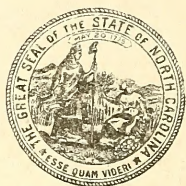




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VOL. V.

JULY, 1905

No. 1

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."

---

PUBLISHED BY  
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY  
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION.

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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.

EDITORS.

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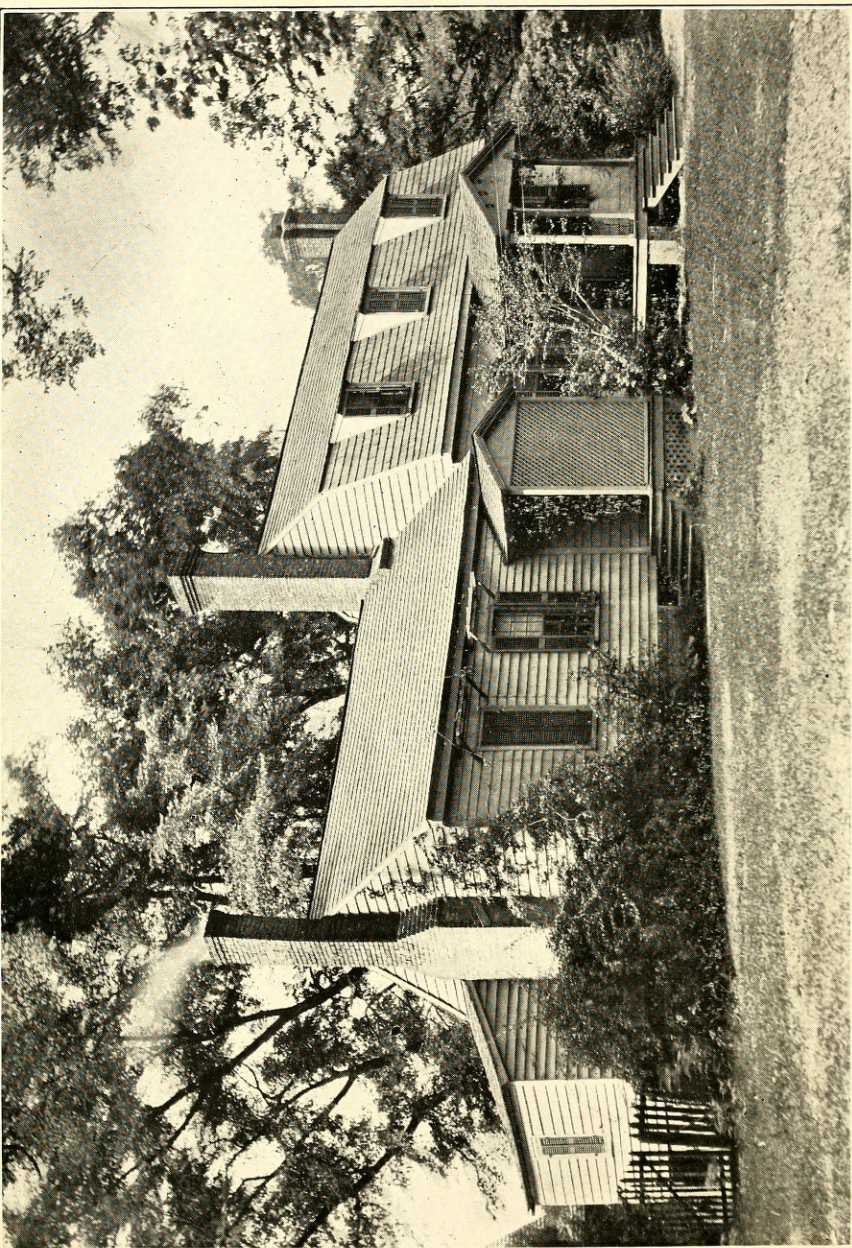
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\*Died December 12, 1904.







JOEL LANE HOUSE IN PRESENT CITY OF RALEIGH  
MEETING PLACE OF NORTH CAROLINA REVOLUTIONARY ASSEMBLY IN JUNE 1781.



# THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET.

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Vol. V.

JULY, 1905.

No. 1.

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## THE GENESIS OF WAKE COUNTY.

BY MARSHALL DELANCEY HAYWOOD.

When the editors of *THE BOOKLET* requested me to prepare a sketch bearing in some way upon the history of Wake County, no particular period or epoch was assigned me. Thus having a space of more than one hundred and thirty years from which to choose my subject, I have decided that nothing more profitable can be selected than to start with "*In the beginning*"—and so I term this brief dissertation *THE GENESIS OF WAKE COUNTY*. I shall endeavor to tell something of the county's origin, of its colonial history, and of the part its people bore in the War of the Revolution, closing with the year 1783, when Great Britain acknowledged North Carolina (with her sister colonies) to be a "free, sovereign, and independent State." My narrative will close about ten years before the foundation of the City of Raleigh, which is the State capital of North Carolina and what our English ancestors would call the "shire-town" of Wake County.

Probably the first white man who ever set foot in the area which is now embraced in Wake county was John Lawson, the explorer and historian, who made his journey in 1700 and crossed Neuse River at the northern end of the present county of Wake, about five miles from where the village and college of Wake Forest now stand. Speaking of the falls of the river (which he called a creek), Lawson says: "We went about 10 Miles, and sat down at the Falls of a

large Creek, where lay mighty Rocks, the Water making a strange Noise, as if a great many Water-Mills were going at once. I take this to be the Falls of *Neus-Creek*, called by the *Indians*, *Wee quo Whom.*” Another early reference to the land now lying in Wake county is found on a large map made by “Capt. John Collet, Governor of Fort Johnston,” dedicated to King George the Third, and published by an Act which passed the British Parliament on May 1, 1770. This map gives Neuse River (spelling it Nuse), and also shows many of that river’s tributaries which flow through Wake county, and are still known by the same names. Among these are the two streams on the north and south of the present city of Raleigh, viz.: Crabtree Creek, and Walnut Creek (which Collet calls “Walnut Tree Creek”); also Middle Creek further down, which is now partly in Johnston county. Then, on the eastern side of Neuse River, going up-stream, we find New Light Creek, Beaver Dam Creek, and the Ledge of Rocks. One error in Collet’s map is representing Richland Creek as forming part of the headwaters of Crabtree, when, in fact, it is on the northern side of Neuse River, flowing into the river a few miles below the Falls, while Crabtree Creek is on the southern side of the river.

The county of Wake was brought into existence when England’s reigning monarch was George the Third and when William Tryon was Royal Governor of the Colony of North Carolina. It is named in honor of Governor Tryon’s wife whose maiden name was Margaret Wake. With the exception of Dare county, it is the only county in the State named for a woman. Though it was not fully organized till 1771, its origin was about the end of the year 1770 when a bill was introduced into the Lower House of the Legislature of the Colony at New Bern, on December 23d, providing for the creation of Wake county; and the Upper House, or Governor’s Council, passed the bill on the 27th of the same



month, thus making it a law—Chapter XXII of the Public Laws of 1770. This Act, a somewhat lengthy document of sixteen sections, sets forth as a reason for the creation of the new county that “the large extent of the said counties of Johnston, Cumberland, and Orange, renders it grievous and burthensome to many of the inhabitants thereof to attend the Courts, General Musters, and Public Meetings therein.” The territory at first included in Wake county was taken from the three counties named in the above quoted extract. By the Act referred to, Joel Lane, Theophilus Hunter, Hardy Sanders, Joseph Lane, John Hinton, Thomas Hines, and Thomas Crawford were appointed commissioners to lay off land on which to erect a Court-House, Jail, Stocks, etc., and Joel Lane, James Martin, and Theophilus Hunter were authorized to contract with workmen for the erection of the said buildings and stocks. Joel Lane, John Smith, Theophilus Hunter, Farquard Campbell, and Walter Gibson were then directed to run the boundary as specified in the Act creating the county. This law will be found in the Revisal published by James Davis at New Bern in 1773. According to its own provisions, said Act was not to take effect till March 12, 1771.

During the year in which Wake county was taking shape as a territory separate and distinct from its mother counties of Johnston, Orange, and Cumberland, North Carolina was in the throes of a small civil war—what is known is history as the Insurrection of the Regulators. The chief seat of trouble was in Orange county; and in Wake (a part of what had been Orange) there was also some disaffection to the government, but no acts of violence and incendiarism by the Regulators occurred here, as was the case in Orange, Granville, and other counties. As early as 1768 Governor Tryon had gone with some colonial militia against the Regulators; but, on that expedition, there was no blood-shed, as the Regulators agreed to cease their lawlessness. In this

expedition of 1768 one of the officers in the Governor's army was Major John Hinton who appeared at the head of a detachment from Johnston county. By the Act of 1770, creating Wake, Major Hinton's plantation was included in the new county. Thereupon Governor Tryon promoted him to the rank of Colonel and called for his services in a second expedition against the Regulators in the early Spring of 1771. The chief place of rendezvous for the colonial militia, which served under Tryon, was Wake Cross-roads, about where Raleigh now stands. The Governor's own headquarters were at a country-seat called Hunter's Lodge, owned by the elder Theophilus Hunter, on the present Fayetteville Road, two or three miles south of Raleigh. This place is now owned by Ransom Hinton, Esq., a descendant both of Colonel John Hinton and Theophilus Hunter. Hunter's Lodge is not the same as Spring Hill, a neighboring plantation later owned by Theophilus Hunter, junior. Near Wake Cross-roads Governor Tryon tarried with his troops from May 2d till May 8th, and then set out towards the scene of the disturbances. About a week later, on May 16, 1771, was fought the Battle of Alamance, where the insurgents were defeated and scattered by the Governor's little army of North Carolina militia—a force about half their own number. In this expedition the Wake county troops under Colonel Hinton acquitted themselves with honor, and received high commendation for the part they bore in the battle.

At the beginning of Tryon's march from Wake Cross-roads it was found necessary for his Corps of Engineers to cut a new road, as the old one—the "Granville Tobacco Path"—was too rough for artillery to pass over. The new thoroughfare was called Ramsgate Road. By the mellowing process of time, Ramsgate assumed a more sentimental form and became *Ramcat*, also giving its name to a section of our county where the more cultured classes write it Rham-



katte. The latter locality, as everyone knows, is a great trade center which supplies Raleigh with light-wood, 'possums, and blackberries, and even begins to threaten the commercial supremacy of our sister county of Chatham in its chief source of support, the rabbit industry.

But my tribute to Rhamkatte has caused me to digress from the course of this narrative, which has to do with the history in general of Wake county. The Charter of the new county was signed by Governor Tryon, in the name of the King, on May 22, 1771, while he was on the Alamance expedition, and this important document was entrusted to the personal care of Colonel John Hinton, who presented it in open court after his return home.

In the early days of Wake county the chief legal tribunal of a county in North Carolina was called the "Inferior Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions." It was composed of all (or a quorum) of the Justices of the Peace meeting in joint session four times yearly. There were also Judicial Districts in the Colony. These districts were composed of several counties, over all of which the "Superior Court" had higher jurisdiction than the above county courts. The Superior Courts were the highest tribunals in the Colony, and their sessions were presided over by the Chief Justice of North Carolina and two "Assistant Judges." Wake county was in what was known as the Hillsborough District, and all of its business with the Superior Court had to be transacted at the town of Hillsborough. The lawyers of that day often came down from Hillsborough, and from other localities, even Virginia, to appear in the Wake Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions. On its Docket between 1771 and 1783 we find the names of a number of practicing attorneys, among whom were Bromfield Ridley, John Kinchen, John Rand, James Forsyth, Joseph Taylor, David Gordon, D'Arcy Fowler, James Williams, John Bonton, John Penn, Henry Gifford, Henry Lightfoot, James Spiller, and Alex-



ander Gray. Some of these gentlemen regularly resided in Wake county. Penn lived in Granville and was afterwards a signer of the National Declaration of Independence.

The first Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions for the county of Wake met on June 4, 1771. There were present Theophilus Hunter, Presiding Justice, and the following Justices: Joel Lane, Joseph Lane, Benjamin Hardy, James Martin, Hardy Sanders, Abraham Hill, Thomas Wootten, James Jones, Thomas Crawford, and Tingnall Jones. Among other officers present were Michael Rogers, High Sheriff; John Rogers and James Alford, Deputy Sheriffs; John Rice, Clerk of the Court and Deputy Clerk for the Crown in the county of Wake; and Bromfield Ridley, King's Deputy Attorney. It is recorded that when another session of this Court met it was at "Bloomsberry, in the County of Wake." Bloomsberry, more properly Bloomsbury, was the name of a hamlet erected at Wake Cross-roads, the present site of the city of Raleigh. The hamlet of Bloomsbury was also known as Wake Court-House.

In days prior to the Revolution, and for some time after that war, it was the law that any person convicted of perjury should have both his ears cropped off by the common hangman and nailed to the pillory. One ear was so cropped for subornation of perjury. Hence any person who was "crop-eared" was always regarded with distrust. But occasionally a citizen was deprived of his ear without due process of law, in consequence of the cannibalistic propensity of some adversary with whom he was engaged in a rough and tumble fight—or "battle," as the old records would say. When such a misfortune befell a man, he generally went into court and had an entry made of the fact that his ear had been bitten off, and not cropped for perjury or subornation thereof. There are several entries of this class on the old records of Wake county. At September Term, 1771,

we find the following: "Averington McKelroy came into court, and by the oath of Mr. Isaac Hunter proved that he unluckily lost a piece from the top of his right ear by Jacob Odem's biting it off in a battle." Nor was Mr. McKelroy the only belligerent who was wounded in battle by a sharp-toothed antagonist; for, by a formal entry made at September Term, 1772, of the above court, we are also informed: "James Murr came into court and produced John Patterson, a witness to prove how and in what manner he lost his ear, who made oath that after a battle between said Murr and one Wagstaff Cannady, he (the said Patterson) found a piece of his (Murr's) ear on the ground: to wit the right ear." Those "good old-fashioned customs" will never come again—and for this may the Lord make us thankful!

There is a homely old proverb, perhaps familiar to some of my readers, which says: "Never trust a nigger with a gun." Our forefathers in the Colonial Assembly, it would seem, went even further and were not even willing to trust a nigger with a club. In examining the proceedings of the court of Wake County, at September Term, 1774, we find the following order: "Whereas, it hath lately been a practice of sundry slaves in this county, especially upon Crab Tree and Walnut Creeks, to carry clubs loaded on the ends with lead or pewter, contrary to the Act of Assembly, to the annoyance of the inhabitants, which may be attended with dangerous and evil consequences, the court therefore appoints the chairman to cause to be put up advertisements at the court-house and other public places in this county, requiring the masters, mistresses, or overseers of slaves, to prohibit their slaves from carrying such unlawful weapons, certifying to them at the same time that, if they therein fail, the magistrates will strictly put in execution the law against such an evil and dangerous practice."

On October 6, 1772, Colonel John Hinton made a list of the officers of his regiment of Wake County troops, and this



roster is here given; for so many of the officers therein, now have descendants living in Wake County and elsewhere that it will doubtless be of interest. The following is a copy in full:

Colonel—John Hinton.

Lieutenant-Colonel—Joel Lane.

Major—Theophilus Hunter.

Captains—Simon Turner, John Hinton, junior, James Moore, Samuel Pearson, Nathaniel Jones, Edward Mobley, Jeremiah Mobley, Michael Rogers, Sandy Sanders, William Simms, and William Anderson Fowler.

Lieutenants—John Myatt, Swann Thompson, Edward Mobley, junior, John Beddingfield, Tingnall Jones, Dempsey Powell, Jacob Utley, Isham Hendor, and Mosier Jones.

Ensigns—Andrew Collins, Reuben Rogers, Jacob Bledsoe, Joshua Sugg, Thomas Philips, Aaron Rogers, Etheldred Jones, Joel Simms, and Godfrey Fowler.

The gentlemen who held the office of High Sheriff of the county of Wake from the foundation of the county to the close of the Revolution, were the following: Michael Rogers, from the foundation of the county till June, 1773; Thomas Hines, from June, 1773, till June, 1777; Thomas Wootten, from June, 1777, till September, 1780; Hardy Sanders, from September, 1780, till September, 1782; and Britain Sanders, from September, 1782, till after American independence was acknowledged. During the days of our colonial existence the office of High Sheriff was one not only of importance but of the greatest honor as well, as has always been the case in Great Britain, where even now some of the principal peers hold the title as an hereditary honor—the Duke of Montrose being hereditary High Sheriff of Dumbartonshire, the Duke of Argyll hereditary High Sheriff of Argyllshire, with other noblemen of like rank who might be mentioned.

At the beginning of the War of the Revolution, field-officers for the troops of Wake County were appointed by



the Provincial Congress of North Carolina at Hillsborough on the 9th of September, 1775, as follows: John Hinton, Colonel; Theophilus Hunter, Lieutenant-Colonel; John Hinton, junior, First Major; and Thomas Hines, Second Major. These officers were re-elected to the same ranks by the Provincial Congress of North Carolina at Halifax on the 22d of April, 1776. At a later period Thomas Wootten was also Colonel; and Michael Rogers, Lieutenant-Colonel, the latter being appointed in February, 1778. There may have been some other changes also.

About the beginning of January, 1776, there was a great uprising of the Tories of North Carolina, chiefly among the Highland Scotch of the Cape Fear section, with some of the old Regulators from further west; and Wake County was called upon to do her part in suppressing the out-break. Colonel Hinton then marched eastward with a detachment of his regiment, which became a part of Colonel Richard Caswell's command, numbering about eight hundred. These later united with the lesser command of Colonel Alexander Lillington, after which the joint forces (about a thousand men) gave battle to a vastly superior force of Loyalists at Moore's Creek Bridge, on the 27th of February, 1776. The scene of this fight was then in New Hanover County, but is now a part of the county of Pender. The result was one of the most crushing defeats which ever befell the King's troops in America. Colonel Caswell (later General and Governor), who commanded in this battle, afterwards spoke in high terms of the bravery there displayed by Colonel Hinton.

A good deal of recruiting was done in Wake County while the war was in progress. In the Summer of 1781, one of the French volunteer officers, Francis Marquis of Malmedy, mustered into his regiment a company of Wake Light Horse. Of this company Solomon Wood was Captain, Mark Myatt was Lieutenant, and Thomas Gray was Cornet.

In connection with the last named rank (now no longer in use) it may be mentioned that a Cornet was a commissioned officer in a cavalry company whose duty it was to carry the colors of his troop.

While the above Whigs were striving for independence, the Tories were by no means inactive, though few could stay in Wake County. When a man refused to take the oath of allegiance to the new State government, he was ordered to move out of North Carolina. Alexander Munn and Sampson Strickland were driven out for so refusing, and there may have been others. Munn's property, with that of other Loyalists, was later confiscated by Chapter VI. of The Laws of 1781. He went to Nova Scotia in 1783.

There were some men who attempted to shirk the military duty which the law required of them during the Revolution. Of this class was one Timothy Duck, who failed to appear when summoned for military duty in April, 1781. At that time Colonel Thomas Wootten commanded the militia forces of Wake County. In accordance with a power which was given him by law, Colonel Wootten ordered the Sheriff to seize and sell Duck's plantation. With the proceeds of this sale, John Abernethie was hired as a substitute, and the unfortunate Duck had to hunt for another nest.

The most active and daring partisan in North Carolina on the Tory side during the Revolution was Colonel David Fanning, a native of what afterwards became the county of Wake, though that part of Wake was in Johnston at the time of his birth. The deeds of blood committed by him in his native State fill a volume which he prepared, entitled *Fanning's Narrative*. After the war, when North Carolina passed an "Act of Pardon and Oblivion," giving a general amnesty to her late enemies, he was excepted by name from its provisions, and died an exile in Canada.

Wake county had a good share in establishing the independent government of North Carolina. To the Provincial



Congress at New Bern in April, 1775, John Hinton, Michael Rogers, and Tingnall Jones were sent as its delegates. In another Provincial Congress, held at Hillsborough in August of the same year, the county's representatives were John Hinton, Joel Lane, Theophilus Hunter, Michael Rogers, Tingnall Jones, John Rand and Thomas Hines. On September 9th, while the last named Congress was in session, it appointed Committees of Safety for the several Districts into which the State was divided, and Joel Lane, Michael Rogers, and John Hinton, of Wake, were made members for the Hillsborough District, of which their county was a part. In the Provincial Congress at Halifax in April, 1776, the representatives from Wake were Tingnall Jones, John Rand, John Hinton, Joel Lane and William Hooper. The last named gentleman, Mr. Hooper, who is recorded as a delegate from Wake, was not a citizen of the county. Later he added to his already established fame by signing the National Declaration of Independence. Another Provincial Congress met at Halifax in November, 1776, and from Wake County to that body went Britain Fuller, James Jones, Tingnall Jones, John Rice and Michael Rogers. On April 19, 1776, during the session of the first Provincial Congress at Halifax, Theophilus Hunter and Thomas Hines, of Wake, were made members of a Committee to procure, by purchase or otherwise, fire-arms for use by the American troops.

In the State Senate of North Carolina during the Revolution, Wake County was represented by James Jones in 1777, by Michael Rogers from 1778 till 1781, and by Joel Lane from 1782 till after the end of the war. In the House of Commons of North Carolina during the war, appeared the following Wake County members: John Rand and Tingnall Jones in 1777; Lodwick Alford and Hardy Sanders in 1778; Thomas Hines and John Hinton, junior, in 1779; Nathaniel Jones and John Humphries in 1780; Burwell



Pope and James Hinton in 1781 and 1782; and Theophilus Hunter and Hardy Sanders in 1783.

While the above delegates from Wake in the Provincial Congresses and General Assemblies were looking after the State's general welfare, the interests of the county were faithfully guarded at home by the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions. Among the Justices who sat at different times in this tribunal during the Revolution were the following: John Abernethie, Lodwick Alford, Kedar Bryan, Richard Banks, Thomas Crawford, Joseph Davis, Abraham Hill, Thomas Hines, John Hinton, John Hinton, junior, James Hinton, Francis Hobson, Theophilus Hunter, Albridgton Jones, James Jones, Nathaniel Jones of White Plains,\* Tingnall Jones, Joel Lane, Joseph Lane, James Martin, James Moore, Burwell Pope, Michael Rogers, Hardy Sanders, Joshua Sugg, William Walton, John Whitaker, and Thomas Wootten. Beginning with the early part of 1777, the court composed of these Justices cited various citizens of the county to take the oath of allegiance to the new State government as required by a recent enactment. When a person refused to take such oath, he was forthwith ordered to leave the county and State.

In 1781 one of the sessions of the General Assembly of North Carolina (there were two or more sessions that year) met at Bloomsbury, the county-seat of Wake. Colonel Joel Lane's residence (which is still standing in the city of Raleigh) was its place of meeting. At that time the State and Continental paper money had become so utterly worthless that the sum of *fifteen thousand pounds* was paid by the Assembly to Colonel Lane for the rent of this house for two weeks, with pasturage included. During this session several detachments of troops were ordered to Bloomsbury for the Assembly's protection.

The present city of Raleigh, as is well known, stands on

\*Nathaniel Jones of White Plains lived near the present village of Cary. He died in 1815. His connection by marriage (though probably not of the same paternal line), Nathaniel Jones, Sr., of Crabtree, who died in 1810, was a brother of Robert Jones, Jr. ("Robin" Jones), Attorney General under Governors Dobbs and Tryon. See Jones Genealogy by Col. Cadwallader Jones. Nathaniel Jones, Jr., of Crabtree died in 1828, and was father of the late Kimbrough Jones, Sr.

land purchased by North Carolina from Colonel Joel Lane for the purpose of erecting thereon the capital of the State. Lane's deed to the State is dated April 5, 1792, and the streets of the new town were laid out shortly thereafter.

In 1835 and again in 1841 the United States government published lists of soldiers of the Revolution who were pensioned for services in that war. At the risk of being tedious I give the Wake County lists in full. Persons desiring a statement of the war record of any veteran herein named can obtain the same free of charge by addressing a request therefor to the Commissioner of Pensions, at Washington City. Except when otherwise designated, persons mentioned were privates in the service of North Carolina. Some of the names are spelled differently on the two lists, and these variations I have indicated below. The list published in 1835 was as follows: Berthett Allen, James Adams, Philip Adams, James Ames, John Amos, Christopher Babb, James Brown, Jesse Bryant (Virginia), William Burton (or William H. Burton), Jacob Byrun, Benjamin Carpenter, James Christian 2nd, William Clifton, George Cole, Robert Dodd, Reuben Evans, John Green, Jesse Harris (or Horris), James Hughes (Virginia), Thomas Jinks (Corporal), Francis Jones, Vincent King, Joshua Lynch, David Mabry, Jesse Manuel, John Marr, Shadrach Medlin, Naaman Mills, James Nance, senior (Virginia), Jesse Osbourn, Drury Pittiford (Virginia), William Polk (Major), Elisha Pope (Virginia), Frederick Rigsby (or Rigsbee), James Rigsby (or Rigsbee), Thomas Ross, John Rhodes, Aaron Roberts, Robert Sneed (Virginia), Joseph Shaw (Pennsylvania), Isaac Smith, Samuel Standeford (Virginia), Samuel Scarborough, senior (Virginia), Jonathan Smith, senior (Captain), John Sherron, John Swenney, William Tate, Nathan Upchurch, William Wilder, Burrell (or Burwell) Whitehead, John Walker, John Williams, and Jesse Wall. In addition to the above, the list of 1841 gives the following names, without indicating rank, or State in which they



served: James Harward, Thomas Holland, Richard Popen, William Sledd, Rufus Willie, and William Wood. Some of these veterans were dead before lists were published. Joel Terrell, whose name also appears on the pension roll of 1835, appears to have rendered his military service in the United States Army after the Revolution—possibly in the War of 1812.

When the county of Wake was first created, and up to the time of the Revolution, the Church of England was established by law, and each county contained one or more parishes. The one in Wake was called the Parish of St. Margaret, this probably being done to canonize, as it were, the same lady in whose honor the county was called—Mrs. Tryon, formerly Miss Margaret Wake, a zealous churchwoman and generous contributor to religious work in the colony. I have also seen it stated that the present townships of St. Mary's and St. Matthew's in Wake County take their names from either chapels or parishes of the old Established Church in the Colony.

By what I have already set forth herein, my story has been brought to a close. It was not at first intended to impose upon the patience of my readers further than to bring the history of Wake County down to a time when North Carolina's independence of Great Britain was acknowledged. But I cannot resist the temptation of adding a few more words about the men and customs of that day.

The old colonists were a sturdy and substantial race of men, not the mimic courtiers so finely pictured in the historical novels dealing with that time. They had their virtues and they had their vices, as men always have had and always will have. They were not devoid of ability as legislators, and possessed a practical knowledge of the needs of the colony. Personally they were bold, fearless, and independent, prompt to answer a call for their services in the field, and at times too forward in a personal quarrel. At the

period of which I write, there were places in North Carolina, particularly in the extreme east, where could be found commodious houses, churches, schools, and private libraries, together with what were then considered the luxuries of life. But when some of the bolder spirits of that time pushed westward and set up new homes in what is now the center of the State, they had more serious problems to confront than those to which they had been accustomed. The early pioneers of Wake County knew more about blazing paths through the primeval forests by which they were surrounded than they knew about winding through the intricate mazes of a minuet. Great houses, servants, and fine apparel form no part of the equipment of a backwoodsman. Even so we find it in the Gospel of St. Luke that when the multitude sought St. John the Baptist, it was asked of them: "What went ye out into the wilderness for to see? \* \* \* \* A man clothed in soft raiment? Behold, they which are gorgeously apparelled, and live delicately, are in kings' courts." So might an old colonist in Wake County describe the locality where his lot was cast, not as a place of soft raiment and delicate living, but a land—

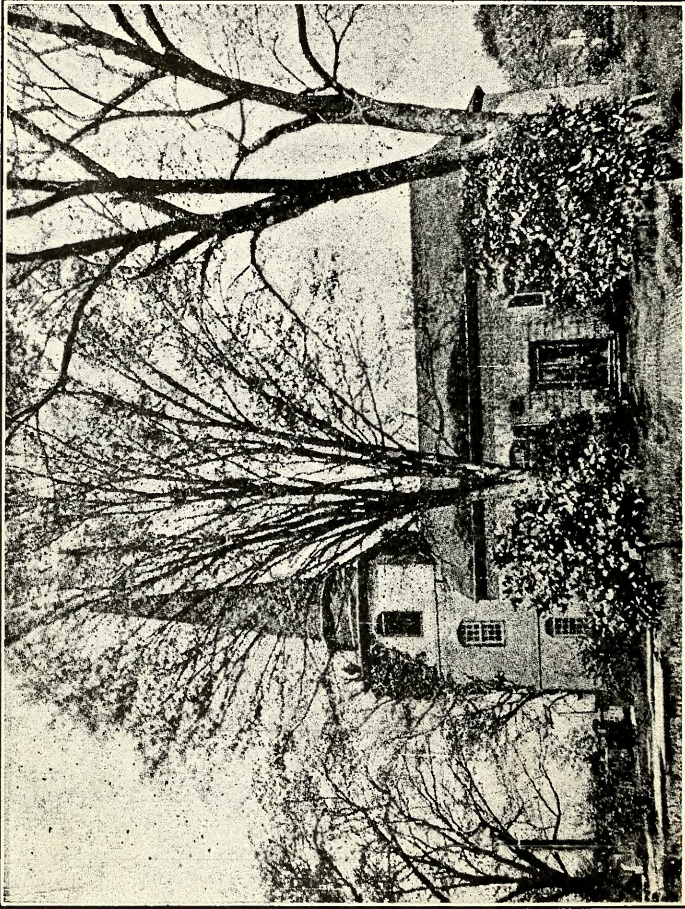
**"Where thoughts, and tongues, and hands, are bold and free,  
And friends will find a welcome, foes a grave;  
And where none kneel, save when to heaven when they pray,  
Nor even then, unless in their own way."**











ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, EDENTON, N. C., BUILT 1745.

# ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, EDENTON, N. C., AND ITS ASSOCIATIONS.

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BY RICHARD DILLARD, M. D.

(Member of North Carolina Historical Commission,)

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It is written that Selim, the son Soliman, was accustomed to eat every day a certain cereal which grew in Turkey, the effect of which was to erase from the mind every disagreeable circumstance, every painful emotion, unfortunately I have no such extravagant nepenthe, I bring no golden apples snatched from the Gardens of the Hesperides.

Edenton, and its environs, was the focal point of civilization for North Carolina, and the history of St. Paul's Parish is but the history of the early struggling colony. The exact date of the settlement of Edenton is not known, but as early as 1658 there was considerable development about this point, bearing the name of Chuwon Precinct. The beauty and fertility of the country, the mildness and equability of the climate, together with religious liberty, and the ease of access by land and water lured the adventurous settler; so that in 1710 it had grown so rapidly that it was a borough of considerable importance, the capital of the colony, and the home of the royal governors. It is sometimes alluded to as the "Towne in Queen Ann's Creek," the "Towne in Mattercomock Creek,"\* and "Port of Roanoke." Upon the death of Governor Charles Eden in 1722, it was called Edenton in his honor.

In 1708 Lawson wrote of us: "The fame of this new discovered country spread through the colonies, and in a few years drew a considerable number of families thereto, who all found land enough to settle themselves, and that which was very good, and commodiously seated, both for profit and

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\*"Mattercomock" an Indian word meaning Temple of God. By way of parenthesis the name of the section of the country near Edenton called Rockyhook was derived from the word "Rakiok," meaning our common Cypress tree, by metathesis and corruption it has become Rockyhook the "land of Cypress trees."



pleasure. They are kind and hospitable to all that visit them; and, as for the women, who do not expose themselves to the weather, they are often very fair, and have brisk and charming eyes, which sets them off to advantage. They marry very young, some at thirteen or fourteen, and she that stays till twenty is reckoned a very indifferent character. The young men are commonly of a bashful and sober behaviour. The easy way of living in this new and plentiful country fosters negligence. The women are the most industrious sex in the place, and by their good housewifery make a good deal of cloth of their cotton, wool and flax, some of them keeping their families, though large, very decently appareled with linens and woollens, so that they have no occasion to run into the merchant's debt, or lay out their money in stores for clothing."

These copious extracts from our first historian will tend to give you some idea of the life in this new and undeveloped country then.

Our historic field is extensive and "rich with the spoils of time," but, of course, I can only give here a sort of coup d'oeil, or momentary glance like that obtained by passing on a train at lightning speed through some beautiful and ever-changing landscape.

Pursuant to an act of assembly, the vestry of St Paul's met at the house of Thomas Gilliam, December 15, 1701. The Hon. Henderson Walker, then governor, Colonel Wm. Wilkinson, and Captain Thomas Lewton, were appointed wardens for a year, and instructed "to agree with a workman for building a church twenty-five feet long, posts in the ground, and held to the collar beams." It was built upon an acre of land given by Edward Smithwick, and was finished in 1702. *This was the first church ever built upon North Carolina soil.* The vestries of those old days, when church and state were united, possesses considerable civil authority, and were about equal in power to our county commissioners. They were em-

powered to collect tithes, provide standards of weights and measures, etc.

In 1704 Dr. John Blair presented himself to the vestry as a minister, and was received by them at a salary of thirty pounds per year.

The services had previously been conducted by readers employed at a small salary, whose only qualifications were that they should promise to live sober and exemplary lives during their periods of service. This temporary church lasted but a few years, for in 1709 the Rev. Mr. Adams, who came here under the auspices of the "Society for Propagating the Gospel" wrote: "They built a church some years ago, but it is small, and very sorrily put together, and therefore I prevailed with them to build another, which they went about when I came away." The dimensions of the new church were forty feet long, twenty-four feet wide, and fourteen feet high. In 1714, according to the records, this church was still unfinished, and it was either never finished at all, or soon fell into decay. It was not until 1729 that the initial step was taken toward building the present brick edifice. In April, 1729, Governor Everard wrote the following letter to the Bishop of London in regard to the church: "'Tis no small concern I send you this, to inform you that our church is not built now, nor is it like to be gone about; for those men that were appointed commissioners for the building it have six hundred pounds in their hands, and are now the only opposers of building one. I was, in order to laying the foundation, chose church-warden with one Mr. Mosely. We had several meetings to consult about building it, but could not agree, being always hindered by our secretary, one Mr. John Lovick, a man of no religion, fears not God or man, believes neither, seldom seen at any place of divine worship, his money is his God, ridicules all goodness. While such a man is in power no good can be expected." In 1736 a tax was laid for building this church, and in 1738 the work was



actually begun; it was not, however, finished until 1745. About the latter part of that century the church fell into decay, and was restored to its present beauty largely through the munificence of Mr. Josiah Collins, and the stained-glass window of the apse memorializes this act of generosity.

That curious compound of learning, and good natured facetiousness Colonel William Byrd, of Virginia, who was here in 1729, on the commission to run the boundary line between North Carolina and Virginia, wrote that Edenton contained then forty or fifty houses, most of them small and inexpensive, and that a man was called extravagant if he aspired to brick chimney for his house. "Justice itself," says he "is but indifferently lodged, the court-house having much the air of a common tobacco house, and that this in the only metropolis in the Christian or Mohammedan world where there is neither church, chapel, mosque, synagogue or any other place of worship, of any sect of religion whatsoever. This much, however, may be said of the inhabitants of Edenton, that not a soul has the least taint of hypocrisy or superstition."

Bishop Spangenburg, of the Moravian Church, wrote in his diary while in Edenton in 1752: "Edenton is one of the oldest towns in America, and yet it is hardly one-quarter as large as Germantown, although it has a beautiful situation. There are other cities mentioned in the Law Book, but there are no houses, they are only created cities by act of assembly."

In 1777 a young man named Watson, about nineteen years old, from Providence, R. I., made a tour through this section, and left a valuable account of his trip. He said that "Edenton contained then about one hundred and thirty-five dwellings, a brick court house, and was defended by two forts." There were few roads here then. An early minister of the S. P. G. (Society for the Propagation of the Gospel), wrote to England: "I was obliged to buy a couple of horses,

which cost me 14 pounds, one of which was for a guide, because there is no possibility for a stranger to find his road in that country, for if he once goes astray, it is a great hazard if he ever finds his road again." Edenton was at this time the court end of the Province, hither had gathered the wealth and refinement of the colony, who constituted for themselves a sort of social oligarchy.

Edenton, before the Revolution manufactured harness, hats, nails and rope. The incorporation of the town included four hundred and twenty acres. It had a good foreign trade. During one year there were forty-three arrivals of vessels from foreign ports, and about the same number of departures.

Those principally engaged in the foreign trade were John Campbell, Robert Armistead, Richard Brownrigg, Benjamin Russell, Alexander Miller, John Little and Messrs. Collins, Allen and Dickinson. The names of the largest vessels were the Sterling, Roanoke, Providence, Betsy, Liberty, Two Brothers, the Mary and the Mary Anna.

The first steamboat ever in our waters was the Albemarle. It was used as a ferry boat between Edenton and Plymouth and carried the Raleigh mail. The trial trip was made in two hours and five minutes. It was tendered President Monroe as a pleasure boat when he visited our town in 1819.

Bancroft, the father of American history, wrote: "Here was a colony of men from civilized life, scattered among the forests, resting on the bosom of nature. With absolute freedom of conscience, benevolent reason was the simple rule of their conduct. Are there any," says he, "who doubt man's capacity for self-government, let them study the early history of North Carolina."

I wish the reader to note, and history confirms the fact, that resistance to British authority existed here one hundred years before the Revolution, for the many early disturbances and frequent rebellions, such as those of Culpepper, Cary,



and Eastchurch, wer nothing more than resistance to illegal and usurped authority, and a contest for political and religious freedom. There were the long shadows cast before the mighty Revolution. This little colony might, therefore, be styled the birthplace of American Independence.

In the history of all governments the oppressed are long tolerant of their oppressors, and a revolution is of progressive development. It took nearly five hundred years to free France of its despots. Brazil, I believe, presents a singular exception, when, as if by magic, the empire ceased to exist, and a virgin republic sprang full panoplied upon the scene.

Nine ministers officiated in this church up to the time of the Revolution, the last one being the Rev. Daniel Earle, D. D., familiar to tradition and history as "Parson Earle." He was a man of such strong points of character, and was so typical of the old fashioned parson of those days, that it is interesting to study his life and character. Oliver Wendell Holes has limned his prototype in that matchless poem the "Wonderful One-Horse Shay." We can see him now as he passes along the highway in his old stick gig, working his Sunday text, and "drawn by his rat-tail, ewe-necked bay." He was the much beloved parson of all this section, baptizing all the children and ministering at all the death beds and marriages, he thus became the welcome guest of every fireside. He was in striking contrast to some of our earlier ministers, who cared but little for their parishioners.

"Parson Earle" was born in the town of Bandon, province of Munster, Ireland, and was the younger son of an Irish nobleman. His family was one of prominence and distinction. One of his ancestors was General Earle, Lord Chief Justice of Ireland in the reign of Queen Anne. In early life he was an officer in the British army, but his marriage with the daughter of a church official changed

the whole tenor of his life, and he soon resigned his commission to take holy orders. The exact date of his emigration to America is not known, but he was first sent by the Bishop of London to that part of Virginia now called Gloucester county.

In 1757 he came to the Albemarle section to act as curate for the venerable Clement Hall, rector of St. Paul's, then in very feeble health, and upon his death was made full rector. His charge not only included Edenton, but many mission stations scattered at great distances throughout the section now known as Chowan, Hertford and Gates counties. His wife, who had died before his departure for America, left him with two little daughters, these he committed to the care of relatives in England to be reared, and educated.

When he first came to this section he settled fifteen miles above here on Chowan River, and named his residence Bandon, after his native town. He was soon afterwards married to a Welch lady, a widow Charity Jones of Smithfield, Va., by whom he had no issue. As soon as he was well established in his new home he sent to England for his two daughters.

Parson Earle was full of energy, public spirit, and enterprise, and established at Bandon *the first classical school in North Carolina for boys*, in which he was assisted by his daughter, Nancy. He instructed in Latin, Greek and Mathematics, and numbered among his pupils the children of the Baron de Poelnitz, placed there at the suggestion of James Iredell. The Baron, who was Grand Chamberlain at the Court of Frederick the Great, and his wife, who was Lady Anne Stuart, were spending some time in travel through America.

Parson Earle made improvements in the cultivation of flax, and taught the people of this section the proper method of preparing it for the loom, and the manner of weaving toweling, tablecloths, etc., a household industry still pursued in our rural districts.



He was a sympathizer in the struggle of the colonies for independence, and was on that account debarred from preaching in his church at Edenton during the Revolution. Several attempts were made by the British to capture him. Upon one occasion he was informed by a messenger that some scouts were coming to take him prisoner. He immediately buried his silver and treasures in his cellar, and dispatched a servant to his plowmen in the fields to tell them to fly to the woods, and secrete the horses, but his servant was too late, and four of his best horses were captured, the parson himself barely escaping.

Some, following the beaten track of predecessors, have claimed that he was a Tory, because he received his stipend regularly during the Revolution from the S. P. G. This society, as its name indicates, was a religious organization, and not a political one. Organized about the beginning of that century through the untiring zeal of Dr. Thomas Bray for the dissemination of the Gospel in foreign lands, it took no cognizance of political differences; as a proof of this, when the infamous "Church Act" was passed in South Carolina through the chicanery of Sir Nathaniel Johnston, this society finding that it was for his political advantage, and not for the good of the church, held a special meeting in London, and resolved to send no more missionaries until it was repealed. And then, too, it is hardly rational to suppose that he would have espoused the British cause for the sake of the paltry stipend, when he owned such large interests here exposed to the revolutionists, and it is not probable either that he would have antagonized himself to his dear ones, his daughter and grandson, respectively, the wife and son of Charles Johnson, an ardent apostle of liberty, and Mr. Johnson would hardly have been so intimate with a family whose feelings were so inimical to his in a day when political lines were so closely, and so dangerously drawn.

Some stress must also be laid upon the tradition and local history concerning him. Parson Earle's memory is still

held in great veneration through all this section, and but a few years have passed since there were old people living in this county, who bore testimony to his patriotism and virtues. The life of a Tory in this liberty-loving section could hardly have had such a glorious sunset. He was the exponent of the popular sentiment here then, and was selected to preside over a revolutionary meeting of the freeholders and other citizens of Chowan county in the court-house at Edenton, August 23rd, 1774, among whom were such patriots as Joseph Hewes, Samuel Johnston and Thomas Benbury, and who passed resolutions condemning the Boston Port Act and the unjust imposition of tax upon the colonies, no Tory could have presided over such a meeting.

He was also unjustly accused of being a Tory because he did not sever all connection with the Church of England, and establish an independent church, but he held that the church was a unit; that it was of Divine origin; that he was a simple priest, and that the Bishop of London, then the head of the church, alone had that power. He was a man of the highest educational attainments, verily a learned Theban in its broadest sense, he possessed great wit and humor, blended with the kindest of hearts.

Parson Earle was not only an able and faithful minister, but proved to be a successful farmer and fisherman. He was one of the pioneers in the shad and herring fishing in this country. About the time of the revolution his church at Edenton became somewhat dilapidated, and the worshippers few in number. One Sunday morning, when the parson arrived at Edenton to preach to the faithful, he was shocked and surprised to find that some village witling had placarded upon the church door the following quartrain:

“A half built church,  
And a broken-down steeple,  
A herring-catching parson  
And a dam set of people.”



He was ever afterwards styled the Herring-catching Parson.

He died in 1790, and was buried near the site of his old home, but the modest slab, which once marked his resting place, has long since been covered by the drifting sands, and the tall pines which surround this lonely spot sigh out to every passing zephyr, in a weird melancholy monotone, their requiem for the repose of his soul:

“Only the actions of the just  
Smell sweet, and blossom in the dust.”——

The original bell of this church was taken down in response to Beauregard's call to melt the church bells of the Confederacy, and cast them into cannon, which incident inspired that beautiful Southern war lyric “Melt the Bells,” the beauty and pathos of this poem will excuse its interpolation here.

Melt the bells, melt the bells,  
Still the tinkling on the plain,  
And transmute the evening chimes  
Into war's resounding rhymes,  
That the invaders may be slain  
By the bells.

Melt the bells, melt the bells,  
That for years have called to prayer  
And instead, the cannon's roar  
Shall resound the valley o'er,  
That the foe may catch despair  
From the bells.

Melt the bells, melt the bells  
Though it cost a tear to part  
With the music they have made,  
Where the friends we love are laid,  
With pale cheek and silent heart,  
'Neath the bells.

Melt the bells, melt the bells,  
 Into cannon, vast and grim,  
 And the foe shall feel the ire  
 From their heaving lungs of fire,  
 And we'll put our trust in Him  
                     And the bells.

Melt the bells, melt the bells,  
 And when foes no more attack,  
 And the lightning cloud of war  
 Shall roll thunderless and far,  
 We will melt the cannon back  
                     Into bells.

Melt the bells, melt the bells,  
 And they'll peal a sweeter chime,  
 And remind of all the brave  
 Who have sunk to glory's grave,  
 And will sleep thro' coming time  
                     'Neath the bells.

(F. Y. Rockett in Memphis Appeal.)

This bell helped to form the "Edenton Bell Battery," which was organized in the winter of 1861-'62, by that cultured gentleman and gallant soldier, Captain William Badham,\* of this town, whose unmarked grave lies in yonder silent churchyard, where twilight zephyrs fan the graceful Eulalias to sleep, and whose feathery aigrettes, in turn, like sacred aspergills sprinkle the morning dew like holy water over his grave.

The name of this gun was the St. Paul. It was in numerous actions, and did efficient service during the war, and was finally surrendered at Town Creek.

The Honorable John H. Small is making a praiseworthy effort to locate this war trophy, and have it returned to the parish.

\*See Appendix.



This venerable church is the admiration of the stranger; to us it is the sacred shrine of our religious liberty, the radiance from whose Shekinah shall pervade—shall live on through all the eons of eternity. Half clad in ivy, Time's green uniform, it stands a majestic, but not a voiceless sentinel of the Past, and as the sun in his eternal flight traces the shadow of its tall spire upon the sacred globe below, unerring as the Dial of Ahaz, which only the finger of God could turn backwards, its aerial gnomon points almost every hour of the day to the grave of some distinguished citizen. Its gilded cross, silhouetted in bold relief against the crimson evening sky, suggests the vision of the Emperor Constantine.

Live on thou mighty instrument of good! Live on thou granary of God's eternal harvest! Oblivion shall not blur, nor Time's remorseless hand can alter, one single page of thy history! "Thou art the Zion of the Holy One of Israel, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against *thee!*"

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## APPENDIX.

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### NOTES CONCERNING THE EARLY SECESSION MOVEMENT IN CHOWAN COUNTY.

On February 12th, 1861 a mass meeting was held at the Court-house in Edenton to consider the interest of North Carolina, and her relation to the National Government. John H. Leary was elected chairman, and T. J. Bland Secretary. A committee was at once appointed consisting of John C. Badham, John A. Benbury, Riddick Mansfield, John Thompson, and John H. Garrett to draft resolutions expressive of the sentiment of the people of the county. Three reports were submitted, a majority report by John A. Benbury, advising prudence, and caution, and discretion, believing that the Peace Congress then in session would find

a solution of the trouble between the states; then a minority report was submitted by John C. Badham urging an immediate separation from the Union, and the necessity of adopting means of defense: A third report was offered by John H. Garrett counselling a strict adherence for the time to the Union, until the incoming administration should commit some overt act sufficient to cause a rupture with the National Government. The majority report was, however, adopted, the minority withdrew at once from the Convention, and nominated John C. Badham as the secession candidate to represent the County in the State Convention, which had been called to convene in Raleigh. William E. Bond was nominated as the Union candidate. At the election held on February 22nd the result was as follows, Bond, four hundred and twenty-seven; Badham, seventy-nine; Bond's majority, three hundred and forty-eight.

On the 4th of March Lincoln was inaugurated, but those who loved the Union, and hoped for so much perceived in his inaugural address not a straw to cling to, and he soon afterwards issued his celebrated proclamation calling upon North Carolina to furnish troops to invade her sister states, and to force them again into the Union; so on the 1st day of May a second convention was held in Edenton, and nominated Dr. Richard Dillard, senior, who was elected without opposition to the State Convention called by Gov. Ellis, which met in Raleigh on May 20th, the anniversary of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, and severed our connection with the Union. This convention is considered the ablest body of men which ever assembled for any purpose within the borders of the State.

Warlike preparations at once began, the "Dixie Rebels," a six-month's volunteer company, was at once organized by Capt. James K. Marshall, he was afterwards promoted to the rank of Colonel. John C. Badham, a Lieutenant in



this company, afterwards became a Major in the 5th N. C., and gave his life for his country at Williamsburg, Va., May 5th, 1862, at which time he held a commission of Lieut.-Colonel. Capt. T. L. Skinner also organized a company, he fell at Mechanicsville, and was succeeded by John A. Benbury, who soon shared the same fate. The few survivors of this famous company are Kader McClenny, R. S. Hedrick, Jerry Mitchell, and W. H. Pratt.

In November, 1861, the entire militia of Chowan county was ordered to Roanoke Island for its defense, it consisted of four companies, commanded by Captains Jno. C. Pearce, Thos. Wilson, Isaac Byrum and J. C. Johnston. These companies constituted the 5th Regiment of N. C. militia. The regimental officers were W. A. Moore, Col., R. G. Mitchell, Lt-Col., Wm. H. Bonner, Major, Wm. Badham, Quarter Master, Jos. G. Godfrey, Commissary, Dr. R. H. Winborne, Surgeon and Dr. L. P. Warren, Assistant Surgeon.

The Edenton Bell Battery was recruited by Capt. Wm. Badham in the winter '61-'62, and left Edenton soon after the fall of Roanoke Island, then went to Weldon, and on to Raleigh with sixty men, there they were joined by Lieut. Nelson McCleese, of Tyrrell County, with twenty-two men, and by Lieut. Gaskins with about twenty men.

It was understood that Mr. McCleese in attaching himself to this battery would receive a commission as Lieut. Lieut. McCleese was to command one section and two guns, and Lieut. John M. Jones another section and two guns also. After drilling in Raleigh about two months, they were ordered to Camp Lee near Richmond for instruction. As gun metal was scarce, Capt. Badham sent Lieut. Jones to Edenton to secure the church bells, and any others that he might obtain, to be cast into cannon, in response to Gen. Beauregard's famous call. He readily secured all the bells except the Baptist (several members objecting), including the town and court-house bells, the Academy bell, and the

shipyard bells; these were conveyed to Suffolk across the country in a wagon, and shipped to the Tredegar Iron Works at Richmond, where they were cast into four cannon, and named respectively, the "St. Paul," the "Fannie Roul-hac," for a devout and patriotic lady, a staunch member of the Methodist Church, the "Columbia," and the "Edenton." As the complement of the artillery corps of Gen. Lee's army was then complete, an order was issued that all other artillery in camps should be transferred, for the time, to the infantry service; this produced great mortification, and disappointment in the company, and Capt. Badham at once dispatched Lieut. Jones to President Jefferson Davis with the following note: "Sir: The guns of my company were made of the bells of my town, and have tolled to their last resting place a great many of the parents and relatives of my command, and sooner than part with these guns they had rather be taken out and shot. But, if allowed to keep these guns they will stand by them till they die."

This spirited, and patriotic letter was handed to Colonel Dorcas then chief of ordinance, who conveyed it at once to President Davis. Lieut. Jones had not long to wait, the reply came at once that the company would be furnished as soon as possible with both artillery-horses, and harness. The Battery was then assigned to Moore's Third North Carolina Battalion. Horses were difficult to procure, in the meantime McClellan had assumed the offensive around Richmond, and the battery was ordered to Redoubt No. 7, until the horses arrived, when they were sent to Winchester to report to General Pendleton, after being there three months the battery was ordered to report for duty to General McLaw, but the order was soon rescinded. Then came a call from North Carolina ordering the battery to Wilmington, the guns were immediately shipped by rail to Wilmington, and Lieut. Jones with a special detachment carried the horses, and accoutrements through the country. When he



arrived at Goldsboro, Gov. Vance, finding that the enemy were threatening, and near, ordered him to halt there, and the guns which had already arrived in Wilmington were immediately ordered by telegraph back to Goldsboro. From Goldsboro they marched to Kinston, and reported to Gen. R. F. Hoke.—Capt. Badham, upon receipt of news that an engagement was in progress, sent Lieut. McCleese with section No. 2 to Whitehall bridge, Lieut. Jones was ordered down ten hours later, when he found that McCleese had lost two of his men. Jones was then sent six miles up the river, but as no demonstration was made there, he was ordered on to Goldsboro to protect that town. After about a week the battery was ordered to Wilmington, and guarded the railroad bridge at Northeast, from there they went to Bald Head Island, and did guard duty on the coast until the fall of Fort Fisher, when they fell back on Fort Anderson: after the flank movement of the enemy, and the evacuation of Fort Anderson, the battery was located at Town Creek, where they were attacked by the enemy with considerable force, Capt. Badham sent Sergeant B. F. Hunter with one gun, the "St. Paul," to prevent them from making a flank movement, while he was engaging them at Town Creek; Hunter was supported by a detachment of South Carolina infantry, who broke and ran, leaving him on the field with but a squad of men. Hunter stood his ground fearlessly, and when the enemy arrived at the very muzzle of his gun, a Federal officer shouted to him, "If you fire that gun I will kill you:" the Confederate Sergeant, with that coolness, and intrepidity which always characterized him; replied, "Kill, and go to hell," and then ordered his gunner, William Hassell, to fire immediately. He was captured, and would have been cut down at once, but the Federal officer ordered his men to spare his life, saying, "He's too brave a man to be killed." About fifteen men were captured along with Sergeant Hunter and sent to prison at Point Lookout, among them Mr. A. T. Bush of this town. The remainder

of the battery fell back to Wilmington, and were subsequently engaged at Cox's Bridge, finally surrendering to General Sherman at Greensboro.

The names, dimensions, and officers in command of the Edenton Bell Battery taken from the note-book of the late Capt. Wm. Badham.

The "St. Paul"—made from St. Paul's church bell in charge of Sergeant B. F. Hunter. Howitzer 1533, E. B. face 1862, left trunnion I. R. A. & Co., F. F. right trunnion 7760 breech.

The "Fannie Roulhac"—made from the Methodist Church bell, and in charge of Sergeant Harry Gregory. Howitzer—1532 face E. B. also 1862, left trunnion I. R. A. & Co., F. F. Right trunnion breech 770.

The "Columbia"—made from the bells of the two ship-yards, owned by Col. T. L. Skinner, and Col. R. T. Paine. Gun in charge of Sergeant Ed. Davenport, 1534 face E. B. also—1862 left trunnion I. R. A. & Co., F. F. right trunnion, breech 860.

The "Edenton"—made from the Academy, Court House, and Hotel bells, and other bells presented by private individuals. Gun in charge of Sergeant George Parish. No. 1531 face E. B. 1862—left trunnion I. R. A. & Co., F. F. right trunnion 860 pounds breech.

The "St. Paul," and the "Edenton" were commanded by Lieut. John M. Jones, the "Fannie Roulhac," and "Columbia" were commanded by Lieut. Nelson McCleese. The guns did service at the following places, Winchester, Culpepper Court House, the Seven days fight around Richmond in redoubt No. 7, Goldsboro, Kinston, Whitehall Bridge, Bald Head, Smithfield, (now called Southport), Fort Anderson, Town Creek, the streets of Wilmington, Bentonsville, Cox's Bridge, and surrendered to General Sherman at Greensboro.

RICHARD DILLARD.

"BEVERLY HALL."

Edenton, N. C.







*William Hooper, S.*





LIFE OF  
WILLIAM HOOPER

SIGNER OF  
THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

---

BY HIS NEPHEW  
ARCHIBALD MACLAINE HOOPER

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First Printed in the Hillsboro Recorder of Nov. 13th, 20th, 27th,  
and December 4th, 1822.

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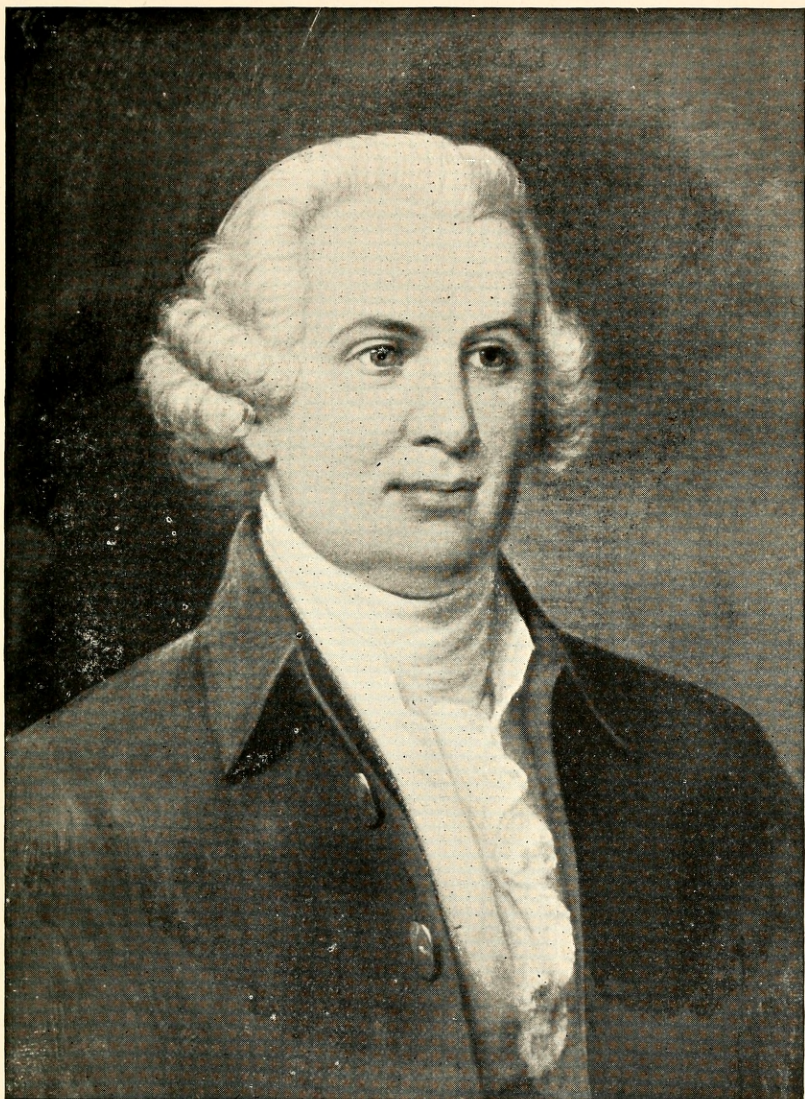
Preface by his <sup>great</sup> grand-daughter, Mrs. Spier Whitaker of Raleigh,  
N. C., formerly Fannie De Berniere Hooper.

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1905.







*Will Hooper*

OF NORTH CAROLINA

*Signer of The Declaration of Independence*

Son of Rev. Wm. Hooper, Rector of Trinity Church, Boston, and Mary (Dennie) Hooper.  
Born at Boston the 17th day of June, 1742. Died and was buried at Hillsboro, N. C., October 1790  
Removed to Guilford Battle Ground, April 25, 1894.





## PREFACE.

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Being assigned the task of contributing to the Booklet a sketch of the life of William Hooper, one of the Signers from North Carolina, of the Declaration of Independence, I can not do better than to present that written in 1822, by his nephew Archibald Maclaine Hooper, over the signature Callisthenes, as it originally appeared in a series of articles entitled "Biographical Sketches," in the *Hillsboro Recorder* for November and December of that year. Mr. Griffith J. McRee, in his pamphlet, *Life and Character of Archibald Maclaine Hooper*, published in 1856, referring to this sketch, says: "About this time Mr. Hooper wrote a memoir of William Hooper, to be seen in Wheeler's History and elsewhere, which is decidedly superior to any other of that great patriot as yet offered to the public." Wheeler, publishing in 1851, in expressing his obligations to Mr. Heartt, editor of the *Recorder*, for a copy of the memoir, characterizes it as "from the pen of one of the best writers of his day, whose connection with the distinguished subject of his biography gave him facilities for procuring facts possessed by no other person."\* This sketch is, without doubt, the first—as Mr. McRee says that up to his time it was the best—of William Hooper ever written, and is the source from which his subsequent biographers have largely drawn their material, and to which, as far as regards him, the bibliography of the Lives of the Signers is most indebted.

The author of the Life of William Hooper, in Volume VII of the work entitled "*Sanderson's Biography*," published by R. W. Pomeroy—this seventh volume in 1827—with the addition of some subject matter, has incorporated into his essay the whole of A. M. Hooper's article published five years before, sometimes verbatim, sometimes with slight changes of phraseology, sometimes liberally paraphrasing, but fails to credit its author with the transcriptions so freely made, except in the case of one passage and then with a note of disparagement, without designating him by name, and as if this extract were his first or only draft on the sketch in question. Introducing therefrom, A. M. Hooper's description of the society of Wilmington, N. C., at that time, he comments: "A flattering picture of it has been drawn by one of his (William Hooper's) relatives, which if somewhat highly colored, may at least have the advantage of exciting or gratifying local recollections." Mr. McRee retorts upon the writer, that while quoting this account he intimates a suspicion that it is "too highly colored," and that, "unable to realize upon the distant Cape Fear, the existence of a society at that period less numerous but more refined than that of Boston or Philadelphia, with shallow arrogance he insinuates his doubt."

Incidental, internal evidence of the respective dates of publication of the articles above enumerated, may be seen in their different renderings of a single passage. A. M. Hooper, in his narrative in the *Hillsboro Recorder*, in 1822, says: "He (William Hooper) died October, 1790, in the forty-ninth year of his age, leaving a widow two sons and a daughter, all of whom, except Mrs. Elizabeth Waters, of Hillsboro, are deceased. There survive also, of his descend-

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\*Italics not in the original.



ants, three grandsons, children of his eldest son, William, to wit.: William, pastor of the Episcopal Church and superintendent of the academy at Fayetteville; Thomas, a lawyer; and James, a merchant, all residents of the same place." The author of the life of Hooper in "*Sanderson's Biography*" copies this passage almost verbatim, until, reaching the name of the eldest grandson, Rev. William Hooper, of North Carolina, he mentions him, not as "pastor of the Episcopal Church and superintendent of the academy at Fayetteville," but as "*Professor of Logic and Rhetoric at the University of North Carolina\** he having occupied that position from 1825 to 1828—thus correctly bringing up the facts to the date of his own writing. Wheeler, though always loyal to the people of his State and University, while admittedly copying A. M. Hooper's sketch, of 1822, in this passage takes liberties with the text and commits anachronisms in endeavoring to make it conform to the time of his own publication, 1851, in its statements regarding Rev. William Hooper, of North Carolina, who, he says, "was distinguished as a literary writer, was *Professor of Languages at the University, a Baptist minister\*\** and resides in Raleigh." It was correct that he had been (1828-1837) Professor of Languages in the University, that he had become (1831) a Baptist minister, and that he resided for a few months of the year 1851 in Raleigh; but it is obvious that these statements could not have been contained in a paper written in 1822; and, in the meantime, the two brothers, Thomas and James, mentioned by Wheeler as still living had died, the former in 1828, the latter in 1841.

Rev. Charles A. Goodrich's sketch of William Hooper, in his *Lives of the Signers to the Declaration of American Independence*, published in 1829, Lossing's in *Biographical Sketches of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence*, and those of other writers or compilers bear evidence, with that in "*Sanderson's Biography*," of a common deviation from A. M. Hooper's sketch. These facts and the consideration that the file (probably the only one extant) of the *Hillsboro Recorder*, which is in the possession of the descendants of Mr. Dennis Heartt, for so long editor of that paper, is inaccessible to most persons and must eventually be disintegrated by time, and that Wheeler's History of North Carolina has long been out of print, furnish sufficient ground for the republication of the original article. It had been intended to publish, in connection with it, a number of documentary records relating to William Hooper and his family, but having been found too extended for the space usually occupied by a contribution to this periodical, they do not appear.

\*Italics not in Sanderson.

\*\*Italics not in Wheeler.

## FROM THE HILLSBORO RECORDER.

(Wednesday, Nov. 13, 1822.)

"An obliging correspondent has furnished us with sketches of the life and character of William Hooper, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, the introductory number of which we give to our readers in to-day's papers. It is now forty-six years since that memorable period, and the hands which affixed their imperishable names to the instrument which proclaimed to the world the birth of our independence, with three exceptions only, are now mouldered into dust. The actors in that proud period are fast fading from our view; and though a dazzling brightness is spread over that portion of our history, the names only of many once prominent individuals are all that remain to us of them; the evidences of their eloquence, of their zeal, of their prowess, of their patient endurance of suffering, and of their patriotism, are irrecoverably lost. While the oblivious hand of time is thus burying in the dark mists of revolving years the memory of the heroes of the revolution, the broken fragments and detached incidents of their lives will be seized upon as sacred relics and cherished in fond remembrance. It is therefore highly gratifying to us, and we are persuaded that it will be not less gratifying to our readers, that we are enabled to lay before them the following sketches of the life and character of one of those hardy patriots who fearlessly signed the instrument which declared us free and laid the foundation of civil liberty throughout the world." [Editor of the *Recorder*.]

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### BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH NO 1.

*To the Editor of the Hillsboro Recorder.*

Sir—It is much to be regretted that the State of North Carolina has never possessed a good historian. Thence it has happened that her eminent patriots in the cabinet and in the field are unnoticed and unknown; and thence it is, that the most interesting incidents connected with their lives are irretrievably lost.

This State certainly had her full portion of men of talent, when she was a British colony, during her revolutionary contest, and even after that eventful period, forming an epoch from about 1737 to 1790. Many of these enjoyed the advantages of a liberal education, but many were indebted for their stores of knowledge to the exertions of vigorous intellect availing itself of books, of experience in



the transactions of business, and of extensive intercourse with enlightened society. The specimens of genius, which appeared in the prints and pamphlets of the epoch alluded to were lost, either in the ordinary casualties of peace or destroyed during the ravages of the revolutionary war. Yet, these, important as they might seem, are not to be compared with the eloquence of the bar and of the senate.

How much is it to be deplored, that means were not adopted to preserve memorials which would cast a splendor over the annals of the state, which would enable us to do justice to names that once adorned her literary and political circles, and above all, to those illustrious patriots who planned and achieved her independence!

The bold and animated discussions which occupied our provincial assemblies, which shook our popular meetings, our conventions and our state assemblies during the progress of the revolution, and the angry and obstinate debates which succeeded the ratification of the treaty of peace were consigned to oblivion. All the actors in these memorable and anxious scenes have sunk into the grave; and we have now nothing to assist us in forming an estimate of their moral worth and intellectual greatness but imperfect hints and broken outlines caught from the representations of those who have received them by transmission, and whose second-hand intelligence may be suspected of being embellished by partiality or distorted by prejudice.

I have, sir, been involuntarily led into this train of reflections, by the publication of the proposals for compiling the lives of the signers of the declaration of independence. It is natural that a native citizen of North Carolina should feel a solicitude that the delegation from his state, whose names are subscribed to that instrument, should be treated with a consideration due to their high political career and to their successful exertions in the cause of civil liberty. The merits of Penn and the worth of Hewes are entitled to historical notice, yet I am at a loss, after the lapse of so

many years, where to seek for the incidents of their lives, which preceded that ever memorable act that has immortalized their names. Of William Hooper, who was the head or efficient member of that delegation, some traditionary accounts have come to my knowledge. These, I endeavored to preserve for the purpose of composing, at some convenient season, a volume of memoirs. The undertaking is, however, too much for my ability, and is certainly incompatible with my business and my numerous engagements.

The fame of this distinguished statesman has suffered more from the injuries of time and neglect, than that of any of his competitors. His political life comprehended a wider extent of the exigencies and emergencies of the times than that of any of them; and his various talents were kept continually in action. Instead, therefore, of attempting to write memoirs of his life, I have resolved to commence the humble task of furnishing sketches for the assistance of his biographer. These sketches written amid the bustle of business and under the weight of many cares, shall appear in a series of numbers in your journal. There seems to me, sir, to be a peculiar propriety in selecting the columns of your journal, for the occurrences of the life of William Hooper. The tomb of the patriot is the shrine where offerings should be made to his memory. The town of Hillsborough was his last and chosen residence. There he enjoyed years of the purest domestic felicity, and there his warmest friendships were cemented by social intercourse. There he poured forth the last fervours of his genius, and there he last awakened emotions of delight and admiration. Indeed, sir, this is ground which, even if it had not been the residence of the signer of independence, ought to be held sacred. It has been the scene where orators and statesmen have engaged in emulous debate, where patriotism has achieved her highest purposes and where eloquence has risen in her noblest flights.

CALLISTHENES.



## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH NO 2.

Wednesday, Nov. 20, 1822.

*To the Editor of the Hillsborough Recorder.*

Sir—In the narrative which I have undertaken to furnish for your columns, I entertain no fear of incurring the imputation of incorrectness in detailing ordinary facts; but I must at the same time apprise you that I am not equally confident of that accuracy which consists in the full relation of circumstances, or the precision which is desirable in recurring to dates. A careful biographer will no doubt have it in his power to rectify errors of the last mentioned kind, and to supply deficiencies by reference to the public offices and to the departments of state.

William Hooper, the subject of these sketches, was born 17th June, in Boston, Massachusetts. His father, the Rev. William Hooper, pastor of Trinity Church in that town, is mentioned briefly and imperfectly in Elliott's Biographical Dictionary. The addition of a few words would have prevented the suspicion that the account was penned in the spirit of prejudice. Certain it is, that no minister ever enjoyed more fully the affection and reverence of his congregation, and few have been so much admired for elegance of manners and a bold and impressive eloquence. Besides the learning and the sciences which are obtained at universities, he possessed accomplishments\* such as are not considered, in any degree, essential in forming the erudite and well-bred divine. He married in Boston, the daughter of Mr. John Dennie, an eminent merchant. William was the eldest of five children by this marriage.

The plan of his education commenced in his infancy. At the age of seven he was removed in part from the pupilage of his father, and placed at a free grammar school in Boston, the master of which was John Lovel, almost as much

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\*In a letter from the late venerable Doctor Lloyd, of Boston, dated 24th September, 1796, to one of the sons of W. Hooper, pastor of Trinity Church, he says, "Your father's memory will ever be dear to me. He was the most accomplished gentleman, and one of the best friends I ever had."

celebrated in America, in his day,\* as was once the famous Doctor Busby in England. Here he was distinguished for his proficiency in the studies preparatory to his entering into College, and completed the regular course of seven years with commendation and praise.† At this early period he was remarked on for the weakness of his constitution. His nerves were so sensitive, that he became an object of incessant raillery to his group of little relatives and to his father's domestics. With increase of years his constitution grew firmer, but his nerves always retained much of their early delicacy. Aided by the instruction of his father, which was never remitted, he made literary acquirements uncommon for one of his age, and advanced himself in his scholastic studies beyond his cotemporaries. It was, no doubt, owing to this circumstance that he was admitted, contrary to established rules, into the sophomore class at Harvard College,‡ There he took rank among the most distinguished, and signalized himself in oratory. He graduated A. B. in 1760, and A. M. in 1763.

Such was the anxious attention which his father bestowed on him in order to form him as an orator, that his vacations were periods of more laborious study and exertion than the terms of his scholastic exercises. And here it is worthy of observation, that the genius of the father and son were diametrically opposite. That of the father was of a loftier cast, and was formed in the school of Demosthenes; that of the son was Ciceronian in its features. The characteristic of the father was vehemency; that of the son insinuation. Were it not a presumptuous comparison, I would say, the father was Chatham, the son was William Pitt.

It was the early intention and earnest wish of his father to devote this son to the ministry. To this, however, the son was disinclined, for reasons that were considered satisfactory by his father, who agreed to alter his destination. Find-

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\*1749. †1756. ‡1757.



ing that he preferred the study of the law, he placed him with James Otis, Esq., who was then a lawyer of eminence.

At this period commenced the attempts of the English Parliament against the rights and privileges of the subjects in the provinces. Mr. Otis took an early and decided stand, by his writings and open declarations, against this assumed power of the British government. He was exceeded by none in zeal, and equalled by few in abilities. The high esteem and respect which the subject of these sketches entertained for Mr. Otis, naturally rendered him partial to his political principles; and there can be no doubt, had the effect of assisting to engraft those principles on his mind, and to establish them permanently there. Subsequent events ripened them into maturity, and rendered them active.

Mr. Hooper, having prepared himself for the practice of law, and finding the bar in his native State so overflowing that there was no encouragement for juvenile practitioners, determined, about 1763, to try the experiment of making his fortune in North Carolina. To this he was invited by the circumstance of his family's having very particular friends, influential characters in the province. Accordingly, in 1764, he embarked at Boston for Wilmington, on Cape Fear. He did not remain long in North Carolina at that visit, but returned to Boston in about a year. In 1765 he again visited North Carolina, and advanced in the practice of law. His health, however, sustained such severe shocks, that he resolved, conformably to the wishes of his father, to abandon it.

In 1767, the death of his father made it necessary that he should revisit his native place, and at the same time blasted the hope of his quitting North Carolina, which, on account of his health only, he wished to do. In the fall of 1767, having determined to fix his residence permanently in Wilmington, he married, in Boston, Miss Ann Clark, of the former place, daughter of Thos. Clark, Esq., deceased,

and sister of Gen. Thos. Clark, afterwards of the United States Army. The choice was most fortunate, considered in reference to the qualifications of the lady to adorn and sweeten social life, and most fortunate, too, considered in reference to that firmness of mind, which enabled her to sustain, without repining, the grievous privations and distresses to which she became peculiarly exposed in consequence of the prominent station which Mr. Hooper held in the War of the Revolution.

CALLISTHENES.

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### BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH NO. 3.

Wednesday, Nov. 27, 1822.

*To the Editor of the Hillsborough Recorder.*

Sir—In relating the events and circumstances in the life of an individual who has acquired distinction by the exercise of superior faculties, it is proper to notice every particular which has an influence on the progress of the mind.

The fatigue of attending to the practice of the law is, in our days, considered excessive. When Mr. Hooper came to the bar, and for several years after, it was infinitely greater. Then the luxury of carriages for travelling, was not common. Mr. Hooper attended the county courts of Rowan, and other counties in the back country, at least one hundred and eighty miles distant from Wilmington, and he travelled always on horseback. Such fatigue was too great for a constitution naturally delicate.

The manners and customs of the people of Cape Fear, at that period, were not more favorable to a proficiency in legal science, than was the organization of the courts. Hospitality carried to an extreme, and an excessive fondness for conviviality, were the characteristics of those days. In fact, every class of society became infected by the example; and numbers of old families, now reduced to comparative



poverty, have reason to rue the prodigal liberality of their ancestors. Hospitality is indeed a virtue, which travellers and geographers, who have attempted to describe North Carolina, very generally allow to her, however penurious their praise may be in other respects.

The British Governor Martin, on a visit to Wilmington, having occasion to reply to an address of the inhabitants, presented by Mr. Hooper, styled it "the region of politeness and hospitality." The commerce of Wilmington was then improving, and derived great advantage from a bounty on naval stores. Many of the families residing in it were possessed of fortunes, and all of them in respectable stations, obtained subsistence without painful exertion.

But the dissipation which arose out of an excess of hospitality, exhibited a more animated picture in the surrounding country. Whole families, and frequently several families together, were in the practice of making visits; and, like the tents of the Arabs, seemed continually in motion. The number of visitants, the noise and bustle of arrivals and greetings, the cries of the poultry yard, and the bleating of the pasture, require some sounding polysyllable to convey an idea of the joyous uproar; some new-coined word to distinguish their caravan approaches from ordinary visits or formal visitations. Every visit was a sort of jubilee. Festive entertainments, balls, every species of amusement which song and dance could afford, was resorted to. The neighing courser and the echoing horn, the sports of the turf and the pleasure of the chase, were alternately the objects of eager pursuit. Everywhere, on the eastern and western branches of the River Cape Fear, were men of fortune, related by blood or connected by marriage, whose settlements extended almost as far as the then lowly hamlet of Cross Creek, since dignified by the name of Fayetteville, and now swollen into importance by a numerous population.

This general ease and prosperity was highly favorable to

the cultivation of polite literature, and to the development of talents of a certain kind. The state of manners tended to awaken a spirit of improvement, which pervaded the whole community. Every family possessed a collection of the best English authors, besides which there was a public library, supported by a society of gentlemen, and styled "the Cape Fear Library." Wit and humor, music and poetry, were drawn into action in social and convivial intercourse. Conversation was cultivated to a high degree. Emanating from letters or science, or rising out of the busy scenes of life, it always teemed with instruction and imparted delight. The point of honor was understood and recognized, and the slightest approach to indignity resented. In this exercise of colloquial talent, the ladies participated and heightened the pleasures. Then they were not, as now, early instructed, or perhaps, were not instructed at all in the rudiments of knowledge; but they derived from reading, and imbibed from an association with eminent persons of the opposite sex, a tincture of taste and elegance, and they had softness, sentiment, grace, intelligence—every quality which in the female sex can inspire and exalt the enthusiasm of romantic passion.

In the hospitable conviviality of those times, allurements to dissipation were greater than social life usually presents. The actors were far above the cast of ordinary *bon vivants*. I once hoped to be able to present a biographical sketch of each of them, but my cares and avocations have compelled me to relinquish the task. Among these was Eustace,\* the correspondent of Sterne, who united wit, and genius, and learning, and science; Harnett,† who could boast a genius for music, and a taste for letters; Lloyd,‡ gifted with talents and adorned with classical literature; Pennington,§ an elegant writer, admired for his wit and his highly

\*Doctor John Eustace. †Cornelius Harnett, afterwards member of Congress.

‡Colonel Thomas Lloyd. §William Pennington, comptroller of the customs of the port of Wilmington, and afterwards Master of ceremonies at Bath.



polished urbanity; Maclaine,\* whose criticisms on Shakespeare† would, if they were published, give him fame and rank in the republic of letters; Boyd,‡ who, without pretensions to wit or humor, possessed the rare art of telling a story with spirit and grace, and whose elegiac numbers afforded a striking contrast to the vivid brilliancy of the scenes in which he figured; Moore,§ endowed with versatile talents, and possessed of extensive information—as a wit, always prompt in reply, as an orator, always “daring the mercy of chance;” Howe|| whose imagination fascinated, whose repartee overpowered, and whose conversation was enlivened by strains of exquisite raillery. Wit and humor, and music and poetry, displayed all their charms among the festive deities, and heightened the glow of delight. Is it to be wondered at that the banquet was often carried to an injurious excess?

Mr. Hooper did not escape the contagion. He played his part among these distinguished wits, and shed a classic lustre over these refined revels. He kept, however, his professional pursuits in view, advanced himself, and was considered eminent in 1763.¶ The cause of *The State vs. McGufford*, tried in the Superior Court of New Hanover county, seemed first to establish his claims to eminence. It was a case of atrocious murder, committed by a master on his slave, tried before a Court of Oyer and Terminer. In that cause he was counsel for the defendant; and he displayed such extent of research, and such powers of argument, as excited universal admiration. Maurice Moore was also employed in the same cause, and displayed great dexterity. He thought, and he thought justly, that nature and feeling would resume their rights in time to defeat the force of eloquence. He, therefore, moved to set aside the commission of Oyer and Terminer, and succeeded.

\*Archibald Maclaine. †Now in possession of his descendents.

‡The Rev. Adam Boyd. §Judge Maurice Moore. ||Gen. Robert Howe.

¶(Evidently a mistake; probably intended for 1768.—Copyist.)

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Mr. Hooper distinguished himself about the same time at Halifax Superior Court, as counsel for the heirs of Governor Dobbs, in a suit instituted for the recovery of a landed estate, against Abner Nash, who had married the widow of Governor Dobbs. In this suit he was opposed by several advocates, and among the rest, by the defendant, Abner Nash.

Such is the effect of impressions early received, that the name of Abner Nash always brings to my imagination the inflamed energy of Demosthenes, and produces some of that perturbation which is felt in reading his orations. The eloquence of Nash and that of Mr. Hooper, must, indeed, have exhibited a very fine contrast. Nash was vehemence and fire; Mr. Hooper was stately and diffusive elegance.

Having noted, in the commencement of this number, those particulars which influence the progress of the mind, let me here observe, that the adverse or the prosperous situation of communities depends very much on the state of manners. This observation will be illustrated by a hasty view of the comparative situation of North and South Carolina at this period.

South Carolina was destined to become a mine of wealth, in consequence of most laborious exertions in opening her swamp lands for the cultivation of rice. Economy preserved what industry acquired.

On the contrary, the planters of Cape Fear, many of them holders of great possessions in lands and slaves, scarcely regarded these lands, though superior undoubtedly, to those of South Carolina, and producing a grain larger, more solid, and more nutritious. Content to raise from naval stores a sufficiency to pay the interest on continually increasing debts, they indulged themselves in habits of ease and dissipation. The consequence is, that while the fruitful lands of South Carolina afford an inexhaustible source of riches, the fertile



soil of Cape Fear is destined to remain uncultivated, and to furnish evidence of its superior fertility only in its baneful effects on the health of the inhabitants.

CALLISTHENES.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH NO. IV.

Wednesday, Dec. 4, 1822.

*To the Editor of the Hillsborough Recorder.*

Sir—At this distant day, it is impossible to enumerate the many public appointments which Mr. Hooper filled. It is proper, however, to mention, that he was active in behalf of the government against the insurgents denominated Regulators, who were defeated at Alamance in 1771.

Tryon, the provincial Governor, and Martin, his successor, and also Howard the Chief Justice, distinguished him by their regard, and showed a desire to conciliate his friendship. In 1773, Mr. Hooper represented the town of Wilmington in the General Assembly. In 1774 he represented the county of New Hanover in the same body. There he united himself with a band of patriots, in resisting the demand of the British government, to insert a clause into the bill for establishing a court system, favoring British subjects, on the article of process by attachment, to the prejudice of creditors on this side of the Atlantic.\* This measure at once deprived the province of courts, and the gentlemen of the bar of their professional emoluments. On this occasion Mr. Hooper took the lead in legislative debate. He also addressed the people of North Carolina in a series of letters, under the signature of Hampden. These, it is said, were much admired. What effect they produced, in accomplishing the views of the writer, we cannot, at this time,

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\*Among the papers of the late Archibald Maclaine, of Wilmington, are some memoranda that seem to be intended as the groundwork of a defence of his (Maclaine's) political character, which had been attacked. In one item he refers to his conduct "at the time the ministerial instruction came to alter the attachment law."

ascertain. The province remained without a judiciary until 1777, when it was revived under the new order of things; meanwhile the law practitioners sacrificed their dependency for subsistence, and the other classes suffered greatly.

In the provincial and State assemblies, Mr. Hooper, on various occasions, brought forward high-toned and energetic measures, and supported them with all the powers of his persuasive oratory. The patriots most conspicuous in opposition to the arbitrary acts of the British government, at that memorable era, were Ashe,\* Iredell,† Johnston,‡ Moore,§ Harvey,|| Harnett,¶ Caswell,\*\* McLaine,†† Nash,‡‡ Burke,§§ and Henderson.¶¶ These was all eminent men. Some of them were natives of the province, and entitled to great weight from their age, their fortune, and the extent and respectability of their connections. From this band Mr. Hoper, at an early age, with small estate, with but few connections, and those few without influence, was selected for the most important public appointments, and that too at conjunctures which called for first rate talents and undaunted firmness.

How he advanced himself so highly in the esteem and confidence of the people of North Carolina, we can at this time only conjecture. It was probably owing to the wider comprehension of his views, to the uncommon fervor of his zeal, to the fascinating splendor of his eloquence; and above all, to the extraordinary activity and perseverance of his exertions.

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\*Samuel Ashe, afterwards Governor Ashe. †James Iredell, afterwards Judge Iredell. ‡Samuel Johnston, afterwards Governor Johnson. §Maurice Moore, Speaker of the House of Commons, one of the judges appointed by the crown. ||John Harvey. ¶Cornelius Harnett, one of the members of the first Congress. \*\*Richard Caswell, afterwards Governor Caswell. ††Archibald Maclaine. ‡‡Abner Nash, afterwards Governor Nash. §§Thomas Burke, afterwards Governor Burke.

¶¶Richard Henderson, for some time Judge Henderson.



In 1775\* Mr. Hooper was delegated by the Assembly to Congress, and continued in that capacity till 1777, at which time his private concerns compelled him to resign. The proceedings of the first Congress, having been from policy, conducted with great secrecy, the debates were not recorded. When Mr. Hooper first addressed that illustrious assemblage of compatriots, his speech occupied about half an hour; and it is said, upon authority which seems to be too respectable to be questioned, that he commanded the most profound silence, and was listened to with the most earnest attention. The encomium was, however, qualified with this observation, that the house was seized with astonishment at the display of such powers of elocution from North Carolina. He spoke, it is said, more than once on the floor of the House, and always inspired respect and admiration.

During the same period he was a prominent member and distinguished speaker in the Conventions which sat at Hillsborough and Halifax. At the Convention which sat at the former place, in April, 1776,\*\* he reported an address to the inhabitants of the British Empire. This was, without doubt, the exclusive production of his pen, and it was, at the time, universally admired. Many other public documents emanated from the same source.

On the most trying occasions, the loftiness and elasticity of his spirit were strikingly manifest. Events which cast a gloom over the minds of others, had no effect in damping his ardor, or in depressing his hopes. The disastrous result of the battle of Germantown, which spread dismay among the whigs, seemed to give fresh courage to his zeal. When the report of the battle reached Wilmington, he was among a party of patriotic friends, who were overwhelmed with consternation. He instantly started from his chair, with unusual animation, and exclaimed, "We have been disap-

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\*(Evidently an inadvertence, intended for 1774.—Copyist.)

\*\*Obviously intended for Aug. 1775 (Copyist.)

pointed! No matter! Now we have become the assailants, there can be no doubt of the issue."

Johnston sometimes endeavored to restrain in him what he considered an excess of zeal. "I have," said that great patriot and statesman, "I have resolved to stake my life and my fortune in the contest for liberty, but I am not without painful apprehension of the result. I am indeed afraid that when independence shall have been achieved, talents and virtue may be thrown into the shade, and the mob may govern." In relating this anecdote to me, in May, 1802, Judge Johnston thought that his prediction was rapidly fulfilling.

In the early part of the Revolutionary War, Mr. Hooper's name was extremely obnoxious to the British officers. The captain of a sloop-of-war stationed in the River Cape Fear, meanly descended to fire a house which he had built about three miles below Wilmington.

On his return to private life, his family resided at his seat on Masonborough Sound, about eight miles from Wilmington. There he continued taking part as occasion required, in public measures, until January, 1781. At this time a force under Major Craig, arrived in Cape Fear River. Mr. Hooper found it necessary to remove his family; and having no place to resort to less dangerous, he removed them to Wilmington, preferring to trust them to the humanity of an open enemy, rather than suffer them to remain exposed in a predatory warfare\* He sought for safety for himself by flight into the country. His family remained at Wilmington without any outrage until October,

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\*He had made arrangements for taking refuge in one of the French West India islands in the event of the success of the British arms. Mrs. Hooper understood him that an arrangement of this kind was projected by all the members of Congress, and that it was understood by the French minister. An exile such as this would have been less irksome to him than to many of his compatriots. His father, who was intimately acquainted with French, gave him a critical knowledge of that language, and it is probable that he would soon have acquired fluency in speaking it.



1781, when they with others were ordered at a short notice to leave the town. Mr. Hooper and his family returned to it immediately after its evacuation by the enemy in November of the same year; and shortly afterwards removed to Hillsborough, in Orange county. After this and until about 1787, he continued to hold a distinguished rank in the councils of his country, and to maintain a very high station at the bar. Speaking of him, the late Judge Iredell observed that his latest exertions were equal to the most splendid of his meridian days.

Meeting with opposition in his elections Mr. Hooper became soured,\* and seemed inclined to retire. He gradually relaxed his exertions and at length withdrew wholly from public life. His withdrawal excited much speculation. Some ascribed it to a solicitude for the interest of his family, which had suffered much by his devotion to the public weal, and others attributed it to disgust occasioned by some legislative measures of the State. It is probable, however, from circumstances, that a union of both causes influenced him. The few years which he lived after his retirement, were spent in domestic enjoyment, for which, indeed, he was better fitted by his temper and sensibilities, than for public life.

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\*He was probably soured by finding himself in collision with some of his compatriots and best friends. Maclaine, who was one of these, became irritated by the difference of opinion between them. After the ratification of the treaty of peace, Maclaine was anxious to shield the disaffected from persecution, and in the pursuit of this object he exercised no address. Mr. Hooper, who no doubt coincided with him so far as respected the justice and humanity of this course, thought that great prudence and circumspection ought to be observed; and this prudence and circumspection was the more necessary on his part, from the circumstance of all his connections having espoused the royal cause. Aware that his station was such that he ought to be above suspicion, he suppressed, on this occasion, the best and warmest feelings of his heart. In a letter to a friend, dated 18th February, 1785, Maclaine adverts to Mr. Hooper's conduct in this respect, and in the asperity of his temper puts a construction on it which in his cooler moments he would have retracted. In this letter he speaks, in the style of complaint, of the superiority which Mr. Hooper's education gave him, of the deference paid to him by Iredell, and of the homage he received from Johnson, and adds, "I never pay him compliments, but, on the contrary, have opposed him."

On his return from the Assembly, which met for the purpose of carrying into effect the State Constitution, many inquiries were made by the crowds which collected around him, relative to the powers confided to the several departments of the government. Mr. Hooper having satisfied curiosity as to other particulars, one of the crowd asked, "And what powers, sir, have the Assembly given to the governor?" "Power, sir," replied Mr. Hooper, "to sign a receipt for his salary."

He died October, 1790, in the forty-ninth year of his age, at Hillsborough, leaving a widow, two sons and a daughter, all of whom, except Mrs. Elizabeth Watters, of Hillsborough, are deceased. There survive also of his descendants, three grandsons, children of his eldest son William, to wit. : William, pastor of the Episcopal Church, and superintendent of the academy in Fayetteville; Thomas, a lawyer; and James, a merchant, all residents of the same place.

In person he was of the middle size, elegantly formed, delicate rather than robust. His countenance was pleasing and indicated intelligence. His manners were polite and engaging. With his intimates and friends, his conversation was frank and animated, enlivened by a vein of pleasing humor, and abounding with images of playful irony. It was sometimes tinged with the severity of sarcasm, and sometimes marked by comprehensive brevity of expression. His father, himself a model of colloquial excellence, had cultivated this talent in his son with great assiduity.

From the same preceptor he learned the art, rarely attained, of reading with elegance. In this respect the grace and propriety which marked his manner, communicated, it is said, a pleasure even when he read cases from the law reporters, or the ordinary documents of a suit in court. In mixed society he was apt to be reserved. Sincerity was a striking feature in his character. He never practiced disguise. Hospitality he carried to excess.

In his domestic relations he was affectionate and indulgent. Failings he certainly had, but they were not such as affected the morality of his private or the integrity of his public conduct.

As a writer we cannot fairly graduate his pretensions. The letters of Hampden, which would have furnished the best criterion for this purpose, have perished with the prints which contained them.

As a letter writer he was, I think, deficient in ease and simplicity; but his epistolary compositions must have been



unequaled. Major Craig intercepted one of these, which impressed him with such an exalted opinion of the writer, that afterwards, when Mr. Hooper, accompanied by Maclaine, visited Wilmington under the protection of a flag of truce, Craig scarcely noticed the latter, while to Mr. Hooper he paid the most marked and respectful attention.

On all important occasions he was called upon by the inhabitants of Wilmington and its vicinity to exercise his pen. A very flattering testimony to his talents, considering the number of eminent men who then resided in the same part of the country, some of whom had cultivated the art of composition with great success. Among these were Maclaine, Eustace, Lloyd, Pennington, and Moore.

In classical learning and in literary taste he had few superiors; yet he was never ostentatious in the display of these qualifications. He possessed a talent for elegant versification, which he exercised in his moments of recreation. His ode on the birthday of Washington, which circulated only among a few friends, was pronounced, by a competent judge, superior to any which had been published.\* I have never been able to procure the manuscript.

Among his friends were some of opposite political principles, but it produced no change of regard towards them, nor did he in any instance depart from an inherent benevolence, by becoming the persecutor of any on account of his principles or prejudices.

In his private concerns his probity and honor were unimpeached. His estate was moderate, and he was not avaricious.

His religion was that of a sincere Christian, free from bigotry to any sect or denomination.

He appears to have been free from envy. In a letter to Maclaine he describes the death of Judge Henderson in a strain of enthusiastic admiration of the talents of that extraordinary man.

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\*In 1789.

After John Haywood, now Judge Haywood, appeared at the bar, and before his faculties were developed, or perhaps even known to himself, he had to contend with men of great intellectual powers and profound legal science. Mr. Hooper sustained him in the unequal contest. This patronage of rising merit, if it arose from generous feeling, is worthy of mention; and it is not less worthy to be noted if it arose from a sentiment of friendship, for that revered personage\* who has rendered the names of Haywood dear to the people of North Carolina, whose boundless benevolence pointed him out as the Atticus of his native State, until more recent events presented him in the sterner aspect of Aristides the Just.

His penetration into character was obvious in the choice of his friends. He always selected them from the most worthy; and he experienced in every instance, that warm reciprocal attachment which was due to the ardor and constancy of his friendship.

The champion of that illustrious band, which in North Carolina first opposed the encroachments of arbitrary power, no man ever entered into the public service on more correct principles, or with purer or more disinterested motives. When he engaged in revolutionary measures, he was fully aware of the dangers to which he exposed his person and estate; yet in spite of untoward events, his enthusiasm never abated, his firmness never forsook him. In times the most disastrous he never desponded, but sustained his situation with increased intrepidity.

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#### CALLISTHENES.

It seems fitting to subjoin to the foregoing memoir some estimates of William Hooper by more recent writers and who are not related to him by ties of blood. Says Wheeler:

“The life and character of William Hooper, who was long a resident and representative of New Hanover county,

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\*John Haywood, Treasurer of the State.



deserve our especial attention. It was most strangely aspersed by Mr. Jefferson, in a letter to John Adams, dated 9th July, 1819, in which he says, that 'we had not a greater Tory in Congress than Hooper.' This remark produced in 1834, Jones' 'defence of North Carolina.' That his prejudices had clouded Jefferson's judgment in regard to this, as well as to our Declaration of Independence at Charlotte, there can be no doubt. It is, however, a matter of no regret, since these very errors have stimulated the sons of North Carolina to examine the records and vindicate her character and the integrity of history. The character of William Hooper has been placed beyond all cavil, and the Declaration of Independence at Charlotte in May, 1775, now rests on as solid foundations for truth and reality, as the National Declaration at Philadelphia, on 4th July, 1776."

Mr. Griffith J. McRee, in his invaluable work, *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell*, now like Wheeler's History out of print, noting the friendship between Iredell and Hooper, says:

"Mr. Hooper was nine years Mr. Iredell's senior and already a man of mark at the bar and in the Assembly. To estimate at its full value his deference to Iredell, these facts must be borne in mind. Mr. Hooper was a native of Boston, and a graduate of Cambridge, Mass. After studying law with James Otis, he removed to North Carolina in 1764.\* He became a citizen of Wilmington. That town and its vicinity was noted for its unbounded hospitality and the elegance of its society. Men of rare talents, fortune and attainment, united to render it the home of politeness and ease and enjoyment. Though the footprint of the Indian had, as yet, scarcely been effaced, the higher civilization of the 'Old World' had been transplanted there and had taken vigorous root." Then, after enumerating the eminent patriots and *litterati* among whom William Hooper figured

\*Mr. Hooper did not settle permanently in Wilmington until 1767. See Memoir ante.—[Copyist.]

in the Cape Fear region, he continues: "These were no ordinary men. They were of the remarkable class that seem ever to be the product of crises in human affairs. Though inferior to many of them in the influence that attends years, opulence and extensive connections, yet in scholarship and genius Mr. Hooper was pre-eminent. I use the word genius in contradistinction to talent. He had much nervous irritability, was imaginative and susceptible. With a well-disciplined mind and of studious habits, he shone with lustre whenever he pleased to exert himself. He had generous impulses, and his intercourse with his family and friends was marked by a caressing tenderness. In the course of the Revolution he never wavered, though he often desponded. If hope seemed sometimes about to desert him forever, and he felt in his heart the rustle of her wings as she prepared for flight, his deep-rooted principles were never shaken. He lived long enough to see the political edifice, to whose construction he had so largely contributed, completed, and its soaring dome to the nations of the earth 'a lamp unto *their* feet, and a light unto *their* path.' As his fame is national, I need not dwell longer upon his career." *Life of Iredell*, Vol. I., pp. 194, 195, 196.

"Was Jefferson jealous of Hooper?" asks McRee later on. "Was he impatient of what he did not himself possess—splendid elocution, as he was notoriously envious of military fame? Was there a feud between these two eminent men? An affirmative answer to these interrogatories will certainly throw much light upon the calumny of Jefferson, that 'there was no greater Tory in Congress than Hooper,' and explain Mr. Hooper's personal dislike to Jefferson and his followers, in the early days of the Republic. If Hooper's fame, so well defended by Jones, needed further vindication, his letters to Iredell place upon impregnable ground his virtue and patriotism." *Ibid.* Note on p. 427.

Dr. Alderman, now President of the University of Vir-



ginia, then Professor in the University of North Carolina, in his address on William Hooper delivered at Guilford Battle Ground, July 4, 1894, says: "In the first decades of this century our grandfathers were filled with indignation and astonishment at Mr. Jefferson's remarkable letter to John Adams in which he declared that 'there was no greater Tory in Congress than William Hooper.' Jo. Seawell Jones, choking with rage, rushed to the rescue in his celebrated Defence of North Carolina, and with an uncommon mingling of invective, passion, partizanship, critical power and insight, effectually disposed of his great antagonist. The charge on the face of it was absurd. \* \* \* \* It is a hard thing to say of so illustrious a man as Mr. Jefferson, that he had strange moments of liability to post-mortuary slander, but the poisonous scraps of the 'Anas' and the researches of two generations into his accusation against Hooper abundantly and mournfully attest its truth. Mr. Hooper's mental attitude toward the idea of independence is a matter of vital interest to our people, however, and his private and confidential correspondence reveals this attitude in a most complete and perfect way: 'Before April 19, 1775,' said Thomas Jefferson himself, 'I had never heard a whisper of a disposition to separate from the mother country.' 'When I first took command of the army (July 3d, 1775) I abhorred the idea of independence,' said George Washington. Over one year before these words were uttered, April 26, 1774, Hooper wrote a letter to James Iredell in which occurred the following prophetic words: *'They (the Colonies) are striding fast to independence, and ere long will build an empire upon the ruins of Great Britain; will adopt its Constitution purged of its impurities, and from an experience of its defects, will guard against those evils which have wasted its vigor.'*" Says Mr. McRee: "Of this letter Jones remarks, 'I look upon this letter as not inferior to any event in the history of the country; and in the boldness and originality of its views,

I say that it is a document without a rival at the period of its date. It takes precedence of the Mecklenburg Declaration as that does of the national Declaration of Independence.'” Dr. Alderman adds: “This is the most noteworthy personal letter of the Revolution. It antedates all known expressions on the subject of separation and confers upon William Hooper the proud title of the Prophet of American Independence.\* Let me not conclude,” says the same writer, “without speaking of Mr. Hooper, as a man. No more fascinating and courtly figure graces the life of our simple, earnest past. His slight, fragile form, his serene, beautiful face wherein is blended masculine strength and womanly sweetness, ‘a face that painters love to limn and ladies to look upon’ stands out, like some finely wrought cameo, against a background of chaos and revolution. In his letters we catch a glimpse of the ceremoniousness, the sleepless deference, the delicate punctilio of an unhurrying age; in his merry-makings we are able to reproduce the stately minuet, the vanished draperies, the personal royalty expressing itself in stately dignity, of a time forever gone. He was a tender, sensitive, loyal, happy gentleman, a fearless, forceful, vigorous-minded citizen, a great orator—a great lawyer; he loved his friends and was by them beloved. \* \* \* \* He loved the people of his state and was willing to spend himself in their service. \* \* He had that proud faith in family and breeding which taught him the sacredness of *noblesse oblige*, unfailing self-respect and freedom from sordidness or any sort of stain.”

Another accomplished writer of to-day thus concludes an account of William Hooper: “Of Mr. Hooper it may be

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\*In this letter of April 26, 1774, Hooper pays a warm tribute to Iredell, as follows: “I am happy dear sir, that my conduct in public life has met your approbation. It is a suffrage which makes me vain, as it flows from a man who has wisdom to distinguish and too much virtue to flatter. \* \* \* \* While the scene of life in which I was engaged would have rendered any reserve on my part not only improper but even culpable, you were destined for a more retired but not less useful conduct; AND WHILST I WAS ACTIVE IN CONTEST YOU FORGED THE WEAPONS WHICH WERE TO GIVE SUCCESS TO THE CAUSE which I supported.



truly said, that as brilliant as were Howe, Harnett, Iredell, Ashe and Moore, and all those renowned names that adorned North Carolina's annals during his time, taking a view of the entire galaxy, none surpassed him in shining talents and fine accomplishments, and none deserves more grateful appreciation by North Carolinians." Noting the historic friendship between Judge Iredell and Mr. Hooper, he quotes the former as writing to Mrs. Iredell: 'I wish to be like him,' adding: "Indeed, the admiration of Judge Iredell for him was unbounded."

Says Capt. S. A. Ashe, of Raleigh, N. C., in a letter under date of June 5, 1905: "Of late years I have come to still further appreciate the influence of Mr. Hooper in determining patriotic action on the Cape Fear. I think he was the leader in stirring up feeling in 1774, in response to Boston sentiment, his connection with Boston being close. And he certainly was the prime mover in calling together the meeting that issued the address requesting the voters in the different counties to elect delegates to the first Provincial Congress."

Still another able writer of the present time, refers to William Hooper, as "one of the greatest and best men of whom the annals of North Carolina can boast."\*

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## SUPPLEMENT.

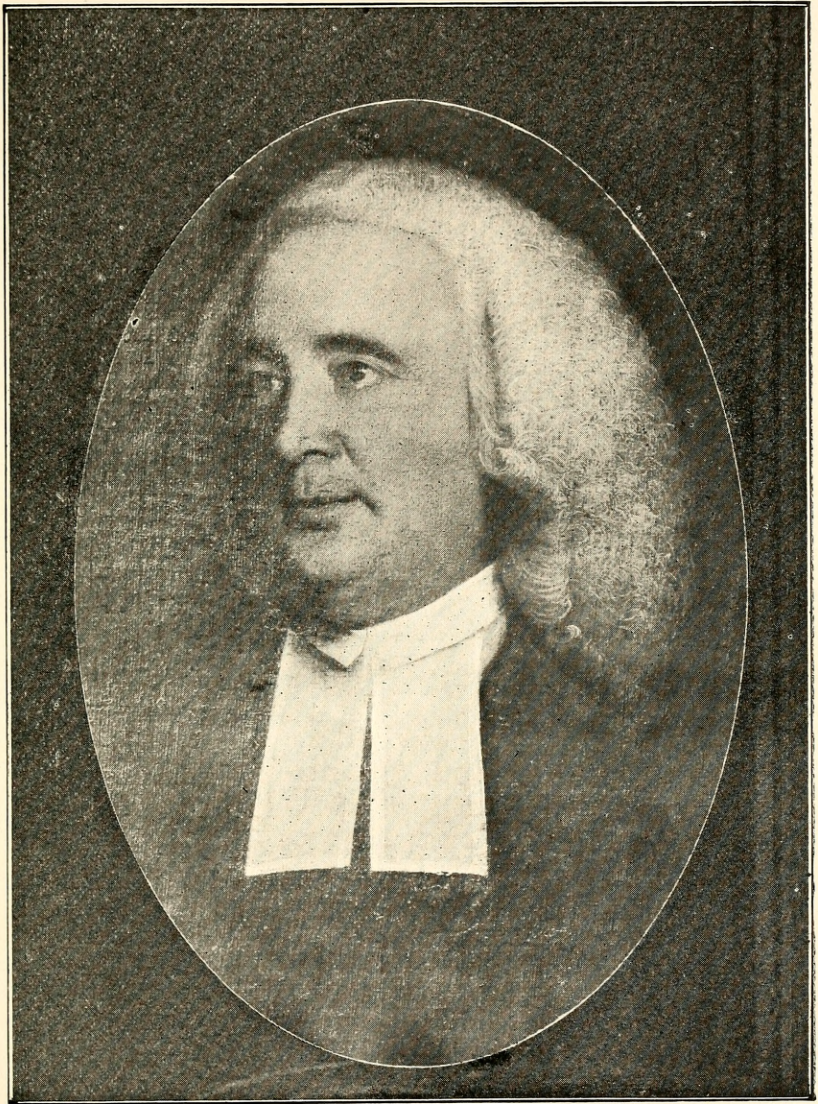
### THE HOOPER FAMILY.

(BY MRS. FANNY DEBERNIERE (HOOPER) WHITAKER.)

As William Hooper, Signer of the Declaration of Independence, like the other founders of this Republic, belongs in a sense to the nation, it was hoped that the addition to the reprint of the preceding sketch, of a number of miscellaneous and desultory records relating to himself and his family would not be deemed impertinent and that they would

\*Mr. Marshall DeLancey Haywood, of Raleigh, N. C., in his LIFE OF GOVERNOR TRYON.





*William Hooper*

Rev. Wm. Hooper. (1704-1767) second Rector of Trinity Church, Boston, from 1747 to 1767; father of William Hooper, Signer of the Declaration of Independence.





be found of interest to that public the foundations of whose existence and prosperity he aided in establishing. Furthermore, mistakes have been made by certain persons whose names are on the Lineage Books of the "Daughters of the American Revolution," in entering that Society through alleged descent from him, whose claims to this descent can not be other than apocryphal, as a careful perusal of the documents referred to would show.

Doubly descended from the Rev. William Hooper, of Boston, Mass., who was the founder of his family in this country and second Rector of Trinity Church in that city, from 1747 to his death in 1767—on my mother's side through his son, the Signer, and on my father's through his son George—and having made a study of the family history, I may be pardoned a double interest in its exposition *as the facts warrant*. In the pursuit of this object, by investigation and by the collection of all available data bearing upon the subject, no pains have been spared and much expense has been incurred, and it was intended, as above-intimated, to publish, in connection with the foregoing memoir, the documents obtained, but the plan has been found <sup>in</sup> ~~un~~compatible with the limits of this periodical, and the following outline of the family is submitted.

The name Hooper is widespread in America, only less so, perhaps, than those respectable and time-honored patronymics Smith and Jones, and embraces very many entirely unconnected families. That to which William Hooper, Signer of the Declaration, belongs, is restricted to well defined and demonstrably narrow limits. The frequent occurrence in this family of the names William and Thomas, renders somewhat difficult, without awkward circumlocution or repetition, a perfectly clear account of it, the Rev. William Hooper, of Boston, his son William, his grandson William and his great-grandson, Rev. William Hooper, of North Carolina, each having had sons by those names. It



is convenient in this account to speak of the second William as the Signer. As stated in the memoir, he married on 1767, Anne Clark, of Wilmington, sister to Thomas Clark, Jr., Colonel and Brevet-Brigadier-General in the Revolutionary army, and his children were three in number, namely:

William,  
Elizabeth,  
Thomas.

Thomas died, unmarried, about 1806, probably in Brunswick county, where he owned considerable property and most likely resided.

Elizabeth married in 1790, Col. Henry Hyrn Watters,\* and her only child, Henry H. Watters, Jr., died, unmarried, at Wilmington, Nov., 1809, aged eighteen years, while at home on vacation from the University.

William, the eldest, married, June 26, 1791, Helen Hogg, daughter of James Hogg, of Hillsboro, and died in Brunswick county, July 15, 1804, leaving, like his father, three children, as follows:

William (Rev.),  
Thomas,  
James.

Of these, James, born in Hillsboro in 1797, married Margaret Broadfoot, daughter of Andrew Broadfoot, of Fayetteville, N. C., and died, without issue, in Fayetteville, June 26, 1841.

Thomas, born in Hillsboro, 1794, married, May 25, 1825, Eliza Donaldson, daughter of Robert Donaldson, of Fayetteville, and he also died childless, Nov., 1828, at Chapel

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\*Col. Henry H. Watters is said to have commanded a regiment of Continental troops at the battle of Cowpens. He died at Wilmington, October 1809. Mrs. Watters died June 30, 1844, aged seventy-four years.

†Mrs. Helen Hogg Hooper married August 17, 1809, Rev. Joseph Caldwell, D. D., first President of University of North Carolina, and died October 30, 1846. There were no children by this marriage.

Hill, his wife having died October, 1825, within five months of their marriage.

The line of descent was thus left in the eldest son, Rev. William Hooper, of North Carolina, who was born in Hillsboro, 1792, married in 1814, Frances Pollock Jones,\* eldets daughter of Edward Jones for many years Solicitor General of North Carolina, and died at Chapel Hill August 19, 1876. He was father of seven children, namely: William, M. D., Edward, M. D.,† Mary,‡ Joseph,§ Elizabeth, Thomas|| and Duponceau, M. D.,¶ all of whom, except Elizabeth and Duponceau, are represented by posterity, and concerning whom and their posterity, information may be had from the latter.

It is thus apparent that two (Elizabeth and Thomas) of the Signer's three children, and three (Henry H. Watters, Jr., and Thomas and James Hooper) of his four grandchildren, having died leaving no issue, the line of descent from him was left solely and exclusively in his grandson, Rev. William Hooper, of North Carolina, and that no one not descended from the latter has a right to claim descent from his grandfather, William Hooper, Signer of the Declaration. Which, as above said, may be demonstrated.

In this account we shall go no further back than the Rev. William Hooper, of Boston. His children were:

\*Mrs. Hooper died in Fayetteville, March 10, 1863.

†Dr. Edward Hooper's daughter, Theresa, is wife of ex-Governor Joseph F. Johnston, of Alabama.

‡Mary, my mother, who married her 4th cousin, John DeBerniere Hooper, son of Archibald Maclaine Hooper.

§Joseph, sole survivor of these—"84 years young"—now residing in Jacksonville, Florida.

||Thomas spent his life in teaching. One of his sons, James S. Hooper, is in business in Wilmington, N. C.

¶Dr. DuPonceau Hooper, Assistant Surgeon 8th Fla. Reg., mortally wounded at the battle of Fredericksburg, died at Fayetteville, unmarried, April 4. 1863.



William (the Signer),  
John,  
George,  
Mary,  
Thomas.

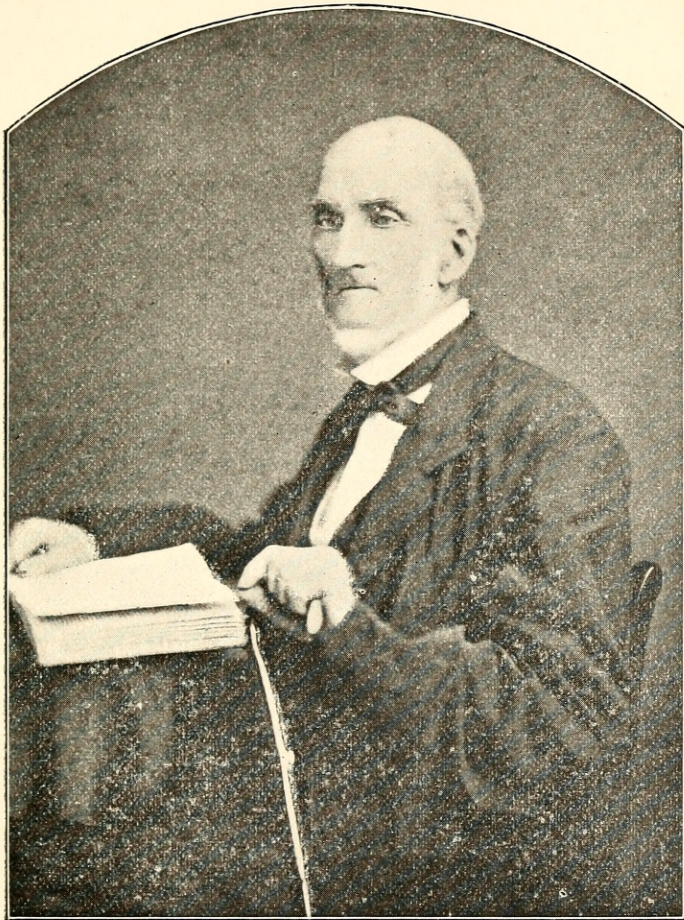
Mary married in 1768, John Russell Spence, of London, who died in Boston, Nov. 1771. John died about 1795. Administration on his estate, granted in Boston in that year, does not mention widow or children. George and Thomas, like their eldest brother William, whose history is recounted in the foregoing pages, came to North Carolina, and both prospered in merchandising. Thomas married, Dec., 1778, Mary Heron, daughter of Capt. Benj. Heron, of Bertie county, North Carolina, removed to South Carolina and died without issue, Aug. 1, 1798, in the 48th year of his age, being survived by his widow twenty-two years.

George, though a loyalist from conviction, was a man of unimpeachable integrity, and charming personality, and possessed the esteem and confidence of his acquaintances. He was considered by competent judges to be the equal of either of his brothers in ability and literary taste. He married Catharine Maclaine, only daughter of Archibald Maclaine, an ardent Revolutionary patriot of North Carolina, and died in 1820 or 1821, leaving two children, Archibald Maclaine Hooper, and Mary; Spence, an intermediate child, having died in infancy.

Archibald Maclaine Hooper, lawyer and journalist, "a ripe scholar and one of the most graceful and accomplished writers of his day," was born in Wilmington, North Carolina, December 7, 1775, married, June 8, 1806, Charlotte DeBerniere, daughter of Lieut. Col. John A. DeBerniere,\* of the 60th Regiment of the British Army, and died Sept. 25, 1853, aged 78 years. Of his children may be mentioned

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\*Lieut.-Col. John A. DeBerniere, emigrated to America in 1799, grandson and namesake of the Huguenot refugee, Jean Antoine DeBerniere, who fled from France about the time of the Revocation, and settled in Ireland.



*Given very truly  
W. Hooper*

William Hooper, D. D., LL. D., for many years Professor of the University of North Carolina and other institutions of learning; President Wake Forest College, N. C., 1846 to 1849; an instructor of youth for sixty five years. He was eldest son of William and Helen (Hogg) Hooper, and grandson of William Hooper, Signer of the Declaration of Independence, and Anne (Clark) Hooper. Born Aug. 31, 1792, died at Chapel Hill, Aug. 19, 1876.





George D., (1809-1892), who was a member of the bar of Columbus, Ga., for a time chancellor of the east division of Alabama, and one of the best known supreme court and chancery lawyers of the state; John DeBerniere, (1811-1886) for many years Professor of Languages in the University of North Carolina, said by Mr. McRee to be, in his opinion, "the most accurate Greek and Latin scholar of his age and day;" Johnson J., (1815-1862) author of *Simon Suggs* and other humorous works, and Secretary of the Confederate Provisional Congress; Louisa and Mary, remarkable for their personal beauty and loveliness of character, of whom Mary died at Pittsboro, Aug. 1837, aged about eighteen years. Louisa married first, Rev. Daniel Cobia, of South Carolina, "but to smooth his path to the grave;" second Sept. 20, 1842, Rev. John J. Roberts,\* and died June 16, 1846, in the 30th year of her age, leaving two children, John DeBerniere Roberts, and Mary Charlotte Roberts. The latter is now the widow of Thomas McCrady, whose home was Charleston, S. C., and resides with her children at Cambridge, Mass.; the former married Miss Lapham and died young, leaving an only child, John Lapham Roberts.

Mary, daughter of George (brother of the Signer) and Catharine (Maclaine) Hooper, married, first, Mr. Shaw,† a daughter, Catharine, being the only child of the marriage; second, June 6, 1806, James Fleming,‡ a merchant of Wilmington. The children of the second marriage were Mary, who married Col. Haynes Waddell, Elizabeth, wife of Rev. Thos. F. Davis, afterwards Bishop of South Carolina from 1853 to 1871; Charlotte, wife of Rt. Rev. Wm. M. Green, of North Carolina, Bishop of Mississippi from 1850 to 1887; and James, who died young, unmarried. There are numerous descendants of these three sisters, prom-

\*Rev. John J. Roberts, D. D., now living, and resides alternately in New York City and Sandwich, Mass.

†The Shaw line is now extinct.

‡Mr. Fleming was killed by a horse, about 1811. Mrs. Fleming  <sup>died</sup>  of a lingering malady, in 1831.  <sub>^</sub>



inent among whom are Rev. DeBerniere Waddell, Mr. Thos. F. Davis, of Yazoo City, Miss., Rev. Stephen H. Green and many others.

Most of the children of George D. Hooper, of Alabama, died in infancy. Of those who survived to maturity, the following may with propriety be mentioned. George W. and Charles M. joined volunteer companies of the Confederate Army at the beginning of the War for Southern Independence. George went into the battle of Seven Pines, as Captain in the 6th Alabama Regiment, was shot in the side, had the bones of both legs broken and lost the use of his right hand. He was highly complimented by Gen. Rhodes for his courage and ability and received promotion as Lieutenant Colonel for that day's fight. He was then about twenty years old and this was his only battle, but he afterwards performed for the Confederate States Army, several commissions such as were possible to a cripple. After the war he was Prosecuting Attorney for Russell county, Alabama, was a successful lawyer and died in 1883, leaving a widow and children. His brother, Charles, was promoted from Second Lieutenant to Lieutenant Colonel on the battle field of second Manassas, for distinguished gallantry in the face of the enemy, was afterwards awarded a medal of honor authorized by the Confederate Congress, and made Colonel on the recommendation of General Lee himself. John DeBerniere, the youngest son, was the first Inspector of Mines in Alabama and is a Civil and Mining Engineer in that State.

Johnson J. Hooper, author of *Simon Suggs* and Secretary of the Confederate Provisional Congress, who died in Richmond, Va., in June, 1862, left two children, William and Adolphus, both of whom met tragic deaths. William was in the Confederate Army, and after the war studied and practiced law at Aberdeen, Mississippi. He was a young man of the highest character and brilliant promise. He was shot down in the court-house at Aberdeen in 1875, and was

survived by a widow, two sons and a daughter. Adolphus was too young to enter the army. He also was a man of talent and lovable qualities, was successful in business and always had the confidence of those who knew him. He was killed in New Orleans about 1895, by a railroad train. There were several side tracks at the place where he was standing, two trains were passing at the same time, and in stepping back to avoid one he was struck by the other. He was unmarried.







MONUMENT AT GUILFORD BATTLE GROUND





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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  
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION.

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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  
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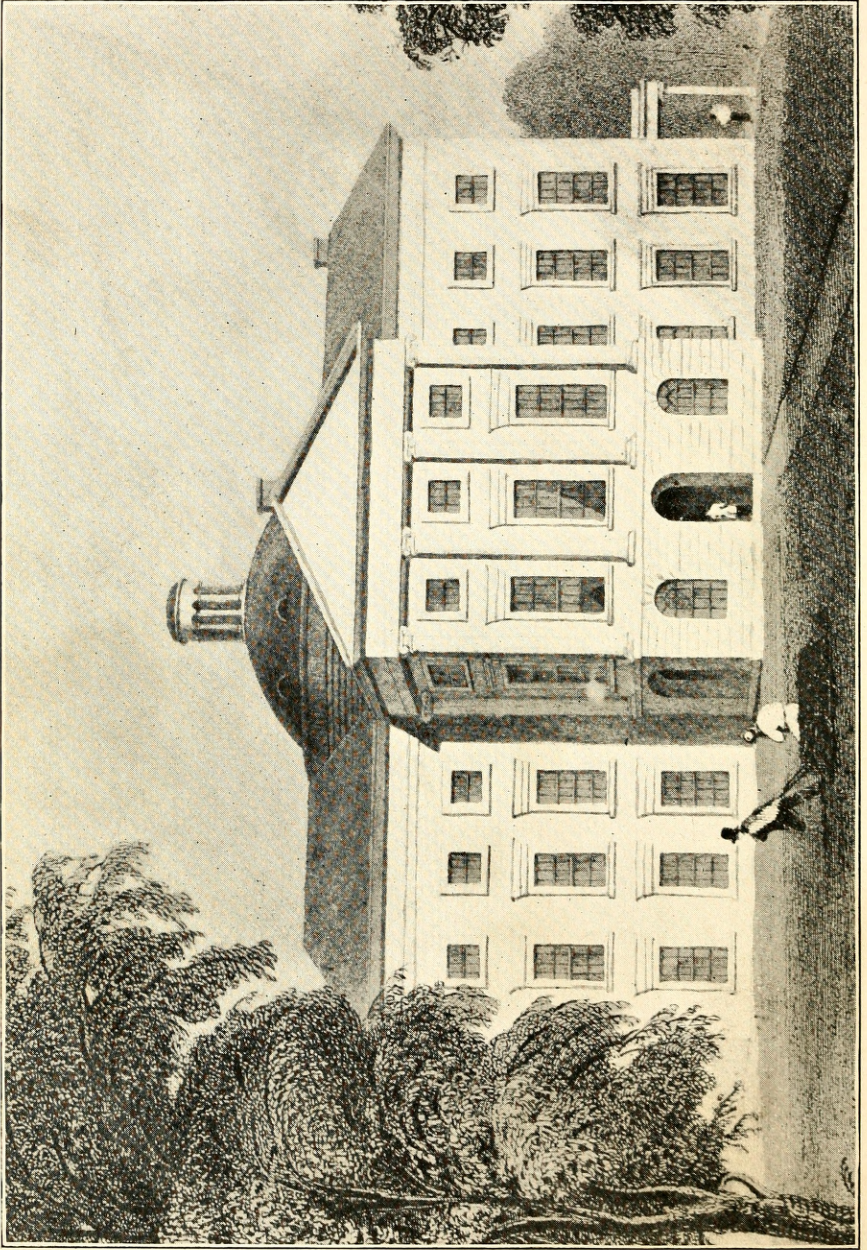
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\*Died December 12, 1904.







THE FIRST CAPITOL OF NORTH CAROLINA, DESTROYED BY FIRE, JUNE 21ST, 1835.



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## HISTORY OF THE CAPITOL.

BY CHARLES EARL JOHNSON.

The history of the Capitol cannot be written without some account of the city of Raleigh. Raleigh is one of the few cities in this country, or in any country for that matter, which sprang into full-fledged existence without having been the enlargement of a previously existing town. In this it is unique, and to this it owes much of its beauty, since in the beginning there was only a wide expanse of farming land and forest, thus allowing streets and lots to be laid out with mathematical precision under the direction of skilled engineers.

The first General Assembly, of which we have much information, met at the house of Captain Richard Sanderson, on Little River, in the County of Perquimans, in the year 1715. In 1720 the Legislative body met at the general court-house at Queen Anne's Creek, in Chowan precinct. In 1723 it met at Edenton. After that it drifted about, at various times sitting at Edenton, Wilmington, New Bern, Kinston, Halifax, Smithfield, Wake Court-House, Hillsboro, Salem and Tarborough. In 1787 at Tarborough the General Assembly resolved that it: "Be recommended to the people of the State to authorize and direct their representatives in the Convention called to consider the Federal Constitution to fix on the place of an unalterable seat of government."



This Convention was held at Hillsboro in July and August, 1788, and I give below extracts from the journal of that body, which explain more fully than any description I might give just why the seat of government came to be located where it now is.

EXTRACTS FROM JOURNAL:

“Thursday, July 31st, 1788: On motion made by Mr. Rutherford, and seconded by Mr. Steele, *Resolved*, that the Convention will to-morrow at four o'clock in the afternoon, proceed to fix on a proper place for the seat of government of this State.”

“Mr. John G. Blount obtained leave for himself and others to enter a protest on the journal against the above resolution.

“Friday, August 1st, 1788: Ordered that Mr. Iredell, Mr. Maclaine and Mr. Jones be a committee to prepare and bring in an ordinance to establish the seat of government at the place hereafter to be fixed on by this Convention.

“On a motion made by Mr. Joseph McDowell and seconded by Mr. Benj. Smith, *Resolved*, that the Convention will ballot for the place at which the seat of government shall be fixed.

“The yeas and nays were demanded on this resolution, and it prevailed by a vote of 134 to 117.

“Saturday, August 2nd, 1788: On motion of Mr. Willie Jones, seconded, by Mr. Thomas Alderson, it was decided to allow the Legislature to fix the exact place of the seat of government, only it must be within ten miles of the place designated by the Convention.

“*Resolved*, that the several places hereafter named be in nomination for the seat of government of this State, to-wit: Smithfield, nominated by Mr. James Payne; Tarborough, nominated by Mr. Robert W. Williams; Fayetteville, nominated by Mr. Wm. Barry Grove; Mr. Isaac Hunter's, in

Wake County, nominated by Mr. James Iredell; Newbern, nominated by the Hon. Mr. Spencer; Hillsborough, nominated by Mr. Alexander Mebane; the Fork of Haw and Deep Rivers, nominated by Mr. Thomas Person. And that Mr. Elijah Mitchell, Mr. Benjamin Williams, Mr. Nathaniel Jones and Mr. John Caines be appointed Commissioners to superintend and conduct the balloting.

“Adjourned until ten o’clock.

“Met according to adjournment. The Commissioners reported no choice, and a second ballot was ordered.

“Adjourned until four o’clock.

“Met according to adjournment. The Commissioners reported a majority of votes in favor of Mr. Isaac Hunter’s in Wake County.

“Mr. Iredell, from the Committee heretofore appointed, brought in a bill to establish the seat of government, etc., which was read, passed and ordered to be ratified.

“Ordered, that all who desired to do so should have leave to enter their protest on the journal.

“Monday, August 4th, 1788: Mr. William Barry Grove presented a protest signed by over one hundred members.”

Not until 1791 did the General Assembly, which met at New Bern, carry into effect the ordinance passed at Hillsborough in 1788. The act passed by the General Assembly provided that nine persons should be appointed to lay off and locate the city within ten miles of Isaac Hunter’s; and five persons “To cause to be built and erected a State House sufficiently large to accommodate, with convenience, both the houses of the General Assembly, at an expense not to exceed ten thousand pounds.” The nine persons chosen as Commissioners were: Joseph McDowell, the elder, James Martin, Thomas Person, Thomas Blount, William Johnston Dawson, Frederick Hargett, Henry William Harrington, James Bloodworth and Willie Jones. The Building Committee selected were: Richard Bennehan, John Meaon, Robert Goodloe, Nathan Bryan and Theophilus Hunter.



It has been supposed that on April the 4th, 1792, there assembled at the house of Isaac Hunter five of the nine Commissioners, and that they then proceeded to determine the site for the city, but I have before me an autograph letter of Joel Lane to General Harrington, which I give in full:

“WAKE COURT-HOUSE, 13th MARCH, 1792.

DEAR SIR:—On the 20th instant the Commissioners for fixing on the place for the seat of government are to meet, and as I am not certain you have been notified of it. I take the liberty to request your attendance, having reason to believe that unless you are present the Eastern interest will fix it on the north side of Neuse River.

“I am Dr. sir Yours,

“Respectfully,

JOEL LANE.”

However, General Harrington did not attend, for some time between the 20th and 22nd of March a majority of the Commission, six in number, to-wit: Frederick Hargett, Willie Jones, Joseph McDowell, Thomas Blount, William Johnston Dawson and James Martin arrived on the scene. They proceeded to ride over and investigate the different tracts of land offered, and also, according to tradition, had a good old time generally. They seem to have kept this up for about a week, for on the 29th of March, 1792, the Commissioners, according to their report, chose as their Chairman Frederick Hargett, and proceeded to ballot, with the result that there were cast for John Hinton's three votes, for Joel Lane's two votes, and for Henry Lane's one vote. Another ballot was taken and resulted in three votes for John Hinton's, two for Joel Lane's, and one for Nathaniel Jones'. Mr. Nathaniel Jones lived where Cary now is. The Commissioners then adjourned, and when they met at nine o'clock next morning Joel Lane's tract got five votes, and John Hinton's offer received only one vote, which goes to prove that

Joel Lane was a good politician, and would have graced Raleigh's present Aldermanic Board had he lived in this, our day and generation. It is worthy of remark that one of the items in the Commissioner's report reads as follows: "Joel Lane was allowed for entertaining the Commissioners fourteen days, forty-four pounds, sixteen shillings." One might reasonably ask, why the sixteen shillings?

On the 5th of April, 1792, the deed for one thousand acres was executed by Joel Lane, and as this deed has never before been published, I give it here in full. It is more than probable that this deed would have been lost but for the care and energy of our present Secretary of State, Hon. J. Bryan Grimes, who rescued it a short while back from some discarded rubbish:

"This indenture, made the fifth day of April, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two, between Joel Lane, Esquire, of Wake County, of the one part, and Alexander Martin, Esquire, Governor of the State of North Carolina, of the other part, Witnesseth: that the said Joel Lane, for the sum of one thousand three hundred and seventy-eight pounds, current money of North Carolina, to him paid by Frederick Hargett, Esquire, Chairman of the Board of Commissioners appointed, by act of Assembly passed in Decr., in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one, to determine on the place for holding the future meetings of the General Assembly, and for the residence of the Chief Officers of the State of North Carolina, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged: Hath granted, bargained and sold, aliened, enfeoffed, released and confirmed, and by these presents doth grant, bargain and sell, alien, enfeoff, release and confirm to the said Alexander Martin, Esquire, and his successors in office for the time being, a certain tract or parcel of land in Wake County, to the Eastward of and near to Wake Court-House, containing one thousand acres, more or less, and bound as follows: Beginning at four



sasafras, two white oaks, two persimmons and an elm on Rocky Branch, thence North ten degrees East three hundred and thirty-four poles to a stake in the run of a spring branch; then East three hundred and twenty-seven poles to a small hickory and red oak, near a craggy rock; then North forty poles to a stake near a red oak; then East one hundred and fifty-eight poles to a stake in the center of a red oak a hickory and two post oaks; then South two hundred and eighty-one poles to a white oak in Joshua Suggs' line; then South fifty-seven degrees West two hundred and fifty-six poles to a young hickory; then North eighty-four degrees West one hundred and thirty poles to a post oak; then West one hundred and forty-eight poles to a white oak on the Rocky Branch; then up the branch, the various courses thereof, to the beginning; and all woods, timber trees, ways, waters, springs, emoluments and advantages to said tract of land belonging: To have and to hold the said tract of land, with the appurtenances, to the said Alexander Martin, Esquire, and his successors in office, for the time being, for the sole use and benefit of the State of North Carolina, forever. And the said Joel Lane, for himself and his heirs; doth covenant, bargain and agree to and with the said Alexander Martin, Esquire, and his successors in office, that he, the said Joel Lane and his heirs, shall and will warrant and defend the premises, with the appurtenances, to the said Alexander Martin and his successors in office, for the time being, for the benefit of the State as aforesaid, against himself and his heirs, and against the lawful claim of all persons forever.

"In witness whereof, the said Joel Lane hath hereto put his hand and seal, the day and year first above-mentioned.

"Ackd.

JOEL LANE," (Seal.)

Signed, sealed and delivered in presence of

WM. CHRISTMAS,

WILLIE JONES,

JOSEPH BROWN.

April 5th, 1792.

“Received of Frederick Hargett, Esquire, Chairman of the Board of Commissioners, authorized to purchase lands for the permanent seat of government, a warrant on the Treasurer for the sum of one thousand three hundred and seventy-eight pounds currency, in full, of the consideration money above-mentioned.

“Ackd.

JOEL LANE.

“Witness:

THOS. BLOUNT.

“Wake County, June Term, 1792.

“Then was the above deed duly acknowledged in open Court, by Joel Lane, Esq., and ordered to be registered.

“H. LANE, C. C.

“Enrolled in the Register’s Office of Wake County, in Book L, and page (illegible) this 6th day of June, 1792.

“JAS. HINTON, Register.

“Examined by Sol. Goodrick.”

Upon receiving this deed the Commissioners proceeded to lay off the plan of a city containing four hundred acres, arranged in five squares of four acres each, and 276 lots of one acre each. One of the squares was named Caswell Square, in honor of Governor Caswell. This is now the site of the Institution for the Blind. The Northeastern Square was named after Thomas Burke, also Governor, and here now is located the Governor’s Mansion, though formerly the site of the old Raleigh Academy. Nash Square was in the southwestern portion of the city, and is now a beautiful resting place just opposite the Union Depot. Moore Square was in the southeastern section of the city, and is still kept open as a pleasant breathing place for the inhabitants of that portion of the city. The central square was named Union Square, and on it now stands our beautiful Capitol building, formerly called the State House.



The first Gubernatorial Mansion was a plain two-story frame building painted white, and stood on lot number 131 of the original plan of the city. An office for the Governor was erected in the corner of this lot just where the present Raleigh Banking and Trust Company stands. In 1813 the General Assembly appointed a committee composed of Henry Porter, Henry Seawell, William Hinton, Nathaniel Jones, of Crabtree, Theophilus Hunter and William Peace to erect a new and more commodious dwelling for the Governor at a cost not to exceed five thousand pounds. The site selected for the new Gubernatorial residence, which was called the Governor's Palace, was at the foot of Fayetteville street, directly south of and fronting the Capitol, just where the Centennial Graded School now stands. The edifice was completed during Governor Miller's administration, and he was its first occupant.

In 1792, with appropriate ceremonies, was laid the corner stone of the first State House, as it was then called. The term Capitol was not adopted until 1832. The architect was Rody Adkins. The brick were made in brick yards located at lots numbers 138 and 154, and the maximum cost of the building is said to have been fixed by the committee at twenty thousand dollars. The building was of brick, of a dingy, reddish color. The General Assembly met for the first time in the completed State House in the fall of 1794. Richard Dobbs Speight, the elder, was then the Governor. Eight years afterwards he was killed in a duel by John Stanly. Although the exterior of the building was exceedingly plain, and the building itself much smaller than the present structure, the interior arrangement was somewhat similar, having broad passages running the entire length of the building from north to south, and from east to west. There was a dome, and there was a rotunda at the intersection of the passages. In this rotunda was placed the famous statue of Washington by the great sculptor Canova. This statue did

not survive the destruction of the building by fire on the 21st of June, 1831. An attempt, however, was made to restore it, and three thousand dollars was appropriated for that purpose. At the suggestion of Judge Gaston, a sculptor named Hughes was employed to restore it. Hughes asked for an advance of \$500 for preliminary expenses, and it is said that his signing the receipt for this money was the first, last and only act done by him in performance of the work. The remains of the statue are now in the Hall of History.

The State House was literally the house of the people, and the State House bell was for many years the only bell in Raleigh. This bell was used for all public purposes. The State House itself, and the grounds about it, were often used for all conceivable purposes. There not being either church or theatre yet built in the young city, the people assembled in its halls on Sunday to worship God, and on week days, as occasion offered, to witness theatrical and slight-of-hand performances, and to listen to lectures and orations. Balls and receptions were of frequent occurrence, while patriotic observance of the 4th of July was always a feature. I can not refrain from quoting a contemporaneous account of the thirty-third celebration of the 4th of July:

“The thirty-third anniversary of American Independence was celebrated in this city in the usual manner on the 4th inst. At 12 o'clock a procession of citizens and strangers with Capt. Willie Jones' troop of cavalry at the head, formed at the court-house—agreeably to previous arrangements, and directed by Capt. Scott, proceeded up Fayetteville street to the State House, during the ringing of the State House, court-house, Academy and town bells, and firing of cannon. Being seated in the Common's Chamber, an ode in honor of the day, composed for the occasion, was sung by a choir of about 70 voices, conducted by Mr. Seward, accompanied by a band of instrumental music.



“The Rev. Mr. Turner then rose and delivered an oration of the merits of which we shall at present forbear to speak, as we intend to solicit a copy for publication.

“At 3 o'clock the company sat down to an excellent dinner, prepared by Mr. Casso at the State House, at which Col. Polk and Judge Potter presided.

“The Supreme Court of the State being in session, the celebration was honored with the presence of the judges, gentlemen of the bar, and many other characters of respectability from almost every part of the State.

“In the evening a ball was given to the ladies.”

Where are now the brave fellows who proudly marched up Fayetteville street to the glad strains of martial music on that 4th of July, nearly one hundred years ago? Where are now the smart young beaux and the smiling belles, who thread the happy mazes of the reel and bowed through the stately minuet at that gay ball in those halls? Gone is the old State House, gone are they. Where will we be a hundred years hence?

About 1819 the Governor was authorized to improve the State House under the direction of the State Architect. East and west porticoes were added, additional elevation was given to the walls, and the whole was covered with stucco in the imitation of stone. This work was done under the supervision of Wm. Nichols, who had recently been appointed State Architect, and the work was completed early in the summer of 1822.

On the morning of the 21st of June, 1831, the citizens of Raleigh were startled by the cry of fire, and smoke was seen to be issuing from the eaves of the Capitol. It was impossible to stay the flames, or to remove the statue of Washington. In a short while the building was a complete wreck. Most of the public documents were saved, as the fire worked downward from the roof.

As a description of this fire will doubtless prove interest-

ing, I give the account which appeared in the Raleigh Register of Thursday, June 23d, 1831:

“Awful conflagration! It is our painful and melancholy duty again to announce to the public another appalling instance of loss by fire, which will be deeply felt and lamented by every individual in our State. It is nothing less than the total destruction of the Capitol of the State, located in this city. Of that noble edifice, with its splendid decorations, nothing now remains but the blackened walls and smouldering ruins. The State Library is also entirely 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 minds, that the loss is one which can not be repaired. The most active exertions were made to rescue this *chef d'oeuvre* of Canova from the ravishes of the devouring elements, nor were they desisted from until the danger became imminent.

“The alarm was given about seven o'clock on Tuesday morning, and it was presently evident that all attempts to extinguish the fire would prove perfectly fruitless. The efforts of the bystanders were then directed towards the protection of the public offices on the Square, and the adjacent private buildings, and to the preservation of the official archives. We are happy to add that none of the former were injured, and that the latter, including the Legislative records, were all saved. The beautiful grove of oaks, of which the Capitol was the center ornament, did more towards staying the progress of the flames than any human effort, and inculcates most forcibly the propriety of cultivating shade trees in cities, on the score of security from fire alone, to say nothing of other considerations. Seldom has the eye witnessed so awful a spectacle as this vast building in one concentrated blaze, streaming from every window, and a vast column from the roof, forming altogether a scene not adequately to be described.



“The origin of the fire is not certainly known, but we believe the general impression is, that it was the result of most culpable carelessness on the part of a man who had been employed to assist in soldering the new zinc roof, as he was seen that morning carrying up a coal of fire between two shingles considerably ignited, a spark from which, in all probability, fell amongst some combustible matter between the roof and ceiling, which took fire while the hands were at breakfast.

“Considering the rapidity with which the fire progressed it is an alleviating circumstance that the public papers were all secured. Besides the papers of the Clerks of the two houses of the Legislature, and those of the Comptroller and of the Clerk of the Supreme Court, the fine copy of Stewart’s painting of the Father of our Country, and some articles of furniture of the Legislative chambers, were preserved from the flames.

“It will be seen from the accompanying resolutions, that the congregation and pew-holders of the Presbyterian church, with laudable public spirit, have tendered to the Governor the use of their buildings for the temporary accommodation of the Legislature.

“RALEIGH, JUNE 21st, 1831.

“At a meeting of the congregation and pew-holders of the Presbyterian church of this city, the Reverend William McPheeters was called to the chair, and H. M. Miller, Esq., was requested to act as secretary.

“The meeting, taking into consideration the very distressing calamity with which the city of Raleigh and the State generally has this day been visited, in the destruction by fire, of that noble edifice, the State House, which was the pride and ornament of the State, adopted unanimously the following resolutions:

“*Resolved*, That they do hereby respectfully offer to His Excellency, the Governor of the State of North Carolina, and

through him to the General Assembly of the State, this church with the Session House thereunto attached, as a temporary accommodation for holding the sessions of that honorable body until a more convenient and permanent building shall be provided.

*“Resolved,* That should any alteration in said church be deemed advisable for the better accommodation of the members of the Assembly, that they do hereby allow and authorized said alterations to be made.

*“Resolved,* That a copy of the foregoing resolutions, signed by the Chairman and counter-signed by the Secretary, be handed to His Excellency the Governor.

“WILLIAM MCPHEETERS,  
Chairman.

“H. M. MILLER,  
Secretary.

“We learn also that the use of the Session House of the Presbyterian church has been politely offered to the judges and bar of the Supreme Court, at present in session, and the offer has been thankfully accepted.”

This building had previously narrowly escaped destruction by fire. During the administration of Governor Ashe, and covering the period of 1796, 1797 and 1798, it was discovered that numerous frauds had been perpetrated in the office of the Secretary of State. James Glasgow, who had enjoyed a high reputation, and had the confidence of the public, was then the Secretary of State. It was found that with the assistance of confederates he had been issuing fraudulent grants of land in Tennessee and Western North Carolina. Certain documents incriminating Glasgow and his confederates were in a trunk or trunks in the Secretary of State's office, and Governor Ashe received a confidential message from Nashville warning him of a conspiracy to burn the State



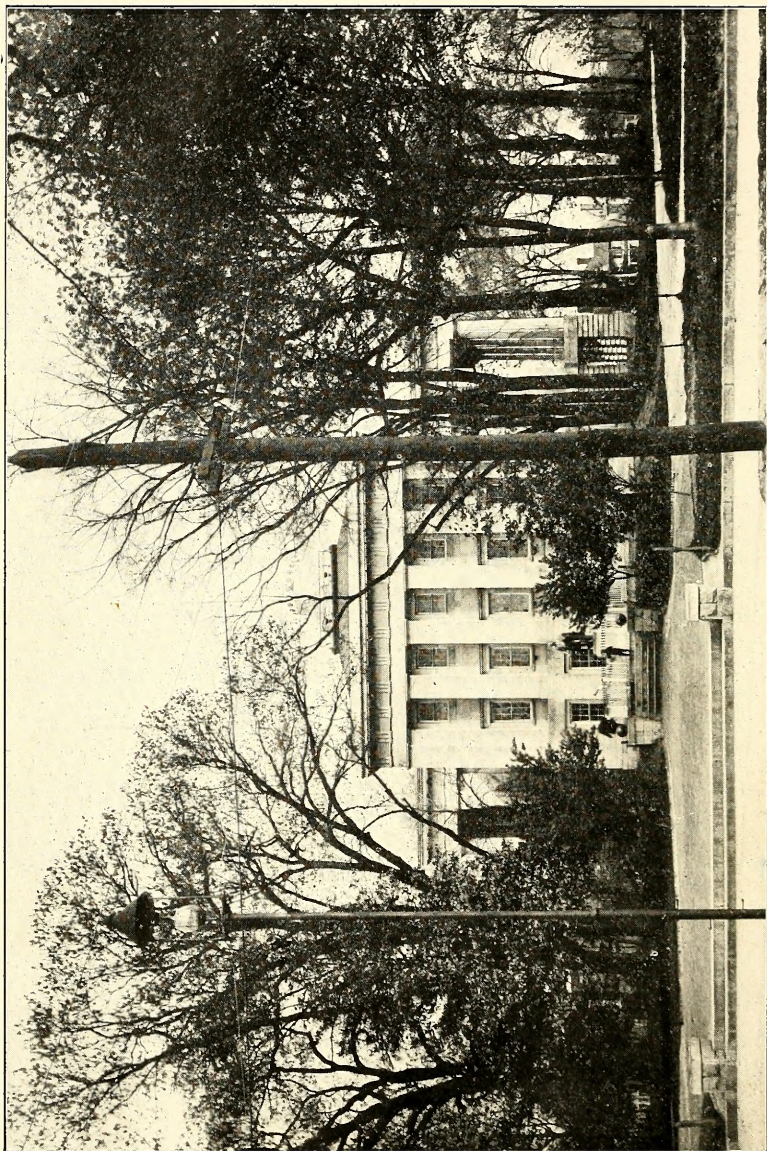
House in order to destroy these papers. After this information was received a guard was kept about the Capitol for the next two months, but one night when a ball was being given at Casso's Hotel to the bridal party shortly after the second marriage of the public Treasurer, the festivities were interrupted by the hasty entrance of a messenger with the information that some one was forcing his way into the window of the office where the trunks containing the records in question were deposited. The man was caught, was ascertained to be the slave of one of the persons charged with fraud, was convicted of burglary and executed.

After the destruction of the State House, rivalry as to the seat of government again broke out. Politicians all over the State commenced to manœuvre with the dual object of obtaining the Capitol for their own community, and at the same time advancing their political fortunes. To Judge Henry Seawell, Senator from Wake, has generally been given the credit of saving the day for Raleigh. It is a matter of tradition that the town of Haywood at the junction of the Haw and Deep Rivers failed to secure the Capitol by only one vote, but this is not borne out by the records, as the vote shows that the bill appropriating \$50,000 for re-building on the old site passed in the House by 73 to 60, and in the Senate by 35 to 28.

The Commissioners selected to have in charge this important work were Henry Seawell, Romulus M. Saunders, Duncan Cameron, William S. Mhoon and William Boylan. All were Raleigh men except William S. Mhoon, who was from Bertie, but was at that time residing in Raleigh, as State Treasurer. These Commissioners did the very wise thing of spending the whole of the small appropriation on the foundations. The subsequent General Assemblies had to make additional appropriations from time to time, until in 1840, which year marked the completion of the Capitol, the cost had amounted to the not inconsiderable sum of \$530,684.15.







THE PRESENT CAPITOL AT RALEIGH, BUILT BETWEEN 1831 AND 1840.



The original Commissioners re-signed in 1836, and were succeeded by Samuel F. Patterson, Beverley Daniel, Charles Manly, Alfred Jones and Charles L. Hinton. Beverly Daniel acted as Chairman of the Commission.

The work at first was under the supervision of the State Architect, William Nichols and I. Town, of New York, but David Paton was the draughtsman and may be considered the real architect of the noble structure. Stone cutters and masons were brought from Scotland to work upon the building, and some of Raleigh's most substantial and highly esteemed citizens of to-day are descendants of those who came from over the waters for that purpose. The stone was taken from a granite quarry southeast of the Capitol, and about one mile distant. The stone was conveyed from the quarry to the workmen engaged in the erection of the building by means of a railroad with horse power. This, the first experimental railroad ever operated in North Carolina, and said to have suggested the building of the North Carolina Railroad, according to tradition, was first proposed by Mrs. Polk, the wife of Colonel Polk.

The following is a full and particular description of the present Capitol, written by the architect David Paton:

"The State Capitol is 160 feet in length from north to south, by 140 feet from east to west. The whole height is 97 1-2 feet in the centre. The apex of pediment is 64 feet in height. The stylobate is 18 feet in height. The columns of the east and west porticoes are 5 feet 2 1-2 inches in diameter. An entablature, including blocking course, is continued around the building, 12 feet high.

"The columns and entablature are Grecian Doric, and copied from the Temple of Minerva, commonly called the Parthenon, which was erected in Athens about 500 years before Christ. An octagon tower surrounds the rotunda, which is ornamented with Grecian cornice, etc., and its dome is decorated at top with a similar ornament to that of the



Choragic Monument of Lysicrates, commonly called the Lantern of Demosthenes.

“The interior of the Capitol is divided into three stories:

“First, the lower story, consisting of ten rooms, eight of which are appropriated as offices to the Governor, Secretary, Treasurer and Comptroller, each having two rooms of the same size—the one containing an area of 649 square feet, the other 528 square feet—the two Committee rooms, each containing 200 square feet, and four closets; also the rotunda, corridors, vestibules and piazzas, contain an area of 4,370 square feet. The vestibules are decorated with columns and antæ, similar to that of the Ionic Temple on the Ilissus, near the Acropolis of Athens. The remainder is groined with stone and brick, springing from columns and pilasters of the Roman Doric.

“The second story consists of Senatorial and Representatives’ chambers, the former containing an area of 2,545 and the latter 2,849 square feet. Four apartments enter from Senate chamber, two of which contain each an area of 169 square feet, and the other two contain each an area of 154 square feet; also two rooms enter from Representatives’ chamber, each containing an area of 170 square feet; of two Committee rooms, each containing an area of 231 feet; of four presses and the passages, stairs, lobbies and colonades, containing an area of 3,204 square feet.

“The lobbies and hall of Representatives have their columns and antæ of the Octagon Tower of Andronicus Cyrrhestes, and the plan of the hall is of the formation of the Greek theatre, and the columns and antæ in the Senatorial chamber and rotunda are of the Temple of Erectheus, Minerva Polias and Pandrosus, in the Acropolis of Athens, near the above-named Parthenon.

“Third, or attic story, consists of rooms appropriated to the Supreme Court and Library, each containing an area of 693 square feet. Galleries of both houses have an area of

1,300 square feet; also two apartments entering from Senate gallery, each 169 square feet, of four presses and the lobbies' stairs, 988 square feet. These lobbies, as well as rotunda, are lit with cupolas, and it is proposed to finish the Court and Library in the florid Gothic style."

These halls have heard in debate the great men who have figured in North Carolina history for nearly a century—Badger, Iredell, Morehead, Graham, Vance—but why call the roll of the mighty host! Their voices are hushed forever to our earthly ears, but as we stand where they once stood we can not but feel a vibrant inspiration from the atmosphere which once sounded their words of counsel and resounded with the people's applause. This building is hallowed by memories of our illustrious dead—the very stones are sacred. It stands a beautiful monument of the past and the present, linking one generation with another. Leave us our Capitol as it is! Let no vandal hand touch it! The additional room needed for State offices can be supplied by acquiring property facing upon the square, and erecting permanent buildings thereon of a character in harmony with the Capitol itself. Let the Executive, Treasury, and other offices be arranged in these buildings, which could be made fire-proof as well as comfortable, and leave for the Legislature and its committees the grand old structure in its solid majesty, and with its historic memories unmarred by change. We would indeed then have a Capitol and State buildings of which every North Carolinian might be proud.

Raleigh, N. C., August 15th, 1905.



# SOME NOTES ON COLONIAL NORTH CAROLINA 1700-1750.

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By J. BRYAN GRIMES.

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In writing of Colonial North Carolina I can not do a better service than to present bare facts with sources of information rather than give an expression of my views and conclusions as to social conditions in our province before 1750. Before the middle of the eighteenth century we had no press and the world heard of us only from the print of the outsider who, from jealousy, ignorance or prejudice, did not do us justice. Having no historian of our own in Colonial times, our writers have relied as an authority upon Chalmers, whose every chapter was a continued vituperation or misrepresentation of our State. George Chalmers was born in Scotland, in 1742, and "emigrated to Maryland where he practiced law for ten years, till the troubles of the Revolution began, and then he returned to England." He was a bitter loyalist who had no patience with the spirit of American independence. The first of his historical works was published in 1781 during the Revolutionary War.

Of our history Col. Saunders says: "The first search made in London for information in regard to North Carolina affairs was doubtless that made by the historian George Chalmers, who, in 1780, published his Political Annals of the Present United Colonies, the fruit of his labors in the British Record Office to which the official position he held gave him access. This volume has been the standard authority with all later Carolina historians. Its general accuracy as to matters of fact is by no means perfect, and Mr.

Chalmers' bitter prejudices as a loyalist render his conclusions utterly unreliable.

At a later date the historian Williamson, who desired copies of certain papers in London relating to Carolina, hoped that Mr. Chalmers would furnish him therewith or assist him in obtaining them. Mr. Chalmers would do neither and threatened to interfere if application should be made to the head of the proper department."

Let us glance at some of the writings of this "Standard authority with all later North Carolina historians" and compare them with the pages of Bancroft.

Of this colony just before the Culpeper rebellion Chalmers says:

"Originally a sprout from Virginia, the unprosperous plantation of North Carolina naturally produced the same unpleasant fruits, during that boisterous season. Alteration of system, no less than change of governors had long prevented the revolt of a colony, which, in 1675, contained only four thousand inhabitants, who derived, unhappily, no benefit from the coercion of laws or the influences of religion." *a*

Of this same period Bancroft says:

"The government had for about a year been left in what Royalists called 'Ill order and worse hands.' That is, it had been a government of the people themselves, favoring popular liberty, even to the protection of the friends of Colonial Independence." *b*

Chalmers writes again:

"North Carolina enjoyed unusual quiet for some time after the expulsion of Sothell, because continued anarchy often prompts a desire for fixed repose. \* \* \* The most inconsiderable community of North Carolina has never relinquished the flattering gratifications of self-rule, even when they were inconvenient. Having refused to join in

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*a* Chal., p. 166.

*b* Ban., Vol. 2, p. 157.



legislation with their Southern neighbors, the inhabitants were delivered over to their discontents; having denied submission to the Deputy-Governor sent them from Charleston, the proprietaries seem in despair to have relinquished them to their own management, in 1695, without inquiring for seven years after, whether they prospered or declined." *a*

In contrast to the above Bancroft writes:

"Here was a double grief to the proprietaries; the rapacity of Sothell was a breach of trust; the judgment of the Assembly an ominous usurpation. \* \* \* The planters of North Carolina recovered tranquility so soon as they escaped the misrule from abroad, and sure of amnesty, esteemed themselves the happiest people on earth. They loved the pure air and clear skies of their 'summer land.'" \* \* \*

"The planters of Albemarle were men who had been led to the choice of their residence from a hatred of restraint, and had lost themselves among the woods in search of independence. Are there any who doubt man's capacity for self-government, let them study the history of North Carolina; its inhabitants were restless and turbulent in their imperfect submission to a government imposed on them from abroad; the administration of the colony was firm, humane and tranquil when they were left to take care of themselves. Any government, but one of their own institution, was oppressive. \* \* \* North Carolina was settled by the freest of the free; by men to whom the restraints of other colonies were too severe. But the settlers were gentle in their tempers, of serene minds, enemies to violence and blood-shed. \* \* \* Freedom, entire freedom, was enjoyed without anxiety as without guarantees; the charities of life were scattered at their feet, like the flowers in their meadows; and the spirit of humanity maintained its influence in the Ar-

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*a* Chalmers, pp. 264, 399.

cadia, as Royalist writers will have it, of 'rogues and rebels' in the paradise of Quakers." *a*

After a half page of sneers at North Carolina to cover a period of her history, he, Chalmers, ends a chapter thus :

"And this wretched province was continually branded as the general receptacle of the fugitive, the smuggler and the pirate ; as a community, destitute of religion to meliorate the heart, or of laws to direct the purpose of the will. \* \* \* In North Carolina disorder is said to have continued its natural progress from the epoch of its settlement to the accession of George the Second. Destitute of the kindly influences of religion and of law, the planters acquired peculiar habits from acting a singular part amidst perpetual tumult. \* \* \* Owing to his usual inattention, the Duke of Newcastle sent Burrington, a man still more weak and corrupt, and intemperate than his predecessor to rule such a people during such a season. \* \* \* In April, 1733, Johnston, a domestic of Lord Wilmington, was appointed his successor, a man of sufficient knowledge and prudence, but whose experience degenerated a little into cunning. \* \* \* And during the year 1749 North Carolina was found to 'be a little better than an asylum for fugitives since it was destitute of any regular government.' Such are the unpleasant incidents which occupy the story of an inconsiderable settlement, that gradually filled with people as the law offered protection to the vagabond, as every one lived without control, and all enjoyed in security what a trivial labor had gained." *b*

While the North Carolina patriots were blazing the way for American independence, and a year or two before their armed resistance to Great Britain, this man Chalmers, who for a century was accepted as authority on our Colonial history, dismisses us from history in these words :

"The story of this tumultuous settlement is from this period filled with nothing but the play of parties, the wailings of imbecility and the complaint of recrimination." *c*

*a* Ban., Vol. 2, pp. 158, 164, 165.

*b* Chalmers, Vol. 2, pp. 81, 163, 164, 165 and 197.

*c* Chal., Vol. 2, p. 361.



In the earliest time of our colonization, because we gave protection to the defeated patriot followers of Bacon, Gov. Berkeley in his murderous wrath slandered and maligned us.

In the settlement of our northern boundary line, because we could not be outwitted or cajoled, Col. Byrd ridiculed us, and the people who were esteemed as Virginians, when they were found to reside on the south of the boundary line, were aspersed as North Carolinians.\*

When North Carolina spent her blood and treasure in the defence of other colonies especially Virginia, in the war against the French and Indians on the Ohio, Sparks, writing of the Commander-in-Chief, James Innes, and his Carolinians, gravely and seriously remarks: "But, aside from the incompetency of this officer, he was an inhabitant of North Carolina, and, as such, unacceptable to the Virginia troops" *a*

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"Ill fares it with a State whose history is written by others than her own sons!"

For a century and a half no native Carolinian attempted to tell the story of his people—we had neither pen nor type to speak for us. Printing was introduced into North Carolina by James Davis in 1749. Previous to that time our printing was done in London, in Virginia and at Charleston.

The first newspaper we had was in 1764—The North Carolina Magazine and Universal Intelligencer, published by James Davis, "on a demi-sheet in quarto pages, but it was

*a* The Writings of Washington, Vol. 2, p. 262 note.

\* NOTE.—Col. Byrd, in spite of his ridicule of our people, seemed to think well of our soil and climate, as he wrote Gov. Burrington in 1731: "It must be owned North Carolina is a very happy country where people may live with the least labor that they can in any part of the world." C. R., Vol. 3, p. 194.

In 1733 he secured twenty thousand acres of land in North Carolina on the Virginia line of which he writes as "the Land of Eden." Gen. Jas. D. Glenn and Hon. R. B. Glenn now own three thousand acres of this same tract—Gov. Glenn informs me that a beech tree, one of the original corners of the Byrd survey is still standing with the initials of Col. Byrd cut thereon. This tree is one of the corners of the Glenn estate, and is now fenced and carefully protected from depredations.

filled with long extracts from the works of theological writers, or selections from British magazines." *a* \*

Our first newspaper controversy of which I find record was in 1732, when Gov. George Burrington published a proclamation in Timothy's Southern Gazette in regard to our southern boundary line, and Gov. Johnston replied with a counter proclamation, setting forth South Carolina's claim in the same issue." *b*

"The second newspaper in North Carolina was called the North Carolina Gazette and Weekly Post Boy. It was printed at Wilmington, by Andrew Stewart, a Scotchman, and contained intelligence of current events. The first number was published in September, 1764. The Cape Fear Mercury was established by Adam Boyd in October, 1767. Boyd was a zealous patriot, and was an active member of the Committee of Safety of Wilmington." *c*

In the space of an article of this nature it will be impossible to attempt a portrayal of conditions in North Carolina in the colonial period, so I will give some notes on North Carolina before the middle of the eighteenth century, when, with the fall of the fortunes of the house of Stuart, that great immigration set in that brought many thousands of Scotland's best people to us. This immigration made North Carolina second in growth and development to no province

*a* Lossing.

*b* Saunders, P. N., Vol. 5, 36; C. R., Vol. 5, 373.

*c* Lossing.

\* NOTE.—The first newspaper in America was at Boston in 1704 called the Boston News-Letter, a weekly gazette by Bartholomew Green; Holmes' Annals, Vol. 1, p. 490, and until 1719 this was the only paper printed in the British North American Colonies. Printing was first introduced into Virginia by William Parks in 1726. Holmes' Annals, Vol. 1, p. 539. The first paper published in Virginia was issued "at Williamsburg in 1736, a sheet about twelve inches by six in size. It was printed weekly by William Parks, at fifteen shillings per annum. No other paper was published in Virginia until the Stamp Act excitement in 1765-6." Lossing. A printing house was opened in Charleston by Eleazer Phillips, in 1730, who died the following year. Thomas Whitemarsh arrived soon after with a press and began the publication of a newspaper, the first printed in the Carolinas. Holmes' Annals.



in America. It is unfortunate that we had no contemporary chronicler to draw a true picture of the social and industrial conditions of those times—the home-life of our people.

The absence of cities, which are usually the literary centers, and want of known depositories where records could be collected and preserved, has permitted the destruction of most of the literature, papers and personal correspondence of our early colonial times. This absence is accounted for by an historian as follows:

“Nor are the towns of any considerable note. This last circumstance is owing to the vast commodiousness of water carriage, which everywhere presents itself to the plantations of private planters, and scarcity of handicraft.” *a*

Such papers and records as have been preserved throw more light upon the public and political questions of the day than upon the personal, social and industrial life of the early Carolinian. Probably the richest sources from which to gather information of the social life of that day are the wills and inventories filed in the office of the Secretary of State. This is a field of exploration that will yet bring out much truth and make a fair presentation of our social conditions of which we will not be ashamed. North Carolina authors have relied for the picture of the home-life of our people largely upon the writers in other colonies, who have denied us justice, and in some cases seemed to feel it necessary to bolster the glories of their own colonies by disparaging North Carolina and making comparison therewith.

I do not intend to exaggerate the virtues and excellencies of our colonists, but will try to give a brief view of our province, relying on the cotemporary records, and wherever possible, quote the words of the writers which paint her just as she was, “warts and all.”

It is admitted that the physical conditions of a country largely determine the character, industry and habits of its

*a* Holmes' Annals, Vol. 2, p. 117.

people. Under the second charter of Charles II, Carolina embraced over a million square miles. It included all the land on the American Continent between 29 and 36 degrees 30 minutes North latitude. The northern boundary line became the line of the famous Missouri Compromise. After the separation of North Carolina and South Carolina, the northern colony was confined to the territory between 34 degrees and 36.30 N. latitude. This is the choicest belt of the temperate zone. The greatest nations of the earth have been the product of this latitude. In this paper we will have reference only to that part of North Carolina lying on the seaboard and watered by the Chowan, Roanoke, Neuse and Cape Fear rivers, being the only part that was settled during the period under consideration. The coastal plain region of North Carolina lies in "the same parallel of latitude as the central Mediterranean basin, that climatically most favored region of the globe."<sup>a</sup>

Dr. Emmons says "middle and Eastern North Carolina correspond to middle and Southern France, and Western North Carolina to Northern France and Belgium—all the climates of Italy from Palermo to Milan and Venice are represented."

The soil of Eastern North Carolina in variety and fertility is unsurpassed, ranging from the black or sandy loam to the most retentive clays—our rich swamp soils show "a greater capacity for endurance than the prairie soils of Illinois."<sup>b</sup>

For agricultural and stock-raising advantages, the climatic and soil conditions in tide-water North Carolina are unequalled. With a mean temperature of 61 degrees Fahrenheit, and a precipitation of 55 inches, everything can be raised that can be grown in the North temperate zone. So varied are her agricultural products that North Carolina is the only State that fills every divisional column of the cen-

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<sup>a</sup> North Carolina and its Resources.

<sup>b</sup> Dr. Emmons.



sus reports. One viewing the State with a critic's eye must exclaim with Hon. W. D. Kelly, of Pennsylvania, "North Carolina is the fairest portion of God's earth on which my feet have ever rested." *a*

In Barlowe's account of his first voyage to North Carolina he says: "The soil is the most plentiful, sweet, fruitful and wholesome of all the world."

Robert Horne, writing in 1664 of the Cape Fear Country, says: *b*

"Is there therefore any younger brother who is born of gentle blood and whose spirit is elevated above the common sort, and yet the hard usage of our country hath not allowed a suitable fortune? He will not surely be afraid to leave his native soil to advance his fortunes equal to his blood and spirit, and so he will avoid those unlawful ways too many of our young gentlemen take to maintain themselves according to their high education, having but small estates; here, with a few servants and a small stock, a great estate may be raised, although his birth has not entitled him to any of the land of his ancestors, yet his industry may supply him so as to make him the head of as famous a family. Such as are here tormented with much care how to gain a comfortable livelihood, or that with their labor can hardly get a suitable subsistence, shall do well to go to this place, where any man whatever, that is but willing to take moderate pains, may be assured of a most comfortable subsistence, and be in a way to raise his fortunes far beyond what he could ever hope for in England. Let no man be troubled at the thought of being a servant four or five years, for I can assure you that many men give money with their children to serve seven years, to take more pains and fare nothing so well as the servants on this plantation will do. Then it is to be considered that so soon as he is out of his time he has land and

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*a* North Carolina and its Resources.

*b* Hawks, Vol. 2, p. 41.

tools, and clothes given him, and is in a way of advancement. Therefore all artificers—as carpenters, wheelwrights, joiners, coopers, bricklayers, smiths, or diligent husbandmen and laborers, that are willing to advance their fortunes, and live in a most pleasant, healthful and fruitful country, where artificers are of high esteem, and used with all civility and courtesy imaginable may take notice.”

Lawson tells us that in 1700 an extensive traveller assured him that Carolina was the best country he could go to.

In writing of North Carolina Lawson says:

“A second Settlement of this Country was made about fifty Years ago, in that part we now call Albemarl-Country, and chiefly in Chuwon Precinct, by several substantial Planters from Virginia and other Plantations; Who, finding mild Winters and fertile Soil beyond Expectation, producing everything that was planted to a prodigious Increase; their Cattle, Horses, Sheep and Swine, breeding very fast, and passing the Winters without any Assistance from the Planter; so that everything seemed to come by Nature, the Husbandman living almost void of Care, and free from those fatigues which are absolutely requisite in Winter-Countries. \* \* \* Nevertheless, I say, the Fame of this new-discovered summer country spread thro’ the neighboring Colonies, and, in a few Years, drew a considerable Number of Families thereto, who all found Land enough to settle themselves in (had there been many Thousand more), and that which was very good and commodiously seated, both for Profit and Pleasure. And, indeed, most of the Plantations in Carolina, naturally enjoy a noble Prospect of large and spacious Rivers, pleasant Savannas and fine meadows.” \* \* \*

“The Planters possessing all these Blessings and the Produce of great Quantities of Wheat and Indian Corn, in which this Country is very fruitful as likewise in Beef, Pork, Tallow, Hides, Deer-Skins and Furs; For these Commodities the New-England-Men and Bermudians visited Carolina in their



Barks and Sloops, and carry'd out what they made, bringing them in Exchange Rum, Sugar, Salt, Molasses and some wearing Apparel, tho' the last at very extravagant prices."

\* \* \* "The inhabitants of Carolina, thro' the richness of the Soil live an easy and pleasant life. \* \* \* The country in general affords pleasant Seats, the Land (except in some few places) being dry and high banks, parcell'd out into most convenient Necks (by the Creeks), easy to be fenced in for securing their Stocks to more strict Boundaries whereby, with a small trouble of fencing, almost every Man may enjoy, to himself, an entire Plantation, or rather Park." \* \* \* "As the land is very fruitful, so are the Planters hospitable to all that come to visit them; there being very few housekeepers but what live very nobly and give away more Provisions to Coasters and Guests who come to see them, than they expend among their own Families." *a*

"Carolina was settled under the auspices of the wealthiest and most influential nobility, and its fundamental laws were framed with forethought by the most sagacious politician and the most profound philosopher of England." Later, "the colonists repudiated the Constitutions of Carolina," adopting only those parts most suited to their needs. *b*

The early settlers of North Carolina were English, from Virginia, New England and Old England and Barbadoes; French Huguenots and German Palatines. The English settled in Albemarle and Bath counties; the French on Pamlico, Neuse and Trent Rivers in Bath, and the Germans on Neuse and Trent. The Barbadians who first settled at Cape Fear did not follow Yeamans to South Carolina. They went up to the Albemarle settlement and to Nansemond County, in Virginia, in part, and in part to Boston. In this fact is to be found an easy explanation of the increase at this time in Albemarle both from New England and from Barbadoes. *c*

*a* Lawson, pp. 63, 64.

*b* Bancroft, Vol. 2, p. 128.

*c* S. P. N., Vol. 1, p. 10.

Those in New England kept up their relations with their kinsmen in North Carolina. The New England skipper and trader practically controlled the commerce of this province by exchanging their manufactures for our produce. There was increasing immigration from New England to North Carolina which continued until the Civil War of 1861.

In 1700 there were only about five thousand people in the province—at the beginning of the Tuscarora War there were ten or eleven thousand inhabitants. Bath County was the seat of this war. This county embraced Pampticough, Wickham and Archdale precincts, and extended into the wilderness on the South and West. Pampticough and Wickham precincts covered the territory between the Roanoke and Pamlico Rivers. Archdale precinct claimed the land between Pamlico and Neuse rivers, and also the Neuse settlements on both sides Neuse River. *a* These precincts are now Beaufort, Hyde and Craven Counties.

At the time of the Tuscarora war the white settlers were fringed along the coast and the Indians occupied all other lands. Chocowinity was the frontier, and tradition says that on the morning of the Indian massacre John Porter's house at Chocowinity was the first to be fired. On the Roanoke were the forts of the Cheeweo and Resootska. On the Tar near the present town of Washington, was Nakay—there was also a fort just about two miles above Bear Creek, on what is still known as Indian Fort branch on Grimesland plantation. \*

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*a* C. R. Vol. 1, p. 629.

\* NOTE.—A field of about ten acres cleared by the Indians on Indian Fort Branch in the west corner of a seventy-five-acre field (Pridgen cut) is still in cultivation.



Further up the Tar about two or three miles below the present town of Greenville was King Blount's town, Ucohnerunt. On the Contentnea were Conneghta, Tahununta and Hookerooka Forts and Hancock's town. *a*. To the South and West was the unknown wilderness and the Indian towns of Keeouwee (old town) Toterro Fort, Uharee, Acconeechy, etc. \*

After the war most of the Tuscaroras went to their kindred in New York. King Blount and his people were given a reservation between Tar and Neuse River, but were soon moved at his own request to lands on Roanoke River where fifty-three thousand (53,000) acres were given them in Bertie County, and a fort was built for their defence from enemy Indians. *b* Here they lived under their Kings, Tom Blount and his son, James Blount, many years. They were afterwards joined by the Supponees and the Chowans. *c*

*a* See map Eman. Bowen.

*b* C. R., Vol. 2, pp. 283, 484, 496.

*c* C. R., Vol. 3, p. 538.

\* NOTE.—In the preliminary articles of peace signed November 25th, 1712, between Major General Thomas Pollock for the colonists and Tom Blount, Saroonha Hounthanohnoh, Chaunthorunthoo, Newoonttootsery and Herunttocken for a number of Indian towns, it was agreed among other things: "Imprimis, The afsd great men Doe hereby Covenant & agree to & with ye said presidt & Councill that they shall and will, with ye utmost expedition & Dilligence, make Warr agt. all ye Indyans belonging to ye Townes or Nations of Catechny, Cores, Nuse & Bare River and pamptico, and that they shall not nor will not give any Quarter to any male Indyan of those Towns or Nations above ye Age of fourteen yeares, and also that they shall & will sell off & dispose of all ye males under that age. And that further, after they shall have destroy'd those townes or soe soone as this Governm't shall think proper to require it the said great men doe hereby promise to Join ye English with Soe menny Men as may be thought proper to destroy & cutt off all ye Matchepungo Indyans. \* \* \*

4thly.—It is hereby farther Agreed by ye Great Men af-sd that these Severall Townes of Tostehant, Rauroota, Tarhuntah, Keutah, Toherooka, Juninitis & Caunookehee, nor any of ye Indyans belonging to them or either of them, shall not nor will not Hunt nor rainge among ye English plantations nor Stocks without leave, nor then above ye number of three at one tyme, neither shall they Claime any property in ye lands on ye South Side of Nuse called Chatookae River, nor below Catachney Creek on Nuse, nor below Bare Creek ate not-sha-hun-han-rough on ye Noth (south) side of pamptico river." See original treaty framed in State Hall of History.

These Indians also removed to New York, but they held their lands on the Roanoke and collected rents for them well on into the nineteenth century.

The Indians remaining in the province about 1730, through their Chiefs, King Tom Blount, of the Tuscaroras; King Hoyter, of the Chowans, and King Durant, of the Yawpims, paid a yearly tribute to the Governor. *b*

The Tuscarora war and the hardships following caused many people to leave the province, but this war was a blessing in disguise. As soon as the Indian troubles were finally disposed of, settlers sought the desirable lands higher up on the Roanoke, Tar and Neuse Rivers and their tributaries. In a few years settlements were begun on the Cape Fear. In the war we were aided by South Carolina and some of her leading citizens were so favorably impressed with our country that many of them and their friends soon moved here.

From a population of eleven thousand two hundred (seven thousand five hundred white, three thousand seven hundred negro) in 1715 *c* just after the Indian war the province of North Carolina had grown to thirty-six thousand, in 1730 at the end of the Proprietary period. From that time until the Revolution probably no province in America grew faster in wealth and population. In 1752 our population was ninety thousand *d*, seventy thousand white, twenty thousand negro, having been tripled in twenty years.

The Indian captives, more than six hundred, taken by Cols. Barnwell and Moore and their soldiers and ally Indians, were sent to South Carolina as slaves. Those taken by our people were sold into slavery in the West Indies or kept in bondage here. An Indian slave was valued at about £10, and was generally sold away from home. Negroes

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*b* C. R., Vol. 4, pp. 34, 446.

*c* Chalmers.

*d* S. P. N., Vol. 4, 22.



commanded higher prices as they were more docile and capable of greater labor.

In the Indian war our ally Indians were offered "a reward of six blankets for the head of each man of the said Indians killed by the (friendly) Tuscaroras, and the usual price of slaves for each woman and child delivered captives." *a* The white people after capturing Indians sometimes indulged in barbarities, as DeGraffenreid gives us an account of the roasting of an Indian King in 1711. *b*

Even as late as 1760 a law was passed making Indian captives slaves and "the absolute right and property of who shall be the captor of such Indian," and ten pounds was given for an Indian scalp taken by a citizen, and five pounds was given for a scalp captured by a soldier. To some of our people it seemed profitable for the Indians to raise disturbances, but this province was never directly charged with inciting them to war for sinister purposes. Of one of our neighbors an historian says: "This province long continued 'that barbarous practice' which was then introduced (1680) of promoting Indian hostility that they might gain by the traffic of Indian slaves." *c*

"The moving causes of immigration to Albemarle were its delightful climate, magnificent bottom lands and bountiful products." *d*

Land-holding gave dignity and importance. The large land-holders, then as now, wielded great influence in their communities. They were the aristocracy of the country and the governing classes; their sons inheriting prestige and leadership with their estates.

Many of the early settlers came from other colonies for the rich lands along our river bottoms, which were found to be cheap, fertile and abundant. These "river plantations"

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*a* C. R., Vol. 1, p. 15.

*b* C. R., Vol. 1, p. 946.

*c* Chalmers, Vol. 2, p. 172.

*d* Saunders.

of North Carolina and the South were to become famous all over the world. Land could be easily secured. A planter starting life with modest beginnings would, by the productiveness of this soil and the natural fruitfulness of his slaves, horses, cattle and hogs, die rich in old age.

Brickell, who for awhile lived at Edenton, writing about 1735 says the Albemarle Country was settled by "Persons from Virginia and other Northern Colonies who, finding the Soil so very good and fertile, settled here, and are become very Numerous and Rich; for the lands here produce everything Planted in them in great abundance, Horses, Cows, Sheep and Swine breeding in vast numbers, the winter being very short, and that so mild that the Planters are at little or no Labour or Expense in providing Fodder for their Stock to what other Northerly Countries are." *a*

Among the planters were gentry who lived as much like their relations in England and Scotland as conditions in a sparsely settled country would admit. Some of the early planters came here in official positions as deputies of the Lords Proprietors, bringing with them their friends, retainers and tenants. With the various governors came their kinsmen, supporters and adherents. An examination of the wills in the office of the Secretary of State will show from the signatures with seals bearing imprinted theron crests and coats of arms of signers, that many of the leading men of Carolina belonged to the gentry of England and Scotland. Many of them were highly educated and classical scholars of great learning. The drafts of old laws, state papers, wills and letters of that day will, in phraseology and elegance of diction, compare most favorably with the productions of the best scholars of to-day.

At the close of the Proprietary period, it may not be far wrong to suggest that the per cent of highly educated and leading men in the colony in proportion to population (which

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*a* Brickell, p. 9.



was thirty-five thousand) was as great as it is in North Carolina to-day, but the masses for many years had little opportunity for education.

Of the great families of the province at that time, during the second quarter of the eighteenth century, may be mentioned the Swanns, Porters, Gales, Moseleys, Moores, Pollocks, Vails, Blounts, Bryans, Maules, Ashes, Johnstons, Herritages and others. It is safe to say that in honor, character, virtue and accomplishments, they were not excelled by any families on the American continent. They were people of education, refinement, culture and abundance. Without great wealth they lived in comfort and plenty. With lands, slaves, books, plate, horses and carriages they were leaders in a social life that rivaled the best in the adjoining colonies.

The early settlers took up the choicest lands on the rivers to such an extent that laws were passed to prevent the entering of too much land on the rivers to the exclusion of other settlers. In laying out the lands the enterer was at first allowed to take up 640 acres or a square mile in one tract on the river, *a*, but the act further provided that the surveyor should not "lay out two several tracts of land for any one person within two miles at least of each other, unless by particular warrant from the Lords Proprietors for that purpose." It must have been easy to obtain this "particular warrant from the Lords Proprietors for that purpose," or the law was not strictly observed, as we find many men in the province owning large bodies of land before North Carolina became a Royal Province. Of the large landed proprietors, some of them owning as much as fifty thousand acres, may be mentioned George Burrington, Frederick Jones, Roger Moore, Edward Moseley, Maurice Moore, John Lovick, William Maule, Dr. Patrick Maule, Seth Sothell, Robert Forster, Martin Franks,

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*a* Chap. 33, Sec. 4, Laws 1715.

Christopher Gale, John Porter, Thomas Pollock, Cullen Pollock, William Stephenson, John Baptista Ashe and others. \*

To prevent non-residents entering land for speculation, one was required to have resided in the province for two years before they could sell their rights and lands. *a* All persons entering land were required to pay on the 29th of September one shilling for every fifty acres as quit rents, and were to be allowed three years to seat and plant, and the patentee was required to build a habitable house and to clear and fence and plant at least one (1) acre of land within the time limited. *b* In the Council Journal March 31, 1726, we read: "For saving of lands for the future, every house shall be fifteen foot long, ten Broad, Made tight and habitable of Clapboards or Loggs squared, with a roof and chimney-place and a Door-place. The whole acre cleared well, the major part of it broke up and planted with either fruite, trees or grain." *c* The large land-owners probably built one or two log houses on each tract of land, and placed thereon an overseer with several slaves. The overseers were frequently indentured servants in bond or those who had served their term and were in the employment of their former masters. They were sometimes hired for wages, but often for a part of the produce of the land. The customary wages being "for which Service he is allowed every seventh Calfe, seventh Fole and half of all young hogs that are bred during his stewardship,

*a* Laws 1715, C. 2.

*b* Laws 1715, Ch. 26.

*c* C. R., Vol. 2, p. 607.

\* NOTE.—Bernheim, Vann and other writers say Martin Franks came to North Carolina in 1732. This is an error. He was treasurer of Craven precinct before that time (Page manuscript laws, in Everard's time) and was one of the signers of a petition in 1711-12. (Hawks.) In Grant records, Book 2, page 254, is recorded, Apr. 14, 1730, a grant in Craven Precinct, Bath County, to Martin Franks for Ten thousand one hundred and seventy-five (10,175) acres. The grant recites that "All of which land was granted to the sd Martin Frank by a warrant dated June 15th, 1711."



and likewise the seventh part of all sorts of grain and tobacco that is produced on the said plantation." *a*

\* The slaves also made tar and turpentine in the spring and summer season, clearing land in the fall and winter; the women and children worked the corn raising sufficient for the men and animals.

During the wars between England and France, the Swedish merchants, who controlled the naval stores trade of the world, put the price of tar to such an extortionate figure that England gave bounties to her colonists to produce it. \*\* About 1704, North Carolina commenced its production, and for two hundred years it has been one of the chief products of the State. In the year 1753 North Carolina exported 61,528 barrels of tar; 12,052 do. of pitch; 10,429 do. turpentine, 762,000 staves; 61,580 bus. corn, 100 (?) hhds. tobacco, and about 30,000 deer skins, besides lumber and other commodities. In 1708 the exports from all America was 6,089 barrels of pitch and tar to England. *b*

*a* Brickell, p. 269.

*b* Chalmers.

\* NOTE.—In Carroll's Historical Collections of South Carolina, Vol. 2, p. 261, we are told that overseers, when hired for wages, were paid fifteen to forty pounds per annum, and laborers from one shilling and three pence to two shillings a day "with Lodging and Diet."

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\*\* The following is taken from the English Statutes at Large, Vol. 4, 1699-1713.

"Chap. X. 1704—

\*\* The following is taken from the English Statutes at Large, Vol. 4, Majesty's plantations in America.

\* \* \* any of the naval stores hereafter mentioned, shall have and enjoy, as a Reward or Præmium for such Importation, after and according to the several rates for such Naval Stores as follows, viz:

II. For good and merchantable Tar per Tun, containing eight Barrels, and each Barrel to gage thirty-one Gallons and an half, Four Pounds.

For good and merchantable Pitch per Tun, each Tun containing twenty Gross hundreds (Net Pitch) to be brought in eight barrels, four Pounds.

For good and merchantable Rozin or Turpentine per Tun, each Tun containing twenty Gross hundred (Net Rozin or Turpentine) to be brought in eight Barrels, three Pounds.

For Hemp, Water rotted, bright and clean, per Tun, each Tun containing twenty Gross hundreds, six Pounds.

For all Masts, Yards and Bowsprits, per Tun, allowing forty Foot to each Tun, Girt measure, according to the customary way of measuring round bodies, one Pound.

\* \* \*

This Act was later repealed.)

Every planter of ordinary thrift soon became independent. In the most primitive period of our history the first houses of the planters were built of logs. The house was of notched logs and was probably such as is seen in many sections of the State to-day. Between the logs were fastened split poles which were chinked with mud. The chimneys were mostly wooden, the base, body and brast of chimney being logged up to the funnel, after which a square pen or stack of sticks was made and daubed inside and out with clay to cement together and to protect from burning. The inside of the fire-place was covered with mud in the same way. Lumber was scarce and expensive, and such as they had was sawed by hand in saw-pits or imported from Boston. *a* It was probably about 1730, before saw mills made their appearance in North Carolina. *b* Just before 1750 these mills sawed about 150,000 feet a year.

Col. Byrd, in his "History of the Dividing Line," *c* says: "Most of the houses in this part of the Country are log houses, covered with Pine or Cypress shingles three feet long and one broad. They are hung upon laths with Peggs, and their doors too turn upon Wooden Hinges, and have Wooden Locks to secure them, so that the Building is finisht without nails or other iron work."

It may be interesting to note what was regarded as a habitable house as shown by the size of houses required to be built in the various towns within eighteen months or two years after purchasing lots. Pollock in 1720 required that the houses built on lots in New Bern (which town he owned) should be "not less than Fifteen Foot square." *d* As late as 1756, eighteen months' time was given for building on lots taken up, and a habitable house of sixteen

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*a* Thomas Pollock's Will.

*b* C. R., Vol. 3, pp. 427, 432, (1732); C. R., Vol. 4. pp. 52, 61, (1735).

*c* Vol. 1, p. 59.

*d* C. R., Vol. 2, p. 386.



feet by twenty-four feet required. *a* In Edenton *b* houses were required to be "not of less Dimensions than Twenty Feet long, Fifteen Feet in width and Eight Feet in Height between the first floor and the joists, etc." No wooden chimneys were allowed to be built there after the first day of May, 1741. *c* At Brunswick houses were to be 20 feetx16 feet. *d* When the town of Johnston, in Onslow, which was afterwards destroyed by a wind storm in September, 1752, *e* was incorporated *f* the inhabitants buying lots were required to build within two years a "good, substantial habitable frame-house not of less dimensions than Twenty Four feet in length and Sixteen feet wide, besides sheds and Leantos." When Capt. Richard Sanderson attempted to build a town on Roanoke Island *g* it was required that the houses should be 20 feetx15 feet. In the establishment of Newtown (which afterwards became Wilmnigton), it was made a town, "Provided, the Inhabitants thereof do, within the space of two years from the date hereof build and erect six Brick Houses in the principal streets, of forty feet long and thirty feet deep." *h* When the village of Newton was changed into the town of Wilmington *i* it was required that before one was allowed to vote for a representative for the said town in the General Assembly he must be "a Tenant of a Brick, Stone or framed habitable House, of the Length of Twenty Feet, and Sixteen Feet Broad; or an inhabitant of a Brick House of the Length of Thirty Feet, and Sixteen Feet Broad, between the Bounds of said Town, upwards, and Smith's Creek, and within One Hundred and Twenty Poles to the Cape Fear River." This

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*a* Laws 1756, Ch. 12.

*b* Laws, 1740, Ch. 1, Sec. 2.

*c* Sec. 13.

*d* Laws 1745, Ch. 12, Sec. 8.

*e* Martin, Vol. 2, p. 61.

*f* Laws 1741, Ch. 12, Sec. 6.

*g* Laws 1715, Ch. 59.

*h* C. R., Vol. 4, p. 43.

*i* Laws 1739, Ch. 4, Secs. 4 and 5, and Laws 1740, Ch. 4, Secs. 7 and 8.

was probably intended to include several of the prominent men who lived near to town.

The planters lived upon their estates with residences generally more pretentious than the town houses. A few of these houses were of brick, but they were commonly frame houses. Some of them were of considerable dimensions even early in the eighteenth century. There were few brick houses in North Carolina. Even after the planters became wealthy they did not affect them. In a humid climate brick houses were probably damp and unhealthy. In New Bern there were only two brick dwelling houses as late as 1792. *a*

There are to-day standing houses of well-to-do planters that were built prior to 1750. Some of them brick, but mostly of wood. These houses are about forty feet long and twenty feet wide, to which are added shed rooms or "leantos." The basements or cellars are about 7 or 8 feet pitch, the walls to the cellar being massive masonry of rock, the rock having come from the West Indies as ballast for vessels. In the cellar is generally a large room about 19x19 feet at one end, and the other end divided into small rooms which are used for storage. The walls of the cellar rise several feet above the ground. In the large cellar room there is a fire-place several feet deep, about eight feet wide and four feet high.

*a* Morse Geog., Mrs. Powell's "New Bern."

NOTE.—All the earlier brick buildings are said to have been built with "brick brought from England." This probably means of "English Brick" except a few press brick for tiles and ornamental purposes. In Harriot's Narrative (1586) we read: "The planters may be well supplied with brick, for the making whereof in divers places of the country there is clay both excellent, good and plenty, and also by lime made of oyster shells and others burnt, etc."

When Bacon burned Jamestown in 1675 there were a number of brick houses in the town. Drummond, the former Governor of North Carolina owning one which in an excess of patriotism he fired with his own hands. An old grant in Virginia in 1637 for lands at Jamestown calls for the "Brick Mill"; Lawson says in 1700 that there were "Large Brick Buildings" in Charleston at that time; he further says "Good Brick and Tiles" were made in North Carolina. Brickell also informs us that "Brick and Tile" were made here in his time. The light tonnage of the vessels averaging probably not more than 100 tons burden coming into these waters after a month's sail from England, would have made the importing of brick quite expensive.



There were receptacles or ovens built in the sides of the fire-place. Across the chimney, inside, ran a heavy iron rod on which were the cranes for hanging pots. These cranes were made in two pieces and so adjusted that pots could be raised or lowered at will. In the cellar rooms were small windows. Resting on the cellar walls were the sills of the house, generally 10x12 inches or 12x12 inches, hewn out of heart pine running the full length and breadth of the house; on these were the sleepers, six inches by eight inches or eight inches by ten inches, hewn out of heart pine, joined at the ends, mortised, tenoned and truncheoned with lightwood truncheons about one and a half or two inches in diameter. The sills were sometimes tarred with hot tar and wrapped in tarred canvas as a further protection against moisture. On the first floor is a large square room 19x19 feet. For several feet from the floor around the room, coming up to the base of the windows is panelling. The fire-place is four or five feet wide, and above it about six feet tall is the old wooden mantel of best workmanship. Adjoining the big room is a narrow passage with stairs ascending to the second floor and garret; across the passage are two small rooms.

The second floor is a duplicate of the first and the garret is divided into small rooms with small windows at end of house. These houses frequently had brick ends as is so often seen in tidewater Virginia. All the timbers are of unbled pine and the nails used are hand-wrought.

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NOTE.—There are three of these houses still standing in Beaufort County: The Cotanche or Marsh House at Bath, the Maule House at Maule's Point and the old house at the Grimes Plantation on Tranters Creek. The old Cotanche House at Bath has closets in its massive chimney in which valuables could be placed to secure from fire. The chimney closets have small windows in the chimney. It was not uncommon to have an excavation bricked up on each side of the chimney opening inside by the hearth in which valuables could be placed. In some old chimneys under fire-places have been discovered a box or barrel with covers neatly fixed in the chimney foundation, so that by raking away the ashes and taking up part of the hearth these little vaults could be reached. These deposit places were safe from discovery and secure from fire.

The planter's home residence was called the Manor or Manor House, The House, The Great House, etc. The family servants were settled near at hand, while the overseer's house and quarters were some distance away. The estates were generally named, sometimes after the family or family estates in England, and often after the place in England from whence the planter came. The large planters prided themselves upon being "gentlemen"—the owner of lands with laborers to work for them. He was truly lord of all he surveyed, governed his own household and was law-giver to his poor neighbors. He arbitrated their disputes and settled their differences—he doctored them in sickness and helped them in time of need. The title of head or master of an estate carried with it position and hereditary dignity and power little less than an inherited title carried with it in the mother country.

Labor was in the greatest demand. In January, 1733, Gov. Burrington, in writing to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, says: "Land is not wanting for men in Carolina, but men for land." \* \* \* "I compute the white men, women and children in North Carolina to be fully thirty thousand, and the negroes about six thousand. The Indians, men, women and children, less than eight hundred. \* \* \* Great is the loss this country has sustained in not being supply'd by vessels from Guinea with negroes; in any part of the province the people are able to pay for a ships load; but as none come directly from Africa, we are under a necessity to buy the refuse, refractory and distempered negroes, brought from other governments; it is hoped some merchants in England will speedily furnish this colony with negroes to increase the produce and its trade to England." *a*

The planter's wealth was generally estimated by the number of his slaves. All planters of any pretensions owned

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*a* C. R., Vol. 3, pp. 430, 431. See also Vol. 4, p. 172.



slaves—negroes, Indians, mulattoes and mustees. The gold and silver that came into the hands of planters from sale of produce was saved to purchase slaves with, as the traders required specie payments. Female slaves under 20 years of age were especially desired.

In 1733 the value of products exported to Virginia for which our people received cash was about £50,000 a year. *a* Quit rents, dues, taxes and all other debts, public and private, were paid to the government or creditors in commodities which were rated in 1715 as follows:

	£.	s.	d.
“Tobacco, per cwt.....		10	0
Indian corn per bushel.....		1	8
Wheat per bushel.....		3	6
Tallow tryped, per lb.....			5
Leather tanned and uncured, per lb.....			8
Beaver and other skins per lb.....		2	6
Wild cat skins per piece.....		1	0
Butter per lb.....			6
Cheese per lb.....			4
Buck and doe skins (raw) per lb.....			9
Buck and doe skins (drest) per lb.....		1	4
Feathers per lb.....		1	4
Pitch (full gauged) per barl.....	1	0	0
Whale oil “ “ .....	1	10	0
Porke “ “ .....	2	5	0
Beef “ “ .....	1	10	0”

Rates were later somewhat changed. Flax and hemp were also added. *b*

There was little currency in the province even at a much later period. In writing of North Carolina just before the Revolution a traveler says: “There is but little specie in

*b* C. R., Vol. 3, p. 622.

*c* C. R., Vol. 4, pp. 469, 920.

circulation; indeed, there is no great occasion for it; for a planter raises his own meats, beef and bacon, his own corn and bread, his drink, cyder and brandy, his fruit, apples, peaches, etc., and a great part of his clothing which is cotton." *a* Almost all wealth was in land, slaves and stock. There was not much loaning of money; the legal rate of interest was 6 per cent, and the penalty for usury was forfeiture of twice the amount of the principal. *b* There was a considerable amount of Mexican, Peruvian and Spanish coin in circulation in the province, the value of which was fixed by proclamation of Queen Anne.

*a* Smyth's Tour in America, p. 99.

*b* Laws 1741, Ch. 11.

NOTE.—"An act for ascertaining the rates of foreign coins in Her Majesty's Plantations in America.

WHEREAS, for remedying the inconveniences which had arisen from the different rates at which the same species of Foreign Silver coins did pass in Her Majesty's several Colonies and Plantations in America, Her Most Excellent Majesty has thought fit by her Royal Proclamation bearing date the eighteenth day of June one thousand seven hundred and four, and in the third year of her Reign, to settle and ascertain the currency of foreign coins in her said Colonies and Plantations in the manner and words following:

We having had under our Consideration the different rates at which the same Species of Foreign Coins do pass in our several Colonies and Plantations in America, and the inconveniences thereof by the indirect practice of drawing the money from one Plantation to another to the great Prejudice of the Trade of our Subjects; and being sensible that the same cannot be otherwise remedied than by reducing all foreign coins to the same current Rate within all our Dominions in America; and the principal officers of our Mint having laid before us a table of the value of the several Foreign Coins which usually pass in Payments in our said Plantations according to their Weight and Assays made of them in our Mint, thereby shewing the just proportion which each coin ought to have to the other which is as followeth: \* \* \*

II. And whereas, notwithstanding the said Proclamation the same indirect practices as are therein mentioned are still carried on within some of the said Colonies or Plantations and the money thereby drawn from one Plantation to another, in Prejudice of the Trade of Her Majesty's subjects; Wherefore for the better enforcing the due Execution of her Majesty's said Proclamation throughout all the said Colonies and Plantations, and for the more effectual remedying the said Inconveniencies, thereby intended to be remedied, Be it enacted by the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this present Parliament assembled and by the authority of the same \* \* \* ." Statutes at Large, Vol. 4, 1699-1715. Cap. 30, p. 324, 1707.

The penalty for the violation of this law was six months' imprisonment and a fine of Ten pounds for each offence.



Slaves were generally bought in Virginia or South Carolina at high prices, and after the most select ones had been chosen by the planters of those States. With the opening of the Cape Fear, the planters had an opportunity to buy slaves at first hands. Some of the planters who first settled on the Cape Fear took with them a considerable number of slaves from their plantations in Chowan and Pamlico. Among these may be mentioned:

Edward Moseley	with	62 slaves.
Roger Moore	with	100 slaves.
John Porter	with	62 slaves.
John Lovick	with	34 slaves. <i>a</i>

They moved that many in 1732 and were allowed head-rights of fifty acres for each member of their families. Roger Moore at the time of his death in 1751 owned 250 negroes.

Slavery was the greatest eleemosynary and educational institution for a weak and inferior race that the world has ever known. Some of the planters freed their slaves, but this does not seem to have met the approval of the colonists as freed slaves were required to leave the province or to be sold again into slavery. *b*

In disposing of slaves care was taken not to separate the men and their wives and children; an instance of this kind is shown in the will of Cullen Pollock, 1749. Occasionally negro slaves could read and write even in the earliest period, and negroes were allowed to raise "side crops" of tobacco, to gather herbs, etc., and the money derived from these was theirs individually and to do as they pleased with. *c*

When it became necessary to execute a slave the owner was repaid his value, which was assessed by the Justices and allowed by the Assembly. *d*

*a* C. R., Vol. 3, p. 426, etc.

*b* Laws 1741, Ch. 24, Sec. 56.

*c* Brickell, p. 275.

*d* 1741, Ch. 24, Sec. 46.

All slaves were tythable at the age of 12 years. *a* Every master was allowed to permit one slave on every plantation to carry a gun for the protection of stock and for hunting game for the table. *b* All slaves away from their masters' plantations were required to have "certificate of leave in writing for so doing, from his or her master or overseer (negroes wearing liveries always excepted)." *c* It seemed to please the fancy of the planters to name their slaves after the great characters in mythology and history, or to give them some whimsical name. Every large plantation had its Cæsar, Hannibal, Scipio, Jupiter, Moses, Aaron, Pompey, Mars, Venus, Dido, Diana, Africa, Mustapha, etc.

Indentured white servants were not as numerous in this country as in Virginia and Maryland. These unfortunates represented many classes and conditions. "Some of the convicts sold as indentured servants were persons of family and education." *d* Convicts were sent to the colonies and sold into bondage. Others were sent into servitude for political offences. Many of the supporters of the Duke of Monmouth were deported to the American colonies and sentenced to ten years' servitude. Some indentured themselves to pay their passage money, which was about £5 in cash, and were sold upon arrival here by the sailing master. Christian servants above 16 years old imported into this government without indenture, were required to serve five years. All under 16 years of age were to serve till they were 22 years old. *e* All Christians were to be allowed by their master or mistress at the expiration of their service three barrels of Indian corn, two new suits of apparel valued at £5 at best, or in lieu of a suit of "apparell" "a good well-fixed gun if he be a man servant"; they were also entitled to fifty acres of land which they seldom took up.

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*a* 1741, Ch. 24.

*b* Laws 1741, Ch. 24, Sec. 41.

*c* 1741, Ch. 24, Sec. 53.

*d* Bancroft, Vol. 2, p. 251.

*e* Laws 1715, Ch. 46, Sec. 6.



Many people, especially women and children, were kidnaped in London and other cities and brought to America to be sold as bond servants. The Colony passed an act *a* whereby the person kidnaped, if a Christian or a subject of a friendly power, might recover from the Importer or Seller double the amount for which he was sold, and the defendant was required to give bond to transport the person back to the land from whence he came within one year.

Writing to the Lords of Trade and Plantations Gov. Burrington says: *b* "It is by breeding Horses, Hoggs, and Cattle that people without slaves gain substance here at first, not by their labor." The abundance of grass, reeds and rich vegetation caused the horses, cattle and hogs to multiply in vast numbers; the stock were branded or marked and turned loose in the woods, being penned and fed enough to keep them from going entirely wild. Lawson says (1707) he had seen as many as one thousand cattle belonging to one owner, and Brickell says he had seen one hundred calves in one pen belonging to one person. The calves were confined to insure the return of the cows each evening, a custom that prevails with cattle raisers in Eastern Carolina to this day.

About 1728 there was a disease that destroyed half the cattle in the Province; *c* again about 1760 another cattle distemper was brought in the Province from South Carolina by which near 7-8 of the stock was lost. *d* The importance of the cattle industry seems to have declined from that time.

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*a* Laws 1741, Ch. 25, Sec. 23.

*b* C. R., Vol. 3, p. 148.

*c* C. R., Vol. 3, p. 28.

*d* C. R., Vol. 6, p. 1,029.

NOTE.—We are told that in South Carolina the writer Peter Purry in 1731 had known "one Planter to mark two hundred calves last spring"; Again, another writer states that in South Carolina "Black Cattle are extremely plentiful, many gentlemen owning from five hundred to fifteen hundred head. Carr. Coll., Vol. 2, pp. 123, 482.

Horses were raised in considerable numbers. They were turned out to range, it being necessary to feed them only in the winter time. In almost every locality in the early settled sections of North Carolina there are to-day places where tradition tells us were "horse pens." Many localities have such names as the "Horse neck pocoson," "Horse Pen branch," etc. These horses are described as smaller than the average horses now in use but of great endurance. Many of them are said to have gone wild.

Hogs were raised in vast numbers, the woods abounding in berries, fruits, acorns and mast of all kinds. The Coastal Plain was heavily set in oaks of all kinds and the acorns furnished abundant food for hogs. Hogs were kept until grown, and it became a custom on account of their uniform size to count the pieces, hams, shoulders, sides, etc., instead of weighing. This custom prevailed until the middle of the past century. Planters now living tell me that they have sold dried meats that way which were transported in flat boats down the rivers to be loaded in vessels for the West Indies. Beef and pork barrelled dry, and in pickle, were of the rated commodities, and for many years were two of the chief exports of the colony.

Gov. Burrington reported in 1736 that there were fifty thousand hogs and ten thousand fat oxen driven into Virginia yearly.<sup>a</sup> The want of salt made this necessary. These came from Pamlico and Albemarle, and were in addition to the amount of barrelled meat shipped.

Horses were branded and Cattle and Hogs were marked in the ears, a custom that still prevails.

For altering or defacing brands or the mismarking of stock there was a penalty of ten pounds proclamation money over and above the value of the animal, and "forty lashes on

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<sup>a</sup> C. R., Vol. 4, p. 172.

(NOTE.—The writer's mark now in use "a crop slit and under bit both ears," has been the family stock mark for more than a century.)



his bare back well laid on, and for the second offence, he shall pay the price above-mentioned, stand in the Pillory Two Hours and be branded in the left hand with a red hot iron the letter T." \* \* \* "Such slave or slaves shall, for first offence, suffer both his ears to be cut off, and be publicly whipt, at the Discretion of the Justices and Freeholders before whom he shall be tried; and for the second offence shall suffer death." *a*

The discovery of the rich Cape Fear bottoms where the rice lands are as fertile as any in the world, attracted attention near the close of the Proprietary period, and quite a colony of the leading men from Albemarle and Bath counties went there; among them the Porters, Ashes, Moores, Lillingtons, Moseleys, etc. Of these the Hon. Geo. Davis says: "They were no needy adventurers, driven by necessity, no unlettered boors, ill at ease in the haunts of civilization, and seeking their proper sphere amidst the barbarism of the savages. They were gentlemen of birth and education, bred in the refinements of polished society, and bringing with them ample fortunes, gentle manners, and cultivated minds—most of them united by ties of blood, and all by those of friendship, they came as one household, sufficient to themselves, and reared their family altars in love and peace."

It was not an uncommon thing for a wealthy planter to own twenty or thirty thousand acres of land. *b*

Provoked by a charge that some of them owned more than one hundred thousand acres each, John Porter, Edward Hyrne, Jno. Swann, Sam Swann, J. Davis, M. Moore, Thos. Jones, Nathaniel Moore and Jno. Davis signed a memorial, saying they together did not own more than seventy-five thousand acres, and had "not more than twelve hundred persons in their families." *c*

*a* Laws 1741, Ch. 8.

*b* C. R., Vol. 4, p. 426.

*c* C. R., Vol. 4, p. 315.

The planters lived on the streams, and every family had its periauger, canoe, sloop or brigantine.

The water-ways were the chief mode of transportation. To the planters' doors came the ships of the old world, and especially the sloops of the New England and West India trader.

Many of the more substantial planters owned vessels that traded with New England, the Barbadoes and occasionally made trips to Europe. The periaugers would carry eight or ten tons or fifty or sixty barrels of pork or tar, and were well adapted to the shallow creeks and landings that they oftenest frequented. The usual vessels in our waters were not of more than fifty or seventy-five tons, mainly the New England sloops. At an early period an effort was made to encourage North Carolina ship owners, and in an act of 1715, *a* vessels entering the government were required to pay one pound of powder, four pounds swan shot and twelve flints for every three tons' measure, and for want thereof ten shillings for every three tons—this was not to apply to vessels built in this country or owned in whole or in part here, nor to those vessels loaded with salt to unload here.

The absence of deep water shipping ports was the greatest handicap under which this province labored. For many years its importations were through the Virginia capes. Most of its commodities were brought from New England where they were imported and re-shipped to us.

Tobacco promised at one time to be our chief money crop, but there was an over production. The first Carolina law of which we have any record was "An Act prohibiting the sowing, setting, planting or in any way tending any tobacco" from Feby. 1st., 1667, to Feby. 1st., 1668. *b* A similar effort was made by Virginia and Maryland

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*a* 1715, Ch. 35.

*b* S. P. N., Vol 1, p. 34.



at the same time. The next blow to our tobacco interests came about 1679 in "An act against importing tobacco from Carolina, and other ports without the Capes of Virginia." it was enacted: "That such importation from henceforth be, and by virtue of this, remain prohibited and forbidden; and that if any tobacco hereafter, in anywise whatsoever, shall be imported from Carolina or other ports without the Capes, into this colony and dominion in order to be laid here on shore, sold or shipped, the same shall be thereby forfeited and lost." *a*

Another act similar to the above was passed by Virginia against North Carolina in 1726. Against this the inhabitants of Albemarle protested, setting forth "That the Inlets to that part of North Carolina are not capable of receiving vessels of Burthen fitt for the transportating of Tobacco from thence to Great Britain." This effectually prohibited shipping, and thereby destroyed our market for tobacco. The planters could raise tobacco sufficient to pay quit rents, etc., which the government accepted at the rated price, but they could not sell it profitably and were forced to leave off planting in quantity for profit. "Endeavoring to cloathe themselves with their own manufactures" would compete with British manufacturers, so the British Board of Trade repealed these acts July 29, 1731. *b*

According to Lawson Roanoke Inlet was ten feet over the bar, but the sands were shifting and uncertain after coming within. Hatteras had four or five fathom on bar, but after getting into the sound not more than six feet of water was to be found. At Ocracoke, in Lawson's time, there was thirteen feet at low water and eighteen feet at high water, and after crossing the bar safe anchorage was found in seven or eight fathom water. Wimble (1738) says there was 17 feet on bar; in Teach's hole 4 fathoms of water, and in the sound an eight to nine feet channel was to be found.

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*a* C. R., Vol. 1, p. 628.

*b* C. R., Vol. 3, p. 211.

At Beaufort, on Topsail Inlet, was two fathoms of water, according to Lawson, and five or six fathoms in the harbor. Wimble says there was seventeen feet on the bar. Prof. Bache, Superintendent of Coast Survey in 1851, gives seventeen feet at low water. In report to Congress Prof. Bache states that "a ship drawing twenty feet of water can leave at any state of tide, with almost any wind and discharge her pilot at sea in from thirty to forty-five minutes after weighing anchor."

Roanoke Inlet was early abandoned because it was shifting, shallow and dangerous, and Ocracoke became the customary entrance as about nine feet of water could be secured from Ocracoke to Bath, Newberne and Edenton. From Bath town to Ocracoke was reckoned seventy miles. *a*

Bath promised at one time to be the commercial metropolis of Pamlico and Albemarle Sounds, and was an important port of entry. When it was determined to have a permanent capital the General Assembly voted to make Bath the seat of government, but "by management" Gov. Johnston secured the selection of Newberne. *b*

Burrington, who had considerable wisdom, wished to make Ocracoke the port of entry, abolishing collection districts of Roanoke (Edenton), Currituck and Bath town. At Ocracoke we could have a direct trade with Europe, receiving the larger sea-going vessels there and distributing the produce to the various parts of our colony in smaller vessels and have direct importation of negroes. He did not, however, have sufficient influence at Court for that purpose, and for years our neighbors to the north and south of us received the great

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*a* C. R., Vol. 3, p. 170.

*b* C. R., Vol. 4, p. 833.



ships and re-shipped to our waters in smaller vessels, receiving the profits and benefits that should have been ours. \*

Gov. Burrington in 1731 writes:

“The pilots I have appointed assure me that at Ocracoke they bring in vessels that draw sixteen or eighteen feet water, at Port Beaufort that draw twenty, and at Cape Fear near two and twenty—this account the Pilots offered to swear too. Currituck Inlet is shut up, and Roanoke is so dangerous that few people care to use it, but go round to Ocracoke.” *a*

Port Beaufort had but a very small quantity of land belonging to its district and was very inconvenient to traders on Neuse River, and the traders in that section were “forced to ride forty miles to enter and clear at Beaufort thro’ a low, watery and uninhabited country, which after great rains is not passable in many days.” *b*

At Cape Fear Lawson found “seven fathom on barr with fine harbor” and this was, and is, probably the best natural port south of New York. Tryon said in 1764: “The entrance over this bar is esteemed equal to that of Charleston.” *c*

*a* C. R., Vol. 3, p. 210.

*b* C. R., Vol. 4, p. 169.

*c* C. R., Vol. 6, p. 1,059.

\* NOTE.—Burrington says, C. R., Vol. 3, p. 336, “At the south end of an island called Ocracock there is sufficient depth of water for any merchantman to come in and a secure harbor, this Island is separated from the main land by a Sound about fourteen leagues over that cannot be passed by a Vessel that draws tenn foot water, it has communications with many large rivers that water so great a part of this country as contain four parts in five of all the Inhabitants within the Province. On this Island there is a hill whereon if a small fort was Erected Cannon would from thence Command the Barr, Channell and Harbour, there is no one thing that would cause the trade of this Province to flourish like setting a Custom House on this Place, this would procure a trade from England, in a little time put an end to the Pedling carried on by the Virginians and People of New England.”

NOTE.—A letter from Capt. Winslow of the U. S. Corps of Engineers gives the distance from Ocracoke Inlet to Washington, N. C., 75 miles; (about 12 miles above Bath). Ocracoke Inlet to New Berne, N. C., 70 miles; Ocracoke Inlet to Edenton, N. C., 130 miles.”

Regarding Roanoke Inlet he gives the following data:

“It was open in 1585; depth not known. It was navigable for (9) nine feet in 1708; for eight (8) feet in 1738 and 1775; it was open in 1795; depth not known, and was closed in 1875. The time of the closure not being definitely known.”

"The distance from Charleston bar to that of Cape Fear is sixty leagues, and has been frequently run in twenty hours."

In a letter to the Lords of the Board of Trade, Dec. 12, 1734, Gab Johnson says the Cape Fear was "the best navigation of any betwixt Chesapeak Bay and Cape Florida, and that the past year forty-two ships went loaded from this river." He said that the first settlement there was about eight years before.

When direct trade commenced at Wilmington the Cape Fear country soon became one of the most important commercial sections in America.

The leading men of the province were well educated, though little provision was made for the laboring classes. Gentlemen's sons were sent to Williamsburg, Charleston, New England and Old England; some had tutors at home. The daughters were taught by their own mothers or placed with ladies who undertook to educate them.

The ministers and lay readers were generally also teachers, and educated indentured servants were sometimes used for that purpose. Charles Griffin about 1705 was probably the first professional teacher in the Province, and others followed. Brickell *a* says: "The want of the Protestant clergy is generally supplied by some School-Masters, who read the Liturgy. These are most numerous and are dispersed through the whole Province." A free school for the education of Indian and negro children was established by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at Bath about 1720. *b*

The law required *c* "That all orphans shall be Educated and provided for according to their Rank and degree" out of the "Income or Interest of their Estate and Stock, if the same will be sufficient, otherwise such

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*a* Page 35.

*o* See Rainsford's letter.

*c* Ch. 49, Laws 1715. Sec. 4.



orphan shall be bound apprentice to some Handycraft Trade (the Master or Mistress of such Orphan not being of the Profession of the People called Quakers) till they shall come of age."

Religion was established by law, but the people were allowed to worship God in their own way and no one was required to conform to the faith and forms of The Church unless they wished to. The Established Church was supposed to be supported by taxes, but the inhabitants do not seem to have been liberal or prompt in their settlements:

"With absolute freedom of conscience, benevolent reason was the simple rule of their conduct." *a*

All Protestant Dissenters were allowed to have their meetings for the exercise of their religion without molestation, but no Quaker was qualified or permitted to give evidence in any criminal causes or to serve on any jury, or bear any office or place of profit or trust in the government. *b*

The early settlers were governed by the laws of England and such additional laws as were not repugnant thereto.

In the revision of 1715 the first of the "Six Confirmed Laws" was "An Act concerning Marriages." After reciting the absence of ministers in the Province to join "in wedlock according to the Rites and Customs of our natural Country the Kingdom of England: that none may be hindered from so necessary a work for the preservation of Mankind and settlement of this country." Sec. 2 reads. "It is enacted and be it enacted by the Palatin and Lords Proprietors, of Carolina, by and with the consent and Advice of the present Grand Assembly and the authority thereof, that any two persons desirous to be joined together in the Holy Estate of Matrimony, taking three or four neighbours along with them and repairing to the Governor or any one of the Council, before him declaring that they do join together in the Holy

*a* Bancroft, Vol. 2. p. 154.

*b* 1715, Ch. 9, Secs. 2, 6. Re-enacted in 1749....

Estate of Wedlock and do accept one the other for Man and Wife, and the said Governor or Councillor before whom such Act is performed, giving certificate thereof, and the said certificate being registered in the Secretary's office, or by the Register of the Precinct or in such office as shall hereafter be appointed for that use. It shall be deemed a Lawful Marriage, & 'the persons violating that marriage shall be punished as they had been married according to the Rites and Customs of England."

Later magistrates were allowed to perform the marriage ceremony. *a* Registration of marriages, births and deaths were required, *b* and "every Planter, Owner, Attorney or Overseer of every settled plantation in this Government, or that hereafter shall be settled shall set apart a Burial place, and fence the same for the interring of all such Christian persons whether bond or free that shall die on their plantations." \*

In this day of temperance agitation the following law may be worth mentioning, and the idea of requiring a bond of liquor dealers for the faithful observance of the law may be worth reviving: *c* "An act concerning Ordinary keepers and Tippling houses." The keepers of Taverns or Ordinaries were required to have license to sell liquor and to give bond for the due observance of the law; it further

*a* 1741, Ch. 1, Sec. 9.

*b* Ch. 47, 1715.

*c* 1715, Ch. 53.

\* NOTE.—It seems to have been a custom at buryings to feed the people attending. The following bill pasted in "Minute Docket 1695-1712" may not be uninteresting.  
lett: (1703.)

	£.	s.	d.
My trouble in ye sickness.....		10	
coffin .....		10	
sheat .....		8	
digging grave, etc.....		5	6
funeral dinner .....	1	10	
By looking after hogs, etc.....	1	5	



provided that "nothing in this act shall be adjudged to hinder any Man from selling Cyder or other liquors, the produce of his own plantation, at any time hereafter by full and Lawful measures (the same not being drunk in the cellar house or plantation.)" The rate of charges for "Drink, Dyet, Lodging, Fodder, Provender, Corn or Pasturage" was fixed by the Justices of the County Court. *a* There were very few poor in the province as there was great demand for labor, and every one who would exert himself had an abundance of "hog and hominy." The fines collected for Sabbath breaking and swearing, profaneness, etc., were paid by the Justices to the Church Warden for the use of the poor of the parish. *b* If any person was wounded, maimed or hurt in his country's service "and not of ability to maintain himself or pay for his cure, he or they shall be cured at the Publick charge, and have one good negro man-slave allowed and purchased for him for his maintenance, and in the same case if any one shall be killed, the Publick shall make the same provision for his wife and family."

To vote for a member of the Assembly one was required to be 21 years of age and to have been an inhabitant of the government six months, and a free-holder with fifty acres. *c* This property qualification was not hard to attain, as every resident was entitled to fifty acres for himself and the same for each member of his family, if he chose to enter it. To be a member of the Assembly it was necessary to have been a resident of the Province for one full year and to be 21 years of age and own 100 acres of land.

There were a number of good roads in the province before 1750—that from Edenton to Williamsburg, a distance of

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*a* 1741, Ch. 20, Sec. 4.

*b* Laws 1715, Ch. 25, Sec. 8.

*c* 1743, Ch. 1, Sec. 5.

100 miles, being very good and a great highway of travel. The road from "Edenton to Virginia, being made broad and convenient for all sorts of carriages, such as Coaches, Chaises, Waggons and Carts, and especially for Horsemen." *a* There was a road from Edenton to Bath, from Bath to New Berne, and from New Berne to Brunswick—distance, two hundred miles.

The road system was not much inferior to that in many counties in North Carolina to-day. Every male person, white or black, from sixteen years of age to sixty, was required to work the roads. *b*

An effort to secure the carrying of letters was made early in our history. All letters superscribed for his Majesty's service directed to or subsigned by the Governor or other "Publick Officer" or by some Field Officer in the Militia at such time when the government is actually engaged in war against the "Indyan Enemie" shall be "Immediately conveyed from Plantation to the place and persons to whom they are directed under the Penalty of Five pounds for each default—one halfe to the Government and the other half to him or them which shall sue for the same." *c* It was further enacted that "where any person in the family the said letter comes to can write such person is hereby required to endorse the day and houre of the Receipt of it that the neglect or Contempt of any person therein may be the better discovered and punishment inflicted accordingly." The bill, costs and charges of carriages was adjudged by the Court of each Precinct and paid by the General Assembly. *d* Burrington said in 1731 "this law never answered the end, and is now entirely useless." *e*

*a* Brickell, page 262.

*b* 1745, Ch. 3; C. R., Vol. 3, p. 435.

*c* 1715, Ch. 15, Sec. 56.

*d* Laws 1715, Ch. 56.

*e* Burrington, 1731; C. R., Vol. 3, p. 188.



A general post-office was established in New York in 1710 for the Continent, with several branches, including Charleston in Carolina. Act Parliament 1710, Queen Anne. \*

In 1755 Gov. Dobbs in a message to the General Assembly called attention to the necessity of an "Established Post thro' this Province" and the necessity of correspondence with the neighboring Colonies, whereon James Davis, Printer, was employed for the sum of one hundred pounds, six shillings and eight pence Proclamation money for one year, "to convey all Publick Letters, Expresses and Dispatches relating to this Province to any part thereof, and every fifteen days send a messenger to Suffolk, in Virginia, and to Wilmington." *a*

In a message to the General Assembly in 1764 Gov. Dobbs states that a "Packet Boat" has been established from England to Charleston. He urges the establishment of a post "once a Fortnight to carry letters from Suffolk, in Virginia, thro' this Province at least to our Sounthern Boundary."

*a* C. R., Vol. 5, p. 516.

\* NOTE.—"An Act for establishing a General Post Office for all Her Majesty's Dominions and for settling a weekly Sum out of the Revenues thereof, for the Service of the War, and other Her Majesty's occasions." Statutes at Large, Vol. 4, 1699-1713. (A. D., 1710), page 434.

\* \* \*

"All letters and packets from London to New York in North America, and thence to London: Single, one shilling, Double (letters) two shillings, treble (letters) three shillings, Ounce four Shillings.

All letters and Packets from any Part of the West Indies, to New York aforesaid: Single four pence; Double eight pence, Treble one shilling, Ounce one shilling and four pence.

All letters and Packets from New York to any place within Sixty English Miles thereof, and thence back to New York: Single, four Pence, Double eight pence, treble one shilling. Ounce, one shilling and four Pence.

All letters and Packets from New York aforesaid, to Charlestown, the Chief town in North and South Carolina, and from Charlestown aforesaid to New York: Single, one shilling six Pence; Double, three Shillings; Treble four shillings six Pence; Ounce six shillings.

All letters and Packets from Charlestown aforesaid to any Place not exceeding one hundred English Miles, and thence back again: Single, six pence; Double, one shilling; Treble, one Shilling, six pence. Ounce two shillings."

Mail carriers were allowed immediate and free ferriage over the rivers and for delaying more than half an hour or charging, the ferryman was to forfeit and pay for every offence the sum of £5.

The General Assembly appropriated £133 6s. 8d. to be paid to the Postmaster if he establish this post. *a*

The distribution of mails was made from Williamsburg and Charleston. In a letter from Governor Tryon, Dec. 8, 1764, to Lord Hyde, Postmaster-General, he states that the Assembly voted £133 1-2 to establish a post from Williamsburg to Charleston "charging the customary postage on letters," by the following route:

From Williamsburg to Edenton.....	100 miles
From Edenton to Brunswick.....	200 miles
From Brunswick to Charleston.....	180 miles
	480 miles

(This included the towns of Bath, Newbern and Wilmington.)

The post had just been established from New York to Williamsburg. He also petitioned that his Majesty's packet be ordered to touch at Cape Fear River at Fort Johnston. He stated that dispatches sometimes laid six weeks at Charleston and occasionally months in Virginia before they were received. *b* Later Tryon recommended the following route to avoid the "broad ferries of Neuse River, Pamlico and Albemarle Sounds" from Suffolk. *c*

Route from Suffolk, in Virginia, to the Boundary House of North and South Carolina on the sea coast.

	Miles.
From Suffolk to Cotton's Ferry on Chowan River....	40
Appletree Ferry on the Roanoke.....	30
* Salters on Tar or Pamlico River.....	35
Kemps' Ferry on Neuse.....	28
Newbern .....	10
Trentbridge .....	13

*a* C. R., Vol. 6, pp. 1,291, 1,300.

*b* C. R., Vol. 6, p. 1,058.

*c* C. R., Vol. 7, p. 149.

\* NOTE.—Salters was afterwards Watkins' Ferry and is now Boyd's Ferry on Grimesland Plantation.



Mrs. Warburtons .....	13
Sneads on New River ferry.....	26
Sage's .....	13
Collins' .....	14
Wilmington .....	15
Brunswick .....	15
The Ferry .....	2
To Bells' .....	20
The Boundary House.....	23
<hr/>	
Total miles .....	297

Gov. Tryon used special messengers for carrying his dispatches.

It seems that the first post route actually established thro' North Carolina was in January, 1769, though it was carried but once a month. *a*

In 1770 the General Assembly passed "an Act to encourage and support the establishment of a Post-office within this Province." Of this act Martin says: "Davis says that this act was repealed by proclamation. I have no certificate of that; However, it was only to be in force for two years, and from thence to the end of the next session of Assembly." \*

One of the first acts of the Continental Congress was to establish a post-office with post routes from Falmouth, Me., to Savannah, Ga.

The large plantations were miniature republics, raising their own beef, pork, horses, corn, grain, tobacco, wool, cotton, tallow, myrtle-wax, \*\* beeswax, etc., and catching fish in the nearby streams.

*a* C. R., Vol. 8, pp. 3, 4.

\* NOTE.—I cannot find the manuscript law among the records in the Secretary of State's office. G.

\*\* NOTE.—The myrtle-wax was mixed with tallow and used for making candles and is said to have emitted a delightful and fragrant perfume while burning.

Each planter had his own saw pit, carpenter and cooper and blacksmith shop, tannery, etc. He raised wool and cotton enough to clothe his people, carded, spun and wove his own cloth and made his own shoes.

In 1735 Brickell says "The Cloathings used by the Men are English Cloaths, Druggets, Durois, Green Linnen, etc. The women have their silks, Calicoes, Stamp-Linnen, Calimanchoes and all kind of Stuffs, some whereof are manufactured in the Province." *a*

In a few years after this "negro cloth" was made in considerable quantities and old inventories show us that almost every family had their spinning wheel, linen wheel, flax brake, hackles, looms, etc. Little cotton was exported. Only seven bags of two hundred and twenty-five pounds each being exported from Charleston in 1747, and none from any other province. *b*

In 1784 fifteen thousand nine hundred and seventy-five pounds (seventy-one bags two hundred and twenty-five pounds each), were shipped to England and seized on the ground that the United States could not produce so much.

*a* Page 38.

*b* Carr. Coll., Vol. 2, p. 234.

NOTE.—When Whitney invented the cotton gin in 1794 cotton growing was greatly encouraged. He was paid \$90,000 by the cotton-growing States (N. C. paying thirty thousand dollars, South Carolina fifty thousand dollars, and Georgia ten thousand dollars) that their planters could have the privilege of using his invention. The "Saw-Gin" was a circular saw revolving between iron ribs, tearing the lint from the seeds. One of these of ten saws can be now seen in the State Museum. A tax was laid by the State of 2s. 6d. per annum for each saw used.

In 1810 North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia and Virginia manufactured more than all of New England.

North Carolina manufactured	7,376,154 yards of cloth.
Virginia manufactured	3,007,255 yards of cloth.
South Carolina manufactured	3,083,188 yards of cloth.
Georgia manufactured	3,688,534 yards of cloth.

In 1810, at a military review in North Carolina where 1,500 persons were present, all but forty wore homespun.

J. L. Watkins, Dept. Ag. Year Book 1903.



Considerable linen cloth was made and the French colonists had introduced silk culture as well as wine-making.

From 1731 to 1755 there were 40756 lbs. of raw and "Wrought Silk" exported from North and South Carolina into Great Britain, and 38621 lbs. of mixed "Silken Stuffs" imported into North Carolina and South Carolina from Great Britain. *a* \*

The gentry for themselves and wives generally imported their clothing and dressed in a similar style to people of their station in England. England discouraged manufacturing in the colonies in every way possible, and up to the Revolution the gentry and better classes imported their clothing, but when we separated from England we began to make everything we needed.

Nails were made in blacksmith shops on plantations; and all ironware, pewter, etc., were imported. By an act of Parliament, *a*

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*a* Carr. Coll., 272.

*a* Holmes' Annals, Vol. 2, p. 42.

\* NOTE.—In connection with silk it may be interesting to quote a few lines from Coxe in his *Caralana*, p. 92. "Besides we have a grass, as they call Silk grass, which makes very pretty stuffs, such as come from the East Indies, which they call Herba Stuffs, whereof a garment was made for Queen Elizabeth, whose ingredient came from Sir Walter Raleigh's colony, by him called Virginia, now North Carolina, a part of this Province, which, to encourage colonies and plantations, she was pleased to wear for divers weeks."

Holmes' Annals, Vol. 1, p. 486.

Master Ralph Lane writing to Mr. Richard Hakluyt from the "new fort in Virginia" Sept. 3, 1585, mentions "several kinds of flax and one kind like silk, the same gathered as a grass as common there as grass here."

Hawks 1, p. 106.

Thomas Harriot in his narrative writes of "silk of grass or grass-silk. There is a kind of grass in the country upon the blades whereof there groweth very good silk in form of a thin glittering skin to be stript off."

Hawks 1, p. 154.

The Rev. Dr. Curtis, the Botanist, says the plants mentioned by Lane and Harriot are evidently the same thing. "We have a plant (*chrysopsis graminifolia*) in the pine woods, almost "as common as grass" and now known as silk weed, which answers well to the accounts of these writers, and which I have no doubt is the one intended by them."

the "Erection of any mill or other machine for slitting or rolling iron or any plating forge to work with a tilt hammer or any furnace for making steel" in any of the colonies was forbidden. \*

The poorer planters at first used stone hand-mortars for pounding their grain tho' the better classes had hand-mills. These mills were of stones with about twenty inches or two feet face, and at first brought from England, though it was soon found that the calcareous rock on Neuse River *b* made admirable ones. This rock when first quarried was soft and easily shaped, but when exposed became hard and durable. These hand mills were worth five or six pounds. *c*

In 1710 DeGraffenreid said there was only one water mill in the province. As late as 1730 there were only two or three water mills in the province and no wind mills. *d* The Assembly of 1715 *a* to encourage mills passed an act permitting the condemnation by the Precinct Court of two acres for a water mill, and one-half acre for wind mill by any one engaging to erect a mill thereon within two years. If the owner of the land would obligate to build such mill himself, then the motion of the applicant for mill was denied.

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*b* Brickell, 263.

*c* See inventories.

*d* Brickell.

*a* Ch. 37.

\*NOTE.—In 1731 Gov. Burrington states that there was an abundance of iron ore in North Carolina.

NOTE.—In 1775 at Hillsboro, the Provincial Congress made an effort to encourage manufactures. "Premiums were voted for the manufacture of saltpetre, gunpowder, cotton and woolen cards, pins, needles, linen and woolen cloth, and for the erection of rolling and slitting mills, furnaces for the manufacture of steel and iron, paper mills, salt works, and for refining sulphur." Lossing, Vol. 2, p. 582; see also C. R., Vol. 9, p. 1,185 and Vol. 10, pp. 216-219. Immediately manufactures sprung into existence.



In 1722 there were nine precincts in North Carolina, and an act of that year provided for the erection of court-houses at the following places:

For the Precinct of Chowan at Edenton;

For the Precinct of Perquimans at Jonathan Phelps Point at the Mouth of the Narrows;

For the Precinct of Currituck on the land of Mr. William Peyner next to the land of Mr. William Parker; or at Mr. Parker's, "as the justices shall appoint";

For the Precincts of Beaufort and Hyde at Bath town;

For the Precinct of Craven at New Bern;

For the Precinct of Carteret at Beaufort town;

For the Precinct of Bertie, now by this Assembly laid out at some convenient place at Ahotsky where the Justices shall appoint.

For the Precinct of Pasquotank at such place as the Justices shall appoint.

Hyde was afterwards separated from Beaufort *a* and built a court-house of its own. In the next few years the following additional counties were erected. On the site of old Clarendon New Hanover (1728) was established. From New Hanover were formed Onslow (1734) and Bladen (1734) and Duplin (1749). From the territory of old Bath County was erected Edgecombe (1733) Johnston (1746) and Granville (1746). Beaufort, Hyde and Craven having been previously made therefrom. From Albemarle the Precincts of Pasquotank, Currituck, Perquimans, Chowan, Bertie and Tyrrell had been taken, and from it Northampton was also erected in 1741. All court-houses built in the various precincts were required by law to be at least 24 feet long and 16 feet wide. *b*

The "Precincts" were changed to "Counties" in 1738.

*a* 1729, Ch. 3.

*b* L. 1722, Ch. 8, Sec. 5.

In 1749 realizing that the colony was becoming too important to continue to have a migratory capital an act was passed fixing the seat of government at New Berne and appointing John Starkey, Edward Griffith and Jeremiah Vail Commissioners to erect necessary public buildings. At this time circuit courts were established; a commission appointed to revise and print the laws; the militia better regulated; a list of taxables arranged for; and £6000 appropriated for public schools. Direct trade had recently been opened from the Cape Fear to Europe, every ship brought high class immigrants, and a new era had dawned for the colony. All the roads and trails to North Carolina from South Carolina, Virginia and Pennsylvania were filled with the wagons of the home-seeker. The growth of North Carolina from this time forward for the next half-century was probably the most remarkable in the history of American Colonization.

The following extracts from a table in Holmes' Annals, Vol. 2, page 543, of exports to Great Britain and imports from Great Britain is most interesting:

Exports to G. B.	Carolinas.			Imports from G. B.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1701.	16973	6	3	13908	8	3¾
1710.	20793	9	0	19613	18	11¾
1720.	62736	6	8	18290	12	11
1730.	151739	17	6	64785	11	5
1740.	266560	4	5	181821	14	11
1750.	191607	6	3	133037	0	9
1773.	456513	8	4	344859	9	1



## New England.

	Exports to G. B.			Imports from G. B.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1701.	32656	7	2	86322	13	11¼
1710.	31112	17	7½	106338	6	4
1720.	49206	12	6	128767	2	11
1730.	54701	5	10	208196	5	5
1740.	72389	16	2	171081	2	5
1750.	48455	9	0	343659	6	8
1773.	124624	19	6	527055	15	10

In 1773 the exports from the Carolinas greatly exceeded the exports of Georgia, New York, New England and Pennsylvania. Virginia and Maryland alone exceeded us, and probably more than half the North Carolina exports were shipped from Virginia waters and classed as Virginia products.

	Exports to G. B. 1773.			Imports from G. B.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Carolina,	456.513	8	4	344.859	9	1
Georgia,	85.391	1	8	62.932	19	8
New England,	124.624	19	6	527.055	15	10
New York,	76.246	12	0	289.214	19	7
Pennsylvania	36.652	8	9	426.448	17	3
Va. and Md.,	589.803	14	5	328.904	15	8
	<hr/>			<hr/>		
	1369.232	4	8	1979.416	17	1

## APPENDIX.

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As illustrative of conditions in the Colonial period the following extracts from wills will prove interesting:

### WILLS.

LIONEL READING, Bath County, July 12, 1708, probated February, 1725. Item. I give and bequeath to my well beloved Son Nathaniel Reading the said plantation after his mother's decease \* \* \* and one feather Bed with Furniture, with a hand Mill. \* \* \* The Same not to be paid out of his own Cattle wch are of a different mark from mine which by record appears. Item I give & bequeath to my Daughter Sarah \* \* \* the youngest of my horses now running in the Woods \* \* \* .”

THOMAS POLLOCK of Chowan County, 1721. Plantations aggregating about 55,000 acres of land. The names of some of them as follows: “Five hundred and sixty acres in the fork of Raquis called Springfield; \* \* \* Five hundred acres of land lying on the South Side of Moratock River called Canecarora; \* \* \* six hundred and forty acres of land \* \* \* on Bridges Creek at Weekacanaan A tract of land containing Two thousand eight hundred acres Lying on Cassayah called Rose-field: \* \* \* Nine hundred Acres of Land on Neuse River fork Called New-Bern. \* \* \* Where Wilson lived at Weekacoon Creek: and where John Mainard lived at Pettishore also two thousand four hundred acres called Crany Island; \* \* \* Seven Hundred and Ten acres Lying on the North side of Trent River Called Ye Halfe-Way House. \* \* \* also six hundred and Forty acres on Nuse River Called Wilkeson's Point.”

About eighty slaves were bequeathed the names of some of which are as follows: Scipio, Abraham, Diego, Mingo, Venus, Cæsar, Caramante Will, Sharper, London, Diana, Tomboy, Pompey.

Land on Salmon Creek is given to son Thomas “Reserving free liberty to my son George to make what Pitch and Tar he sees fitting on the same with his hands for the space of three or four years after My Death.” Also, “as to ye crop on ye Ground and what Pitch and Tar ye hands in ye woods makes until ye first of Aprill Next shall be Equally divided, etc.”

As to importations from and business dealings with New England: “I give and bequeath to my son Cullen one hundred pound to be paid in Boston and also five thousand foot of plank which I have sent for from Boston. \* \* \* I give and bequeath unto my son George sixty pound to be paid in Boston.”



"Also I give and bequeath unto my Son Thomas one Third Part of all the vessels clearances whether it be in money, bills to New England or elsewhere

also I give and Bequeath to my Son Cullen six Pound to be paid him in the first goods from New England at first cost I owing him so much

also I give and bequeath to my Son George twenty pound to be paid him in the first goods I have come in from Boston I oweing him so much." "New England plank" is mentioned two or three times in the will.

Codicil provides for building houses for sons of testator: "And whereas \* \* \* I have Expended and Laid out for a house at Black Rock (when mr West the Carpentare is paid what is due to him for his worke ther) for my son Thomas Twoe hundred Pound and also Ten Pound more for New England plank. \* \* \* And whereas also I have been out and expended upon a house for my son Cullen on the South Shore (when mr West the Carpentare is paid for what worke he hath done ther (to wit) the covering of the house doeing the Dormant Windoes and makeing up the Gavell end of the Sd House and when Cullen hath what Glass is in the House that will answer his purposes and what nailes he shall have occasion for said House \* \* \* In my accounting above in this codicill concerning Cullens House standing in Three Hundred Pound I made a mistake in not mentioning that mr Coke the Bricklayer wages for making Laying the Bricks in the chimneys Sellar Underpinning and doeing all the other worke agreed for is part of the Three hundred Pound and is to be paid out of my personall estate. Also he is to have what lands are necessary for him for burning the Bricks or what other worke he hath occasion for to finish the worke he hath agreed for wherefore my will is that the Bricklayer aforesd be paid out of my personall estate befor Shared."

#### JOHN HECLEFIELD'S INVENTORY.

1721

\* \* \* One Silver Tankard Weighing 1:lb, 1:Z 15:pw 16:gr  
Eight Good Spoons Two Dram Cups one little Spoon One do broke  
One do large melted a Seal 9Z 3pw Total of the weight 1 lb 10Z  
18p w16gr One Silver Hilted Sword one pair of Buckles not weighed  
four Diamond Rings two plain do. \* \* \*

#### FREDERICK JONES 1722.

Chowan Precinct. \* \* \* "I Give devise and bequeath unto my Eldest daughter Jane My Indian Girle named Nanny My Negro Woman named Dinah, together with her three Children and all the increase that shall be borne of any of them Her Mothers Diamond wedding ring and large pair of Diamond ear rings, Gold Watch with the Chain, Seal & other things fixed thereto; her Mothers Wearing

Apparell such as is already made up & such things as was designed for her but not made up, All her Mothers Child bede Linnen with white silk Damask Gown, All the China Ware and Tea furniture with the Dressing table and furniture, Also a Dozen of my finest Damask Napkins and Table Clothe a Dozen of fine Diaper Napkins & Table Clothe, One pair of my finest Holland sheets with Pillow Cases; and one other pair of Holland Sheets with Pillow Cases. Item I give devise and bequeath unto my Daughter Martha Four young negroes, two male and two female, not under ten years of age to be set apart from the rest of my Estate for the use of my said daughter together with the increase thereof; Also the smaller pair of Diamond Ear-rings, One Diamond Ring, her Mothers Gold Shoe Buckles thimble & Bodkin one Dozen of my finest damask Napkins and table clothe, one Dozen of fine Diaper Napkins & Table Clothe One pair of my finest holland Sheets & pillow Cases and one other pair of holland sheets with Pillow cases; Also the Sum of one hundred and fifty pounds Boston Money. Item I give devise and bequeath unto my daughter Rebeckah four young negroes two male & two female, not under ten years of Age to be set apart from the rest of my estate for the use of my said daughter together with the increase thereof, One Diamond Ring, One Dozen fine Damask Napkins and Table Clothe, One Dozen fine Diaper Napkins and Table Clothe, Two pair of fine holland Sheets and pillow cases. Also the Sum of Two hundred pounds Boston Money. \* \* \* Item I give devise and bequeath unto my Eldest Son William Harding Jones, all my land on the South side of Moratoke River being part of a large tract of nine Thousand one hundred acres by me taken up. Also all my lands in Hyde precinct. \* \* \* Item I Give devise and bequeath unto my Son Frederick Jones all my Lands in Craven precinct. \* \* \* Item I Give Devise and bequeath unto my Son Thomas Jones all my Lauds at or near Meherrin Creek in Chowan precinct, Also those Lands belonging to me on the North Side Moratoke River. \* \* \* Item I give unto each of my Sons one Diamond Ring; Item I Give unto my three Sons to be equally divided among them all my Library of Books; Eyccept those books commonly used by my wife, which I have ordered to be put into her closets which books I give unto my Daughter Jane. \* \* \* Lands lying in King William County in Virginia commonly called Horns Quarter. \* \* \* Item I Give unto my Loveing brother Ten pounds Sterling to buy a Suit of Mourning. \* \* \* A Codicil to be annexed to the Will of Frederick Jones Esqr. I Give and bequeath unto my daughter Jane, My Wifes Side Saddle and furniture thereto belonging with the horse called Blaze. To my daughter Martha a Sett of Silver tea spoons double gilded. To my daughter Rebeckah two pair of filigreen gold Shift buckles and all the gold rings and Ear-rings. \* \* \* To my good friend and Neighbour



Edward Moseley of Chowan precinct my pair of pistolls mounted with Silver caps etc. \* \* \* with bridle Locks and stocked with English Walnut."

EMANUEL LOW. 1726 Pasquotank precinct. "\* \* \* 3ly I give and bequeath unto my Grandson George Low Son of my beloved Son Nevil Low Dd and now in the kingdom of Great Britain the Plantation where my Cousin Robinson now Lives & the Plantation called New ABBey with four Hundred Acres of land adjoining to it to \* \* \* also my Seal Scutcheon of arms. \* \* \* Lands commonly called the Town point Lying on the mouth of the North West side of Newbegun Creek & now in the possession of Jno Conner. It is my Will that my daughter Anna Letitia her heirs or assigns shall keep in possession all ye before mentioned Legacies wth Lands &c &c &c &c."

WILLIAM HARDING JONES 1730.

"of ye eastern Parish of Chowan \* \* \* do give \* \* \* Ann Jones my wife \* \* \* One certain piece or parcel of Land containing four thousand Acres on Ronoak river in Bertie Precinct it being that Tractk of Land out of wch I have sold three hundred to Ellis Hodges of the same precinct I also give to her during her natural Life the house and plantation whereon I now live with all & singular the rights, hereditaments appertenances & appendants whatsoever to the said piece or parcel of Land in anywise appertaining with all Cattle, hogs, horses, sheep belonging to the said plantation with one third part of the negroes I now possess, and also all my household goods belonging to the sd house Excepting the family pictures and Court of Arms. \* \* \* likewise all my books in ye sd. house I give to my brothers Freddick and Thomas Jones \* \* \* ."

JOHN BAPTISTA ASHE 1731.

"of Bath County in the province of North Carolina Gent. \* \* \* Item. I give devise and bequeath unto my Son Samuel and unto my daughter Mary my Lands up the north west branch of Cape Fear River called Ashwood which are situate lying and being on the South side of said river between the lands of John Porter of Virginia Mercht, and the Plantation whereon Daniel Donahoe lately deceased dwelt, Together with my other lands on the north Side of the River directly opposite to those aforementioned to be equally \* \* \* Item, I give, devise and bequeath \* \* \* land on Stumpy Sound called Turkey Point \* \* \* other tract called Stump Island. Four hundred acres of land \* \* \* on the Main Branch of Old town creek. Item I will that my slaves be kept to work on my lands that my Estate may be managed to the best advantage so as my sons may have as liberal an education as the

profits thereof will afford; and in their Education I pray my Exors to observe this method. Let them be taught to read and write and be introduced into the practical part of Arithmetick not too hastily hurrying them into Latin or Grammar but after they are pretty well versed in these let them be taught Latin & Greek. I propose this may be done in Virginia; After which let them learn French; perhaps some Frenchman at Santee wile undertake this; when they are arrived to years of discretion Let them study the Mathematicks. To my Sons when they arrive at age I recommend the pursuit & Study of Some profession or business (I wish one to ye Law, the other to Merchandize) In which let them follow their own inclinations. Item I will that my daughter be taught to write and read & some feminine accomplishments which may render her agreeable; And that she be not kept ignorant as to what appertains to a good house wife in the management of household affairs. Item I give to each of my Exors a Gold Ring a token of the respect which In my life I bore them Item I will that a Brick Vault may be built at Groveley and my Dear Wifes body taken up out of the Earth & brought and laid therein; and if it should be my fortune to die in Carolina so as my Corpse may be Conveyed thither I desire that one large Coffin may be made and both our body's laid together therein and lodged in the said Vault."

## THOMAS POLLOCK 1732.

"of Bertie Precinct." Plantations called Black Rock, Great Quarter, Manuels or Crickits, Springfield, and lands lying on Salmou Creek & Chowan River, Trent River, Unaroye Meadows, "nigh of Tuskarora Indian Town," Moratuck River. Fishing Creek. Forty six negroes are bequeathed. "Item I will & Order & give by this will to all Such persons who are Settled on my lands at Trenton Condition of a Certain writng I give to Jacob Miller that those already settled there, have leases on ye same terms I promised them."

## JOSHUA PORTER 1733.

Bath County. Plantations on Derhams Creek one known as Sand Hills. Negroes, Mustees and Indians are given to wife, and mourning rings to friends. "It is my further will and desire that my Son and Daughter may be Carefully learnt to read & write & Cypher & yt they be duly Educated \* \* \* ."

## RICHARD SANDERSON. 1733.

Perquimans precinct. "Ye island of Ocrecock," land on the Sandy Bank "by the name of Point Lookout"; "Mannor Plantation." One hundred and forty seven acres of land in Perquimans; lots in Roanoak Town devised to son Richard. The brigantine "Sea



Flower" and sloop "Swallow" are given to son and son in law. Thirteen negro and one Indian slave bequeathed.

FRANCIS PUGH. 1733

Bertie precinct. Provides for "bringing up my children at School Plantation at Emperor's Fields bought of Christian Hitteburch. "Whereas, \* \* \* I have begun to build a brigantine which is now in the Stocks in Bertie precinct \* \* \* finish and Compleat the said Brigantine with Anchors Masts Cables Sails &c."

"Item it is my will and pleasure that after the said Vessel is finished my executors & my Trustees herein named do \* \* \* purchase a Loading of Tobacco black Walnut or other merchandise fitt for the British market and that they do send the said Vessel to great Britain from thence to return to No. Carolina, \* \* \* ."

"Item It is my will and pleasure that after my Sloop Carolina returns from New England that my Executors & Trustee do \* \* \* purchase a cargo and send the said Sloop to the West Indies \* \* \* ."

"Item It is my will that my dear wife & Excers do receive from Captn Grainger the Cargo brought in a Schooner into this province which belongs to Mr. Coleman provided the said Grainger allows to my Excers twelve pounds pr Barrel for good & well pickled pork vitz for so much as is produced from my own stock \* \* \* ."

THOMAS SWANN 1733

Pasquotank precinct. Two plantations are conveyed to sons Samuel and William with the provision that if either shall sell or convey his part "out of the name of ye Swanns" the other shall enter and take possession. Provision is made for "ye Christian education of my Children." Horse, bridle and saddle is given to each of two sons.

EDWARD SALTER. 1734.

Bath County. Plantation on Pamlico river "called in the patent Mount Calvert; six hundred and forty acres of land on Bear creek. About twenty negro slaves bequeathed. To daughter Sarah is bequeathed forty three cattle and horses, one hundred pounds "of the said Province bills or their value"; Madam Sarah Porter is mentioned as having care and tuition of daughter. To three children is given "my largest periauger with anchors and sails." "Item I bequeath unto my son in law John Harvey Ten pounds in order to purchase him a good Beaver Hat and a pair of gloves. \* \* \* Item I bequeath unto my beloved son Edward Salter my best Saddle and bridle and one pair of Silver Spurs and Richard Bloom's history of the Holy Bible together with all the books that I shall own at my Death (be they Divinity, History or Mathematical) \* \* \* also my large China Punch Bowl. \* \* \* My will is that my

Brigantine now on the stocks at John Smiths be got finished and made fit for the Sea as soon as may be \* \* \* be loaden with tar \* \* \* (for Boston). \* \* \* My will further is that my Executors may write two or three ways \* \* \* to Collo. Jacob Windall and Company to Insure the sum of Twelve Hundred pounds (Boston Money) upon the said Brigantine \* \* \* ." Money arising from the sale of the brigantine to be "remitted in youngeable slaves (none to exceed the age of twenty years)." Provision is made for education of children and for Edward "a thorough education to make him a compleat merchant."

## EDWARD BRYAN. 1745.

To sons John, Edward & William is given land purchased of Martin Frank called "New Germany"; lots (3) in Newbern town with a store house on one of them; plantation on the west side of Swifts Creek called Paradise. Sixteen negro slaves bequeathed. Large number of cattle and horses bequeathed—five riding horses. Provision is made for Seven years schooling for children the schooling to be given them at some time between the ages of seven and seventeen years.

## EDWARD MOSELEY. 1745.

New Hanover County. Plantation at Rockey Point containing 3500 acres; Plantation in Chowan County containing 2000 acres; plantation on the North East branch of Cape Fear River containing 3500 acres lying between Holly Shelter Creek and the "bald white Sand hills"; plantation opposite Rockey Point plantation containing 1650 acres; 1280 acres at Rockfish Creek; 600 acres on the East Side of the North West branch of Cape Fear River; lot and houses in Brunswick; plantation below Brunswick called Macknights; lot & house in Wilmington; 600 acres of land opposite Cabbage Inlet; 500 acres in Tyrrell called Coopers; 450 acres in Tyrrell called Whitemarsh; lands on East side Cape Fear River; plantation at the Sound where "there is a large vineyard Planted; 3200 acres in Edgecombe called Alden of the hill; 1650 acres on West side of Neuse River "about twenty four miles above New Bern town; 10,000 acres in Edgecombe County called Clur; aggregating about 35,000 acres. 88 slaves bequeathed. "Item I give and bequeath to my Loving wife Anne my New Chaise Harness and the Pair of Bay horses Smoker and Toby. \* \* \* I also give unto her out of my stocks ten cows & ten calves ten steers of Different ages & Twenty sheep and the horse **Spark**.

\* \* \* It is my will that the slaves usually kept about the house shall be kept in the same employment for my Wifes easier life and care of my children untill she marries. \* \* \* Item. I give unto my six children all my Stock of horses Mares neat cattle sheep and swine to run & increase for ther benefit and I will that



proper slaves be appointed for managing thereof of which increase & profit made thereby of such as are necessary to be sold or killed at proper seasons Accot to be rendered to the County Court for my children advantage without charges deducting first thereout what may be necessary for such kind of provision for housekeeping for my said wife and children. Item It is my will that the profits arising from the labour of my two sons slaves & their part of the profits arising by the stocks be laid out in purchasing young female slaves to be added to their stocks of slaves. \* \* \* Item. When it shall be necessary to give all or any of my sons other Education than is to be had from the Common Masters in this Province for I would have my children well educated it is then my will &c &c &c.

Item. I recommend it to my dear and loving wife that one of my sons as shall be Thought best qualified for it be bred to the Law it being highly necessary in so large a Family and to him I give all my Law books being upwards of 200 Volumes. \* \* \* Item. I give to my dear wife Blomes History of the Bible in folio, three volumes in folio of Archbishop Tillotsons works, four Volumes in Octavo of Dr. Stanhopes on the Epistles & Gospels and all the books of Physick. Item I give to my daughter Ann Humfries 3 volumes in folio on the Old & New Testament and I will that my Exors buy for her the work of the author of the Whole Duty of Man I give to the eldest of my sons that shall not study the law Chambers Dictionary two Volumes in folio Locks Works three volumes in folio Millers Dictionary two volumes in folio and LeBlond on Gardening in Quarto: and the rest of my books about 150 volumes. \* \* \* Item I give \* \* \* my large Silver Tea Kettle, Lamp & Server for it to stand on weighing in all about 170 ounces \* \* \* my Large Silver Coffee Pot \* \* \* my Large Silver Tea Pot \* \* \* my Large Silver Tankard \* \* \* a pair of large Square Silver Servers, my cases of knives, forks, spoons, Salts, Casters & Other my Plate to be \* \* \*

#### CULLEN POLLOCK. 1749.

Tyrrell County Gen. Plantation at Matchapungo River in Hide County, lott of land in Bath town; 710 acres of land on a branch of Trent River called "the halfe way House"; 1280 acres lying on Coneto Creek in Tyrrell County called the "deaded Woods"; 640 acres in Bertie County on "ye Roonaroy Meadows"; 4700 acres in Bertie County; aggregating about 8000 acres. 78 negroes. "Item It is my will and desire that my three daughters have as good Education as can be had in this Province & that my two sons when they have got what learning they can have in this province that they be sent to Boston for further education \* \* \* ."

## ROGER MOORE 1750.

New Hanover County, Parish of St. Phillips, 1750. Plantations called Kendall, Maultby's Point, Mount Misery; Orton Lands lying on Island opposite Black River. 2500 acres where Mill stands, 640 acres at Rocky Point, 55,000 acres in the Neck known as Mount Misery, 3025 acres in Saxpahaw Old Fields, 5000 acres near Eno Old Fields, and 20,000 acres mentioned in latter part of will, aggregating about 100,000 acres; 250 slaves mentioned. To each of daughters is bequeathed eighteen hundred pounds. Testator mentions saw mill "I intend to build on Brice's Creek."

"It is my will that each of my daughters Mary and Anne doe at their marriage take each their choyce of any One of the House slaves, except the Negro wench Bess who I leave to her liberty to make choyce of any one of my children for her Master or Mistress."

## GABRIEL JOHNSTON 1751.

Plantations called Possum Quarter, Conahoe; 1000 acres on Cypress Creek, 980 acres on South side of Trent, 400 acres on the head of Trent and New Rivers, 7000 acres on Deep River in Bladen Co., "all the small islands lying in Roanoke River and in the neighbourhood of Mount Gallard, land on Salmon Creek in Bertie County." \* \* \* my said Wife shall have the use of all my said Daughters plantations and for her Encouragement to Cultivate & Improve these Plantations especially in Raising Silk. \* \* \* And I earnestly request my Dearest wife to be a kind tender mother to my Dear little girl and to bring her up in the Fear of God and under a deep sense of her being always in his presence, and in Sobriety and moderation Confining her Desires to things plain and neat and Elegant and not aspiring after the Gayety Splendor and Extravagances and especially to take Care to keep within the bounds of her income and by no Means to Run in Debt. \* \* \* It I give and bequeath to Henry Johnston now at school in Newhaven in the Colony of Connecticut. \* \* \* My Books I leave to William Cathcart Esqr. after my Wife and Brother have choose out them any Number not Exceeding forty each. It To my sister Elizabeth Smear of the County of Fife North Britain my large Repeating Gold Watch after it has been put in order at the Expeuce of my estate."

## JOHN BLOUNT 1753.

Chowan County. One plantation. " \* \* \* I give and bequeath \* \* \* Three negroes, viz; Sharper, Finn & Tom, with all my brewing kettles, tubs and Fxts and all my brewing works and my writing Desk \* \* \* My desire is that my Chaise, Boat, Blacksmith's tools, watch and other tools or anything else that is likely to perish be sold \* \* \* Item. I give and bequeath to my brother Charles Blount my best Broad Cloth Suit of Clothes my



best Beaver Hatt & Wigg. My will is that none of the timber should be cut or Sold excepting for the use of the plantation and that no Stranger shall be admitted to live on any part of the Back Land to destroy the Timber, and that no Person shall on any consideration whatsoever be admitted to live on any part of my Land Excepting an Overseer. \* \* \* that no other negroes shall be permitted to work on my plantation excepting they are the property of my wife and children.

And my will is that all the money that shall arise out of my Estate \* \* \* should be laid out to purchase likely young negroes at the Discretion of my Executors for the use and Benefit of my children." Provision is made for the education of the children in "a Christian like manner."

SAMUEL SWANN 1753.

Perquimans County. 450 acres of land "where I now dwell" and "Allegator land." "I give to my Daughter Mary Claton my pickle case and Bottles. Item I do hereby give to my brother John Vail my Silver Seal and Stock Buckle."

JAMES INNES. 1754.

"In the name of God, Amen. I James Innes of Cape Fear in North Carolina in America Coll of the Regiment of sd. Province Raised for His Majesty's immediate service and Commander in Chief of this Expedition to the Ohio against the French & there Indians whoe have most unjustly Invaided & fortified themselves on His Majesty's lands—Being now readdey to Enter upon Action \* \* \* I recomend the paying of all my Just and Lawfull Debts instantly, or when demanded. I direct a remittance may be made to Edinburgh, Sufficient to pay for a Church Bell for the Parish Church of Cannesby, in Caithness agreeable to my Letter to mr. Jams Broadee Minister there.

I also appoint and direct that there may be a furdur remittance made of One hundred Pounds Sterll: for the use of the Poor of said Parish of Cannesby & the said Summ of One hundred Pounds to be put at interest for the use of the poor of Said Parish as formerly directed by me.

I also give and bequeath att the Death of my Loving Wife Jean Innes my Plantation called Point Pleasant & the Opposite Mash Land over the River for which there is a Separate Patent, Two negro young Women, One Negroe Young man and there Increase all the Stock of Cattle and Hogs, halfe the Stock of Horses belonging att the time to that Plantation With all my Books & One hundred Pounds Sterling or the Equivalent thereunto in the currency of the Country For the use of a Free School for the Benefite of the Youth

of North Carolina. And to see that this part of my will is dewly executed att the time, I appoint the Colonell of the New Hanover Regiment, the Parson of Willmington Church & the Vestrey for the time being, or the majority of them as they Shall from time to time be Choised or Appointed."

## SARAH ALLEN, 1761.

Legacies: Wedding ring to Niece ("as a particular mark of my affection and a memento of my Conjugal happiness, not doubting hers is equal and may it be as lasting." Gold watch, gold chain mourning ring. Silver chased tea kettle, cream pot, lamp. "Walnut tree fineered Tea chest containing three pieces of plate chased as the tea kettle"; Silver waiters, dozen tea spoons and strainer in black Shagreen case; Silver Sauce pan, mahogany dressing table, gilt smelling bottle; "books of modern taste."

## ELIZABETH SCOLLAY 1766.

Bertie County. " \* \* \* I Give and Devise unto my son Culeln Pollock all my Books, also a mouning ring." Several negroes are bequeathed to different relatives. " \* \* \* I give and devise \* \* \* my still with the appurtenances \* \* \* ."

## WILLIAM HERRITAGE. 1769.

Craven County. Plantations called Springfield, Jemmys Neck, Harrow, Atkins Banks, Fort Barnwell; lands in Johnson County, lots Nos. 21, 22, 191 and 84 in the town of Newbern. About seventy five negro slaves bequeathed the names of some of which are as follows: Pompey, Venus, Phillis, Balaam, Cæsar, London, Big Rose, Big Bess, Mercury, Tortola, Cado, Tamer, Judy, Jupiter, Sabina, Peter ("a cooper").



# NORTH CAROLINA POETS: BONER, STOCKARD, AND McNEILL.

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BY HIGHT C. MOORE.

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"The Poetical Literature of North Carolina" is the theme of a somewhat extended study by Mr. Moore, embodying a general introduction, a review of the work by the half dozen foremost native poets (Fuller, Hill and Mrs. Clarke being the earlier), a briefer critical mention of others who have wrought worthily, an estimate of North State verse in the mass, a collection of about twenty-five of the best Carolina carols, and the fullest available bibliography including more than sixty volumes. The BOOKLET is permitted herewith to publish the paragraphs relating to the three most distinguished of our later native poets: Boner, not long deceased; Stockard now in the midst of his usefulness and at the height of his fame; and McNeill who (let us hope) is just at the threshold of a brilliant career.

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JOHN HENRY BONER.

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The work of Mr. Boner, more than that of any other native poet, breathes the air of the old North State. "Whispering Pines" he named his first volume and it is pervaded by the odor of Carolina fields and woodland. The Yadkin river is in one poem "golden," in another "gentle," and it inspires "The Lone Cool Nook." "Saddle Bags of Gold" are safe under the roof of the pious mountaineer. "The Light'ood Fire" is "old Carolina's own." The scene of his one long poem, "The Recluse of Appalachia," is laid among our western peaks. "Hatteras" and "The Cliff" (Pilot Mountain) are themes of worthy verse. From the busy crowded city he comes back to his Salem birthplace and weeps over its desolation. The Graveyard there "where thick dark cedars grow" he sings as "the most restful spot I know." And in "City Bells" the inspiration and climax are found in the poet's native town:

One simple spire points to the skies  
 Above the leafy trees. I hear  
 The old Moravian bell ring clear,  
 But see no more—tears fill my eyes.

Strong local attachment and fervent patriotism were so evidently the marks of the poet that even when kindling his first fire in Cricket Lodge, his Staten Island home, he reverts to old scenes:

Rather had I hewn my beam  
 By old Yadkin's gentle stream—  
 Rather there on wintry days  
 Felt the cheery lightwood blaze,  
 Heard the cawing of the crow  
 And the wild geese honking go—  
 Rather there the summer long  
 Melon, fig, and scuppernong  
 Seen and tasted—rather there  
 Felt the ever balmy air;  
 But not thus the stern fates would.  
 Be it so—and God is good.

The reverence and resignation of the poet are notable characteristics shining in his verse.

No being knows  
 What life would be without consuming pains  
 But He who shapes the beauty of the rose  
 And sheds its leaves, is Wisdom—and He reigns.

In "Lodge or Mansion" he disclaims "heaven-offending pride" and says:

I earn my bread, nor feel the labor sore;  
 Have little but no spite for who has more.

In "Unrest" he tells of

the perfect rest  
 Of energy subservient to God's will.



That this conception and attainment were not marks of a passive nature but of one chastened and disciplined is manifest; for while in earlier days he could say "I brood not on my pangs" he adds:

Yet have done so—O have arrayed  
Hot curses 'gainst the ruling stars,  
Then compassed, foiled, and forced, have frayed  
My very life against the bars.

In "Our American God, Hustle" (a title, by the way, which does not strike one as being quite worthy of its elevated lines) the poet after saying "the crime of haste is man's" goes on to voice a personal yearning after the Infinite:

God of our nobler fathers, I adore Thee!  
Too late I live to dedicate my ways  
To Thee divinely, and I can restore Thee  
Only a starving soul, but that with praise  
That I have set no other god before Thee  
And have despised the Moloch of my days.

In "Immortality" and "The Way of Blessedness" we have probably his best distinctively religious pieces. The theology of his poetry admits the feeling that departed loved ones are near us and conscious of our acts; the craving of human benediction after death has done its work; and almost the belief in animal immortality, as in the sonnet on his dog "Jack" whom he called "the little Scot, dear as a child." He pictures "the pitiful agony" of the inebriate who knows "the anguish of desire bereft of will," and anathematizes "the treacherous imp that lurks in alcohol." And "a simple faith in Jesus Christ" he proclaims as

a faith which hath sufficed  
Men mourning in a land of woe.

Some of the saddest notes in Carolina verse were struck by Mr. Boner, but they are interfused with the spirit of

faith and hope. "We Walked Among the Whispering Pines" is one of the most touching memorials of a dead love. The sweet romances of early life are unforgotten, but by-gone loves do not reappear:

We parted like the sparkling streams  
That from the forest laughing spring

And never, never meet again,  
And nevermore flow clear and free,  
And leave at last the tranquil plain  
To mingle with the unpeaceful sea.

The verses on "A Dead Poet" close with the melancholy lines:

His was the saddest fate—to love and lose;  
And then, most pitiful, to strive for fame  
And die with finger-tips against the wreath.

Out of an aching heart came "Broken and Desolate"—a poem marking the decay of the poet's birthplace:

All sadly altered—home no more.

Who has not had the feeling so beautifully expressed in the opening stanzas of "A Prayerful Trust?"

The thought will sometimes come to me—  
Where will I die, and in what way,  
In gloom of night or light of day,  
When will the solemn moment be?

Will any one a vigil keep,  
Will I from the ordeal shrink  
Or calmly in the dark sea sink;  
Will any grieve—will any weep?

When, broken in health, the poet was driven to retirement he sought the shrine of Solitude in his pathetic "Song at Evening":



And slowly he comes that went springing,  
 And dolefully he that went singing,  
 No laurel leaf holding, and bringing  
 No hope but to die.

In the removal of the poet's remains from Washington City where he died to the old Graveyard at Salem was fulfilled the wish expressed years before:

Where'er it be my fate to die,  
 Beneath those trees in whose dark shade  
 The first loved of my life are laid  
 I want to lie.

But Mr. Boner wrote also in lighter vein. See the sunshine of youth in "Hunting Muscadines"; glimpse the love-sick in "Sweet Little Fool"; mark "the romping game of life bucolic" in "A Boy in the Piney Woods"; note the rollicking glee which pervades "The Wanderer Back Home"; and hear the swinging lines in "Crismus Times is Come," which Mr. Stockard declares to be "the whole negro race at a touch."

The wealth of imagination marking Mr. Boner's work may be illustrated by some random phrases. Broadway he calls "Niagara of streets"; the snow-covered earth he styles "a marble world"; home is described as "mothernoon"; he addresses the ocean as "Thou visible eternity, O Sea"! He has seen "magnolia's creamy bloom," "the sun-fed roses," "moon-silvered leaves," "the pine trees weep great drops of dew," and "the land enmeshed and ablaze with vines." He has felt "the pain of pleasure," and "the sweet strength of a tear"; has kept "sharp curses in unspoken sheath." By his swift keel "dancing Zephyr strews foam-flowers upon the waters." Above him "the morning star like a torch-light glowed," and around him "the meadow grasses fed the air," and "the field flowers wake from their swoon." And delicious to him was

the music shower  
That fell from orient pipes in luminous rain  
Upon our spirits.

In a few of Mr. Boner's poems there is a deficiency of climax. For instance, the closing line of the otherwise beautiful sonnet on "The Return of the Crickets" is

But pshaw! I'd never learn to play your fiddle.

And the capital verses on "Solitude" close with the prosy exhortation:

When for true loneliness your soul entreats  
Come to New York and walk these crowded streets.

The couplet concluding "Winter Breakfast by Candlelight" is hardly more inspiring:

And who would find his Java appetizing  
Let him the aroma get by candlelight.

And yet that Homer was in these lines simply nodding is shown in the fine climax to "America," synonym of liberty—"that name which, rising with a luminous flush, gleamed rocket-like

Rifting the night with white and crimson bars,  
And, poising heavenward, blossomed into stars.

To Mr. Boner we are indebted for many charming bits of description. Take the opening lines of "An Evening in Early Spring":

A settled rain is making in from sea;  
A slate-blue drifting mist has blurred the white  
Of apple blossoms and the dogwood's light,  
And mezzotinted every greening tree.



Something of a similar scene re-appears in "Easter Lilies":

Winter is gone, and yet in sunless places  
 Snow-wraiths of Christmas lurked till yesterday—  
 Pale stragglers from that pageant far away.  
 Down cloudy ways one wind another chases,  
 Whistling mad ditties in averted faces.  
 Blue lakes of sky to beaches pearly gray  
 Run brightly, dimpling, where flotillas gay  
 With silken sails leave foam in flying traces.

Vivid is the vision of the "Moonrise in the Pines":

far through the trees I see  
 The rim of a globe of fire  
 That rolls through the darkness to me.

It is in the "Time of Drought" that

The tender flowers, like pious hearts,  
 When tortured by scorn's ireful darts,  
 Fold their mute leaves, accept the doom,  
 And die in their own sweet perfume.

And "The Moon-Loved Land" is

in the South  
 Where the clear moon kisses with large cool mouth  
 The land she loves.

"There's a Lone Cool Nook" which is sung in notes of soothing melody and charm:

At night when the sky is full of stars  
 When shadowy birds flit down the shore,  
 And the water-snake glides to the sandy bars,  
 You may touch the waves with a noiseless oar  
 Till you float far out in the shining stream,  
 Where winds from the corn-land freshly blow,  
 And there you may gently drift and dream  
 With stars above you and stars below—  
 Drifting, drifting, may dream and rest  
 On the peaceful river's cool, sweet breast.

Passing elegant passages from such poems as "Sparrows in the Snow," "Christmas Eve in the Country," and "Song of the Old Mill Wheel" we may quote in full the less known but exquisite martial sonnet of nature, entitled "The Old Guard":

Summer is routed from her rosy plains.  
 The splendid queen with colors flying fled  
 Far to the south, leaving her legions dead  
 Upon the fields all in the dismal rains.  
 The minstrels of her camp most plaintive strains  
 Piped as they flew; then vandal armies spread  
 About the hills their tattered tents of red  
 And gold and purple, and their gaudy trains  
 Usurped the valleys, firing as they went,  
 Till halted by a cordon of grim pines  
 That would not yield or furl their banners green.  
 Wounded they fought and moaned, though well-nigh spent.  
 With blood-drops trickling down their chevron vines  
 They fought and stood—the Old Guard of their queen.

With Mr. Boner's masterpiece our review of his verse may culminate and close. The poet himself regarded "Poe's Cottage at Fordham" as his best piece of work—an opinion in which his critics generally concur, Mr. Stockard, for example, referring to its "matchless stanzas." In it are happily combined insight, melody, finish and force. It is a poem worthy of the theme and one that will live. Read it, and you see Mr. Boner at his best:

Here lived the soul enchanted  
 By melody of song;  
 Here dwelt the spirit haunted  
 By a demoniac throng;  
 Here sang the lips elated;  
 Here grief and death were sated;  
 Here loved and here unmated  
 Was he, so frail, so strong.



Here wintry winds and cheerless  
 The dying firelight blew  
 While he whose song was peerless  
 Dreamed the drear midnight through,  
 And from dull embers chilling  
 Crept shadows darkly filling  
 The silent place, and thrilling  
 His fancy as they grew.

Here, with brow bared to heaven,  
 In starry night he stood,  
 With the lost star of seven  
 Feeling sad brotherhood.  
 Here in the sobbing showers  
 Of dark autumnal hours  
 He heard suspected powers  
 Shriek through the stormy wood.

From visions of Apollo  
 And of Astarte's bliss,  
 He gazed into the hollow  
 And hopeless vale of Dis;  
 And though earth were surrounded  
 By heaven, it still was mounded  
 With graves. His soul had sounded  
 The dolorous abyss.

Proud, mad, but not defiant,  
 He touched at heaven and hell.  
 Fate found a rare soul pliant  
 And rung her changes well.  
 Alternately his lyre,  
 Stranded with strings of fire,  
 Led earth's most happy choir  
 Or flashed with Israfel.

No singer of old story  
 Luting accustomed lays,  
 No harper for new glory,  
 No mendicant for praise,  
 He struck high chords and splendid,  
 Wherein were fiercely blended  
 Tones that unfinished ended  
 With his unfinished days.

Here through this lowly portal,  
Made sacred by his name,  
Unheralded immortal  
The mortal went and came.  
And fate that then denied him,  
And envy that decried him,  
And malice that belied him,  
Have cenotaphed his fame.

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HENRY JEROME STOCKARD.

---

For years our most distinguished native resident poet Mr. Stockard has really been the uncrowned laureate of North Carolina. He has been frequently called upon for Christmas, Independence Day, Thanksgiving, Easter and other special verse. The centennial celebration at the State University was adorned by an excellent sonnet which he recited to three thousand people. "Sir Walter Raleigh" was written for and read before the State Literary and Historical Association. Composed for the occasion, "The Man With the Hoe" was presented at the laying of the corner stone of the Agricultural Building of the North Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. At the unveiling of the Appomattox monument (April, 1905), marking the spot on which was fired by North Carolina troops the last volley of the war, the poem of the day was given by Mr. Stockard and, in keeping with his other work, it was in every way worthy of the great occasion.

A loyal son of the old North State Mr. Stockard has occasionally attuned his lyre to patriotic song. His descriptive work has quite distinctly a Carolina setting and two of his themes are "On Hatteras Bar" and "In the Light House at Point Lookout." "The Spirit of Vance" commemorates the illustrious commoner whose statue adorns the Capitol Square. In "Sir Walter Raleigh" he sings of



This splendid land to sunward laid,  
 With opulent fields and many a winding stream  
 And virgin wood; with stores of gems and veins  
 Of richest ore; with mills and thronging marts,  
 The domain of the freest of the free.

And in the same poem he continues:

What though no sage may read the riddle dark  
 Of Croatan, diffused through marsh and waste  
 And solitude? Their valor did not die,  
 But is incorporate in our civic life.  
 They were of those who fought at Bannockburn;  
 Their vital spirits spake at Mecklenburg;  
 They rose at Alamance, at Bethel led,  
 And steered at Cardenas straight through blinding shells.

Sincere and merited are the lines "To a One-Armed Confederate" closing with the tribute:

A more unfading chaplet thou should'st wear  
 Than e'er the bravest Gaul or Spartan wore.

Similar patriotic sentiment abounds in "The Pines," "Washington," "The Southern Dead," and "Over their Graves," but the acme of Mr. Stockard's poetry in this field is reached in the stirring and immortal lyric "The Last Charge at Appomattox":

Scarred on a hundred fields before,  
 Naked and starved and travel-sore,  
 Each man a tiger, hunted,  
 They stood at bay as brave as Huns,  
 Last of the Old South's splendid sons,  
 Flanked by ten thousand shotted guns,  
 And by ten thousand fronted.

Scorched by the cannon's molten breath,  
 They'd climbed the trembling walls of death  
 And set their standards tattered—  
 Had charged at the bugle's stirring blare  
 Through bolted gloom and godless glare  
 From the dead's reddened gulches, where  
 The searching shrapnel shattered.

They formed—that Carolina band—  
 With Grimes, the Spartan, in command,  
 And, at the word of Gordon,  
 Through splintered fire and stifling smoke—  
 They struck with lightning's scathing stroke  
 Those doomed and desperate men—and broke  
 Across that iron cordon.

They turned in sullen, slow retreat—  
 Ah, there are laurels of defeat!—  
 Turned for the Chief had spoken;  
 With one last shot hurled back the foe,  
 And prayed the trump of doom to blow,  
 Now that the Southern stars were low,  
 The Southern bars were broken.

Sometime the calm, impaternal years  
 Will tell what made them dead to tears  
 Of loved ones left to languish;—  
 What nerved them for the lonely guard,  
 For cleaving blade and mangling shard,—  
 What gave them strength in tent and ward  
 To drain the dregs of anguish.

But the far ages will propound  
 What never Sphinx had lore to sound,—  
 Why, in such fires of rancor,  
 The God of Love should find it meet  
 For Him, with Grant as sledge, to beat  
 On Lee, the anvil, at such heat,  
 Our Nation's great sheet-anchor.

The voices of Nature have smitten upon no more sympathetic ear than that of Mr. Stockard.

“Knee deep! Knee deep!” I am a child again.

and every reader is transported with the poet to the bright never-to-be-forgotten days of rosy youth. “The Song of the Whippoorwill”—what hearer of it does not join in the sentiment:

It wakens in my soul such memories tender  
 Of childhood's far-receding land of dreams!  
 Down lilled meads I stray in the evening's splendor  
 By willowed, wimpling streams.



And as we pass up and down the poet's pages we find these vivid Nature etchings recurring again and again. We see "night-hawks fall from lambent skies," "the owl flit forth on fluffy wings," "the bastioned clouds adown the westering day," "the sunset's ember," "the scabbard of the dark," the "starry archipelagoes," and "space's sea." He paints for us "the purling stream," the "fabled amaranthine vales," "the ermined pine-trees" of winter, "the pool's wind-chiseled grooves," "the chinquapins that blink jet-black from the burs." Through him we hear "the killdee's plaintive cry," the "clear flutings" of "the herald whippoorwills"; also "the frogs wake many a rolling drum," and "the ocean pounds with sledges fell." One afternoon "across the sky the loitering Wind drives his cloud-flocks to the west"; at twilight, "the firefly strikes its spectral spark"; and at evening

The full moon wavers on the hills  
And, loosening, swims into the deep!

Among Mr. Stockard's poems there are several voicing the deeper spiritual needs and heart-longings; and we find them as chaste and charming as they are refined and spiritual. "The Prayer of Life" may be cited as one of the finest poems of its kind to be found anywhere:

Lead me, O God; in life's brave early day,  
While skies are clear and all the world is gay;  
So many hurtful blooms my vision greet!  
So many paths diverge to lure my feet  
Far from Thy peaceful, sinless road astray!

And when the morning can no longer stay,  
And songs are mute, and noontide's fervent ray  
Upon the weary track must fiercely beat,  
Lead me, O God!

Nor leave me when the eventide shall lay  
Upon life's happy fields its vapors gray:—  
Clasp then my hand in thine more close and sweet  
Than thou hast ever held it; and, while fleet  
The night is falling, down the unknown way  
Lead me, O God!

Verses elegiac are rare in Mr. Stockard's work thus far. Sweet and tender are the lines entitled "Baby Margaret," as evinced in the following stanza:

For, though word was never thine  
 Little Margaret,  
 Still with syllables divine  
 Out of great eternity  
 You are calling, calling me,  
 Baby Margaret.

The great author of "Crossing the Bar" was perhaps memorialized in no finer tribute than that by Mr. Stockard on "The Dead Laureate." Recall the last of its three stanzas:

Nor cried the Wind, nor made the Sea its moan  
 Upon the harbor bar,  
 As out he drifted to the great Unknown,  
 So far away—so far!

To some and at first reading Mr. Stockard's work appears to have a melancholy tone. A more thorough study, however, will probably reveal the fact that it is serious without being dolorous. Thus in one sonnet which contains the lines:

When bloom and song and life seem far away,—  
 Lost in some sweet, sad unreturning May

the poet is passing on to the brighter side when  
 these somber hills and fields inane  
 Resume the radiance of an earlier day;  
 And mirth revives as when at morning's gray  
 The waking bird takes up its silenced strain!

In another sonnet we have a lament upon the dearth of summer's foliage and it strikes a vibrant chord in most natures:

Although beyond this gloom and dearth, you say  
 The spring will come with flower and bird and bee,  
 And all these scenes forlorn again be glad,  
 My soul keeps sighing this dark autumn day,  
 The summer too must follow, and ah me!  
 Once more the fall with empty fields and sad!



Yet compare with this "An Autumn Song" which is as merry in sentiment as it is melodious in expression. The spirit and sparkle of it may be caught in two stanzas:

But hail to the fall, and hail!  
 To her hills of flame and gold,  
 Her starlit nights, her frost that whites  
 At morning mead and wold!

No threne for the vanished spring  
 And the summer's faded blee,  
 But a song of praise for the autumn days,  
 And a harvest-home for me!

In "A Winter Song" the lilt of joy abounds though sometimes saddening storms are rife:

I love the rattling hail  
 And the snowflakes tempest-sown,  
 The woods in mail that creak in the gale,  
 And the night wind's baritone.

The fact is, Mr. Stockard's poetry is cheerful and upward-looking. In "The Unattained" there is comfort for every aspirant. "The Past" is not a lament but an assurance:

O ye that pine for the vanished years, as pined  
 Odysseus for one glimpse of Hellas more;  
 That toward them lean, as toward their fading shore  
 Poor exiles unto earth's far ends consigned—  
 Lean to reclaim some echo which, confined,  
 Bird-like shall sing in memory's mournful door,—  
 Know this: life's earlier land lies on before—  
 Not over widening seasons far behind!  
 And we shall find it in the great To-be.  
 It lapses not away, as to our eyes  
 Doth seem, but swiftly and forever nears!  
 As brave Magellan who sailed the uncharted sea,  
 Full circling earth, saw his home shores arise,  
 So shall we come again on our lost, happy years!

No less inspiring than insistent is the message of the sonnet on "The Soul":

Uplift thine earth-bent eyes, O man, and learn  
 The lore writ by the stars that whiten space;  
 There onward and forever lies thy race.  
 Orion and old Arcturus blaze for thee;  
 For thee heaven's deepest sunken sun doth burn—  
 Behold thy mansions built from all eternity!

The reach of Mr. Stockard's imagination may be illustrated in "The Closing Century" where he declares that a century "is but a vanished hour tolled on the deep" and that time itself "is but a swing of the vast pendulum of eternity." And "Imagination" with all its power and achievement will never explore

The date of Him before whose veiled face  
 The Universe with its eternity  
 Is but a mote a moment poised in space!

The range and richness of the poet's culture appear in such poems as "My Library," "Some Verses Carol," and "After Reading a Treasury of Sonnets." A ripe acquaintance with the ancient scenes and sages is manifest; as in the climax and closing line of the sonnet on "Homer" there lies before the seer

The unveiled shore of old sea-cinctured Greece.

As to the best individual piece of Mr. Stockard's writings there will be difference of opinion, but certainly in his superb lines on "The Eagle" he takes a flight poetic far into the upper air—we wonder not that Mr. Boner almost tumbled out of his sick-bed in admiration of it:

Brooded on crags, his down the rocks,  
 He holds the skies for his domain;  
 Serene, he preens where thunder shocks,  
 And rides the hurricane.



The scream of shells is in his shriek;  
 As swords, his wings whiz down the air;  
 His claws, as bayonets, gride; his beak,  
 As shrapnel-shards, doth tear.

Where Shasta shapes its mighty cone,  
 Where Mitchell heaves into the skies,  
 Silent he glares, austere, alone,  
 With sun-outstaring eyes.

In volume Mr. Stockard's work is not extensive; he does not write every day nor on everything nor at great length. In fact, he apparently writes only a few poems a year; his themes are never trivial; and the longest of his poems barely covers three pages, the bulk of his work, piece by piece, appearing on one with ample margins. In all his published poems there is not a humorous line nor a scrap of dialect; all is elevated and serious. His thoughts are clothed in a variety of poetic forms, the sonnet in particular being handled with unusual skill. His vocabulary is remarkably rich; the reader is all the while coming upon felicitous phrases and picturesque, unfamiliar words. As a whole his work is marked by freshness and vigor of thought, by finish, strength, and symmetry. A genuine poet he is worthy of the tribute embodied in a recent sonnet to him:

Pure as a maiden's heart thy word, thy thought.  
 Serene amid the clash of traffic's wars  
 Thou standest with face upturned toward the gleaming stars.  
 Poet we name thee.

## JOHN CHARLES McNEILL.

Mr. McNeill, more than any other of our poets, writes dialect fluently and frequently. He thoroughly understands the negro, presents him in vivid sketches, and quite truly interprets his customs and character. For example, "A Tar Heel" sings:

Oh I gits my strength fum white side meat,  
I sops all the sorghum a nigger kin eat.

And another rejoices in "Supp'n Strength'nin'":

Good buttermilk hung in de spring whar hit's cool  
Is de stuff fer de nigger wut follers a mule.  
He kin feel hit er creepin' along es whole len'th  
Er he'pin es spirrits en givin' 'im stren'th,  
T'well he make de dirt fly fum de turnin' plow whing,  
When he's full er cool buttermilk jis fum de spring.

"A Protest" pictures the sentiment of the colored agriculturalist pessimistically inclined:

De cawn is drapped en civered  
Fer de crow to grabble out  
De shoat gits in de tater bed  
Befo' dey 'gins to sprout.

De hen hatch out her chickens  
Whiles de hawk bees lookin' on  
En fo' de cherries ripens good  
De birds is gut 'em gone.

The pickaninnies, the inevitable dogs, and the long winter-neglected bath are sketched in the four lines on "Spring":

Leave yo' clothes at home, chillen,  
Call ol' Tige and Rover.  
We'se gwine to de swimmin' hole  
To wash ourse'ves all over!



The prettiest, purest, and most polished of Mr. McNeill's love songs is "Oh Ask Me Not." It is lofty throughout and its closing stanza touches the warmest heart-chords struck by a Carolinian. The author considers it his best production thus far. The poem in full is as follows:

Love, should I set my heart upon a crown,  
 Squander my years and gain it,  
 What recompense of pleasure could I own  
 For youth's red drops that stain it?

Much have I thought on what our life may mean,  
 And what its best endeavour;  
 Seeing we may not come again to glean,  
 But, losing, lose forever.

Seeing how zealots, making choice of pain,  
 From home and country parted,  
 Have thought it life to leave their fellows slain,  
 Their women broken-hearted;

How teasing truth a thousand faces claims.  
 As in a broken mirror,  
 And what a father died for in the flames  
 His own son scorns as error;

How even they whose hearts were sweet with song  
 Must quaff oblivion's portion,  
 And soon or late their sails be lost along  
 The all-surrounding ocean.

Oh, ask me not the haven of our ships,  
 Nor what flag floats above you!  
 I hold you close, I kiss your sweet, sweet lips,  
 And love you, love you, love you!

The more serious side of life is sketched here and there. Take the opening lines of "Oblivion":

Green moss will creep  
 Upon the shady graves where we shall sleep.

Each year will bring  
 Another brood of birds to nest and sing.

At dawn will go  
 New ploughmen to the fields we used to know.

Dusk will call home  
 The hunter from the hills we loved to roam.

In the realm of the tragic and the pathetic Mr. McNeill has done some excellent work. "The Drudge" is a fine illustration of his power in this direction, but we should say it does not surpass two of the stanzas "To Melvin Gardner: Suicide":

To have seen the sun come back, to have seen  
 Children again at play,  
 To have heard the thrush where the woods are green  
 Welcome the new-born day,  
 To have felt the soft grass cool to the feet,  
 To have smelt earth's incense, heavenly sweet,  
 To have shared the laughter along the street,  
 And, then, to have died in May!

A thousand roses will blossom red,  
 A thousand hearts be gay,  
 For the summer lingers just ahead  
 And June is on her way;  
 The bee must bestir him to fill his cells,  
 The moon and the stars will weave new spells  
 Of love and the music of marriage bells—  
 And, oh, to be dead in May!

In "Away Down Home" the aroma of devotion makes fragrant every line. For example:

When dogwood blossoms mingle  
 With the maple's modest red,  
 And sweet arbutus wakes at last  
 From out her fragrant bed,  
 'Twould not seem strange at all to meet  
 A dryad or a gnome  
 A Pan or Psyche in the woods  
 Away down home.

"September" and "October" afford choice glimpses of Nature, but no finer lines have come from Mr. McNeill's pen than the two brief stanzas entitled "Sundown." They show most strikingly how the sublime stirs a sympathetic and reverential spirit; and we believe they will take their place among the future treasures of our English tongue:



Hills, wrapped in gray, standing along the west;  
Clouds, dimly lighted, gathering slowly;  
The star of peace at watch above the crest—  
Oh, holy, holy, holy!

We know, O Lord, so little what is best;  
Wingless we move so lowly;  
But in thy calm all-knowledge let us rest—  
Oh, holy, holy, holy!

Lightness of touch, smoothness and melody, occasional classic flavor, themes of human interest, freshness and sweetness of sentiment, are among the leading traits of his work. A young man not far in his twenties, Mr. McNeill has already won a high place among our poets and with further maturity of thought, breadth of experience, and continued poetical practice and polish, he gives promise of being one of the great verse-writers of our time and country.

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No. 3

NORTH CAROLINA STATE LIBRARY

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."

---

PUBLISHED BY  
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY  
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

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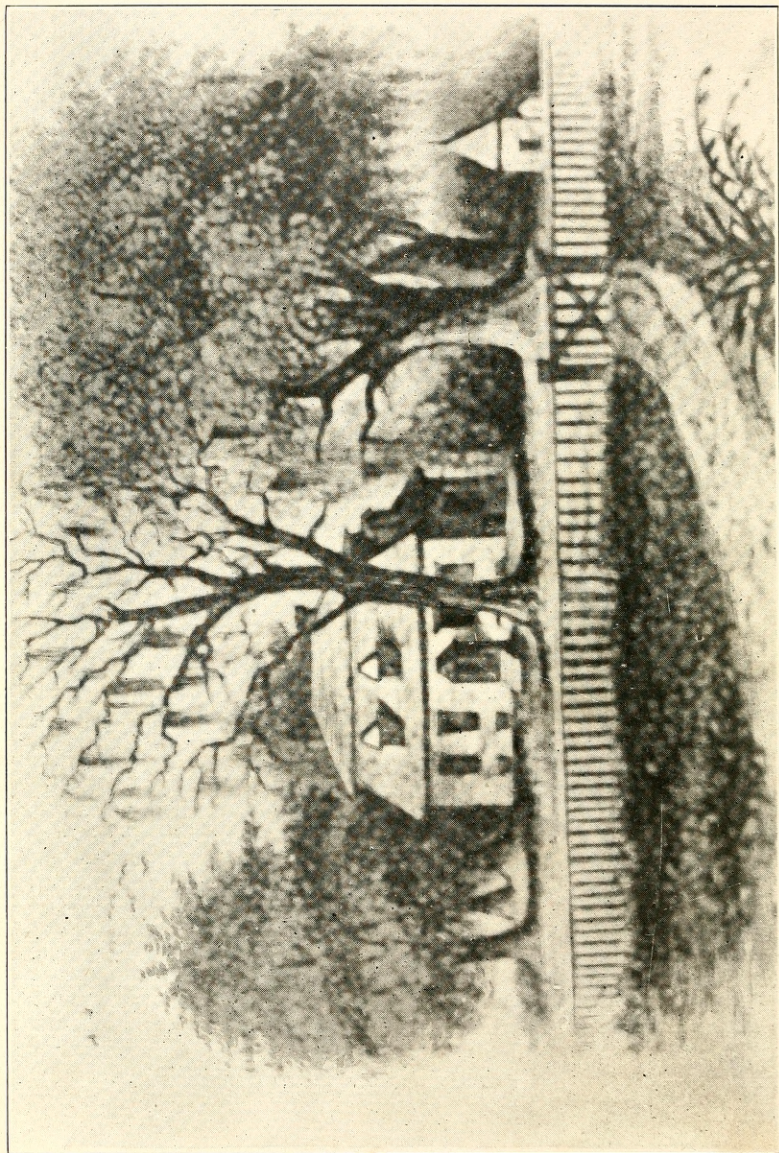
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"HILTON," THE HOME OF CORNELIUS HARNETT.



# THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET.

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## CORNELIUS HARNETT: THE PRIDE OF THE CAPE FEAR.

BY R. D. W. CONNOR,

Secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission

The life and character of Cornelius Harnett have been the subject of eulogy from the pen of every student of his career. Bancroft praises his "disinterested zeal" in the public cause. Richard Frothingham says: "Harnett was the foremost actor in the movement for independence." McRee mentions him as "the representative man of the Cape Fear." Archibald Maclaine Hooper, whose name betrays his parentage, says that Harnett was "the favorite of the Cape Fear and the idol of the town of Wilmington." "He was incomparably the first man of the Cape Fear country," writes another, "and second to none in the state." Mr. George Davis calls him "the pride of the Cape Fear \* \* \* the life-breathing spirit among the people." Governor Swain wrote that "no true North Carolinian will read his public letters without increased respect and affection for the state and without very high admiration of the courage which sustained the writer in the darkest days of the revolution, and the lofty and disinterested patriotism exhibited throughout the whole course of his legislative career."

These expressions of eulogy are justified not only by his public and private services to the state, but also by the confidence and admiration in which he was held by his friends, and the fear and hatred expressed for him by the enemies of

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his country. The former manifested their confidence and regard in every possible way. They elected him to almost every post of honor they had to bestow; they followed him in the perilous path of civil war and revolution; they accepted his guidance in the overthrow of one form of government and the establishment of another; and never once did they waver in their support. Josiah Quincy, Jr., of Massachusetts, at a time when that colony was dominated by the genius of Samuel Adams, wrote in his diary that Harnett was "the Samuel Adams of North Carolina." Nor were the enemies of American independence unmindful of his worth and influence. Governor Martin marked him down as one of the four men in the colony who "by their unremitting labours to promote sedition and rebellion" placed themselves "foremost among the patrons of revolt and anarchy." Sir Henry Clinton, too, sought to destroy him by excepting Cornelius Harnett, together with Robert Howe, from his proclamation of pardon in May, 1776.

Cornelius Harnett was born April 20, 1723. The place of his birth is in doubt. There seems to be no evidence in support of McRee's statement that he was born "in the land of Sydney and Hampden." His father, a Cornelius Harnett also, had been living in Chowan county, North Carolina, at least a year before the birth of his son. His mother, Mary Holt, was a North Carolina woman. It seems clear therefore that he was born in this province, and probably in Chowan county, where his father resided at the time of the birth of his son. In June, 1726, the elder Harnett bought from Colonel Maurice Moore two lots within the town of Brunswick. One of the conditions of the sale was that he should build on them "good habitable houses" within eight months. The conditions were fulfilled and Harnett became a resident of Brunswick. The younger Harnett therefore had the good fortune of growing up with the Cape Fear settlement, becoming early in life identified with the interests of its people.

The original settlement of the Cape Fear was made at Brunswick, but shortly after the Harnetts became residents of the town, a new town was begun farther up the river at a more favorable location. From that time the growth of Wilmington was accompanied by the decline of Brunswick. Cornelius Harnett early became identified with the interests of the former. The earliest mention we have of him is a record of the purchase of 300 acres of land in New Hanover county, May 21, 1741. I think this probably marks the date of his removal to Wilmington, but of this there is no certainty. But he was certainly living in Wilmington in 1750. On April 7 of that year he was appointed by Governor Johnston to his first public office—justice of the peace for New Hanover county. A few months later, August 14, he was elected a commissioner for the town, and during the period from 1750 to 1771 he served in that capacity eleven years, though not continuously. The duties of a commissioner in a frontier village, containing at the most only a few hundred inhabitants, appear to be insignificant, if not trifling; yet this was no mean training school for the greater duties that awaited Harnett in the broad fields to which he was shortly to be called. It was in the faithful discharge of these minor duties that he displayed his capacity for the greater ones, and won his way into the hearts of his people.

Harnett's first call to this larger work came in 1754. In the spring of 1753, Lewis Henry DeRosset, member of the colonial assembly from Wilmington, resigned his seat to become a member of the governor's council. Harnett was elected to succeed him, and took his seat February 19, 1754, at a special session held in Wilmington. Twelve other assemblies were elected in North Carolina under the authority of the royal governor, in every one of which Cornelius Harnett was the member from Wilmington. His legislative career covered a period of twenty-seven years, embracing service in the colonial assembly, in the provincial congresses, and in the continental congress.



nial assembly, in the provincial congresses, and in the continental congress.

His career in the assembly historically falls into two parts. The first covers the period between the years 1754 and 1765; the second that between the years 1765 and 1775. One embraced the administration of Governor Dobbs and the war with France for the possession of the continent, closing with the coming of William Tryon and the stamp act. The other was ushered in by the stamp act and witnessed the gathering of the storm which broke into revolution in 1775.

The first of these periods may be dismissed with a few words. The work in which Harnett and his associates were engaged, while not without interest and value, was of secondary importance to that which followed. It consisted largely in efforts to curb the governor's demands for money within such limits as the wealth of the colony justified. The province was willing to contribute her full quota to the general cause, and greatly burdened herself in doing so; but there was no limit beyond which the governor was unwilling to go. There were a few sharp encounters between the assembly and the council, the former resenting the attempts of the latter to amend appropriation bills; the latter indignant that the house should treat it with such scant respect. There was a long and unprofitable fight, too, over the court law; the assembly insisting upon keeping the courts independent of the crown; the governor resenting the efforts as encroachments upon the prerogative of the king. The assembly and the governor also found a subject of dispute in the king's instruction to the latter to consider fifteen members of the former a quorum; the assembly refusing, greatly to the indignation of his excellency, to recognize less than a majority of their number. An affair which brought on a three-cornered fight in which the governor, the council, and the assembly all took different grounds, was the appointment of a colonial agent to represent the interests of the province before the various boards in

England. The governor objected to any agent at all; the council insisted upon its right to a voice in his appointment; the assembly was determined both to have an agent and to exercise the sole right of electing him. Aside from these disputes and bickerings the work of the assembly was concerned largely with matters relating to internal improvements, matters in which Cornelius Harnett actively interested himself. To write an account of his services during these years would be to write the history of the assembly for that decade. There were few committees of any importance on which he did not serve; few debates in which he did not take a leading part. He was one of the leaders of the leaders.

But the chief value of this work lay in its being preparatory to the more strenuous work that the next two decades were to bring. Harnett received during these years valuable training in the art of debate, in the tactics and strategy of parliamentary warfare, in the theories and principles underlying the British constitution.

Of no less importance to Harnett than this training, was the broadening of his circle of associates and friends through his services in the legislature. Here he came in contact with the master-spirits of the province; and here he learned to appreciate and estimate the characters and abilities of those with whom he was to fight the battles of the future. When he entered the assembly he found it dominated by such leaders as Samuel Swann, John Starkey, and John Campbell. Among those who were to be his associates in the coming struggles there were John Ashe, the splendid cavalier of the Cape Fear; Richard Caswell probably the most versatile man in the province; John Harvey, the sturdy and uncompromising leader of the popular party; the soldierly Robert Howe, who was to share with Harnett the honor of being excepted from the general amnesty of May 1776; Samuel Johnston, learned in the law and leader of the anti-republican forces in the province; Edenton's accomplished merchant-statesman,



Joseph Hewes, signer of the Declaration of Independence; Alexander Lillington, who was to dispute with Caswell the glory of Moore's Creek Bridge; William Hooper, distinguished in the continental congress for his eloquence. It was in their preliminary fights for self-government during the decade from 1754 to 1765 that these men learned to know and to trust each other.

On Thursday, March 28, 1765, Governor Dobbs died. He was succeeded by William Tryon. Tryon's first assembly met at New Bern, May 3, 1765. The session was a short one. After the adjournment Saturday afternoon, May 18, Governor Tryon asked Speaker Ashe what course the assembly would pursue in regard to the stamp act. Promptly came the bold reply: "We will fight it to the death." Tryon prudently prorogued the session.

But the people did not wait for the assembly to act. The attempt to enforce the stamp act on the banks of the Cape Fear produced a resistance that Tryon was unable to cope with. Lord Bute was burned in effigy; the stamp agent, William Houston, was forced to resign; Andrew Stewart, editor of the Cape Fear Gazette, was compelled to print his paper without affixing the stamp; the people of Wilmington refused to supply the king's ships with provisions because Captain Lobb of his majesty's cruiser Viper seized two vessels which came into port without stamps on their clearance papers; they threw into jail the sailors sent ashore from the Viper to purchase supplies, and kept them there until Captain Lobb came to terms.

When he seized the two vessels, Dobbs and Patience, Captain Lobb referred the matter to William Dry, collector of the port of Brunswick, demanding that he prosecute their captains. Dry consulted the attorney-general, asking if the seizures were legal; if judgment ought to be given against the defendants in spite of the fact that they could not obtain stamps at the ports from which they sailed; and if the case

should be tried in the admiralty court in Halifax, N. S., instead of at Brunswick. To all of these questions the attorney-general replied in the affirmative. This was a signal for another explosion. During Saturday afternoon of February, 1766, a letter signed by Cornelius Harnett and a number of other prominent citizens of Wilmington, was handed to Dry warning him that the people would not permit the Dobbs and Patience to be carried out of the Cape Fear river without their papers properly signed. Dry thereupon consulted the governor who advised him to place the papers on board the Viper. This he neglected to do, and three days later his desk was broken open and the papers taken out.

In the forenoon of February 19, George Moore and Cornelius Harnett delivered to the governor a letter warning him that a mob was about to march to Brunswick to obtain redress of grievances. The mob had gathered at Wilmington and practically compelled Harnett and one or two others to lead them. These leaders thereupon offered the governor a guard to protect him from insult. Of course he refused it. About 300 armed men then proceeded to Brunswick to enforce their demands.

Among the objects which this crowd had in view, was to force the resignation of Mr. Pennington, the king's comptroller, and an active supporter of the stamp act. Pennington sought refuge in Tryon's house. But this did not deter the mob. With their number now swelled to about 500 men, they surrounded the house and sent a delegation of sixty men, led by Harnett, to bring Pennington out. Harnett alone entered the governor's house. Tryon was determined to protect the comptroller, but much to his disgust Pennington became frightened and offered his resignation. Harnett then returned to his friends accompanied by the ex-comptroller. The mob took him to the town where they compelled, not only Pennington, but also William Dry, and the clerks of the court, and all other public officers to take an oath not to sell



any stamps in North Carolina. They then dispersed without doing any damage to property or person. The most remarkable features of these events were the absolute openness of the resistance, and the orderliness of the crowd. The work was done by men on terms of familiar intercourse with the governor, under his very nose, and in the broad open day-light, without disguising themselves as Indians, or otherwise. They carried their point on every issue, but offered neither insult nor injury to anybody.

While these things were happening the commissioners of Wilmington manifested their approval of Harnett's course by unanimously electing him to represent the town in the next assembly. But the assembly was not to meet any time soon. The wily politician who held the reigns of government was too wise to convene the assembly while the people were in such a rebellious mood. He wished to prevent the election of delegates to the stamp act congress, which was to meet in New York some time in October. It was not until November, therefore, after the repeal of the obnoxious act and after the meeting of the congress, that Tryon ventured to face the representatives of the people. He opened the session with a conciliatory message. But the members were not in the best of tempers. They were angry at the governor's delay in calling them together, and wished to let him know it. Harnett was a member of the committee to reply to his message. Tryon was severely taken to task for his action, but he could afford to smile at the assembly's wrath, for in his first contest with the people, he had broken even with them.

Among the governors of North Carolina there have been few abler ones than William Tryon. Courtyly, versatile, politic, clear-minded, full of resources, he knew the secret of winning the favor of men. Within less than two years after the stamp act riots he had so ingratiated himself with the men of Eastern Carolina that he received their almost undivided support when he marched against the Regulators.

Even Cornelius Harnett was not only in hearty sympathy with Tryon's course, but accompanied him on his Alamance campaign and contributed largely from his private means to the support of the provincial troops. When the first assembly met after the battle of Alamance, the house entered this record upon its journal: "This house taking into consideration that the account of Mr. Cornelius Harnett in the late expedition against the insurgents and fully convinced of the great service rendered his country by his zeal and activity therein.

"Resolved, That he be allowed one hundred pounds to defray the extraordinary expenses he was at in that service."

When this resolution was sent to the council for concurrence, that house replied as follows: "This house has observed with pleasure the attention which you have shown to the merit and good service of Mr. Harnett on the late expedition against the insurgents." The request was then made that for similar service, a similar allowance be made to Samuel Cornell, member of the council. To this the assembly replied: "This house cannot agree to the allowance proposed to be made to Hon. Samuel Cornell, Esq., though thoroughly convinced of his merit and activity in the late expedition. The allowance to Mr. Harnett was made, not only because his services entitle him to the notice of this house, but in consideration of his not having been in any office or employment from which he could possibly derive any compensation for the great expense he was at in that expedition."

Soon after his victory at Alamance Governor Tryon left North Carolina. He was succeeded by Josiah Martin who arrived in the province in August, 1771. Martin was a common-place man, servilely obsequious to those in authority; tyrannically over-bearing to those under authority. No worse selection could have been made by the king at this time; the people of North Carolina were in no mood to brook the petty tyranny of a provincial governor. It is not strange there-



fore that the poor old province was in a continual turmoil from the time that Josiah Martin took the oath of office until an outraged people took the law into their own hands and drove him forever from their shores.

Martin's failure, however, was not due altogether to his own fault. As Colonel Saunders says: "Governor Martin was unfortunate in the time at which he assumed office in North Carolina; indeed it may be said, that his administration was a sort of general legatee of the ill consequences of all the bad blood and bad government of his predecessors' administrations. And then, too, the harvest of a century and more of seed time was about ripe." Among the legacies left him by his immediate predecessor there were three that were especially difficult to handle. They were: the debt left by the Regulator troubles; the boundary line dispute with South Carolina; and the court-law difficulties. The first of these was settled without much dispute; the second was disposed of by the assembly's absolutely refusing to obey the king's commands; the third was a source of trouble for years to come and was never settled until there were no more royal governors and kings to interfere.

The dispute over the court-law arose over the attachment clause. British merchants carried on business in North Carolina through agents, never once setting foot here themselves. In course of time many of them came to be large land owners here. In order to secure debts owed by these merchants to North Carolinians, the assembly in the Tryon court-law, inserted a clause empowering the colonial courts to attach this property to secure those debts. The British merchants objected to this, but the act was not repealed by the king because he expected, when a new law was enacted to have this clause omitted without interfering with the sessions of the courts. Accordingly he instructed Martin not to pass any act including the attachment clause. The dispute began in the assembly of 1773. The committee to prepare the superior

court bill was composed of Caswell of Dobbs, Starkey of Onslow, Hooper of Campellton, MacKnight of Currituck, Montford of Halifax, Martin of Guilford, Harnett of Wilmington, Howe of Brunswick, and Lane of Wake. Cornelius Harnett was chairman of the committee to prepare the inferior court bill. Some of the other members of this committee were Howe, Ashe, Hooper, Thomas Person and Allen Jones. The committees at first reported two separate bills, but as it appeared likely the inferior court bill would be rejected by the council because it extended the jurisdiction of that court, another committee was appointed to join the two into one bill that they might stand or fall together. This committee was composed of Robert Howe, William Hooper, Alexander Martin, Samuel Johnston and Cornelius Harnett. The final bill as reported by them contained in full the attachment clause. The governor informed the assembly that he would not consent to it. A motion was then made to continue the Tryon court law. But this, too, contained the objectionable clause. The governor would not agree to break through his instruction; the assembly was stubborn and would not recede from its position.

Both sides maintained their positions with ability. The governor, bound by his instruction, urged the assembly to leave out the clause and look to the British statute for protection by attachment proceedings. To this the assembly replied that in England proceeding by attachment existed by municipal custom and not by any act of parliament. To leave the remedy out of their law and look to parliamentary statutes for it, was to lose the security altogether. "To secure a privilege so important," said this interesting document, "the mode of obtaining it should be grounded in certainty, the law positive and express and nothing left for the exercise of doubt or discretion." But it was all useless; they were compelled to fall back on their original bill, and to this the governor consented only when the assembly added a



clause suspending its operation until the king's pleasure could be learned. The assembly then spread upon the journal a resolution declaring the justice of their demand and instructing the colonial agent in London to use his full powers in getting the king's consent. He was instructed to say to the king that so important did the people regard this point they would rather be without courts altogether than to lose this protection. But the king refused; the fight continued through several sessions; neither side would yield and several sessions of the assembly went to wreck on this reef. It was useless, however, for the governor to dissolve the assembly and appeal to the people; it was but an appeal from the teachers to the taught. To send the former back to their constituents was but to send them to gather fresh endorsements and to receive renewed support in the fight they were waging. In every stage of the contest the people upheld their representatives, and North Carolina was without courts as long as she remained under royal rule. The governor attempted to create courts by the exercise of the king's prerogative, but the people refused to honor their decrees and the assembly declined to vote funds for their maintenance. The governor was thoroughly beaten because the people made anarchy tolerable.

The condition of the province and the growing breach between the governor and the assembly, made it imperative that the leaders should not rest in idleness during the recesses between the sessions. They had much information to gather, much to dispense; many lessons to learn, many to teach; numerous plans to conceive, numerous ones to execute. By this time Harnett had become before all other men the leader of the Cape Fear; to him the people looked for guidance in political affairs. It had now become apparent to all thoughtful men that the time had come when it was necessary to devise some scheme for united action among the various colonies. A common oppression had driven them to a common resist-

ance. We are prepared therefore to find foresighted men laying plans to meet this necessity. In March of 1773 Josiah Quincy, Jr., of Massachusetts, visited the Cape Fear section. He left an interesting account of this visit. The night of March 30, he spent at the home of Cornelius Harnett, whom he calls the Samuel Adams of North Carolina, "except in point of fortune." Robert Howe was also present. They spent the evening in discussing the plan of continental correspondence promulgated by Virginia and Massachusetts. Quincy says that the plan was "highly relished, much wished for, and resolved upon as proper to be pursued."

The next session of the assembly began December 4, at New Bern. Soon after the opening of the session Mr. Speaker Harvey laid before the house a number of letters and resolutions received from the assemblies of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Virginia, Connecticut and Delaware. These were resolutions passed by those assemblies in response to the suggestion made by Virginia, that each province appoint a committee of correspondence to keep in communication with similar committees in other provinces concerning matters of general interest. The proposition met with cordial approval in the North Carolina assembly. A committee composed of Samuel Johnston, Robert Howe and Cornelius Harnett, was appointed to draw up a reply. After adopting this committee's report the house resolved that a committee of nine persons be appointed to act as a committee of correspondence for North Carolina. The resolution named the committee as follows: John Harvey, Robert Howe, Cornelius Harnett, William Hooper, Richard Caswell, Edward Vail, John Ashe, Joseph Hewes and Samuel Johnston.

It is difficult for us at this day to appreciate the significance of this act. It was the first step toward that union of the colonies which resulted in July 4, 1776. The only political bond that had held the colonies together heretofore was the fact that they owed allegiance to the same



throne. Otherwise they were absolutely separate and distinct political units. Not only did they not desire union, but even looked upon such a proposition with fear and aversion. But the stupid policy of the king had given them a bond of union stronger than any political bond yet devised by the ingenuity of man—that of a common oppression. They were driven into it in spite of themselves; and the committees of correspondence were its germs. Of this system, Mr. Fiske says: “It was nothing less than the beginning of the American union. \* \* \* It only remained for the various intercolonial committees to assemble together, and then there would be a congress speaking in the name of the continent.”

It is not to be expected that Martin looked with approval on these proceedings in the North Carolina assembly. Seeing whither their policy tended he told them they were consuming time and incurring expense to no purpose and had better go home to consult their constituents. Accordingly he prorogued the session on December 21, 1773.

Shortly after this Martin learned of the proposition to hold a continental congress at Philadelphia in September. He knew that the plan contemplated the election of the delegates by the various provincial assemblies, and he determined to follow Tryon's example to prevent North Carolina's being represented. But Martin lacked a good deal of having the shrewdness of his predecessor; and the men in control of the assembly were not the kind to be caught twice in the same trap. Martin's purpose not to call another assembly until too late to choose delegates, was communicated to John Harvey by the governor's private secretary. “Then the people,” exclaimed Harvey in an outburst of wrath, “will convene one themselves.” He determined to issue over his own signature, a call for a provincial congress. This scheme was laid before Samuel Johnston and Colonel Edward Buncombe. Both approved it, and Johnston at once consulted William Hooper, John Ashe and Cornelius Harnett. It was just the

kind of proposition that suited Harnett's genius. He at once threw himself into the movement. On July 21, a meeting of the inhabitants of the Wilmington district was held at Wilmington to discuss the plan. A circular letter was issued inviting the people of the province to send delegates to a provincial congress at Johnston court-house August 20. The place was afterwards changed to New Bern and the time to August 25.

Governor Martin issued a proclamation forbidding the convention. The people laughed at him and the delegates met on the day appointed. We are surprised to find that Cornelius Harnett was not a member of this convention, Wilmington being represented by Francis Clayton. The business of the session consisted in drawing up a series of resolutions denouncing the recent acts of parliament in respect to America and setting forth the principles that should guide the actions of the delegates and those of their constituents. It was resolved that a continental congress ought to be held at Philadelphia, and William Hooper, Joseph Hewes and Richard Caswell were elected delegates from North Carolina. The convention closed by authorizing John Harvey, the moderator, to call another convention whenever he should deem it necessary.

Among the most important actions of the convention was the resolution authorizing each county and certain of the larger towns to organize committees of safety. It will, of course, be remembered that there were no courts in the province, and the convention properly felt that something ought to be done to relieve the situation. Besides this it was necessary to have some executive authority to enforce the resolves of the provincial convention and of the continental congress. But the time was not yet ripe for the formation of a permanent organization. The committees were therefore temporary expedients. The system finally developed so as to cover the whole province, one committee in each of the



towns, one in each of the counties, one in each of the military districts, and one for the province at large. The committees were admirably organized, and worked so successfully that their powers were gradually enlarged and increased until they assumed a jurisdiction that would not have been tolerated in the royal government.

In all the history of our people there has been nothing else like these committees. It would be difficult to find another example of government which touched the lives of the people so closely as they did. Born of necessity, originating in the political and economic conditions of the time, they make one of the most interesting and instructive chapters in our history. Of them Colonel Saunders says: "Usurping some new authority every day, executive, judicial or legislative, as the case might be, their powers soon became practically unlimited." Governor Martin properly characterized them as "extraordinary tribunals." In every respect they were extraordinary, insurrectionary, revolutionary. Illegally constituted, they demanded and executed such authority as the royal government had never dreamed of, and received such obedience as it had not dared aspire to. Yet not only did they not abuse their power, but voluntarily resigned it when the public welfare no longer needed their services. They were the offsprings of misrule and rose and fell with their parent.

The Wilmington and New Hanover committees were the most perfectly organized, the most active and the most readily obeyed of any in the province. It is impossible to give even the faintest idea of their work within the limits of this sketch. There was the work of enforcing the resolves of the continental congress and of the provincial convention, some of them most exacting and most burdensome in their operations. There was the duty of inquiring into the conduct and actions of individuals, for these committees not only determined "what acts and opinions constituted a man an enemy

of his country, but passed upon his guilt or innocence and fixed his punishment." There was the necessity of raising money by subscriptions and fines—for gunpowder, arms, and all the implements of war had to be purchased. The militia had to be enlisted, organized, armed and drilled. Correspondence with other committees had to be kept up. In short, a revolution had to be inaugurated, and it fell to these committees to do it. The success of that revolution bears witness to the ability with which their work was done. Of these committees, Cornelius Harnett was the master-spirit, the genius, the soul. Their work was his work. Throughout their existence he dominated their actions and the great work which they did in the cause of freedom is his monument. When the Wilmington committee was organized he was unanimously elected its first chairman. When the New Hanover committee was organized a few months later he was at once unanimously elected chairman of the joint committee. His work here won for him later still, after the provincial committee was established, not only a place on that committee but the chairmanship of it, a place that made him the chief executive of the new born state.

When Governor Martin saw the way the current was setting and learned that he was foiled in his effort to prevent the election of delegates to the continental congress, he determined to make the best of a bad situation and so called an assembly to meet at New Bern April 4, 1775. John Harvey at once issued circulars calling for a convention to meet at the same place April 3. It was intended, and so carried out, that the members of the assembly should also be members of the convention. Cornelius Harnett again came forward as the representative in both bodies from Wilmington. Governor Martin was furious and denounced the action of Harvey in a thunderous proclamation. The members replied by re-electing Harvey moderator of the convention and speaker of the assembly. Never was such an anomalous situa-



tion seen before or since, I believe, in the history of the world. One set of men forming two bodies—one legal, sitting by the authority of the royal governor and in obedience to his writ; the other illegal, sitting in defiance of his authority and in direct disobedience of his proclamation. The curious spectacle is presented of the governor calling on the former body to join him in denouncing and dispersing the latter, composed of the same men whose aid he solicited. The two bodies met in the same room and were presided over by the same man. "When the governor's private secretary was announced at the door," writes Colonel Saunders, "in an instant, in the twinkling of an eye, Mr. Moderator Harvey would become Mr. Speaker Harvey \* \* \* and gravely receive his excellency's message." The convention lasted five days. On April 7, a resolution was passed renewing Harvey's authority to call another convention whenever he deemed it necessary, and giving the same power to Samuel Johnston in the event of Harvey's death. The assembly's life was not prolonged any longer than the life of the convention. Having passed some resolutions endorsing the course of North Carolina's delegates in the continental congress, it was dissolved by the angry governor, April 8, 1775. This was the last time a royal governor was to dissolved a North Carolina assembly.

April of 1775 was a stirring month in North Carolina. It witnessed the convocation and adjournment of the most revolutionary body ever held in the state. It saw the convening and the dissolution of the last assembly ever held here under the authority of the British crown. It saw the governor of the province openly defied in his palace at the capital, closely watched by armed men, and virtually beseiged in his own house. It saw the guns he had set up for his own protection seized and carried off by the men he had been sent to rule. It closed upon the flight of the terrified governor from the capital to the protection of the guns of Fort Johnston at the mouth of the Cape Fear river.

The atmosphere was charged with the revolutionary spirit. Men breathed it in with the very air they sucked into their lungs and then showed it forth to the world by their actions. Events crowded one upon another in rapid succession. The committees of safety were everywhere active in the discharge of their various duties, legislating, judging, executing, combining in themselves all the functions of government. The news of the battle of Lexington spread like wild fire through the province, arousing the forward, stirring the backward, and putting an end everywhere to all hope of a peaceful conclusion of the difficulties. The news was sped on its way by the committees and in no other instance did they give better evidence of their usefulness. Governor Martin complained that the rebel leaders knew about the battle at least two months before he did, and that he did not learn of it in time to counteract the influence which the "infamous and false reports of that transactions" had on the people. The news reached Cornelius Harnett on the Cape Fear in the afternoon of May 8, and he at once hurried it on to the Brunswick committee with the admonition, "For God's sake send the man on without the least delay and write to Mr. Marion to forward it by night and day." The proceedings of the second continental congress, which met amid all this excitement, were followed with the closest attention. John Harvey, after a life devoted to the interest and liberty of his country, died at his home in Perquimans county, leaving a gap in the ranks of the patriots impossible to be filled. Scarcely had this sad news reached the Cape Fear before Cornelius Harnett was joined by Robert Howe and John Ashe in a letter to Samuel Johnston urging him to call a provincial convention without delay. The suggestion met with favor, was endorsed by the committees of several counties, and approved by Johnston. He issued his call July 10. Six days later Governor Martin wrote to Lord Dartmouth: "Hearing of a proclamation of the king, proscribing



John Hancock and Samuel Adams, of Massachusetts Bay, and seeing clearly that further proscriptions will be necessary before government can be settled again upon sure foundations in America, I hold it my indispensable duty to mention to your lordship Cornelius Harnett, John Ashe, Robert Howe, and Abner Nash, as persons who have marked themselves out as proper persons for such distinction in this colony by their unremitting labours to promote sedition and rebellion here from the beginnings of the discontents in America to this time, that they stand foremost among the patrons of revolt and anarchy." Within less than a week after this letter was written 500 men, wearied of Governor Martin's abusive proclamations, placed themselves under the leadership of John Ashe and Cornelius Harnett, marched to Fort Johnston, and burned the hated structure to the ground. "Mr. John Ashe and Mr. Cornelius Harnett," wrote the frightened governor, "were the ring-leaders of this savage and audacious mob." Thirty days later, at the time and place appointed, a third provincial congress met in open session in defiance of the rewards offered by the impotent ruler for the arrest of the leaders.

The congress met at Hillsborough, August 20. One hundred and eighty-four delegates were present. Cornelius Harnett was there from Wilmington, associated, however, with another distinguished and able Cape Fear leader, Archibald Maclaine. Harnett's share in the work of the convention was of the greatest importance, but lack of space forbids an account of it here. The one thing that can be noticed was the reorganization of the committee system. At the head of the new system and acting as executive head of the new government, was placed a provincial committee, called the provincial council. Its membership was composed of thirteen persons, one from the province at large and two from each of the six military districts into which the province had been organized. Serving under this council were to be committees in the several districts.

Extensive powers were given to the provincial council; it was, as I have said, the executive head of the government, subject to no authority except that of the general congress. The success of this new scheme depended entirely upon the character and ability of the men who were to put it into operation. They were chosen as follows: Samuel Johnston, for the province at large; Cornelius Harnett and Samuel Ashe, for the Wilmington district; Thomas Jones and Whitmill Hill, for the Edenton district; Abner Nash and James Cook, for the New Bern district; Thomas Person and John Kinchen, for the Hillsborough district; Willie Jones and Thomas Eaton for the Halifax district; Samuel Spencer and Waightstill Avery, for the Salisbury district. We can estimate the importance of this organization from the fact that Governor Martin denounced it in unmeasured terms.

The first meeting was held October 18, at Johnston courthouse. Of this meeting Bancroft writes: "Among its members were Samuel Johnston, Samuel Ashe, a man whose integrity even his enemies never questioned, whose name a mountain county and the fairest town in the western part of the commonwealth keep in memory; Abner Nash, an eminent lawyer, described by Martin as 'the oracle of the committee of Newbern and a principal supporter of sedition'; but on none of these three did the choice of president fall; that office of peril and power was bestowed unanimously on Cornelius Harnett, of New Hanover, whose disinterested zeal had made him honored as the Samuel Adams of North Carolina." By virtue of this office Harnett became the chief executive of the new government. The establishment of this central committee with adequate powers and authority immediately bore good fruit. Governor Martin wrote that the authority, the edicts and the ordinances of the congresses and conventions and committees had become supreme and omnipotent and that "lawful government" was completely annihilated. There can be no better comment upon the effectiveness of the ad-



ministration of Harnett and his colleagues. Everywhere the spirits and activity of the patriots took on new life, and everywhere, according to Martin himself, the spirits of the loyalists drooped and declined daily. So effective was the work and so necessary did the council prove itself to be to the welfare of the province, the next convention passed a resolution requiring it to sit continuously instead of only once every three months. The council, now called the council of safety, continued at the head of the government until the adoption of the state constitution; and Cornelius Harnett remained at the head of the council until elected a delegate to the continental congress.

It was under the direction of this council that the North Carolina troops marched to Moore's Creek Bridge and on the 27 of February, won the initial victory of the revolution. General Moore's report of his victory was made to President Harnett. This battle entirely changed the aspect of affairs in North Carolina. Heretofore the people had not considered seriously the question of independence; but now no other proposition met with such nearly universal acceptance. Day by day the conviction steadily grew upon them that there was no hope of coming to terms with the royal government, except upon humiliating conditions, and rather than submit to these the people preferred to risk all in a cast for independence. The convention, which met at Halifax April 4, 1776, was expected to take some definite steps to give official expression to the prevailing desire. The day after the assembling of the convention Samuel Johnston wrote to James Iredell: "All our people here are up for independence." Accordingly on April 8, a committee was appointed, composed of Cornelius Harnett, Allen Jones, Thomas Burke, Abner Nash, John Kinchen, Thomas Person and Thomas Jones, "to take into consideration the usurpations and violences attempted by the king and parliament of Great Britain against America, and the further

measures to be taken for frustrating the same, and for the better defence of this province." Cornelius Harnett was elected chairman, and it was he who prepared and read the report which the committee submitted April 12. On that day he arose in the convention and in a clear ringing voice read the following bold and epoch-making report:

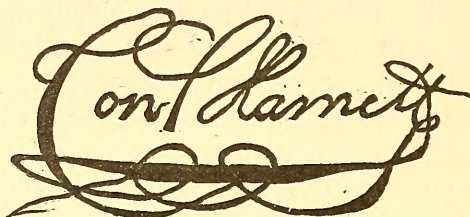
"It appears to your committee, that pursuant to the plan concerted by the British ministry for subjugating America, the king and parliament of Great Britain have usurped a power over the persons and properties of the people, unlimited and uncontrolled and disregarding their humble petitions for peace, liberty and safety, have made divers legislative acts, denouncing war, famine and every species of calamity, against the continent in general. The British fleets and armies have been, and still are, daily employed in destroying the people, and committing the most horrid devastations on the country. That governors in different colonies have declared protection to slaves, who should imbrue their hands in the blood of their masters. That ships belonging to America are declared prizes of war, and many of them have been violently seized and confiscated. In consequence of all which multitudes of the people have been destroyed, or from easy circumstances reduced to the most lamentable distress.

"And whereas, the moderation hitherto manifested by the united colonies and their sincere desire to be reconciled to the mother country on constitutional principles, have procured no mitigation of the aforesaid wrongs and usurpations, and no hopes remain of obtaining redress by those means alone which have hitherto been tried, your committee are of opinion that the house should enter into the following resolve, to-wit:

"Resolved, That the delegates for this colony in the continental congress be empowered to concur with the delegates of the other colonies in declaring independency, and forming foreign alliances, reserving to this colony the sole and



exclusive right of forming a constitution and laws for this colony, and of appointing delegates from time to time (under the direction of the general representation thereof), to meet the delegates of the other colonies for such purposes as shall be hereafter pointed out."



The convention unanimously adopted the report. † Comment is unnecessary. The actors, the place, the occasion, the time, the action itself, tell their own story far beyond the power of the pen to add to it or detract from it. Discussing the growth of the sentiment for independence in America, Mr. Bancroft says:

"The American congress needed an impulse from the resolute spirit of some colonial convention, and the example of a government springing wholly from the people." Following an account of how South Carolina let slip the honor of giving this impulse, Mr. Bancroft continues: "The word which South Carolina hesitated to pronounce was given by North Carolina. That colony, proud of its victory over domestic enemies, and roused to defiance by the presence of Clinton, the British general, in one of their river, \* \* \* unanimously" voted for independence. "North Carolina was the first colony to vote explicit sanction to independence.")

Immediately after the adoption of this report the convention took up the consideration of a constitution for the state.

Harnett was a member of the committee to prepare the document. But this was a matter too important for slight consideration, and the committee recommended that it be postponed until the next session of the convention. At the same time the powers and authority of the council of safety were extended and the council was ordered to sit continuously instead of quarterly.

A few days before the adjournment of the convention the enemy again paid their compliments to Harnett's zeal and influence. This time they came from Sir Henry Clinton. Sir Henry had reached the Cape Fear too late to co-operate with the Highlanders in their disastrous attempts to subdue the colony, so there was nothing left for him to do but to issue a proclamation, and sail away again. Accordingly, just before sailing, he proclaimed from the deck of his majesty's man-of-war, *Pallisser*, that a horrid rebellion existed in North Carolina, but that in the name of his sacred majesty, he now offered a free pardon to all who would acknowledge the error of their way, lay down their arms, and return to their duty to the king, "excepting only from the benefits of such pardon Cornelius Harnett and Robert Howes."

To this proclamation the council of safety replied by unanimously re-electing Cornelius Harnett president. This occurred at their Wilmington session in June. In July they adjourned to meet at Halifax. On the 22 of the month the council received news of the action of the continental congress on July 4.

Five days later they resolved that August 1, be the day for proclaiming the declaration at Halifax. Thursday, August 1, 1776, becomes therefore, a marked day in the annals of the state. The sun rose clear on this first day of the new month, symbolic of the new state just rising out of a night of oppression and wrong. With the rising of the sun came the vanguard of the large crowd that was to assemble that day from the surrounding country to hear the official announce-



ment of North Carolina's new-born independence. By noon the village was alive with the eager throng. The ceremony was simple but none the less impressive. The provincial troops and militia companies, proudly bedecked in such uniforms as they could boast, were present in full battle array. With drums beating and flags unfurled to catch the first breath of freedom, this martial escort conducted the president of the council to the front of the court-house. As the August sun reached its mid-course in the heavens, Cornelius Harnett, bare-headed, bearing in his hand the document which bore the words so full of meaning for all future generations, cheered by the enthusiastic throng, solemnly ascended the platform and faced the people. Even as he unrolled the scroll the enthusiasm of the crowd gave vent in one prolonged cheer, and then a solemn hush fell on the audience. Every ear was strained to catch the words that fell from the lips of the popular speaker. As he closed with those solemn words pledging the lives, the fortunes and the sacred honor of the people to the declaration, the tumultuous shouts of joy, the waving of flags, and the booming of cannon, proclaimed that North Carolina was prepared to uphold her part. As Harnett came down from the platform the soldiers dashed at him, seized him, and bore him aloft on their shoulders through the crowded street, cheering him as their champion and swearing allegiance to the new nation. It must have been a proud moment in his life and one that compensated somewhat for the sacrifices he was yet to make for his people.\*

Soon after this the fifth and last provincial convention assembled at Halifax. Harnett sat for Brunswick county. This convention adopted the first constitution of the state of North Carolina. Harnett was a member of the committee which drafted it and exercised a large influence in its preparation. His influence and efforts caused the insertion of that imperishable clause which forbids the establishment of a state church in North Carolina, and secures forever to every per-

son in the state the right to worship God "according to the dictates of his own conscience." If Thomas Jefferson rightly considered the authorship of a similar clause in the Virginia constitution, one of the three really great events of his life, surely the authorship of this clause in the North Carolina constitution was none the less one of the great events of Cornelius Harnett's useful career. But he did not blazon it to the world by having it recorded on his tomb.

This convention elected the first officers of the new state. Richard Caswell was elected governor. Harnett was chosen first councillor of state. By the election of Caswell as governor the chairmanship of the convention became vacant, and Harnett was elected to fill the vacancy. The journal of the last one of those remarkable conventions that separated North Carolina from the British empire is signed by "Cornelius Harnett, President."

Harnett was re-elected to the council by the first legislature which met under the constitution. He did not serve long, however, as he was soon afterward selected a delegate to the continental congress and resigned his seat in the council. He took this action reluctantly. It meant loss of comfort and ease, sacrifice of both money and health, but he did not feel justified in declining, for purely personal reasons, the service the state desired of him. He, therefore, entered upon his duties in June, 1777, and served three years in congress. A detailed account of his services there is impossible in this sketch. They were faithful and able. The field was narrow, however; the situation disagreeable; his health poor; and the expense of living great. He wrote to his friend Burke that living in Philadelphia cost him £6,000 more than his salary, but he adds: "Do not mention this complaint to any person. I am content to sit down with this loss and much more if my country requires it." He missed the comforts of home, wearied of the quarrels and bickerings of congress, suffered with the gout, until he was thoroughly worn out.



Harnett's letters are among the most valuable in the correspondence of the revolution, throwing such a flood of light on that interesting period as few other letters do. It has already been seen the estimate that Governor Swain put upon them. Any one who reads them carefully in the light of the events they describe will readily concur in that estimate.

In February, 1780, Harnett made his last journey from Philadelphia to Wilmington, "the most fatiguing and most disagreeable journey any old fellow ever took." He had not long to rest under the shade of his vine and fig tree as he had hoped to do. Only one year of life remained to him, a year of gloom, hardship and suffering. The summer of 1780 was the gloomiest time of the war for the Americans. Charleston fell; Colonel Bufort's Virginia regiment was annihilated at Waxhaws; Gates exchanged his northern laurels for southern willows at Camden; Ninety-Six was captured, and Cornwallis marched into North Carolina. Here came relief. On the top of King's Mountain came the first break in the clouds; and soon after this Tarleton's renowned corps was cut to pieces at Cowpens.

Scarcely had this good news revived the drooping spirits of the patriots when a great disaster befell the Cape Fear country. On January 29, 1781, Major James H. Craige, one of the most energetic officers of the British army, sailed into the Cape Fear river with a fleet of eighteen vessels and four hundred and fifty men. Wilmington was occupied without opposition. Major Craige had come with express orders to capture Cornelius Harnett, and one of his first expeditions from Wilmington was sent out for this purpose. Harnett was warned in time and attempted to escape; but he had gone only about thirty miles when he was seized by a paroxysm of the gout and was compelled to take to his bed at the home of his friend, Colonel Spicer, in Onslow county. The enemy overtook him here, and regardless of his age and condition, in a manner unusually brutal, carried him to Wilmington.

Here he was confined for three days in a block-house. His condition had now become so precarious that Craige was induced to release him on parole.

He had not long to enjoy his freedom, and none realized it better than he. Yet he politely declined the services of the physicians, though grateful for their attention. On April 28, he wrote with his own hand his will, bequeathing "to my beloved wife, Mary, all my estate, real, personal, and mixed, of what nature or kind soever, to her, her heirs and assigns, forever." He then breathed his last.

Harnett's grave is in the northeast corner of St. James church-yard in the city of Wilmington. He contributed liberally to the erection of the first St. James church, was for a long time a member of the vestry, and always retained a pew in the church. In spite of this, and of a great deal of other evidence to the contrary, a tradition has been handed down, repeated by Hooper, and after him by others, that Harnett was an infidel. The train of evidence is too long to be followed here and I must content myself with merely observing that in my opinion the statement is an erroneous one. Much has been made of the epitaph on his tomb-stone, selected by himself.

"CORNELIUS HARNETT,

Died April 20, 1781.

Age 58.

"'Slave to no sect, he took no private road,  
But looked through Nature up to Nature's God.'"

It should be noted here that the date on the stone must be incorrect, as his will is in his own hand-writing and is dated April 28.

Mr. Harnett lived just outside of Wilmington. His house, surrounded by a grove of magnificent live-oaks, stood on an



eminence on the east bank of the Cape Fear, commanding a fine view of the river. Here Harnett lived at ease, for he was a man of wealth, entertaining upon such a scale as to win a reputation for his hospitality, even in the hospitable Cape Fear country.

“His stature,” says Hooper, “was about five feet nine inches. In his person he was rather slender than stout. His hair was of a light-brown, and his eyes hazel. The contour of his face was not striking; nor were his features, which were small, remarkable for symmetry; but his countenance was pleasing, and his figure, though not commanding, was neither inelegant nor ungraceful.

“In his private transactions he was guided by a spirit of probity, honor and liberality; and in his political career he was animated by an ardent and enlightened and disinterested zeal for liberty, in whose cause he exposed his life and endangered his fortune. He had no tinge of the visionary or of the fanatic in the complexion of his politics. ‘He read the volume of human nature and understood it.’ He studied closely that complicated machine, man, and he managed it to the greatest advantage for the cause of liberty, and for the good of his country. That he sometimes adopted artifice, when it seemed necessary for the attainment of his purpose, may be admitted with little imputation on his morals and without disparagement to his understanding. His general course of action in public life was marked by boldness and decision.

“He practiced all the duties of a kind and charitable and elegant hospitality; and yet with all this liberality he was an exact and minute economist.

“Easy in his manner, affable, courteous, with a fine taste for letters and a genius for music, he was always an interesting, sometimes a fascinating companion.

“He had read extensively, for one engaged so much in the bustle of the world, and he had read with a critical eye and

inquisitive mind. \* \* In conversation he was never voluble. The tongue, an unruly member in most men, was in him nicely regulated by a sound and discriminating judgment. He paid, nevertheless, his full quota into the common stock, for what was wanting in continuity or fullness of expression, was supplied by a glance of his eye, the movement of his hand and the impressiveness of his pause. Occasionally, too, he imparted animation to his discourse by a characteristic smile of such peculiar sweetness and benignity, as enlivened every mind and cheered every bosom, within the sphere of its radiance.

“Although affable in address, he was reserved in opinion. He could be wary and circumspect, or decided and daring as exigency dictated or emergency required. At one moment abandoned to the gratifications of sense, in the next he could recover his self-possession and resume his dignity. Addicted to pleasure, he was always ready to devote himself to business, and always prompt in execution. An inflexible republican, he was beloved and honored by the adherents of monarchy amid the fury of a civil war. \* \* \* Such was Cornelius Harnett. Once the favorite of the Cape Fear and the idol of the town of Wilmington; his applauses filled the ears as his character filled the eyes of the public.”



## EDWARD MOSELEY: CHARACTER SKETCH.

BY D. H. HILL.

“Of all the men who watched and guided the tottering footsteps of our infant State, there was not one who in intellectual ability, in solid and polite learning, in scholarly cultivation and refinement, in courage and endurance, in high Christian morality, in generous consideration for the welfare of others, in all true merit in fine, which makes a man among men, who could equal Edward Moseley.

HON. GEORGE DAVIS.

Fortunately for men of action the judgment of their contemporaries is often modified or reversed by the clearer judgment of posterity. Of Wycliffe, the first translator of the Bible into our “*modir tonge*” and one of the stoutest opponents of ecclesiastical tyranny, a contemporary, Lewis, says, in his “*Life of Wycliffe* :”

“On the feast of the passion of Saint Thomas, of Canterbury, John Wycliffe, the organ of the devil, the enemy of the church, the idol of heretics, the image of hypocrites, the restorer of schism, the storehouse of lies, the sink of flattery, being struck by the horrible judgment of God, was seized with the palsy throughout his whole body, and that mouth, which was to have spoken huge things against God and his saints, and Holy church, was miserably drawn aside, and afforded a frightful spectacle to beholders ; his tongue was speechless and his head shook, showing plainly that the curse which God had thundered forth against Cain was also inflicted on him.”

Of this same Wycliffe Dr. Patterson Smyth says, in the tempered judgment of 1899 :

“In him England lost one of her best and greatest sons, a patriot sternly resenting all dishonor to his country, a reformer who ventured his life for the purity of the church and the freedom of the Bible—an earnest, faithful ‘*parsoun* of

a toune' standing out conspicuously among the clergy of the time.

'For christes lore and his apostles twelve  
He taughte—and first he folwede it himselve.'

In like manner if we should credit the official contemporaries of Edward Moseley, he was "of all men most base." Gov. Hyde and his followers in the Legislature of 1711 joined in a petition to "The Palatin and Lord Proprietors" to "remove those three restless Incendiaries Col. Carey, Mr. Porter and Mr. Moseley from having any share in the government." Gov. Pollock, smooth and suave, complains that "he was the chief contriver and carry-er on of Col. Carey's rebellion." Gov. Burrington, passing rich in the vocabulary of expletive, brands him as "the great land-jobber of this country," and further declares to the Legislature that Moseley is "a person of sufficient ability" to be "Publick Treasurer," but wishes that his "integrity was equal to his ability." Gov. Johnston writes the Board of Trade that "the only remains of faction in this colony is kept up by Mr. Moseley and the Moors."

The remarkable continuity of this courteous attention from crown officers, extending as it does over a good many years, reveals the dynamics inherent in the man. Even if we had no record of Moseley's life other than this continuous gubernational vituperation, we should still be inclined to say, "Official lions found no hind in him; here was a man."

Hence it is no surprise to find modern writers, who have tried to roll the mists away, saying, as Weeks does: "He (Moseley) was the broadest-minded man who lived in North Carolina during the first half of the 18th century. He was a patriot rather than a partisan and as such espoused the cause of religious freedom against the bigotry and narrowness of his age and country;"

Or to find Shinn saying: "It can not be doubted that he was hot tempered and was perhaps often too hasty and liable



to cultivate strong antipathies; yet he was a patriot in his day and did more than any other early character to make the unlettered Carolinians feel that by royal charter 'it is granted that the inhabitants of this province shall have, possess and enjoy all libertys, franchises and privileges as are held, possessed and enjoyed in the Kingdom of England.' In every contest he was on the side of the people."

That Moseley was always "on the side of the people" and that in spite of royal governors he retained their confidence is abundantly shown by such facts as these. One year after Gov. Hyde's assembly petitioned for Moseley's 'removal from having any part in the government,' the people elected him a member of the Assembly. In 1715, in the face of Pollock's charge and just two years after it was made, that he was the backbone of the Cary trouble, the representatives of the people elected him their Speaker. Gov. Burrington's epithet of "land grabber," and doubt as to his having integrity enough to be Treasurer did not deter the Assembly of 1731 from electing Moseley Speaker nor from saying with some heat: "The Members of the House declare that they are very well satisfied as well with his integrity as his ability, his accounts always appearing just and true."

Of the early life of the man thus so differently judged, we have few records; his later life is almost literally a history of the province, so large is his part in its doings. He held almost every office then open to a citizen. Indeed for robust persistence in office-holding Moseley is without a peer in Carolina history. The first year that he appears in our records he was a member of the Cary Council: he dies still a Council member, although his service was not continuous. The office of magistrate, then a very honorable and responsible one, he held nearly all his life. From perhaps 1708 until near his death he was Treasurer of the Colony, and also part of the time precinct treasurer. For many years he was Surveyor-General. He was a Commissioner for running the boundary

line between North Carolina and Virginia and also between North Carolina and South Carolina. He was judge of the Court of Admiralty, five or six times Speaker of the House, President of the Council and thus Acting-Governor, Commissioner on Wages, and for Revisal of laws, chief baron of the Exchequer, and finally Chief Justice of the Colony. This perpetuity and variety of office-holding seem too to have come, not because he was a chronic seeker of office, but solely because he was the fittest man to fill the office.

What were the characteristics of the man who was thus honored by his people?

In the first place it was not necessary for him "to usurp a patriot's all-atoning name," for he seems to have sincerely loved his adopted colony, and to have served it with the steadfast purpose of making it a home fit for free men. Although himself a member of the established church of England, a contributor equal in generosity to the Governor towards its support, and a propagandist of its faith to the extent of sending to England for Prayer Books for distribution, yet there seems no doubt that he set his face like flint against an alliance of church and State in America. Although frequently on terms of such intimacy with crown officers that it would have been to his interest to wink at their usurpations of authority, he steadily resisted all such encroachments on the rights of the people. He was Speaker of the House that in 1715 dared to pass the memorable resolution "that the impressing of the inhabitants, or their property, under pretense of its being for public service, without authority from the General Assembly is unwarrantable, a great infringement of the liberty of the subject, and very much weakens the government by causing many to leave it."

Col. Saunders says of this resolution: "The man who, at that early day, in the wild woods of America, could formulate that resolution, and the people whose assembly could fling it in the face of the government, were worthy of each other."



While holding a royal commission as member of the Council, Moseley refused to pay his quit rents to the royal Receiver at a rate different from what he thought the laws of the colony prescribed, and encouraged others to take the same position.

In the second place he had the boldness of thought and of action that people admire in their leaders. When but a comparative stranger in the province, he did not hesitate to join with Cary in actions which though in themselves illegal redounded to public good. When he believed that Gov. Eden's relations to the pirate Thache or Teach were suspiciously criminal, he with the aid of his brother-in-law, Maurice Moore, made bold to forcibly enter the office of the Governor's secretary and seize official papers apparently for the purpose of disclosing criminality on the part of the officers of the province. On his arrest for this attempt "to bring the good government, diligent and just administration of him the said Charles Eden as Governor to detract, asperse and contempt and to move and stir up debates, strifes and differences, sedition and discord and dissention in this province," as the warrant charged, he could not forbear saying that the governor, chief justice and others with him could procure armed men to come and arrest him but could not raise them to destroy the pirate. He incurred the hostility of Gov. Burrington and was committed to the common jail for interposing in behalf of a poor man without legal counsel, whom the Governor was prosecuting with acrimonious speed. It is not hard to imagine that it was his influence as Speaker that led the Assembly of 1733 to protest against Gov. Burrington's "long disuse of assemblies," and to declare that "the Affairs of the Province in our humble Opinion required the Meeting of an Assembly before this time, not only for an Application to his Majesty toward the Good and happy settlement of this province, but also for the suppressing the many Oppressions, which so loudly have been complained of through the whole

province, which could in no other way so properly be represented as in an Assembly."

In the third place Moseley had the common sense and self-poise on which people rely in troublous times. There was no sham, no affectation, no sounding hollow in his make-up. This is nowhere shown more conspicuously than in the reply that he, Christopher Gale, John Lovick and William Little sent to the Virginia Commissioners who had written them as North Carolina's Commissioners to settle the disputed boundary line between the two States. With lordly pomp the Virginia Commissioners had written: "We think it very proper to acquaint you in what manner we intend to come provided, that so you, being appointed in the same station, may, if you please, do the same honor to your country. We shall bring with us about twenty men, furnished with provisions for thirty days: we shall have with us a tent and marquees for the convenience of ourselves and our servants. We bring as much wine and rum as will enable us and our men to drink every night to do the good success of the following day; and because we understand that there are gentiles on the frontiers, who never had an opportunity to be baptized, we shall have a chaplain with us to make them Christians."

Men of less common sense than the Carolina Commissioners would have been at a loss to know what reply to make to this startling announcement. But the sturdy sense of Moseley and his associates did not desert them.

"We are at a loss, gentlemen," wrote these downright men, "whether to thank you for the particulars you give us of your tent stores, and the manner you design to meet us. Had you been silent about it, we had not wanted an excuse for not meeting you in the same manner; but now you force us to expose the nakedness of our country, and to tell you we cannot possibly meet you in the manner our great respect for you would make us glad to do; whom we are not emulous of out-doing, unless in care and diligence in the affair we come to meet you about."



"That keen thrust under the guard," comments Mr. Davis, "delivered too with all the glowing courtesy of knighthood, is exquisite. My lord Chesterfield could not have improved it. If the Virginians were as familiar with sweet Will as they undoubtedly were with the value of tent stores, they must have had an uncomfortable remembrance of Sir Andrew Aguecheek—"An I thought he had been so cunning in fence, I'd have seen him damned ere I'd have challenged him."

But there is another side to the man's character that is pleasant to recall. Active man of affairs as he was, accumulating a fortune as he did, he was withal, in the best sense of the words, a man of letters. His private library, including books on law, on theology, and on general literature, was perhaps the most extensive in the province. A part of his library was left by him as a foundation for a public library in the town of Edenton.

A devoted lover of North Carolina and a diligent student of its history pays this hearty tribute to Col. Moseley's worth:

"The great debt of gratitude that North Carolina will ever owe him is due to his undying love of free government, and his indomitable maintenance of the rights of his people. Doubtless no man ever more fully realized than he 'that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty,' nor was there ever upon any watch tower a more faithful sentinel than he. And to him, above all others, should North Carolina erect her first statute, for to him, above all others, is she indebted for stimulating that love of liberty regulated by law, and that hatred of arbitrary government that has ever characterized her people."

NORTH CAROLINA STATE LIBRARY

CELEBRATION  
OF THE  
ANNIVERSARY OF MAY 20,  
1775

WITH AN ADDRESS BY

GEN. JOSEPH GRAHAM

Giving Reminiscences of the Day and Other  
Mecklenburg Revolutionary Events

AT

CHARLOTTE, N. C., MAY 20, 1735

---

W. A. GRAHAM  
Lincoln County, North Carolina





## CELEBRATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF MAY 20, 1775.

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BY W. A. GRAHAM.

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The first celebration of the anniversary of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, Charlotte, May 20, 1835.

The attendance was estimated to be at least five thousand, ceremonies were held in the "church grove" now First Presbyterian church. The Governor of the State (Swain) was present and reviewed the troops.

James W. Osborne (afterwards judge) father of Judge Frank I. Osborne, after a brief and eloquent preface read the Mecklenburg Declaration.

Franklin Smith was "orator of the day." He gave a succinct account of the aggressions of England which led up to the Declaration; sketched the character of the convention and commemorated the virtues of its members.

At the dinner U. S. Senator Willie P. Mangum, Governor Swain and others spoke at length upon the political questions, probably upon General Jackson vs. the United States Bank.

In response to the toast "Our guest, General Joseph Graham, the living witness of the scene we have met to commemorate and the bold and intrepid defender of its principles," General Graham spoke as follows:

*Fellow Citizens:*—On this day three-score years ago, I was in this place, and heard the discussion of those venerable fathers, and finally their unanimous vote on the adoption of those resolutions, and in a short time after when proclamation was made, the people assembled and they were read at the Court-House door, where they were highly approved by all. Perhaps upwards of half the men in Mecklenburg and now Cabarrus counties were present. This and some previous



meetings had a tendency to give tone to public sentiment, that was manifest throughout the Revolutionary War, and for many years after. I had the honor to be personally acquainted with each of the fathers who signed those resolutions; they were men of sound common sense, actuated by pure patriotism, appeared to be governed by no motive but their country's welfare, perhaps a majority of them too old to do military duty, but always ready with their counsel to their families and neighbors, to assist the common cause. It yet may be remembered that before the fall of Charleston, a magazine of gun powder was moved from Camden to this place for greater safety and was guarded sometime by the students of the Academy at this place—that an alarm of the enemy's advancing here, some weeks before they came, preparations, with others, came to Charlotte on a certain day with bags in which they filled the gunpowder, and carried it off in different directions—they appeared like so many boys who had been to mill. It was concealed in separate places—afterwards it afforded us a seasonable supply—not much of it got damaged and the enemy got none. \*

At that time we had no parties among us, we were but one party and that for our country. Then and for a dozen years afterwards, a man who was popular, and had the public confidence, was called on to face the greatest dangers, and to make large sacrifices of his time and property in the common cause. What nominal pay he received was in a depreciated currency—it was evident that money was not the motive by which he was governed, but to drive the enemy from our country and to establish the Independence which they had declared,—the fact is there were no loaves and fishes to divide, as in modern times, to scuffle about, for it now appears the

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\* General Davidson to General Sumner, October 10, 1780, at Rocky River, reports receipt of 29 "caigs" of this powder from within four miles of Charlotte, of which he knew nothing until a day or two before.—Col. Records, Vol. XIV, p. 688.

plentier they are the greater the risque that the public tranquility may be disturbed, and finally may produce more evil than at present anticipated.

It would be tedious to recount all the effect produced by the discussion and Resolutions passed in this place sixty years past, how faithfully those men, their neighbors and their offspring, acted up to the professions they then made—how they regularly furnished their quota of men while the war was at a distance, but after the fall of Charleston and Buford's defeat, they were called out *en masse*, when Mecklenburg became a frontier against a powerful enemy,—need I mention that several of her brave sons fell in the battle at Ramsour's Mill,—that in the well-fought battle of Hanging Rock, she lost the lamented Capt. David Reid, and six privates and had eleven wounded—had her proportion of men and suffering in the disastrous defeat of General Gates on the 16th of August, 1780, or the affair at Wahab's, under Col. Davie in September in the same year, when a party superior in numbers was surprised and beat in the vicinity of the main British army or when the British army of 5,000 Regulars marched into this village in all the pomp of War, on the 26th of Sept., 1780, was opposed by Col. Davie in a kind of Parthian fight with 350, chiefly of this County, and our well-tried friends of Rowan,—or that during the 12 days they stayed, their sentries were shot down, their piquets harassed, and a foraging party of 400 driven back from McIntyre's farm about 7 miles North of this place, with some loss, by only a few men of your native sons—that waggons with stores from Camden were captured and destroyed, two or three miles to the South of this place. These circumstances induced Col. Tarleton in conversation with a lady in the neighborhood, to compliment this place with the name of "The Hornets' Nest."

When General Green took command of the Southern Army, on the 3rd of December, 1780, this County having



been the seat of war so long, supplies of provisions and forage being nearly exhausted, he detached General Morgan over Broad River, and moved with his Army down near Cheraw. As an evidence of the estimate in which you were held, he relied upon the inhabitants between the Catawba and Yadkin Rivers as a central Army, otherwise his dispositions would have been inconsistent with the general rules of war in such cases. Need I mention that after Tarleton's defeat at the Cowpens, when the enemy advanced in full force on the banks of the Catawba, on the memorable 1st of February, 1781, in that cloudy and drizzly morning when they passed at Cowan's Ford, were opposed by about 350 men, a majority of your native sons, endeavoring to defend their domicils under command of the brave and lamented General Davidson, who there fell, and two of your citizens who may be well remembered by several of those present, Robert Beatty and James Scott—that the atmosphere was so dense the sound of the artillery and platoons were distinctly heard by all the mothers, wives and sisters of those engaged, who lived here and to the North of this place. That our friends of Rowan and some other counties who had retreated from Beattie's Ford, were defeated at Torrence's Tavern on the same day by Col. Tarleton—that afterwards the British passed on to Salisbury—about 700 men were collected in their rear composed of the citizens between the Yadkin and Catawba, and having none but field officers, they could not agree among themselves who should take the command, and finally they selected Gen. Andrew Pickens, (of S. C.) who with six or eight South Carolina refugees, had been at the defeat at Torrence's Tavern, where he was without command. After his appointment and the Brigade organized, it moved on after the enemy; when arrived near Hillsboro, he sent a detachment of men of this county, who at Hart's Mill within 1 1-2 miles of Hillsboro, the enemy's headquarters, killed and captured a piquet of 25 Regulars and some Tories'—that at Pile's defeat,—at the battle of Whitesell's Mill, and other

places of minor importance they acted a conspicuous part, that at the battle of Alamance, at Clap's Mill on the 2d of March, 1781, when about 500 on each side were engaged, you sustained more loss in proportion to numbers than any corps engaged,—John Ford (a carpenter) who built some of the houses now standing in this village, and David Johnston, were killed—Robert Morris, Esq (of Mill Grove), Samuel Martin, Clerk of your Court, and John Barnett were wounded, Joseph Mitchell (of Stoney Creek) and John Stinson, who I believe is yet living, were taken prisoners. But why need I refer to all the occurrences of this eventful campaign. The historians, Doctor Ramsey and Judge Johnston, (both of South Carolina), attributed those actions to the militia of South Carolina because the officer, who had the command was from that State; great injustice is likewise done by said historians to the affair of Hanging Rock and other movements. While General Sumpter commanded, the militia of this county frequently were his greatest force, and after he was appointed to raise a Brigade of State Troops, it may be remembered that the Regiments of Hampton, Polk and Hill were chiefly raised between the Yadkin and the Catawba, and the many brilliant actions they performed are placed to the credit of South Carolina because the Generals from that State happened to have the command. As well might the salvation of the South be placed to the credit of the State of Rhode Island, because General Green was commander.

At the time those Resolutions were adopted, there were 13 militia companies in Mecklenburg and Cabarrus Counties, the practice was at company muster, each company elected two of their number as committee men, usually those for whom they had the most confidence in for intelligence. As well as I can remember, it was first practiced in the autumn of the year 1774, and had several meetings in the Winter and Spring previous to the meeting of May, 1775. The Committee were continued for 15 years after. What time they ceased is unknown to me. In the year 1789 and 1790, when



I had the honor to represent this County, they usually met after the election and formed instructions to their Representatives in the General Assembly. You have several public laws on your Statute Book, that originated in those committees, that have never been repealed or amended in 45 years.

On taking a retrospective view for 60 years back, the difficulties, embarrassments and dangers, that were before us, and comparing it with the present flourishing and happy condition the country is now in—what great cause of gratitude to the Supreme Ruler of the Universe. How many blessings we are and have been favored with, that in the common course of human events can not be attributed to any other cause.

Having merely glanced at the reminiscences of the Revolutionary War, all but the expedition to Wilmington in the fall of the year 1781, under the command of General Rutherford where a detachment of cavalry of 100, mostly from this County, and Rowan, at the Raft Swamp, charged and defeated upwards of 400 Tories, and at the Brick House opposite Wilmington, defeated a superior number to our own, a few days before the British evacuated Wilmington. This campaign was the last in which your militia was engaged in the Revolutionary War, and I think fully redeemed the pledge made by those fathers in their behalf on the 20th of May, 1775. The occurrences of note which took place since that time, perhaps most of you who are advanced in life, remember.

The account of the celebration is given in full in General Joseph Graham and his Revolutionary Papers—it is from the Miners and Farmers Journal, Charlotte, N. C., May 22nd, 1835. The address is from the Western Carolinian, Salisbury, N. C., June 20th, 1835. I regret that I did not obtain it in time to put in the book.

W. A. GRAHAM.

Machpelah, N. C., Nov. 1st, 1905.

*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  
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

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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 POLLOK CREST

# THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET.

Vol. V

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No. 4

## GOVERNOR THOMAS POLLOK.

BY MRS. JOHN W. HINSDALE.

The crest of a Stricken Boar, with the motto: "Strong and Stout," were conferred by James IV. of Scotland upon Pollok of Balgra, who saved the life of his sovereign, when he was attacked while hunting, by a furious wild boar. These arms have been honorably borne by his descendants since that time.

Thomas Pollok was born on the 6th day of March, 1864. He was the son of Thomas Pollok of Balgra, near Glasco, in County Renfrew, Scotland. His grandfather was Thomas, his great-grandfather was David Pollok, of Balgra, who married Margaret, a daughter of the Rev. Zachery Boyd, an eminent Scotch divine, who was born before 1590 and died in 1653, one year before the birth of his great-grandson.

Zachery Boyd was a professor in the University of Saumur, in France, until the persecutions of the Protestants in that country in 1621 forced him to return to Scotland. He was the author of many religious works, and in his will he bequeathed the sum of 20,000 pounds Scots to the University of Glasco, on the condition that his rhymical version of the Old Testament should be published by the faculty. The bequest was accepted and one volume of the work was printed. This book is now preserved in a glass case in the university, his stone bust surmounts the court gateway, while his portrait is in the Divinity Hall of this seat of learning.

The following is an example of the rude versification employed by Dr. Boyd:

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1664



Pharaoh was a great rascal,  
Because he would not let  
The children of Israel  
With their flocks and herds,  
Wives and little ones,  
Go three days' journey  
Into the wilderness,  
To keep the Paschal.

The writer is obliged to use modern spelling, as this couplet has been handed down by word of mouth, and was never seen in print.

Of the childhood of Thomas Pollok we know nothing, and but little of his early life. His elder brother James died when past middle age. His sister Margaret married her kinsman George Pollok, minister of Erskin, and his sister Helen married the Rev. David Robe, minister at Ballantree, who, after the accession of King William, moved with his family to Ireland.

Thomas Pollok landed in North Carolina on June 27, 1683. He came in the capacity of Deputy to Lord Carteret, one of the seven Lords Proprietors, to whom was granted by Charles II. on May 23, 1663, "all territory extending from the north of Luke Island, which lieth in the southern Virginian seas, southward as far as the river to St. Matthias, which bordereth upon the coast of Florida." (Col. Rec., vol. 1, p. 21.)

At this time the colony contained about five thousand inhabitants and was composed of a few settlements fringing the shores of Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds, and extending for a short distance on each side of the streams, which empty into these bodies of water.

At this time the fisheries were undeveloped, and with the exception of one grist mill, the inhabitants were without mechanical appliances. Many of the settlers pounded their grain in stone mortars, others were the happy possessors of hand-mills, which were so highly prized as to be bequeathed

along with other personal property. Many of the houses were built of hewn logs and roofed with slabs, and as hardware was almost unattainable they were put together with wooden pins and the doors were hung on hinges of the same material; the chimneys were built of rough stone, which was brought as ballast in the ships from Barbadoes.

We know neither the size of Mr. Pollok's house, nor the material of which it was made, but from his letters we find that he was surrounded with many of the comforts of life and by some of its elegancies; a silver ladle which belonged to him, and a great arm chair, made of walnut wood, in which he used to sit, are now the property of Mrs. John Devereux, of Raleigh.

About this time Boston plank was first imported, and the first brick were burned. In his will, Mr. Pollok left directions in regard to a house with brick chimneys and cellar, which was then in process of building for his son Cullen.

Great droves of hogs and cattle, which constituted the chief source of the wealth of the planters, roamed through the forests on the higher ground or "second lands," where they found abundant food in the wild fruits and mast, and in the natural herbage, which were produced in such quantities that no further supplies were needed. The winters were then, as now, so mild that no shelter was needed. The only care necessary was that they should be marked by cutting the ears. This was done at stated intervals, each planter having his own device; that adopted by Mr. Pollok was a "swallow fork and keel" (a notch and a crescent), and this mark was used by his descendants until after the Civil War. To change or to deface these marks was an offense severely punished by law. The soil was wonderfully productive, great crops of corn being raised in the river bottoms, or "low grounds."

As transportation with wheeled vehicles was impossible, each plantation had its water front, with wharves and landings, and each planter was the owner of many canoes, besides



one or more vessels; some of these were small and only used locally, while others were of sufficient size to make the voyage to Boston and to the West Indies, and even sometimes to cross the ocean.

As there were no towns of sufficient size to serve as depots for the products of the colony, the mercantile transactions were principally in the hands of New England traders, who would visit the plantations, bringing their cargoes almost to the doors of the planters. As coin was scarce, they had recourse to a system of barter, exchanging their imported wares for skins, salt beef and pork, tallow, staves and tar, the Assembly having fixed a money value upon each of these rated commodities. These New Englanders also sold both negro and Indian slaves, Mr. Pollok's heirs owning many descendants of Narraganset Indians bought from these traders.

Many of the colonists were men of refinement and culture, as is shown by the chirography and diction of their letters, wills, etc. Some of them had left their homes for political reasons, and others were younger sons whom a spirit of adventure had prompted to seek their fortunes in a new land. As the plantations embraced great bodies of land, communication between their owners was often difficult, yet a pleasant social intercourse was kept up. Many were the gatherings beneath the hospitable roofs, and around the cheerful fire-sides, where the gentlemen enjoyed their "bumbo," or rum punch, and the ladies sipped their milder cups of tea and chocolate. Into this charmed circle Mr. Pollok was welcomed, and soon became prominent, both socially and in the government of the colony.

Being a strong churchman, he was one of the organizers of St. Paul's Parish, Edenton (then called Queen Anne's Creek). The first vestry met at the house of Mr. Thomas Gilliam, December 12, 1701, when Mr. Pollok was made a vestryman, and steps were at once taken to build the first

church ever erected in North Carolina. It was a wooden building, "twenty-five feet long, posts in the ground and held to the cellar beams." (Col. Rec., vol. 1, p. 543.) It stood upon an acre of land given by Mr. Edward Smithwick, near the present site of Hays, once the historic home of the Johnston family. The first service was held in this church in January, 1703, yet the building was not completed until 1705. The delay was caused by the difficulty in procuring competent workmen, and also by the want of hinges, nails, screws, etc., needed for the interior finishing, which articles had to be brought from England. Mr. Pollok was also made church warden, but declined the position, preferring to pay the tax imposed for so doing, rather than perform the duties of the office.

"At a vestry meet of 29th day of September, 1705," Mr. Henry Gerrard was chosen minister to Chowan district, the church wardens agreeing to pay him 30 pounds sterling per annum besides voluntary contributions. The following amounts were given:

	L.	S.	D.
Col. Thomas Pollok.....	5	0	0
Wm. Duckingfield, Esq .....	4	0	0
John Arden, Esq.....	3	0	0
Mr. Edward Mosley.....	5	0	0
Capt. Thomas Lutten.....	1	0	0
Mr. Nicholas Crisp.....	1	5	0
Mr. Edward Smithwick.....	1	0	0
Mr. John Blount.....	1	0	0
Mr. William Banbery .....	0	8	0
Mr. Matt. Chevin.....	1	0	0
John Wheatley.....	0	10	0
Richard Rose.....	0	10	0
John Linnington.....	0	15	0
Capt. David Henderson.....	0	20	0
Henry Bonner.....	0	10	0

As Mr. Gerrard proved unworthy to fill this sacred office, he was removed, to be succeeded by the Rev. Mr. Gordon. Mr. Pollok wrote to the Lords Proprietors thanking them



for the appointment of this good man to be minister to the colony.

Before 1690, when Mr. Pollok returned to Scotland for a brief period, he had acquired great bodies of land lying along the Roanoke, Chowan and Trent Rivers. He resided sometimes on his plantation Balgra, near Queen Anne's Creek, and sometimes on another plantation called Salmon Creek. This year he was married to Mistress Martha West, widow of Robert West, Esq., and "daughter of Thomas Cullen, Esq., at Dover." She was the mother of his four children and died in 1701. Late in life he married Mistress Esther Wilkinson, whom he survived; there were no children by this marriage. He was a tender and a judicious father, sending his children to England that they might be educated as became their birth and station, thus fitting them for the high positions which they were to fill in after life. His eldest son, Thomas, succeeded his father as deputy to two of the Lords Proprietors. He was also surveyor-general to the colony and afterwards its Chief Justice. His second son, Cullen, entered the English army and served in the Low Countries under the Duke of Cumberland, holding the rank of Major at the battle of Fontenoy. Late in life he returned to Carolina and married, but left no sons.

George, the third son, married Sarah Swann. They left no children.

His daughter Martha married the Rev. Thomas Bray, who was sent to the colony as a missionary by the Rt. Rev. Dr. Compton, Bishop of London. Dr. Bray was a man of much learning and was the first to found a public library in North Carolina. He is also entitled to the honor of having originated the first systematic movement of the Church of England in the work of missions. (Hawks Hist. of N. C., vol. 2, page 339.)

Mrs. Bray died in 1719 without children.

After Culpepper's rebellion, Seth Stothel was appointed

Governor of North Carolina. On the voyage from England his ship was taken by pirates and he was held a prisoner for some months. Perhaps it was from his Algerian captors that he acquired a thorough contempt for justice and virtue, for during the six years in which he misruled North Carolina his character showed not a single redeeming trait; no one was safe from his rapacity and cruelty. He unjustly imprisoned Mr. Pollok without permitting him to see the cause of his "mittimus." For this and for still more heinous crimes he was severely reprimanded by the Lords Proprietors, yet was allowed to remain in office. Finally the patience of the people was exhausted and they seized upon him in order to send him to England, but he prayed that he might be tried by the next Assembly. This was accordingly done, and his judges decreed that he should immediately resign his government and depart the country in twelve months. (Williamson's Hist. of N. C., vol. 1, page 141.)

He was succeeded by Sir Philip Ludwell, who held office for four years. At the end of this time, 1694, Thomas Harvey was appointed Governor, and he at once made Mr. Pollok one of his council. For the next thirty years Mr. Pollok held office in the colony, both civil and military, being for a long period Major-General of its forces. It is true these were but a handful of men, ununiformed, undisciplined, and often unpaid, yet under the valiant leadership of their commander they saved the colony from destruction.

The period from 1708 to 1711, known as the "Cary Rebellion," was a time of chaos in North Carolina. The trouble arose from the negligence on Cary's part to render an account to the Lords Proprietors of the quit-rents accruing while he held the office of collector, as well as that of governor; he was superseded by William Glover, to whose authority he at first submitted, but soon after listened to bad advice and attempted to resume the government with an armed force. The citizens in general not caring to commit themselves to either



party, "for two years and upwards there was no law, no justice, assembly or judicature, so that people did and said as they list." (Prefatory notes to C. R., vol. 1, page 28.) Mr. Pollok strongly opposed the Cary faction, but as he was unable to resist its power, he sought refuge in Virginia for the six months in which it held sway, returning to North Carolina upon the arrival of Governor Hyde in August, 1711.

Both sides now resorted to arms, and Cary attacked Queen Anne's Creek in hopes of carrying off the Governor in his brigantine, then lying in the Sound, but was repulsed without loss of life, and Governor Spottswood sending troops from Virginia, the rebels soon dispersed.

Mr. Pollok administered the oath of office to Governor Hyde "Friday ye ninth day of May, Ano. Di. 1712," being the same day confirmed in his office as deputy to John, Lord Carteret, son to Sir George Carteret, one of the original Lords Proprietors (C. R., vol. 1, p. 811).

On the ninth of September of the same year, Governor Hyde died of yellow fever, and on the twelfth Maj.-Gen. Pollok was unanimously chosen Governor pro tem. The position of Governor had already been tendered to him several times. An extract from a letter to the Lords Proprietors, dated September 20, 1712, says: "The real desire to serve her majesty, your lordships, and the poor people here, with the importunity of the council, has forced me to accept of the administration at this time when the country seems to labor under insuperable difficulties when in more peaceable times I have refused it. And I assure your lordships that I will faithfully and truly serve you to the uttermost of my power and knowledge until you are pleased to appoint some other. In the meantime, I think it is my duty, as briefly as I can, to lay before you the true state of the country." (Pollok's letter book, Hawks' Hist. of N. C., vol. 2, p. 407.)

At this time the condition of the colony was most precarious; not only was it torn by internal dissensions, distressed

by a succession of bad crops, and crippled by an insufficient currency, but it was constantly threatened by a repetition of the Indian invasion, which had begun the previous year on the 11th of September with the massacre of all the white settlers south of Albemarle Sound. This day was long observed, by order of the Assembly, as a day of fasting and prayer.

Through the courage, firmness and moderation of Governor Pollok, the distressed colony was safely steered through these perils; with a cool head and a steady hand he put down the machinations of the Quakers, who refused to bear arms for the general defense, yet sedulously stirred up strife among their neighbors, thus adding to the already troubled state of affairs. Governor Pollok wrote to Lord Carteret on September 20th, 1712: "Governor Hyde has labored under great difficulties by the divisions and differences amongst the inhabitants, and by the Indian War, all of which, I believe, I may truly declare hath been directly occasioned by . . . and some few evil-disposed persons, with the whole body of Quakers, who joined them, and were their instruments to stir up Col. Cary to act as he did; and albeit these Quakers were very active in persuading and assisting the people to rise for Col. Cary, against Governor Hyde, yet now in this Indian war wherein Neuse and Pamlico are in great danger to be greatly deserted, yet they will neither assist themselves nor suffer others and will not so much as send their arms to those who are willing to go, and, as I am credibly informed, hide them for fear of their being pressed. So that now we labor under these difficulties following . . . chiefly by these Quakers, and some few evil-disposed persons, who have been a plague to this government these four or five years past and who may be easily known by Governor Hyde's reiterated complaints against them to your lordships." (Pollok Mss. Hawks' Hist. of N. C., vol. 2, p. 411.)

Every resource was now called into action, and the Quakers were temporarily frightened into a state of quiescence, while



the manhood of the colony gathered around their intrepid leader. Assisted by an armed force from South Carolina under Colonel Barnwell, the Carolinians defeated the Indians in battle and captured their forts, thus rendering them comparatively harmless.

On November 25, 1712, a treaty of peace was signed between Governor Pollok, on the one side, and Tom Blount, Chief of the Tuscaroras, and five of his braves, on the other, by which the whites bound themselves to allow certain privileges to this tribe, to protect them from the inroads of the Cores and Mattamuskeets, their enemies; and also that their chief should henceforth be called "King Blount." While the red men promised to abstain from all acts of hostility, to give warning of any threatened invasion, to remain on their own lands and never to cross Contechney Creek, without blowing a horn, to attract the attention of the near settlers, and so obtain their permission to cross this boundary. This agreement was honorably respected by both parties, and thus was the colony saved from years of bloodshed and disaster. The original of this treaty with the signature of Governor Pollok and the tokens and marks of the Indians is now owned by Mrs. John Devereux, and can be seen in the Hall of History, Raleigh, N. C.

Soon after this an Indian belonging to the Five Nations was captured along with a hunting party from another tribe, who were strongly suspected of being on the war-path. Under the law which then existed the captive became the slave of the captor. As the evil intentions of this band could not be proved, and as the colony was at this time at peace with the Five Nations, Governor Pollok purchased the Indian at his private expense and sent him by sea, with a letter to Governor Schuyler of New York, asking that he be restored to his people.

During the winter of 1712-'13, when the forces under Colonel Barnwell wintered in North Carolina, so great was

the scarcity of food in parts of the settlement, and so poor were the means of transportation, that it was impossible to collect at any one point a sufficient amount of provisions with which to feed the troops, and they were therefore divided into small parties, which were quartered in different localities wherever supplies were most abundant. To such straits was the colony reduced, before it readjusted itself under the leadership of this executive man.

In 1710, Christopher Baron DeGraffenreid, assisted by Colonel Mitchell, a Swiss gentleman, brought into the colony a number of Swiss and Palatins, six hundred souls all told, whom he settled near New Bern, promising to give to each family 250 acres of land, to furnish their farming implements, and for two years to supply them with necessary food and clothing. These immigrants were a simple and an industrious people, who, had they prospered, would have made for themselves comfortable and happy homes on the rich lands of Carolina, where the forests were full of game, the swamps and water-courses teemed with wild fowl and fish, and where a grain of corn dropped into the earth returned an hundred fold. No doubt De Graffenreid and his associate were honest in their intentions towards these unfortunate people, but disaster had marked them for her own. Internal dissensions, sickness, poverty and attacks from blood-thirsty Indians proved their ruin, and although large sums of money were advanced by Governor Pollok from his private purse and other material aid given by him, the settlement was broken up, and its members scattered amongst neighboring plantations. Many of the names of these people can still be found in Craven and the adjacent counties. Among the Pollok papers are many notes of hand and renewals, bearing the signature of Christopher De Graffenreid. An account of these transactions will be found in the Pollok letter book (C. R., vol. 2, p. 166).



Charles Eden was appointed Governor, on May 4, 1714, on which day Governor Pollok retired from office, and for the ensuing eight years lived on his plantations, devoting himself to his private interests, to those of the Lords Carteret and Beaufort, to whom he held the part of deputy for forty years, and in assisting the administration in every way in his power.

Upon the death of Governor Eden in 1722, the Assembly for the second time called upon Mr. Pollok to fill the executive chair. He was the first governor to hold two terms of office.

At this time he was sixty-eight years of age, not an old man, but no doubt enfeebled by the harassing cares and anxieties of his arduous life, yet he did not shrink from this renewed responsibility and entered at once upon the duties of his position. Six months later he was attacked by fever, which is said to have been aggravated by fresh annoyance from the Quakers, who had never ceased to cause him trouble. He died in office on August 30, 1722, having given the best years of his life to his adopted country. He was buried by the side of Martha, his wife, on his plantation Balgra, near the Roanoke River. Here they rested until about 1891, when the river had changed its course to such an extent as to undermine its banks and thus endanger the graves; the remains were therefore removed to St. Paul's churchyard, Edenton, as that was thought to be the fittest resting place for one of its founders.

Mr. Pollok's will shows that he bequeathed to his three sons, Thomas, Cullen and George, fifty-five thousand acres of land, including that on which the city of New Bern now stands, besides a large amount of personal property.

The eldest son, Thomas, married Elizabeth Sanderson, daughter of Col. Richard Sanderson, of Pasquotank, at whose house the first Colonial Assembly was held.

Cullen married, but left no sons.

George married Sarah Swan, and died childless.

Thomas Pollok and Elizabeth Sanderson left three sons—Thomas, Cullen and George. The last-named died an infant. Cullen married Anne Boothe, of Bath, England; there were many children by this marriage, all of whom died in infancy.

Thomas married Eunice Edwards, daughter of the Rev. Jonathan Edwards, of Connecticut. They had four children—Elizabeth, Thomas, Frances, and George.

Elizabeth married and died childless.

Thomas died in Italy in 1803. He was never married.

George will be hereafter mentioned.

Frances married John Devereux, Esq. They had three children, the Hon. Thomas Pollok Devereux, who was the father of the late Maj. John Devereux, Frances who married the Rt. Rev. Leonidas Polk, and George Devereux, Esq., who married Miss Johnson of Connecticut.

George Pollok, son of Eunice Edwards and Thomas Pollok, and great-grandson of Governor Pollok, was killed by a fall from his horse in June, 1836. He was the last descendant to bear the name of Pollok.

This genealogy is taken from the family Bible, and also from an affidavit of Mrs. Eunice Pollok, made in 1820, in a suit involving the title to a tract of land which was decided in her favor.

The writer, who is in the seventh generation from Governor Pollok, has retained the original spelling of the name as found in the family Bible and in the private papers and letter-book of Governor Pollok.

Thanks are due to Mr. Marshall DeLancey Haywood for valuable references.



THE BATTLE OF COWAN'S FORD—THE PASSAGE OF  
THE CATAWBA RIVER BY LORD CORNWALLIS,  
FEBRUARY 1, 1781.

BY MAJOR WILLIAM A. GRAHAM.

When General Greene succeeded General Gates in the command of the Southern Army at Charlotte, December, 1780, he, with the main portion of the army, took position near Cheraw, S. C., to antagonize any movement of the enemy from Charleston or from Winnsboro into North Carolina. General Morgan, with whom was Colonel Washington and some of the North Carolina militia under Maj. Joseph McDowell, of Burke County, was placed between Cornwallis and the "loyalist" settlements of Tryon County and contiguous Tory territory in South Carolina. It was expected that McDowell, if necessity required, could be reinforced by other "over-the-mountain men." These men seem to have been almost unanimously true to the American cause, and promptly responded to all calls for service. When they left home there were none left behind to annoy their families or pillage their property.. Morgan was about equidistant from Cornwallis at Winnsboro and the British post at Ninety-Six (so called from its distance from Charleston), and could move to annoy either as occasion required. For a central army connecting with these two wings, General Greene relied upon the militia of Rowan and Mecklenburg, reinforced by that portion of Tryon County men who were true to the cause of liberty. These men, although not as numerous as could have been desired, were as patriotic as any in the colonies, and answered every call to service, notwithstanding that in doing so they left their property and families exposed to the depredations of their Tory neighbors.

The militia of these counties were divided into "details" or assignments; one of which was called into service as occasion

demand, for generally terms of three months and not to serve again until each of the other assignments had served a term. But when the enemy appeared in the adjacent territory the militia was called out "en masse" and they generally responded without claiming exemptions due for other service either as militia or in the "Line."

History of the Revolution does not show any people equal to the inhabitants of these counties in service in the struggle for independence—they were in fact soldiers cantoned upon their own families, ready to immediately respond to a call to service and to provide their own findings; in clothes, arms and ammunition. When notice was received, while the horse "ate a bite" the man cleaned his gun, "ran" some bullets and greased his patching; while the wife or mother cooked some rations, which no doubt included a few pies—a ration very popular with the citizens of that time and still much enjoyed by their descendants of the third and fourth generations. They would not remain in camp unless a fight was immediately on hand, but returned home, with or without leave, as soon as the enemy disappeared from the front or a battle had been fought. The reinforcements going to Ramsaur's Mill met participants in the fight returning home within an hour after the close of the action, two miles from the scene. Colonel Davie could never keep over a third of his numbers available unless he could assure them that there would be a fight in a day or two.

General Greene immediately ordered General Davidson to call a detail of the militia into service for three months. General Davidson commanded the militia of the district (Salisbury), and assumed direct command of the detachments in service. General Davie had heretofore recruited and commanded the cavalry deemed necessary to act with the militia; he had accepted the position of Commissary-General; the term of service of his last command had expired in November.



General Davidson, in January, when it became evident that Cornwallis was about to begin his campaign, proposed to Adjutant Joseph Graham to raise the necessary cavalry command; promising him such rank as commanding officer as the number of men recruited would justify. In a short time he had enlisted from among the young men, most of whom had served one or more terms of service, fifty-six; only five of whom were married. These men were to furnish their own horses, arms and accoutrements, and upon serving six weeks were to be credited with a three-months' tour. The swords and scabbards were made principally by the smiths and shoemakers of the vicinity in which the men lived. They no doubt when formed in line presented an appearance similar to that of some of their descendants in the commencement of hostilities in 1861. Most of them had rifles, and they were prepared for action either mounted or on foot. The first move of Cornwallis was to destroy Morgan's force, or to push it before him out of South Carolina so as to prevent him, if further reinforced by the "over-the-mountain men," from capturing the post of Ninety-Six and subduing the Tories in that section. For this purpose he dispatched Colonel Tarleton.

In the battle of Cowpens, January 17th, Morgan defeated Tarleton, killing ten officers and ninety men and capturing twenty-three officers and five hundred men—the casualties being about two-thirds of Tarleton's force. In his "Campaigns," Tarleton attributes his defeat to Lord Cornwallis not moving his army up Broad River, as he had requested and expected him to do, so as to be in supporting distance. The place was called Cowpens, being a point where "the range" cattle were annually gathered that the calves might be marked with the ear-mark of the owner of the mother. Cornwallis, being nearer the fords of the Catawba than Morgan, now endeavored to anticipate him in reaching that

river—but being uncertain as to the route Morgan would pursue, delayed by swollen streams, and thinking he would pursue one of the most direct routes, moved so as to change his course as information he might receive would require. He reached Ramsaur's Mill (Lincolnton) on the afternoon of the 24th and, having about abandoned the idea of overtaking Morgan, remained there, collecting a supply of breadstuffs and grain, three days. Before leaving this point he reduced his wagon train to the lowest amount that could accommodate his army, and destroyed all surplus baggage and wagons. The loss of the six hundred men at Cowpens, which was equal to at least a sixth of his available force,—aided in the reduction of transportation necessary for his command.

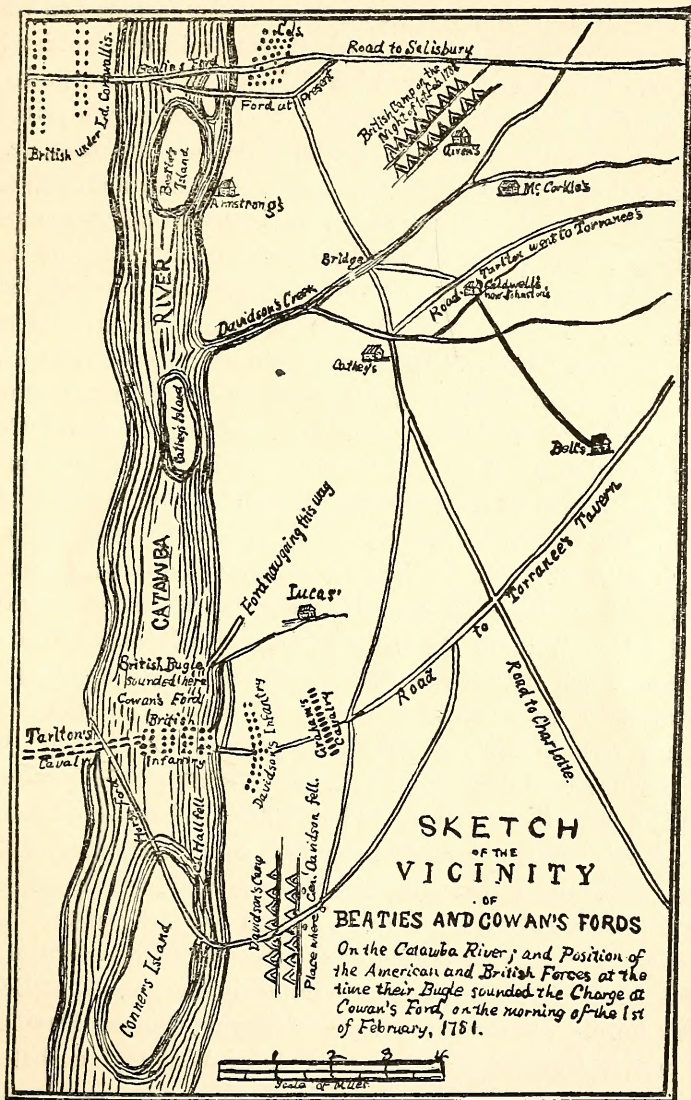
Tarleton gives this account of the transaction: "Earl Cornwallis reduced the size and quantity of his own baggage and his laudable example was followed by general and other officers under his command." The surplus baggage and wagons were burned. After the battle of Cowpens, Morgan, perhaps to avoid delays which might be incurred on account of swollen streams, passed around the mountains that divide the headwaters of the South Fork from those of the main Catawba, and through the present site of Morganton and arrived at the present location of Maiden, only ten miles from Cornwallis, on the 25th. After this he was not over twenty miles distant from him until he crossed the Catawba. Upon learning of Cornwallis' position he committed the prisoners to Colonel Washington and the militia, who turned to the left, and crossed the Catawba at Island Ford.

Morgan, with his immediate command, taking the Sherrill's Ford road, which placed him between Washington and Cornwallis, crossed the Catawba at Sherrill's Ford on the afternoon of the 30th of January. After crossing the river Washington turned down the stream and united with Morgan's forces. The militia with the prisoners passed on, by way of Statesville and probably to Salem by Shallow Ford, and



thence to Virginia. I have never seen a statement as to the route pursued. Morgan and Washington's troops followed the Sherrill's Ford road to Salisbury. Cornwallis reached the Catawba at Beattie's Ford on the afternoon of the 28th, and says he found the river too swollen to cross and retired about four miles to the plantation of Jacob Forney, a wealthy farmer and prominent Whig, (the place is now owned by Mrs. Sallie Hall—near it stands the rock, about six feet long, three wide and two high, which Cornwallis used as a table, and which has since been known as "Cornwallis' table"), where he had been directed by a Tory (Deck) of the vicinity as a place that provisions could be had. When Cornwallis left the country, Forney sought for Deck and informed him that he would kill him, but upon Deck's entreaty and promise to leave the State, he permitted him to emigrate. As to the swollen condition of the river, General Graham says: "It was not more flush than usual at this season and that it was fordable from a week before until two days after this; that General Davidson's cavalry frequently crossed it during these days." Some historians have Cornwallis pursuing Morgan and arriving at Sherrill's Ford a very short time (a few hours) after Morgan had crossed, and finding the river had suddenly risen and enabled him to escape. The Yadkin on account of the rain on the 1st rose on the 2d and 3d of February so that, although Morgan's forces and some other troops had crossed that day, General O'Hara found some militia unable to cross, with whom there was an engagement that afternoon. It is confusion of these two points that causes error as to the condition of the Catawba.

Beattie's Ford, while the best Ford on the river, has always had a deep current near each bank, which a very slight rise causes to be too deep for wagons to cross without getting their contents wet. The road at this time went above the island





and was probably deeper than now at the east bank (see map). Cornwallis' train had a large quantity of flour which had just been procured at Ramsaur's Mill; it was probably in order to preserve this that he delayed his crossing, or perhaps finding the public fords guarded, delayed to find passage by a private one. Cornwallis informed Tarleton before the campaign opened that he would cross "at some public ford above Tuckasegee." Toole's was the only one between Tuckasegee and Beattie's, and when Cornwallis learned that Morgan had escaped, he naturally turned to Beattie's for the passage of his artillery and provision train. It was the most suitable for this purpose. General Davidson, upon the approach of Cornwallis, made disposition of his forces to oppose his crossing. He placed at Tuckasegee two hundred militia under Col. John Williams, of Surrey County; at Toole's seventy men under Captain Potts, of Mecklenburg; at Cowan's, twenty-five under Lieut. Thomas Davidson, of Mecklenburg. Trees were felled and fortifications erected at Toole's and Tuckasegee. At Beattie's he assembled the Mecklenburg infantry under Col. William Polk; the Orange militia under Colonel Farmer; and the Rowan militia, also Graham's company of cavalry. Orange County seems to have been the only troops from a distance who had promptly responded; the others under Butler and Eaton not joining General Greene until a day or two before the battle of Guilford Court-house. Graham's cavalry crossed at Beattie's Ford on January 30th, and ascertained that the enemy were at Forney's. Their cavalry was at Colonel Black's, within two miles of the ford.

General Greene, learning of the movements of Cornwallis, ordered the forces at Cheraw to immediately proceed to Beattie's Ford. He went in advance, directing General Davidson to notify General Morgan and Colonel Washington that he wished to meet them at Beattie's Ford on the afternoon of January 31st, perhaps naming the hour. They arrived at

the appointed place at two o'clock, and in ten minutes General Greene and his aide, Major Pierce, rode up. These, with General Davidson, retired out of camp, took a seat on a log, and after twenty minutes' conference, Morgan and Washington departed by a route that led to their command under General Howard. General Greene went direct to Salisbury. Why General Greene did not order these troops to Beattie's Ford I have never seen suggested by any one. The five hundred men under Howard and Washington were a more efficient force than all Davidson's command. He writes at Beattie's Ford a most earnest appeal to Col. Francis Locke to assemble the Rowan militia en masse; chides the militia for slow response to General Davidson's call, and tells him that the "Continental army is marching with all possible dispatch from the Pee Dee (Cheraw) to this place." Then why not bring Morgan and Washington, one or both, as reinforcements? Colonel Locke did not get his men organized in time to meet Cornwallis at Beattie's Ford, but we find him in his front when he leaves Salisbury on February 4th. There was no more meritorious officer than Francis Locke in the war. The cause of the slow response was probably the aversion of the men to camp life and the uncertainty as to when there would be an engagement. Wheeler states that Morgan was dissatisfied with the route General Greene insisted he should take on his retreat, and when the forces were all united at Guilford Court-house Morgan retired from service before the battle and went to his farm in Virginia. He either wished to join the prisoners via Salem or to come to Beattie's Ford, as he followed the only remaining route via Salisbury; to connect with which Howard was moving when he came to meet Greene. While the American officers were in consultation, a detachment of some four or five hundred British appeared on the hills on the west side of the river, and the officers



seemed to be viewing the American position through spy-glasses. This was thought to be Cornwallis and his staff. Shortly after General Greene left, General Davidson ordered the Mecklenburg militia, under Colonel Polk, and Graham's cavalry to move to Cowan's Ford, leaving Colonel Farmer in command of the forces at Beattie's Ford. General Greene told General Davidson that he thought that "the enemy intended to cross the river; that the cavalry would probably be passed by some private ford that night, and in the morning when the infantry attempted a passage, would attack the forces at the point in the rear." He ordered that patrols of those best acquainted with the country should be maintained all night between Beattie's and Tuckasegee fords, and any discovery of the enemy be reported immediately to headquarters. The troops arrived at Cowan's Ford after dark and too late to examine positions.

"The river here is supposed to be about four hundred yards wide, of different depths and rocky bottom. That called the wagon ford went directly across and was at that time generally used for the passage of vehicles. At the eastern shore the road turns down the river and winds up the point of the ridge in order to graduate the ascent. Above the coming out place a flat piece of ground not much higher than the water; overgrown with haw and persimmon bushes and bambo briars; five or six yards wide extends up the river about thirty-one poles to the mouth of a small branch and a deep ravine. Outside of this the bank rises thirty or forty feet at an angle of thirty degrees of elevation; then the ascent is more gradual."

The "horse ford" (which is now more generally used, in fact almost universally for both horses and vehicles) "comes in on the west at the same place as the 'wagon'; goes obliquely to the right down the river about two thirds of the way across, to the upper point of a large island, thence through the island and across the other third of the river to the end of a rocky

hill. This way is longer but much shallower and smoother, and reaches the bank about a fourth of a mile below the wagon route." General Davidson thought that if the enemy attempted to cross here it would be by way of the horse ford, and placed Colonel Polk with the Mecklenburg militia and Graham's cavalry upon the hill which overlooks it. Lieutenant Davidson, with his picket, remained at his station about forty steps above the wagon ford. Cornwallis, by patrols finding that all the principal fords were occupied by Americans, used Tory guides and spies to ascertain the condition of the private fords; and determined to cross his first force at Cowan's (McCowan's, he and Tarleton call it) while making a demonstration with his other force at Beattie's. It will be recollected that up to dark of the night before only Lieutenant Davidson and twenty-five men were here and they were at the wagon ford. This was probably the last information he received before reaching the river. He says: "I approached the river by short marches so as to give the enemy equal apprehension for several fords, and after having procured the best information in my power, I resolved to attempt the passage at a private ford then slightly guarded near McCowan's Ford."

This would indicate that his intention was to have crossed by the wagon ford where there was no opposing force at his last report; not having learned of the moving of General Davidson with the Mecklenburg troops from Beattie's to Cowan's Ford, as they did not reach position until after dark. Upon reaching the river he says: "It was evident from the number of fires on the other side that there would be greater opposition than I had expected." He probably, as the fires upon the hill at the horse ford were so much more numerous than at the wagon, concluded at once to travel the latter route, and did not do so, as Steadman says, because the "guide fled in the middle of the stream," and he determined to go directly



across. This would have landed him about half way between the out-go of the fords and where there was no road up the bank of the river. The fords separated as soon as the river was entered and the guide took him by the wagon ford from bank to bank (see map).

Having ordered Colonel Webster to move with his command and the wagon train, so as to be at Beattie's Ford, six miles above Cowan's, by daylight, and "to make every possible demonstration" of intention to force a passage, as soon as he heard firing at Cowan's, Cornwallis, at 1 o'clock a. m., February 1st, took up line of march for Cowan's with following force, viz., brigade of guards, regiment of Bose, 23d Regiment, two hundred cavalry under Tarleton, and two three-pounders. Part of the way a new road was cut, and on account of darkness one cannon was overturned and part of the troops losing the line of march were delayed. The head of the column reached the river as "day began to break." Cornwallis determined to move on immediately without waiting for arrival of the delayed troops. He committed the immediate command to General O'Hara. This has caused the error of General Graham and others that Cornwallis personally did not cross here, but at Beattie's. Orders were not to fire until they gained the opposite bank. Fred Hager, a Tory who lived in the neighborhood, was guide. General O'Hara formed his command in column of fours, muskets with fixed bayonets carried upon the left shoulder and cartridge boxes upon the same shoulder; each footman had a staff about eight feet long, which he used when necessary to support himself against the rapidity of the current, the water being waist deep and sometimes deeper. The infantry was in front, the Brigade Guards leading and Tarleton's cavalry bringing up the rear. On account of the fog Lieutenant Davidson's picket did not perceive the enemy until they were one hundred yards in the water. The picket immediately

opened fire. General Davidson formed at the horse ford and ordered Graham to move rapidly to reinforce Lieutenant Davidson; by the time they reached the point, tied their horses and went into action the enemy were within fifty yards of the bank. The effect of their fire was visible and the front ranks looked thin. They halted; Colonel Hall, the first man to appear mounted, was about one hundred yards from the bank and came pressing forward, giving orders. The column again moved forward. Thomas Barnett, one of Graham's men, by a well-aimed shot, unhorsed Colonel Hall and at the same time a shot from some one else threw his horse; several soldiers went to his aid and brought him to land. Notwithstanding the fire was steadily continued the enemy pressed on. As each section reached the shore the men dropped their poles and brought their muskets and cartridge boxes to proper position; faced to the left and moved up the narrow strip of low ground, so that the others as they landed could form on their right. They immediately began to load and fire up the bank. The Americans gave back, and upon loading would advance to the summit of the hill, thirty steps from the enemy and fire. General Davidson, arriving upon the scene and finding Graham's Cavalry in the position he wished the infantry to occupy, also impressed with General Greene's opinion that the enemy's cavalry would attack him in the rear, ordered Graham to retire, mount his men and form on the ridge two hundred yards in his rear, in order to meet any attack in that quarter.

As the cavalry moved off the infantry took their places, and the fire became brisk upon both sides. The enemy moved steadily forward, their fire increasing until their left reached the mouth of the branch; thirty poles from the ford. The ravine was too steep to be passed. The rear of their infantry and front of their cavalry was about the middle of the river; when the bugle sounded on their left, their fire slackened and



nearly ceased; they were loading their pieces. In about a minute it sounded again, when their whole line from the ford to the branch advanced up the bank with their arms at a trail. The hill was so steep in many places that they had to pull up by the bushes. General Davidson, finding them advancing with loaded arms, ordered a retreat down the river for one hundred yards—the fire being so severe he continued his retreat fifty yards further, and ordered his men to renew the battle taking position behind the trees—the enemy was advancing slowly and firing scatteringly when General Davidson was pierced by a ball and fell dead from his horse..

The militia immediately broke and fled through the thickets to avoid the enemy's cavalry: Graham's cavalry retired in good order and preserved their formation. General Davidson was shot by a small rifle ball, and supposed to be by the Tory guide Fred Hager, as he owned a gun of that description, and the British had none of this kind. Cornwallis' horse was shot and fell dead as he emerged from the river. On February 2nd Cornwallis, in general orders returns his thanks to the "Brigade of Guards for their cool and determined bravery in the passage of the Catawba while rushing through that long and difficult ford under a galling fire." The American loss beside General Davidson was Robert Beatty, of Graham's Cavalry, James Scott, of Lieutenant Davidson's picket, and one of the militia. The British admit a loss of Colonel Hall and three privates killed and thirty-six privates wounded. General Graham says an official statement in the Charleston Gazette two months afterwards, states the killed to have been Colonel Hall and another officer and twenty-nine privates, total, thirty-one; and thirty-five wounded. The number of dead in this account may be too large, and it is hardly probable that any officer beside Colonel Hall was killed, as he was buried by himself, unless he was among several dead who were found on fish traps just below

the ford and on rocks and brush along the banks, and whom Cornwallis may not have counted. The dead of both armies were buried on the hill, near the field of battle, except General Davidson whose body was not discovered by the enemy. Upon effecting his crossing Cornwallis directed Tarleton to go immediately to Webster's assistance by attacking Farmer in the rear—but learning that the Americans had retired from Beattie's Ford he dispatched him to gain information of their movements.

A tree marking the place where General Davidson fell is still shown. He was buried that night by torchlight at Hopewell Church. For many years the grave of Colonel Hall was marked by the rocks at the head and feet, but the river has covered it with sand in its overflows and the knowledge of the exact location has been lost.

The changing of position of Graham's Cavalry before the infantry had occupied their position and become actively engaged seems to be the mistake of the action and the advantage thus gained by the enemy could not be overcome. It would also seem that if the approach of the enemy could have been discerned in time to have placed the militia at the wagon ford, they would have been seriously crippled if not defeated, but Cornwallis did not change the route he intended to cross and of which Davidson had been apprised, until he discerned by the fires that the horse ford was well protected.

Webster was on time at Beattie's Ford, and as soon as he heard firing at Cowan's opened with his artillery and sent a company into the river who fired several rounds. The Americans suffered no loss as they were masked by the point of the hill—the ford then coming out on the eastern bank some distance above present place. (See map.) The firing of the cannon and platoons of musketry at Beattie's Ford reverberated down the river and across the country—it could be heard for a distance of twenty-five miles by the families and

North Carolina  
State Library



friends of the Americans in the engagement. Colonel Farmer being notified by an aide of General Davidson that the enemy had crossed, retired toward Salisbury. The pickets at other points on the river were notified and retired to Jno. McKitt Alexander's that afternoon, eight miles from Charlotte, and by noon on the 2d of February all who still remained for service were collected at Harris' Mill on Rocky River.

Cornwallis thus without serious loss had overcome one of the most formidable obstacles in his route. That night he united his forces at Given's farm, two miles from Beattie's Ford, and again assumed command. He had been in pursuit of Morgan since the battle of Cowpens—but never struck his trail until February 3rd, about sixteen miles from Salisbury, where the road from Sherrill's intersects that from Beattie's Ford.

I deem it unnecessary to refer in this connection to the "Henry pamphlet" concerning this battle. Reference is made to it in Gen. Jos. Graham and his Revolutionary Papers, the quotations in this paper from the British commanders corroborate General Graham's statements even more fully.

#### Authorities:

Gen. Joseph Graham and his Revolutionary Papers.

Tarleton's Campaign, 1780 and 1781, in the Southern Provinces of North America.

Hunter's Sketches of Western North Carolina.

Wheeler's History of North Carolina.

Colonial Records.

# FIRST SETTLERS IN NORTH CAROLINA NOT RELIGIOUS REFUGEES.

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## A STUDY IN ORIGINS.

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BY RT. REV. JOSEPH BLOUNT CHESHIRE, D.D.  
(Bishop of North Carolina.)

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All the local histories of North Carolina, and such of the general histories of the United States as have treated particularly of our affairs, agree in the statement that the first settlers on the north side of Albemarle Sound were Quakers and other religious refugees, fleeing from the intolerance of Churchmen in Virginia and of the Puritans in New England. Williamson, Martin, Wheeler, Hawks, Moore, are at one with Bancroft thus far, that the first settlers sought in North Carolina a haven of rest from religious persecution. It is not hard to understand how such a theory originated, and obtained popular acceptance, in times long subsequent to the settlement. It is not easy, however, to understand how such an account should have been accepted, and solemnly repeated from mouth to mouth, by men who have professed to give us history from the original documents and authorities.

It fell to the lot of the present writer, in a brief pamphlet published early in 1886, to challenge this accepted theory, and to point out how contemporary witnesses and records show it to be utterly false. Convinced by this slight performance, the late Col. Wm. L. Saunders, in his prefatory note to the first volume of the North Carolina Colonial Records, rejected the tradition of our former historians, and gave the first true and rational account of the inducements which led the first immigrants to Albemarle.<sup>1</sup> A few years later Mr. Stephen B.

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<sup>1</sup>I had it from Col. Saunders himself that my pamphlet of 1886 had convinced him. "You have not only proved, you have demonstrated your case," were his words.



Weeks published a more extended study on the same subject, which however was little more than an elaboration of the argument of the pamphlet of 1886, illustrated by more copious citations of the authorities referred to. The importance of the subject and the very limited circulation of the publications referred to, seem to justify this attempt to set forth the truth as to this question: whether our first settlers were religious refugees.

In the absence of explicit accounts of the religious opinions of the settlers along the Albemarle Sound in the latter half of the seventeenth century, our historians have indulged their imagination in helping them to conclusions. Because Drummond was a Scotchman, Bancroft, without the least shadow of evidence, assumes that he was a Presbyterian; and George Durant must needs be a Puritan, because in 1649 (when, as we now know, George Durant was a lad of seventeen), Governor Berkley had banished from Virginia one Mr. Durand, "the elder of a Puritan very orthodox congregation." Leaving such discreditable guess-work, let us examine the scanty records of those days, and follow whither they lead.

In the spring of 1672, ten years after Durant's settlement and nine years after the first charter and the appointment of Drummond as Governor, William Edmundson, a Quaker preacher and a companion of George Fox, left Fox in Maryland and came by way of Virginia into the settlements on the north side of the Albemarle. Two of his brethren accompanied him, and after a painful and dangerous journey through the woods and swamps, they arrived on a Sunday morning at the house of Henry Phillips on Perquimans River. This man and his wife had been converted to Quakerism in New England, and had removed to Carolina in 1665; "and not having seen a Friend" [i. e. a Quaker] "in seven years before, they wept for joy to see us," writes Edmundson in his journal. Though wearied and wet to the skin from traveling

all night in the rain, Edmundson desired that notice should be sent through the neighborhood for a meeting at midday, and in the meantime he lay down to rest. "About the time appointed," he writes, "many people came, but they had little or no religion, for they came and sat down in the meeting smoking their pipes. In a short time the Lord's testimony arose in the authority of His power, and their hearts being reached by it, several of them were tendered and received the testimony. After meeting they desired me to stay with them, and let them have more meetings.

"One Tems, a justice of the peace, and his wife, were at the meeting, who received the truth with gladness, and desired to have the next meeting at their house, about three miles off on the other side of the water; so we had a meeting there the next day, and a blessed time it was, for several were tendered with a sense of the power of God, and received the truth, and abode in it." The next morning Edmundson left them and journeyed back to Virginia.

It is plain from the foregoing narrative that Henry Phillips and his family were the only Quakers in that part of the settlement. It is not an unfair inference that they were the only Quakers then in Albemarle. Having taken so long and painful a journey into Carolina to visit this family, who do not seem to have been personally known to him before, it is not probable that Edmundson would have departed without visiting any others who might have been in the Albemarle country; it being a comparatively easy journey by water to almost any part of the settlements.

In November of this same year 1772,<sup>2</sup> George Fox made his first visit to Carolina. He gives in his journal very few names of places, and those which he gives do not correspond

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<sup>2</sup> Dr. Hawks says that this visit of Fox was in September. Fox says "the ninth month." At that time the year began with "Lady Day"—March 25th—so that November was the ninth month, hence its name.



with any other writing of that day, or with any known map of the regions he traversed. But the physical features of the country enable us to follow his steps fairly well. He came from Nausemond in Virginia, and having traveled several days through woods and swamps, he spent a night at "Summertown." This place is well known, and from this point his journal proceeds:

"Next day, the twenty-first of the ninth month, having travelled hard through the woods, and over many bogs and swamps, we reached Bonner's Creek<sup>3</sup>; there we lay that night by the fire side, the woman lending us a mat to lie on.

"This was the first house we came to in Carolina; here we left our horses, over-wearied with travel. From hence we went down the creek in a canoe to Macocomocock river, and came to Hugh Smith's, where people of other professions came to see us (no Friends inhabiting that part of the country), and many of them received us gladly. Amongst others came Nathaniel Batts, who had been governor of Roan-oak. He went by the name of Captain Batts, and had been a rude, desperate man. He asked me about a woman in Cumberland, who, he said, he was told, had been healed by our prayers and laying on of hands, after she had been long sick and given over by the physicians: he desired to know the certainty of it. I told him we did not glory in such things, but many such things had been done by the power of Christ.

"Not far from hence we had a meeting among the people, and they were taken with the truth; blessed be the Lord! Then passing down the river Maratic in a canoe, we went down the bay Connie-oak, to a captain's, who was loving unto us, and lent us his boat, for we were much wetted in the canoe, the water flashing in on us. With this boat we went

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<sup>3</sup> This is plainly meant for "Bennett's Creek," by a mistake either of Fox or his printer. It is a mistake very readily made by those not familiar with the peculiarities of *manuscript* of that date.

to the governor's, but the water in some places was so shallow that the boat being loaded, could not swim; so that we put off our shoes and stockings, and waded through the water a pretty way. The governor and his wife received us lovingly; but a doctor there would needs dispute with us. And truly his opposing us was of good service, giving occasion for the opening of many things to the people concerning the Light and Spirit of God, which he denied to be in every one; and affirmed it was not in the Indians. Whereupon I called an Indian to us, and asked him, 'Whether or no, when he did lie, or do wrong to any one, there was not something in him that did reprove him for it.' He said 'There was such a thing in him that did so reprove him; and he was ashamed when he had done wrong, or spoken wrong.' So we shamed the doctor before the governor and people, insomuch that the poor man ran out so far, that at length he would not own the Scriptures. We tarried at the governor's that night; and next morning he very courteously walked with us himself about two miles through the woods, to a place whither he had sent our boat about to meet us. Taking leave of him we entered our boat and went about thirty miles to Joseph Scot's, one of the representatives of the country. There we had a sound, precious meeting; the people were tender, and much desired after meetings. Wherefore at a house about four miles further, we had another meeting; to which the governor's secretary came, who was the chief secretary of the province, and had been formerly convinced.

"I went from this place among the Indians, and spoke to them by an interpreter, showing them, 'That God made all things in six days, and made but one woman for one man; and that God did drown the old world because of their wickedness. Afterwards I spoke to them concerning Christ, showing them that he died for all men, for their sins, as well as for others,' and had enlightened them as well as others, and



that if they did that which was evil he would burn them, but if they did well they should not be burned.' There was among them their young king and others of their chief men, who seemed to receive kindly what I said to them.

"Having visited the north part of Carolina, and made a little entrance for truth among the people there, we began to return again towards Virginia, having several meetings on our way, wherein we had good service for the Lord, the people being generally tender and open; blessed be the Lord! We lay one night at the secretary's, to which we had much ado to get; for the water being shallow, we could not bring our boat to shore. But the secretary's wife, seeing our strait, came herself in a canoe, her husband being from home, and brought us to land. By next morning our boat was sunk and full of water, but we got her up and mended her, and went in her that day about twenty-four miles, the water being rough and the winds high; but the great power of God was seen, in carrying us safe in that rotten boat. In our return we had a very precious meeting at Hugh Smith's; praised be the Lord forever! There was at this meeting an Indian Captain, who was very loving, and acknowledged it to be the truth that was spoken. There was also one of the Indian priests, whom they call a Pauwaw, who sat soberly among the people. The ninth of the tenth month we got back to Bonner's-Creek, having spent about eighteen days in North Carolina."

Fox seems to have been accompanied by a number of his brethren, whose names he does not give. William Edmundson was not one of them, as Dr. Hawks asserts, for Edmundson's Journal shows that before this time he had left Fox and had sailed for Ireland.

Notwithstanding the singularity of some of Fox's names, one point settles the route by which he entered Carolina. He

spent a night at Somerton, and the next day's journey brought him to "Bonner's Creek," where he says, "was the first house we came to in Carolina."

Now whether the conjecture that "Bonner's" is Fox's or his printer's mistake for "Bennett's" be correct or not, one thing is plain—that this creek was within one day's ride, on jaded horses, of Somerton, and that it was just within the Carolina border. The creek, therefore, whatever its name, was an affluent of the Chowan river, which Fox calls by the strange name of "Macocomocock." A glance at a map of this region makes this quite evident. Dr. Hawk's contention that this "Macocomocock" river was the Roanoke is not only baseless, it is impossible. Fox's route, as detailed by him, cannot be made to bring him at this point to any river, but the Chowan. And at Hugh Smith's on this river he says that "people of other professions came to see us (no friends inhabiting that part of the country)." "Then passing down the river Maratic in a canoe we went down the bay Connie-oak." Thence he goes to "the governor's," and then the next day thirty miles in his boat brings him apparently into contact with those who had heard Edmundson's preaching, and been "formerly convinced." Plainly then Fox came in by way of Chowan river, and the bay called by him "Connie-oak," must have been Edenton bay. The waters between the mouth of the river and this bay he calls "Maratic"—probably from Moratoc—the Indian name of the river Roanoke. From "Connie-oak" to the residence of the governor, and then thirty miles eastward, as he traversed the waterways of the colony, probably brought him to the eastern limits of the settlements. Thus he practically covered the whole colony in his visit of eighteen days. He tells us expressly that no Friends inhabited the country along the Chowan, from the Virginia line down toward Edenton, and his narrative distinctly reveals the fact that there were none in the other sections which he



visited, except one or two scattered individuals. At the same time it is apparent that his influence was felt by the people, and that he had some effect in introducing his peculiar form of religion into the colony. He may have done more in the way of organizing congregations than his narrative discloses; but certainly his journal and Edmundson's prove beyond question that the country had not been settled by their co-religionists. They nowhere speak of meeting any number of their brethren, or of any evidence that their peculiar form of worship was known to the people. Fox's words when, having reached the eastern limits of his journey, he turns back towards Virginia, are a sufficient proof that no considerable number of his followers had preceded him into these regions: "Having visited the north parts of Carolina and made a little entrance for the truth among the people there, we began to return again towards Virginia."

Edmundson and Fox were the first Quaker preachers who visited Albemarle and they give us the first accounts we have of the religious condition of the country. From them it seems dear that there had been up to that time no public religious worship regularly established or used, and that the people had no special sectarian prejudices but were ready to accept any simple form of Christian teaching and worship which might be presented to them. Edmundson's services, if they may be so called, were the first exercises of public worship ever held in the colony, so far as we know. If there had been any number of Quakers scattered among the people, is it possible to believe that, with their strong religious feelings and their simple methods of worship, requiring no minister, and expressing itself in no sacrament or formal ordinance, they would not have gathered themselves into "meetings," and made their unconventional mode of worship familiar to the people, as they began to do immediately after these visits of Fox and Edmundson? The direct testimony of

these first preachers is really not necessary, though it is on record, to show that the first settlers were not Quakers.

It is also to be noted that in the first act of the Assembly of Albemarle which has come down to us, ratified by the Proprietors in January, 1670, and certainly adopted by the Assembly before there had been the least interference on the part of the Proprietors in the matter of religion, no provision is made for recognizing the form of marriage practised among the "Friends," which would have been quite as valid upon the principles of the Common Law as the marriage by a magistrate; and if the Quaker influence had at that time prevailed in the Colony there seems to be no good reason why they might not have made provision for validating their peculiar form of marriage. As early as 1667 Fox had delivered himself on this subject for the guidance of his followers: "I was moved to open the state of our marriages, declaring 'How the people of God took one another in the assembly of the elders; and that it was God who joined man and woman together before the fall. And though men had taken upon them to join in the fall, yet in the restoration it is God's joining that is right and honorable marriage; but never any priest did marry any, that we read of in the Scriptures, from Genesis to Revelations.'" This was a point on which the Quakers laid great stress, and which they consistently carried out in practice, even when it must have been at the risk of great scandal and inconvenience. Here in Albemarle where there were no ministers, and therefore none of those religious rites to which they objected; and where the Assembly framed the law for their peculiar local necessities, they would surely have provided for legalizing their own customs had they formed any influential element in the population. So far from this act concerning marriages showing any trace of Quaker influence, there is a distinct note of feeling in the way in which it mentions "the rites and customs of our native country, the



Kingdom of England ;” the rites and customs here alluded to being those that were consistently repudiated and reviled by the Quakers.

It should further be remembered that at this very time the Proprietors were careful, both in their Fundamental Constitutions and in their instructions to Governor Stevens, to respect the principles and feelings of the Quakers both in regard to this very matter of marriage and in regard to the taking of oaths. So we have the curious spectacle of the Lords Proprietors showing more solicitude to avoid wounding the sensibilities of the Quakers than is exhibited by the Assembly of Albemarle. This can only mean that the former were aware of the trouble already arising in England and in some of her colonies from the peculiar customs of this new sect, while in the remote settlements of Carolina Quakers were too few to have attracted any public attention.

Edmundson made a second visit to Albemarle in 1675 or 1676, probably the latter year. He says little about it in his journal, and he remained only a few days, but the seed before planted seem to have been bearing fruit. After mentioning “several precious meetings” he thus concludes: “People were tender and loving, and there was no room for the priests, for Friends were finely settled, and I left things well among them.”

But may not these first settlers have been Presbyterians or Congregationalists fleeing from the rigor of the religious establishment in Virginia, or Baptists, driven out of the same colony, or escaping from the still more rigid Calvinistic establishments in New England? This question has in effect been answered already. If these settlers had been men fleeing from religious persecution, or even from religious intolerance, they would have been of distinct religious convictions and of fixed religious habits. The careless and indifferent do not go out into the wilderness to escape religious persecution.

Laws of religious conformity require only such outward acts of compliance with established institutions as create no special grievance, and work no intolerable hardship, to him who is equally unconcerned about all religion. It is not claimed that the mere burden of the tax for the support of the religious establishment in Virginia, or in New England, made men exchange the comforts of civilization for the hardships of the wilderness. It is only the man of real religious feeling and of firm religious convictions, to whom an insincere compliance even in the most trifling act is intolerable, who refuses to conform. It was not the tithe in England to which the Quakers objected, as a matter of pecuniary loss; it was to the principle which they imagined to be involved in the payment of it. And so it will be found that religious refugees and persistent non-conformists have ever been men of distinct and positive convictions and of rigid religious habits. The Covenanters upon the mountains of Scotland, and the Non-jurors in the back alleys of Edinburgh and of Aberdeen,—such men were unwilling to conform to the established religion because they had the most intense religious feelings and convictions, which forbade them to conform. And strong religious feelings and convictions, shared by considerable numbers of people in the same community, always find expression, in face of every danger and difficulty, in common religious worship. In Albemarle when the first Quaker preachers visited the country there seems to have been among the people no custom of public religious worship. Dr. Hawks and Mr. Bancroft may see, under the rude guise of Edmundson's gaping congregations, natural reverence and unconventional piety; and the smoke of their pipes may seem to those amiable historians a sort of extemporized incense; but the honest Quaker saw in their conduct the expression of simple ignorance and indifference.



That there were no zealous Presbyterians or Baptists among the colonists at this period is further indicated by the absence of any opposition to these Quaker preachers. Fox's journal shows that these were not less earnest than Churchmen in resisting the Quaker doctrine. The only note of opposition which we hear is from the doctor at the house of Governor Stevens, and he seems to have been a free-thinker, since he denied the authority of the Scriptures.

The truth seems to be that like most pioneers in new settlements, the first white inhabitants of Carolina were restless and enterprising spirits, pushing out from the older settlements of Virginia, to find new homes, and to secure rich lands, in the unoccupied regions beyond the bounds of civilization, with no thoughts of religion, so far as this movement is concerned, and, from the circumstances of their new situation, apt to forget such religious habits as they had before formed. In a letter to Sir John Colleton, one of the Proprietors, of date June 2nd, 1665, Thos. Woodward, the "Surveyor General of Albemarle," writes:

"But for the present to think that any men will remove from Virginia upon harder condition than they can live there, will prove (I fear) a vain imagination, it being land only that they come for." He therefore urges the Proprietors to make their terms easier. Neither he nor any other contemporary authority gives the least intimation of a religious element entering into the problem of immigration. The references in the Charters, the Fundamental Constitutions, and the several "Proposals," etc., of the Proprietors, to the religious liberty allowed in the Colony, are the only allusions to be found to the subject.

This movement onward from civilization to the wilderness has been, and is, one of the marked characteristics of our race in America. After the first stage of exploration and discovery in Albemarle, a few Quakers may have been

brought thither by the prospect of religious freedom, but no such movement can be observed. On the contrary, at this very time when Fox found we may say almost none of his brethren in Albemarle, there were a considerable number of Quakers in Virginia, with several organized and flourishing "Meetings" among them.

Along with the vanishing myth of the "Religious Refugee" settler, disappears also all necessity for the ingenious and wholly unfounded guesses of Bancroft and Hawks as to the religious opinions of Governor Drummond and of George Durant. These conjectures arose wholly from the supposed necessity of adapting their characters to suit their supposed positions as the Governor and the pioneer of a colony of religious refugees. It must indeed have been felt to be a dire necessity which enabled any man to believe that Governor Berkley would have appointed a Presbyterian as his deputy. Drummond, like most Scotch politicians of that time, probably professed to be a churchman—and the same may be said of George Durant. There never was the least ground for supposing that Durant was a Quaker. During Culpepper's Rebellion he acted as Attorney-General when Miller was indicted and prosecuted *for speaking disrespectfully of the King, the Cavaliers and the doctrines of the Church!* This is hardly a sufficient guarantee of Durant's piety, but it certainly puts him out of the role of a Quaker.\*

In support of the foregoing conclusions as to the religious character of the original settlers of Albemarle, drawn wholly from contemporary evidence, some later witnesses may not improperly be examined. Henderson Walker was, during the closing years of the seventeenth century and the opening years of the eighteenth, one of the most prominent and thor-

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\* Geo. Durant's immediate descendants are found associated and identified with the Church in the Province of North Carolina, and the certificate of his marriage by a clergyman in Virginia has lately been found.



oughly admirable characters in the Colony. He filled a number of the most important offices, having been for years a member of the Council, and at the time of his death acting as Governor. He had also been Attorney-General. As early as 1679 he was Clerk of the Council, and had enjoyed every opportunity of becoming fully acquainted with the affairs of the Colony from the very first. As a member of the Council sitting as a Court of Equity in 1697 he had assisted in the trial of a cause involving the title of George Durant, and the right of his heirs, to the land bought by Durant from the Indian "King of Yeopim" in 1662. Among the witnesses examined were several who spoke from personal knowledge of the circumstances of Durant's settlement. One had signed as a witness Durant's deed from the Indian. The deposition of this particular witness appears to have been taken before Walker himself. We can hardly imagine any witness better qualified than Walker to speak of the character and condition of the people of Albemarle from 1662 down to his own day. In a letter to Bishop Compton, of London, dated October 21st, 1703, he says that for twenty-one years (he seems to mean for twenty-one years before 1700) he can testify of his own knowledge that they had been without priest or altar, and from all that he could learn it had been much worse before that. This may refer to the rise of the Quaker worship, for he adds: "George Fox, some years ago, came into these parts, and by strange infatuations did infuse the Quakers' principles into some small number of the people; which did and hath continued to grow ever since very numerous, by reason of their yearly sending in men to encourage and exhort them to their wicked principles." Here we have a plain, direct statement, by a man in a position to know the truth, and with no motive whatever for perverting it, that Quakerism in Albemarle had been the result of Fox's missionary labors. And this statement is in exact accord with

Fox's own account, and the testimony of every contemporary authority.

The Rev. William Gordon, a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and minister in Chowan in 1708, in a report to the Society dated May 13, 1709, says: "There are few or no Dissenters in the government but Quakers." In the same report he says: "And now, sir, I shall examine a little the Quakers' pretences, who plead that they were the first settlers in that country; but this (according to the best accounts I could get) seems false in fact that religion being scarce heard of there till some years after the settlement; it is true some of the most ancient inhabitants, after George Fox went over, did turn Quakers."

Here we have another testimony from a man in a position to have learned the truth, and it corresponds accurately with that of other witnesses. In this connection it is interesting to observe that in an address signed by a number of Quakers in 1679, intended as a vindication of themselves and other Quakers, inhabitants of Albemarle, against charges of being implicated in the disorders and seditions of the preceding years, the subscribers state that most of them had been inhabitants of Carolina since 1663 or 1664. Now we have seen that Fox and Edmundson found no Quakers to speak of in 1672. The above document therefore affords incidental proof of the correctness of Mr. Gordon's statement that "some of the most ancient inhabitants, after George Fox went over, did turn Quakers."

Quakerism was the only organized form of religion in the Colony, with no rival worship among the people, for the rest of the seventeenth century, having been thus introduced and nurtured. It drew to itself a number of the intelligent and well-disposed inhabitants, especially of Perquimans and Pasquotank, though it seems not to have made any progress in the other precincts or counties. Those zealous and self-sacrificing



men deserve to be held in honorable memory, who at the expense of so much time, labor and bodily suffering, cultivated the spiritual harvest in that distant and unattractive field. Quakerism did not begin the work of settlement, and of re-claiming the wilderness for civilization, but it has the greater honor of having first brought some organized form of Christianity to the infant colony, and of having cared for those wandering sheep whom others neglected.

*Ergo omnibus debita; quibus honor, honorem.*

NOTE.

That our historians, both general and local, have examined the evidence on this subject carelessly, and that they have read into the simple narratives of Edmundson and Fox their own preconceptions, is manifest.

Martin says that when Edmundson made his visit in the spring of 1672 to the family of Henry Phillips (whom he calls *Phelps*), "they were greatly rejoiced at their interview, not having seen any leader of this society for years." Whereas Edmundson says nothing about any "leader of this society." He says plainly that they had not seen "a Friend," i. e., a Quaker, *in seven years*. This was in 1672. The Phillips family had come to Carolina from New England in 1665, as we learn from Bowden's history of the Quakers. Edmundson therefore, in effect, says that they had not seen a Quaker since they had come into Carolina!

Martin further says of this same visit of Edmundson that before leaving Albemarle "meetings were held in other parts of the precinct of Berkley and in that of Carteret, and a quarterly meeting of discipline was established in Berkley," whereas Edmundson's journal records a visit of less than two full days, and two meetings in the same neighborhood. The morning of the third day he set out on his return to Virginia.

Dr. Hawks makes Fox go from Nansemond, in Virginia, to the settlements on the Albemarle *by way of Roanoke river*; and makes him accomplish the journey from Somerton to some imaginary creek emptying into the Roanoke in one day: the first absurd; the second impossible! And all this wonderful detour for the sole purpose of getting rid of Fox's plain statement that in the region which he traversed there were no Quakers. Both Martin and Hawks have it so solidly fixed in their minds that the settlers were Quakers, that when Fox and Edmundson assert the contrary, their testimony must be corrected, and their plainest statements misquoted and perverted in order that they may not contradict the groundless opinions of later times.

Bancroft, in the thirteenth chapter of his History of the United States, speaking of this same visit of Fox, says that, "Carolina had ever been the refuge of Quakers and renegades from ecclesiastical oppression," and cites as his authority for this statement Lord Culpepper in Chalmers, 356. At the place referred to Chalmers gives a letter from Lord Culpepper dated in 1681, in which he says that Carolina was "the refuge of our renegades," but not a word about "ecclesiastical oppression," that being Mr. Bancroft's own addition for which there is no pretence of contemporary authority.

















