different sections to be almost characteristic of them.

A sort of corn-cob impression is found on a great deal of the Chowan pottery and also in Bertie, there is however considerable variation in different localities, the corn-cob impression in some specimens being much coarser. There are also pieces with parallel striations, oblique patterns, small

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<sup>2</sup>The station on the Suffolk and Carolina Railroad was named by the author for this town.

diamond patterns formed by transverse lines, evidently made by a sharp stick. Some are decorated with horizontal lines, while a few are perfectly plain. In the deposits on the Chowan River, at the site of the ancient Chowanoke town of Mavaton, the decorations on the pottery are both varied and artistic, and I am inclined to believe that each clan or family had its own distinctive and individual pattern of decoration—it was their coat of arms. On this same mound I found the wild columbine growing, stragglers from Menotoscon's flower-garden, and at a nearby spring flourished the spear-mint, whose ancestors two hundred years ago doubtless seasoned Okisko's venison stew. I have never seen so many distinct patterns occurring in the same mound as at Avoca, left there by the Tuscaroras. The ancient Tuscarora town of Metackwem was located in Bertie County just above Black Walnut Point, and most probably at Avoca, from the extensive deposits there. The Tuscaroras showed a more advanced civilization than any of the Eastern tribes, they were jealous and revengeful, had more numerical strength, more prowess and were more belligerent, and influenced the weaker tribes near them. They were originally descended from the Monacans, a powerful nation whose territory extended from the domains of Powhattan down into Carolina, and who were well known to many of the early discoverers, they are believed by some to have been the aborigines of Eastern North Carolina. Although amalgamated with the Iroquois Confederation the Tuscaroras have even to this day preserved, in a great measure, their individuality. The Chowanokes evidently worshipped the maize, and decorated their pottery freely with the corn-cob. We do not know the exact shape of their cooking utensils, but judging from the fragments of pottery they must have been shaped very much like the modern flower pot. Calculating the diameter and capacity of the vessels from the segments found there was great

uniformity both of size and shape. The Indians knew the principle of the wedge, and applied its shape to their axes and tomahawks. There is a great similarity in them to the English axe, that implement and coat-of-arms of our civilization, this similarity of implements argue strongly the universal brotherhood of mankind.

In the great dismal surrounding Lake Scuppernong is a chain of small islands surrounded by pitfalls, which are believed to have been dug by the Indians to entrap large game, along the shores of the lake a vessel of soapstone, almost intact, was exhumed some time ago, and at the spot where the best perch abound.

To the east of Centre Hill, which forms the divide between Chowan and Perquimans Rivers, lies a vast tract of land called Bear Swamp, depressed fifteen or twenty feet below the surrounding country, and a number of years ago some parties in making an excavation just east of Centre Hill, where the land falls off into this great basin, discovered a boat of considerable dimensions, fairly well preserved, six or more feet below the surface: it is supposed to be of Indian origin, as there is an ancient tradition that it was centuries ago a great lake.<sup>3</sup>

The numerical strength of the Indians of Eastern North Carolina in 1710 was as follows: The Tuscaroras had fifteen towns; Haruta, Waqui, Contahnah, Anna-Ooka, Conauh-Kare, Harooka, Una-Nauhan, Kentanuska, Chunaneets, Kenta, Eno, Naurheghne, Oonsooora, Tosneoc, Nonawharitse, Nuhsoorooka and twelve hundred warriors; the Wacons two towns, Yupwareman and Tooptatmere, one hundred

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<sup>3</sup>In the branch of Pollock Swamp, which drains the southern extension of Bear Swamp, is a most remarkable natural formation in the shape of a salt deposit in the bottom of the swamp. It was first discovered by cattle going there to lick during long drouths when the bottom of the swamp was dry. During the Civil War, when salt was gold, some parties dug a well there, collected the water, and evaporated it in pans, making a very good quality of salt. When I visited this well several years ago, though the bottom of the swamp was entirely dry, the well was full of a sea-green water, which I examined and found strongly impregnated with salt.

and twenty warriors; the Machapungas one town, Maramis-keet, thirty warriors; the Bear River Indians one town, Raudau-quaquank, fifty warriors; the Meherrins one town on Meherrin River, fifty warriors; the Chowans one town, Bennet's Creek, fifteen warriors; the Paspatanks one town on Paspatank River, ten warriors; the Poesketones one town on North River, thirty warriors; the Nottaways one town, Winoak Creek, thirty warriors; Hatteras Indians one town, Sand Banks, sixteen warriors; Connamox Indians two towns, Coranine and Raruta, twenty-five warriors; the Jaupins (probably Yeopins), only six people; and the Pamtighough Indians one town, an island, fifteen warriors. Upon a basis that three-fifths were old men, women and children there must have been at that time at least ten thousand Indians in Eastern North Carolina.

September 22, 1711, marks the day of the bloody Indian massacre in Eastern North Carolina, when 112 settlers and 80 infants were brutally murdered, and that day was kept with prayer and fasting throughout the colony for many years. With tomahawk and torch they swept like fiends incarnate over Eastern North Carolina, their bloody trail extending even to the northeastern shores of Albemarle Sound and Chowan River. The desperate war which followed was finally brought to a successful close by a series of victories through Col. James Moore and his allied Indians; Capt. Barnwell also contributed largely to the success of the war, killing more than five hundred Indians. The last of June, 1713, the Tuscaroras, who were occupying Fort Carunche, evacuated it and joined the rest of their nation on the Roanoke, soon to abandon North Carolina forever.

They migrated to the southeastern end of Lake Oneida, New York, where they joined the Iroquois Confederation, which was composed of five nations, viz.: the Mohawks, Onondagas, Cayugas, Oneidas and the Senecas; the Tusca-

roras with their allies, the Chowans, the Saponas and some others, formed the Sixth Nation of this Confederation: a part of the Canadian Indians are descended from the Iroquois. King Tom Blount<sup>4</sup> and a few of his faithful warriors remained in Bertie for awhile, but just before the Revolution the few Tuscaroras who were left in that county then migrated to the North, and joined their brethren of the Six Nations. Before leaving they sold all their vast domain (53,000 acres) except a tract in Bertie County about twelve miles square, called Indian Woods, which they were compelled to lease for a long term of one hundred and thirty-seven years.

Succarusa, an old chief of this tribe, visited Bertie about 1830 to collect the rents due his people on that long lease, and while there he went to take a look at the Indian Gallows, this was the last footprint of the Indian upon the shores of the Albemarle.

A part of the Tuscarora tribe still reside in Western New York where they maintain a tribal government, divided into clans called Otter, Beaver, Wolf, Bear, etc. The title of Sachem Chief is still given to their governor. Thomas Williams (Takeryerter), belonging to the Beaver Clan and rather a young man, was Chief Sachem in 1890, and Elias Johnson (Towernakee), was then the historian of the tribe. In 1901 there were three hundred and seventy-one Tuscaroras, all wearing citizen's clothes, entirely civilized, the majority of them could read and write, and about five-sixths of them could speak English.

In 1768 they numbered.....	200
In 1779 they numbered.....	200
In 1822 they numbered.....	314
(Then residing at Lewiston, on Lake Ontario.)	
In 1825 they numbered.....	253
In 1867 they numbered.....	360

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<sup>4</sup>The late King Kalakaua was a lineal descendant of King Tom Blount, one of his descendants having married into the royal family of the Sandwich Islands.



In 1775 three departments of Indian Affairs were created by Congress, and Willie Jones was one of the commissioners of the Southern Department. The Tuscarora reservation in New York in 1771 (from an old map made by order of Gov. Tryon, the erstwhile notorious Governor of North Carolina), comprised 6249 acres. After their removal to New York they were loyal to us in the Revolution and in the War of 1812; during the Civil War they furnished volunteers to the United States government. They are now peaceable and orderly, with very few laws, and fewer disturbances of the public peace; their income is small and they are poor, though there are very few paupers. The Tuscaroras have substantial churches with Sunday schools fairly well attended, the most of them are Baptists and Presbyterians, while some are still pagans. They farm, raise stock, make maple-sugar, also baskets and bead-work; hunt, trap and fish. The sewing machine has been introduced among the women. A part of the original Six Nations are also living in Wisconsin and Indian Territory. As with other people without a history the Six Nations rely greatly upon their myths, their legends, and their traditions. They account for the presence of the Seven-Stars or Pleiades in the heavens by a most remarkable story. Many years ago seven little boys wanted to give a feast by themselves, which was denied them by their parents, in defiance they secretly secured and cooked a little white dog, and while dancing around him in great glee some unseen spirit translated them to the heavens, and changed them into a constellation; and now when they watch the twinkling of the Seven Stars at night in the blue grotto of the skies they say it is the seven little boys dancing around the little white dog.

The Yeopims were never very strong and were settled along the shores of Perquimans and Little Rivers. They granted to George Durant two tracts of land, one deed dated

March 1, 1661, conveying a tract called Weecomicke, now Durant's Neck, signed by Kilcocanen or Kistotanew, King of Ycopic, and recites "for a valuable consideration of satisfaction received with ye consent of my people". . . . "adjoining the land I formerly sold to Samuel Pricklove." Another deed dated August 4, 1661, and signed by Cuscutenew as King of Yeopic. These deeds were both registered October 24, 1716, and are now in Book "A," Register of Deeds office of Perquimans County.

An exploring party sent out by Sir Richard Grenville in 1586 sailed up the Chowan as high as the confluence of the Meherrin and Nottoway Rivers, just below which they found an Indian town called Opanock (not very far from the present town of Winton). These Indians were very numerous then and had seven hundred warriors in the field: they were the Meherrins.

Col. Byrd in his *History of the Dividing Line, 1729*, describes in his own unique, original fashion his visit to the town of the Nottoway Indians near the line, then about about 200 strong, "The young men had painted themselves in a Hideous Manner, not so much for Ornament as terror. In that frightful Equipage they entertained us with Sundry War Dances, wherein they endeavoured to look as formidable as possible. The Instrument they danced to was an Indian drum, that is a large Gourd with a skin bract tort over the Mouth of it. The Dancers all Sang to this Musick, keeping exact Time with their feet, while their Heads and Arms were screwed into a thousand Menacing Postures. Upon this occasion the Ladies had arrayed themselves in all their finery. They were Wrapt in their Red and Blue Match-Coats thrown so Negligently about them that their Mehogany Skin appeared in Several Parts like the Lacedaemonian Damsels of Old."

There is a body of distinct people, mostly white, now living in Robeson County, North Carolina, who are recognized by



THE DANCE OF THE CAROLINA INDIANS AS REPRESENTED  
BY JOHN WHITE IN 1585.

(Original in the British Museum.)

The Roanoke Indians at their festivals and councils drank the *Cassine*, which served them as a sort of stimulant: it was a decoction made from the dried leaves of *Hex Yupon*, now drank under the name of Yupon Tea.

The reader is referred to Mr. Edward Eggleston's able discussion of the DeBry pictures in the *Nation* and *Century* magazines.



the State as the Croatans and given separate schools, and who by their own traditions trace their genealogy directly from the Croatans associated with the lost Raleigh Colony. Prof. Alexander Brown, of the Royal Historical Society of England, has discovered some old maps dating back to 1608-1610 clearly confirming, it is stated, the traditions of these people in regard to their lineage, and the reader is respectfully referred to those able pamphlets upon that subject by Mr. Hamilton McMillan and Dr. Stephen B. Weeks.

After the Tuscarora War was over the Chowanokes, who had remained all the while the faithful friends of the whites and were residing at their ancient town on the Chowan, called Mavaton, were allotted about four thousand acres of land between Sarum<sup>5</sup> and Bennet's Creek, mostly poquosin, and ordered to move there. Of this once populous tribe only about fifteen warriors then remained. They had originally two good towns, Muscamunge and Chowanock—Muscamunge was not very far from the present town of Edenton; they had also at one time more than seven hundred warriors in the field. King Hoyter was the last of the Chowanoke Kings in this section. But restless and dissatisfied they finally requested permission to cast their lot with the Saponas, who migrated North to the Tuscaroras and helped to form the complement of the Sixth Nation. In their intermarriage with various tribes, their divisions, their numerous migrations and amalgamations, they have become scattered all over the North and West, and it is impossible to trace them.

So passed the pure blood of the Chowanokes, and has been lost and blended with the various tribes of our frontier—that fantastic caravan which is marching sadly to its own funeral

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<sup>5</sup>An old map of this section shows a chapel just south of Bennet's Creek, which must have been the Sarum Chapel of the early ministers of the S. P. G. A school, the first in North Carolina, was at one time located at Sarum for the religious and educational training of these indians. Lawson says that in 1714 they were still residing on Bennet's Creek.

pyre across the golden West, but when the dreamy Indian summer spreads its blue hazy gauze over the landscape like a veiled prophet, and the autumn leaves are painted upon the easel of the first frost, and the grand amphitheater of the forest is carpeted with the richest patterns of Axminster, and the whole world is a wonderland spread upon a gigantic canvass of earth, and sky, and water—when the glittering belt of Mazzaroth spans the heavens, and the jewels sparkle brightest in the dagger of Orion, it is then that the grim phantom of the red man returns to his old hunting ground, as erst he did: All feathered and with leather buskins, and bow put cross-wise on his breast, in his periagua he crosses the Great Divide of the Spirit Land, and from under the black zone of the shore-shadows he glides into the moonlight—out upon the dimpled, polished mirror of the river—Hark! you can hear each stroke of his paddle, if the wind down the river is fair.

## GLIMPSES OF HISTORY IN THE NAMES OF OUR COUNTIES.

BY KEMP P. BATTLE, LL.D.

No people can have a proper self-respect who are not familiar with the deeds of their ancestors. We North Carolinians have been deficient in this regard. Men will tell you more of Bunker Hill and Brandywine than of the more important, more decisive battles of King's Mountain and Guilford Court-House. They know fairly well the incidents of past times in other countries, often very minutely—that Caesar was bald and was subject to epileptic fits, that Cleopatra did not have the color and thick lips of a negro, that Queen Elizabeth was red-haired and Queen Anne was fat and had seventeen children, all of whom died young—but when you ask them about the great men of North Carolina whose valor gained our independence, whose statesmanship shaped our political destinies and whose teachings moulded our minds and morals, their answers are vague and unsatisfactory.

The names of the counties of our State are especially instructive. Associations with every epoch of our history are wrapped up in or suggested by them. Only one seems to be what is called a "fancy name," and even that, Transylvania, in its sonorous beauty, recalls the fact of our kinship to the great conquering, law-giving race inhabiting the imperial city of the Old World on the banks of the Tiber, from whom we derived much of our blood and more of our speech through the Norman-Roman-Celtic people, who followed William the Conqueror into England. We find it first in the ambitious but futile enterprise of Judge Richard Henderson and his associates, the Transylvania colony.

Counties are created for the convenience of the people who

reside in them. In a State gradually filled up by immigration the times of their formation indicate quite accurately the flow of such immigration. The names given to them by the legislatures were as a rule intended to compliment persons or things then held in peculiar honor. As the statutes do not, except in two instances, mention those intended to be commemorated, we are forced to study the history of the times, to look thro' the eyes of our ancestors and thus gather their intention. Combining the dates of formation with the names of the counties we gather many interesting and important facts connected with the past.

I premise that the Spaniards once claimed our territory to be Florida. Queen Elizabeth in the Raleigh charter named it with other territory, Virginia. Charles I. (or Carolus), in the Heath charter named it Carolina, so when Charles II. in the grant to the Lords Proprietors retained the name Carolina, of course our State name comes from his father. It was not called from Charles IX., of France, as Bancroft and others say.

North Carolina has, by the creation of the county of Columbus, to the extent of her power, repaired the wrong done the learned and daring Genoese in allowing the name of Americus Vesputius to be affixed to the New World.

Our easternmost county, along which rolls the majestic ocean, which has within its limits stormy Hatteras and the lovely island of Roanoke, its county seat named after the good Indian Manteo, records only an infant's wail, a dark mystery—a memory of pathos and of wonder.

What was the fate of Virginia Dare, the first infant born to the impetuous, daring, energetic race, in a few short years to replace the forests of her day with all the grand works of eighty millions of civilized people! Did the tomahawk crash into her brain? Did she become the squaw of an Indian war-



rior, and did the governor's granddaughter end her days in the wigwam of a savage? Recent writers, Hamilton McMillan and Stephen B. Weeks, have brought many plausible arguments to prove that the lost colony wandered to the swamps of Robeson, and the white man's desperate energy and the red man's treacherous guile created the cunning, cruel, ferocious, bloody Henry Berry Lowery and his gang.

North Carolina was the victim of a gigantic monopoly. After restoration of Charles II., in the first flush of his gratitude, to eight of his great lords he granted of his royal prerogative a tract of land stretching across this continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the parallel which divides North Carolina from Virginia to that which passes through Florida by Cedar Keys. No claim, however, was ever made west of the Mississippi river, and part of that east of it was given up.

The names of these favored lords were: Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, George Monk, Duke of Albemarle, William, Lord Craven, John Lord Berkeley, Anthony, Lord Ashley, Sir George Carteret, Sir William Berkeley, Sir John Colleton. You find those names, besides in Albemarle Sound, in the counties of Craven and Carteret. The county of Colleton is in South Carolina.

Only one of these ever resided in America, Sir Wm. Berkeley, a member of a noble family which in the most dismal days of Charles I. and his son, were staunch adherents to the crown, suffering banishment and confiscation for its sake. He was the Governor Berkeley of Virginia who suppressed Bacon's rebellion in so bloody a way that Charles II. said: "That old fool has taken more lives without offence in that naked country than I in all England for the murder of my father," and who thanked his God that "there were no free schools or printing press here, and I hope I shall have none of them these hundred years."

Among them you will notice conspicuous lights in English History. There was the Lord Chancellor, Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, the eminent historian, whose daughter, wife of James II., was the mother of two queens, Mary and Anne. There was Anthony Ashley Cooper, the brilliant and wicked Earl of Shaftesbury, who, notwithstanding his wickedness, was one of the chief authors of that monument of liberty, the Habeas Corpus Act. And there was General Monk, the Cromwellian general, by whose skill and prudence Charles II. was restored to the throne without bloodshed. His title you will recognize not only in our eastern sound but in the county seat of Stanly. Two of Shaftesbury's names may be seen in the two rivers, Ashley and Cooper, which surround Charleston, while a kinsman of Earl Clarendon became Governor Hyde, of North Carolina, and his name was given to an eastern county.

The Lords Proprietors contemplated a county called Clarendon, after Edward Hyde, the Earl of Clarendon, who took his title from a royal hunting seat in Wiltshire, England, but the settlers moved away and the county fell still-born.

The first successful municipal corporation in the State was Albemarle, comprising all of the area around the Albemarle Sound. The plan was to have very large counties, composed of "Precincts." Two only were created—Albemarle, composed of Currituck, Pasquotank, Perquimans, Chowan, Tyrrell and Bertie, and Bath, composed of Beaufort, Hyde, Craven, Carteret, New Hanover, Tyrrell, Edgecombe, Bladen, Onslow. These minor divisions were called Precincts.

Albemarle perpetuates the ducal title of General Monk. In France it took the form of Aumale, and was the title of a famous duke of recent years, a member of the Orleans family. Until 1696 Albemarle was the only large political organization in our limits. In that year Bath County was created out of territory bordering on Pamlico Sound and as far South

as Cape Fear River. It was named in honor of John Granville, Earl of Bath, whose daughter Grace married Sir George Carteret, grandson of the Lord Proprietor of the same name. Sir George dying in 1695, the Earl of Bath represented his infant grandson, Sir John Carteret, afterwards Earl Granville.

In 1738 the great counties of Albemarle and Bath, with their Marshals and Deputy Marshals and separate courts were abolished and the Precincts became counties. For convenience sake I will call these latter counties from the beginning.

In 1672 there were four, some say, others three, precincts, the eastern being Carteret, the western Shaftesbury, the middle Berkeley (pronounced Barclay), and the other unknown. Twelve years afterwards the names were changed to Currituck, Chowan, Pasquotank and Perquimans, the former name of Pasquotank being lost, if it ever existed.

In 1729 the representatives of seven of the great lords finding in their possessions neither honor nor profit but only continual torment, sold their rights to the crown for only \$12,500 each, it being a wonderful illustration of the rapid growth of the country, that about 170 years ago lands through the heart of the continent were sold at the rate of 18,000 acres for \$1.00.

My father was a practicing lawyer at the time of this great sale, when the lands of North Carolina, Tennessee, Arkansas and California were disposed of at the rate of 100 acres for one cent.

Sixty-six years, as in other sublunary matters, make great changes in property and titles. Families die out, estates are sold, men pass away and others stand in their shoes, and so it came to pass that the Lords Proprietors of 1729, in the time of George II., were different men from the Lords Proprietors of 1663, in the reign of Charles II.

We find the names of some of these new owners affixed to counties in our State. There are Granville and Beaufort, county and town, from Henry, Duke of Beaufort, Bertie county from James and John Bertie, Tyrrell from Sir John Tyrrell.

From 1729 the State was a colony under the government of England until the war of the Revolution.

It was fashionable to compliment members of the royalty or nobility or statesmen, connected officially with the colonies, by giving their names to municipal organizations of the new country. Hence we have Orange, after a collateral descendant of the great King who banished the Stuarts, New Hanover and Brunswick in compliment to the Georges, Cumberland after the great duke who defeated Charles Edward at Culloden, Johnston after good old Governor Gabriel Johnston, Martin after Governor Josiah Martin. We had once Dobbs and Tryon, after provincial governors. We have Onslow after Arthur Onslow, Edgecombe from Baron Richard Edgecombe, Bladen, after Martin Bladen, Duplin, after Lord Duplin, Baron Hay, Hertford, Halifax, Wilmington, Hillsboro, Bute, Richmond, Northampton after the father of the Earl of Wilmington, after noblemen of those names, all of whom held places of trust in the mother country. I will tell particularly of others.

Of all the statesmen of England the most brilliant was the first Wm. Pitt, fondly named by the people the Great Commoner. He was eminent for fiery and impetuous eloquence. In a venal age the purity of his morals were unquestioned. He made Great Britain the first nation of the world. He wrested Canada from the French. He founded the British Empire in India. As Lamartine says, "He was a public man in all the greatness of the phrase—the soul of a nation personified in an individual—the inspiration of a people in the heart of a patrician."

In 1760, in the plenitude of his fame, the year after Wolfe fell victorious on the heights of Quebec, by the influence of the Royal Governor Dobbs, a new county formed from Craven was called after the great English minister.

Lord Carteret, afterwards Earl Granville, refused to part with his one-eighth share, and to him in 1744 was allotted a territory 3,000 miles long and about 70 miles broad, between the parallel near the centre of North Carolina, 35 degrees 34 minutes, and that which forms the Virginia line. The counties created while his land office was open for purchasers derived their rectangular shape from being made conformable to his boundaries, just as the counties of our new States are not defined by running streams and mountain ridges and the curved limits of swamps, but by the surveyor's chain and the theodolite. The straight line north of Moore, Montgomery, Stanly, Cabarrus, Mecklenburg, and south of Chatham, Randolph, Davidson, Rowan and Iredell shows on the map the southern limit of Granville's great property.

In the beginning of this century there occurred at Raleigh a battle of giants. The scene of the conflict was the Circuit Court of the United States. The arbiter of the fray was Judge Henry Potter. On the side of the plaintiffs the leader was William Gaston. On the side of the defendant the most eminent was Duncan Cameron. It was the heirs of Earl Granville struggling to get back from the people of North Carolina the magnificent estate which they had won by the sword. When the fight was ended all that remained to the heirs of the noble Earl was the honor of naming one of our counties Granville. They carried their futile quest to the Supreme Court of the United States, but the war of 1812 was coming on and the plaintiff retired from the pursuit, somewhat placated by a large indemnity from the British Treasury.

Lord Carteret took possession of his North Carolina territory in 1744. He sent forth his agents, Childs, Frohock and others, and opened his land offices and made his sales. His practice was to require reservations of quit-rents to be paid yearly. The settlers had the double burden of paying rents on their lands to Granville and poll taxes to the royal governor at Newbern.

The money raised from these exactions was carried to England or to Newbern, and no expenditure was made of appreciable benefit to taxpayers. A few officials about Hillsboro gathered large fees, and grew fat, and a grand Governor's Palace was built in a far-off town. So rage grew fierce and tempers waxed fiery hot, and the old flint and steel rifles were rubbed up and oiled and bullets were moulded, and rusty scythe blades were sharpened for swords, and from the hills of Granville to the secluded gorges of the Brushy Mountains the Regulators banded together, and the struggle against oppression had its beginning.

It was a duty that we the inheritors of the liberty won in part by their valor, should show our appreciation of their efforts, by giving to one of the most thriving counties in the State the name of Alamance, from the name of the battle which crushed them.

Let us proceed with our story. There were four counties created by Governor Tryon a year before the battle of Alamance, in 1770, Guilford, Surry, Chatham and Wake. Whence these names?

It is difficult for the present generation to understand the feelings of our ancestors towards Lord North, afterwards Earl of Guilford. He was not a bad nor a cruel man. He was in England personally wonderfully popular. He combined, like our Vance, genius and power with multiform wit and unfading good humor. But he was in favor of taxing America, and we hated him.

Previous to 1770 the county of Rowan covered nearly all Granville's territory west of the Yadkin, and much east of that river. Orange, then of extensive area, joined it on the east. To prevent combination among the Regulators, Governor Tryon procured the incorporation of four new counties, and wishing to please all parties he called one after the Earldom of Guilford, of which Lord North was heir apparent, another Surry, in honor of Lord Surrey, afterwards Duke of Norfolk, a follower of Chatham; a third Chatham, after the great opponent of Lord North, with its county-seat at Pittsborough, and the fourth after the maiden name of his wife.

The difference between the new and the old country grew and became more angry and wide. Again was the sound of cannon heard among our hills. With consummate generalship Greene baffled the trained soldiers of Cornwallis, and at Guilford Court House, though not technically a victor, prepared the way for Yorktown.

The obstinate King and his minister were forced to yield and a new ministry, headed by one of the warmest friends of the colonies, Charles Watson Wentworth, Marquis of Rockingham, paved the way for the acknowledgement of our independence. And, as if with a grim irony, our ancestors carved from the territory of Guilford, as a punishment for its namesake's misconduct, its northern half, and gave to it and its county-seat the names of his conquering rival. To the great General who had snatched victory from defeat, and rescued from British thralldom the Southern province, they expressed their gratitude not only by a gift of 25,000 acres of land, but kept his memory ever honored and his name ever green, by assigning it to a rich county and county seat in the east, and to the county seat of Guilford, destined to become a prosperous inland city.

The gratitude of our ancestors for the services of those abroad and at home, in legislative halls and in the conflicts of

war, who had fought for our liberties, did not end here. By the neighbor of old Guilford on the south they commemorated the labors and virtues of the first President of the Continental Congress, Peyton Randolph, whose kinsmen, Edmund Randolph and John Randolph, of Roanoke, afterwards became so conspicuous.

Different sections of old Surry bear the names of John Wilkes, the champion of liberty, the victorious foe of arbitrary arrests, an ardent supporter of the Marquis of Rockingham, and John Stokes, covered with honorable scars of battle, the first Judge of the District Court of North Carolina. And dotted over the State are many other evidences of the gratitude of our people for the sufferings and success of the old heroes, not in brass and marble, but in the more enduring forms of counties and town of fairest lands and noblest men and women—such as Washington and Montgomery, Warren and Gates, Lincoln and Wayne, Franklin and Madison, from other States, and from our own limits, Ashe, Lenoir and Harnett, Buncombe and Caswell, Cleveland and McDowell, Davidson and Davie, Nash and Person, Robeson and Sampson, Rutherford and Stokes, Alexander and Iredell, Jones, Moore and Burke. Their friends in England, the leaders of the peace party which, after a long struggle, forced the obstinate King to grant independence to the colonies, not only the Marquis of Rockingham and John Wilkes and Lord Surrey, whom I have named, but Chief Justice Camden and the Duke of Richmond were honored in this land so far from the scene of their labors.

Governor Gabriel Johnston, the able Scotchman, who was by far the best Governor our State had prior to the Revolution, died in 1752, a year memorable for the change of Old Style into New Style Calendar. Shortly before his death the county of Anson was created, including all the western



part of the State and Tennessee south of Granville's line. After the death of Johnston, for a short while Nathaniel Rice, and on his death Matthew Rowan, an estimable man, as President of the Council, acted as Governor until superseded by the Scotch-Irishman, Governor Dobbs.

It was found best to erect a new county, comprising all the lands of Lord Granville west of Orange. The new county was called Rowan, in honor of the acting Governor. Nine years afterwards, in 1762, Mecklenburg was cut off from Anson and its county seat was called Charlotte.

In 1761, the Admiral George, Lord Anson, with all the pomp and splendor which the British navy could supply, was bringing from Germany a blooming bride to the young King George III. Her name was Charlotte. She was a princess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz.

Few men stand out in English history more distinguished for romantic daring as a navigator, for the strong, sturdy qualities of English sailors, descendants of the old Northmen who issued from their frozen fiords in Denmark, Norway and Sweden, like an irresistible torrent to conquer the nations, than George Lord Anson. He led a squadron around Cape Horn in the perils of winter, and after many captures of Spanish ships and towns, circumnavigated the globe. He was the pioneer of the great victories of the English navy.

George Lord Anson was the teacher of Nelson. He it was who gave the daring order which has led to so many victories over overwhelming odds, by English over French and Spaniards: "Close with the enemy, gun to gun, hand to hand, cutlass to cutlass, no matter what odds against you." In early life he purchased lands on the waters of the Peedee, but his dreams of forest happiness were broken by the alarm of war. In 1749, when at the zenith of his popularity, his name was given to the vast country which extended from the limits of Bladen to the far waters of the mighty Mississippi.

George the Third began his reign in 1760, for a few short years, one of the most popular kings who ever sat on a throne, both at home and in the colonies. When his bride, the homely but sensible and pious Charlotte, came from the north of Germany to England, she was the favorite of the day. It was the fashion to admire everything Prussian from the stern Frederick, then striking some of the most terrific blows of the seven-year war, to the blooming maiden, whether princess or ganzemadchen. The bride was received in London with enthusiastic ovations. Her manner, conversation and dress were heralded as if she were a goddess. Her manners were pronounced by no less a judge than Horace Walpole as "decidedly genteel." Her dress was of white satin, brocaded with gold, distended by enormous hoops. She had a stomacher of diamonds. On her head was a cap of finest lace, stiffened so as to resemble a butterfly, fastened to the front of the head by jewels. I quote one of her speeches. When she arrived in front of St. James' Palace, where she was to meet the groom, the bride turned pale. The Duchess of Hamilton rallied her. The princess replied: "Yes, my dear Duchess, you may laugh, you are not going to be married, but it is no joke to me." It was a tremendously exciting time.

Horace Walpole writes, "Royal marriages, coronations and victories come tumbling over one another from distant parts of the globe like the words of a lady romance writer—I don't know where I am—I had scarce found Mecklenburg-Strelitz with a magnifying glass on the map before I was whisked to Pondicherry. Then thunder go the Tower guns; behold the French are totally defeated by Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick, at the battle of Minden." The joy of this period and the satisfaction over this marriage extended to the wilds of North Carolina, and the good queen's name, Charlotte of Mecklenburg, was affixed, as soon as the news

came, to a county and its capital. She was a model of domestic virtue, and the court, through her influence, was pure in the midst of a corrupt society. And when our ancestors, in the angry passions of war in 1779, expunged from the map the hated name of Tryon, when the inhabitants of this section were the fiercest fighters against her husband, their swords as sharp as hornet stings, they allowed the name of the good queen to remain as a perpetual tribute to all womanly virtues.

Note the coincidence, that just as Admiral Anson introduced Charlotte of Mecklenburg into England as its queen, so in the distant colony the county of Anson in North Carolina political history, went before and was usher to the county of Mecklenburg.

It should be a warning lesson to all rulers that only 13 years after this ebullition of loyal affection the most defiant resolutions and the most spirited action against England's king came from those enlightened men whose county and town bore the name of England's queen. The chords of sentimental devotion snapped when strained by hard and real assaults on inherited liberties. With many a sigh over the sweet past, now turned into bitterness, our ancestors addressed themselves to the stern task before them.

Some of our counties bear the names of Indian tribes which once roamed over these hills and dales. There are Cherokee and Currituck, Catawba and Chowan, Watauga and Pasquotank, Alleghany and Perquimans, Yadkin\* and Pamlico. A miserable remnant of the Cherokees still live under the shadow of the Smokies. As these people passed away toward the setting sun they left here and there their musical names, well nigh the sole relic of their language, their sepulchral mounds and mouldering skeletons and tawdy

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\*It is contended by some that Yadkin is a corrupt pronunciation of Adkin, the name of an old settler on this river.

ornaments within, almost the sole reminders of their stalwart warriors and graceful maidens; their arrows and tomahawk heads, the harmless mementos of their once dreaded weapons of war.

#### CORNWALLIS VS. MORGAN AND GREENE.

Two of the Piedmont counties, Catawba and Yadkin, have rivers flowing by and through them, bearing their names, which bring to mind most thrilling incidents of the Revolutionary war. The gallant Morgan, fighting in defiance of the prudential maxims of war, had humbled Tarleton at Cowpens and captured many prisoners, guns and ammunition. Cornwallis, only 25 miles distant, with his trained army of veterans, hastened to avenge the disgrace. It was in the dead of winter. The roads were softened by continued rains. For twelve days the pursuit continued. Nearer and nearer rushed on the pursuing foe. Success seemed almost in Cornwallis' grasp. From the summit of every hill could be seen only a few miles off the retreating columns, foot-store and weary, in front the luckless prisoners, in the rear the dauntless rear-guards. Softly and pleasantly flowed the river over the pebbles of its Island Ford. Swiftly and easily through the waters the flying column passed. Up the steep hills they toiled and then rested for the night, while the vengeful British, only two hours behind, waited until the morning light should direct their steps to sure and easy victory.

#### MAN PROPOSES, GOD DISPOSES.

The race is not always to the swift nor the battle to the strong. As the Red Sea waves saved the trembling Israelites from boasting Pharaoh's hordes, as Old Father Tiber drove back Lars Porsena of Clusium from the gates of Rome, where Horatius kept the bridge, so the mighty Catawba roused himself in his fury to thwart the exulting Briton. From the

slopes of the Brushy, and South and Linville and the distant Blue Ridge Mountains poured the angry torrents, and when the gray light of morning broke a yellow flood, swift and deep and strong, raged in his front. The Greeks or the Romans would have deified the protecting river, and in a lofty temple, with splendid architectural adornments, would have been a noble statue carved with wonderful art dedicated to Catawba Salvator, the protecting river god.

After a short rest, Cornwallis, who was an active and able officer, in later years distinguished as Viceroy of Ireland and Governor-General of India, burnt the superfluous baggage of his troops and hurried to overtake and destroy Greene's army, then being gathered out of the fragments of the forces of Gates scattered at Camden. Small bodies of militia guarded the fords of the Catawba, now become passable. At Cowan's ford was a young officer, who had gained promotion under the eye of the great Washington at Brandywine, Germantown and Monmouth. He was in the place of Rutherford, captured at Camden, Brigadier-General of the militia of the section. He was an active and able commander who had infused his fiery energy and pluck into the people. Making a pretended attack at Beattie's ford, Cornwallis directed all the force of his army at Cowan's ford. A spirited resistance was made against the overwhelming odds and the young general was left dead on the bloody field. The Continental Congress, in grateful recognition of his services, voted that a monument be erected to his memory, but a hundred years have not witnessed the inception of this worthy undertaking.

North Carolina has erected a far more enduring cenotaph by giving the name of William Davidson to one of her most prosperous counties.

Forward in rapid retreat push the thin columns of Greene, forward press the strong forces of Cornwallis. The fortunes

of the entire Southern country tremble in the balance. If Greene's army shall be saved, he will rally around him the scattered patriots and soon confront his adversary, ready on more equal terms to contend for the mastery. If it shall be overtaken nothing can save it from destruction, and from the James river to the Chattahooche the standard of King George will be raised over a conquered people. The eyes of all friends of liberty are turned with alarmed anxiety toward the unequal contest.

Again does the god of battle interpose to thwart the well-laid scheme. Again do the descending floods dash their angry waters against the baffled Britons. Again does the flushed and furious foe stand powerless. The noble Yadkin emulates her sister, Catawba, and interposes her swollen stream, fierce and deep, between him and the object of his vengeance.

#### DAVIE AND THE UNIVERSITY.

Davie was the Father of the University. Joseph Caldwell was its first President, cared for it in its early years, while Swain carried on his work. Alfred Moore, and John Haywood, an able Attorney-General and Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, assisted as Trustees in selecting its site, while Mitchell lost his life in her service. After all these were counties named. One of the most active co-fighters with Davidson in checking the enemy and gaining time for gathering strength to meet him in the field was William Richardson Davie, at first a cavalry officer and then in the more arduous but more useful position of Commissary General. He was a strong staff on which General Greene had leaned. He was conspicuous in civil pursuits; an able lawyer, an orator of wide influence. He was afterwards Governor of the State; one of the Envoys of the United States to the Court of France, who averted a threatened war. I

find him styled in the Journal of the University in 1810, "the Father of the University," and he well deserves the title. We have his portrait at the University. His face shows his character, elegant, refined, noble, intellectual, firm. It was most fitting that Davidson and Davie should be side-by-side on the banks of the rivers which witnessed their patriotism, and in the country whose liberties they gained.

The county of Wayne brings to our minds the great soldier, the military genius of whom electrified the well-nigh despairing colonists by the brilliant capture of Stony Point.

James Glasgow was one of the most trusted men of the Revolution. In conjunction with Alexander Gaston, the father of Judge Gaston, and Richard Cogdell, grandfather of George E. Badger, he was one of the Committee of Safety of Newbern District. He was Major of the Regiment of the county of Dobbs.

When North Carolina, on the 18th of December, 1776, adopted its constitution and took its place among the free States of the earth, Richard Caswell was its first Governor and James Glasgow its first Secretary of State. A grateful Legislature gave to a county formed out of old Orange, mother of counties of great men, the appellation of Caswell. And when it expunged from our map the odious remembrance of Dobbs, no name was found more worthy to designate one of the counties carved out of its territory than Glasgow.

Behold the reward of dishonesty and crime: The name of Greene has supplanted on the map that of the obliterated Glasgow, and on the records of the Free and Accepted Masons the black, dismal lines of disgrace are drawn around the signature of the poor wretch, who was weighed in the balance and found wanting.

Among the heroic men who poured out their life-blood on distant battlefields—on the far-away hills of Canada—there

was none more gallant than Benjamin Forsyth, whose name survives in one of the most flourishing counties in our State.

The war of 1812 does not seem to have stirred the hearts of our people to great extent, as I find no county names from its heroes except Forsyth. I feel sure that Jackson was honored for his Presidential and Creek Indian services as much as for the victory of New Orleans and Clay for his popularity with his party, long after his service as War Speaker of the House of Representatives.

#### EASTERN AND WESTERN CONTROVERSY.

The constitution of 1776 was formed at a time when hatred and fear of executive power and of kingly government were at the utmost. Hence resulted an instrument under which nearly all the powers were in the hands of the General Assembly. This body appointed the Governor, and chief State officers, the Attorney-General and Solicitors, the Judges and all the militia officers, and likewise controlled their salaries. Then, as now, it elected the Justices of the Peace, and these officers elected the Sheriffs and other county officers. The Assembly thus controlled the executive and judicial branches. It had unlimited power of taxation and could incur unlimited public debt. It could, and did, tax one kind of property, and exempt others.

The powers of the Legislature of 1776 being so great it was important that the different sections of the State should have in the elections of the members equivalent voice. But this was very far from being the case. The Senate consisted of one member from each county. The House of two from each county and six, afterwards seven, Borough members. In 1776 there were 25 Eastern and 8 Western counties. In both branches the West was outnumbered 3 to 1.

The wonderful invention which is effecting greater changes in behalf of mankind than all the inventions the world ever



saw before, the railroad, inflamed to fever heat, the hostility of the Western people to the old constitution, which had been quickened a dozen years before when canal digging everywhere had been inaugurated by the finishing of the Erie Canal, of New York. An agitation ensued which shook the State from the Smoky Mountains to Chickamicomico—the West demanding in thunder tones the correction of the abominable inequality and injustice of representation by counties.

One of the most prominent leaders in this movement so important to the West was Wm. Julius Alexander, in 1828 Speaker of the House of Commons, afterwards Solicitor of the Western District, in his prime one of the most popular and able men of this section. He was, young people will be interested in learning, likewise distinguished for having won the hand of a most beautiful and admired belle, Catharine Wilson, whose charms attracted visitors from distant regions.

Some of the other prominent actors in this struggle, such as Cabarrus, Macon, Gaston, Yancey, Stanly, Swain, Henderson, Graham, are represented in your list of counties.

The deep valleys which separate the hills of Devonshire in England are called "coombes," or as we spell it, "combes." On the margin of the Tamar, which with the Plym, forms the noble harbour of Plymouth, rises a hill noted for its picturesque loveliness. It is called Mount Edgecombe (the edge or margin of the valley). It is the territorial title of an English Earl. In 1733 Sir Richard, Baron Edgecombe, was a lord of the Treasury, and it was in his honor that the new-born county in North Carolina was called. The eminent Admiral, George, Earl of Edgecombe, was his son.

The name Wilson brings to our minds one of the best types of North Carolina statesmen. He was long the trusted representative in the State Senate of a people who required of their public men, prudence, economy, and strictest integrity.

It was when he might have been seeking the repose of an honorable old age that Louis D. Wilson offered his services as a volunteer in the war with Mexico. It was a grateful act on the part of the General Assembly, on the motion of the people who loved him and whom he loved, and to whose poor he bequeathed the bulk of his fortune, to name the county cut off mostly from his native Edgecombe in his perpetual honor.

The county of Nash is, like Wilson, the daughter of Edgecombe. In one of the darkest hours of the Revolution, after famine and freezing cold had reduced our troops almost to despair, fell General Francis Nash, brother of Governor Abner Nash, at Germantown. The General Assembly in the year of the battle created this county as his monument. All who knew his nephew, the late Chief Justice Frederick Nash, so distinguished for Christian virtues and the natural courtesy of the perfect gentleman, could trace in him the features of the chivalric military hero. It was reserved for a large-hearted citizen of Pennsylvania, Mr. John F. Watson, with the aid of his townsmen of Germantown, to erect a marble shaft over his dust at Kulpville, where his shattered body was interred in the presence of Washington and his gallant army in 1777, amid the falling of the October leaves.

In a distant part of the State, among the peaks and ravines of the Blue Ridge, is the memorial county, as is stated in the charter, of another Revolutionary hero, who was wounded when Nash was killed, who fought also at Brandywine, Camden, Guilford Court House and Eutaw, and was a leading citizen for half a century after the achievement of our independence, Lieutenant-Colonel William Polk, one of our earliest and wisest friends of higher education.

Another epoch in our history I will mention and my paper will be finished. It is the great Civil War, in which North Carolina struggled for the victory with all the con-

sciousness of rectitude, with all the devotion of patriotism and the desperate energy of a high-spirited race unused to defeat and fighting for what they thought their rights. She threw without grudging the sacrifice into the tremendous vortex the most valued of her treasures and the noblest of her sons. Although defeated and for a season crushed, she could not forget those who at her bidding served so faithfully and strove so manfully, albeit vainly, with muscle and brain to carry out her orders. She bows obediently to the decision of the God of Battles, yet in her great warm heart she cherishes the fame and the sufferings of her sons, and hence we find on the map of the State the name of one of Lee's best generals, the gallant Pender, whose blood stained the heights of Gettysburg, and of him who after a short, faithful service at the front, became the best War Governor of the South, who in the direst needs of the Confederacy fed and clothed our North Carolina soldiers and re-animated their drooping spirits with fervid eloquence, our beloved Senator, Zebulon Baird Vance. Illustrating this and other periods in legislative halls is, in the front rank of our statesmen, William A. Graham.

It is most fitting that the extraordinary advancement in industrial enterprise, first inaugurated in the town of Durham, should be recognized by our law-making power in the creation of the county of the same name. May it be an incitement to and prognostication of the development of our resources and the increase of wealth in our borders. The name is all the more fitting because to the Lords Proprietors were given the almost royal powers of the Bishop of Durham.

In conclusion, the county last created transfers to our map the name of the land so full of associations of beauty and of grandeur, from which, partly by direct immigration, partly by way of North Ireland, so many of our ablest and best people came—Scotland.

And now let us point the moral of these glimpses of past history. When you hear the names of our counties, do not stand with vacant eyes. Let them bring to mind the teachings associated with their names, the various epochs of our history, Indian traditions, hereditary aristocracy, colonial systems, the horrors of war, the upward march toward constitutional liberty, the triumphs of industry, the advance of civilization and of Christianity. In remembering the leaders do not forget the humble followers, "the unnamed demi-gods of history," as Kossuth calls them, who gained so much for their descendants and for mankind generally, and lie in forgotten graves.

From the exterminated Indians learn a great political lesson. If their warring tribes could have united and opposed their combined strength against the European invaders, they might for many years have held their homes, and in the end amalgamated with their conquerors. Let us all discard past differences and cherish the union of the States, for in that Union, the States "distinct as the billows, yet one as the sea," in the words of the poet, or in the language of the Supreme Court, an "undissoluble union of indestructible States," lies our strength. Let the hatreds of our great Civil War be buried forever. The God of Battles has decided against the idea of secession. On the walls of the Atheneum in Boston are two swords crossed, their deadly mission ended. Under them is an inscription showing that they belonged to the ancestors of the historian, Prescott, who fought on opposite sides on Bunker Hill. The old warfare of Whigs and Tories has long since ceased, and in like manner let the descendants of those who followed the Stars and Stripes, shoulder to shoulder with those above whom waved the Stars and Bars, strive to gain all moral excellence and all material prosperity for the great Republic of the World.



ADMIRAL SIR THOMAS FRANKLAND.



*de Thomas Frankland*

## A COLONIAL ADMIRAL OF THE CAPE FEAR.

BY JAMES SPRUNT, BRITISH VICE-CONSUL AT WILMINGTON, N. C.

The Colonial plantations on the lower Cape Fear River have long yielded to the patient and persevering student of local literature a generous contribution of interesting history pertaining to the eventful years which marked the destiny of a brave and generous people. Throughout the Colonial period these important estates were held by men of eminence and of action, and from that time to the present day their owners have been gentlemen to the manner born, fitted by birth and education for the highest social and civic stations. Read, for example, the line of "Orton" proprietors who have lived upon this land for nearly two hundred years.

Originally obtained by patent from the Lords Proprietors under Charles II. in 1725, to Col. Maurice Moore, then "King" Roger Moore, William Moore 2nd, Governor Arthur Dobbs, Governor Wm. Tryon, Richard Quince 1st, Richard Quince 2nd, Richard Quince 3rd, Governor Benjamin Smith, Dr. Fred J. Hill, Richard Curren Roundell (a nephew of Lord Selbourne, Lord Chancellor of England), and, lastly, to the late Col. K. M. Murchison.

The lordly residence of the Chief Justice Eleazer Allen, upon the adjacent plantation of Lilliput, which was distinguished in his day by a large and liberal hospitality, has long since disappeared, but the grand old oaks which lifted their majestic branches to the soft south breezes in Colonial times, still sing their murmured requiem above a "boundless contiguity of shade."

Here, upon the banks of our historic river, which stretches two miles to the eastern shore, is heard the booming of the broad Atlantic as it sweeps in its might and majesty

from Greenland to the Gulf. Along the shining beach, from Fisher to Fort Caswell, its foaming breakers run and roar, the racing steeds of Neptune, with their white crested manes, charging and reforming for the never ending fray.

The adjacent larger plantation of Kendal, originally owned by "King" Roger Moore, from whom it passed to others of his descendants, was later the property of James Smith, a brother of Governor Benjamin Smith's, and it was here, near the banks of Orton creek, which divides this estate from the splendid domain of Orton, with its 10,000 acres, that the quarrel between the Smith brothers ended by the departure of James to South Carolina, where he assumed his mother's name, Rhett, leaving his intolerant and choleric brother Benjamin to a succession of misfortunes, disappointments and distresses, which brought him at last to a pauper's grave. Aide de camp to Washington, a General of the State Militia, a Governor of the State, a benefactor of the University, a melancholy example of public ingratitude.

Behind Kendal is McKenzie's Mill Dam, the scene of a battle between the British troops and the minute men from Brunswick and from Wilmington.

We linger at Orton, the most attractive of all the old English estates on the Cape Fear. For a hundred and eighty-one years it has survived the vicissitudes of war, pestilence and famine, and until the recent death of its last proprietor has maintained its reputation of Colonial days for a refined and generous hospitality. Here in the exhilaration of the hunter, the restful seclusion of the angler, the quiet quest of the naturalist, the peaceful contemplation of the student, is found surcease from the vanities and vexations of urban life. For nearly two centuries it has been a haven of rest and recreation to its favoured guests. The house, or Hall, built by "King" Roger Moore in 1725, with its stately white pillars



gleaming in the sunshine through the surrounding forest, is a most pleasing vista to the passing mariner. The river view stretches for ten miles southward and eastward, including "Big Sugar Loaf," Fort Anderson, Fort Buchanan and Fort Fisher.

We love its traditions and its memories, for no sorrow came to us there. The primeval forest with its dense undergrowth of dogwood blossoms which shine with the brightness of the falling snow; the thickets of Cherokee roses, which surpass the most beautiful of other regions; the brilliant carpet of wild azaleas, the golden splendour of the yellow jessamine, the modest drosera, the marvellous *dionea mucipula*, and the trumpet *saracenas*; the river drive to the white beach, from which are seen the distant breakers; the secluded spot in the wilderness commanding a wide view of an exquisite landscape where, safe from intrusion, we sat upon a sheltered seat beneath the giant pines and heard the faint "yo ho" of the sailor, outward bound; a place apart for holy contemplation when the day is far spent, where the overhanging branches cast the shadow of a cross and where later, through the interlacing foliage, the star of hope is shining; the joyful reception at the big house, the spacious hall with its ample hearth and blazing oak logs; around it, after the bountiful evening meal, the old songs were sung and the old tales were told, and fun and frolic kept dull care beyond the threshold.

Through the quiet lanes of Orton to the ruins of the Provincial Governor Tryon's palace, is half a mile. Here is the cradle of American independence, for upon this spot, now hidden by a dense undergrowth of timber, occurred, between six and seven o'clock on the evening of the 19th of February, 1766, the first open resistance to the British Stamp Act in the American colonies, by 150 armed men, who surrounded the palace and demanded the surrender of the custodians of the obnoxious symbols of the King's authority.

Ten minutes walk farther down brings us to the ruins of the Colonial Parish Church of St. Philip, the scene of many notable incidents and the resting place of the early pioneers. It was built by the citizens of Brunswick and principally by the landed gentry about the year 1740. In the year 1751, Mr. Lewis Henry deRosset, a member of Governor Gabriel Johnston's council, and subsequently an expatriated Royalist, introduced a bill appropriating to the Church of St. Philip at Brunswick and to St. James' Church at Wilmington, equally, a fund that was realized by the capture and destruction of a pirate vessel, which, in a squadron of Spanish buccaneers, had entered the river and plundered the plantations. A picture, "Ecce Homo," captured from this pirate, is still preserved in the vestry room of St. James' Church in Wilmington. The walls of St. Phillip's Church are nearly three feet thick, and are solid and almost intact still; the roof and floor have disappeared. It must have possessed much architectural beauty and massive grandeur with its high-pitched roof, its lofty doors and beautiful chancel windows.

A little to the west, surrounded by a forest of pines, lies Liberty Pond, a beautiful lake of clear spring water, once stained with the blood of friend and foe in a deadly conflict, hence its traditional name. It is now a most restful, tranquil spot—the profound stillness, the beach of snow-white sand, the unbroken surface of the lake, which reflects the foliage and the changing sky line.

Turning to the southeast, we leave the woodland and reach a bluff upon the river bank, still known as Howe's Point, where the Revolutionary patriot and soldier, General Robert Howe, was born and reared. His residence, long since a ruin, was a large frame building on a stone or brick foundation, still remembered as such by several aged citizens of Brunswick.

A short distance from the Howe place, the writer found some years ago, in the woods and upon a commanding site near the river, under many layers of pine straw, the clearly defined ruins of an ancient fort, which was undoubtedly of Colonial origin. Mr. Reynolds, who lives at his place nearby, says that his great-grandfather informed him forty years ago that this fort was erected long before the war of the Revolution by the Colonial Government for the protection of the colonists against buccaneers and pirates, and that he remembers having heard of an engagement in 1776 between the Americans who occupied this fort and the British troops who landed from their ships in the river, in which battle the British drove the Americans from the fort to McKenzie's Mill Dam.

Hence to the staid old county seat is a journey of an hour; it was originally known as Fort Johnston, a fortification named for the Colonial Governor, Gabriel Johnston. It was established about the year 1745 for the protection of the colony against pirates which infested the Cape Fear River. The name was subsequently changed to Smithville in honour of Benjamin Smith, to whom reference has been made, who had behaved with conspicuous gallantry under Moultrie when he drove the British from Port Royal; he was subsequently elected fifteen times to the Senate and became Governor of the Commonwealth in 1810. By recent authority of the State Legislature the name was again changed to Southport. In the old Court-house, which is its principal building, may be seen the evidence that on the death of Mr. Allen, 17th January, 1749, aged 57 years, at Lilliput, where he was buried, this plantation became the property (and it is said the residence for a brief period) of the great-grandson of Oliver Cromwell, Sir Thomas Frankland, Admiral of the *White* in the British navy, a position of great distinction, which he attained at the early age of 28 years, and of his

wife, who was Sarah Rhett, the daughter of Colonel Rhett, of South Carolina, and a niece of Chief Justice Allen.

It appears also from the Colonial Records, in a letter from Rev. John McDowell, who served the twin parishes of St. Philip's at Brunswick and St. James' at Wilmington, addressed to the Secretary of the Honourable Society which supported him, in London, and written from Brunswick April 16, 1761, and also by subsequent letters with particular reference to the long delayed completion of the Parish Church of St. Philips, that Admiral Frankland and Lady Frankland contributed substantial sums of money for its support.

The records of these two interesting personages in the early history of our settlement are too obscure for a connected narrative. All of my endeavors to obtain sufficient material for a sketch of this Colonial Cape Fear Admiral, in Charleston, in Boston, in the National Library at Washington and in London, were in vain until I obtained an introduction to the present head of the house, the great-grandson of Admiral Frankland, Sir Ralph Payne Gallway, of Thirkleby Park, Thirsk, Yorkshire, one of the most beautiful county seats in England, who has been good enough to compile for me the following notes with reference to Sir Charles Frankland, the Colonial Collector of the port of Boston, and his romantic marriage with Agnes Surriage, and, to his successor, Sir Thomas Frankland, the youthful Admiral and rover of the seas, of whose life upon the Carolina station and in Charleston and on the Cape Fear River at Lilliput, there is unfortunately but fragmentary and unsatisfying evidence.

Sir Charles Frankland was born in 1716 in Bengal, India; he died at Bath in 1768. He was the eldest son of Henry Frankland, Governor of Bengal, who died in 1728, who was a brother of Sir Thomas Frankland, third Baronet of Thirk-

leby, the latter being a descendant of Cromwell and also of Charles I. Sir Charles was on a visit to Lisbon during the great earthquake of 1755. He returned to Lisbon as Consul General of Portugal in 1757. In 1763 Sir Charles returned to Boston, where he resumed his duties as "Collector of the Customs of the Port," though he at the same time held his office as Consul General of Portugal till 1767, in which year he returned to Thirkleby and died the following one.

Sir Charles Frankland's romantic marriage with Agnes Surriage at Lisbon, where she rescued him from the ruins of the earthquake, has been the subject of several books and romances, even plays, as well as the beautiful ballad of "Agnes," by Oliver Wendell Holmes." The history of Sir Charles and Agnes Surriage, or "Boston in Colonial Times," is to be found in a book by the Rev. Elias Mason. A more recent work on the same subject is called "Agnes Surriage." It is by Edwin Lassetter Bynner, 1886. Agnes Surriage was the daughter of a poor fisherman at Marblehead, near Boston. Sir Charles was buried for several hours in the remains of a church that was thrown down. Agnes Surriage searched for him until she heard the sound of his voice, and then, by large offers of money, and all the jewelry she wore at the time, she persuaded some terrified people near, who chanced to be uninjured, to excavate her lover. On his recovery from his wounds Sir Charles at once married his rescuer as a proof of gratitude. The person who was buried alive with Sir Charles at Lisbon, under the fallen stones of the church, in her madness and pain tore a piece out of his coat with her teeth. This coat, with the rent in it, was preserved at Thirkleby as a memento of an awful experience 'till it, at length, fell to pieces from age.

In 1751 Sir Charles built a good house and purchased a fair estate at Hopkinton, near Boston. This house was destroyed by fire January 23d, 1758, but on the same site a

new house was ere long erected, which was built to resemble the old one. In 1747 Sir Charles succeeded his uncle, the third Baronet, but, owing to a disputed will, did not for some years inherit the estates at Thirkleby and elsewhere.

His uncle, whom he succeeded in the title, was M.P for Thirsk, 1711-1747, and a Lord of the Admiralty; he died in 1747. He, *Sir Thomas Frankland, third Baronet*, made three wills. In the first, dated 1741, he left Thirkleby and his other estates to his nephew, afterwards Sir Charles. In 1744, he altered all this and left Thirkleby to his widow for her life. In his last and third will he left Thirkleby and all his estates to his widow absolutely. It was contended by Sir Charles, his successor, that the last will was made when Sir Thomas was of unsound mind, and under undue influence. A lawsuit was, therefore, entered on by Sir Charles to set aside Sir Thomas's last will, and in this he was successful, and hence gained Thirkleby and the other family estates.

Sir Charles died in 1768 at Bath, and in Weston Church, in the suburbs of Bath, there is a long inscription to him. He was twice in residence at Lisbon as Consul General of Portugal.

Lady Frankland (Agnes Surriage) returned to Hopkinton, near Boston, after her husband's death, near where she was born, and lived until Sir Charles took her away. She resided at Hopkinton 'till the declaration of war, and for a short time after. She witnessed from her house the battle of Bunker's Hill, a bullet breaking the glass of the window she was looking through.

Being a Loyalist, she returned to England, and paid a long visit to Thirkleby. She then moved, in 1782, to Chichester, where she married Mr. John Drew, a banker. She died the following year and is buried at Chichester; aged 57 years.

*Admiral Sir Thomas Frankland* succeeded, as fifth Baronet, his elder brother, Sir Charles, in the family estates and title. He was born in 1718, and died at Bath, 1784, aged 66. Member of Parliament for the Borough of Thirsk 1747-1784. Successively Admiral of the *Red* and then of the *White* in the King's navy. Buried at Thirkleby. Married Sarah, the daughter of Colonel William Rhett, of South Carolina, May, 1743; she died April, 1808, aged 84. Sir Thomas, the Admiral, was the great grandson of Oliver Cromwell and the great grandfather of the writer of these notes. The inscription to the Admiral in Thirkleby Church is as follows:

“Sir Thomas Frankland, second son of Henry Frankland, Governor of Fort William in Bengal. Admiral of the *White*, who represented the Borough of Thirsk in six Parliaments. He died at Bath on the 21st of November, 1784, aged 66. He married Sarah, daughter of William Rhett, Esq., of South Carolina, by whom he left *seven* sons and *three* daughters.”

When in Boston, in 1742, Captain Thomas Frankland, as he then was, paid a visit to his elder brother, Sir Charles, whom he eventually succeeded in title and Thirkleby estates. Whilst at Charlestown he fell in love with Sarah Rhett, and on his subsequent visit there he married her. He was at that time Captain of H. M. Frigate *Rose*, though only 25 years of age. Some very effusively complimentary verses were printed in the *Boston Evening Post* on the occasion of Captain Frankland's visit to Boston in 1742. A few of these lines I quote, but the poem is too long to give in full here:

“From peaceful solitude and calm retreat  
I now and then look out upon the great.  
Praise where 'tis due I'll give, no servile tool  
Of honorable knave, or reverend fool;  
Surplice or red-coat, both alike to me,  
Let him that wears them great and worthy be.”

“We see thee Frankland dreadful o’er the main  
Not terrible to children, but to Spain.  
Then let me lisp thy name; thy praise rehearse  
Though in weak numbers and in feeble verse.  
Though faint the whisper when the thunder roars,  
And speak thee great through all Hispanios shores!”

I have had a photograph purposely done of Admiral Sir Thomas Frankland’s picture here to accompany these notes. I have also had one done at the same time of his ship preserved in model form in the hall here. Though this model is six feet long and most minutely made, and also, no doubt, most faithfully copied from the original vessel at great expense; yet we do not know her name. My brother, lately a Post Captain in the navy, did all he could to ascertain from the Admiralty, and from other sources her name, but without success. I should be very glad if the name could be discovered. On the sides of the model G. R. (George Rex) is painted in several parts. That the model is an exact copy of the original there can be do doubt, and it could not be built now at less than £300, at least so an expert in marine model building assures me. From the figure-head of the model she should be “Ajax,” “Achilles,” “Centurion,” “Warrior,” and the most likely of all, “Perseus,” as on the shield borne by the figure on the prow is carved the head of “Medusa.” None of the foregoing names belonged, as far as I can discover, to any ship which Admiral Frankland was connected with. Family tradition declares that the model is of the ship which Admiral Frankland was aboard when he captured a Spanish galleon. The galleon is said to have had so much treasure on board that from his share of the prize-money the Admiral settled five thousand pounds on each of his *eight* daughters, though only three of these survived him. However, I consider the very rich Spanish (so-called) ship that Frankland captured is the one described in the following extract from “A New Naval History, by John Entick, M.A., 1757”:



“The *Rose*, man of war, 20 guns, commanded by Captain Frankland, being cruising on the Carolina station on January 12th, 1744, fell in with the *Conception*, a French ship with a Spanish register of 400 tons, 20 guns and 326 men, bound from Carthage to Havana. After a smart engagement of eleven glasses, in which the *Conception* had 110 men killed, the *Rose*, with the loss of only 5 men, took the prize into Charleston, in South Carolina, where she proved a very valuable acquisition. Her cargo consisted of 800 serons of cocoa, in each of which was deposited a bar of gold, of the total value of 310,000 pieces of eight; wrought plate of equivalent value; a complete set of church plate; a large quantity of pearls, diamonds, and other precious stones, and gold buckles and snuff boxes; a curious silver chaise, the wheels, axles and other parts of it being all of silver. There was, besides, 600 pounds weight of gold, the whole of which was worth £200,000.”

From this account it will be seen that the *Rose*, of only 20 guns, cannot be the three-decker, the model of which is now at Thirkleby. The model is of a man of war that has as many as 74 guns in three tiers, including deck guns, and she must have been a large line of battleship such as an Admiral might hoist his pennant on when in command of a fleet. Perhaps from the photograph of the figure-head of the model some information may be obtained regarding its name, which I have always been so anxious to obtain. There is no doubt that—

1. The model is a copy of a ship commanded by Captain (or Admiral) Frankland at one time of his naval career.
2. Or, that the model is a copy of a ship captured from the enemy by Captain (or Admiral) Frankland, and afterwards converted into a British man of war.

We know that the model has been here at Thirkleby for some 150 years.

You desire to know about Sir Thomas Frankland's residence at Lilliput Plantation on the Cape Fear River in North Carolina, and particularly in regard to his life in North Carolina, and his estates on the Cape Fear River.

It occurs to me that the Admiral was too busy chasing French and Spanish ships of the enemy to have retired to an estate in Carolina, and to have had a house on a plantation there, especially as he was so active and constant in his services in the King's Navy. The only suggestion I can find that the Admiral (at that time Captain) did retire from active service for a short time is hinted in the first two lines of the poem I have quoted, and which run—

“From peaceful solitude and calm retreat,  
I now and then look out upon the great.”

The old early Elizabethan Hall at Thirkleby was pulled down in 1793, when the present house was completed. The old house, of which we have a picture, was the home of Admiral Frankland. Many flowers of the old gardens still force their heads above the soil every summer. As a boy of about twelve years of age I very well recollect an old family game-keeper who lived at Thirkleby, who at that time of my life was just 90 years of age. His name was W. Hudson. He often pointed out to me the walnut tree in the park here, up which, when he was a boy of ten or twelve, the Admiral used to order him to climb to gather the walnuts; and which the Admiral used to throw his big crook-handled stick up among its boughs to try and knock the walnuts down himself. As Hudson was born in 1770 and the Admiral died in 1784, the reminiscences of the old keeper were no doubt correct, and enables me to say that I knew a man who knew Admiral Sir Thomas Frankland, who was born in 1718, and it is quite probable that the Admiral knew a man, who, as a child, saw Charles the First's head cut off at Whitehall.

On the subject of reminiscences, though rather out of place here, as it has nothing to do with the Frankland family, I may relate that an old friend of mine, now alive and well and but 72 years of age, perfectly recollects his grandfather, who lived to a great age. The grandfather in question took a purse of gold concealed in a basket of strawberries to Prince Charlie (the Young Pretender) when he was keeping court at Hobgood Palace in 1745. The messenger with the strawberries was, of course, a child at the time, and was, as such, selected, by partisans of the Stewarts, to allay suspicion as to the real object of his visit to Hobgood, which was to aid the Prince with money to establish his rights to his throne in Scotland. This incident, (with many others of a similar kind, I found here in the muniment room among the papers of my great uncle, Lord Lavington, who was Governor of some of the West Indies Islands and was buried there), I had printed and sent to the late Queen Victoria of blessed memory. Her Majesty was greatly interested in the book I compiled and sent her, the only thing she took exception to was my allusion to Prince Charlie as "A Pretender." The young pretender was tall and handsome, and the beau ideal of a gallant cavalier, but he died, alas, at Florence, as a dissipated and drunken wreck, morally and physically.

On the following page I have attached a photograph I have had specially taken to illustrate these notes.

(N. B.—The gentleman who for many years has conducted in the most able manner, at very moderate cost, in British Museum, a great deal of research for me, historical, documentary and otherwise, and who is also a most excellent copyist of old illustrations, is William Woodrow, Esq. The Reading Room, British Museum, Bloomsbury, London.)

## THE BADGE OF ULSTER.

Given to Sir William Frankland, first Baronet of Thirkleby, by Charles II. in 1660 as a credential of his title. The only Ulster badge in existence, excepting one that is supposed to be a copy of it. It was worn as a proof of his rank and person by Sir Thomas Frankland, third Baronet, when on a mission abroad at the service of his King.

(Illustration is full size. The Red Hand, or Bloody Hand, is on white porcelain oval set round with stones. The date of confer and name of Baronet and his creation on reverse side.) The tradition is that the King of Ulster and another disputed the ownership of an estate. They agreed to race to it from a certain distance, and the one who first touched the land with his hand was to possess it. Ulster, finding himself a few yards behind at the finish, cut off his left hand and threw it in front of him over the boundary fence, and thus won the estate.

A characteristic letter from Admiral Frankland, in which he refers to the death of a gardener who has been inadvertently stifled in his master's hot-house.

"Bond Street (where the Admiral owned a house) 1760.  
A. P. G.

"Mr. Nugent, they say, spoke an hour against opening the distillery, and when they divided, voted for it, so the joke goes that he acted in the character of his country. Surely money never was so scarce, we can hardly get enough to carry on common house expenses. We shall have no peace this year its believed, and I think another year makes us stop payment, as our enemies have done, and what must we do who have our all in the stocks.

"Have you read *Tristram Shandy*? The ladies say (my wife and daughters read it not) its very clever; now pray is it indelicate or not fit? Upon my word I am abused and called a Prude for saying its scandalous for a Clergyman to write such (I was going to say Bawdy), a rapsody of hard words.

“I hear you are in low spirits about the death of your gardener. Good God, what wretches we sailors must be. I order 40 men aloft and ye mast goes and they are drowned. Their deaths are not at my door. I order the ship to be smoked to prevent sickness, and some fools stay below in the smoke and dye; Sir, am I to charge myself with their deaths?”

“We have expeditions fitting out now, where bound a secret.

(Signed) THOS. FRANKLAND.

(1) There is a long article on Admiral Frankland, his life and adventures, to be found in Charnock’s Biographic Vavalis, Vol. V—1797—page 19.

(2) Also see Schomberg’s Naval Chronology, Vol. I, page 220—1745. In this latter book the following curious incident is related:

“Another fortunate circumstance was the discovery caused thro’ a little French boy that Capt. Frankland had taken into his service. This boy made a complaint against one of the sailors for having taken from him a stick in appearance of no value. Captain Frankland recovered it for the boy, and on returning it to him gave him a playful tap on the shoulder. The head of the stick fell off then and diamonds were found inside it worth 20,000 pistoles. When the enemy surrendered, the Captain gave the stick to the boy in the hopes of saving it, not imagining that such a trifle would ever be noticed.”

In Charnock’s Chronicles a graphic account is given of Captain Frankland’s fight with (1742) three of the enemies ships, all of which he captured and took into Carolina. One of these ships tried very hard to escape, the reason being that its captain was the notorious “Fandino,” who some years before had cut off the ears of Jenkins, an English Captain. Frankland sent this man at once to Hyland to be tried for his life.

I see Captain Frankland married Miss Rhett (1743), daughter of Chief Justice of Carolina, by whom he had six sons and eight daughters. (He had nineteen children in all; several died infants.)

June, 1756, made Rear Admiral of the Blue; retained the command of the *Rose* 'till October, 1746, when he was promoted to the *Dragon*. In 1755 appointed Commodore on the Antigua Station and hoisted his broad pennant on board the *Winchester*, 50 guns, at Spithead, 10th August, and sailed very soon after for the West Indies. On his arrival there he at once quarrelled with the retiring Commodore, Pye, because this sailor had condemned his ship, the *Advice*. Admiral Frankland reported Commodore Pye for doing so, and to prove he was wrong, actually fitted up the *Advice* for himself and started on a cruise in her to show she was seaworthy, with the result that Admiral Frankland and ship nearly went to the bottom of the sea together. This quarrel and Admiral Frankland's career is to be found in a story that appeared in the London Magazine of 1774-1775, under the title of "Edward & Maria," by Capt. Ed. Thompson, R. N. In this story Admiral Freeland is "Frankland," and Commodore Pye is "Sir Richard Spry," as he afterwards became.

BRITISH MUSEUM, Add. MS. 32, 935, p. 447.

SIR:—The Barons of the Exchequer, having ordered me immediately to Lay before the Hon'ble and Rev'd. Mr. Cholmondeley, Auditor General of his Maj'ts Revenues in America, the Amount of the French Ships and Cargoes detained by me at the Leeward Islands before the Declaration of War.

The Charge attending the Dieting the Crews of those being refused to be allowed me in those Accounts, and as it cannot be imagined that I can bear those Expenses, Lett me entreat your assistance to get a Dispensing Order to the Sick and Hurt Office that the Account there may be paid me. As they

require Vouchers By their Establishment which the Nature of Those Captures could not produce.

The Governors of the Three Islands absolutely refused to give any Receipts for the French men Landed, or written Orders for their Discharges.

Their Constant Answers were they never had received the least Orders about their Detention.

No Cartel was settled or Commissarys appointed. Therefore how could I produce Vouchers from the Latter.

The account for the subsistence of those men, which I have now Laying before the Sick and Hurt Office is such, as I am ready to make any affirmation to. It has passed thro the Navy Office, in regard to the names, and Entrys and Discharges of the Particular Crews.

The Men sent into Hallifax and Jamacia have been paid By the Publick. But as where I commanded there was neither Hospital of the Kings to send them to, or Contract subsisting for me to have ordered them Agents to have victualled them or had I ships sufficient to have keep them on board and victualled them afloat, I had no other method to follow.

As this is the only obstacle that hinders my finally closing these Accounts let me again beg your aid, and I am, sir,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

Old Bond Street

THOS. FRANKLAND.

18th March, 1762.

(Endorsed) AD'L. FRANKLAND.

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE—FRANKLAND LETTERS.

(Adm. Sec. M. Letters.)

There are two series letters—one covering the period when stationed at the Bahamas as Captain of the *Rose* (about 40).

Another series when stationed at the Leeward Islands as Admiral, (about 80 to 100) (1755-'59), Pye incident. These letters are of varying interest and would suggest a selection of which specimen given re-taking the *Conception*.

(Ad. Sec. M. Letters, No. 1782.)

Captain Thomas Frankland to Secretary of the Admiralty:

HIS MAJESTY'S SHIP "ROSE," COOPER RIVER,

SOUTH CAROLINA, Jan. ye 23rd, 1744-5.

My last was dated Nov. 14th acquainting you of my delivering the letters as I was directed by Sir Chaloner Ogle. I proceeded afterwards off St. Jago de Cuba, and so between the south side of Cuba and the N. side of Jamaica down to the Grand Comanon, where I watered, wooded and heel'd, for I was hurried out of Jamaica without time to get or do either there. I then intended to go and cruize between the Rogues Cape Florida and the Pan of Matanzas (on the N. side of Cuba), but on my way on (about 35 leagues to the w'ward of the Havanna) the first day of December just before daylight I found myself almost on board a large ship. We were to windward and astern withall; I kept my wind until the day broke, then finding she had but one tier of guns but full of men by her working, for before I showed my colors, she run her courses up, bunted her mainsails, and I observed everything ready to engage and her decks crowded with people. About seven in the morning we began our engagement, which lasted until half after noon; we had a fresh gale and a great sea, and yet we were alongside of one another three or four times, for he would, as I observed, fought till night at a distance; he at last struck, for he had near a hundred men killed outright and four of his guns on one side disabled. The ship is called the *Conception* of St. Malo, Mons. Adrien Mercan, Master from Cartagena bound to Cadiz, but was to touch at the Havannah in order to land upwards of two hundred seamen besides officers that belonged to Don Blase de Leso's squadron that were destroyed at Cartagena; they were commanded by Sig'r. Don Pedro Lisagrale, a Captain of a Frigate and Major of the Galleys. We killed an officer, which will be a great loss to the Spaniards, being the best pilot they had for the West Indies; he was made a Captain de Fregattes by Admiral Toivas' request for the services he did him that way; his name is Don Pedro Manuell Long.

I had only five men killed, about ten or a dozen danger-



ously wounded, including the master, and several slightly. The cargo was hides and cocoa, with several chests of gold and silver, containing about three hundred and ten pieces of eight. She had several passengers on board, from which we got about five thousand ounces of gold in doublins, pistoles, bars, etc. When (we) gott all the prisoners on board the *Rose* and had manned the prize with my best people, for she was torn all to pieces, and began to count our numbers, I was very . . . . . (some words are covered in binding), but one hundred seventy and seven men, officers and boys at first, the prize manned 20 so wounded could . . . . . no duty and people to attend them that we had two Spaniards to one of us and in sight of their own shore running down by the Havanna and Matanzas and certain three or four of their men of war at sea, a prize astern without a . . . . . mast and all her other masts wounded, as was my main mast and fore yard that I immediately resolved within myself by all means to land them. Fortune favored us with moderate weather and a wind to fetch Key Sall (it ly. . . . . E. N E 15 leagues from the Bay of Matanzas were . . . . . and put all the Spaniards ashore, giving them the prize's shallop and my cutter, in either of which, taking fair weather, they may go to the Havanna in 20 hours; with provisions, tents and all other conveniences of life. We stayed at that key till we put the prize to rights and so proceeded down the gulf to South Carolina; I arrived the 17th day of December. I am a getting a new mast and repairing, for I received some damage from the enemy, and shall put for the sea with all speed to proceed to the Bahamas tho' I am in great hopes the Alborough is coming out to relieve me, for I have represented to their Lordships the necessity these twelve months past.

I am sorry to acquaint you that the Swallow sloop was lost on the above keys. Captain Jelfe writes by this opportunity and has sent his Lieut. home, who I suppose will wait directly on their Lordships.

I am, sirs, your most humble servant,

(Signed) THOS. FRANKLAND.

Rec'd. and read 20 Mar.

To Thos. Corbett, Esq.

Dr. John Campbell in "The Present State of Europe," 1761, thus tabulates the relative naval strength of the Powers:

"If the shipping of Europe be divided into twenty parts, then—

Great Britain, etc., hath.....	6
The United Provinces.....	6
The subjects of the Northern Crowns.....	2
The trading cities and seaports of Germany and Austrian Netherlands.....	1
France.....	2
Spain and Portugal.....	2
Italy and rest of Europe.....	1

LIST OF PLANS, MAPS, ETC., IN BRITISH MUSEUM.

- K. 122 (62)      Wilmington. A drawn plan of the town of Wilmington, in New Hanover County, North Carolina, surveyed and drawn in December, 1769, by C. I. Sauther.
- 2 Tab. 122-51      A complete map of North Carolina, from an actual survey by Captain Collet, 1770. Two sheets.
- 71965 (1)      Carolina. A general map of C. describing its sea coast and rivers. Printed for R. Blome Loud 1672. This map belongs to Blome's "Description of the Island of Jamaica" Loud 1672.
- 71965 (6)      A new map of C. by P. Lea Loud 1700.
- S. 100 (18)      A new map of C. by J. Thornton & W. Fisher (a large draught of Ashley and Cooper's rivers) Loud 1704.
- 71965 (2)      A map of North and South Carolina by J. Lawson Loud 1704. This map belongs to Lawson's "New voyage to Carolina" Loud 1709.
- 71965 (7)      A map of the province of C. divided into its parishes, etc., by H. Wall Loud 1710.
- 71965 (3)      A new map of the country of C. by J. Gascoigne, Loud 1710.
- C. 13 A. 10 (3)      Carolina. Several maps—Carolina described in "A Brief Description of the Province of C." Loud 1666.

NAVAL & MILITARY MEMOIRS OF GRT. BRITAIN FROM 1727 TO 1783, BY ROBERT BEATSON, ESQ., L.L.D. VOL. 1, P. 281-283. LOUD 1804.

The *Rose*, Captain Frankland, took, after a long and obstinate engagement, the *La Conception*, of four hundred tons, twenty guns, and three hundred and twenty-six men, from Cartagena for the Havanna. The *Rose* had only one hundred and seventy-five men on board when the action began. The enemy had one hundred and sixteen men killed, and thirteen wounded. The prize was carried into Charleston, South Carolina, and proved of great value, having on board 800 serons of cocoa, sixty-eight chests of silver, gold and silver coin, and plate to a great amount, a curious two-wheeled chaise, the wheels and axletree all of silver; some diamonds, pearls, and precious stones. On board the prize was the Viceroys Secretary, and other persons of distinction. To form a proper idea of the immense value of the prize, we shall quote the words of a very respectable author, viz., Peter Henry Bruce, Esq., who was at Charleston when the *Conception* arrived:

“Captain Thomas Frankland brought in here a very rich French prize, whose principal lading consisted in pistoles, a few chests of dollars, and a great deal of wrought gold and silver. The quantity was so great that the shares were delivered by weight, to save the trouble of counting it, so that the pistoles were now seen in greater plenty than the dollars had been in Providence; which could not be very mortifying to Governor Tinker, who was thereby deprived of the profits accruing from her condemnation, considering Captain Frankland was stationed there. But he met with this mortification in general, as no privateer would we enter with their prizes into the harbor of Providence, after the treatment that Gibball and Dowall had met with. After all, when the cargo was taken out of this prize, and the vessel was to be put up for sale, the French Captain told Captain Frankland, that if he would engage to reward him handsomely, he would discover a hidden treasure to him, which no one ever knew of but himself. Captain Frankland engaged to reward him very generously, and he did discover thirty thousand pistoles in a place where no one would have thought of finding them.

The French Captain afterwards told Governor Glenn, that Captain Frankland's generosity consisted only in one thousand pistoles, a poor reward, he said, for so great a discovery. Captain Frankland made another very accidental discovery; he had taken into his service a brisk little French boy, who had belonged to the French Captain, who, having a walking stick of no value, one of the sailors had taken it from him. The boy lamented this loss so much that Captain Frankland ordered search to be made for it, to return it to the boy. The stick was brought to the Captain, who, seeing it was of no value, asked the boy how he could make so much ado about such a trifle. The boy replied briskly, he could not walk like a gentleman and show his airs, without a stick in his hand. Upon the Captain's going to return him the stick, he gave him a tap on the shoulder with it, and finding something rattling inside of it, withdrew to a room by himself, and taking off the head of it, he found jewels (according to the French Captain's report) worth 20,000 pistoles. The Captain had given the stick to the boy when he surrendered, in hopes of saving it, imagining no person would take notice of such a trifle in the hands of a boy."

MEMOIRS OF THE PROLECTOVAL—HOUSE OF CROMWELL, BY MARK NOBLE, F. A. S. OF L. & E., VOL. 2, PP. 434-5, BIRMINGHAM, 1787.

Sir Thomas Frankland, the late Baronet, was born in July, 1718, and brought up to the Naval Department. He became a Captain in July, 1740, and in December, 1744, he was so fortunate as to take a French ship of great value, off the Havannah, with a Spanish register, homeward bound, after an engagement of several hours. Upon the death of his brother he succeeded to the title of Baronet. He rose afterwards to be Vice-Admiral of the Red Squadron of his Majesty's fleet, and, as such, was one of the supporters of the canopy at his royal highness the Duke of York's funeral; and was afterwards an Admiral of the *White*. He represented the borough of Thirsk in five successive parliaments. His lady was Miss Sarah Rhett, granddaughter of the Chief-Justice of South Carolina, in North America, whom he mar-

ried in that province, in May, 1743. Sir Thomas died at Bath Nov. 21, 1784; he had five sons and eight daughters—

(1) Henry Frankland, who died an infant.  
 (2) Sir Thomas Frankland, the present baronet, of whom below.

(3) Hugh Frankland, who died an infant.

(4) Will Frankland, fellow of All-Souls, in Oxford, and a member of the Society of Gray's Inn.

(5) Roger Frankland, B.A., a student at Christchurch College, Oxford, and designed for the church.

(6) Mary, married to Sir Boyle Roche, bart.; there is no issue of this marriage.

(7) Sarah, died young.

(8) Harriet, unmarried.

(9) Ann, married March 24, 1778, to John Lewis, of Harpton Court, in Radnorshire, by whom she has Thomas Frankland Lewis, born May 14, 1779, and Louisa, born July 8, 1783.

(10) Dinah, married to Will Bowles, of Heale, Wilts, Esq., by whom she had one son, William, and three daughters Ann, Lucy, and Charlotte.

(11) Catherine, married to Thomas Whingates, Esq., an officer in India; their issue is two sons, Thomas and Manners, and also several daughters.

(12) Charlotte, married to Rob. Nichols, of Ashton-Kearns, Wilts, Esq. They have two sons and one daughter, Edw. Rob. and Charlotte.

(13) Grace, who is unmarried.

Sir Thomas Frankland, the present and sixth Baronet, was born in September, 1750, and was educated at Eaton, and Merton College in Oxford; he married Dorothy, the daughter of Sir Will Smelt, and niece of Leonard Smelt, Esq., Sub-Governor to George, Prince of Wales; their issue is four children, Henry, Rob., Amelia and Marian.

The history of the family of Frankland is taken from the baronetages, various other writers, and corrected and enlarged by information which I had the honor to receive from the late Lord Grantham, the late Sir Thomas Frankland, Bart., and the present baronet of that name, the Rev. De-Greenhill, the Rev. Sam Pegge, and Sam Pegge, Esq. It

may be necessary to correct a passage in the history of the life of the first Sir Thomas Frankland in the Baronetages: They say that the Earl of Fauconberg was descended from Mary, daughter of the Protector, Oliver; but his Lordship married that lady instead of being descended from her, as is sufficiently proved in these Memoirs.

BIOGRAPHIA NAVALIS, BY JOHN CHARNOCK, VOL. 5, PP. 18-21, LOUD, 1797.

Frankland, Sir Thomas, was a nephew of a baronet of the same name, who was for many years one of the commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral. He was on the 15th of July, 1740, promoted to the command of the *Rose* frigate; and at the conclusion of the year was ordered out to the Bahama Islands, to convey thither Mr. Tinker, who had been appointed Governor two years before. After he had landed his passenger he continued on the same station, being instructed to remain there and cruise for the protection of those islands and the adjacent coast from the depredations of the guarda-costas. In the month of June, 1742, he distinguished himself by his activity in capturing a Spanish vessel of that description, together with three vessels which she herself had made prizes of a short time before.

The guarda-costa, which carried ten carriage and as many swivel guns, supported by two of the prizes, which were armed vessels, engaged the *Rose* for nearly three hours, but finding her too powerful and too well conducted to afford them any hope of ultimate success, the two prizes stood away, one keeping to windward, the other large, with all the sail they could crowd. The guarda-costa maintained a running fight for an hour longer through the desperation of her captain, and even at last, the crew, in opposition to him, hauled down the colors and called for quarter.

Captain Frankland shifted the prisoners with all possible expedition, and having put some of his own men, under proper officers, on board the prize, dispatched her after the vessel which had hauled her wind, he himself following the other two. So successful was his activity on this occasion that the three vessels were all, without difficulty, captured

and carried safely into Carolina. The cause of the obstinate defence made by the Spanish vessel was, on enquiry, discovered to be owing to her Captain being Fandino, the fellow who some years before had cut off the ears of Captain Jenkins, and thereby caused so great, so just and general an indignation through the whole British nation. Captain Frankland, judging a monster of so cruel a description, who had manifested a conduct that would have disgraced a pirate, might be released as a prisoner on parole, or even exchanged, sent him home to be treated as administration should think proper.

Captain Frankland continued in the same command, and remained on the same station some years, but is not again particularly mentioned until the year 1744, when he signalized himself remarkably in an action with a very large, and, as it afterwards proved, valuable Spanish ship, the particulars we shall insert at length from the account officially given of this very spirited encounter.

Being on his passage to his station as a cruiser between the Boques, Cape Florida, and the Pan of Matanzas, on the North side of Cuba, about thirty-five leagues to the Westward of Havannah, on December 21st, just before daylight he found himself almost on board a large ship, of which he was to windward and astern withall. Captain Frankland, who had kept his wind until day-light, then found his antagonist had but one tier of guns, but was by her working, full of men, for before the Captain showed his colors she had run her courses up, bunted her mainsail, and had everything ready to engage, her decks being crowded with people. About seven in the morning they began an engagement which lasted until half an hour past twelve. There was a fresh gale and a great sea, notwithstanding which, they were alongside each other three or four times before the enemy struck. She had near 100 men killed outright, and four of her guns on one side disabled. She is called the *Conception*, of St. Malo, Adrian Mercan, Master, bound from Cartagena to Cadiz, but was to touch at Havana to land upwards of 200 seamen, besides officers. The *Rose* had only five men killed and about ten or twelve dangerously wounded, including the

master and several slightly. The cargo of the prize consisted of hides and cocoa, with seventy chests of gold and silver, containing about three hundred and ten thousand pieces of eight. She had several passengers on board, from whom they got about 5,000 ounces of gold in dollars, pistoles, bars, etc. The crew of the *Rose* of no more than one hundred and seventy-seven men, officers and boys included. The prize was safely carried into South Carolina.

Captain Frankland retained the command of the *Rose* till the month of October, 1746, and was then promoted to the *Dragon*, of sixty guns, in which ship he continued until the conclusion of the war, being, in 1748, on the West India Station with Mr. Pocock. We do not find any subsequent mention made of him till the month of July, 1755, when he was appointed Commodore on the Antigua Station. He hoisted his broad pennant on board the *Winchester*, of fifty guns, at Spithead, on the 10th day of August, and sailed very soon afterwards for the West Indies. On his arrival there his first operation was to quarrel with Commodore Pye, whom he was sent out to succeed. The first pretence was frivolous in the extreme, consisting merely in an exception, or affront Mr. Frankland thought proper to take, because the former had not struck his broad pennant on the instant he was informed of the latter's arrival.

A second, and, as it proved afterwards, equally futile, and indeed unjust cause, was a more serious charge of misconduct against his predecessor, in having condemned the *Advice*, his own ship. Mr. Frankland asserted this measure to have been improper and made a regular representation against it to the Board of Admiralty. In further proof of the propriety of his opinion, as if he supposed his own hardiness sufficient to establish it, he ordered the *Advice* to be fitted for himself, and absolutely went so far as to make a short cruise in her. The final event, however, did not reflect any great honor on Mr. Frankland's judgment; the ship on its return to England, proved so very defective and unfit to keep the sea, that it was with the utmost difficulty the crew could, by frapping her around with hausers and every other precaution, prevent her from almost literally falling to pieces during her passage.



Mr. Frankland, after his return to England, appears no more in the character of a Naval Commodore. In the month of June, 1756, he was advanced to be rear-admiral of the *Blue*, as he was progressively afterwards, through the different gradations and ranks of flag-officers, till he at last arrived at that of Admiral of the White, the highest in the service, the Admiral of the fleet, or senior admiral on the list excepted. On the death of his brother, Sir Charles Frankland, at Bath, in the year 1768, he succeeded to the title, and continued during his life totally abstracted from all public business, further than his occasional attendance in the House of Commons, as representative for the borough of Thirsk, in Yorkshire, for which place he had been member ever since the year 1749. Sir Thomas died at Bath on the 21st November, 1784.

## INTRODUCTION TO BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES AND OTHER CO-INCIDENT MATTERS.

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It is the object of the publishers of the North Carolina Booklet to enter on its pages short sketches of the lives and times of those men and women of the State who have contributed to its columns, from its inception to the present. To the memory of those writers who have passed from earthly existence and to those who are living, the North Carolina Society Daughters of the Revolution owe a debt of gratitude. And in no way can they better show their appreciation than by recording their names among those other historians of the State who have helped to preserve its history, for in these individual records may be found available material, bearing on important periods, which may aid the future historian.

*Edited by — Mrs. E. E. Moffitt*

## MAJOR GRAHAM DAVES, A.B.

BY MRS. E. E. MOFFITT.

Major Graham Daves was the first to contribute an article for the North Carolina Booklet, which first number appeared in May, 1901.

He chose for his subject "Virginia Dare," she being the first English child born in America—a fitting subject for a magazine issued under the auspices of the North Carolina Society "Daughters of the Revolution," edited by women, and the proceeds to memorialize the heroism of women. It is also a noteworthy fact that the first expeditions for discovery and exploration were sent out under the orders of the Virgin Queen, that the new-found country was called Virginia in her honor, and that these first colonists having landed upon the Island of Roanoke were *first* greeted by the wife of Granganimeo, the Indian king, with all hospitality, and "entertaining them with all love and kindness." All of this no one can gainsay that women helped to form the preface to our history, and to which facts Major Daves has made special mention.

Graham Daves was born in New Bern, N. C., July 16, 1836. He was the third son of John Pugh Daves and Elizabeth Batchelor Graham, his wife, and grandson of Captain John Daves, who served in the Third Regiment of the North Carolina Continental Infantry. His father died when he was about two years old. He attended school at the New Bern Academy; and at the age of fifteen he was placed as a cadet of the Maryland Military Academy, where he remained for two years. In 1853 he entered Trinity College, Hartford, Conn., from which he graduated in July, 1857.

After his graduation he read law with Judge Richmond M. Pearson, afterwards Chief Justice of North Carolina.

On January 1, 1859, was appointed Private Secretary to Hon. John W. Ellis, Governor of North Carolina, his brother-in-law. He held this position until the outbreak of the War between the States. He joined the Confederate army, serving faithfully as Lieutenant, Adjutant, Assistant Adjutant-General, Captain, Major, and Aide-de-Camp, filling all of these positions with honor to himself and fidelity to his country. The field of his activity extended from Virginia to Mississippi during the whole war. He was paroled April 26, 1865, at Greensboro, N. C.

Returning to his home in New Bern, N. C., he was occupied at different times in mercantile and other active pursuits. Major Daves married on November 27, 1862, Alice Lord DeRosset, of Wilmington, N. C., daughter of Dr. Armand DeRosset—Mrs. Daves died on September 2, 1897; their only child, a boy, died in infancy.

Major Graham Daves retired from active business in 1891 and devoted himself to the study of North Carolina history, bringing into exercise those talents with which he was so richly endowed. He worked diligently to reorganize the dormant North Carolina branch of the Society of the Cincinnati, and on April 4, 1896, he realized the consummation of his hopes; in grateful recognition of this service he was elected honorary member of the order, and remained its faithful devotee to the day of his death. He was also a member of the North Carolina Society of Sons of the Revolution, and Association of United Confederate Veterans. To other patriotic organizations he was equally devoted. As President of the "Roanoke Colony Memorial Association" no one could have accomplished more than he. This Association was instituted to commemorate the first English settlement in America—and to this day the outlines of Fort Raleigh are distinctly visible and the angles are now permanently marked by granite pillars.

On the site of the old fort stands a monument erected by this Association, the base of which is North Carolina granite and the tablet of Virginia granite. The tablet bears the following inscription: "On this site, in August, 1585, the colonists sent from England by Sir Walter Raleigh built the fort called the New Fort in Virginia."

The monument was dedicated with appropriate religious exercises on 28th of November, 1901, and an address was delivered by Major Daves, embodying the following facts: that these colonists were the first settlers of the English race in America; they returned to England in 1586 with Sir Francis Drake; here was born on the 18th of August, 1587, Virginia Dare, the first child of English parents born in America, the daughter of Ananias Dare and Eleanor White, his wife, members of another body of colonists sent out by Sir Walter Raleigh in 1587. Two days after her birth she was baptized. Manteo, a friendly chief of the Hatteras Indians, had been baptized a few days before. These baptisms were the first celebrations of the Christian sacrament in the territory of the thirteen original United States.

Major Daves was a recognized type of the Southern gentleman of the old regime, and those who knew him can never forget his patrician military bearing and courtly manners.

He contributed many articles of historical value to the columns of various periodicals. He died in Asheville (where he had gone seeking restored health) on October 27, 1902. Mourned by a large circle of admiring friends, well deserving of honor is the memory of this pure-minded scholar and writer, whose name will go down to posterity as a master spirit in the revival of interest in the history of his native State.

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(The above facts are chiefly condensed from a sketch of Major Daves in the Minutes of the North Carolina Society of the Cincinnati for 1903.)

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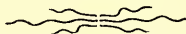
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*The*  
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HISTORY



PUBLISHED QUARTERLY  
BY  
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY  
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## THE BOROUGH TOWNS OF NORTH CAROLINA

BY FRANCIS NASH.

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Human progress—human life, indeed—is so much the resultant of the impact of external forces upon peoples or individuals, that freedom of action, to say nothing of freedom of thought, is rather ideal than real, and can be attained only approximately, never absolutely. We inherit our temperament, our tastes, and our aptitudes; so much so that quite frequently the habits of our ancestors become instincts to us. We are also, to some degree, creatures of our training and environment, and as members of society we are subject to the will of that society, whether expressed in its legislation or in its unwritten law—public opinion. But man and nations struggle to attain this ideal freedom, and the result of this struggle, on the whole, is progress. In this struggle are two opposing forces—radicalism and conservatism—and these are but the outward expression of two instincts that are common to all humanity—the desire for the new, and the love of the old. In the action and interaction of these forces is found safety; for radicalism unchecked by conservatism is destructive, while conservatism uninspired by radicalism is stagnant.

The erection of little hamlets into boroughs, or franchised towns, in our early colonial history, is an instance of conservatism which had become stagnant. As, regardless of beauty, privacy and utility, the colonists located their residences on the street lines of these towns, because their ancestors had done the same in crowded England or Scotland, so

these little communities of twenty or thirty families must be franchised because the greater towns of England had been. Thus the influence of inherited tastes, aptitudes and manners proved stronger than common sense.

It is my purpose in this article to deal with these towns as political entities. I could by no possibility compress within the limits of a BOOKLET article any satisfactory account of their social, industrial and educational life and progress.

In England, before representative government was established, the term "borough" bore the signification of a pledge; that is, when a number of men congregated in a community, thus forming a village or a town, that town or village became responsible for the acts of its inhabitants—became, in other words, a borough or pledge for their good conduct.

Later, as the merchants increased in wealth, and through that wealth acquired power, the monarch conferred the franchise upon these towns, both as a reward for services rendered and that there might be some check upon the overweening arrogance of the landed gentry.

It is well known that the first successful struggle for liberty in England was that of the lords and barons against the arbitrary power of the King; the second was that of the commercial classes against the tyranny of the aristocracy. In the latter struggle the King was on the side of commerce; and so trade, through these franchised towns, was represented in Parliament. The system itself thus forms part of the great scheme of checks and balances upon which the English Constitution is builded. In England it was a necessary safeguard against the encroachments of a landed aristocracy, and so constitutes one of the landmarks in man's progress towards civil liberty. In the Province of North Carolina, however, while in a sense there was a landed aristocracy, in no sense was there any appreciable commerce.

The Board of Trade, September 8, 1721 (2 C. R., 419), writes thus to the Secretary:

“There are great tracts of good land in this province, and it is a very healthy country, but the situation renders it forever incapable” (it must be remembered that this was before the day of railroads and river and harbor bills) “of being a place of considerable trade, by reason of a great sound, near sixty miles over, that lies between this coast and the sea, barred by a vast chain of sand-banks so very shallow and shifting that sloops drawing only five-foot water run great risk of crossing them. The little commerce, therefore, driven to this colony is carried on by very small sloops, chiefly from New England, who bring them clothing and ironware in exchange for their pork and corn, but of late they have made small quantities of pitch and tar, which are first exported to New England and thence to Great Britain.”

Besides, in North Carolina the few merchants were almost without exception also land owners. If they resided in these towns their slaves, under the direction of an overseer, cultivated their plantations near by. Indeed, the merchants were as much a part of the aristocracy of the province as the land owners or the lawyers. In addition to this, the representation of these boroughs was quite frequently in the hands of lawyers and others whose interest in trade was only secondary.

The right to confer the franchise upon a town was part of the King's prerogative. At first, however, it was not asserted; New Bern, Bath, Edenton, Wilmington and Brunswick being created boroughs by act of the Assembly (23 S. R., pages 79, 133, 251 and 398). Section 31 of the Act of 1715 reads thus: “For the further encouragement of this town of Bath, and all other towns now or hereafter built within this government, it shall and may be lawful for the freeholders of said town of Bath, and of all other towns now or hereafter built or to be built within this government, at all times hereafter,

when representatives or burgesses are to be chosen for the precinct wherein the town lies, to elect one burgess to represent the same in all succeeding Assemblies: Provided, that this election for members of Assembly to serve for the town of Bath, or any other town whatsoever, shall not begin nor commence till such town shall have at least sixty families." In the next section, however, New Bern is allowed to send a representative, regardless of the sixty-family provision. In the time of Governor Dobbs, 1754, the King's prerogative to confer this privilege was asserted and established. (5 C. R., pages 406-7; see also 6 C. R., page 752, and 23 S. R., page 251.)

There were some variations in the qualifications of voters in these towns. Stated generally, they must have been householder or freeholder residents for some definite period—in some instances three and others six months. (23 S. R., pages 133 and 140.) To be eligible as a burgess, one must have been a freeholder, but not necessarily a resident.

It was only at the beginning of their existence that any of them could have been considered pocket boroughs, in the sense that a single man or family could dispose of an election to the Assembly from them. Later, indeed, the elections in many instances were hotly contested and the majorities were very small.

BATH.—Though New Bern was the first town to be represented in the General Assembly, Bath was the oldest town in the province. It was laid off in 1705, but was not represented until after 1715. Of the borough towns, therefore, Bath shall be considered first. Rev. William Gordon, an intelligent missionary, gives us this account of Bath County and town in 1709 (1 C. R., page 715):

"Bath County contains most of that land which lies to the southward of Albemarle Sound to Pamlico River and thirty or forty miles more southerly to the Neuse River, which



(being but lately peopled by a few French who left Virginia) is not laid down on the draft. They have divided the whole county into three precincts or parishes, though the inhabitants of all are but equal in number to any one of the other, most of which are seated on Pamlico River or its branches. Here is no church, though they have begun to build a town called Bath. It consists of about twelve houses and is the only town in the whole province. They have a small collection of books for a library, which were carried over by Rev. Dr. Bray, and some land is laid out for a glebe, but no minister would ever stay long in the place, though several have come hither from the West Indies and other plantations in America; and yet I must own it is not the unpleasantest part of the country—nay, in all probability it will be the center of a trade, as having the advantage of a better inlet for shipping, and surrounded with the most pleasant of savannahs, very useful for stocks of cattle.” In 1711 that picturesque misfit of a parson, John Urmston, styled it the most obscure, inconsiderable place in the country. He wanted Dr. Bray’s library, though, and was provoked at its location at Bath. (1 C. R., page 772.) During the Indian outbreak of 1711 that town was in very serious danger, but it was protected by a stockaded fort and a small garrison, so its inhabitants were not massacred, though in much alarm. (1 C. R., 826.) In 1714, Mr. Urmston again writes: “We expect to hear that famous city of Bath, consisting of nine houses, or rather cottages, once styled the metropolis and seat of this government, will be totally deserted; and yet I cannot find means to secure that admirable collection of books sent in by the Rev. Dr. Bray for the use of the ministers of this province, but it will in all probability serve for a bonfire to the Indians. (2 C. R., 144.)

Dr. Bray had been a missionary to the province and had married Martha, daughter of Thomas Pollock, the elder. He

is said to have been learned and to have originated the first systematic movement in the Church of England for missions to the dependencies of Great Britain. When he returned home in 1699 he sent a few of his own books to the colony, and the following year, 1700, was instrumental in having others sent over. (1 C. R., 572.) The Assembly, in 1715, enacted an elaborate law to secure this library. (23 S. R., 76 *et seq.*) It, however, shared the fate of all such enterprises in communities where there are few readers and no book lovers. Commenting on this act in 1731, Governor Burrington said: "This, though a long act, only concerns a town where little improvements have been made, and for securing a small library that was too much embezzled before the act was made." (3 C. R., 187.)

At its foundation there were some anticipations of a future greatness which have never been realized. In 1716 the Proprietors made it a seaport town, with the privileges of the same. It was the county-seat of Bath County, and many of the prominent officials of the province lived in its neighborhood, including Tobias Knight and Teach, the pirate. It was badly located, however (on sixty acres of land lying on Old Town Creek, a short tributary on the north side of Pamlico River), and was crowded to the wall first by New Bern and then by Beaufort and Washington. For these reasons, it, in its best estate, grew slowly, and never at any time became an important point. It has long since ceased to be more than a memory. It was disfranchised by the Constitution of 1776. The following is a list of its representatives, so far as they can now be ascertained, to the adoption of the State Constitution:

Roger Kennion, John Lahey, Roger Kennion, Robert Turner, Richard Rigby, Robert Turner, Michael Coutanche, Wyriot Ormond, Michael Coutanche, Robert Palmer, Wyriot Ormond, Patrick Gordon, John Maule, Wyriot Ormond and

William Brown. The latter also represented Bath in each of the four Provincial Congresses or Conventions.

NEW BERN.—New Bern was, from DeGraffenreid's own narration, the child of his sorrow. Hunger and starvation, disease and death preyed upon the Palatines after their arrival in the province in 1710, and when he came later in the same year with his Bernese he found them in despair. "I cannot," said he (1 C. R., 910), "enough insist on the wretched and sorrowful state in which I found these poor people on my arrival—nearly all sick and at the last gasp, and the few who had kept their health despairing entirely." Mrs. Kennedy thus beautifully describes the tongue of land on which they had been located: "A long point of land, bounded north and south by a strip of shining river; and on this land a virgin forest, draped in long, gray moss; here and there a tangle of vines, a rainbow blending of parti-colored blossoms, with brilliant grosbeaks and red-winged blackbirds darting like living flowers through the golden sunshine, leaving a trail of song behind, or whip-poor-wills and chuck-will-widows calling wistfully to each other through the lonesome darkness. And out beyond the apex of the tongue of land the two rivers, blended into one wide current, flowing ceaselessly to the distant waiting sea." Over this beautiful scene hovered the Angel of Death. Many of these recent comers from the purer atmosphere of the Upper Rhine and the mountains of Switzerland were prostrated by the fever that lurked in the low-grounds and swamps which surrounded them. The coming of DeGraffenreid with his Switzers, however, inspired the dejected colonists with new life, and they entered more heartily into the improvement of their surroundings. The town of New Bern was founded and many settlements were cleared about it. They were beginning, as their crops were maturing the following year, 1711, to look with hope to the future, when the Indians in overwhelming force burst upon them,

massacred eighty of them and carried twenty or more off into captivity. During the rest of that war they were little troubled by their savage foes. DeGraffenreid, himself escaping death and imprisonment, had made a treaty with them, by which his colonists would be exempt from attack so long as they remained neutral in the war, which in a desultory way continued four years longer. Financial and other troubles coming thick upon DeGraffenreid, he, after making over all his property to Thomas Pollock, left his colonists and the country, and they (the Palatines and Swiss) being scattered about the section, lost their distinctive organization. In 1715 the town was franchised, and in 1723 it was incorporated and its limits extended to include 250 acres. A curious provision of this law was contained in section 7: "If any person or persons shall die possessed of any of said lots without leaving heir or without making a will of the said lot, then and in such case the absolute fee to the same shall come and revert to said Cullen Pollock, his heirs and assigns, forever."

The Assembly for the first time met in New Bern in 1738. The seat of government was fixed there in 1746. (23 S. R., 252.) This, however, did not mean that the Governor was to reside there, nor that he could not call the Assembly together at another place. It will appear later that it met at other places after this period. Indeed, until Tryon came, New Bern seems not to have been a favorite of any of the Governors. Johnston was evidently partial to the new town, Wilmington on the Cape Fear, while Dobbs, living at Brunswick, did all he could to make that an important place. New Bern, despite of this, continued to grow in population and to thrive commercially, and when the Tryon Palace was completed in 1770 it became the political metropolis of the province. The following were its burgesses to the adoption of the Constitution: Walter Lane, Samuel Powell, Walter Lane,

George Bould, William Wilson, John Caruthers, Jeremiah Vail, Solomon Rew, James Davis, Joseph Leech, Alexander Emsley, Richard Caswell, Christopher Neale, and in the first Convention Abner Nash and Isaac Edwards; second *idem*, Abner Nash, James Davis, William Tisdale and Richard Ellis; third *idem*, Abner Nash; fourth *idem*, Abner Nash.

EDENTON.—The Towne on Queen Anne's Creek was established by an act of the Assembly in 1712. There a courthouse was to be built and a house to hold the Assembly in. In 1722 it was incorporated as the town of Edenton. It was located in what was then the best settled and the most prosperous section of the province. And thus it continued for many years, but, the center of population moving further west and south, it was found too much out of the way to remain a political capital. So much culture, wealth and ability were grouped about it, however, that no community had so great an influence upon affairs in the province, and later, in the founding of the State, as Edenton. Men like Samuel Johnston, Thomas Jones, Joseph Hewes, James Iredell and others could scarcely be found elsewhere in North Carolina, or, if found, had not formed themselves into a compact and efficient coterie. From 1720 to 1738 the Assembly met in Edenton. In 1738 and 1739 it met in New Bern. It resumed its sittings in Edenton in 1740, but in 1743 was the last of its meetings in that place. The following were its burgesses to 1777:

Thomas Parris, Robert Lloyd, William Williams, Charles Westbeer, William Badham, James Craven, Samuel Stillwell, Thomas Barker, Joseph Hewes, Samuel Johnston, Joseph Hewes, Samuel Johnston, Joseph Hewes, and Joseph Hewes, in all of the Provincial Congresses, with Jasper Charlton with him in the second Congress.

WILMINGTON.—If there was any section of North Carolina that vied with Edenton in culture and wealth, it was the Cape Fear section. Governor Johnston, writing of the in-

habitants of this section, December 24, 1734, says: "They are a very sober and industrious set of people and have made amazing progress in their improvement since their first settlement, which was about eight years ago. As proof of this I find by the Collector's books forty-two ships went loaded from this river within these twelve months last past. There are now several of them planting mulberries for raising of raw silks, and cultivating vines for producing wine, in which they seem very expert. Some few are likewise making attempts for oil from the olive and from divers sorts of nuts and seeds which grow almost spontaneously here, for all which both climate and soil seem wonderfully adapted."

The little hamlet of Newton existed as early as 1732, and Governor Johnston opened a land office there on the 13th of May, 1735. It was incorporated in March of that year (4 C. R., page 43). Governor Johnston became the patron of this little town, very much as Governor Dobbs afterwards became the patron of Brunswick and Governor Tryon of Hillsboro. He owned lands adjoining it on the northeast, and in 1739 had it incorporated as a town under the name of Wilmington, and made a borough (23 S. R., page 133). It was found necessary to include in the borough those who resided out of the limits of the town "between the bounds of said town upwards and Smith's Creek, and within 120 poles of the northeast branch of the Cape Fear River," and who should be the inhabitant of a brick house of the length of thirty feet and width of sixteen feet. It was through Governor Johnston's influence that one session of the Assembly was held at Wilmington in 1741 and one session in 1746. During his long administration, with these exceptions and also a session at Bath in 1752, the Assembly met at New Bern. Wilmington was granted a royal charter, March 5, 1763 (23 S. R., 654.) The following were the Burgesses from Wilmington from 1740 to 1777: William Farris, Thomas Clark, Lewis DeRosset, Cor-

nelius Harnett; to the first Convention, Francis Clayton; to the second, Cornelius Harnett and A. Maclaine; to the third, Cornelius Harnett; to the fourth, William Hooper.

BRUNSWICK.—The Moores, Maurice and Roger, were the founders of Brunswick. It was begun in 1725, but Governor Johnston threw his influence in favor of its rival, Newton, and it was not incorporated until 1745, and was franchised by special act of the Assembly in 1754, though it did not contain more than twenty families. (5 C. R., 158 and 151.) There was for years great rivalry between Brunswick and Wilmington, but the open roadstead of the former, together with the better location of the latter, soon settled the fate of both towns. The site of Brunswick is known now only from the ruins of St. Philip's Church, while Wilmington is a thriving city of 30,000 inhabitants. The Burgesses of Brunswick to its disfranchisement by the Constitution of 1776, were as follows: Maurice Moore, William Dry, Maurice Moore, and in the first Convention unrepresented, in the second, Maurice Moore, in the third, the same, in the fourth, Parker Quince.

HALIFAX.—This town was incorporated in 1757. The Assembly applying the old Bath town 60 family law of 1715, admitted Stephen Dewey as Burgess from Halifax in April, 1760, and again in 1761, Alexander Emsley, but this was disapproved in England (6 C. R., 752). In 1764, however, a charter was granted to the town by Governor Dobbs, and thence forward until 1835 it continued to send Burgesses to the General Assembly. It is well known that in and about Halifax from 1770 until the Civil War, there continued to be many well-to-do and cultured planters and merchants. During the Revolutionary War it, too, became an important political point, the third and fourth Provincial Conventions meeting there. There the first instructions for independence were adopted, April, 1776, and there, too, was the birth of the State in December of the same year. A session of the

Legislature of 1780 was also held in Halifax in 1781. The Burgesses of the town from 1764 to the adoption of the Constitution were: Abner Nash, Joseph Montfort; in the first Convention, John Geddy; in the second, Willie Jones and Francis Nash; in the third and fourth, Willie Jones.

**SALISBURY.**—Salisbury was laid off by William Churton, that founder of towns in the middle section of the Province, in 1753, although it appears not to have been regularly incorporated until 1770. Governor Tryon, no doubt influenced by the inequality of representation between the East and the West, created it a borough by charter in 1765 or 1766. The Burgesses from it to the adoption of the Constitution of 1776 were: John Mitchell, John Dunn and Hugh Montgomery; to the first Convention, William Kennon; to the second, Hugh Montgomery and Robert Rowan; to the third and fourth, David Nesbit.

**HILLSBORO.**—In 1754 William Churton laid off a town on the north bank of the Eno River, where the great Indian trail crossed it. This town was in 1759 incorporated under the name of Childsburg. In 1766 its name was changed to Hillsboro. Governor Tryon seemed to be much interested in this flourishing settlement in the back country, and, July 9, 1770, made it a market town and borough by charter. He has been criticised for this, it being said that he franchised a little hamlet that his friend, Edmund Fanning, who had been defeated by Herman Husband in the county, might have a pocket borough to represent in the Assembly. I suppose that the desire to have Fanning in the Assembly did influence the Governor in thus exercising the royal prerogative, but in doing so, he at no point strained the law. Bath, Edenton and New Bern were the only boroughs in the province that had been franchised by the Assembly. It was attempted in the case of Wilmington, Brunswick and Halifax, but in each case the act of the Assembly was repealed in England, and



these boroughs were re-franchised by charter. The old Bath 60-family act, 1715, had been construed as allowing a town with due proof that it contained 60 families to apply to the governor for a charter, and thus construed it did not limit the King's prerogative, but it did not and could not prevent the King or his viceroy, the Governor, from chartering a town, though it might have contained less than 60 families. This was done in the case of Salisbury in 1766, a smaller town than Hillsboro. It is very probable, too, that the latter place, counting free blacks as well as whites, had the full complement of 60 families in 1770. The following were the Burgesses from Hillsboro to the adoption of the Constitution: Edmund Fanning, Francis Nash; unrepresented in the first Convention; in the second, William Armstrong and Nathaniel Rochester; in the third and fourth, William Johnston.

CAMPBELTON.—Campbelton was incorporated as a town in 1762. Being at the head of the navigation of the Cape Fear River, and having dependent upon it for a market an extensive and fertile back country, then rapidly filling up with settlers, it was thought that it was one of the most eligible localities in the Province for a town. It soon had a rival, however, in the near-by village of Cross Creek, the latter seeming to absorb the lion's share of the trade. The Legislature of 1778, first session, included Cross Creek in Campbelton, and so that village ceased to have a legal existence independent of the latter place. Campbelton was made a borough by charter in 1773, Martin being Governor. In April, 1783, the Legislature, reciting that the said town from its convenience to the western settlements and the easy transportation of goods down the Cape Fear River, must necessarily become a great mart for the produce of the interior country, changed its name to Fayetteville. Campbelton was disfranchised by the Constitution of 1776, but Fayetteville was franchised by an ordinance of the Convention of 1789,

which had met at that place to consider, and, in fact, adopt the Federal Constitution. The Burgesses from Campbelton to its disfranchisement were: William Hooper, Robert Rowan; in the first Convention it was unrepresented; in the second, James Hepburn; in the third, Arthur Council; in the fourth, Thomas Hadley.

DISFRANCHISEMENT.—Bath, Brunswick and Campbelton were disfranchised by the Constitution of 1776, leaving New Bern, Wilmington, Edenton, Halifax, Hillsboro and Salisbury still boroughs, and as above stated, Fayetteville again became a borough town in 1789. The Convention of 1835 did away entirely with all borough representation. The Act of January 5, 1835, (the Convention Act,) gave the Convention a discretion to abolish borough representation in whole or in part. The act itself, thus committing their fate to the Convention, was enacted by the aid of the borough members. The debate in the Convention arose on a resolution of Dr. James S. Smith, a representative from Orange and for forty years a resident of Hillsboro, in these words: "It is expedient to abolish borough representation entirely." Judge Gaston opposed this, because, first, the towns had certain definite and distinct interests of their own, which could be adequately protected only by their own representatives. In them property was in a more concentrated form, and they paid a large proportion of the taxes of the county in which they were located; second, agriculture was represented through the counties—trade and commerce should be represented through the towns; third, boroughs were more apt than the counties to send their best men to the Legislature. Later in the same day, June 10, 1835, he elaborated the second point thus: "It is vain to deny that commercial communities have peculiar interests of their own. These they must endeavor to protect and advance through some agent or other. If we deny them a constitutional agent, they will be driven to get agents of another

kind. If they are to have no member in the hall of legislation, they may be compelled to send you lobby members. Heard in the Legislature, they can do no harm. So few in number, their voice can be effectual only when it is the voice of truth and justice. But when members of the Assembly shall be approached through the other agents, means of persuasion may be used of a different character. The intelligent may indeed be addressed by reason, and the just by fair statements—but the uninformed may be misled by falsehood, and those whose consciences are in their pockets, may be convinced by arguments directed to the seat of their sensibility.”

These arguments were met by the suggestions, first, representation in the House of Commons was to be based upon Federal population. If these small, though compact and populous communities, were to be allowed a special representative this principle would have to be disregarded, and as a consequence there would be an unequal representation, the very evil that the Convention had been called to remedy.

Second, if there had ever been anything in the doctrine that trade and commerce were entitled to special representation, the Federal Constitution had removed this by placing interstate and foreign commerce under the care of the Federal Government. On this point Mr. Jesse Wilson, of Perquimans, trenchantly asked: “If it be true that this right of representation is essential to the protection of their interests, why has not the fostering care of the Legislature, for more than fifty years, been able to prevent them from sinking into ruin? Halifax, sir, is gone; Edenton is gone, and New Bern is not far behind.” And again: “But, sir, it is said that there are mysteries about this trade and commerce that only mercantile gentlemen can understand. Why then, sir, do they not send merchants, instead of lawyers or doctors?”

Third, though it was true that the majority of borough representatives were men of intelligence and character, the counties may still avail themselves of the services of such men, so the State will in reality lose little in this regard. But what seemed to have most weight with the members of the Convention was the debauchery and corruption and violence that accompanied nearly all these borough elections. In 1825, in a contest between that brilliant, but thoroughly unprincipled, firebrand, Robert Potter, and Jesse A. Bynum in Halifax, the election became first a free fight and then a riot in which one man was killed and a number injured. Dr. Smith said in the Convention: "Has the moral condition of the borough towns been improved by the privilege which they possess of sending members to the Legislature? On the contrary, the annual elections, it is notorious, in most of the towns are productive of feuds, quarrels and bloodshed. Mechanics and others are excited by the parties interested in such elections, business is neglected, and the morals of the people are corrupted." This of Hillsboro. Mr. Charles Fisher, of Salisbury, said: "Who has not witnessed the excitement caused by these borough elections? Who has not seen the worst passions of our nature brought into active exercise by them? Who has not heard that corruption of the basest kind is frequently practised to carry a doubtful contest. He knew these things and how the whole system worked. Every man is known, as are his calling and necessities. His weak side is sought out, that he may be successfully approached. Sir," (to the Chair, Judge Daniel, of Halifax), "you know all these things. Have you not witnessed at the elections in your borough scenes of the most violent character, which not unfrequently terminated in bloodshed? Have you not seen men pressed for their debts, in order to drive them to pursue a course in direct opposition to their convictions of right? Have you not, sir, like myself, seen the elective franchise

abused in every variety of form? \* \* \* I have seen in these contests family arrayed against family—carried to the extremes of bitterness. I have seen neighbors separated and estranged, and social intercourse destroyed. Yes, sir, even has this pestiferous influence penetrated the church, and disturbed its harmony and brotherhood.” And then Mr. Holmes, of Wilmington: “But, sir, great as are the evils which he (Mr. Fisher) portrayed, they are infinitely magnified in our commercial towns. Our population is of a more abandoned cast. We have more dependent and more pliable materials to work upon. He alluded to seamen and others who went to their employers to know how they should vote. Nothing was more common than a day or two before the election to house the voters as they housed their cattle. This was no extravagance; he had participated in these contests and knew the fact.”

Certainly there could not have been a more forcible arraignment of the whole system than this, and it proved effective, notwithstanding it was opposed by such able men as Gaston, Swain, Daniel and Toomer. These sought to save from the general wreck of the borough towns, Edenton, New Bern, Wilmington and Fayetteville, but could not. After debating the question for two days, it was, on June 11, 1835, referred to a committee of 26, at whose head was Governor Swain. That committee reported on June 23 in favor of the franchise for Edenton, New Bern, Wilmington and Fayetteville. The report, after discussion on the 25th, was disagreed to by a vote of 50 yeas to 73 nays, and so, though other votes were taken with the same result, all these towns were disfranchised.

Mr. Wilson, of Perquimans, said irreverently in the debate: “The monkey is not the only imitative animal. Men are equally so. Our forefathers scarcely touched this soil before they began to exercise this imitative faculty. You have seen, sir, little misses dressing their dolls, and boys switching their

stick horses. Like them in the exercise of imitative powers, our fathers, to ape Great Britain with her Manchester, her Birmingham, and her Liverpool, gave the right of representation to Halifax, to Edenton, and to Hillsboro." However defective Mr. Wilson's knowledge of history may have been, it must be admitted that there is some truth in his assertion. The fact that neither Birmingham nor Manchester was a franchised town until after the Reform Bill became a law in 1832, may impeach his accuracy, but it detracts little from the force of his remarks.

From the Lords Proprietors' day to the beginning of the Civil War, those in authority in North Carolina continued to deplore the lack of an adequate seaport. Among the earliest of the Proprietors' instructions was one requiring the establishment of three towns in the Colony. In addition to what has already been said of the physical difficulties in the way of such a project, was this, which has been suggested by Capt. S. A. Ashe: In the early days the small vessels plying to colonial ports could readily approach the private wharves of the rich planters, thus rendering the concentration and regulation of trade difficult. On this account the attempt to establish central marts was a failure. This of course applies only to the towns on navigable waters. As to the interior towns other reasons prevailed. The inhabitants of the country districts had few interests in common with those of the towns. Says Prof. C. L. Raper: "Town life never became very attractive to many of the colonists of North Carolina, and what few towns there were became much more important as centers of political activity than they did of commercial, industrial or social life. They were centers of local government, and often of political conflicts. They were places where a few products were bought and sold—*not* places of their making. The surplus products of the farms for miles about them were taken there and exchanged for

a few simple articles, salt being a very important one, and now and then converted into currency. At times they were the centers of religious devotion and of intellectual life. There churches were erected, but during the last fifty years of the province more places for religious worship were to be found in the country than in the towns. Here, too, were a few schools and libraries, but there were more in the rural districts."

Of course the making of certain of these towns boroughs was, throughout their whole history, intended as a stimulus to their growth, but it may well be doubted whether the possession of the franchise added anything to their commercial or industrial development. The Convention of 1776, still impressed with the view that commerce, being a special interest, was entitled to special representation in the Legislature, determined to continue the tide-water towns as boroughs. Selecting these—New Bern, Wilmington and Edenton—there immediately arose a political necessity, in order to placate the western interest, to continue an equal number of the western towns as boroughs. The continuing of the franchise to Salisbury, Hillsboro and Halifax was probably based wholly on such a compromise as this. By 1835, however, the people had thoroughly tested the system, and no doubt they were wholly right in doing away with it forever.

There is a debt of gratitude that the State owes these towns, to which I must refer before I close. They had been recipients of special favors from the royal government, and might perhaps have been excused for some degree of lukewarmness in the controversy between that government and its colonies. But they were not lukewarm. Instead, the history of the times, properly interpreted, shows that the revolutionary movement had its origin in these towns and spread from them to the country districts, where, finding excellent food

to feed upon, it grew so great as to cover the whole province. Wilmington, New Bern and Edenton were the head and front of this "sedition and treason," and following immediately after them were Halifax, Hillsboro and Salisbury. The story of the Revolution in North Carolina would be very tame, very fragmentary, very inconclusive, if the part that the great men who lived in or about these towns took was eliminated from it. They were the men whom Providence raised up for the emergency, and without them North Carolina would probably have remained a hot-bed of Toryism. So we who live to-day may well acknowledge our indebtedness to them.



## GOVERNOR THOMAS BURKE.

BY

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Among those who accompanied William of Normandy on his victorious expedition to England in 1066 were two brothers, sons of Eustice de Burgo, Serlo and John *de Burgo*, or, as it soon became, *Burke*. For their services the Conqueror rewarded them with the grant of several manors in York, where Serlo built the castle of Knaresborough. Dying without issue, he was succeeded by his brother John, now called Monoculus, on account of the loss of one of his eyes. The latter married a Norman lady of large fortune, Beatrice de Vessey by name, and from this union were born two sons, James of Knaresborough and Richard the Red. Richard had one son, Walter, who in turn was the father of three distinguished sons, Haburt, Earl of Kent and Chief Justice of England; Jeffrey, Bishop of Ely; and William, surnamed de Adelmel, who was sent to Ireland by Henry II and was given a grant comprising the greater part of the Province of Connaught. The line of descent of the branch of the family remaining in England must have been lost, as a letter from Edanus Burke to Thomas Burke, dated December 2, 1769, states that all trace of the family in England had disappeared. Of the Irish branches the same writer states that from the similarity of arms<sup>1</sup> until 1627 he judged that all were related. One of these branches was known as the Burkes of

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<sup>1</sup> The arms were as follows :

The field. Or. Cross-Gules, in the dexter canton, a Lion Rampant, Sable.

Crest: A wreath, a cat and mountain. Proper.

Motto: Un Proÿ, Une foy, Une Loy.

Tyaquin, after the family estate which had descended lineally since Henry II, and from this branch was born the subject of this sketch.

Thomas Burke, the son of Ulick Burke and Letitia Ould, was born in Galway, Ireland, about 1747. Almost nothing is known of his early life, except that he spent some time at a university, probably Dublin. Before he reached manhood he became involved in some family quarrel, the particulars of which are unknown, and about 1764 he came to Accomac County, Virginia, and commenced the study and practice of medicine. He tells in a letter to an old acquaintance in Ireland, a Mrs. Jones, that his proficiency was equal, if not superior, to that of most physicians in the colonies, and that his success was very great. But the pecuniary rewards were small, and he soon found that law would be more profitable and of far less responsibility. After pursuing his studies for a few months with great earnestness, he was licensed at his first examination, and, as he said, "with great applause." At some time during this period he removed to Norfolk, where, in 1770, he married Mary Freeman.

Soon after this, probably about 1771, he moved to North Carolina and settled in Orange County, about two miles north of Hillsboro, on a place which he named Tyaquin, after the family place in Ireland. He had already gone to Halifax with a view to settling there, but decided in favor of Hillsboro. There he was licensed to practice before the Superior Court in March, 1772. In his new home he soon won distinction in his profession and made many friends.

When the relations between the colonies and the mother country became strained in consequence of the Stamp Act and other measures which the colonies thought oppressive, Burke was a strong advocate of American rights. While living in Virginia he had written against the Stamp Act. Concerning his position he wrote his uncle: "I am and ever

shall be avowedly a passionate lover of Liberty and Hater of Tyranny. The essentials of the former I take to, being governed by Laws made with Constitutional consent of the community, ultimately Judged by that Community, and enjoying and disposing of their property only agreeable to Will, and the latter is undeniably anything Subversive of those Privileges. How far the Stamp Act was so, sufficiently appears upon the very face of it."

Dr. Burke's first official public service was as a member from Orange to the Provincial Congress which met in New Bern in 1775. He was again a member of the Congress which met in Hillsboro August 20, 1775. In the first day's session he was placed upon two important committees—the first, to prepare a test to be signed by all the members of the Congress; the other, to confer with such of the inhabitants of the province as might entertain religious or political scruples in regard to taking part in the American cause, with a view of inducing them to unite in the common defence of the rights of the province. The test, as prepared and signed, declared that the Parliament of Great Britain had no right to impose taxes upon the colonies, and that any attempt to do so ought to be resisted by the people; that the people were bound by the acts of the Continental and Provincial Congresses, because they were representative of them; and, finally, the members bound themselves to support all such acts to the utmost of their power. A few days later Burke was placed upon the committee to prepare an address to the inhabitants of the province. He was also a member of the Ways and Means Committee, of which Richard Caswell was chairman.

Dr. Burke was also a member of the Congress which met in Halifax April 4, 1776. In this body he was on the following committees: Privileges and Elections; Claims; to take into consideration the usurpations and violences attempted by the King and Parliament of Britain against America, and

the further measure to be taken for frustrating the same; and for the better defence of the province; Ways and Means; to prepare a temporary civil Constitution; to supply the province with arms and ammunition; a standing committee to form a temporary form of government; and ways and means to prevent the desertion of slaves. He was chairman of the Committee of Secrecy, Intelligence and Observation, and was also on nine minor special committees. On April 12th the Committee on Usurpations reported a resolution empowering the delegates of the colony to the Continental Congress to concur with the delegates of the other colonies in declaring independence, reserving for the colony the sole right of forming a Constitution and laws for the colony, and of appointing from time to time delegates to meet those from the other colonies in regard to matters of common welfare. This was passed unanimously. Before the Congress adjourned Burke was elected paymaster of militia for the Hillsboro district.

Before he went to Halifax the people of Orange had caused Burke to sign certain instructions which, it is said, he wrote himself, in regard to the form of the proposed new government. In brief, they were as follows:

1. Political power of two kinds, principal and supreme, derived and inferior.
2. Principal possessed only by the people at large. Derived by their servants.
3. Whatever persons chosen by people can possess only derived power.
4. Whatever constituted by principal power can be altered only by people.
5. Rules for derived power's exercise made by principal.
6. No power but principal shall exist.
7. Derived power never to subvert principal.
8. Constitution to be submitted to the people.
9. No established religion.
10. Three branches of government, Executive, Legislative, and Judicial, all distinct.
11. Two houses in Assembly.
12. All elections by ballot.
13. Executive elected every year.

The election of delegates to the Congress held at Halifax in November of the same year was accompanied by great tumult, and in consequence a petition was sent up against those elected, with a request for a new election. The Congress at first refused to unseat the sitting members, but later rescinded their action and ordered a new election. This was probably due in large part to Burke's influence, as he was present at the sessions of the body. It is very likely that the leaders in the body wished for his presence. When the new election was held he was among those elected, and took his seat on December 16th. Here, besides being placed on a number of minor committees, he was a member of a committee appointed to consider, prepare and report on the business necessary to be transacted by the Congress. The Bill of Rights and Constitution adopted at this session is said to have been largely the work of Thomas Jones, Thomas Burke, and Richard Caswell.

On December 20th, Burke, with William Hooper and Joseph Hewes, was elected a delegate to the Congress of the United States. For their services each was allowed the sum of \$2,000 per annum. Dr. Burke now resigned his position as paymaster of militia, but remained at Halifax until the close of the session, December 23, 1776.

In the Congress Burke seems to have taken quite a prominent part in the debates, particularly when he thought the rights of the individual States were threatened. His letters express great fear lest an attempt should be made to give Congress more power than was compatible with the rights of the States. In fact, he was opposed to any forms of government, not absolutely necessary, being set up until entire independence should be secured.

During the first part of his attendance upon the sessions of Congress, Burke wrote regular and full accounts of the proceedings to Governor Caswell, but this did not continue.

In April, 1777, he was re-elected. At the same session of the General Assembly a new county was erected from a part of Rowan and was named in his honor.<sup>1</sup>

In the autumn of that year Burke left the sessions of Congress for a few days and took part as a volunteer in the battle of Brandywine. This adventure of his was the indirect cause of a serious quarrel later. He became convinced that the American defeat there was largely due to the inefficiency of Gen. John Sullivan, and preferred charges against him in Congress. General Sullivan wrote a letter to Congress containing reflections on Burke, though he was not mentioned by name. A correspondence between the two followed, resulting in a challenge from Burke, and seconds were named. No meeting was ever brought about, probably on account of the distance separating them.

In October Dr. Burke returned to North Carolina, and on December 1st took his seat as a member of the House of Commons, to fill the unexpired term of Nathaniel Rochester, who had shortly before resigned to become Clerk of the Court of Orange. As usual, Burke seems to have served upon most of the important committees.

It is not known when Burke returned to Philadelphia, but he was there by the middle of February, 1778. The preceding summer he had recommended the appointment of Hand, of Pennsylvania, as an additional brigadier for North Carolina, and this excited great feeling among the North Carolina troops and in the State. Probably this was the reason why he was not re-elected to Congress in April, 1778.

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<sup>1</sup> There has been some discussion as to whether or not Burke county was named for Governor Burke or Edmund Burke. Wheeler says it was for the latter, and his statement has usually been accepted. But the following extract from a letter of Abner Nash seems final authority on the subject: "Our Assembly have paid a compliment to our worthy delegate Dr. Burke, which no private man has experienced before. A new county taken from Surry (*sic*) is called for him."

He was, however, very anxious to get home, and this may have had something to do with it, though it is scarcely probable. But for an incident which occurred in April, 1778, his political career might have closed here.

The report of a committee of Congress appointed to reply to a letter of General Washington contained certain expressions which seemed to reflect upon Washington. A prolonged and bitter debate followed, in which Burke took an active part in opposition to the reply of the committee. The opposition was so strong as to secure an amendment to the reply. The final vote on the amended reply came late at night. It was then discovered that there was no quorum, nine votes being necessary, and Dr. Burke, who was worn out by the long session, having gone to his lodgings and to bed. A messenger was sent for him, and returned with a most violent message of refusal to comply with the demand of Congress. It turned out that the messenger had not made himself clearly understood to Dr. Burke, who thought that he was hearing a message from Colonel Duer, of New York. He repeatedly expressed his regret for his language, but when Congress was not inclined to accept his explanation, but debated the matter for fifteen days and actually served a rule upon him as for contempt, Burke, while acknowledging that he had been wrong in absenting himself without the consent of Congress, which had a right to compel the attendance of its members, said:

“An unreasonable exercise of any power is tyranny and to keep a member at such unreasonable hours, and under such circumstances is, in my opinion, tyrannical, and I will not submit to it but by force upon my person. I consider every freeman as having a right to judge for himself when the exercise of any power is unreasonable, and if I err in my judgment, the power of punishment lies within the State which I represent.”

He further stated that he would regard any attempt of Congress to act in the matter as an infringement upon the

rights of his State, and that to North Carolina alone would he be responsible. Congress then appealed to the General Assembly of North Carolina, which referred the matter to a committee headed by William Hooper. Before the committee could report, the Assembly elected Dr. Burke and Whitmel Hill as additional delegates to Congress, thus showing where the sympathies of the members were. The committee reported, August 14th, exonerating him from all blame and agreeing with him that Congress had no power in the matter. This naturally closed the incident.

Burke was again elected in 1779 and 1780. In October, 1779, he and Whitmel Hill were invited to the State Senate and formally thanked by the Speaker for their long and faithful service in Congress. The Speaker of the House of Commons also expressed the thanks of that body. In May of the same year Burke had been elected by the Legislature a trustee of Granville Hall, an institution of learning in Granville County.

By this time Burke had become heartily tired of Philadelphia, and in April, 1780, he wrote Cornelius Harnett that his health was declining, and, said he: "I am satisfied that another year's close application in Congress would make a perpetual citizen in Philadelphia and give me a right to the soil from whence nothing short of the final Judgment of the World could evict me."

\*In the summer of 1780 Burke returned to Hillsboro. His presence at the time was most fortunate, for the conditions in the section around Hillsboro were most distressing and alarming. General Gates, with the army, was there on his way south, and no provision having been made for feeding the troops, they subsisted for the most part by foraging and impressment. Not only was food taken, but there was wanton destruction of property. Horses and wagons were seized, horses were turned into fields of standing grain, and numerous other outrages were committed, which excited the anger



of the most loyal and roused the slumbering disaffection of those already inclined to Toryism. This was increased by the insolence and haughtiness of the officials who had charge of the matter of procuring supplies. Burke declared that he would resist any such injustice with force, and, his neighbors appealing to him for advice and assistance, he at once entered into correspondence with General Gates and the President of Congress, stating that he would see that supplies were furnished if the people were fairly treated. To him, largely, belongs the credit of settling what threatened to be a most serious matter.

On June 25, 1781, the General Assembly which met at Wake Court House elected Dr. Burke Governor to succeed Abner Nash, and he entered upon the duties of his office the next day. The Speaker of the Senate, Alexander Martin, in his announcement speech, said, among other things:

“It gives me a particular pleasure to have at the head of the Executive, a Gentleman on whose Integrity, Firmness, and Abilities, we can rely with confidence at a Time this State is invaded by a cruel Enemy, and threatened with all the Horrors of War, which to oppose and avert call for the most spirited Exertions of this Country, that Independence and Peace be secured to it on a lasting Basis.”

Governor Burke, in expressing his thanks and appreciation for the honor conferred upon him, said:

“At any period less difficult, dangerous and critical than the present, I should beg leave to decline an office so much above my abilities and so illy suiting my private Inclinations and Circumstances. But no considerations of private convenience or of difficulty or danger shall deter me from any duty to which my Country may call me while her affairs labor under unfavorable Appearances. I therefore consent to take upon me the Office and Dignity to which the Honorable the General Assembly have been pleased to elect me, and shall entirely devote myself to the Establishing of Internal Peace, Order, and Economy and Security from External Enemies.”

For the next three months Burke devoted all his energies to the task of properly arming and equipping the North Carolina troops. He became involved in a disagreement in regard

to executive power with the Board of War, but notified them that he had the alternative of obeying the Constitution or the laws, and preferred the former, and that if he could not exercise the powers given him under the Constitution, he would immediately resign. This ended the discussion.

He spent most of the summer in Halifax, but early in September came to Hillsboro. When he reached there he heard that McNeill and Fanning were advancing with a large force against General Butler, who was on Haw River. Burke warned Butler, and the Tories were disappointed in the main object of their expedition. But they at once turned to Hillsboro, and, before daylight on September 12, 1781, captured the town. Burke was then residing on Queen street, at what is now the residence of Mrs. Edwin Heartt. The house was besieged, and Burke, believing that all would be massacred if they surrendered, decided to hold out as long as possible. After some hot firing, a British officer, brought up by Captain Reid, Burke's aid-de-camp, assured him of proper treatment and received his surrender. The jail was then opened and the town sacked. The party then set out for Wilmington. At Cane Creek they were attacked by the Whigs, who, if properly led, would have won a decisive victory. As it was, a drawn battle was the result. Colonel McNeill was killed and Fanning was wounded. A bit of contemporary doggerel on the subject is interesting:

“The Governor and Council in Hillsborough sought  
To establish some new laws the Tories to stop.  
They thought themselves safe and so went on with their show,  
But the face of bold Fanning proved their overthrow.  
We took Governor Burke with a sudden surprise,  
As he sat on horseback and just ready to ride.  
We took all their cannon and colors in town,  
And formed our brave boys and marched out of town.  
But the rebels waylaid us and gave us a broadside  
That caused our brave Colonel to lie dead on his side.  
The flower of our company was wounded full sore  
‘Twas Captain McNeill and two or three more.”

Governor Burke was taken to Wilmington and kept as a prisoner of State for some time. From there, in October, he wrote to Willie Jones, giving a rather humorous account of his uncomfortable surroundings. He described his room as a grotto in winter and a hot-house in summer, and said it had, at first, utterly lacked furniture, but that later he had been given a bed and some other furniture by a Mr. William Campbell. He stated that, although he was not shut up in a seraglio, yet he was as difficult of access as his Majesty of Constantinople. The following extracts from his letter seem worthy of quotation:

“ My pride if I have any, has this consolation that my most trifling movements are considered as dangerous to a Prince who is lord of so many brave battalions and so invincible a navy and such inexhaustible resources as his Majesty of Great Britain. And this perhaps it is, that has restored my good humor. I knew before that I was upon the axle-tree of the chariot but never thought that I made much of the surrounding dust. You will no doubt perceive I sometimes smile while I am writing, but I beg you not to conclude from thence that I am upon a bed of roses and that I may well stay there sometime longer. You know, Sir, that tho’ I have some firmness, I have also much sensibility of spirit, that tho’ the one enables me to bear, the other obliges me to feel my situation, and with peculiar poignancy, that restraint which prevents me from employing such talents as nature has given me, be they what they may, for the bringing to a complete and happy Issue the cause in which our country is engaged. You know me well enough to believe that I cannot lose sight of what I was, nor cease to compare it what I now am and what I have the prospect of being if this absurd and vexatious question<sup>1</sup> should be drawn to any length.

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“ I will not injure you by thinking it necessary to urge you to hasten my exchange. I will only add that the opinion my enemies entertain of my power of injuring them ought to have some weight with my country since I must be capable of serving her in proportion, but do not take this as a promise. I will be assured always to do my best, but the Enemy think me capable of more than I ever thought myself, altho’ I am no pretender to humility, but enough in all conscience on such a subject.”

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<sup>1</sup> Governor Burke was here referring to the difficulties which were being put in the way of his exchange, and the question as to whether he was a prisoner of State or merely a prisoner of war.

From Wilmington Governor Burke was removed to Sullivan's Island, where he was closely confined. Burke at once wrote Lieutenant-Colonel Balfour, the commandant at Charleston, demanding an explanation of the difference between his treatment and that of the other prisoners. Colonel Balfour answered that he could make no decision, but offered to parole him to James Island. On November 6th Burke accepted the parole and went to James Island, where he was treated with consideration and respect. After he had been there for some time a number of refugees were sent there. They were of the lowest type, and outrage and crime at once became frequent. Many of them were from North Carolina, and Burke was to them an object of venomous hatred. He was often threatened, but at first made no complaint, hoping that he would soon be exchanged.

Finally a group at his quarters was fired on, and a man standing on one side of him was killed and one on the other wounded. Further violence was only prevented by a British officer who interfered. The next morning Burke wrote General Leslie, explaining the danger of his situation and requesting a parole within the American lines. No answer was made to the letter, nor was anything done for his safety. For sixteen days he waited, exposed always to great danger and finding it necessary to change his sleeping place constantly and secretly. Finally he was notified that General Leslie was prevented from keeping his promise of paroling him to North Carolina by Major Craig's making it a point that the governor should be kept as a subject of retaliation for the Tories in North Carolina, particularly Fanning. Governor Burke had seen a letter from Major Craig to Abner Nash, in which he said he would not hesitate to deliver to those who were in arms for the King such prisoners as would most gratify them in their sentiments of revenge. After thinking over the treatment he had received, and remember-

ing how James Island was regarded with horror in Charleston, even by the British, he decided that he had been exposed intentionally to the dangers of the place. Nor can the impartial student of the facts in the case fail to arrive at a similar conclusion.

After long reflection, he decided that as a parole was given in exchange for protection, failure to protect a prisoner would have the effect of releasing him from his parole. He then decided to make his escape, and wrote a letter to North Carolina, asking that the laws might be executed against the Tories, regardless of him. Finally, on January 16, 1782, he made good his escape and at once went to General Greene's headquarters. From there, at the advice of General Greene, he wrote to General Leslie, informing him of his escape. He said at the close:

"But though I carried this resolution to escape into effect, I do not thereby intend to deprive you of the advantages which my capture, by the rights of war, entitle you to. I purpose returning to my Government, and there to expect an answer from you to the following proposition:

"I will endeavor to procure for you a just and reasonable equivalent in exchange for me, or if this cannot be effected, I will return within your lines on parole, provided you will pledge your honor that I shall not be treated in any manner different from the officers of the Continental Army when prisoners of War."

No answer was returned, and Governor Burke, who had gone to Halifax, North Carolina, where his wife had been during his captivity, notified General Greene that he would wait no longer than April 1st before assuming the reins of government. This was his most fatal mistake, but there were many reasons to cause him to make it. When he left Greene's headquarters it was with the avowed intention of having nothing to do with political affairs. He expected to find the General Assembly in session at Salem and to resign to them his office. But it did not meet, and Governor Burke decided to go to some other State in order not to embarrass the acting

Governor. But Alexander Martin, the Speaker of the Senate, reminded him that the office of Speaker would expire at the next general election, and that the State would be left without an executive head. So Burke, fearing that confusion and injury to the affairs of the State would result, decided to undertake again, and at once, the duties of his office, comforting himself by coming to the conclusion that it was not unjustifiable unless his escape was equally so, which he declined to concede.

In the meantime General Leslie had written to General Greene that the reasons Burke had advanced were so chimerical that he could not give them the smallest credit, and expressing the belief that General Greene would at once direct Burke to deliver himself up to the commissary of prisoners at Charleston, where he would be assured of every protection. General Greene replied that while he could not justify the breaking of a parole, he could not agree with him in regard to Governor Burke's reason for doing so, stating that Colonel Washington had said that he would prefer a dungeon to going on parole to James Island. He desired to know in what light Governor Burke was regarded—whether as a prisoner of war or of state.

As might be expected, criticism was at once aroused by Burke's action. Col. William R. Davie wrote him in February from Salisbury that Colonel Williams, who had lately come from Greene's headquarters, had stated that Greene and his officers believed that his conduct was reprehensible and dishonorable to the State, and that the enemy still had a claim on him. He advised Burke to take some measures for his justification, at the same time offering his services in the matter. Governor Burke at once wrote General Greene, stating what had been said and thanking him for his efforts to procure an exchange. At the same time he informed him that he would not feel bound to consent to any arrangement

which provided for his return, as he had decided that if General Leslie did not answer him he was done with him, and that if he (General Leslie) asked anything unreasonable he would not feel bound to accede.

On March 18th, on learning that Burke had resumed the duties of his office, Greene wrote him, expressing his regret that he had done so, and informing him that all attempts at exchange had proved futile. On April 8th he again wrote him, denying that Colonel Williams had any authority to make the statements concerning Burke. In his letter he shows that he thought Burke's escape justifiable, though he said on another occasion that his idea of the sacredness of a parole was such that he would sooner have abided the consequences than left the enemy's lines. Burke had already written to Colonel Williams, accusing him of misrepresentation. His letter shows traces of the bitterness which was already rising within him at the general misunderstanding and disapproval of his course. April 12th he wrote Greene that the enemy placed a higher value upon him than his own country did, but that he was fast preparing to take a final leave of all public business. Greene replied, expressing sympathy for his hard case, and closing the personal part of his letter with these words of advice:

“If the people intend to treat you with ingratitude, I am sorry for it. Much is due to your zeal and ability and as far as I am acquainted with the people of State, they think your captivity a very great misfortune. I beg you will not copy the example of many other great men who have gone before you, refuse your services because the people appear at the time to be insensible of their importance. We all have our dark days. No man has been under greater censure and reproach than myself; but I was always determined to persevere to the end in the persuasion that the public would be just at last.”

The General Assembly met on April 16, 1782. Governor Burke, in his message, gave the members a full account of the circumstances of his capture and escape. On April 23d,

when the election of Governor came up, he was placed in nomination. He at once wrote the Assembly, in part, as follows :

“This afternoon is appointed for the Election of a Governor, and I am in nomination. Permit me to say it was my wish that the several Intimations I have given the General Assembly might have prevented any Gentleman from naming me as a candidate for an office which I sincerely wish to be filled by a much abler man, or by any man rather than myself. When the General Assembly did me the honor to make choice of me for their Chief magistrate, tho’ nothing could be more injurious to me or repugnant to my inclinations, I accepted the trust because I was apprehensive that declining it would be construed into a doubt of our success, which at a time when our prospects were overcast, might have had bad Consequences. Happily that reason no longer exists, and I do not now feel the necessity of sacrificing my time and Industry which are absolutely necessary to retrieve my private affairs from the ruin in which my being constantly employed in public Service for several years has very nearly involved them. My misfortunes during this year have been heavy and complicated and have involved me in debts and in private distresses which it would be painful to particularize. I hope it may be sufficient to say that it will require the best exertions of my Industry to Extricate me from them.”

The General Assembly at once passed a resolution of thanks to Burke for his services as Governor, and elected Alexander Martin to succeed him.

Burke was notified on October 25th of his exchange. The following extract from General Greene’s letter is interesting, particularly when Burke’s States’ Rights views are remembered :

“That you can retire from public life with honor I never had a doubt, but I am by no means satisfied that you should. Your State, and indeed all the Southern States, require many singularities and improvements to render civil government perfect. Few men have the necessary abilities and still fewer a proper degree of industry to effect it. Many improvements are also wanting in the plan of Confederation and national government. Those characters who have long been in Congress and have had their views and ideas enlarged and their minds unfettered from local attachments and directed to National policy are the only men fit for this undertaking. Unless our governments are rendered more per-



fect and our Union more complete I fear we shall feel but in a negative way the blessings we expected from Independence. Think not therefore of retiring too soon. Private interest has its advantages and domestic ease its charms; but the glory of establishing a great empire is a noble object and worthy of great sacrifices, and that you may think on the matter with perfect freedom and independence, I have the pleasure to inform you of your exchange."

Burke seems to have been approached in regard to removing to Georgia, but the plan did not suit him and he declined to consider it. There was much criticism of his conduct in the State, and, while he still had the confidence and friendship of men like Davie, Johnston, Hooper, Iredell and McClaine, the reproach of others, which he felt to be undeserved and ungrateful, rankled. With his capacity for making warm friends, he had its usual accompaniment—the capacity for making bitter enemies, and these were very active. Burke's was a most sensitive nature, and the accusations which affected his honor were more than he could bear. He seems to have given himself over to dissipation, and died, December 2, 1783, at Tyaquin. His body rests in a grave, unmarked save for a heap of stones, in a grove on his old plantation.

He had only one child, a daughter, named Mary, who, after teaching for many years in Hillsboro, moved to Alabama, and died there, unmarried, after the close of the Civil War. His wife, a few years after his death, married a Major Dogherty. Of this marriage there are numerous descendants.

Taking into consideration all the known facts of his history, Burke is one of the most interesting and certainly the most pitiful figure in North Carolina history. That he made a mistake in violating his parole and then assuming the reins of government is undeniable, but it cannot be believed that his conscience was otherwise than free of guilt in the matter. Further than this, it must be believed that he was actuated by the motives of purest patriotism.

Burke's personality seems to have been particularly attractive. In person he was of middle stature, well formed, with his face much marked with smallpox, which had caused the loss of his left eye. In spite of this, it is said that his face was not without charm. His remaining eye was blue and very expressive. He was very convivial, a capital *raconteur*, sang a good song, and, without effort, wrote verses, of which many are preserved, that, while possibly as good as the generality, even a partial critic could not adjudge of much merit. Most of them are addressed by him to some fair Chloe or Phyllis, for he was inclined to be very gallant. But the following is of a different kind. Two passages—one to Pitt and the other to the ladies—are quoted :

“ Triumph America! Thy patriot voice  
 Has made the greatest of mankind rejoice,  
 Immortal Pitt, an everglorious name!  
 Far, far unequalled in the Rolls of Fame,  
 What Breast (for Virtue is by all approved  
 And Freedom even by Asia's slaves beloved )  
 What Breast but glows with Gratitude to Thee,  
 Boast of Mankind, great Prop of Liberty.”

\* \* \* \* \*

“ And you, ye fair, on whom our hopes depend  
 Our future Fame and Empire to Extend,  
 Whose Fruitful Beds shall dauntless Myriads yield  
 To Fight for Freedom in some Future Field  
 Resign each dear.  
 To-day let gladness beam in every face,  
 Soften each Smile and Brighten every Grace,  
 While the glad roof with lofty notes resound,  
 With Grace Harmonious move the Mazy Round ;  
 Make our Hearts feel the long forgotten Fire,  
 Wake into Flame each spark of soft Desire ;  
 Too long Indignant Tumults and Alarms  
 Have made us heedless of your lovely Charms;  
 With Freedom blest, our care will be to please,  
 Each day the genial pleasure to improve  
 And add new Sweetness to Connubial Love.”

These qualities, as may be imagined, coupled with a genial and frank manner and great cordiality, won for him numerous friends. He was of an ardent temperament and was frequently betrayed into rash acts. Ready to resent any fancied insult, he was equally ready to atone for any wrong he might commit. He was probably the most versatile of the men of his time in North Carolina.

Mention has already been made of his quarrel with General Sullivan. He also became involved in a difficulty with Richard Henry Lee, which would probably have resulted in a duel but for the intervention of General Wayne, who settled the difficulty, which was one of misunderstanding.

Burke was a Roman Catholic, but there seems to have been no question of his right to hold office. His case was quoted in the Convention of 1835 as proof that there was no intent to bar Roman Catholics from office.

He was a man of good education, as is shown by his letters. The following catalogue of his library, an unusually good one for the time, is somewhat indicative of his tastes:

Piere Williams' Reports, Atkyns' Reports, Burrows' Reports, Brown's Abridgment, Raymond's Reports, Carthew's Reports, Gilbert's Reports, Finch's Reports, Nay's Reports, Salmon's Abridgment of State Trials, Shower's Cases in Parliament, Treatise on Equity, Dalton's Justice, Dawson's Origin of Law, Abridgment of Cases in Equity, Lillie's Entries, Coke's Institutes, Laws of North Carolina (two volumes), Jacobs' Dictionary, Cases in Chancery, Blackstone's Commentaries, Sidney on Government, Abbe DuBois' Critical Reflections, Ferguson on Civil Society, Attorneys' Practice in Civil Pleas, Law of Devises, etc., Moley's Maritime Law, Law of Evidence, B. G., Gilbert's History and Practice of Civil Actions, Collection of Statutes, Foster's Law of Trade, Bacon's Law Tracts, Law of Errors, Lutwyche's Reports (Abridged), Law of Trespass, Foster's Crown Law, Lord Francis' Principles of Equity, Wilson's Reports, Hub-

bart's (*sic*) Reports, Hale's Pleas of the Crown, Shower's Cases in Parliament, Cases in Chancery, Coke's Reports, Robertson's Lexicon, Boyer's French and English Dictionary, Dormat's Civil Law, Lord Littleton's Works, Political Disquisitions, Smellger's Midwifery, Gibson's Surveying; 2d, 3d and 5th volumes of Pope's Iliad; 1st and 5th of the Odyssey, Pope's Essays, Euclid's Elements, Locke's Human Understanding, Orrery's Pliny, Littleton's Henry II, Beattie's Essay on Truth, Robertson's History of Charles V, Vergil, Horace, Terence, Juvenal, Cicero's Orations, and Cæsar's Commentaries.

As to his ability, it was undoubtedly equal to that of any of his contemporaries. His whole course as a public man would indicate that, without the testimony of men well qualified to judge. Samuel Strudwick said he was "the ablest advocate and completest orator our country affords." Abner Nash, his predecessor as Governor, said he was "a gentleman of activity, experience and ability and public spirit." Richard Henderson wrote Judge John Williams in 1778 regarding Dr. Burke's conduct of the case of the Transylvania Company before the Virginia Assembly: "It is universally given up on all hands that Mr. Burke did Justice to the Cause, and, for my own part, think we could not have been better served on or off the Continent."

Taking him as he was, with all his faults and mistakes, and they were comparatively few, he deserves honor and grateful remembrance from North Carolinians.

Authorities: State Records, X-XVII, Encyclopædia of American Biography, The University Magazine, Carruthers, *Old North State in 1776*, McRee, *Life and Letters of James Iredell*, and certain unpublished records of Orange county.

The writer also wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to Mr. Marshall DeLancey Haywood's sketch of Governor Burke in the Biographical History of North Carolina, and to Mr. Francis Nash for much material relating to Burke, and for numerous suggestions in regard to this paper.

## COLONIAL AND REVOLUTIONARY RELICS IN THE HALL OF HISTORY.

BY COL. FRED A. OLDS.

The development of literary activity in North Carolina during the past five years has been accompanied by the ripening of a taste for historical research and for the collection of matter bearing upon the history of North Carolina—not only documents, but the more tangible and personal things which have gone to form the history of the State, and which, more than aught else, put the people of this day and generation in touch with those of the olden time. Thus it has come about that the “Hall of History” has taken its place very firmly as a feature of historical development—one of those outward and visible signs which indicate a great movement, and which is full of hope and promise of yet greater things to come. When the agricultural building was enlarged it was decided, at the request of this writer, to build a noble room especially for the proper display of those objects which bear directly upon the history of the State, and on the 15th of December, 1902, the work of installation began, the writer having been engaged since 1885 in collecting, always hoping that such a place for historical objects would be sooner or later provided. North Carolina is yet rich in such objects, notably of the Colonial and Revolutionary period; but until this collection began, a little over three years ago, nothing had been done, except in what may be termed very justly a local way, to gather together such objects. By such failure the State has suffered enormous loss, due to the burning of court-houses, public buildings, and, most of all, private homes, in some of which there were extensive groups of objects, the loss of which is irreparable. But at last the gathering to-

gether at Raleigh, where by all manner of means the collection ought to be, has been begun, and the fact that the number of objects now exceeds the 4,000 mark shows not only zeal in collecting, but also an awakened public interest. It must be borne in mind that collecting is no easy matter, since, first, there must be obtained knowledge of the existence of particular objects; next, of their location and ownership; then coming the work of getting in touch with the owners and securing the objects, as loans or gifts—their acquisition by either of these methods being desirable at the earliest possible moment, since losses by the failure to acquire them are occurring all the while. It is felt that the present Hall of History is what may truly be termed a stepping-stone to higher things; in other words, that it is but a forerunner of a far more noble one, generous as to space, and built on the most modern lines as regards the elimination of risk by fire. Given such a building, and the writer can undertake to secure almost everything in North Carolina; only relatively few persons being unwilling to place objects in such safe-keeping. Of course there are a few who hide their treasures away, “under a bushel,” so to speak, instead of letting them be set broad and fair before all the world to instruct and to stimulate the people of their State who pour through the great North Carolina Museum by so many thousands every year.

The task of telling a story about a collection so great and with so wide a scope as the one here presents no little difficulty, since if there be too much detail it is very apt to degenerate into a sort of catalogue; and so it will be the effort now to touch only upon those salient things which stand out and which ought to be seen, as taking a place in the State’s history from the remotest time of which there are white men’s records.

In another room will be found the relics of the Indians,

since it is extremely difficult to locate the period of the latter; the making of weapons of war, and the chase, as well as various other Indian articles of domestic use, sport, etc., having been continued until a comparatively recent period. The story, therefore, as told by the objects in the Hall of History, begins with the coming of the white men, those daring voyagers who, sent out by the great Raleigh, crossed the sea and landed on the Isle of Roanoke. The story of this landing of the whites themselves, and the Indians, is set before the visitor in a wonderful series of pictures, photographic reproductions of the engravings on copper in the 1590 edition of DeBry's book, the first to contain the pictures, from the drawings made by John White, the special artist sent over with the expedition of 1585. A map in this series of twenty-four pictures shows the English vessels and also one of their small boats going to the Isle of Roanoke, with an Englishman holding up a cross in the bow of the boat, which is nearing the island on which is the Indian town, with its palisade or stockade of sharpened timbers, this seeming to occupy a spot very near that on which the Englishmen built their first fort in what is now the United States, this being "Fort Raleigh," which is wonderfully preserved, and of which a map, photographs and a painting are also shown. Among the objects in the cases are ballast brought over by the English vessels and thrown out at a point on Roanoke Island yet known as "Ballast Point," and charcoal which was dug up a few years ago when the excavation was made for the monument to Virginia Dare, which now stands in the center of the venerable earthwork, and of which there are also special pictures. When the writer was at the fort last January, soundings were made with slender steel rods all over the place. The well which the colonists used was by this means located. No objects were found, and it was discovered that for perhaps much more than a century the ground, both within and without the fort,

had been again and again the object of curiosity to relic or treasure seekers. Gone are the tiny cannon which the colonists left there when they abandoned the fort, and which were seen somewhere about 1615, and only a low mound, like a star, marks the boundary of this most interesting of American fortifications. It is a neglected spot, the rude fence and ruder gateway having almost completely decayed. In any other State than this it would be marked in a splendid fashion, and it would be also a place of pilgrimage.

There is a long skip in white life in North Carolina after the abandonment of Roanoke, an intermission of almost three-quarters of a century. The next document bears upon a meeting held in what is now Perquimans County in 1684. Then there is a will of John Trueblood, of the Province of Albemarle, dated 1692, and this is interesting as showing that the style of handwriting had changed hardly at all from the date of the great days of Queen Elizabeth and the knightly Raleigh, that fosterer of adventure and promoter of daring deeds, to whom North Carolina owes so much. There are memorials of the oldest towns in North Carolina, the chief one being Bath, which was really founded about 1694, though its charter was not granted until eleven years later. Bath, as the picture shows, is unique in North Carolina, as being the one place at least where time has stood quite still. The pictures of the oldest church in the State and of the oldest residence, formerly known as "Government House," the chimney of which, the largest in the United States, was built for use as a fort, a place of refuge and defence, tell the story of the quaint village far better than any words. There are relics of the historic Blackbeard, or Teach, that bloodiest of all pirates along this coast, together with his pistol, a button from his coat, a brick from his house at Bath, and part of a wine bottle or flagon from which no doubt that roystering devil had drank deeply many a time and oft. There is an



English coin from Bath, taken from a pit near Teach's house, in which some three thousand or more were found, this being of the reign of William and Mary and dated 1694, and there are other strange coins of that time, known as brass farthings, which were taken from the same hoard.

Some of the oldest papers are records of the Quakers, who got an early footing in eastern North Carolina, particularly in Perquimans, where there is yet quite a colony of these worthy people. A document of a singular character tells of one of the two recorded Spanish invasions of North Carolina, if these may be termed invasions—one being an attempt at the capture of Beaufort, and another an attempt upon old Brunswick, when it was the seat of government, on the Cape Fear river, below Wilmington. The document in question is a bill for looking after the wounded Spaniards who were taken at Beaufort, and part of it is for “physiking and dieting” them; the charges including quite a variety of food and drink. One of the most thrilling periods of North Carolina history was that of the Tuscarora war, in the days of brave old Governor Thomas Pollock, who, to be sure, with all his English courage, was well put to it to save his colony from what looked like almost sure extermination; and had not South Carolina come to his aid with whites and friendly Indians in great numbers, the Tuscaroras must needs have gotten the upper hand and have soon killed ten where they had slain one of the settlers. There is the treaty of peace between the whites on the one hand and the portion of the Tuscaroras headed by Tom Blount, who was declared to be the king of those most bloodthirsty of all red men in North Carolina. The treaty itself breathes cruelty in every line, though cruelty in that day meant safety. The text of the treaty is as follows:

“Preliminary articles in order to a Gen’l. Peace, had, made, concluded and agreed upon this 25th day of November, Anno Domini, 1712, between Tom Blunt, Saroona, Heunthanohnoh, Chountharuntshoe, Newoonttootserre, chief men of several of ye Tuskarora Townes for and on behalf of themselves and ye Townes of Eukurknornet, Rarookshee, Tostohant, Rauroota, Tarhunta, Keuta, Toherooka, Juninitis, Conso-toba, on ye one part and the Honble. Thos. Pollock, Esq., Presdt., of and ye rest of ye Councill for and on behalf of themselves and this Government of North Carolina on ye other part, Witnesseth:—

“Imprimis. The afs’d Great Men doe hereby covenant and agree to & with ye said Presdt. and Council that they shall and will with ye utmost Expedition and Dilligence make warr ag’t. all ye Indiyans belonging to ye Townes or Nations of Catachny, Cores, Nuse, Bare River and Pamlico and that they shall not nor will not give any Quarter to any male Indyan of those Townes or Nations above ye age of fourteen yeares and also that they shall and will sell off and dispose of all ye males under that age, and that further after they shall have destroy’d those Townes or soe soon as this Government shall think proper to require it, the said Great Men doe hereby promise to join ye English with soe many Men as may be thought proper to distroy and cutt off all Matchapungo Indiyans.

“2dly. The afs’d. Great Men doe hereby covenant and agree that if in this Warr they shall take any armes which shall be proved to have been owned by ye English and taken away in ye late horrid massacre such arms shall be delivered to ye right owners thereof.

“3dly. It is hereby further agreed by said Great Men that they shall and will well and truly deliver up to ye English all ye white captives and horses that they shall find among ye Indiyans.

“4thly. It is hereby further agreed by ye Great Men afs’d. that these Severall Townes of Tostochant, Rauroota, Tarhunta, Keutah, Toherooka, Junitis, Caunookehoe, nor any of ye Indiyans belonging to them or either of them shall not nor will not hunt nor range among ye English plantations or stocks without leave or then above the number of three at one tyme, neither shall they clame any proprty in ye land on ye southside of Nuse caled Chatooka River nor below Catachny Creek on Neuse nor below Bare Creek at Not-Sha-Hun-Han-Rough on ye south side of Pamptico River.

“5thly. It is mutually agreed by and between all ye said parties to these presents that if any injurey shall hereafter be done on either side, upon complaints made to such persons as shall hereafter be appointed for that purpose, full satisfaction shall be made.

“6thly. The afs’d. Great Men doe hereby agree that from & after ye

Ratification of a Gen'l. Peace they shall and will pay into this Government such a yearly Tribute as hereafter shall be agreed upon.

"7thly. The afs'd. Great Men doe hereby further agree that for ye full & true performance of all and every ye above articles on their part to be performed, ye several Townes of Tostehant, Rauroota, Tarhunta, Keuta, Toherooka, Juninits & Caurookehee shall bring in and deliver up to this Government at ye Honble. Col. Thos. Pollock's six of ye chiefest women and children from each Towne, for Hostages, by ye nexte full moons, provided that they doe not distroy ye Enemy afs'd. by that tyme.

"8thly. The said President & Councill doe hereby covenant and agree with ye Great Men afs'd. that upon the just and true performance of these articles the severall hostages afs'd. shall be well and truly delivered up againe and a free and open trade shal be had with said Indynans as existed formerly.

"Lastly, the afs'd. Great Men doe hereby agree that they will endeavor to bring in to some of their Townes alsoe Chauaneckquoekenerook, Enuquner-called Johetaoin shrdluap uapapup called John Pagett, Ekehorquest called Lawson, Correuena, called Barbar, Colsera, called Henry, Lyahe Oumskinneree, called Suarehooks, Touhquinanch, Erunvanhyne and Young Yyler, and send two Runners to Mr. Redding's Garrison, give there three Hoops, then show a white cloth for a signale in order to pilott such prsons as we shall think proper to send to see the operation done upon ye afs'd. murderers.

"In witness hereof the several parties to these presents have interchangeably sett their hands and seals the day and yeare first above written.

"TOM T. B. BLUNT,

"I. P. SAROONTA,

"H. HEUNSHANOHAH,

"I. CHAUNTHARUNTSHOE,

"I. NEWOONTTOOTSERY,

"SAROONTHA HORUNTTOCKEN, absent.

There is also a map of the lands which the whites gave to Tom Blount in return for his co-operation with them, these lying in Bertie County, and to this day being known as the "Indian Woods." Surveyors in those days were generous, and when in later years it was found necessary to re-survey this tract, it was discovered that the area was more than thrice as great as originally stated. There are tomahawks,

made of iron and evidently obtained from the Indian traders; that is, white men who sold guns, ammunition, tomahawks and, worst of all, "fire-water"—that is, whiskey—to the red men, and who aided more in debauching them than did the very worst Indians. The tomahawks show by their shape that they were for no peaceful purpose, far unlike the English hatchets, and their very lines seem to tell a story of those days of horror.

While DeBry's pictures were the first ever printed about North Carolina (then "Virginia"), it was a great many years before the colony printed its own first book, and this did not appear until 1752, being a compilation of the laws of the colony, printed by James Davis, the official printer, at New Bern. It was bound in yellow leather, and hence became known in common language as the "Yellow Jacket." The example of it shown is perfect. New Bern had then become a place of importance. It was the east which in those days was the real seat of life, progress, culture and development, since the colonial towns were necessarily along the streams or sounds or broad estuaries—places which could be easily reached by vessels from the other side of the ocean. The early settlers showed much judgment in their selection of sites for their towns, and to this day the site of old Bath will strike any person with a practical eye, by reason of its situation. Old Brunswick, Edenton, Hertford, Plymouth, New Bern and other points were all well chosen. The collection is rich in objects illustrating the colonial life in all of these.

Edenton remains the most interesting of all the towns in the State, from a colonial point of view, and the illustrations of it show that it ought to be a place of pilgrimage for the Colonial Dames and the Daughters of the Revolution as well, since there is a remarkable blending of life of the two periods in North Carolina.

The stately court-house, with a "spring floor" on the upper

story, built for the special purpose of dancing, was modeled after assembly rooms in England, at such places as Bath and Tunbridge Wells. On this second floor is the Masonic Hall, with the chair in which Washington sat when master of the lodge of Masons at Alexandria, Va. Very beautiful pictures of "Hays," the great estate of the rich and powerful Samuel Johnston at Edenton, show this building to be one of the most beautiful of all existing country houses in America, and photographs which are wonderfully fine reproductions show some of the treasures of the library at this house, which has come down through a century and a half in such perfect condition. Of these treasures is the only known copy of the *New Bern Gazette* of June 16, 1775, containing the Mecklenburg Resolves of May 31, 1775, this paper having been sent to Richard Caswell, then a member of the Congress at Philadelphia, by Richard Cogdell, the chairman of the New Bern Committee of Safety, this letter saying, in part: "You will observe the Mecklenburg Resolves exceed all other committees or the Congress itself. I send you the paper in which they are inserted, and I hope this will soon come to hand." This letter is dated June 18th. These resolves did not appear in the *Wilmington Mercury* until a week after they had appeared in the *New Bern Gazette*. There are water-colors of the House with a Cupola, once the residence of Francis Corbin, Lord Granville's agent, and of the house where the patriotic women held the "tea party," and there are photographs of the former building and of the bronze tea-pot which Mr. Julian Wood has placed on the site of the tea-party house.

A pair of pistols of unique and striking form were the property of Capt. Hugh Waddell, and were carried by him in the expedition against the French and Indians in 1758, at which time the British troops and militia captured Fort DuQuesne, in Pennsylvania, and by the capture really broke

the French power in the colonies. These weapons are perfectly preserved and have what are known as cannon barrels, because of their shape, tapering from breech to muzzle.

Recent acquisitions to the collection are portraits of the first Lords Proprietors, these being photographs, the gift of Mr. James Sprunt, of Wilmington, of the portraits in his private collection, which are copies made to his order of the originals, which are in libraries and private homes in England. They include King Charles and all of the first Proprietors except Sir John Colleton, whose portrait has never been found. There is the Earl of Craven, who gave his name to the county of that name; Hyde, who is yet paid a similar honor; that Berkeley who was the only one of the Lords Proprietors who came over to this side and whose stay here was marked by death and destruction, mainly the execution of Governor Drummond of Virginia and the burning of Jamestown, the next place settled after ill-fated Roanoke. There is Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, who wrote the Habeas Corpus Act, and for whom Locke wrote his "Fundamental Constitutions," which was intended as a chart of laws for the government of the colony of North Carolina, and who himself made additions to that interesting document, which to be sure provided a most impracticable mode of government, hard to be even imagined in these latter days. There is a deed by the Lords Proprietors to George Burrington for the fisheries in North Carolina for the term of seven years, this being a striking document, of great size, on parchment, and bearing the autographs and seals of the gentlemen who then owned North Carolina. Later it came about that all of the Lords Proprietors except Granville surrendered their proprietorships. There are interesting documents signed by him and by his agents, one of whom was Francis Corbin of Edenton, whose house is yet perfectly preserved and who was visited by the "Regulators" and made to

give bond that he would be just and true in his financial dealings with the people. There are also deeds signed by Nisbet, Granville's agent in the up-country, for lands granted to the United Brethren, otherwise the Moravians, whose headquarters were then and now are at Salem. There are royal seals, some weighing a quarter of a pound and of wax; bullet-moulds, button-moulds, candle-sticks, snuffers, pewter platters and plates, tuning forks and scores of other relics of the Colonial times. There are deeds and newspapers bearing the stamps used in collecting the stamp tax, which presently became so odious as to form one of the key-notes of the Revolutionary uprising. There are relics of the earliest Scotch settlement along the Cape Fear, with its center at Fayetteville, including wonderfully fine pictures of "Bonnie Prince Charlie" and his savior, the brave though unlucky Flora McDonald.

Very interesting indeed is the collection of maps of the State, dating from 1585, the most accurate of the early ones being that by Lawson, the Surveyor-General of this colony, which was made about 1708. An original edition of Lawson's history of the State is on view. This particular copy is a gift from President James Madison, to replace a much-prized one lost in the fire which destroyed the State capitol here in June, 1831.

Photographs of Edenton include the burial-place of a number of notables, among these governors Pollock and Eden, and the wife of Governor Edward Moseley, who is truly a lost governor, since no amount of search has so far availed to find his remains. Capt. Samuel A. Ashe, so well informed about all things North Carolinian, thinks that his grave is at Rocky Point, Pender County, and search will probably be made there. These remains of notables were gathered at various points and interred in this cemetery of old St. Paul's Church, Edenton.

There are many extremely fine examples of penmanship in the collection of colonials, and notable among these are maps or plots of lands, some of these going back to the time when the Roanoke River was known as the Morotoke or Morotuck. These maps show the origin of many of the present names. One of them shows the location of an Indian town, Tauhunta, which was on the Tau river, now known as the Tar.

Of the Regulators there are a number of relics, chief among these, perhaps, being the bell which they used for the double purpose of calling themselves together, having no drum, and also giving notice of the approach of the British. The bell has a very thin and peculiar tone, like a cow-bell. There is a pay-roll of the company commanded by Captain David Hart, of the Orange County Regiment, which served 70 days in what was then termed the "Insurrection." There is also a plan of the battlefield of Alamance, made on the spot by an engineer the day after the battle, and showing the positions of the militia under Governor Tryon and the Regulators.

But few old taverns yet remain in North Carolina, yet fortunately there is a very striking example at Hertford, the building being of wood, long and rambling, two-storied, with double portico its entire length, and this is excellently illustrated by photographs.

The most noted collection of letters in all North Carolina is unquestionably that of the Iredells, now in the possession of Col. Charles Earl Johnson, of Raleigh, this being very extensive and containing letters from practically every man in high public life in this colony and the others during the late colonial period and throughout the Revolution. Two cases of these documents are shown and there are some striking relics among these, one a proclamation by Governor Josiah Martin, who used on public documents his private seal instead of the State seal. There are other special cases, contain-



ing the documents of the Devereux family, which go back to the time of Governor Pollock; documents, rare books, etc., collected by Bishop Joseph Blount Cheshire, and the very important collection of autograph letters made by Governor Swain while in office, this being of documents from the executive office, and covering not only the Colonial period but the Revolutionary, and coming down to a later date.

The period during the Revolution, when North Carolina was what may be termed an independent commonwealth, is illustrated by various articles, but certainly by none more striking than the currency issued by authority of congress at Halifax, April 2, 1776. This money is excellently well printed, the plates having been made on copper, and the designs are striking, being in sharp contrast with money issued a little later. Very perfect copies of the journals of two of the most notable State conventions are on view; one, that held at Hillsboro in 1788, which declined to ratify the Federal Constitution; the other, that at Fayetteville the following year, which ratified that great document. The "Resolves" of the Committee of Safety of Surry County and of Tryon County are unique as showing on their face that there was great loyalty to the King, while there was the sternest opposition to the policy of oppression practiced upon the colonies by England. The Surry County resolves, exquisitely written, bear in graceful design upon the cover the inscription, "Liberty or death. God save the King."

Mention has been made of the Johnson collection, covering a number of Iredell documents. A special case in this collection is devoted to the portraits of Colonial and Revolutionary celebrities, including Willie (or Wiley) and Allen Jones, the former of whom was to exercise a remarkable influence upon John Paul Jones, the first admiral of the United States Navy, the patronage and affection shown by Willie Jones having led John Paul to add Jones to his name and to

show in many other ways his regard for the great and warm-hearted North Carolinian who had done so much for him. There is in the Swain collection a characteristic note written by the Chevalier Paul Jones, while in Paris, to a friend, desiring a copy of the Constitution of North Carolina to be shown to a gentleman in high favor at the French court. The collection of portraits is mostly composed of etchings, and upon the borders of some of these Mrs. Robertson, a daughter of the late Col. Cadwallader Jones, has painted in colors the family arms, she being the official painter to both the Colonial Dames and the Daughters of the American Revolution in the United States. The collection embraces portraits of the three signers of the Federal Declaration of Independence at Philadelphia—Hooper, Hewes and Penn—and there are various other memorials of these worthies.

The Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, claimed by some to have been made on the 20th day of May, 1775, and by others to have been made (in the shape of what have been known as the Resolves) May 31, 1775, is a disputed point in North Carolina. The evidence as to the 31st is beyond any human question. There is a special collection of autographs of Hezekiah Alexander and others, whom it is asserted signed the Declaration of May 20th. As has already been stated, the Resolves of May 31st appear in the *New Bern Gazette* of date sixteen days later, and also in the *Charleston Gazette*, the latter paper having been sent to England, and the most obnoxious of the Resolves having been marked by the royal governor, the original of this particular paper being in the British archives, but the photographic copy being of the precise size and very clear.

Of the Revolutionary period proper there are over four hundred relics, among these some of Richard Caswell, the first governor under American rule, being naturally prominent, including a cup and saucer made in France for him,

while there are particularly valuable documents bearing his autograph and the State seal of the time.

As has been stated, it is difficult to draw the line between the Colonial and the Revolutionary periods, so much do these blend in certain respects. Thus there are shown superb copies of the Bible and Prayer Book of the Church of England, both royal gifts from King George III. to the vestry of Christ Church in the good town of New Bern, when it was the capital of the State. These books were in continuous use in the church until a comparatively recent period. The "Palace" of Governor Tryon, at New Bern, built at what was considered a vast expense in those days, is illustrated by a very old wood-cut. This building did not a little part to fan the flame of unrest of the "Regulators." They harped upon it, and not a few of the colonists objected to paying taxes because of the fact that their money was going towards paying for this edifice, which provoked both their contempt and their hatred. It was the boast of Tryon that the building was to be the handsomest in the southern colonies if not in the whole country. Of it but a wing remains, long used as a stable, but now as a private residence.

There is a "letter of orders" from the Bishop of London (Compton), authorizing the holding of services in the Colony by a clergyman. There is money issued at a number of points in the State prior to the Revolution and during that period. Some of the colonial currency is what was known as "Proclamation Money," and the enormous depreciation of the revolutionary currency is shown by the fact that in a bill rendered in 1786 iron is quoted at four pounds, English money, the pound; sugar 12 pounds, pepper 90 pounds, rum 165 pounds a gallon, a glass tumbler 75 pounds. This bill, by the way, is for a total of over 1,500 pounds, and two of its entries are in these strange words: "By spirits rum drank at my father's funeral, 45 pounds." "A difference of seven pounds;

so near a balance that a drink of grogg settles it." Of the money issued during the Revolution some was emitted at Hillsboro, some at New Bern, and some at Smithfield and Fayetteville. There is a journal of the Provincial Congress at Halifax, April, 1776. Some of the bills issued by the Provincial Congress at Hillsboro, August 21, 1775, are signed by Richard Caswell and Samuel Johnston. There is a printed order, dated at Johnston Court-House, December 24, 1775, signed by Cornelius Harnett, the president of the council. Another document which shows how stirring were the times is a letter from the Wilmington Committee of Safety, or Committee of Intelligence, as it was termed, to the New Bern committee, signed by Cornelius Harnett and others, dated July 2, 1775.

In striking contrast to the bell used by the Regulators, so thin in material and in tone as well, is a great hand-bell which was used by Governor Tryon at the "Palace" and later by the provincial assembly and by Governor Caswell. It is deep in tone, rotund and heavy.

The wearing apparel of the blended periods is shown, and from it, certainly as to the shoes, we learn that our grandmothers were addicted to high heels and the most papery of slippers, with toes so pointed as to put to blush any modern creations. There are buckles of paste and other gewgaws of the time, and from these relics of the gay days of old there floats out like incense the subtle yet pervasive odor of sandalwood, since my lady of those far-away days must needs have a case of this wood in her boudoir, to contain some at least of her fripperies. What tales of dancing days, of the stately old assemblies, the graceful if slow minuet, of hoops so great as to render the curled darlings of the time unapproachable to caresses unless they bent over like a tree in a storm; with towering headdresses, tier upon tier, hair and feathers, with powder galore, and the faces, fair enough, disfigured by

rouge and beauty-spots most cunningly placed. There are combs of tortoise-shell most daintily carved, which were a fad in those days, and one of these was worn by a lady, herself a member of a great family, who it is said was for a number of years engaged to one of the signers of the National Declaration of Independence and who yet never became his bride. Soon after her death he died, brokenhearted.

There are more humble articles of domestic use, including a foot-warmer, in those days thought to be a necessity for those who went abroad in vehicles; lamps, made in some cases by a native blacksmith, to contain lard and twisted wicks of cotton; some being in rude imitation of ancient Greek and Roman lamps; flax-hackles, linen cloth, spun and woven by the good house-keepers of that time, cotton not being in much favor then, some of this cloth having been made by Mary Slocumb, a revolutionary heroine; pins made in rudest fashion, the head being twisted around the shank and rudely soldered.

There are Revolutionary warrants which were issued by the State to soldiers as pay, and there are also warrants which the State issued for considerable sums, one being for \$7,500; this particular one being endorsed as having been "Rejected by the United States in 1791, upon presentation on loan." There is the roster of the North Carolina troops who served in the Continental line, some of whom had such hard fortune in falling into the hands of the British at the capture of Charleston.

Written school-books are another evidence of the hardships of those early days, one being an arithmetic written with great skill and at infinite labor and showing large numbers of examples under all the various heads.

The early Moravian life, from the first settlement by the United Brethren of the region round about Salem, is illustrated in various ways, and a catechism printed in Germany for use by the Brethren in North Carolina is quite unique.

The illustrations of Colonial and Revolutionary architecture are both numerous and varied. Happily a number of the older buildings, which have escaped the usual fate of destruction by fire, have not been tampered with. Some have been destroyed by fire and some torn down. There are some iconoclasts in North Carolina, and these do not spare upon occasion. Some of the handsome structures on the great estates in the eastern counties have been destroyed or so changed as to be unrecognizable, while the noble groves around others have been cut down and sold. In other ways iconoclasts have shown what they can do. The church at Bath is a pitiful example. The old windows were recently taken out, the antique high pews removed and the tiled floor except the aisle; the lofty pulpit with its shell-shaped sounding-board was carted off as rubbish, and now unsightly modern benches fill the church, the pulpit is something of the commonest, while the windows are those vari-colored abominations which one can see in any cheap new church here and there in the little towns and sometimes in the country. Over the front of this striking old building is a brown-stone slab containing date of erection, etc. This, too, was removed, and some relic-hunter took it up to Washington, N. C., where luckily it was found on a hotel counter and given to a lady of the place, who took it to Bath and had it replaced where it belonged. This is only one story out of many. The enlarged and very striking picture of the church at Bath shows it as it is to-day.

Among the Revolutionary autographs will be found those of generals Wayne, Lincoln, Davidson, Greene, Nash and Davie. The fact developed upon inspection of these that General Davidson sometimes signed his name simply William Davidson and sometimes William L. Davidson. Of Davie, who was so eminent in civil life, there are very interesting memorials, one of these being his appointment as an envoy

extraordinary to France, his letter of credit issued by that country, and also a note from Citizen Joseph Bonaparte, expressing his appreciation of a call by Davie during the Frenchman's illness.

The Revolutionary battlegrounds are being illustrated. The picture-story of that at Guilford Court-House is very complete and impressive. It has the honor of being the best marked of all the Revolutionary battlegrounds, and this has been done to a large extent privately, though the State has aided somewhat by an annual appropriation. Pictures are to be made of the battlefield at Alamance and the monument there, and also of that at Moore's Creek, the latter being a battle which had a notable effect in cheering the patriots, having been the first success of the American arms in the struggle. Mention has been made of the Regulators and of the battle of Alamance. Of them and of this engagement there are two views in North Carolina, one being that the affair bore directly upon the Revolution and tended as much as anything else to precipitate the latter; the other view being that there was no connection between the two and that the Regulator movement was merely what some writer has termed "An uprising of peasants." The juster view seems to be that the affair did bear upon the Revolution, though in a somewhat indirect way, having perhaps as much connection with it as did John Brown's raid upon the Civil War—disconnected yet connected. Of King's Mountain, so important an engagement of the Revolution, there is not a single relic, strange to say, though there are several of these in the State and a number in other States, one or two being in the possession of the United States government. Of Revolutionary uniforms there is not an example, only the gloves of Benjamin Cleveland being shown. Of the weapons of the Revolutionary period there are a number of examples, including swords, pistols, and muskets. The most interesting of these is a

musket of extremely fine workmanship, for that date, which was carried by a soldier in one of the Scotch regiments which was in the army of Lord Cornwallis, who fought at Guilford Court-house and then marched, or as we may say, retreated, to Wilmington. There this particular soldier was on duty when Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown, and then he and his musket went together into what is now Robeson county and settled. The Revolutionary swords of home manufacture show what the native blacksmiths could do at that day, as their construction was not upon lines at all graceful, but solely for lethal purposes. The bullet-moulds are of the time when the women used to lend their hands and make the bullets, and when, upon occasion, they could shoot them, too.

One of the most interesting places in the State during the Revolution was Hillsboro, a small town but containing noted men and being much visited by those from the low-country, being considered much in the west at that time, before the mountains became civilized enough for resort. Hillsboro has, until recently, preserved a number of its old examples of architecture, and its streets, paved with cobblestones, were reminders of the days when Cornwallis sojourned there and of that yet earlier period when Tryon paid the place visits. It is most unfortunate that illustrations were not made years ago of such places as Hillsboro, as now but few striking features remain. One of these is the court-house, in the belfry of which are a clock and bell, the gifts of King George III., who seems to have had much regard for the town, which was named in honor of the Earl of Hillsboro, while the county bears what may be termed a royal name, in honor of that Dutch King who came over and saved England at so critical a time. There is a picture of the court-house and some other views of places of note. There is luckily a picture, the only one known, of the building at Fayetteville, long destroyed, where the convention met which ratified the constitution.



These pictures are found to tell the stories as well as direct objects and this process of illustration is to continue until every part of the State which is historical is covered. The writer last January made the first tour for the express purpose of gathering historical objects of any and all periods. This was in what may be termed in the footsteps of the pioneers, embracing Fayetteville, Wilmington, Southport, New Bern, Washington, Bath, Plymouth, Hertford, Elizabeth City, Edenton and Roanoke Island. It was a resultful tour, as no fewer than four hundred objects were collected, in addition to more than one hundred photographs, most of the latter being originals made by special order. The result is that there is to-day more knowledge by the mass of the people as to the fine old towns in the early settled parts of the State than ever before. There pass through the State Museum and the Hall of History each year more than 100,000 visitors, representing nearly every county in North Carolina and a large number of other States. The interest in the historical collection is not local, not confined to Raleigh or North Carolina, but is widespread and some acquisitions to the collection come from persons from other States, who thus show their appreciation of the work of preservation which is being so earnestly pressed. One of the facts which is very plain is the influence which North Carolina has had upon other parts of the country in settlement and otherwise, notably in the great middle-west. Visitors from that part of the country manifest the keenest interest in the Colonial and Revolutionary objects in view, and there are students of those periods who are availing themselves of the Hall of History as a medium of information. To show the scope of the collection already, it may be stated that books are being illustrated by pictures made of the objects therein, notably readers and histories by such writers as Capt. Ashe, Prof. D. H. Hill and Prof. R. D. W. Connor. The photographs taken are not only of pictures,

but of objects in every department. The Colonial Dames and the Daughters of the Revolution are frequent visitors to and close students of the exhibits which closely interest them, and they have been no small contributors, while their influence is regarded as of very high value by the writer. It is felt that more ought to be done in regard to the Revolutionary period. The fact that articles are equally available as loans or gifts should have its weight upon the public mind, and the Colonial Dames and the Daughters of the Revolution, so closely linked in their work, should see to it that the most notable objects in private collections should come here. There is in the Raleigh a picture of King George III, which is of deep historical interest. Upon its back these words are written with red chalk, "O, George! Hide thy face and mourn!" General Nathaniel Greene wrote those words himself, having turned the King's face to the wall in a house at Salisbury.

What has been written here is designed merely to show in a partial way what has been done in so brief a space, comparatively speaking, in forming North Carolina's first collection of historical objects. This much may be added, that no collection was ever made at so small an expense, the writer's work being solely that of a volunteer, and this very fact being an incentive of endeavor to make the collection as good and as complete as if it were the work of some paid specialist. Surely the people of North Carolina will give hearty co-operation, and will see to it, sooner or later, that every object which bears upon their colonial and State history comes here.

The oldest documents in North Carolina connected with the history of any family now living are those of the de Rossets at Wilmington, which reach well back into 1500, and are mainly commissions issued by the kings of France.

The writer, it may be said, keeps very closely in touch with

the North Carolina Historical Commission, which by gift has placed a number of extremely interesting pictures in the Hall of History, and he has had these prepared under the auspices of the Commission. There is, of course, also close co-operation with the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, as chairman of its Museum Committee. The co-operation of the North Carolina Department of Agriculture has been very thorough and generous; in fact, all the surroundings and influences have been such as to very greatly aid in facilitating the work.

It is proposed to make special tours through other portions of the State than the east, and to revisit that particular section also. Wherever such visits are made there are conferences with and addresses made to such bodies as the Colonial Dames and the other societies of ladies, and these have proved resultful in every case. It is found that the personal equation enters very largely into this matter. State pride and family pride go well together, and the time is arriving when the large hall, already so nearly filled, will be crowded. The facilities for caring for documents and any and all objects, of whatever material, are of the best, with cases which are moth-proof, dust-proof, and are also thoroughly guarded against any and all insects. The fact that the collection, of which only two departments are here treated of, is so wide in its scope is found to add to the general interest in it, since something is afforded for the student of any period. It has been a distinct inspiration to teachers, of whom more than twelve hundred visited it in a body during the present year. It is set before the Legislature as an object-lesson and as the very best and most practical way of showing that it is worthy of the most complete preservation.

## THE N. C. SOCIETY DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION AND ITS OBJECTS.

BY MRS. E. E. MOFFITT, REGENT.

The Society "Daughters of the Revolution" was founded by Mrs. Flora Adams Darling, October 11, 1890. It was organized August 20, 1891, and was duly incorporated under the laws of the State of New York as an organization national in its work and purpose.

The occasion of its founding was to provide a society whose terms of membership should be based upon *direct descent* from Revolutionary ancestors, in which organization admission upon *collateral claims would be impossible*. This rule, clearly stated at time of organization, has been rigidly observed, and the Society is justly proud of its membership, representing as it does the direct descendants of soldiers and statesmen of the Revolution.

The distinctive feature of the government of the Society is its system of State Societies and local Chapters; the officers and Board of Managers of the General Society have entire superintendence and management of the whole organization, while subject to this oversight, State Societies regulate and direct their own affairs. A State Society may be organized wherever there are at least twenty members residing within the State, and a local Chapter may be formed by five members living in the same locality. The State membership includes all members of local Chapters formed in the State.

The objects of the Society as stated in the Constitution are: "To perpetuate the patriotic spirit of the men and women who achieved American Independence; to commemorate prominent events connected with the War of the Revolution; to collect, publish and preserve the rolls, records and historic documents relating to that period; to encourage the study of

the country's history, and to promote sentiments of friendship and common interest among the members of the Society."

#### THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY.

Founded by Mrs. Spier Whitaker, a lineal descendant of Wm. Hooper, a signer of the National Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776, a biographical sketch of whose life by Mrs. Whitaker was published in the NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET of July, 1905.

The North Carolina Society was organized in Raleigh, Oct. 19, 1896, the anniversary of the surrender of Cornwallis; and a Constitution and By-Laws adopted on April 6, 1897, its declaration upon honor being, that "if admitted to membership in this Society, I will endeavor to promote the purposes of its institution, and observe the Constitution and By-Laws."

#### MEMBERSHIP AND QUALIFICATIONS.

"Any woman shall be eligible who is above the age of eighteen years, of good character, and a lineal descendant of an ancestor who (1) was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, a member of the Continental Congress, or a member of the Congress, Legislature or General Court of any of the Colonies or States; or (2) rendered civil, military or naval service under the authority of any of the thirteen Colonies, or of the Continental Congress; or (3) by service rendered during the War of the Revolution became liable to the penalty of treason against the government of Great Britain: *provided*, that such ancestor always remained loyal to the cause of American Independence."

As will be seen, the watchword of the Society is "Patriotism." Love of Liberty, Home and Country is a heaven-born instinct not bounded by latitude or longitude, nor is it confined by wealth or position. It is imperative and should be absolutely understood in all social and official acts members

should avoid all semblance of sectional feeling, or political or religious partisanship.

That such a society for women was needed is attested by its sure growth—its patriotic activity in marking Revolutionary sites, erecting monuments, the finding and preservation of records vital to the history of the Nation and which in many instances have been preserved from destruction through the efforts of patriotic Societies which had gained a knowledge of their value.

The North Carolina Society grew in strength of purpose, more than numerically. Their meetings were held on important anniversary days—valuable historical papers were read by members on the Revolutionary services of their ancestors, all of which are preserved in our archives.

In December, 1900, it was determined to take up some special work. At this meeting a very interesting account of the "Edenton Tea Party of October 25, 1774," by Dr. Richard Dillard of Edenton, was read, and the idea of commemorating in some tangible way this important event filled the minds of all present. It was then determined to erect a memorial to the heroism and patriotism of those women of the State who by their aid and zeal helped to make this country a free and independent Nation, thereby in a measure setting aside that ignorant prejudice which has hedged them in with such false ideas of their place and power, that the history of mothers, even of the greatest men, is not easy to obtain. As the eye of history is opening to the fact that some credit is due the women of the past for the success of the War of the Revolution, a motion then prevailed to erect in this State a memorial to the brave and patriotic women who organized and participated in the aforementioned "Edenton Tea Party of October 25, 1774," who met to endorse the "Resolves of the Provincial Deputies" in New Bern, August 25, 1774, "not to drink any more tea or wear any more British cloth" until the

tax had been removed by Parliament from these foreign commodities.

On the reception of this news, obedient to the instinct of womanhood, ever ready to do her duty, a meeting was called to testify and put on record their adherence and co-operation in any movement for the peace and happiness of their country. Fifty-one ladies signed this document, an act which deserves an enduring monument.

Ways and means for the accomplishment of this purpose were discussed, and, on motion of Mrs. Helen Wills, a committee of the following ladies was appointed to consider the matter: Mrs. Walter Clark, Mrs. Hubert Haywood, Miss Martha Haywood, Miss Grace Bates and Mrs. Ivan Proctor. The committee reported at the next meeting that they would adopt a suggestion of Miss Martha Haywood to issue a monthly publication on great events in North Carolina history. The idea was adopted unanimously, and Miss Martha Haywood and Mrs. Hubert Haywood (*nee* Emily Benbury) volunteered to begin the enterprise. The treasury furnished means for issuing circulars, for postage, etc.

Through the indefatigable efforts and enthusiasm of our Regent, Mrs. Whitaker, and her associates, "THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET" has become an assured success. The first number appeared in May, 1901, and consisted of a monograph by Maj. Graham Daves on Virginia Dare, she being the first English child born in America—"a fitting subject for a magazine issued under the auspices of the North Carolina Society 'Daughters of the Revolution,' edited by women, and the proceeds to memorialize the patriotism of women."

After two years of arduous labor freely given to the cause, the editors resigned and were succeeded by Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton and Mrs. E. E. Moffitt. For the first four years the BOOKLET was published as a monthly, beginning in May each year. In 1905 it was decided to issue it quarterly, and the first number of Volume V was issued in July of that year.

The subscription list continues to justify the publication, and the profits therefrom have brought to the treasury of the Society a creditable amount.

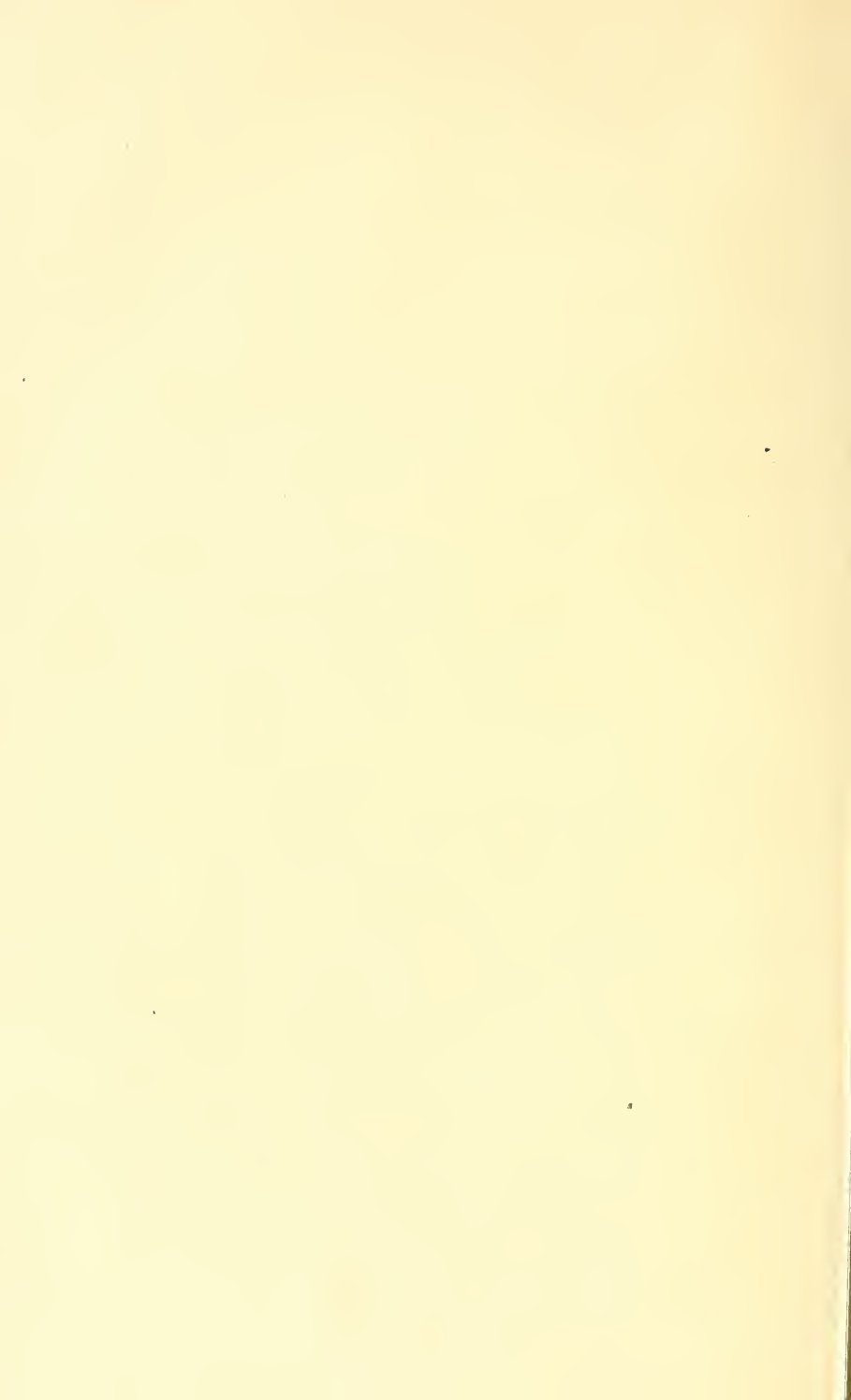
Having in bank a sufficient amount for the erection of the memorial, the accomplishment of its object has been delayed in order to secure historical evidence beyond contradiction, that the heroic act of these patriotic women really took place. A correct list of the names of those who signed the document has been obtained, through the continuous efforts of Mrs. Spier Whitaker, who in correspondence with Rev. H. S. Iredell, of Tunbridge Wells, England, secured a correct list from the "*Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser* of Monday, January 16, 1775"; and through Mr. R. T. H. Halsey, a member of the Grolier Club of New York, and author of a late work entitled "The Boston Port Bill as Pictured by a Contemporary Boston Cartoonist." Additional evidence has been obtained through Mr. Horner Winston, of Durham, N. C., now at Christ's College, Oxford, England, winner of the Cecil Rhodes scholarship. The plans are so far perfected as to insure the unveiling on the next anniversary.

The North Carolina Society Daughters of the Revolution appeals to the patriotism of all descendants of those who will be commemorated, and of North Carolinians all over the United States, to co-operate in the work of "rescuing from oblivion the virtuous actions" of their ancestors, and with such encouragement and co-operation the BOOKLET will continue to succeed in its work for other patriotic purposes.





RICHARD DILLARD, M. D



## BIOGRAPHICAL AND GENEALOGICAL MEMORANDA.

COLLECTED AND COMPILED BY MRS. E. E. MOFFITT.

### DR. RICHARD DILLARD.

There needs no apology for presenting with this article the picture of Dr. Richard Dillard, the one who revived that incident in North Carolina history of the notable "Edenton Tea Party of October 25, 1774." His researches on the subject have been exhaustive and scholarly. As nearly all of the information regarding that important event has been derived directly or indirectly from his original researches, he may justly be called the "Reviver of the Edenton Tea Party" incident.

A monograph which he wrote on the subject in 1892 was so well received that it was republished in 1898. It was the reading of this article that inspired the "North Carolina Society Daughters of the Revolution" to memorialize in a fitting way the heroism and patriotism of representative women of the State preceding the stormy days of the Revolution. The desire to endorse the proceedings of the Provincial Congress took shape in the "Tea Party," and the resolves were signed by fifty-one ladies.\*

Dr. Dillard, bachelor, born at "Farmers Delight," Nansmond County, Va., December 5, 1857, descended from the old cavalier stock, which early in our history had settled along the shores of the Albemarle; received literary education at University of North Carolina, 1875-'77; studied medicine at University of Virginia; graduated at Jefferson Medical College of Philadelphia, Pa., in 1879; since that time has been practicing at Edenton, N. C.

Many honors have been bestowed upon him by his State.

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\* American Archives, Vol. 1, p. 891.

Among these, the honorary degree of Master of Arts was conferred upon him by Rutherford College in 1899. He was appointed a member of the first Historical Commission by Governor Aycock; has contributed a number of historical papers to various magazines; was a contributor to the old Magazine of American History, so ably edited by Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, in which magazine appeared his article on the "Edenton Tea Party," and which reappeared in the BOOKLET in August, 1901. The original of the picture of this Tea Party was upon glass, and by some misadventure became mutilated and broken into several fragments. Dr. Dillard, in 1893, had the painting reproduced on canvass, and presented it to the State. He was also the owner of the only portrait in existence of Martin Ross, the celebrated evangelist, called the "St. Paul of North Carolina," which he presented last year through the venerable Dr. Hufham to Wake Forest College.

He is a member of the North Carolina Society "Sons of the Revolution," through the services of Col. John Campbell, who was a member of three Provincial Congresses, during and prior to the Revolution, to-wit, the one which met at New Bern in August, 1774, at Hillsboro in 1775, and at Halifax in spring of 1776. Is passionately fond of botany and flowers, and contributes to the "House and Garden Magazine."

He resides at his old home in Edenton, which he has fitted up elaborately and named "Beverly Hall," in honor of his mother.

His descent from his Revolutionary ancestor, Col. Campbell, is contained in the manuscript archives of the North Carolina Society "Sons of the Revolution."

## FRANCIS NASH.

I. Francis Nash, born at Floral College, N. C., 1855. Son of Rev. Frederick K. Nash and Annie M. McLean. His father was a distinguished Presbyterian minister, who died in his early career.

II. Grandson of Chief Justice Frederick Nash and Mary G. Kollock, his wife—Frederick Nash was born in Tryon's Palace at New Bern during his father's incumbency of the gubernatorial office, February 19, 1781; he graduated from Princeton College in 1799; admitted to the Bar in 1801; married Miss Mary G. Pollock, of New Jersey, with whom he lived fifty-five years; he died in 1858, distinguished as legislator, jurist and orator of high rank, and a Christian gentleman. The controlling motive of his conduct through life was a sense of accountability to God.

III. Great grandson of Gov. Abner Nash, the able and active friend to the rights of the people, and a member of the Provincial Congress in 1774. Governor 1780; member Continental Congress 1781-1786; died 1786.

IV. Great grand nephew of Gen. Francis Nash, of Revolutionary fame.

I. Francis Nash, subject of this sketch, and a worthy descendant of the above, was left an orphan when a child, was reared by his aunts, the Misses Nash, of Hillsboro, educated at the school of Misses Nash and Kollock and the R. H. Graves schools. At sixteen he began life for himself as clerk; began study of law at night; clerk in law office of Judge George Howard, of Tarboro; obtained license 1877, and was given a partnership by Judge Howard; by reason of failing health resigned. After a year of rest in the country he resumed the practice of law in Tarboro; was elected Mayor; Presiding Justice of Inferior Court of Edgecombe County 1883; again became partner with Judge Howard, but his health again failing he retired from the practice for ten years.

Resumed practice in 1894 in Hillsboro; has filled for short terms U. S. Commissioner and Referee in Bankruptcy. He is a writer of ability. A series of papers on Judicial Evolution, published in Albany Law Journal 1890-1; "Belleville," 1897-8, a story of Reconstruction period; "The Mac Travis Sketches" in 1898; "A Lawyer's Mistake" in 1899; and "Wiolusing," a sequel to "Belleville," in 1900-1; "Hillsboro, Colonial and Revolutionary." For the "Biographical History," which is being published by Charles N. Van Noppen, he has written twenty-three sketches of the worthies of North Carolina. He wrote "Historic Hillsboro" for the August number of the "Booklet" in 1903. He has written many other legal, political and historical articles.

In 1879 he married Miss Jessie P. Baker, of Tarboro, N. C., who died 1896, leaving two daughters—one a teacher of English in Goldsboro High School, the other of Mathematics in the Lucy Cobb Institute, Athens, Georgia.

---

**J. G. de ROULHAC HAMILTON, Ph.D.**

J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, the author of this sketch, was born in Hillsboro, N. C., August 6, 1878. Was educated at the University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn., 1896-1900. Instructor at the celebrated Horner Military School, N. C., 1901-'02, student of Columbia University 1902-'04, Ph.D. 1906, Principal of Wilmington, N. C., High School 1904-'06, and now Associate Professor of History, University of N. C. Member of the American Historical Association, Southern History Association, N. C. Literary and Historical Association.

I. Son of Daniel Heyward Hamilton (Major of 13th N. C., C. S. A., later Adjutant 1st South Carolina); married Frances Gray Roulhac, on maternal side a granddaughter of Chief Justice Ruffin.

II. Grandson of Daniel Heyward Hamilton, of S. C.; member of S. C. Convention of 1851; Colonel 1st S. C. Regiment, C. S. A.; married Rebecca Middleton, a descendant of Mrs. Rebecca Motte, of Revolutionary fame, and relative of Arthur Middleton, the signer of the Declaration of Independence

III. Great grandson of James Hamilton; soldier of 1812; member S. C. Legislature; member of Congress; Governor of S. C.; President of Nullification Convention; Ambassador to the Court of St. James from the Republic of Texas; Senator-elect from Texas at death; married Elizabeth Heyward, a grand-daughter of Thos. Heyward, a signer of the Declaration of Independence.

IV. Great, great grandson of James Hamilton; Major in Continental line on Washington's staff; married Elizabeth Lynch, a sister of Thomas Lynch, Jr., the signer of the Declaration, and a daughter of Thos. Lynch, a member of the Continental Congress of 1776.

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**COL. FRED. A. OLDS.**

Col. F. A. Olds began newspaper work in 1877 in Raleigh, and has been continuously in this profession ever since, having in 1886 become the correspondent of out-of-town papers and devoting himself to this line of work, writing considerably for magazines. For twenty years he has been collecting historical objects, and since December, 1902, has given much time, labor and study to the Hall of History. He is the Chairman of the Museum Committee of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association and the Director of the Hall of History, and he also co-operates very heartily and extensively with the N. C. Historical Commission. He has written many historical articles and stories, which have been in most cases illustrated, and he edited a new edition of Lawson's History of North Carolina, which was published by the Charlotte Observer, and has prepared for publication a

new edition of De Bry's edition of Hariot's narrative of the discovery of Roanoke Island. Last January Colonel Olds made a tour, which was extremely successful, of the older towns in Eastern North Carolina, in the interest of the historical collection, and will later visit other sections. By the co-operation of the citizens of North Carolina, Colonel Olds would be greatly aided in the work he has undertaken of collecting relics and documents vital to the interest of the State's history—besides making a place of general interest to the students of our city, and in fact to all visitors to the Hall of History.



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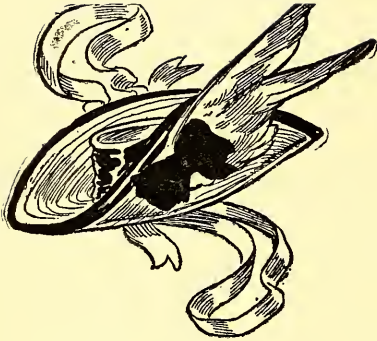
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LAFAYETTE EXAMINING CANOVA'S STATUE OF WASHINGTON IN THE ROTUNDA OF THE STATE HOUSE, 1825.

*The*  
**NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET**

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*“Carolina! Carolina! Heaven’s blessings attend her!  
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her.”*

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Published by  
**THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY**  
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The object of the BOOKLET is to aid in developing and preserving North Carolina History. The proceeds arising from its publication will be devoted to patriotic purposes.

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# THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET.

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Vol. VI

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No. 3

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## A STATE LIBRARY BUILDING AND DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND RECORDS.

BY R. D. W. CONNOR.

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“The roots of the Present lie deep in the Past, and the Past is not dead to him who would understand how the Present came to be what it is.”

A people who will constantly bear this great truth in mind will come to regard their history as something more than a fascinating story with which to beguile a winter's evening; they will think of their Past as something better than merely a subject for Fourth-of-July orations; they will study the careers of their great men with higher and nobler purposes than as stepping stones for membership into the “Sons” of this or the “Daughters” of that patriotic organization. Not that the romance of history, or the eloquence of the orator, or the formation of patriotic societies, are to be put aside as unworthy of serious consideration. But the study of history does have another and more important side to it, and a side too that often escapes the notice of those most in need of a knowledge of their Past. It is this: no men can safely be entrusted with the control of the Present who are ignorant of the Past; and no people who are indifferent to their Past need hope to make their Future great.

This is a lesson which those states of the Union that enjoy the greatest historical and literary reputation learned many years ago; it is a lesson which our own state needs to take seriously to heart. I am happy in thinking that our people are learning it and that they realize to-day more than ever

before the value of the steady ballast which an accurate knowledge of the Past gives to the Present. But it is a lesson which, though fully appreciated, will be of little value unless the material is preserved which is necessary to make the Past intelligent to the Present and the Future. To this feature of the lesson I desire your closest attention.

We North Carolinians are very proud of our history and indulge ourselves in the pleasure of a great deal of boasting about it. But frequently when this indulgence, like an opiate, begins to soothe our spirits and we doze away in blissful contemplation of the greatness of our Past, it comes like a cold-water shock to find that the World, instead of gazing in admiring astonishment, is either whirling along in densest ignorance, or vigorously disputing our most cherished claims. Then we wake up, begin to say harsh things about our traducers, and clamor loudly about envy and jealousy. But the critical World, searching the pages of the great historians of our country and finding no mention of those "cherished claims," naturally asks for proof; and lo! we look, and the proof, which we believe would settle our claims beyond all dispute, has been lost, destroyed, burned, or stolen by envious partisans. Whom can we blame but ourselves, for who else should take care to preserve this proof? Surely it is an anomaly in our character as a people and as a state that we should be so proud of our history and so careless in the preservation of the records that would establish our claims forever. It may be doubted if any other of the thirteen original states has suffered more in this respect than North Carolina, or is now taking so little care for the preservation of the evidences of her greatness. Surely this is modesty run in the ground!

Even this very carelessness illustrates the influence of the Past upon the Present, and the value of a study of the Past if for no other purpose than to avoid its blunders. Our



carelessness in the preservation of our historical sources seems to have come down to us as an unwelcomed legacy from the Past. As long ago as 1748 Governor Gabriel Johnston in a letter to the Lords of the Board of Trade wrote:

“The Publick Records lye in a miserable condition, one part of them at Edenton near the Virginia Line in a place without Lock or Key; a great part of them in the Secretarys House at Cape Fear above Two Hundred Miles Distance from the other; Some few of 'em at the Clerk of the Council's House at Newbern, so that in whatever part of the Colony a man happens to be, if he wants to consult any paper or record he must send some Hundred of Miles before he can come at it.”\*

It seems that our ancestors had no more regard for their valuable documents than their posterity have.

No better illustration of the effect of this almost criminal negligence in caring for our historical sources can be found than the history of the documents relating to the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence. The people of North Carolina are so firmly convinced that their story of this interesting event is correct that they swear by it spite of lost documents; they have placed on the flag of their state the date, “May 20th, 1775,” in the face of all Thomas Jefferson's disbelieving sarcasm; they even lose patience with anybody who hints that the event might have taken place on May 31. And yet not one of the leading historians of the United States, from Bancroft to Woodrow Wilson, has accepted our version. Why? Whose the fault? The following facts will answer these very natural questions. Dr. George Graham, whose work on the “Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence” is the fullest and best treatment in existence, quotes the following paragraph from Martin's History of North Carolina:

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\*Colonial Records of North Carolina, Vol. IV., p. 1165.

“These resolutions [of May 20, 1775] were unanimously adopted and subscribed by the delegates. James Jack, then of Charlotte, but now residing in the State of Georgia, was engaged to be the bearer of the resolutions to the President of Congress, and directed to deliver copies of them to the delegates in Congress from North Carolina. The President returned a polite answer to the address which accompanied the resolutions, in which he highly approved of the measures adopted by the delegates of Mecklenburg, but deemed the subject of the resolutions premature to be laid before Congress. Messrs. Caswell, Hooper and Hewes forwarded a joint letter, in which they complimented the people of Mecklenburg for their zeal in the common cause.”

What has become of these two letters—these very important letters, either of which would settle the dispute forever? In all the years of controversy over the Mecklenburg Declaration, no one has produced them, or copies of them. Is it not strange that documents so valuable should not have been carefully preserved? But even this is not all. Dr. Graham continues:

“At the meeting of the delegates in Charlotte, John McKnitt Alexander was chosen secretary, and thus became custodian of the records. In April, 1800, twenty-five years after this meeting, these records, including the Mecklenburg Declaration, were burned in Alexander’s house. In the meantime, however, the old secretary, as he is called, had transcribed not less than five copies of the original resolutions. . . . There is abundant evidence to prove that at least seven authentic copies of these resolutions were in existence before the proceedings of the convention were burned in 1800. Of these seven transcripts, four, at the direction of the delegates, were transmitted to Congress at Philadelphia by John McKnitt Alexander, shortly after the

meeting at Charlotte adjourned. One to the President, and one copy each to the three members from North Carolina. A fifth copy appeared in the Cape Fear Mercury in June, 1775, within thirty days after the declaration was adopted. A sixth copy was presented by Alexander to Dr. Hugh Williamson, who was then writing a history of the State. . . . And a seventh copy of the declaration, which the author says was obtained before 1800, the year the records were burned, is preserved in Martin's History of North Carolina."

These facts show that at one time there certainly was plenty of evidence in existence to settle beyond controversy what took place in Charlotte in May, 1775. What became of it? This was an event generally regarded as the proudest in a proud history. Is it possible that a people proud of their history and proud that they are proud of it, would complacently permit every one of these valuable documents to be destroyed without making one single effort to preserve them? And yet read the story as told in Tompkins' History of Mecklenburg County. He says:

"The official papers [of the 20th of May meeting] were burned in the fire which destroyed John McKnitt Alexander's house in 1800."

"A copy of the original was sent before the burning of the house to the historian, Williamson, in New York, and it, together with the other sources of his history, were (sic) destroyed by a fire in that city."

"The Martin copy is so called from its publication in Martin's History of North Carolina. . . . As to this particular document of the Mecklenburg Declaration, Martin . . . obtained it in the western part of the State prior to the year 1800. . . . The papers from which Martin compiled his history were sent to France and have disappeared."

"A third copy, called the Garden copy, was published in 1828 by Alexander Garden of Lee's Legion, and this is almost exactly identical with the Martin copy, which is regarded as the authentic copy." After showing that Garden could not have obtained his copy from Martin, Tompkins says: "The data for Garden's anecdotes has (sic) been lost."

But what about the Cape Fear Mercury of June, 1775? "No copy of the Cape Fear Mercury of June, 1775," says Tompkins, "has ever come to light except the copy which Gov. Martin sent to London and which Mr. Stevenson, of Virginia, borrowed and did not return."

The letter of the President of Congress gone; the joint letter of the delegates gone; Alexander's copy burned; Williamson's copy burned; Martin's copy lost; Garden's copy lost; the Cape Fear Mercury stolen—is it any wonder that Jefferson characterized the Declaration as "a very unjustifiable quiz," saying that for proof it appeals to "an original book, which is burnt, to Mr. Alexander, who is dead, to a joint letter from Caswell, Hughes (sic), and Hooper, all dead, to a copy sent to the dead Caswell, and another sent to Doctor Williamson, now probably dead."

These facts tell us why the historians do not accept our story, and they place the responsibility on our shoulders, where it belongs.

Another illustration of this point is found in the burning of the State-house at Raleigh in the morning of June 21, 1831. The Raleigh Register of June 23 contained the following account:

"It is our painful and melancholy duty to announce to the public another appalling instance of loss by fire, which will be deeply felt and lamented by every individual in the State. It is nothing less than the total destruction of the capitol of our State located in this city. . . . The State



THE RUINS OF CANOVA'S STATUE OF WASHINGTON.  
NOW IN THE HALL OF HISTORY AT RALEIGH



Library is also consumed, and the statue of Washington, that proud monument of national gratitude, which was our pride and glory, is so mutilated and defaced, that none can behold it but with mournful feelings, and the conviction involuntarily forces itself upon their (sic) minds, that the loss is one that cannot be repaired. The most active exertions were made to rescue this *chef d'oeuvre* of Canova from the ravages of the devouring element, nor were they desisted from until the danger became imminent."

The same paper of June 30 adds this information:

"Nothing was saved from the Library, nor could any attempt for that purpose be made by reason of the suffocating smoke which filled the room. It was in its infancy and the loss can easily be repaired with one or two exceptions. We allude to the collection of our old Legislative Journals, brought down in almost unbroken succession from 1715 to the present day. Lawson's history of the State, valuable only however for its antiquity, was also burnt."

The Raleigh Star of June 23 tells the story in the following words:

"Great concern was manifested for the preservation of the statue of Washington, which stood in the center of the rotunda, and an effort was made to save it; but it was vain and fruitless; and this monument, reared by the grateful and patriotic citizens of North Carolina, in honor of the father of our country, at an expense of about \$30,000, and which was said to be the finest piece of sculpture in the world, was abandoned in despair to share the fate of the superstructure which it had so long graced."

Unfortunate as was the destruction of this splendid work, its loss was not the worst feature of the incident; the very worst feature was the fact that the statue could have been saved but for the short-sightedness and parsimony of the

legislature. A noble statue of the greatest of Americans, costing \$30,000, a monument no less to the wisdom, patriotism and liberality of our forefathers than to the genius of the great Italian sculptor, was destroyed because a few politicians, without courage, without the generous fire of patriotic impulse, thinking to incur the favor of the populace, refused to appropriate the sum of \$1,200 to secure its safety. The wretched story is told in the following paragraph from the Cape Fear Recorder, which, after lamenting the loss of the statue, says:

“Alfred Moore, Esq., one of the members from Brunswick County, made a motion in the first session of the General Assembly, after the statue was conveyed to Raleigh, that it should be placed on rollers, and that the doors of the capitol should be enlarged, so as to render it practicable to move it from the edifice in the event of a fire. The expense was estimated at \$1,200. The motion of Mr. Moore was renewed at the following session and was grounded on his observation of the carelessness and negligence of the menials and workmen employed about the capitol, and on these facts he predicted the event which now affects so extensively and so deeply the inhabitants of the State; and he rung and re-rung this prediction in the ears of his colleagues—*that the capitol would be burned!* The warning was unheeded; and we naturally enquire, on what defensible ground was it? Is it not to be imputed to those narrow views of economy, which are not only opposed to the counsels of liberal patriotism, in instances such as this, but also too often shed a blighting influence on the lasting interests and prosperity of the public?”\*

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\* Of this great work of Canova, the Countess Albrizzi in “The Works of Antonio Canova,” illustrated by Henry Moses the great English engraver, says:

“In this fine composition Canova has not only maintained the dignity of his subject, but (warmed by admiration of the amiable qualities of



A third illustration of our carelessness with our records occurring in our own time was related to me recently by Colonel Fred A. Olds, the enthusiastic and zealous director of the Hall of History. In the basement of the court-house in Cumberland County a few years ago, as he was informed, were stored hundreds of records and other documents running back to the first settlement of Cross Creek. Dust and cobwebs of course covered them, and this fact, which rather added value to them in the eyes of the historian and the antiquary, led the county board of health to condemn the lot as breeders of germs. At their orders these precious documents were dumped in the street and reduced to ashes!

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this illustrious man) has also infused into the statue an expression of the gentleness and benevolence which attempered his severer virtues.

"The hero is sitting with an air of elegant simplicity on an elegant seat, raised on a double square base. Nothing can surpass the dignity of the attitude or the living air of meditation which it breathes; and the grandeur of the style, the force and freedom of the execution, the close and animated resemblance to the original, all conspire to place the statue in the highest rank of art. The fine tunic which he wears is seen only at the knee, being covered by an ample ornamental cuirass; above which is a magnificent mantle fastened by a clasp on the right shoulder, and flowing down behind in majestic folds. Beneath his right foot, which is extended forward, is a parazonium sheathed, and a sceptre, signifying that the successful termination of the war, had rendered them now useless.

"The hero is in the act of writing on a tablet held in his left hand, and resting on the thigh, which is slightly raised for its support. From the following words already inscribed on it, we learn the subject which occupies his mind—'*George Washington to the people of the United States—Friends and Fellow-citizens.*' In his right hand he holds the pen with a suspended air, as if anxiously meditating on the laws fitted to promote the happiness of his countrymen; a border of the mantle, raised to the tablet by the hand which supports it, gives a fine effect to this graceful and decorous action. In his noble countenance the sculptor has finely portrayed all his great and amiable qualities, inspiring the beholder with mingled sensations of affection and veneration. This statue is only in a slight degree larger than life; his robust form corresponding with his active and vigorous mind.

"If to this great man a worthy cause was not wanting, or the means of acquiring the truest and most lasting glory, neither has he been less fortunate after death, when, by the genius of so sublime an artist, he appears again among his admiring countrymen in this dear and venerable form; not as a soldier, though not inferior to the greatest generals, but in his loftier and more benevolent character of the virtuous citizen and enlightened lawgiver."

With the ascending smoke vanished forever a mine of historical sources which, had it been opened, would have told the story of one of the most inspiring events in the history of North Carolina.

Many other instances of the destruction of valuable historical sources through carelessness, negligence, indifference and ignorance might easily be cited, but they would add no new force to those already given. The important question is, What shall we learn from these facts?

First of all, we ought to learn that "those narrow views of economy, which are not only opposed to the counsels of liberal patriotism, . . . but also too often shed a blighting influence on the lasting interests and prosperity of the public," can be defended on the ground neither of economy nor of patriotism. Was it economy to refuse the appropriation of \$1,200 to insure the safety of a work which cost \$30,000? Putting it merely on a material basis, how many times \$1,200 would the state have made during all these years from the visitors who would have come to our capital city to see this noble work of art! Who can estimate the thousands spent annually by visitors to Dresden who go from the four corners of the earth to see the great Sistine Madonna? Was it patriotic—that is to say, was it a faithful fulfilment of the trust imposed in them by their constituents, for the members of the legislature to refuse the appropriation of \$1,200 for the preservation of an object that would have been a source of inspiration to generations of their sons and daughters? It was neither economical nor patriotic; nor did the refusal to make the appropriation come from an honest desire to be either; it sprang from a want of trust in the good sense and patriotism of the people.

So it is neither economical nor patriotic to permit our present State Library, Supreme Court Library and the col-

lection in the Hall of History to remain day after day in constant danger of destruction by fire for the lack of a suitable building. We have a State Library creditable to North Carolina. It contains 40,000 volumes exclusive of the pamphlets and bound newspapers in which the history of the state is written. The destruction of this library would be a calamity to North Carolina from which there would be no recovery—thousands of books that could never be replaced; hundreds of newspapers nowhere else to be found; hundreds of pamphlets that could not be bought with gold. A very conservative estimate of the money-value of this library would place it from \$150,000 to \$200,000. In addition to the State Library, the same unprotected building holds the Supreme Court Library, one of the best state law libraries in our country, containing 17,000 volumes, worth at the lowest estimate \$75,000. Adjoining this building is the Hall of History, a large hall at one end of the State Museum. Through the enthusiastic efforts of Colonel Fred A. Olds, who deserves the thanks of all patriotic citizens for his unselfish labors, more than 4,000 historic relics, documents, papers and pictures have been collected there illustrating every period and almost every phase of the life of the state. It is doubtful if any other state in the Union has a more valuable or more instructive collection of historic relics. In an interesting story of the Hall of History, Colonel Olds says:\*

“North Carolina is yet rich in such objects, notably of the Colonial and Revolutionary periods; but until this collection began, a little over three years ago, nothing had been done, except in what may be termed very justly a local way, to gather together such objects. By such failure the State has suffered enormous loss, due to the burning of court-houses, public buildings, and, most of all, private homes, in some of

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\*North Carolina Booklet, October, 1906.

which there were extensive groups of objects, the loss of which is irreparable. But at last the gathering together at Raleigh, where by all manner of means the collection ought to be, has been begun, and the fact that the number of objects now exceeds the 4,000 mark shows not only zeal in collecting, but also an awakened public interest. . . . It is felt that the present Hall of History is what may truly be termed a stepping-stone to higher things; in other words, that it is but the forerunner of a far more noble one, generous as to space, and built on the most modern lines as regards the elimination of risk by fire. Given such a building, and the writer can undertake to secure almost anything in North Carolina."

It is impossible to place anything like a money-value on these three collections—the State Library, the Supreme Court Library, and the Hall of History. They represent thousands of dollars and years of patriotic labor. They are beyond all price, and yet year after year they are left in buildings inadequate in size and arrangement, hardly creditable to a great state in appearance, and totally unprotected from fire. A fire once started in either would sweep like a hurricane through both and reduce the whole to smoke and ashes in spite of all human effort. Is it economy to leave these public treasures thus exposed to destruction? Is it patriotic? Does not the destruction of the Mecklenburg Declaration papers teach us a useful lesson? Has the burning of the capitol no warning for us, the loss of the library, the destruction of the great statue of Washington? And shall we let these warnings go unheeded? Is it possible that the people of North Carolina care so little for their great Past, for the development of an interest in their history, for the cultivation of literature and art among their children, that they would frown down an appropriation from their

public money for the erection of a fire-proof building in which these treasures would be safe? The very question is almost a slander on the good name of the state.

The state is amply able to erect such a building—a building absolutely fire-proof, stately in architectural design, and ample for the purposes to which it shall be devoted. It would be much more than a library building. Patriotic societies would have rooms there for their meetings and records; the State Literary and Historical Association would have offices and record rooms set apart for its work; there too would be offices and archive rooms for a State Commissioner of Records and Archives; a spacious hall would be dedicated as a Hall of History which would be the instructor of thousands in the history of North Carolina:—in a word it would be the headquarters for all the historical and literary activities of future generations of North Carolinians. The hallways would be lined with statues, the walls with portraits, preserving the forms and features of the great men and women who have served the state and nation. On the walls, too, would hang paintings executed by native artists of the great events in our history—the landing of the first Englishmen on Roanoke; the famous May-day scene of '75 at Charlotte; the greater event at Halifax in April of '76; the mad charges up the sides of King's Mountain; the steady resistance at Guilford Court House; Davie and his fellows resting under the old poplar on a balmy October day dreaming of a great university; James C. Dobbin in the halls of legislation pleading with a power surpassing eloquence for those who could not plead for themselves; the long gray line sweeping up the slopes of Gettysburg—all these and many more such historic scenes would be there to inspire hundreds of North Carolina boys and girls with a desire to “serve so good a state and so great a people.” And

there, too, would come students to search its treasures who would do for North Carolina and the South all that Bryant and Lowell and Longfellow and Holmes and Emerson and Bancroft and Fiske and a host of other great names have done for Massachusetts and New England. Visited every year by thousands, such a building, like a great beacon-light on a hill, would shed an inspiring light on the historical, literary and educational life of the state that would be worth a hundred times over all the money expended in its construction. It is not possible that the people of North Carolina would regard with disfavor an appropriation for such a purpose; sensible and patriotic people will applaud the legislature that takes this great forward step.

A second lesson equally valuable and equally necessary which the illustrations I have given ought to impress on us is the importance of collecting, copying, editing and publishing the historical sources now in existence *while they are yet in existence*. I have shown how hundreds of invaluable documents and other sources have been lost or destroyed through the carelessness, indifference and ignorance of their owners. Those are hopelessly gone, and with them a mass of historical wealth that can never be regained. But thousands of others remain which should be preserved. I have in mind now a collection of the papers of one of North Carolina's greatest sons containing dozens of most valuable letters, never published, from nearly all of his great contemporaries in the state and many in the nation: letters from Swain, Badger, Graham, Ruffin; from John Randolph of Roanoke, Webster, Marshall, Story, Hamilton, Kent and many more. There is no more valuable collection of private papers in the state and yet for the lack of such a building as I have described and the absence of a means of making use of them, they will doubtless soon be lost to North Carolina.

The owner, who lives in a distant state, has already expressed her intention of presenting them to the Library of Congress at Washington, and I must reluctantly confess that under present conditions I could not urge her to present them to North Carolina, although I know they properly belong here.

There are many other such collections in and out of the state, stuffed away in dark corners, and dusty archives, in pigeon holes, vaults, desks, attics and cellars, containing thousands of records, public and private letters, and other manuscripts of great value. Yet as matters now stand they are as absolutely useless to their owners or to the state as the miser's gold to the miser; but if collected, edited and published, would be a source of mental and moral wealth to North Carolina beyond that which the gold of all the misers could buy. Many of the owners of these collections would willingly part with them if the state had a safe place for their preservation and would provide for their publication.

What then can the state do? The state can follow the example of Alabama, Mississippi, New York, Wisconsin, Iowa, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and all the New England states, and make appropriations for their preservation and publication. The states of Alabama and Mississippi are doing more than any other Southern states for the elucidation of their history and present the best examples for our own state to follow. Each of these states has created a State Department of Archives and Records with a commissioner in charge whose duty it is to care for their historical sources. Let us follow their examples. Such a department, with a commissioner appointed by the Historical Commission, would not cost over \$4,000 or \$5,000 a year—a trifling sum in comparison with its value to the state. The Alabama act recites the duty of the Alabama commissioner as follows:

“He shall have control and direction of the work and operations of the department, he shall preserve its collections, care for the official archives that may come into its custody, collect as far as possible all materials bearing on the history of the state and of the territory included therein from the earliest times, prepare the biennial register hereinafter provided, diffuse knowledge in reference to the history and resources of the state; and he is charged with the particular duty of gathering data concerning Alabama soldiers in the war between the states.”

The biennial register mentioned must contain: “(1) Brief sketches of the several state officials, the members of Congress from Alabama, the supreme court judges, the members of the senate and house of representatives of the State of Alabama; (2) rosters of all state and county officials; (3) lists of all state institutions, with officials; (4) state and county population and election statistics, and (5) miscellaneous statistics.”

We cannot do better in North Carolina than follow the example of the state of Alabama. All patriotic citizens would aid the commissioner in his work. Those who possess documents of historical value would gladly place them at his disposal. Thousands of originals or certified copies of church and court records, letters, maps, old newspapers, portraits, manuscripts of all kinds, and other material of value to the student of history, would be entrusted to him for the benefit of the public and a safe repository would be provided for their preservation. All material which cannot be parted with permanently would be returned to the owners after copies were made; and provision would be made for copying such documents as the owners are unwilling to part with at all. The expenses of the work would of course be met by the department. The material after being carefully



edited would be published at the expense of the state and due acknowledgment would be made to all who aided in the work. The great value of such work to the state is splendidly illustrated by the monumental work of Colonel William L. Saunders and Chief Justice Walter Clark in the editing and publication of the Colonial and State Records prior to the year 1790. Until these volumes revealed the true story of the first century and a half of the state's history, it was fashionable among historians to pass it over with slurs and sneers or to ignore it altogether. But such an attitude now would very justly condemn any author to deserved oblivion. What citizen of North Carolina is there who is not gratified and proud of the rescue by these two loyal sons of the good name of their mother?

But as great as this work is, the complete history of North Carolina can never be written until a similar work is done for every decade subsequent to 1790. It is a work that cannot be accomplished except through the medium of the state. It is a work that cannot be accomplished within a year, nor within two years, but is rather the work of a generation. Let us earnestly hope that the intelligent patriotism of the state will demand that it shall be done and thoroughly done at the public expense through a State Department of Records and Archives.

Need any one urge upon intelligent men the necessity for such work? Says Judge Johnson in his "Life of Nathanael Greene": "There is and perhaps ought to be a clannish spirit in the states of the Union, which will ever dispose the writers they produce to blazon with peculiar zeal the virtues and talents of the eminent men of their respective states. . . . It will probably happen in future times, that the states that have produced the ablest writers will enjoy the reputation of having produced the ablest statesmen, generals

and orators." Just so it happens that the World knows by heart the story of Samuel Adams, but even his own people have forgotten the equally great services of Cornelius Harnett; the praise of Richard Henry Lee is on every tongue, but no tongue speaks the name of William R. Davie; the services of John Jay have been justly commemorated, but the more brilliant judicial career of James Iredell is unknown among his own people. Had the story of Virginia Dare occurred in Massachusetts, can it be supposed that no Longfellow would have been found to wrap it up in immortal verse? Consider for a moment how barren is the story of Evangeline when compared to that of the little heroine of the Lost Colony; yet the pen of the poet has brought tears to the eyes of the royal descendant of him in whose name the cruel deed was done. The friendship of an Indian chief probably saved our colony from annihilation, while the hostility of King Phillip came near to destroying the settlement of the Puritan; but no Irving has told the story of Tom Blunt. All the World knows by heart the story of the midnight ride of Paul Revere because a great poet commanded,

"Listen, my children, and you shall hear  
Of the midnight ride of Paul Revere."

But no poet has commanded the World to harken to the thrilling midnight ride of Mary Slocum.

And there will be no Bancroft, no Fiske, no McMaster to tell our story; no Longfellow and no Irving to write our literature until the work of preserving and preparing for use the sources of our history has been done. So long as we neglect it we need not be surprised, nor will it be manly to complain, if the "scorner shall sneer at and the witling defame us."

## THE BATTLE OF ROCKFISH CREEK IN DUPLIN COUNTY.

BY J. O. CARR.

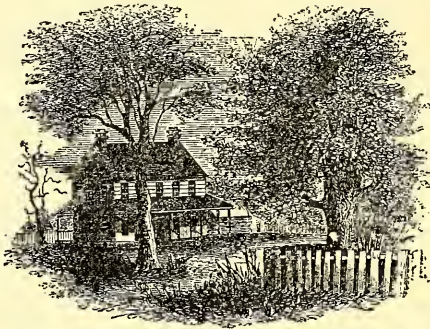
A period of one hundred and twenty-five years has elapsed since the battle of Rockfish Creek was fought in Duplin County on the 2d of August, 1781; but not one line has ever been written to commemorate this event, and few historians know of its occurrence.

In order that the reader may better understand the subject of this sketch, it is well to give an account of the relative movements of the American and British armies in North Carolina at that time.

About the first of February, 1781, Maj. James H. Craig, a British military officer of repute, entered the Cape Fear River with several hundred soldiers prepared to take and hold Wilmington. He had been sent from Charleston by Lord Cornwallis with instructions to seize the town and make it a place of refuge for the Tories and a place of retreat for the British army in case of any disaster, while Cornwallis himself proceeded to the Piedmont section of the state with the hope of completing the conquest of North Carolina.

On the very day that Craig entered Wilmington the battle of Cowan's Ford was fought, in which the brilliant and gallant William L. Davidson was killed, and Cornwallis and Gen. Nathaniel Greene were engaged in the famous campaign of 1781. Craig immediately issued a proclamation urging the people of North Carolina to renew their allegiance to the royal government, and the Tories throughout the State were rallying around the standard of the enemy—some because of their loyalty to the English government, and others because they saw no hope in further resistance; but there

were yet many who were willing to die in the cause they had espoused. It is said that twelve out of fifteen companies of militia in Bladen County were at heart favorably disposed to the Crown, though still enlisted in the American cause. To some extent a similar condition existed in Duplin and New Hanover Counties, and in June, 1781, out of a draft of 70 in Duplin for the Continental army only 24 appeared (1).



HOME OF ALEXANDER LILLINGTON.

Immediately after arriving in Wilmington, Maj. Craig began depredations in the county and sent a party up the North East River to the "great bridge," which spanned the river about twelve miles north of Wilmington, where it was crossed by the Duplin road. The bridge was demolished and some American store-ships, which lay concealed there for safety, were burned. It was not easy to understand why the bridge was destroyed unless it be that Craig feared an attack from the Militia of the adjoining counties. This was the main crossing into the northern part of New Hanover and Duplin, and continual vigilance was kept at this post by the opposing forces. The Militia of New Hanover, Bladen and Duplin, consisting of about seven hundred men, took position here to prevent incursions into the country. Temporary

(1) Colonial Records, vol. XV, p. 490.

fortifications were made and after some skirmishing across the river Craig's men returned to Wilmington, and the

*Alex Lillington*

Militia under command of Gen. Alexander Lillington continued to hold the

post until the army of Cornwallis entered Wilmington in April, 1781. Realizing the impossibility of holding the place longer, Gen. Lillington ordered a hasty retreat to Kinston, where he disbanded the Militia, except one company, on the 28th of April, 1781, at which time Cornwallis had proceeded to the center of Duplin, where he was carrying consternation to the hearts of the people. Checkmated and outgeneraled by Greene in his marvelous retreat through the State, Cornwallis was wreaking vengeance on the inhabitants and was leaving behind him desolation and ruin. He left Craig still in charge at Wilmington for the purpose of rallying the Tories and keeping the Whigs subdued in the surrounding country, and there did not remain a semblance of an American army in North Carolina. However, Craig's repeated expeditions into New Hanover, Duplin and Onslow made it necessary to reorganize the Militia, and four hundred men were collected in Duplin under Col. Kenan, and quite a number in Bladen under Col. Brown.

After the departure of Cornwallis, Craig's forces first proceeded toward New Berne with the purpose of subduing all the country east of the North East River, and on June 28th, 1781, Gen. Lillington sent a dispatch from Richlands, Onslow County, to Major Abraham Molton in Duplin, informing him that the British with about eight hundred Tories and regulars were advancing from Rutherfords Mill <sup>(1)</sup> towards

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(1) Rutherford's Mill was east of the Northeast River, between Wilmington and Richlands.

Richlands, and instructing him to muster all the forces he could without delay (<sup>1</sup>). Molton immediately informed Gov. Burke of the situation and proceeded to raise a levy of troops in Duplin. It seems that Col. Kenan was otherwise engaged at this time, probably guarding the crossing at Rockfish Creek. On July 6th, Col. Kenan wrote Gov. Burke that one hundred Duplin men had marched to join Gen. Lillington at Richlands Chapel and fifty others were ready to go. Again on July 9th, he wrote the Governor that the enemy, which was moving toward Richlands, had returned to Rutherford's Mill, and that he had ordered a draft of two hundred men to be made from Duplin immediately, but that he had no powder nor lead—*not one round*—and urged the Governor to supply them with ammunition, as they could not take the field until supplied. And again on July 15th, he wrote the Governor that the enemy had moved out of Wilmington and were rebuilding the "long bridge"; that it was their intention to give no more paroles, but would sell every man's property who would not join them; that they had one hundred light horse, well equipped, and four hundred and seventy foot; and that he was informed that they were determined to be at Duplin County House the next Monday.<sup>(2)</sup> He further stated that they had no ammunition and could get none, and renewed his request to be supplied. On July 24th, Gen. Alexander Lillington wrote the Governor that a part of Caswell's army had reached Rockfish, in Duplin County, which was then held by Col. Kenan, and that Col. Kenan had informed him by letter that he had no ammunition.<sup>(3)</sup> It is apparent from all these communications that Kenan, Caswell and Lillington regarded the situation as serious, and thought

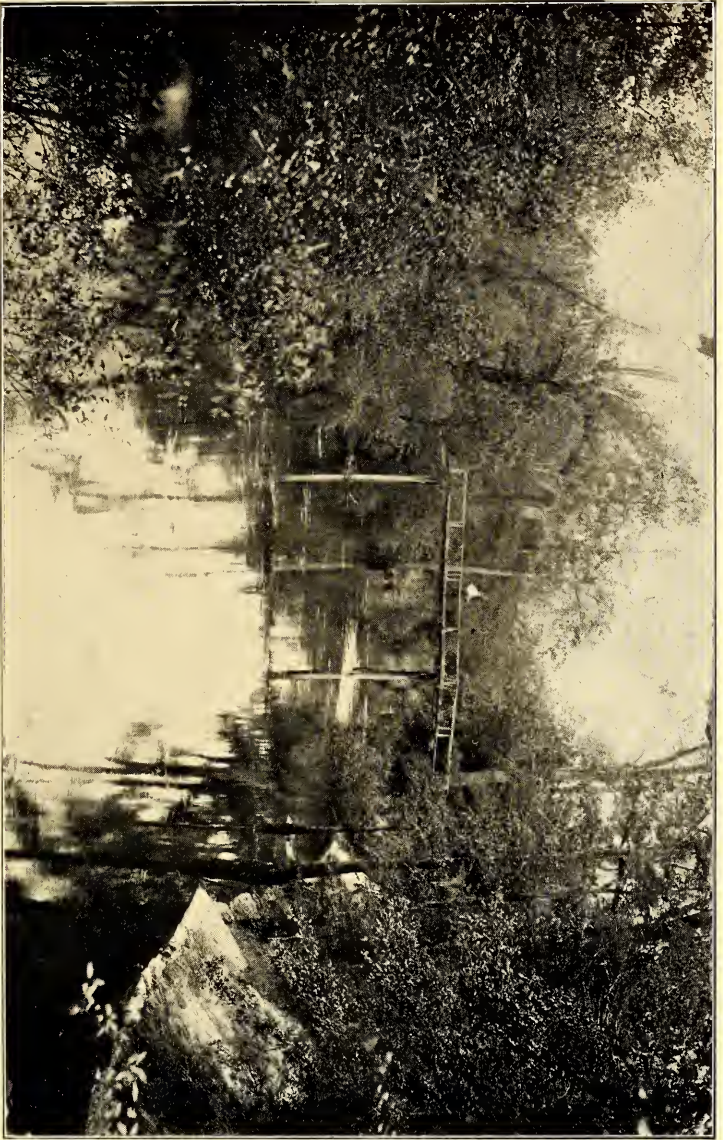
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(1) Colonial Records, vol. XV, pp. 496 and 499.

(2) Colonial Records, vol. XV, p. 535.

(3) Colonial Records, vol. XV, p. 567.

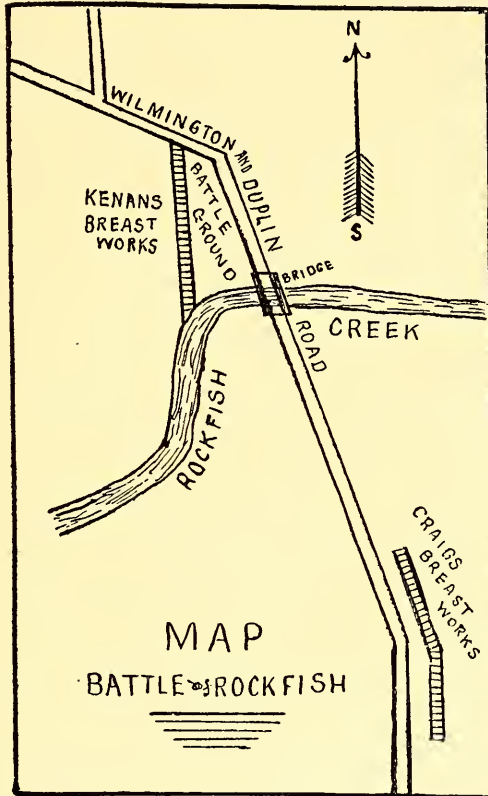
ROCKFISH CREEK BRIDGE.







it very important that Craig's army should be checked in its march through the State. The importance of this resistance is readily seen when we consider the fact that Cornwallis had traversed the State and had just passed into Virginia without serious damage to his own army; for, while he had won no decisive victory, yet he had, in effect, subdued the State



THE BATTLE GROUND.

and had left it with no organized army; and Craig's expeditions were intended to give courage to the Tories, who were ready to support the enemy at any time.

Rockfish Creek, now the dividing line between Duplin and Pender Counties, was then the boundary between Duplin and New Hanover. The old Duplin road leading from Wilmington, along which Cornwallis had marched, crossed the creek about a half mile east of the Wilmington and Weldon Rail Road, and passed a few yards west of where the present county bridge now stands. This was the most convenient place for an army to make its passage, but it was hoped, and without much reason, that the Militia would be able to entrap the British here and win a signal victory, and likely such would have been the result had our troops been supplied with ammunition. Col. Kenan, who was chief in command at this time, and who had planned the attack, fortified himself on Rockfish Creek, at the crossing above described, by throwing up dirt-works just north of the ford, slight traces of which can now be seen, and waited the approach of the enemy. The fortifications were well planned so as to give the Militia every possible advantage as the enemy was crossing the creek, for their only hope was to make an attack while a crossing was being attempted. Craig had light artillery, some cavalry and over four hundred footmen, all well equipped, and was more than prepared to resist any force that the Whigs could put in the field. On the 2d of August, 1781, he attempted to cross the creek and was vigorously attacked by the brave Militiamen under Col. Kenan, though without ammunition sufficient to even give hope of success. Craig used his entire force, including his artillery, and the inevitable result was the defeat of our troops, outnumbered and unequipped as they were. There is now in existence an old cannon ball, about three inches in diameter, which was left at the place of battle by the British army; and while it is insignificant as compared with modern instruments of warfare, yet it was much superior to anything used by the Duplin Militia.

The accounts of this battle have only been preserved by

two eye-witnesses, and these are not as complete as we would like to have them; however, they throw some light on the matter, and without them we would have nothing reliable.

Col. Kenan on the same day wrote the Governor as follows: <sup>(1)</sup>

DUPLIN, August 2d, 1781.

SIR:—I imbodyed all the Militia I Could in this County to the Amount of about 150 men and was reinforced by Gen'l Caswell with about 180 and took post at a place Called rockfish. The British this day Came against me and the Militia again after a few rounds Broak and it was out of my power and all my Officers to rally them. They have all Dispersed. Before the men Broak we lost none, But the light horse pursued and I am afraid have taken 20 or 30 men. I Cannot Give You a full acct., but the Bearer, Capt. James, who was in the Action, Can inform your Excellency of any Particular. He acted with Becoming Bravery during the whole action. I am now Convinced this County with Several others will be Overrun by the British and Tories. Your Excellency will Excuse as I cannot Give a more full acctot.

I am Sir Your very humbl St.



On the 30th of November, 1784, William Dickson, who participated in the fight, wrote a letter to his cousin in Ireland, which contained the following reference to the battle:

“Col. Kenan’s Militia had not made a stand more than ten days when Maj. Craig marched his main force, with field pieces, defeated and drove us out of our works, and made some of our men prisoners (here I narrowly escaped being taken or cut down by the dragoons). The enemy stayed several days in Duplin County (this being the first week in August, 1781). The Royalists gathered together very fast, and we were now reduced again to the uttermost extremity.

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(1) Colonial Records, vol. XV, p. 593.

The enemy were now more cruel to the distressed inhabitants than Cornwallis' army had been before. Some men collected and formed a little flying camp and moved near the enemy's lines and made frequent sallies on their rear flanks, while others fled from their homes and kept out of the enemy's reach. Maj. Craig marched from Duplin to Newbern, plundered the town, destroyed the public stores, and then immediately marched back to Wilmington to secure the garrison."<sup>(1)</sup>

The battle of Rockfish is not one of the important battles of the Revolution, and its result, whatever it might have been, could in no way have affected the ultimate issue of the war. However, it throws some light on the history of the times and shows us what the brave home guard of the Revolution had to contend with, and how important a part of the great army it was. Without the "Militia," life would have been intolerable in Duplin during the great struggle, and Toryism would have deterred the people from giving support and aid to the far-away soldier, who was doing battle for our freedom. After the defeat of the "Duplin Militia" at Rockfish, Craig laid his cruel hand upon the inhabitants of Duplin, robbed them of their property, and inflicted upon them every indignity and outrage known to merciless warfare.

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NOTE.—Sir James Henry Craig was born in Gibraltar in the year 1749. He entered the English Army at the age of fourteen and was well trained in the art of soldiery. He came to America in the year 1774 and was in service here from the battle of Bunker Hill until the evacuation of Charleston in 1781. He was thirty-two years of age when he took possession of Wilmington and began his work of devastation in the surrounding counties. In 1807 he was made Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of Canada. He was a soldier of fair ability, but as a civil officer was a petty tyrant and oppressor. His administration as Governor of Canada was a failure, and he returned to England in 1811, where he died the following year.

(1) Dickson Letters, p. 17.

## GOVERNOR JESSE FRANKLIN.

BY J. T. ALDERMAN.

The name Franklin suggests an ancestry worthy of noble sons. The name may have come down from an illustrious family of Norman nobles which established itself in Britain after the Norman Conquest. It may have originated from an expression signifying "free-man." We leave a discussion of this to the antiquarian and the philologist.

True nobility will assert itself even among the hills and forests of frontier life. When home and country call for men to face the oppressor and break away the tyrant's yoke, noble spirits and brave hearts lead the way. He who valiantly wields his sword in a cause that is just, yielding to neither difficulties nor discouragements, reveals a spirit that is noble born.

It was during the dark period of the Revolution, when home and liberty were in jeopardy from foreign foe and internecine strife that Jesse Franklin appeared in the full strength of young manhood. He was born on March 24th, 1760. His parents were Bernard and Mary Franklin, who at the beginning of the Revolutionary war lived in Orange County, Virginia. He was the third of seven sons. Owing to the turbulence of the times his educational opportunities were very limited. He, however, acquired the rudiments of a practical education.

When he was about seventeen years old, during the year 1777, he volunteered in the Continental service and held a lieutenant's commission in Washington's army. It is not known how long he remained with the army or where his service took him. When his term of enlistment had expired he returned to his father's home.

Attracted by the excellent range and fertile valleys of Piedmont North Carolina, a large number of good people had, before the Revolution, left their Virginia homes and moved to occupy the unbroken forests. Among them was Col. Benjamin Cleveland, a brother of Jesse Franklin's mother. Before the breaking out of the Revolution, Bernard Franklin had determined to go to North Carolina, as so many of his neighbors and friends had done. In the summer of 1778 he sent Jesse, who was then at home from the army, to select lands suitable for the settlement and to erect buildings for the accommodation of the family when they should arrive in the fall. The fact that the father trusted such responsibilities to his eighteen-year-old son is an earnest of the confidence he placed in him. The young shoulders which were destined to bear in after years the burdens of state and nation were thus early put in training by duties and cares in sharing the responsibilities of his father's family. His father was not disappointed. Jesse selected for their future home a beautiful valley near the head-waters of Mitchell's River, and provided for the coming of the family. The two older brothers, Bernard and Jeremiah, remained in Virginia. In the fall of 1778 Jesse's parents, with four sons and two daughters, the oldest of the children being under fifteen years of age, moved to their new home in Surry County, North Carolina. This homestead was to become the seat of patriotism and honor, culture and refinement.

The American people were not united in the desire for separation from the mother country. The division of sentiment was sharp and in many communities was a source of extreme bitterness and strife. Loyalists and Tories were found in all the colonies. Virginia, Maryland, and New England were perhaps less infested than any other sections of the continent. John Adams said: "New York, Pennsyl-

vania, and North Carolina were about evenly divided between Whig and Tory sentiment; in South Carolina there were more Tories than Whigs, and Georgia virtually swung back at one time to the crown as a royal province." As to the number of Tories in the Carolinas, the estimate of Mr. Adams is no doubt too large.

While all who were opposed to the American cause were classed as Tories, there was a difference between the Loyalist and the characteristic Tory. Many of those who adhered to the crown were people of excellent character and most valuable citizens—men who were above the piratical practices of the ordinary Tory. Many of the Scotch Highlanders in the Cape Fear section were Loyalists, but were men of high moral worth. They had but recently, after the battle of Culloden, sworn allegiance to the crown and were unwilling to violate that oath. There were other notable exceptions. But what excuse can be made for the predatory bands of plundering Tories roving the country, burning houses, murdering the best men in the communities, and creating consternation and misery among helpless women and children! They destroyed the growing crops of defenseless citizens and appropriated to their own use the farm supplies and whatever valuables could be found in the dwellings.

They were mainly irresponsible men, in whose breasts there existed no thrill of patriotism, whose only ambition was to gratify some personal grudge, and to satisfy their necessities by plundering and robbing. Their heredity has come down through the decades of our national history. When our southland was in arms for the defense of home and liberty, the sons of these men were "bush-whackers" and deserters. They now run illicit distilleries and debauch their communities; they object to civic and educational advancement. Tap their veins and you find Tory blood. During

the war the Tories in some sections became so aggressive and bold in their deprivations that the Whig families were forced to build forts for protection. One of these was near the present town of Mocksville;<sup>1</sup> another was near Wilkesboro.

Fortunately there were men in most sections of the State whose names struck terror to the hearts of the Tories. Among them was Col. Benjamin Cleveland. As a partisan leader he had but few equals. He knew no fear and seemed ubiquitous to friend and foe. Colonel Cleveland's services in checking organized Toryism in that part of the State have never been fully recognized.

When about eighteen years of age Jesse Franklin joined his uncle's forces and for two years assisted in maintaining order in Piedmont North Carolina. He served with him in many skirmishes with the Tories and gained the confidence of his uncle as a bold and fearless patriot.

At the close of the summer of 1780, the British had overrun the whole of South Carolina. Cornwallis had for months been arranging to invade North Carolina and take vengeance upon the men of Mecklenburg and other Whigs of the State. He sent Major Ferguson with a large body of British troops to overawe the Whigs and enroll the Tories in the western counties. The appearance of the British among the hills of North Carolina had an unexpected effect. Those dauntless patriots who knew no fear rallied to the standard of Liberty with a determination which had never seized them before. Led by the brave Colonels Shelby, Sevier, Campbell, and General McDowell, they rushed down the mountain

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<sup>1</sup> Some of the timbers of which this fort was constructed were moved to Mocksville about forty years ago by Col. A. M. Booe and used by him in building a tobacco factory, which is still standing. Colonel Booe ornamented this factory with a brass weather vane brought from Heidleburg by some German Lutherans who settled on the banks of Dutchman's Creek and placed it upon a church, which they built in 1765.



like a torrent maddened by the opposing elements. They were joined by the men from Surry and Wilkes under the intrepid Colonel Cleveland, with Jesse Franklin as his aid. Nowhere in Revolutionary times could be found a more heroic band. With incredible swiftness this little army of militia and volunteers rushed over creeks and rivers, ridges and forests, covering a distance of about seventy miles in twenty-four hours. Halting for a council of war, they selected nine hundred of the best equipped men and rushed forward to meet the foe. Ferguson had selected the top of the ridge known as King's Mountain for the encounter, from which, he said, "God Himself could not drive him." The patriots surrounded the mountain before Ferguson was aware of their presence and attacked him from all sides at once. As the British and Tories charged from one side of the mountain the American lines wavered, only to rush forward with redoubled fury. The British were hurled back, only to be met by the rifles and shouts of the men on the opposite side of the hill. A cloud of smoke encompassed the mountain shutting off the British army from sight. Jesse Franklin rode forward through the smoke, and finding the British in confusion and shooting above the heads of the Patriots, he called to his men to charge, assuring them of victory. They advanced till within range and fired. Colonel Ferguson fell and confusion overwhelmed the enemy. Captain Depeyster, the ranking officer, assumed command but was unable to restore order. Captain Ryarson's efforts were alike futile. He surrendered, and handed his sword to Jesse Franklin, saying to him: "Take it, you deserve it, sir."<sup>2</sup> The sword was in the Franklin family many years, but a party of gentlemen

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<sup>2</sup>Accounts of the battle of King's Mountain vary. This sketch follows the statement of Judge J. F. Graves, who received it from John Boyd, a soldier of the Revolution, and an eye-witness to this incident.

on one occasion, in testing the temper of the mettle, broke it into fragments. The hilt was in possession of Mr. Ambrose Johnson, of Wilkes County, in 1854.

The victory at King's Mountain was complete. Nine hundred inexperienced militia had vanquished a superior force of regular British and Tory troops, consisting of 1125 men. With the loss of twenty-eight killed and sixty wounded, they had killed, wounded, or captured the entire British force. The effect was electrical. The Tory spirit was crushed, and hope stirred the hearts of the patriots. The prisoners were hurried to a place of safety. Cornwallis immediately left Charlotte and retired to his protected camps in South Carolina.

A record of the many daring adventures and marvelous escapes of Jesse Franklin during those years of ceaseless vigilance would make a thrilling narrative. A few only have been rescued from oblivion. The plundering Tories feared him and trembled for their lives when it was known that Franklin was in the community. They well knew that swift vengeance would be dealt to those guilty of murder and that all if taken would be punished according to their crimes. They determined to destroy him, but they realized that he was more than a match for them in any bold movement on their part. Bands were often in hiding along the approaches to his father's house. One evening he was attempting to reach his home by a circuitous route when suddenly he was surrounded by a strong band of Tories. Resistance in the face of a dozen rifles was futile. They tied his hands behind his back, and using his bridle as a halter, they made ready to hang him to an overhanging limb. When all was ready they commanded him to take the oath of allegiance. He refused and they swung him up. One of the men struck the horse to make him move from under Franklin;

just as he did so the halter broke and Franklin fell into his saddle as the horse dashed away. The rifle balls whizzed by his head. His escape was miraculous and Franklin in after life often referred to it as an intervention of a Kind Providence.

Three months after the battle of King's Mountain, Morgan gained another glorious victory over the British at the Cowpens. Cornwallis was stung by his defeat and the loss of so large a part of his army and hastened to carry the war into North Carolina. General Morgan knew that Cornwallis would endeavor to recapture the prisoners and immediately hurried them off toward Virginia. Thus began the race of Cornwallis and the Americans across the state of North Carolina. General Green joined Morgan near Salisbury and assumed command of the army. The details of this retreat across the State are facts common in all our histories.

Cornwallis reluctantly gave up the chase of Greene and turned aside to Hillsboro. Greene, having received reinforcements from Virginia and some militia from the eastern portion of North Carolina, recrossed the Dan River, thus showing a determination to meet the British in battle. Cornwallis said that he was greatly disappointed at the failure of the Tories in not rallying to the British standard and enlisting as soldiers in his army. The most of the Tories who did attempt to reach him were cut off and destroyed by scouting parties of Whigs sent out by General Greene to intercept their movements. The most notable of these encounters was perhaps the destruction of Colonel Pyle and his band of Tories near the present town of Graham. Cornwallis immediately moved west across the Haw River to succor those who should come.

Greene sent William Washington, Lee, and Williams to intercept the marauding parties of British and Tories. Capt.

Jesse Franklin was at the head of one of these skirmish lines near Hillsboro on February 25th.

General Greene was near the state line about 25 miles north of Hillsboro and began a westerly movement toward the little town of Martinsville, then the county seat of Guilford, which he had before selected as a suitable ground for the inevitable battle. He arranged his forces with skill and awaited the approach of the enemy. Cornwallis accepted the challenge and on the evening of March 15th the battle took place. Greene withdrew and Cornwallis held the ground, but his doubtful victory was the final undoing of the British in North Carolina.

In this battle Jesse Franklin was a conspicuous actor. He led a band of mountaineers who did good service, and was among the last to leave the grounds when General Greene ordered a retreat. The horses of his men had been tied in the woods and as they were mounting to retire some British cavalymen killed a part of his men before they could mount and get away. Franklin escaped, but soon returned and secured the horse and arms of one of his neighbors, a Mr. Taliafero, and carried them to the family of his friend. Cornwallis retreated to Wilmington and soon left the State, to be captured at Yorktown. Greene was now on the aggressive, but gave up the pursuit and went to South Carolina.

While history has not been lavish in recounting the movements of Jesse Franklin, enough has been recorded to give us an idea of the military career of the youthful hero. Franklin was at this time under 21 years of age. America had gained its independence.

Hostilities had ceased, but the relationship of the former Whig and Tory elements were extremely trying in many sections. Bitter animosities and recollections rendered almost impossible the return of friendly intercourse. Tories

had committed outrages and murder. The Whigs had found it necessary to retaliate in order to check their unbridled ravages. Some sections had been almost depopulated; in others a spirit of lawlessness was prevalent. It was a task perhaps greater than the Revolution itself to bring order out of chaos and construct a nation, and people grew restless under suspense and delay. The Whigs had been under a supreme tension from the beginning of the war, and when that tension was removed it was natural for a reaction to follow. Lethargy and untimely contentment might lose for them the vantage ground which had been secured at so dear a price. Schools and churches were in many places still closed and the moral senses seemed blunted. Under such conditions as these there was need of the best and most patriotic men to guide in public affairs. The experienced and wary, like Caswell; the vigorous and hopeful, like Franklin, were immediately summoned to the councils of the legislative halls.

After the close of the war, Jesse Franklin settled in Wilkes County. In 1784, at the age of 24, he was elected to the Legislature from Wilkes County, and, with the exception of 1788, he was re-elected successively every year until 1793, when he changed his place of residence to Surry County. The people of Surry knowing his value as a public citizen immediately elected him to the Legislature for the year 1793, and returned him in 1794. In 1795 he was elected member of Congress and served two years. In 1797 and 1798 we again find him in the Legislature. The Legislature of 1799 elected him United States Senator for the full term ending in 1805. In 1806 and 1807 he was a member of the State Senate and was, at the close of his term, again elected United States Senator for the term to expire in 1813.

As a legislator Jesse Franklin was universally trusted.

Although he was one of the youngest of the members of the Legislature, he was placed at the head of important committees. He made but few speeches; these were mainly short, pointed and forceful. In February, 1795, one Jeremiah Early petitioned the Legislature for a premium or bounty to help and protect him in the manufacture of steel. Franklin was chairman of a committee appointed to investigate the merits of the petition and made the following report: "After due consideration it is our opinion that it is not expedient for the State to grant premiums or bounties for the manufacture of steel, being well assured that any person manufacturing that article will be amply compensated by the sale thereof."

As early as 1785 we find Franklin publicly advocating more opportunities for educating the people. He was a close student and acquired a broad fund of general information. He married Miss Meeky Perkins, of Rockbridge County, Virginia. The date of his marriage has not come to the writer, but it was some time before 1790, as collateral circumstances indicate. His home life was beautiful and inspiring, shedding a wholesome influence for culture and refinement in the circle of his friends and associates.

In 1784 he received grants of land in Wilkes County. The Federal census of 1790 shows that he was then a citizen of Wilkes County. As has been stated, he moved to Surry County in 1793.

Franklin was a Democrat in his feelings and mode of life. He was one of the people and on all occasions manifested his devotion to them in whatever might appeal to their sensibilities or prejudices.

While the Legislature was in session in Hillsboro he was in need of some shirts. The seamstress had made them with ruffles, according to the fashion of the times. "When

he came to put them on, he thought the frills did not become the representative of so plain a people as his constituents, and so he cut them all off with his pen knife before wearing the shirts."

In personal appearance Franklin was erect and commanding, somewhat above medium height, and, in his latter years, weighed over two hundred pounds. He was a man of strong personality, of few words, of unusual discretion and sound judgment. He was easily provoked to deeds of charity and unselfish service to those less fortunate than himself. His sympathy for the distressed widow and orphan was easily touched; even in his younger years his strong, manly courage brought comfort and hope to those in distress around him. Moore, the historian, says of him: "Jesse Franklin, like Nathaniel Macon, was dear to the people because he typified their best qualities. He did not shine in debate like Davie, or out-wit his competitors like Alexander Martin, but he was strong in the simplicity and directness of his character. He loved truth, peace and justice, and they shone in his life and made him a beacon and an assurance to all who knew him." His uniform and well recognized integrity, the soundness of his judgment on the great questions which so deeply agitated the public mind, his purity of life and exalted patriotism made him a trusted leader of men.

In 1795, when Jesse Franklin was elected to the National Congress, the young Republic was feeling its way toward a safe adjustment of internal organizations and at the same time striving to avoid external complications until it should realize a firm place in the hearts and confidence of the American people and gain respectability among the great family of nations. It had so recently set up business for itself that there was much and most important legislation to be made. Consequent upon the devastations of a long war,

there was a spirit of unrest in every quarter. Families were breaking up and moving to the western frontiers; resistance to taxation embarrassed the local authorities, and there were those who seemed to prefer the flesh-pots of their former conditions to the uncertain experiment as an independent nation. Sections were jealous of supposed encroachments upon their local interests. New England was ready at the slightest provocation to withdraw from the Union. The South was guarding suspiciously against any attempt to meddle in her affairs. Many of those who had been Loyalists and Tories, having lost their standing in their communities, were forced to seek other places to make their homes; some went to the West Indies, some to the British possessions, but the greater number went west and settled among the mountains of East Tennessee and Kentucky, where generations later their descendants arrayed themselves against the armies of the South. Many of the brave Continental soldiers received the pay for their long services in grants of land beyond the Ohio, and the states were poorer by the loss of these brave men. State and national debts were hanging ominous over the treasuries, for the magic hand of Hamilton had not yet given stability to the country's finances, converting a national debt into a national blessing.

Internal traffic was hampered for want of an acceptable circulating medium. Commerce on the high seas was at the mercy of the piratical practices of every nation. The same conditions which existed in North Carolina prevailed throughout the country. French customs and vices had permeated the social and moral fabric. French skepticism, reinforced by Tom Payne's "Age of Reason," was undermining the church and the sanctity of religion. Harvard, William and Mary, Princeton, and Yale colleges were sending out a limited number of scholars, but for two decades and more



the halls of learning had been almost deserted. There were no public schools, and the parochial and private schools had been forgotten in the common struggle for material existence. Conditions afforded but little time for social intercourse or intellectual development except among the more favored few. The masses were illiterate and appeared satisfied to remain so. There were but few newspapers or publications of any kind. There were but few who aspired to become authors. Books were rare. It was a period of relaxation and intellectual depression. North Carolina was the first to break the spell and establish a State University; others followed.

Jesse Franklin was a product of the times, but like others who were born to co-operate in shaping the destinies of the nation his horizon was broad, his conception of a government for the masses was clear and his good judgment gave him power in the State and national assemblies. His astute statesmanship won the admiration of his peers. For thirty consecutive years he represented his people and was a conspicuous figure in the State and national capitals.

It has been the custom of the historian to pass rapidly over this period. The records were meager and many of them are not accessible to the reading public. In our times it is difficult to discover what questions were of paramount interest to the men who served in the National Congress or how they disposed of them. There were great problems with which our representatives must grapple. England and France had continuously shown indignities to the American flag. It was a matter of great concern to protect our merchant marine; foreign emissaries were endeavoring to engender strife among the states and weaken the national unity. It required the patriotism and statesmanship of great men to save the young nation from universal disaster. Jefferson and Adams and their adherents were alike patriotic; they had staked all for

American institutions. Adams was a devout Federalist and espoused the policy of a strong centralized government. Jesse Franklin, like Jefferson, the great leader of popular rights, was as thoroughly convinced that the ideal form of government was that in which all national authority should originate with the people who were to be governed, and that those in authority were amenable directly to the people. While in Congress he served on a large number of important committees.

During his first term as United States Senator, Congress held its last session in the Quaker City. In 1800 the public offices and records were transferred from Philadelphia to the new Federal capital on the Potomac.

In 1801 Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr received the same number of votes for president. In accord with the provision of the constitution, it devolved upon the Lower House of Congress to name the President. Jefferson was chosen and Burr became Vice-President. In 1805 Jefferson was re-elected President, with George Clinton as Vice-President. Burr allowed the sting of defeat to lead him astray. He entered into schemes for dismembering the western settlements and organizing a new republic. The story of his trial in Richmond is an old one. In 1807 John Smith, an accomplice of Burr in his adventure, was Senator from the state of Ohio. Jesse Franklin had been appointed chairman of a committee to investigate the matter, and on November 13, 1807, made the following report: "It is the opinion of the committee that it is not compatible with the dignity of the Senate of the United States for John Smith to occupy a seat in the Senate." The trial before the Senate was a long and memorable one. The greatest orators of the times were engaged on one side or the other. The speeches were reported in full and are models of eloquence and power. Smith

was acquitted by one vote, but Franklin's masterly management of the trial had convinced the public that Smith was guilty. Smith immediately resigned and left Washington.

Another important historic fact is brought out by the services of Franklin. After the Declaration of Independence the Articles of Confederation were adopted as the supreme law of the land and were in force till the adoption of the Federal Constitution in 1789. The old Congress under the Articles of Confederation was in session on July 11, 1787, in New York, and adopted a form of government for the territory north and west of the Ohio River. The sixth article of this ordinance provided for the exclusion of slavery and involuntary servitude except as punishment for crime. At the same time this Congress was in session a great convention was in session in Philadelphia framing the Constitution which soon superseded the "Articles of Confederation." The ordinance of the Congress of 1787 was disregarded by the Constitution. In 1805 a number of exiled Cubans desired to settle with their slaves in the rich plains north of the Ohio. A conflict was about to arise and the Congress at Washington appointed a committee to report on the matter. Franklin as chairman of the committee reported: "Resolved, That it is not expedient at this time to suspend the sixth Article of the Ordinance of 1787 for the government of the said territory."

Franklin was a strong advocate of the war of 1812 and urged Congress to grant permission to individuals to fit out vessels for privateering and destroying British commerce.

It is an interesting coincidence that while Jesse Franklin was presiding as president pro tempore in the Senate, Nathaniel Macon was Speaker of the House of Representatives. It was a red-letter day for North Carolina.

These references will serve to show the confidence the nation placed in Jesse Franklin during his term of service at the national capital.

He declined a re-election to the Senate in 1813 and retired to his home. In 1816 President Monroe appointed Franklin, Andrew Jackson and General Meriwether commissioners to treat with the Chickasaw Indians. The treaty was made near the bluffs of the Mississippi where the city of Memphis now stands.

In 1820 he was elected governor of North Carolina. After serving one term he declined a re-election. His message to the Legislature is dated November 20, 1821. It is still preserved in the files of the old Raleigh Register. It shows that he was a strong writer and a statesman of no ordinary powers.

He calls attention to the necessity of reforming the State court system; more efficiency in the militia. He says: "All nations have military force of some kind; the militia is the one preferred by our State. It behooves us then to encourage its efficiency and make it strong in order to render a standing army unnecessary; for precisely in the same degree that the one is neglected you create the necessity for the other." He encourages internal improvements. He mentions the surveying of the lines between North Carolina and Georgia; also the line between North Carolina and Tennessee, and a number of other matters for the consideration of the Legislature.

When his term of office was out he again returned to the quiet of his beautiful mountain section. He was not permitted to enjoy the pleasures of his home long, for death came to him September 29, 1823.

The following letter from Miss Isabel Graves, a great grand-daughter of Governor Franklin, will be found full of interest, and is inserted by her permission:

Nov. 28, 1906.

DEAR SIR:—I cannot add much to the sketch written by my father for Caruthers' Old North State Series. Governor Franklin would not have any portrait made of himself. He said he preferred to be remembered by what he had done and not by how he looked.

In looking over the old records I find that Meeky Perkins was born in 1765, and died February 20, 1834. I have not been able to find the date of her marriage to Jesse Franklin, but from other dates given it was probably sometime before 1790. He had been prominent as a brave soldier during the Revolution, and it is quite probable that he was sent on missions of importance to Philadelphia before the adoption of the Constitution in 1789.

Notwithstanding Jesse Franklin was a Democrat and took great pride in the wearing apparel made at home, his daughters indulged in silk dresses made in Philadelphia on occasions requiring such dress. One of these dresses is preserved in the family.

Governor Franklin, while not a member, was inclined to the Baptist church. His wife was a member of the Methodist church. He did not care for hunting and other sports, but was a great student and reader, and his leisure from public duties and private business was devoted chiefly to reading. His correspondence was extensive for that time, and one of his daughters usually assisted as his secretary.

He was noted for his kindness to his neighbors and consideration for people less fortunate than he. He restrained his children from jokes at the expense of other people's feelings. The story of "Dicky Snow of Fish River Scenes" he never allowed a member of his family to tell, and it only became known when Dicky Snow told it on himself.

My father used to tell us stories of his grandparents which always interested us. He said that Hardin Perkins was a well-connected and influential farmer of Rockbridge County, Virginia. Jesse Franklin in passing to and from Philadelphia on horseback with his wardrobe in his saddle-bags, happened to stop over at Mr. Perkins' and saw the daughter, Miss Meeky, a tall, graceful, black-haired and black-eyed maid, very handsome and accomplished for that period. He fell in love with her, and after the usual courtship, married her. There were very limited modes of conveyance then, indeed much of the country did not have even so much as a wagon road. After the marriage, which was celebrated with a wedding feast, a Presbyterian minister officiating, Jesse Franklin and his bride rode on horseback by way of Lynchburg to his home in North Carolina. On the way they were given receptions at the residences of several of the relatives of the bride, the Redds and the Pannills, and the uncle of the groom. The baggage came later in a sort of two-horse wagon.

Mrs. Franklin was occasionally in Washington with her husband, but not often. The journey from her mountain home to Washington was a long and tiresome one, the meager pay of the members of Congress, at that time not more than five dollars per day, would not well support two

in good style. She became a noted housekeeper. Her home-made cotton dresses for herself and daughters were always of the neatest make and finest shades of coloring. The home-made jeans and linsey were the best, her linen the finest and whitest made in the country from flax grown on the farm and spun with her own hand. My father had often seen his grandmother's old flax-wheel at the homestead of his Uncle Hardin Franklin on Fish River, where she died. She was a most elegant hostess and entertained her friends and her husband's friends in the best style possible. She had several daughters and sons, and they had much company.

Governor Franklin lived in an isolated neighborhood; about four families made up the community—Jesse Franklin, Micajah Oglesby, Meshack Franklin, and Mr. Edwards, and they were all intelligent and well to do. They kept up the most cordial social relations; they visited and had parties and dances, to which their friends from a distance were invited. From all the concurrent traditions there was never anywhere a happier community during the lifetime of Governor Franklin. His wife was the leader and chief spirit among the ladies.

There are other traditions, but these will serve to give a picture of the times.

Yours truly,

ISABEL GRAVES.

Gov. Jesse Franklin was Surry County's greatest son. He reflected honor upon the whole State. It has not been the purpose of the writer to idealize him, but it is right that the noble heroes who risked their lives for American liberty, and whose long period of public service did so much to establish our national greatness, should have a proper setting in the records of the nation. It is a distinct loss to the State that so little is known of those men who so greatly honored our State in the early period of its history.

The remains of Governor Franklin have recently been removed to the National Park at the Guilford Battle Ground. This is right. To a great extent the lives of those great and strong men constitute our State's history. They served well the State and we should accord to their memory that honorable fame they so richly deserve.

NOTE.—The following authorities have been consulted:

Wheeler's History of North Carolina;  
Wheeler's Reminiscences;  
Caruthers' Old North State Series;  
Lossing's Field Book of the Revolution;  
King's Mountain and Its Heroes;  
Judge Schenck's Guilford Battle Ground;  
Moore's History of North Carolina;  
Constitution and Rules of United States Senate;  
Journals of U. S. House and Senate;  
Journals of Legislature of North Carolina;  
Files of *Raleigh Register*;  
Colonial Records of North Carolina.

## NORTH CAROLINA'S HISTORICAL EXHIBIT AT JAMESTOWN EXPOSITION.

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The Jamestown Exposition in 1907 is to be pre-eminently an historical exposition. All the states, and especially the original thirteen, are concentrating their energies on a display that will show to the world what share each has had in the settlement and development of the country, and later in that momentous struggle with England which transformed weak colonies into a great nation. That each claims the lion's share in that transformation, goes without saying. What is of more consequence, each state is planning to prove its faith by its works, and prove its works by its exhibit at Jamestown. Pennsylvania has already spent thousands of dollars, and will spend thousands more; Virginia says that she can't compete with North Carolina, either agriculturally or in manufactures, but in her historical collection she will lead the country. So the story goes, with but one exception—"the good old North State, heaven's blessings attend her," and she is sitting down peacefully with her knitting, wondering plaintively why other states know so little of her past and that little to her discredit. For the first time in her existence an opportunity has come to her to set right once and for all time the mistakes and sneers of ignorance. Her state pride as well as "a decent regard to the opinions of mankind," should make her send such a display that her brave, faithful, modest past, shall be the glory of her future, and that hereafter men shall not come to North Carolina to teach, but to learn. The Daughters of the American Revolution and the Daughters of the Revolution are making an effort to gather together a great historic exhibit, but it is not for their organizations they are working; it is for their state, and they ask



all patriotic orders—the Colonial Dames, the Cincinnati, the Sons of the Revolution, all patriotic men and women—to join with them in this labor of love. They cannot do the work alone; they would be ashamed to do it if they could, for it would be an admission that patriotism was sleeping or dead. That they are leading in the matter is a mere happening, and they would be just as proud to follow, for they are North Carolinians first and Daughters afterwards.

The ladies ask the loan of anything that will illustrate the history of the State—and particularly the life of Colonial and Revolutionary days—letters, manuscripts, school books, furniture, portraits, clothing, maps, silver, china, etc. All articles will be sent to Raleigh and placed in the care of an experienced person, who will see to their packing and shipping; their arrangements is locked cases at Jamestown; be with them during the exposition and then repack them afterwards. They will, of course, while there be in a fire-proof building. The amount allowed the ladies for getting up this exhibit is so small that they fear the success of their efforts will be hampered by the necessity for strict economy, but they will try to make the wisest possible expenditure of the funds at their disposal. Their plans are not yet fully matured. When they are, all details will be given in the State papers. The ladies in charge feel that an appeal to the patriotism of the State cannot be in vain.

MRS. LINDSAY PATTERSON,

*Chairman Jamestown Historical Committee.*

MISS MARY HILLIARD HINTON,

*Chairman Committee for Eastern North Carolina.*

## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF CONTRIBUTORS.

COMPILED AND EDITED BY MRS. E. E. MOFFITT.

### ROBERT DIGGS WIMBERLY CONNOR

Mr. R. D. W. Connor, whose address on the urgent need of a fire-proof state library building, delivered before the State Literary and Historical Association at its last session, and published in this number of "The Booklet," was born in the town of Wilson, September 26, 1878. He is the fourth child and the third son of Judge Henry G., and Kate Whitfield, Connor.

Mr. Connor was prepared for college in the public schools of his native town and entered the University of North Carolina in the fall of 1895. At the University he was a member of the Philanthropic Literary Society, the Sigma Alpha Epsilon fraternity, and The Gorgon's Head, a junior class organization. He was one of the representative speakers of his society at the commencement of 1898, and in 1899 was the winner of the debater's medal in his society. At the commencement of 1899 he was selected as one of the senior speakers. He was editor, and then editor-in-chief of *The Tar Heel*, the college weekly, editor and business manager of the *Hellenian*, the college annual, and editor of the *Magazine*. In his senior year he won the John Sprunt Hill History Prize, offered for the best original essay dealing with North Carolina history. His subject was a study of the Ku Klux Klan in North Carolina. Mr. Connor was graduated in 1899.

After leaving the University Mr. Connor was elected a teacher in the Public High School of the city of Winston. In February, 1902, he resigned his work there to become super-

intendent of the Public Schools of Oxford, but remained there only a few months, resigning in the summer of 1902 to accept the principalship of the Public High School of the city of Wilmington. After two years' work there he accepted work in the office of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, where he has charge of the Loan Fund for building school houses, and is secretary of the Education Campaign Committee, composed of the late Dr. Charles D. McIver, Hon. J. Y. Joyner, Hon. Charles B. Aycock and Governor R. B. Glenn. He is also secretary of the North Carolina Teachers' Assembly, and is now serving his second term.

When the General Assembly of 1903 created the North Carolina Historical Commission, Governor Aycock appointed Mr. Connor one of the commissioners. He was elected secretary of the Commission. He was reappointed by Governor Glenn in 1905. Mr. Connor has done a little work in the history of North Carolina. To *The Booklet* he has contributed a sketch of Cornelius Harnett; to the Biographical History of North Carolina he has contributed sketches of Cornelius Harnett, John Harvey, Calvin H. Wiley, James C. Dobbin, Thomas J. Hadley, Richard H. Speight and John F. Bruton. More elaborate sketches of Harnett and Harvey by Mr. Connor have appeared in the Sunday editions of the *Charlotte Observer*. Mr. Connor is a member of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association and of the Southern History Association.

On December 23, 1902, he was married to Miss Sadie Hanes, of Mocksville, N. C.

Mr. Connor is gifted with the energy to explore through the by-paths of our State's history and his researches, should he live to continue them, will prove of great value to future historians. North Carolina has a history to be proud of and

at the present time more general interest is being shown than in any former period. In the mass of authentic material that has been collected in the past twenty-five years, and especially in the last decade, and with the impetus that is being given to the youth of our state by the Captains of Education—by the strong, decisive stand taken by the Press—by the efforts of the Literary and Historical Society, the Sons of the Revolution, the Daughters of the Revolution and other like organizations, there is hope that a great historian will develop who will secure for North Carolina the place that rightfully belongs to her in the galaxy of States, showing that she had not lagged behind the other colonies in the assertion of her rights.

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JAMES OWEN CARR.

J. O. Carr was born in Duplin County, North Carolina, near Kenansville. He was prepared for college by S. W. Clement at Wallace, N. C., and entered the University of North Carolina in September, 1891, graduating *cum laude* in the class of 1895 with the degree of Ph. B. In 1896 returned to the University where he studied law under the late Dr. John Manning and Judge James E. Shepherd. He received his license before the Supreme Court in September, 1896, and returned to his native county, Duplin, and began the practice of law at Kenansville. In 1898 he was elected as a member of the lower house of the General Assembly from Duplin County and served in this capacity in the Legislature of 1899. In the following April he moved to Wilmington, where he continued his practice as a member of the law firm of Rountree and Carr, which relation still exists. He has taken considerable interest in historical matters pertaining to the State. Inheriting the spirit of his forefathers, who were true to the principles of liberty, he is a descendant of

the Dicksons and Carrs who played a distinguished part before and during the Revolutionary war and one of whom was a signer to the Oath of Allegiance and Abjuration passed at New Bern the 15th of November, 1777. The original document is now on file in the clerk's office of Duplin County, thus preserving the names of those patriots who were true to their country, their homes and their God. Mr. Carr is a writer of ability and thus early in his career has made an enviable reputation as a literateur. He is the author of the "Dickson" letters, consisting of a series of letters written immediately after the Revolution and of much historical value. He is a member of the Sons of the Revolution and his descent is contained in the manuscript archives of the North Carolina Society.

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#### PROF. J. T. ALDERMAN.

The BOOKLET for this month is enriched by an admirable sketch of Governor Franklin. The paper is from the pen of Prof. J. T. Alderman, the able and successful superintendent of graded schools in Henderson, N. C. Writing of Professor Alderman and his work, Rev. J. D. Hufham, D.D., long a leading minister of the Baptist church, says: "Professor Alderman has devoted his life and all his splendid powers to the cause of education, mainly in North Carolina, and has no small share in the educational restoration of the commonwealth. Some particulars of his life and work seem to be called for as a contribution to the history of the period.

"The Aldermans, as their name indicates, are of Anglo-Saxon stock; of property and social standing in England. Members of the family were among the early settlers in this country. John Camden Hotten, of London, in his "original list of Persons of Qualitie emigrated to America," includes "Grace Alderman," who came "in the ship *Paula*, July,

1635." In 1715, Daniel Alderman, son of John, was born in London. In 1740 he married Abigail Harris and in 1750 removed to New Jersey, whither others of the Aldermans had preceded them. In 1755 Daniel and his wife came to North Carolina and settled on Black River in Pender County. Three sons, John, Daniel and David, were born to them. Of these sons, Daniel was the ancestor of the eminent head of the University of Virginia. From David have come the Aldermans of Greensboro. John married Mary Cashwell. They had among other children a son, John, who married Anna Newton, and among their children was Amariah Biggs, father of the subject of this sketch. He was a student at Wake Forest College 1845-'46-'47, and afterwards devoted his life to the Baptist ministry. He married Penelope Howard. Among her ancestors was Fleete Cooper, a prominent and active patriot during the Revolution and afterwards a preacher of renown among the Baptists. Another ancestor was Minson Howard, a soldier of the Revolution. Still another was Capt. John Williams, an officer in the American army during the Revolution; a fearless and active soldier and a terror to the Tories. These facts indicate with sufficient clearness the sort of people through whom the life has come down to Professor Alderman. In the old world and the new, they have been quiet, thoughtful, brave and earnest men, commanding the confidence of the public and achieving success. In North Carolina five of them have been preachers, many of them have been teachers and all of them advocates and supporters of education.

"Professor Alderman was born June 26th, 1853. His father's home lay in the line of Sherman's march, not far from the battlefield of Bentonville, and after that struggle the family had to begin life anew. To educate themselves without neglecting the labor needful to the home was not easy,

but the boys all achieved it. Professor Alderman graduated at Wake Forest College 1880, and at once gave himself with singleness of heart to the business of teaching, from which he has never turned aside. In his native county, Sampson, and in Davie County, he taught with singular success. He was superintendent of the schools at Reidsville, 1891-'94. He was assistant superintendent of city schools of Columbus, Ga., the finest system of schools in the South, and also principal of the high school in that city. In all these positions he had given entire satisfaction and had shown his capacity for even greater things. In 1899 the call came which brought him back to his native State and to the largest work of his life—to lay the foundations and construct a system of graded schools for the town of Henderson. It was a great undertaking, but success has crowned every step of it and it may be doubted whether there is in any part of the State a system of schools superior to this, whether we consider buildings and equipment, spirit or management. It is Professor Alderman's greatest work, but he is still in the fulness of manly vigor and there may be even greater things for him to do in the years to come. He is profoundly interested in the history of North Carolina, and the teaching of it holds an important place in his schools. He also keeps in touch with the work of education in the State. He is an enthusiastic Mason and is held in high honor by the members of the Fraternity of every degree.

“In 1894 he married Miss Lillian Watson, of Warrenton, N. C., a gifted and accomplished woman, who is interested in every department of his labor and finds her chief joy in his success.”

## SARAH BEAUMONT KENNEDY.

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COLLECTED AND COMPILED BY MRS. E. E. MOFFITT.

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The *Booklet* is indebted to Mrs. Kennedy for that very interesting monograph on "Colonial New Berne," which was published in No. 2 of volume first, which edition was so popular that it is now out of print. She wrote a beautiful story of that heroic and long-suffering people, the Palatines,\* who inhabited that picturesque portion of Germany situated on both sides of the Rhine. These Protestants who were no longer able to endure the persecutions which followed the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, fled from their country, a large proportion joining De Graffenried's colony of Swiss in 1710, to America, and founded New Berne; calling their new settlement after the Swiss capital in the far-away Alps.

Sara Beaumont Kennedy's parents were both North Carolinians, her father having been Dr. Robert H. Cannon, of Raleigh, and her mother Nora Devereux, daughter of Thomas Pollok Devereux, so widely known through the South. Through her maternal grandfather she is a direct descendant of Jonathan Edwards, whose daughter Eunice married Gov. Thomas Pollok, and was the grandmother of Thomas Pollok Devereux. (Gov. Thomas Pollok was twice appointed governor.) Through her maternal grandmother, who was Catherine Johnson, of Stratford, Conn., she is a lineal descendant of William Samuel Johnson, who, as one of the most talented and forceful members of the Constitutional Convention, helped to frame the National Constitution. On this same line Mrs. Kennedy is descended from the Living-

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\* A further account of this settlement is given in the "Booklet," of April, 1905, by Judge Oliver P. Allen.



stons, one member of which family was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and another played a star part in the purchase of Louisiana. The line goes back, without a break, to the Bruces, of Scotland. On her father's side Mrs. Kennedy inherits French Huguenot blood, an early ancestor of that faith and nationality having settled in North Carolina, where his three daughters married respectively a Hill, a Cannon and a Battle.

Mrs. Kennedy was born in Somerville, Tenn., but her father having died, her mother returned to the Devereux homestead in Carolina. There and at St. Mary's, Raleigh, most of her childhood was spent, she having graduated from the above named school at the age of sixteen. Mrs. Cannon again removed to Tennessee and Sara, after teaching awhile, was married, in 1888, to Mr. Walker Kennedy, editor and novelist. Almost all of their married life has been spent in Memphis, Tenn., where Mr. Kennedy is editor-in-chief of the leading newspaper. Mrs. Kennedy began her literary career with "A Jamestown Romance," the first story that had as a heroine one of the tobacco-bought wives of the early colony. This ran as a serial in a magazine. Then shifting her scene, she wrote a series of short Colonial stories, with New Berne and Hillsboro, N. C., as the backgrounds. Her two novels are "Jocelyn Cheshire" and "The Wooing of Judith," both of which have won high praise from the critics. She writes a great deal of verse, but has never collected this class of her work into book form. As a reader she is ranked with the best on the professional stage, although she appears only as an amateur, reading her *own* stories and poems. During the past year she has done very little with her pen because of serious trouble with her eyes.



# The North Carolina Booklet

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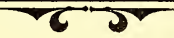
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A QUARTERLY PUBLICATION ISSUED UNDER  
THE AUSPICES OF THE

“NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION”

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THIS PUBLICATION treats of important events in North Carolina History, such as may throw light upon the political, social or religious life of the people of this State during the Colonial and Revolutionary periods, in the form of monographs written and contributed by as reliable and painstaking historians as our State can produce. The Sixth Volume began in July, 1906.

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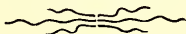
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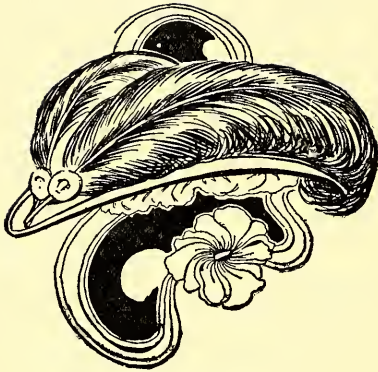
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Vol. VI

APRIL, 1907

No. 4

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## NORTH CAROLINA'S ATTITUDE TO THE REVOLUTION.

BY ROBERT C. STRONG.

An attitude is a relative quality. Surrounding circumstances and conditions combine with and are a part of it. These were of a threefold character in North Carolina during the revolutionary period of her history: First, our colony had to neutralize the effect of the War of Regulation; second, she had to deal with the disaffected Cumberland district, and, third, she had to overcome opposition to her movements for independence by leaders whom she had theretofore followed. Her success in meeting these great difficulties was a national triumph.

The district of the trouble which caused the War of Regulation comprised the counties of Guilford; Orange and parts of Rowan and Granville. The culmination of this trouble was the battle of Alamance, of 1771, only a few years before the Declaration of Independence. The feeling of hostility arising from this source was such that the Convention of Hillsborough could not totally alleviate. Organized opposition in the Cumberland section to the national cause and the steps taken by the State therein, culminated in the battle of Moore's Creek on February 27, 1776; but resistance did not cease during the war. This disaffected district reached up from South Carolina and lay in North Carolina between the far divisions of Bladen and Rowan counties. Taking this in

connection with the section of the Regulators, it made a broad section of disaffected country sweeping up from South Carolina around to the west of the center of our State and back again, reaching upward nearly to the Virginia line. The British naturally considered North Carolina an easy mark, and in consequence laid their plans to operate through the port of Charleston; recruit their army by marching around and to the south of the Cumberland district, thence northward, to fall upon us from the west.

Our Representatives at the Continental Congress feared this more than they should have done. They used all methods they thought would be effective in calling upon the patriotic sentiment of the western counties, and it was not until they were present at the Convention at Hillsborough did they recognize their mistake.

This Convention met on August 20, 1775, and especially to be noticed in the full representation of the counties was that from the western counties, concerning which such useless fears had been expended. Saunders, in his Prefatory Notes, says: "Time proves all things, and it needed not much time after the struggle for freedom and for independence began to show what was the worth and what was the temper of the people of the center and west. How patriotic the feeling among them was, and how thoroughly united they were is apparent from the fact that, in spite of all the threats and all the inducements held out to them, 'not more than a hundred people of the county' could be enlisted under the King's banner in February, 1776, the rest being 'Highlanders,' new-comers, not yet incorporated into the body politic, in sentiment, at least, of North Carolina."

These changes of condition were not brought about by impulsive enthusiasm or domination of the majority voice in the Convention. The cause was not sought to be compro-



mised, but their faith in its rectitude caused them to give time for more careful thought to those holding the minority view. The six months' adjournment of the Convention to Halifax thus put the reins of a temporary government, so vitally essential, more firmly in their hands.

The early months of the year 1776 found Continental Congress in a state of indecision as to the final acts of separation, delaying necessary and unavoidable measures upon various pretexts. England had refused the North Carolina colony the right to issue currency. It was found that making certain commodities a medium of exchange did not meet the exigencies of the situation, and debenture bonds had to be issued redeemable at certain dates from taxes to be collected. They were only good among the colonists and were to meet the emergency of paying off a debt incurred in an Indian war. Abroad they had no value. Financial emergencies had to be provided for and perplexing financial situations faced. We can therefore appreciate the fear expressed in a letter written by Mr. Penn, our Continental delegate, to Mr. Person, a member of our Provincial Council, of February 14, 1776:

Matters are drawing to a crisis. They seem determined to persevere, and are forming alliances against us. Must we not do something of the like nature? Can we hope to carry on a war without having trade or commerce somewhere? Can we ever pay taxes without it? Will our paper money depreciate if we go on emitting? These are serious things, and require your consideration. The consequences of making alliances is, perhaps, a total separation with Britain, and without something of the sort we may not be able to procure what is necessary for our defense. \* \* \*

Soon after receiving this momentous communication, the third of the following March, the Provincial Council ordered an assembling of our Congress to be held at Halifax on April 2, 1776. On the fourth the Provincial delegates met. On the eighth a committee of seven was appointed to draft appropriate measures; and on the twelfth their recommendation

by resolution was unanimously adopted. This resolution, thus formed with that deliberate haste which can only be accorded to the disposition of the truly great, has given us the revered date of "12th April, 1776," for our State flag:

Resolved, That the delegates for our colony in the Continental Congress be empowered to concur with the delegates of the other colonies in declaring Independence, and forming foreign alliances, reserving to this colony the sole and exclusive right of forming a constitution and laws for this colony, and for appointing delegates from time to time (under the direction of a general representation thereof) to meet the delegates of the other colonies for such purposes as shall be hereafter pointed out.

This authoritative expression preceded by more than a month that of any other of the colonies. It was decisive upon the questions of independence and the forming of foreign alliances, and its reservation was not only consistent with the spirit of those times, but is indicative of the opposition of our people to-day to any encroachment upon the rights of this State and to centralization of power at Washington.

While at this Convention a constitution could have been adopted as well as later, yet, in the spirit of forbearance and for the purpose of creating harmony, such action was again postponed. On December the 18th, 1776, the colony declared her independence of British rule. There was a full representation, conservative, considerate of the small minority views, but resolute in the face of opposition from those who had been wont to lead. It was a movement of the people, and not of their leaders, though leaders of their own views arose to the occasion. They were strengthened by the wise course which they had pursued at the Convention at Hillsborough, and the "Declaration of Rights," with the Constitution incorporating it, proclaim their framers as men of moral and intellectual force and of great culture. Yet Mr. Johnston, in one of his letters, says of them: "Every one

who has the least pretensions to be a gentleman is suspected and borne down *per ignobile vulgus*—a set of men without reading, experience or principle to govern them.” Notwithstanding, eleven of the twelve of these declarations of the bill were adopted in the Federal Bill of Rights, and the matters of the Constitution then adopted are for the greater part familiar to us in our own constitutional government of to-day.

The Representatives of the colony in the Continental Congress misunderstood her people, as we have seen, and learned them aright in Hillsborough. Her agents in England likewise undervalued their disposition. Destiny pointed in but one direction, working through an inflexible human agency, and human acts were impotent to change it. The people of the colony were astonished, outraged and indignant when they heard that the colony was not included in the act of the British Parliament of April, 1775, cutting off the trade of her sister colonies with Great Britain and the West Indies. On the date this act was to be operative, the 20th of July, 1775, the Committee at Wilmington, in the language of Saunders' Prefatory Notes, “formally and unanimously resolved that the exception of this colony out of the said act was a base and mean artifice to seduce them into a desertion of the common cause of America, and that North Carolina, refusing to accept advantages so insidiously thrown out, would continue to adhere strictly to the plans of the Continental Congress, and thus keep up a perfect unanimity with her sister colonies.” It was afterwards that it was learned that the agents in England had substituted for the petition sent them “a memorial in more decent terms.” Thus we glance backward from December 18, 1776, to July 20, 1775, for another view of the position that the colony assumed towards the common cause, and find the people unyielding in their consistency and uprightness. Through internal strife,

Indian troubles and dangers, financial straits, political disagreements of her people and sectional strategic difficulties, North Carolina, considered the weakest colony for attack, was prompt in maintaining her rights under the Stamp Act, in the town of Wilmington, and the foremost to throw overboard the vessel the tea upon which this tax was imposed, in the town of Edenton. This assertive spirit breathed through her people, and found expression, more or less formal, in many places, the most formal being that of Mecklenburg in May, 1775.

Despite the powerful opposition of leading citizens, looking forward from the time of the establishment of the temporary government at Hillsborough, we find a concert of deliberate and effective action. To this temporary government is greatly due the gallant aid given to repulse the British at Charleston on June 28, 1776. Quoting again from Saunders' Prefatory Notes:

And so we have another instance of the efficiency of the temporary government established at Hillsborough. In a short twelve months it sent troops to the help of Virginia, and twice to that of South Carolina, fought the battle of Moore's Creek, and sent some three thousand men against the Cherokees. Within the year it put near ten thousand men into service in the field, certainly a very large proportion of its fighting population in so short a time.

For the history of North Carolina's part in the War of the Revolution, from the beginning of the year 1777 to the termination thereof, reference is made to the History of North Carolina, by Moore, beginning at chapter 12.

General Washington had but seven thousand men under his command when he took the field in the spring of 1777, almost too weak to oppose the British; but the defeat of Sir Peter Parker and Lord Cornwallis at Charleston, in June, 1776, left the way open for North Carolina to send him six battalions, numbering four thousand muskets. The first

and second battalions were of experience, and all were of great courage. In the battles of Princeton and Brandywine they won honor, and honor greater still at Germantown. At home, in the year 1778, the Tories could not make organized opposition, and so they formed a regiment at St. Augustine, Florida. The Legislature was busy with pressing affairs of government, among other things, gravely concerning the finances of the colony.

Having won distinction at the battle of Monmouth Court-house in the engagement of June 28, 1778, and there being more need for their active service in the army of the South, five battalions of North Carolina troops were sent with General Lincoln to Charleston. In the beginning of the year 1779 two thousand North Carolina militia were sent to South Carolina. In Georgia defeat overtook the Continental forces, but of the character which enhanced their courage and determination. Let our attention revert to the North. At Stony Point, on the 19th day of July, our troops not only shared in the glory achieved by the Northern army, but occupied the post of honor and peril; and then, being needed in the South, were sent to Charleston.

The inevitable fall of Charleston on April 9, 1780, caused us the loss of our veteran troops, and gave occasion to the rise of Lord Cornwallis, and Tarleton, a partizan Loyalist, his "right arm." Tarleton surprised the Virginia troops at Waxhaw on May 29, 1780, as they were on their way to the relief of Charleston. In his opposition he was daring and formidable, and he and his Tory troops were a source of continuous menace. Had it not been for our successful issue at the battle of Moore's Creek, and the wise course taken at the Convention at Hillsborough, our history might have been written differently. As it was, great concern was felt for the unprotected condition of South Carolina and the loss of our

veteran troops at Charleston. Cornwallis was commanding four thousand British regulars, to oppose which there was only available a troop of cavalry and two companies of mounted infantry. Our resources were well-nigh drained, and the maintenance of armies was a very grave difficulty. Under these conditions it was cheering to our people to win over the Loyalists of North Carolina the small but important battle of Ramsour's Mill, fought in June, 1780. At this time Lord Cornwallis was with his army at Camden, South Carolina, awaiting supplies. General Gates, lacking in the forethought and consideration for the ideas of others that characterized our people, met with his disastrous defeat there, and fled to the town of Charlotte without providing for the safety of the men under his command. On the 8th day of September, 1780, Tarleton, having surprised and defeated Sumter's command, Cornwallis, counting upon reinforcements from the Tories of the State, moved forward to subjugate North Carolina with much assurance. Just before this time the fighting at Hanging Rock had taken place, and, following this, transpired the decisive battle of King's Mountain and the strategic movements of Morgan to intercept the reinforcements of Royalists for Cornwallis' army. Then followed the famous retreat of Morgan before the British, his uniting with Greene, and the further retreat to Guilford Court-house, where Cornwallis was defeated in his plans by his more than doubtful victory. Then began the retreat of the British army, which ended in its surrender to General Washington.

Conciliatory and forbearing, our colony achieved a victory over those who theretofore had been the leaders of thought and action within her borders, and when the occasion demanded, with more than heroic courage, she subjugated those of her people who would interfere in her fight for independ-

ence. She neutralized the effect of her foreign disaffected element as much as possible, and successfully met force with force upon occasions of vital importance to the entire Continental cause. Duty and devotion could call successfully upon her every resource, and especial privileges and bounties brought very poor results. So liberal was her contribution to the common cause, and so self-sacrificing was she of her strength, that on September 13, 1781, her Governor, while at Hillsborough with his suite and other prominent military and civil officers, fell into the hands of the Loyalists. The attempt to re-capture at Lindley's Mill, on Cane Creek in Chatham County, was brilliant but unavailing.

There yet remains to complete the thought contained in these pages the consideration of the principles which actuated such brilliant achievements. Like all great principles, they are of a simple nature.

The following extracts are from the Mecklenburg Petition for the Repeal of the Vestry and Marriage Acts, 1769.

In the Great Charter, His Majesty confirms to his subjects removing from Great Britain into this province, and their descendants, all the rights, privileges and immunities to which His Majesty's subjects in Great Britain, to-wit, England and Scotland, are entitled. \* \* \* We assure your excellency, Your Honours of the Council, the Honourable Speaker, and Gentlemen of the House of Burgesses, that we shall ever be more ready to support that Government under which we find the most liberty.

In speaking of the necessity of the Declaration of Independence James Iredell, in a letter to Joseph Hewes, written from Edenton June 9, 1776, said:

I do not view the subject as a matter of ambition; in my opinion it is criminal and impolitic to consider it in that light; but as a matter of necessity; and in that case, in spite of every consequence (and very bad ones may be dreaded) I should not hesitate for an instant in acceding to it.

It is gratifying to know that Judge Iredell was one of our first judges, and that he afterwards acquired a national reputation. Also, that Mr. Johnston was placed in positions of trust by our people after the events of the Revolutionary War.

From the above quoted expressions we may judge the spirit of the times. The people had their rights under the Royal Charter, and, later, under the Great Deed or Grant from the Lords Proprietors. These rights were clear and unmistakable. They would live up to those rights, and enforce them when necessary. Feeling secure in them, they did not follow South Carolina in 1719 when she threw off the government of the Lords Proprietors. The third Royal Governor wrote home to England that he and the written instructions of the King were set at defiance, for that the people openly declared "that their charter still subsisted." Indeed, the people appeared to pay little heed to any arrangement that was made between King and Lords respecting them and their property. They appreciated charter rights by inheritance, and when necessary would enforce them without counting the cost. They were "ready to support that government under which they found the most Liberty" when in keeping with their Rights. This they Did, not as matters of Ambition, but those of Necessity.

This same spirit reaches upward into the disposition of our people of to-day, and presents an ever conservative but undaunted front. In more recent years it has been as splendid in its defeat as it was then exalted in its victory. To-day the wealth of the East and of the West are alike. The people of all sections are as one people, and Prosperity is their constant visitor. The United States are at Peace with themselves and with the World.

NOTE.—Biographical Sketch of above writer will appear in July number of Vol. VII.



## JOHN LAWSON.

BY MARSHALL DELANCEY HAYWOOD.

The writing of history has never met with much encouragement in North Carolina. Our first historian is said to have been burned alive. Should another, in this day and generation, adopt historical work as the sole means of gaining a livelihood, he might meet death in a no less miserable manner—by starvation. But, notwithstanding these trivial obstacles, the work goes forward. As we glance backward to find the forerunner of historians in our State (or Colony, as it then was), we must pass over Richard Hakluyt and other early writers who gave accounts of the settlements which were made under the patronage of Sir Walter Raleigh. These settlements never rose to the dignity of a province, were finally abandoned, and it was many years later before the name of Carolina appeared on the map as a British possession in America. Hence, the first historian of our State, and sometime Colony, was a sturdy adventurer and writer of no mean order, who made his first appearance in America in the Summer of 1700.

John Lawson, or "*John Lawson, Gentleman,*" as he preferred to style himself, tells us, in his narrative, how he reached the purpose of coming to America, in these words: "In the year 1700, when people flocked from all parts of the christian world to see the solemnity of the grand jubilee at Rome, my intention at that time being to travel, I accidentally met with a gentleman who had been abroad and was very well acquainted with the ways of living in both Indies; of whom, having made inquiry concerning them, he assured me that Carolina was the best country I could go to; and that there then lay a ship in the Thames in which I might have my

passage. I laid hold on this opportunity, and was not long on board before we fell down the river and sailed to Cowes; where, having taken in some passengers, we proceeded on our voyage."

After springing a leak, the vessel on which Lawson sailed was forced to put into port on one of the islands of Scilly, where the voyagers were hospitably entertained by the inhabitants during a stay of ten days. Setting sail once more on the 1st of May, the ship was thrown out of its course by adverse winds, and it was not until the latter part of July that Sandy Hook, in the Colony of New York, was reached. After remaining a fortnight in New York, Lawson's journey by sea was resumed; and, fourteen days later, he found himself in Charleston (or Charles Town, as it was then called), the capital and chief city of South Carolina. This colonial metropolis he highly praises, adding that South Carolina was as prosperous in condition as any English colony in America; and was a source of more revenue to the Crown than any of the more northern "plantations," except Virginia and Maryland.

It was on the 28th of December 1700, that Lawson left Charleston and began his journey through the wilderness to North Carolina. In his party were six Englishmen, three male Indians and a squaw—the last mentioned being wife of one of the three Indians. To tell how this band of explorers beat through swamps, forded creeks, went by canoe up and down rivers, camped in the forest by mountain and stream, held intercourse with the natives, were alarmed by wild beasts, and feasted on by mosquitoes, would make a narrative but little shorter than the journal in which Lawson recorded his "thousand miles traveled through several nations of Indians."

From the time of his first arrival on American soil, in 1700, Lawson remained eight years, returning to Europe late

in the Summer of 1708. In that year he was appointed Surveyor-General of the Colony. The first edition of his history made its appearance in 1709, being published in London. This was the only issue which came out during the lifetime of its author, though quite a number of posthumous editions have since been printed. Of the character and merits of this work later mention will be made.

During Mr. Lawson's stay in England he was engaged to assist Baron Christopher DeGraffenried in bringing his Swiss and German colonists to North Carolina. The place of their settlement was at the junction of the Neuse and Trent rivers. It was called New Bern, after Bern, in Switzerland, the Baron's native country. The site of New Bern had formerly been occupied by an Indian town known as Chatawka. From this town is said to be derived the name of the lake and settlement of Chataqua in New York. To New York went a great majority of Tuscaroras under the leadership of Chief Hen-cock (or Hancock) a year or two later, thereby transferring to that colony many Indian names from North Carolina. It will be remembered that, prior to this migration northward of the Tuscaroras, the Indian confederacy in New York was known as the Five Nations—later becoming the Six Nations by the acquisition of the North Carolina tribe.

At a meeting held in London by the Lords Proprietors in August, 1709, Mr. Lawson was allowed the sum of twenty pounds for several maps made by him of the colonies of North Carolina and South Carolina. During the same year he was appointed, together with Edward Moseley, a commissioner to represent the Lords Proprietors in settling the uncertain boundary between North Carolina and the colony of Virginia. These commissioners entered upon their duties in 1710, but did not reach an agreement with the Commissioners of Vir-

ginia (Philip Ludwell and Nathaniel Harrison), and the line was not settled definitely until about twenty years later.

In September, 1711, being then at New Bern, Lawson proposed to Baron DeGraffenried to go on an exploring expedition up the Neuse River, to see how far that stream was navigable, and also to ascertain if a more direct overland road to Virginia could be laid out in that direction. Major Christopher Gale (afterwards Chief Justice) was to have accompanied this party; but, being advised of the illness of his wife and brother at the town of Bath, he abandoned his purpose in order to go to them. Lawson and DeGraffenried, however, set out on their journey, accompanied by two negroes to row the boats, and by two Indian guides. One of these Indians understood English and acted as interpreter for the party. After they had traveled some miles and were approaching the Indian village of Catechna, the voyagers were commanded by the natives to proceed no further. Fearing to disregard this order, the boats were pulled up at a spring on the river bank and preparations made to encamp for the night. DeGraffenried appreciated the danger of delay, and counseled immediate return without going into camp, when Lawson, who viewed the matter less seriously, laughed at his fears. But, to use the Baron's own words, "laughter, in a twinkling, expired on his lips" when they found themselves surrounded by scores of armed Indians, some springing from bush and thicket, while others swam from the opposite side of the river to join their tribesmen. For Lawson and his party to resist would mean instant death, so they at once yielded to the Indians, who started at a breakneck speed through the woods, compelling their prisoners to run with them. Toward morning they reached Catechna, the Indian town where King Hen-cock was in council with his warriors, who were even then, mayhap, planning the great massacre

which was to be visited upon New Bern shortly thereafter. While the above council continued its session, forty other "kings" or chiefs came with their followers. Among these savage dignitaries was "Core Tom," chief of the village of Core. On being arraigned before the council of forty chiefs, or "Assembly of the Great," as it was called, Lawson and DeGraffenried explained that they were on a friendly excursion, wishing to gather grapes, explore the river, and open up better trade relations with their Indian neighbors. By dint of much persuasion the captives seem to have succeeded in justifying themselves, and it was promised by the Indians that they should be set free the next day. But, unfortunately for the prisoners, two more chiefs arrived and desired to know the reasons for the prospective liberation of the explorers. This brought on another examination, when Lawson lost control of his temper and entered into a violent quarrel with Core Tom, the above-mentioned chief of the village of Core. After this, it was decided that all the party should be put to death. Lawson and DeGraffenried were first pounced upon by the Indians, who robbed them of all their belongings and dashed their hats and periwigs into the fire. Then they were carried out for execution. DeGraffenried, who survived the tragedy, has left behind him a graphic account of preparations for the slaughter, with descriptions of the wild caperings of the Indians, and the grave ceremonials of their High Priest, who was to officiate at the slaughter. "The priests," says DeGraffenried, "are generally magicians, and even conjure up the Devil." When the above gruesome ceremonies were drawing to an end, and the Indians seemed ready to proceed with their butchery, DeGraffenried gained the ear of one of the savages who understood English and gave him to understand that the great and powerful Queen of England, by whose orders he had brought his Swiss colonists to Caro-

lina, would be sure to avenge his blood; furthermore, he made promises of advantages which would accrue to the Indians should he be liberated. At length it was decided that the Baron's life should be spared, but that Lawson should be put to death. In telling of the separation of himself from his fellow-prisoner, it is said by DeGraffenried in his narrative: "Poor Lawson, being always left in the same place, I could understand that all was over with him, and that he would not be pardoned. He accordingly took leave from me, and told me to say farewell, in his name, to his friends. Alas! it grieved me much to see him in such danger, not being able to speak with him, nor to give him any consolation; so I tried to show him my compassion by a few signs." DeGraffenried states that nothing certain was ever known as to the manner of Lawson's execution, for the Indians would not tell how it was brought about. Some accounts said that he was burned alive, some that he was hanged, and others that his throat was cut with a razor taken from his own pocket. Another version, as mentioned in a letter from Major Christopher Gale, was to the effect that the Indians "stuck him full of fine small splinters of torchwood, like hogs' bristles, and so set them gradually on fire."

From the last mentioned version of how Lawson was killed it would appear that he met his death in a manner similar to that described by himself at an earlier period, when his history was written. In that work, while treating of the conduct of Indians toward their prisoners, he says: "They strive to invent the most inhuman butcheries for them that the devils themselves could invent or hammer out of hell; they esteeming death no punishment, but rather an advantage to him that is exported out of this into another world. Therefore they inflict on them torments wherein they prolong life in that miserable state as long as they can, and never miss

skulping [scalping] of them, as they call it, which is to cut off the skin from the temples, and taking the whole head of hair with it, as if it was a night-cap. Sometimes they take the top of the skull along with it; all which they preserve and carefully keep by them for a trophy of their conquest over their enemies. Others keep their enemies' teeth, which are taken in war, whilst others split the pitch-pine into splinters and stick them into the prisoner's body yet alive. Thus they light them, which burn like so many torches; and in this manner they make him dance round a great fire, every one buffeting and deriding him till he expires, when every one strives to get a bone or some relic of this unfortunate captive."

It was some days after the death of Lawson before DeGraffenried was set at liberty. During his captivity a proclamation (dated October 8, 1711), was dispatched to the Indians by Governor Alexander Spotswood, of Virginia, stating that upon advices received that they held captive the Baron DeGraffenried, he had thought proper to warn them that should any harm come to their prisoner the forces of Virginia would be called out to lay waste their towns, and no quarter would be given to man, woman or child.

When, at length, DeGraffenried did get back to New Bern, a woeful sight met his eyes. He was greeted by the survivors of his colony, who for many days had mourned him as dead; and from them he learned of the awful tragedy which had been enacted in his absence. On September 22, 1711, one hundred and thirty men, women and children had been inhumanly butchered by the red men; and those colonists who had escaped the tomahawk and scalping-knife were anxiously awaiting the military forces which were soon to come from South Carolina under Colonel John Barnwell. Major Gale, who went to solicit aid from Charleston, reported there that

the Baron DeGraffenried had also been murdered, for it was not then known that he had escaped.

In the second volume of the *Biographical History of North Carolina* is a sketch of Lawson, by Dr. Stephen B. Weeks, in which are recounted the various editions through which Lawson's History has gone. Dr. Weeks says: "His historical and descriptive work was possibly compiled for John Stevens' 'Collections of Voyages and Travels,' which was begun in 1708 and finished in 1710-'11. The second of the series, printed in 1709, is Lawson's 'New Voyage to Carolina.' It appeared in 1711 as a part of the edition of Stevens published that year, with the same title page. In 1714 and 1718 it was re-published under the title 'The History of Carolina' (London). There was a German edition in 1712, 'Alleneuster Beschreibung der Provintz Carolina' (Hamburg), and another in 1722. These were doubtless issued to encourage immigration, and perhaps in the interests of DeGraffenried's Palatine colony. The 1714 edition was re-printed in Raleigh in 1860, and again at Charlotte in 1903 by Colonel F. A. Olds. Both of the North Carolina editions are very poorly done."

To the above comments by Dr. Weeks it may be added that the volume published at Charlotte contains matter which Lawson did not write, including some of the papers of Colonel William Byrd, of Westover, in Virginia. This edition is also relieved of some plain language which would hardly pass for polite literature in our generation. Some language found in Lawson's work (the unexpurgated editions at least) is not gauged by the modern standards of chaste expression. To tell, in delicate terms of the various things which passed under his observation while sojourning among the Indians, might have been considered by the old historian too difficult a task. He was an observant traveler, who saw and heard



much; and, what he did see and hear, was told in words which would be highly embarrassing if read aloud in a drawing-room of the present day.

When Lawson deals with natural history and animal life, the terms he employs are quite amusing. Under the head of *insects* he includes alligators, rattlesnakes and about twenty other kinds of snakes, terrapins, frogs, etc. Among the snakes he mentions "brimstone snakes." As to what a "brimstone snake" is, the present writer must confess ignorance, but it is evidently a pretty hot insect. In referring to frogs, he says: "The most famous is the bullfrog, so called because he lows exactly like that beast, which makes strangers wonder (when by the side of a marsh) what is the matter, for they hear the frogs low and can see no cattle." Lawson also tells of a disease which can be easily cured by baking a toad and grinding up his ashes with orris root, this to be taken internally. I am afraid this remedy would hardly find much favor in the present day.

It is not generally known that a trial for witchcraft once took place in North Carolina, which resulted in the conviction and execution (probably by burning) of the accused. Lawson states that, though North Carolina had been settled for upwards of sixty years, the only executions which had ever occurred were those where a Turk had been convicted of murder, and an old woman had been condemned for witchcraft. Alluding to the witchcraft trial, Lawson adds that it took place many years before he came to the colony, but adds: "I wish it had been undone to this day, although they give a great many arguments to justify the deed which I had rather they should have had a hand in than myself; seeing I could never approve of taking life away upon such accusations, the justice whereof I could never yet understand."

In 1737, some years after Lawson's death, Dr. John

Brickell published a Natural History of North Carolina. It has often been charged that this was a plagiarism, almost verbatim, from Lawson; and Brickell did get much of his material from the earlier historian. In the above quoted sketch by Dr. Weeks, however, it is intelligently argued that Brickell was not a mere copyist. Referring to the charges of plagiarism, Dr. Weeks observes: "These statements do a grave injustice to Brickell. He tells us that his work is a 'compendious collection.' He took the work of Lawson, reworked it in his own fashion, extended or curtailed and brought it down to his own time. His work is more than twice as large as that of Lawson's; his professional training is everywhere patent, and there is much in it relating to the social condition of the colony. Brickell's work is fuller, more systematic and more like the work of a professional student; Lawson's seems more like that of a traveler and observer."

In 1705 Mr. Lawson joined Joel Martin in securing a charter to incorporate the town of Bath. This historic borough, or what at present remains of it, is the oldest incorporated town in the State. The land on which it was built belonged to Lawson and Martin; and the former, being a surveyor by profession, was doubtless the one who laid out its streets. As Lawson aided Baron DeGraffenried in founding New Bern, he probably laid out the streets of that place also, and possibly of Edenton.

Since the days of John Lawson no writer has ever attempted to treat of the history of North Carolina without building in some measure upon the literary labors of others, or upon the records of former generations. The book of nature was the only volume to which Lawson could turn for information. Amid the wilds of a new continent he lived, labored, wrote, explored, blazed paths through the trackless wilderness, made measurements of our seacoasts, laid out vil-

lages and promoted colonization. To wrest the soil from a fierce and warlike race of savages required men of supreme courage—men who could be killed but never cowed—and who would fearlessly bear privations and face death when so doing would advance the great purposes they sought to accomplish.

Forceful is the figure of speech voiced by some writer who says that the pyramids of Egypt, dotting with age, have forgotten the names of their founders. Immeasurably more mighty than the pyramids, and not dotting with age either, is the great American continent, whose settlement was begun by our colonial progenitors; and succeeding generations should see to it that the names and deeds of these “founders” are held in grateful and everlasting remembrance.

## SOME OVERLOOKED NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY.

BY J. T. ALDERMAN.

Old books are sometimes quite interesting. For a number of years Waln's Life of Lafayette, published in 1826, has been in my library unread. Recently my attention was attracted to it, and I found it very entertaining. Among other things I came across something which was news to me.

In his account of the siege of Yorktown, the fact comes out that Lord Cornwallis, when about to be hemmed in by the American and French troops, began to look about for some way to extricate himself from their toils. On the arrival of the French fleet in the Bay Cornwallis determined to leave Yorktown and by forced marches, cross North Carolina and join the British forces near Charleston, S. C.

Waln says: "The most positive intelligence was soon received by Lafayette that Lord Cornwallis intended to penetrate with his army from Yorktown to South Carolina by land. He was moving from York to James River, and was getting hits boats across from Queen's creek to College landing to go from thence to Jamestown, then cross the James River to Cobham's to proceed from thence to South Carolina."

"Upon the first intelligence of this movement of Cornwallis, the most animated measures were adopted by Governor Burke to cooperate with Muhlenburg. Every boat on the Roanoke, Neuse and Meherin rivers was secured under guard or destroyed; every crossing was placed under guard and crossed by abatis; and the militia were ordered out *en masse*. The whole State of North Carolina, from the Dan River to the sea-coast appears to have been set in motion by this active Governor.

“Cornwallis had prepared a number of light pontoons on wagons, and was ready for the march. The arrival of the French fleet under Count De Grasse had been the cause of this movement; the departure of the French fleet to engage the British under Admiral Greaves delayed it. Below him he saw the whole country in arms to oppose his retreat, while Green waited in the South to receive him on the point of the bayonette,” etc.

After reading the above it occurred to me that the Colonial Records ought to throw some light upon this subject. Investigation brings out plenty of evidence of the proposed invasion, and of the determination of the people of North Carolina to dispute his passage through the State to South Carolina.

The following extracts are from the State Records, Vol. XV., and are interesting, especially as they throw light on this matter.

Page 626. The following is a letter from Lafayette to Gen. Allen Jones. Dated. Ruffins, August 27, 1781:

DEAR SIR:—From the intelligencies lately received I am almost satisfied that the enemy mean to attempt a retreat through North Carolina, and as it is of the highest importance every obstruction should be thrown in their way, I request you will be particular in having every boat on the Roanoke collected and destroyed. I would not wish it delayed as they may fall into the enemy’s hands, and it would furnish them with the means of crossing and render your opposition more difficult. I wish you to collect, without loss of time, a sufficient number of militia to render these attempts ineffectual. \* \* \* \*

I have the honor to be, your obedient servant,

LAFAYETTE.

Page 629. Letter of Col. H. Murfree to Governor Burke:

MURFREE’S LANDING, September 1, 1781.

SIR:—I received your excellency’s favor of the 31st August, and observed its contents. I will lose no time in securing the boats, etc. \* \*

I am yours, etc.,

H. MURFREE

Page 630. Letter from Col. J. S. Wells to General Jones.

CAMP COWPER'S MILLS, September 1, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL:—I have the pleasure to inform you that the long expected French fleet has at last arrived in our Bay. \* \* \* \* In consequence of the said fleet's arrival, Lord Cornwallis is about moving from York to Jamestown and is getting his boats across from Queen's Creek to the College Landing, from thence to Jamestown and there to cross James River to Cobham, from that place to South Carolina. General Wayne and General Muhlenberg are on this side James River and I expect some of the French Frigates will go up the river in order to prevent his Lordship's crossing. But should he cross you may expect to see us in your quarter of the country. His Lordship must never be suffered to cross Roanoke. \* \* \* \*

Your most obedient servant,

JOHN SCK. WELLS, Collo.

Gen. W. Caswell to Governor Burke.

Under dates of September 4th, again on 8th, again on September 14th, Caswell wrote to Governor Burke that every provision was being made to fortify the country and put a large army in the field to dispute the march of Cornwallis should he attempt to cross the State.

The records show that the Militia was being collected and equipped in the whole State east of the Piedmont section. The people at that time were encouraged; they had gained considerable confidence in their power to resist the invading armies. Many of them had seen service during the campaigns in South Carolina and with Greene in west North Carolina. The officers knew better how to collect and maintain an army.

#### THE NORTH CAROLINA MILITIA OF REVOLUTIONARY TIMES.

Unjust criticisms have been heaped upon the North Carolina Militia during Revolutionary times. The youth of our country should know that historians were unjust to the men who served well their country at a time when valiant services were most needed. No doubt there were individuals in the ranks of the militia who were not brave soldiers.

An investigation of the services of the militia during those stormy years would give some idea of the valuable services rendered to the Cause of Liberty by the North Carolina Militia.

The first decided victory on the field of battle for Independence was gained by the North Carolina militia at Moore's Creek. Ramsour's Mill, Kings Mountain, Guilford Court House, and a hundred encounters with the Tories and British bore testimony to their bravery and courage. After the battle of Kings Mountain Cornwallis precipitately retreated from Charlotte to escape the North Carolina militia. A large number of the State Militia joined General Mogan's forces and helped to win the great victory at the Cowpens. The Tories were held in check through fear of the Militia in the disaffected sections of the State. A large number of the Militia went from the State to help the people of South Carolina.

At the battle of Camden Dixon's Brigade of North Carolina Militia was the last to leave the field. In the State Records, Vol. XV, page 384, is an interesting account of the bravery of this brigade of North Carolina Militia.

In that unfortunate battle General Gates had unadvisedly rushed his men into the battle unprepared for the conflict. Without proper precaution he had attempted to make a night attack on the British. The British were making the same kind of move during the night when they met in the darkness. The disastrous result is well known. The writer in the page named says:

"General Gates attempted to arrange the American troops in the darkness.

"At length the army was arranged in line of battle in the following order: General Gist's brigade on the right, the North Carolina Militia in close order, two deep, in the cen-

ter, and the Virginia Militia in like order with another corps on the left; the other troops were arranged in other parts of the field. \* \* \* The enemy attacked and drove in our light party in front, and after the first fire charged the Militia with bayonets, whereupon the whole gave way, except Colonel Dixon's regiment of North Carolina Militia; the British cavalry continuing to harass the rear such was the panic diffused through the whole that utmost and unremitting exertions of the Generals to rally them proved ineffectual. They ran like a torrent and bore all before them. This shameful desertion of the Militia gave the enemy an opportunity of bending their whole force against the Maryland troops and Dixon's North Carolina Militia. The conflict was obstinate and bloody, and lasted fifteen minutes. Dixon's Militia standing firm with the regulars of the Maryland line, and pushing bayonets to the last. They were then furiously charged by British horse whom they completely vanquished, allowing only two of the British to escape. These brave militiamen suffered greatly, having lost half of their number, and to their immortal honor made their retreat good. \* \* \* After this defeat the yeomanry of North Carolina immediately turned out unsolicited. An army was collected which consisted of between 4,000 and 5,000 men."

With such experiences with the North Carolina Militia, it is not surprising that Cornwallis hesitated to make another attempt to pass through the State.

NOTE.—Biographical Sketch of Prof. J. T. Alderman appeared in No. 3 Vol. VI, January, 1907.



## THE WHITE PICTURES.

BY W. J. PEELE.

The pictures of John White purport to have been painted on Roanoke Island, and if this did not appear from inspection, the execution of them there would have been presumed from their character and fidelity.

Any one who visits the Island now can still recognize the scenes, the ground plans, on which the pictures are laid. The Sounds, the Banks, the sand hills, the inlets and the Island itself with its outline and configuration, are unmistakable. Then, too, White was selected by Queen Elizabeth and sent there to paint what he saw, and had ample opportunity to do it, for he remained a year lacking five days. How well he executed his commission may be gathered from the fact that two years later he was sent over to our shores as the governor of "Virginia"—perhaps the only artist who ever held that office. The "lost colony" seems to have been a sufficient argument against the repetition of the experiment.

The originals are still in the British Museum, and fairly executed copies preserving the colors are in the Smithsonian Institute. These copies were made, I think, in 1845.

The copies before me are those reproduced in DeBry's edition of 1590, cut, as he says, in copper with great pains, and printed in Germany, with their descriptions subjoined, which appear to have been written by White himself. DeBry's book with the descriptions in four languages (or rather his four books, for he got out an English, Latin, French and German edition), was the joint product of several minds, among them Raleigh's, Hariot's, and Hakluyt's.

The title of DeBry's book (in modern spelling) is "The true pictures and fashions of the people of that part of Amer-

ica now called Virginia, discovered by Englishmen, sent thither in the year of our Lord 1585, at the special charge and direction of the Honorable Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight, Lord Warden of the Slannaries in the Duchies of Cornwall and Oxford, who therein hath been favored and autorified by her Majesty and her letters patent, translated into English by Richard Hakluyt, diligently collected and drawn by John White, who was sent thither specially for the same purpose by the said Sir Walter Raleigh, the year 1585 and also the year 1588, now cut in copper and first published by Theodore de Bry at his own charges."

There is no other record that White came over here in 1588. The writer probably meant 1587. The other date mentioned, 1585, if it referred to the discovery by Amidas and Barlowe, should be 1584; Lane's exploration in 1585 and 1586 were much more extensive, but they were not the first made by the English in eastern North Carolina.

The matter is set in a clearer light by giving the most material parts of De Bry's preface: "*To the Gentle Reader.*"

"\* \* \* I was very willing to offer unto you the true pictures of those people which by the help of Master Richard Hakluyt, of Oxford, minister of God's Word, who first encouraged me to publish the work, I carved out of the very original matter of Master John White, an English painter who was sent into the country by the Queen's Majesty only to draw the topography of the place and to describe in a manner true to life the forms of the inhabitants, their apparel, manner of living and their fashions, at the special charges of the worthy Knight, Sir Walter Raleigh, who bestowed no small sum of money in the search and discovery of that country from the year 1584 to the end of the year 1588.  
\* \* \* I carved them \* \* \* at London, and brought them hither to Frankfort, where I and my sons have taken earnest

pains in graving the pictures thereof in copper, seeing it is a matter of no small importance. \* \* \* I have caused it (the descriptions of the paintings) to be rendered into very good French and Latin by the aid of a very worshipful friend of mine. [Probably Hariot.]

“Finally, I heartily request thee [the reader] that if any seek to counterfeit them, my books, for in these days many are so malicious as that they seek to gain by other men’s labors, thou would give no credit unto such counterfeited draught. For divers secret marks lie hidden in my pictures which will breed confusion unless they be well observed.”

De Bry’s book contains twenty-three engravings. The first is Hariot’s map of Lane’s explorations, showing the Albemarle and Pamlico and Currituck Sounds, with their tributaries and islands, the Banks and their inlets. This is omitted in the copy in the State Library.

The ground plan of the second engraving, which serves also as a map, though its title “the arrival of the Englishmen in Virginia” indicates what it was intended to portray, centers around a boat load of pioneers approaching the village of Roanoke near the north end of the Island; or perhaps, the village itself is intended to be the central point. Behind the approaching pioneers is the inlet, Trinity Harbor, through which they have sailed, on either side of which two ships are riding at anchor in the ocean. Toward the village in front of them, one sitting in the prow of the boat is holding out a cross to indicate the pious purpose of their coming. Beyond what is now called Croatan Sound, some four or five miles from the Island, appears the village of Dassamonguepuek. On the north bank of what is now the Albemarle Sound, appears the village of Pasquenoke, of which the name Pasquotank may be a corruption. The entire view is less than thirty miles in any direction, and could be cov-

ered with a field glass on a fair day from a tower in Manteo. The miniature villages are surrounded by corn patches, and, when magnified show the surprising degree of skill with which they were sketched on so small a scale.

The description of the landing contains very suggestive material for the artist who will one day immortalize himself by working it into a great painting of the scene.

\* \* \* "Sailing further we came to a good big Island, the inhabitants thereof as soon as they saw us, began to make a great and horrible cry as people which had never before seen men appavelled like us, and ran away making outcries like wild beasts or men out of their wits. But being gently called back we offered them our wares, such as glass beads, knives, dolls, and other trifles which we thought they delighted in. So they stood still and perceiving our good will and courtesy came fawning upon us and bade us welcome. Then they brought us to their village in the Island called Roanoke and unto their Weroance or Prince, who entertained us with reasonable courtesy, although they were amazed at the first sight of us.

"Such was our arrival into the part of the world which we call Virginia, the statue of body of which people, their attire and manner of living, their feasts and banquets, I will particularly declare unto you."

I should add in conclusion that the White paintings should be elaborately discussed by one capable of judging them from an artist's standpoint. Recently Mr. Albert Sterner, under the auspices of the Historical Commission, visited Roanoke Island after first examining De Bry. How he was impressed is told in an article recently published in the *News and Observer*, which it may not be improper here to reproduce.

## THE SCENE OF A GREAT PAINTING—THE HISTORICAL COMMISSION SENDS MR. ALBERT STERNER TO ROANOKE ISLAND.

I had long thought it ought to be painted. It looked like a picture when I saw it in 1902—I mean the place where Amidas and Barlowe landed in 1584.

The little island was sleeping the sleep of centuries embowered in evergreens very much as it was when the English knelt there to thank God for the new possession. The long yellow banks glistened in the sunlight. The blue Atlantic rolled beyond. Some two or three hundred yards from Fort Raleigh is a little cove on the island shore filled in by the waters of Roanoke Sound. It is almost opposite the fort, and with the water a little deeper, as it may well have been then, it was almost an ideal place for the landing. North Carolina has made no memorial of this first great step in the trans-continental march of the Anglo-Saxon race. Centuries have gone by and the spread of the all-conquering race is arrested only by the Pacific. Monuments and memorials have been erected along the lines of its progress, but it has forgotten its cradle on the shores of the Old North State.

In a few months many tens of thousands of Americans will return to a spot in Virginia a little more than a hundred miles away to do honor to the memories which rightly cluster about it, and North Carolina has stretched to her sister across her border a generous hand of congratulation. Shall she do any thing for herself?

Framed by the banks of "Hatorask" on the east and the land of Dassamonguepuek on the west, and set an emerald in the golden waters of its four sounds, the island is as perfect a picture as it was when Queen Elizabeth sent John White to paint it. And he did paint it in a little picture nine by six inches which escaped the great London fire of 1666 and is

still preserved in the British Museum. The reproduction of this picture "The Coming of the English into Virginia"—North Carolina—on a great canvas by an artist of national and international fame is one of the debts which the State owes to herself—owes to her sister States—to the race which begun its new home here—its last and greatest home—owes to posterity—owes to the world whose representative peoples are about to assemble near our shores.

In December Mr. Albert Sterner, of New York, who illustrates for the great Northern periodicals, visited the island at the request of the Historical Commission. The people did not know he was coming and the regular boat was out of repair so there was nothing but a gas freight boat to take him from Elizabeth City to Manteo.

Nothing daunted, however, he went accompanied by his wife, herself an artist in temperament and enthusiasm. There was some natural hesitation at the accommodations or rather the lack of them, but the London historian, Mr. Withington, whom he had along with him and who had been everywhere and seen everything was delighted at the prospect of a terra incognita. Soon the little freight boat was gliding down the chocolate colored waters of the Pasquotank River. The sun, near its setting, struggled hard with the mists up the sound until finally, no bigger than a bull's eye, it was snuffed out. Light breezes were behind us and I suppose they bore pleasant odors with them, but we were sitting over an oil stove and fumes of this emphasized by those of the gasoline in front of us were quite sufficient to swallow up any faint aromas from the woods. In six hours we were at Manteo. Thawed out we chartered a boat for our return—the freight boat was to start back at five o'clock a. m.

A noise like that of a dozen freight trains loaded with bass drums was echoing up into the sky. It was the Atlantic

growling down the banks toward Hatteras in token of wind the next day. This we got in due season according to promise and some of our much traveled party got sea-sick on the Albemarle Sound.

The sun rose fine the next morning for those of us who got up with it. Our historian and his wife rose considerably before it, and he escaped from his exploration wet to his knees. This did not disturb him at all, however, for in a few minutes he was whizzing along through the frosty air on the road to Fort Raleigh. The sub-tropical evergreens—live oak, the yupon and the holly—brightened our way. We had sent the boat round to meet us toward the north end of the island near where the colonists landed. Out of the vehicles we made our way from the fort some two or three hundred yards to the shore of Roanoke Sound, and this was the place we had brought the great artist all the way from New York to see. Up the shore a few straggling pines, relics of the primeval forests, sentinelled the outskirts of the woods and marked the undulations of the shore. The little cove where probably the first boat load of colonists drew ashore curved gracefully inland. The quick eye of the artist caught the scene, and his bosom swelled with enthusiasm as he saw for the first time how well nature had framed “the cradle of the Anglo-American race.” Behind him were the woods bedecked with evergreen. In front of him the yellow waters of Roanoke Sound brightened in the sunshine. Beyond stretched the banks, down which a flock of wild geese were proceeding in their orderly flight.

“The picture is worthy of the event,” were almost the first words that escaped him. And this was always what I expected. He spoke little, but his enthusiasm was contagious as he strode up and down the sands of that historic spot. The scene which White painted on the island in his “true pic-

tures" of more than three centuries ago arose before him. He saw the coming boat freighted with the pioneers of the nation which is called "time's noblest off-spring and the last." He saw the Indians who first fled with "horrible cries" and then came fawning back upon their conquerors. He saw the village of Roanoke with its rude houses of bark. "They have robbed you of your birthright," exclaimed his wife—and she never knew it till she saw the paintings and the picture before her which verified them. But have they done it? We shall see.

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## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF CONTRIBUTORS.

COMPILED AND EDITED BY MRS. E. E. MOFFITT.

### RICHARD BENBURY CREECY.

The subject of this sketch was one of the first contributors to the BOOKLET. In volume 1st, No. 5, he wrote a sketch of that heroic maiden, Betsy Dowdy, of Currituck Beach, who made the famous midnight ride to carry news of the probable invasion of the Albemarle section by the British troops under Lord Dunmore. Col. Creecy has given a graphic account of this incident introduced by these memorable lines:

“ Oh woman timid as a child  
When skies are bright, serene and mild:  
Let evil come with angry brow,  
A lion-hearted hero thou.”

This is but another recorded instance that North Carolina had her heroines as well as her heroes; tho' history has usually been silent concerning them.

Col. Creecy, one of the ablest editors in our State, was born December 19, 1813, on Drummond's Point, the oldest settlement in North Carolina on Albemarle Sound.

He is descended from Job Creecy, a Huguenot emigrant from France, a representative of that branch of Christians noted in general for their austere virtues and the singular purity of their lives.

He is also descended from General Thomas Benbury, one of the leading statesmen of the Revolution, a member of the Provincial Congress of August 25, 1774, also member of the Edenton District Committee of Safety; paymaster of the 5th Regiment, who fought at the battle of Great Bridge, which engagement was so successful for the Americans that the British troops were forced to retreat.

Col. Creecy is also descended from William Skinner, who was Brigadier-General of State troops; Treasurer of the

Eastern District under Governor Caswell, and rendered in other ways important service during the Revolutionary War. With such sturdy and patriotic ancestors it is no wonder that the subject of this sketch holds on so tenaciously to life—a life filled with service for his State and country.

Col. Creecy was educated in the best schools that the State afforded, was graduated from the State University in 1835, studied law and obtained his license in 1842. After three years he abandoned the practice of law and devoted himself to agricultural pursuits. In 1870, finding that his tastes were inclined to journalism and other lines of literary work, he founded the "*Elizabeth City Economist*," a paper which he has continued to publish to the present time, and which has a large circulation in Eastern North Carolina. His productions are considered of such literary merit, wit and humor and philosophy combined, as to enlist the attention of a reader from start to finish.

His article on the history of the Albemarle section has made the characters of the Revolution such living actors that their names have become household words with later generations. Would that every section of our beloved State had a historian like he—one to write a "Grandfather's Tales" for the children from the mountains to the sea.

Col. Creecy has never sought political preferment, which in many instances "blunts the edge of husbandry;" his line of work has been in the path of duty. Imbued with a generous ambition and a passionate love for his State and its honorable history, he has rescued from oblivion many facts that substantiate the claim that North Carolina stands foremost in the great struggle for liberty.

Col. Creecy has written many reminiscences that are keys to the book of history, opening the way to diligent research. His productions embrace a diversity of subjects, including history, biography, legends and poetry. One of his books,

called "Grandfather's Tales of North Carolina History," is widely read and highly recommended. The dedication, is its keynote. "To the youth of North Carolina I dedicate this volume, with the earnest hope that they will learn from its pages some lessons of patriotism, and will be strengthened in their love for their native State by these memorials of the past that I have sought to perpetuate for their benefit."

In November, 1844, Col. Creecy was married to Miss Mary B. Perkins, whose ancestors figured conspicuously in the Revolutionary War in defense of their country. Numerous descendants live to do him honor.

Capt. Ashe, in his biographical sketch, says: "Being asked for some suggestion that might be helpful to young people Col. Creecy suggests 'honesty, integrity, friendliness, timeliness, godliness, benevolence, cheerfulness, firmness in the right, modest assurance, and a careful study of great speeches by great men.'"

In conclusion we quote the following from a recent issue of *Leslie's Weekly*:

"One of the most interesting characters in the country, especially in the view of newspaper men, is Colonel R. B. Creecy, editor of the *Economist*, published at Elizabeth City, N. C., who bears the distinction of being the oldest editor in active work in the United States. Colonel Creecy is in his ninety-second year and still wields the editorial pen. He claims four longevities, being also the oldest living graduate of the University of North Carolina, and according to a leading Boston publication, an authority on the subject, the oldest long-seine fisherman in the world, having in early life established the Greenfield fishery on Albemarle Sound, which is still in existence. He studied and mastered stenography at the age of seventeen, and thus holds that there can be no older stenographer living than he."

**WILLIAM JOSEPH PEELE.**

William J. Peele, the subject of this sketch, was born in Northampton County, North Carolina. Was graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1879. Settled in Raleigh. In 1880 he studied law under Hon. George V. Strong, in which year he was granted license to practice.

In entering on his career as a citizen of his native State he made its advancement a matter of study. The needs of an Agricultural and Mechanical College for the State was among the first things that claimed his attention, and was pressed by Mr. Peele and others to a successful realization, and, to-day, with its fine equipment and its long roll of students, attests its growing influence and stands as a monument to the promoters of the scheme. When the corner-stone of this great State institution was laid, on August the 22d, 1888, Mr. Peele delivered the historical address, which was a masterly effort, breathing such love of State as to inspire his hearers to greater individual effort to advance its interests. When the college was re-organized and Dr. George T. Winston was elected President, Mr. Peele was a member of the board of trustees, and took a most active interest in the plans for its enlargement.

Mr. Peele, with his keen sense of observation, foreseeing the possibilities that lay in waiting for active workers, was instrumental in the establishment of the State Literary and Historical Association, and was for several years chairman of its executive committee. Its chief purposes were:

*First.* To promote the reading habit among the people of North Carolina.

*Second.* To stimulate the production of literature in our State.

*Third.* To collect and preserve historical material.

In carrying out these purposes the Association had in mind "the improvement of the public schools, in the establishment of public libraries, in the formation of literary clubs, in the collection and re-publication of North Carolina literature worthy to be preserved and now rapidly passing away, in the publication of an annual record or biography of North Carolina literary productions, in the collection of historical material and the foundation of an historical museum, and in the correction of slanders, misrepresentations and other injustice done the State."

Mr. Peele was one of the prime factors in this movement, the results of which are apparent, one of the most important being the establishment of libraries in the public schools.

Mr. Peele has written much on the settlement of Roanoke Island, emphasizing the fact that Sir Walter Raleigh is the central figure in the English colonization of America; that on North Carolina shores was the first landing and settlement of Sir Walter Raleigh's colonies on Roanoke Island, the birthplace of Virginia Dare, the first Anglo-American and the cradle of American civilization. Through this apparent failure of Raleigh to colonize America, by his repeated efforts he became the inspiration of the Jamestown expedition, and now, while the great exposition at Jamestown is attracting the attention of the world, North Carolina is coming forward to do her part to make the celebration worthy of the man and of the events he inspired.

Mr. Peele compiled a chronological compendium of the principal events in the life of Sir Walter Raleigh, from 1552 to 1618, which shows beyond controversy that *Sir Walter Raleigh* was the statesman who wrested our continent from Spain, the pioneer who first planted the seeds of law and liberty and Anglo-Saxon civilization in America.

In the year 1898 Mr. Peele published in permanent form a

work entitled "Lives of Distinguished North Carolinians," a handsome volume of 605 pages, printed in excellent taste—an ornament to the men whose virtues it illustrates. This introduction is intended to embrace that period in which were cast the lives and labors of the subjects of the book, and showing how history is being miswritten to the prejudice of the South, and has been for a century. This book is the product of twenty-four minds, and among them the brightest the State has afforded. The *lives* and the best labors of these men are brought together and edited by Mr. Peele—had he done no other literary work than this, sufficient to say, he is entitled to the plaudits of the whole citizenship of the State.

Mr. Peele is now chairman of the Historical Commission, which was established by the Legislature in 1903. This Commission consists of five members, who are appointed by the Governor of the State. It is hoped that he may assist in adding other publications to the permanent history and literature of the State.

THE BOOKLET is indebted to Mr. Peele for an article published two years ago, entitled "The First English Settlement in America," a study in location, he showed that Amedas and Barlow came through an inlet north of Roanoke Island, and fixed their landing place at the north end of the island, thus preserving the historical value of John White's pictures and laying the foundation for a great painting, which will ultimately be made by an artist worthy of the undertaking.

I have recently seen reproductions  
of these pictures which are in the upper  
part of the Hall of History in the New  
Administration Building in Raleigh, N.C.;  
I am, I think, very glad to see  
the kindness of Mr. Beecher Cameron.

# GENERAL SOCIETY DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION:

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## THE SOCIETY AND ITS OBJECTS.

The Society Daughters of the Revolution was organized August 20, 1891, and was incorporated the following September as a society national in its character and purposes. The terms of membership of this Society are based upon *direct descent* from Revolutionary ancestors.

The objects of the Society as stated in the Constitution are:—"to perpetuate the patriotic spirit of the men and women who achieved American Independence; to commemorate prominent events connected with the War of the Revolution; to collect, publish and preserve the rolls, records and historic documents relating to that period; to encourage the study of the country's history, and to promote sentiments of friendship and common interest among the members of the Society."

## ELIGIBILITY TO MEMBERSHIP.

Any woman shall be eligible to membership in the Daughters of the Revolution who is above the age of 18 years, of good character, and a lineal descendant of an ancestor who—

- (1) was signer of the Declaration of Independence, a member of the Continental Congress, or a member of the Congress, Legislature, or General Court of any of the Colonies or States; or—
- (2) rendered civil, military or naval service under the authority of any of the thirteen Colonies, or of the Continental Congress; or—
- (3) by service rendered during the War of the Revolution became liable to the penalty of treason against the government of Great Britain:—

provided that such ancestor always remained loyal to the cause of American Independence.

## APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Every application for membership in this Society must be made in duplicate upon a form furnished by the Board of Managers, must be signed by the applicant and acknowledged before a notary. The endorsement of two members of the Society, or of two persons of acknowledged standing in the community in which the applicant resides, is also required. Such applications should be presented to the Secretary of the Society of the State in which the applicant resides; where no State Society exists, applications may be addressed to the Recording Secretary-General. The names and addresses of State secretaries will be furnished upon application to the Corresponding Secretary-General.

In filling out application blanks candidates are kindly requested to observe the following directions:

1. See that the line of descent is clearly stated, give the maiden names of all female ancestors, and also furnish dates of birth and death where possible. It is not necessary to show the pedigree any farther back than the ancestor from whom eligibility is derived.

2. If the applicant is married, give own maiden name and also full name, title and address of husband.

3. Write all proper names *legibly*; this is especially necessary with family name since there are often differences in old-time and modern spelling of such.

4. The record of the ancestors' service should be given fully but concisely. Give exact title of all books of reference, naming page and paragraph; where possible send a certified copy of State or pension records. This will be returned after the application has been accepted.

The Society does not accept Encyclopedias, Genealogical Works, or Town and County Histories, except such as contain *Rosters*, as authorities for proofs of service.



Reference to authorities in manuscript must be accompanied by certified copies, and authentic family records must be submitted, if required.

5. Send the initiation fee of \$2.00 and the first year's dues with the application paper. Should the application not be accepted both will be returned.

When an applicant claims descent from more than one Revolutionary ancestor, then "Supplemental" applications must be made in duplicate for each ancestor; these are treated in form and procedure precisely as original applications. A fee of one dollar is charged for each supplemental paper filed.

#### PROOFS OF SERVICE.

In seeking proofs of service, the applicant must first know from which of the Thirteen Original States the ancestor served; and, if possible, the town and county. When writing officials simply ask for "the military service of . . . . . of . . . . ., said to have been a soldier in the Revolutionary War," and they will inform you precisely what rank, length of service, etc., the records show. If the applicant has reason to believe an ancestor drew a pension under the acts of Congress of 1818 or 1832 the record of military service may be obtained by writing to Commissioner of Pensions, Washington, D. C.

Heitman's Historical Register contains the names, rank and service of the Officers of the Continental Army, and is accepted as an official record.

Applicants are referred to the following officials and records for certificates of military service:

MASSACHUSETTS.—The State has published nine volumes of the names of Revolutionary soldiers. These volumes are in the Library of the General Society, and may be found in all large reference libraries throughout the country. For names not contained in these volumes, applications may be

made to the Secretary of State, Boston, Mass. A fee is charged for this service.

VERMONT.—Gen. T. S. Peck, Adjutant-General, Montpelier.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.—Secretary of State, Concord.

RHODE ISLAND.—Secretary of State, Providence.

NORTH CAROLINA.—Mrs. Helen deB. Wills, Raleigh.

A fee of one to three dollars is charged by State officials for looking up records and furnishing a certificate of service.

#### INITIATION FEES AND DUES.

The initiation fee is two dollars and the annual dues for members at large are three dollars, payable to the Treasurer-General on or before the first day of April in each year. Applicants who enter through State Societies pay their annual dues to the State Society in which their names are enrolled. The fiscal year for all members begins on the first day of April and closes on the thirty-first day of March in each calendar year.

#### INSIGNIA, ETC.

The insignia of the Society is a badge of gold and blue enamel suspended from a gold bar by a ribbon of buff edged with blue. This may be obtained on receipt of check or money order for ten dollars, payable to Miss Mary A. Kent, Treasurer-General. Miniature badge, one dollar; stationery stamped with the seal of the Society, sixty and seventy-five cents per box, may be obtained at the office of the Society. Engrossed certificate of membership, three dollars.

The office of the General Society is Room 901, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, and is open daily except Sunday, from 10 to 4 o'clock.

Communications concerning the Society and inquiries may be addressed to Mrs. John A. Heath, Corresponding Secretary-General.

## ABSTRACTS OF WILLS.

From Secretary of State's Office, North Carolina. (Historical and Geneological Register.)

Samuel Scolley, Bertie county, Feb. 18th, 1752, Mrs. Mary Fullington, alias Davis, spouse of Robert Davis, deceased; brother, Jerman, Robert Scolley of Lerwick, friend Dr. William Cathcart; Robert Todd, of Norfolk, Va., beloved sons-in-law Cullen and Thomas Pollock. I give unto Tully Williams his father's sword.

Elizabeth Scolley,\* Bertie; Dec. 1st, 1766, sons, Thomas and Cullen Pollock; children of Richard Sanderson, children of Tully Williams, Frances Lenox, wife of Dr. Robert Lenox, John Scolley, of Boston, Peggy and Fanny Cathcart; Sarah Black, daughter of Joseph, Thomas Black, son of Joseph, Sophia Rasor, daughter of Edward; former husband Thomas Pollock; Thomas Pollock, Dr. Robert Lexon, Richard Sanderson and Joseph Blount, Executors. Test. Henry Hardison, Fred'k Hardison, . . . . .

Thomas Sprott; Anson, January 5th, 1757—Son John Clark, daughters Mary Barnett; Ann Barnett, Susannah Polk and Martha Sprott; son Thomas, wife, Andrew Sprott and Thomas Polk, executors. Test. William Barnett, James Sprott, James Campbell.

Isaac Hunter, of Chowan, April 17th, 1752. April Court, 1753; sons Elisha, Jesse, Isaac and Daniel, daughter Allee Perry daughter Elizabeth Perry, daughter Hannah Riddick, daughter Rachel Walton, daughter Sarah Hunter; grandchildren, son and daughter of my daughter Jane, namely, Jesse Phillips, and Mary Perry and Sarah Fields. Zilpha Parker, daughter of Jonathan Parker.

MRS. H. DEB. WILLS,  
*Genealogist.*

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\* First husband was John Crisp; second, Thomas Pollock; third, Samuel Scolley, formerly of Boston. Tully Williams' wife was sister of Mrs. Scolley. Frances Lennox was daughter of Cullen Pollock. Peggy and Frances Cathcart were daughters of Dr. William Cathcart, and second wife Prudence West.



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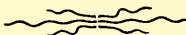
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