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SKETCHES
OF THE
EARLY HISTORY
OF THE
CITY OF RALEIGH.

CENTENNIAL ADDRESS,
FOURTH OF JULY, 1876,

BY
HON. KEMP P. BATTLE,

DELIVERED AT THE REQUEST OF
THE BOARD OF ALDERMEN.

RALEIGH:
THE RALEIGH NEWS STEAM JOB PRINT.
1877.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

RALEIGH, N. C., July 5th, 1876.

HON. KEMP P. BATTLE.

Dear Sir :—In behalf of the Board of Aldermen and the citizens of Raleigh, we respectfully ask for a copy of your excellent address on the 4th inst. for publication.

Very respectfully,

J. C. S. LUMSDEN,
JOHN ARMSTRONG,
WM. E. ANDERSON,
JOS. H. GREEN,
P. C. FLEMMING.

RALEIGH, July 6th, 1876.

MESSRS. J. C. S. LUMSDEN AND OTHERS, COMMITTEE,

Gentlemen :—Your communication, requesting a copy of my address of the 4th inst. for publication, is to hand. Though the address was prepared while I was under great pressure of business in other matters, and is not so full as I could have wished it, I herewith send you a copy thereof, which you are at liberty to use at your discretion.

Very respectfully,

KEMP P. BATTLE.

REMARKS OF DR. GRISSOM.

Mr. Battle was introduced to the audience by Dr. Eugene Grissom, Superintendent of the Insane Asylum of North Carolina, in the following language, in substance :

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :—We have assembled here to-day in obedience to a solemn recommendation of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, with executive approval, and in concert with millions of our fellow-citizens, to celebrate the Centennial Anniversary of the Declaration of American Independence, and to dedicate a page of history to the progress of an hundred years—an independence proclaimed by the people and statesmen of an age characterized by purity, patriotism and ability, and achieved after a protracted contest in which the resources of the country, both of blood and treasure, were freely offered and well nigh exhausted.

Whatever of glory or of good attaches to that event is largely shared by North Carolina. And whatever of gratification for the material prosperity flowing therefrom, to any part of the common country, is a legacy of common inheritance.

I congratulate you that the task of analyzing the history of *this* locality has been assigned to one so well qualified for its performance, and so acceptable to public approval ; to one whose well-merited reputation for scientific attainment, literary acquirement and professional ability, together with all the accomplishments and graces of the patriot, the gentleman, the scholar and the

christian, extends far beyond the limits of state lines, and is cherished as the common pride and common property of the community in which he lives, and the section that gave him birth. Hon. Kemp P. Battle, whose name a household word, will address you. Let us hear him :

MR. BATTLE'S ADDRESS.

FELLOW-CITIZENS:—I appear before you, designated by the Board of Aldermen of the city of Raleigh, in accordance with an Act of Congress and the proclamation of the President thereupon, to deliver an address on the history of the city of Raleigh. The time allowed me has been short, the materials for the construction of such a sketch are not easily accessible, and the difficulty of the undertaking is increased by the destruction of the records of the city in 1865, when Sherman's army entered Raleigh. Still, believing that if I should refuse, probably the work would be undone, I have, as far as other demands on my time which could not be omitted or postponed, allowed, done my best to aid in perpetuating facts in the history of our city which neither we nor our posterity should allow to be forgotten.

The task is all the more difficult because it is demanded to compress these facts about the past into the limits of a single address—material worthy of a volume into a slender pamphlet.

It is within the spirit of this Centennial period to recall events long since passed. I therefore will not chronicle recent transactions, within your own memories. I will not attempt a complete history of our city. I will only endeavor to perpetuate what is in danger of passing into oblivion.

HISTORY OF WAKE.

It is to be regretted that no special effort is to be made to unfold the history of Wake county. I hope this will

be done hereafter. The Centennial of Raleigh has not yet arrived. The Centennial of Wake has passed.

The county of Wake was born in stormy times.

A little over one hundred years ago, on the 16th of May, 1771, the roar of cannon in battle was heard for the first time in the forests of Middle North Carolina. One army, 1,200 disciplined troops, was led by the Governor of the Province, and under him were able officers. On the other side were 2,000 half-armed men without experienced officers, unprovided with artillery. In this fight between Royalists and Regulators the victory was with the former, and in Hillsboro, where now are the beautiful grounds of Mr. Paul Cameron, six of the leaders met the fate of felons on the gallows. Their deluded followers were dispersed and the war of the Regulation was ended. What was the cause of this fratricidal contest?

Of all forms of oppression the hardest to bear patiently is the payment of onerous taxes and other exactions to alien officers, to be expended at points distant from the tax payers, and for objects for which they have no sympathy. Such levies in our Saviour's time, for the sensual luxuries of Roman Emperors, caused the names of tax-gatherers (or publicans) to be synonymous with *robbers*. It was the hard and grinding sheriffs and other officers, with an occasional lawyer like Fanning, who drove so many from Granville to the mountains into the war of the Regulation.

Previous to 1770 the county of Rowan covered nearly all the territory west of the Yadkin, and a portion east of that river. Orange adjoined it on the east and was of extensive area. The Regulators were widely scattered throughout all this country. To prevent combinations among them, Gov. Tryon, who had great abilities as a statesman, procured the incorporation of four new counties. On the east, out of parts of Orange, Johnston and Cumberland he erected Wake, and called it after the maiden name of his wife—"the County of Wake and Parish of St. Mar-

garet's." Tradition hath it that her sister, Miss Esther Wake, was the chief lobby member who so turned the heads of our impressible ancestors by her rare beauty and accomplishments, that they voted \$100,000 out of their meagre stores for a grand Governor's palace at Newbern—a measure so unpopular afterwards as to be one of the principle causes of the disaffection to the government. It was a proof of the gallantry of our forefathers, even in the midst of war, that when, in 1779, they expunged from the list of counties the hated name of Tryon and substituted those of Rutherford and Lincoln, they allowed the name of the beautiful Miss Wake to remain.

In the same year, notwithstanding the giant arm of Pitt was no longer wielding the forces of England, from motives of policy, Governor Tryon gave to the district through which flow the waters of the Haw and Deep rivers, as a peace offering, the name of Chatham, with its county seat at Pittsborough.

While Tryon thus conciliated one party, he neglected not to pay court to the rising sun. He called one of the other counties created then after the Earldom of Guilford, of which the new prime minister, Lord North, was the heir apparent, and the fourth after the shire of Surry in England of which Guilford is the county seat.

Our county thus formed, although honored with the name of the Governor's wife, did not hesitate to cast in her lot with the other colonists. At the Provincial Congress of 20th August, 1775, which took measures for effectual resistance, appeared her delegates: Joel Lane, John Hinton, Theophilus Hunter, Michael Rogers, Tignal Jones, John Read and Thomas Hines, honored names in our county, many of whose descendants are among us now.

But time does not allow me to detail the part taken by the county of Wake in the great struggle, suffice it to say that our county sustained without faltering the great cause of independence, sharing in the dangers and privations of

the period, rejoicing with her whole soul in the final victory.

A copy of the charter of Wake county may be found recorded in our Clerk's office. It is signed by Gov. Tryon at Newbern, May 22, 1771. The first court was held in a log building, on the open ground fronting the residence of Miss Kate Boylan, on the 4th June 1771. The place was then called Bloombury. Probably some poetical sentimentalist of the day coined the name but the times were too stormy for flowers and blooms and soon we find the county seat is called "Wake Court House," and this so continued until it merged into "Raleigh" in 1794.

But I must hasten to my immediate task.

A MIGRATORY CAPITAL.

The settlement of North Carolina has one striking peculiarity. In most of the States, streams of emigrants arrived successively at the same ports and flowed into the interior along the same highways. But the early settlers of North Carolina came into its limits along different routes and made divers centres of colonization. They spread from those centres on the right hand and on the left, by natural increase and by accessions from abroad. Thus the emigrants from England either directly from the mother country, or from Virginia, spread over the Northeastern or Albemarle section, and as far West as the upper waters of the Tar and the Neuse. Germans and Swiss under DeGraffenried transferred the name of Berne to the town at the confluence of the Neuse and the Trent. Cavaliers from England and Huguenots from France swarmed along the lower Cape Fear and pressed northward along the Pee Dee and the tributaries of the Santee. Kinsmen of the brave Scotch-Irish, who defended Londonderry with a heroism unexampled for human endurance, and Lutheran Germans,

who had fled from the atrocities of Louis XIV in the Palatinate, took possession of the larger parts of the valleys of the Haw, the Yadkin and the Catawba. Flora McDonald with her countrymen from the Highlands of Scotland, heart-broken from Culloden, found new homes on the Upper Cape Fear and the Lumber, and Moravians, worn out with persecutions in the old country, fondly hoped to rest in a home of Peace—a blessed Salem—among the hills between the Yadkin and the Dan.

Hence, North Carolina, within whose borders are representatives of the Teuton and the Celt, the Anglo-Norman and the Frank, the Scandinavian and the Cymric—Cavalier and Roundhead, Episcopalians and Presbyterians, Catholics and Huguenots, Lutherans, Moravians, Quakers, Protestants of every denomination, and those who, like Gallo, care for none of these things, has never been a homogeneous State. All great enterprises have been accomplished, and can only be accomplished, by conciliation and compromise—from overturning a government to building a railroad, from founding a State to the location of its capital.

The places of meeting of the General Assembly, and of the officers of the executive branches of the government, were always in early times chosen by the operation of these principles.

Under the Proprietary government which lasted until 1731, and then under the Colonial government which lasted until the flight of Governor Martin in 1775, the place of assembling of the Legislatures depended chiefly on the will of the Governor. The town of Governor Eden, which looks on the tranquil waters of Albemarle, Newbern, set like an emerald between the Neuse and the Trent, Wilmington, so named from the Earl of Wilmington, Secretary of the colonies, the home of a refined, chivalric and hospitable people, destined to be leaders in the fierce struggles which were to follow, were most

avored by the court favorites, fresh from the old world, who liked not the rough life of the interior wilderness.

After the expulsion of the Royal Governor, and the new-born State had started on its own career, the Legislatures, whether called Congress or Committee of Safety or General Assembly, for long time convened at their own will at different points, sometimes during the war to avoid danger from the enemy, but oftener like our Church Conventions for reasons of convenience and mutual accommodation. We find Newbern, Kinston, Halifax, Smithfield, Wake Court House, Hillsboro, Salem, Fayetteville, Tarboro, all honored, some of them several times, with being for a few weeks the seat of government. To this pernicious practice we owe it that so many valuable documents have been lost or are so arranged that they cannot be made useful without great expenditure of labor and time.

How could public business be intelligently transacted when the officers of the State were located as they were before the birth of Raleigh? Take for example 1789, when Martin, of Guilford, was Governor; James Glasgow, of Greene, was Secretary of State; John Haywood, of Edgecombe, was Treasurer; John Craven, of Halifax, was Comptroller, and James Iredell, of Chowan, was Attorney General—all the chief officers of the State residing in different counties hundreds of miles apart.

One, who at this day, holding an account against the State, grumbles because he cannot get his money in an hour after its presentation should note the trials of a claimant in what the venerable James T. Morehead called the "chaotic times."

The evil became insupportable, and notwithstanding the jealousies of conflicting sections, the General Assembly of 1787, in providing for calling a Convention to consider the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, recommended the people of the State to instruct

their representatives to "fix on the place for the UNALTERABLE seat of government."

This convention met in 1788 at Hillsboro. After refusing to adopt the new Constitution by one hundred majority, they proceeded to carry out the instructions of the people in regard to the seat of Government.

After debate it was determined to select by ballot some point in the State, and leave it to the General Assembly to designate the exact spot within ten miles thereof.

The plantation of Isaac Hunter was on the North side of Crabtree, on the great road between the North and the interior of South Carolina and Georgia. His residence, at the fork of the Louisburg and Forestville roads, was a notable country tavern in those days. After balloting between several competitors, this was chosen as the centre of the ten mile circle within which the sovereignty of North Carolina was to find a local habitation.

The mandate of the Convention the General Assembly was in no haste to obey. Fayetteville, and the friends of that old town, having their due share of Scotch tenacity, and using no doubt the blandishments of social life, succeeded in deferring the execution of the scheme. In 1790 the vote was so close that the proposal was tied in both Houses, the speaker of the House of Commons, an eastern man, Stephen Cabarrus, of Chowan, voting in favor, but the speaker of the Senate, a western man, Gen. Lenoir, of Wilkes, killing the measure.

The General Assembly of the following year, 1791, convened at Newbern, out of reach of the plucky "Macs," of the Cape Fear, and at this session the ordinance of 1788 was carried into effect. Ten commissioners were appointed to locate and lay off the city in accordance with the ordinance. At the same time five commissioners were appointed to erect a State House.

THE LOCATION AT WAKE COURT HOUSE.

The day of meeting of the Commissioners was the 4th of April, 1792. Only six attended. Their names were, Frederick Hargett, Senator from Jones; Willie Jones, member from Halifax; Joseph McDowell, Senator from Burke, one of the gallant mountaineers who gained the battle of King's Mountain; Thomas Blount, member from Edgecombe, afterwards to be promoted to a seat in the House of Representatives of the Union; William Johnston Dawson, member from Bertie, grandson of Gov. Gabriel Johnston, soon to be a member of Congress, and James Martin, member from Stokes, who, as an officer of militia, had marched against the Cherokees in 1776, and against Cornwallis in 1782. They were among the best men of the State. Jones was the most active and influential, had been an ardent patriot of the Revolution. His body lies, without a stone to commemorate him, in the North East corner of the land he aided to buy, in the garden of the St. Augustine Normal School.

The plantation of Joel Lane, adjoining Wake Court House, was so plainly the best place within the limits assigned that the Commissioners hesitated but little and on the following day, April 5th, 1792, a deed was executed by Lane to Alexander Martin, Governor, for the use of the State, of one thousand acres of land of an irregular shape, about one mile, three hundred yards from north to south and still more from east to west. The tract thus purchased was then mostly in forest. The oak trees still standing, as well as tradition, show that nearly all east of Salisbury street was in original growth. Where the State House rears its lofty dome was a noted "stand" by which a deer running from the dense forests of the Crabtree to the dense forests of Walnut was sure to pass. The "old field pines," a few years ago standing on Gallows Hill and

the Rex Hospital land and in the North West Reservation show that they were once cultivated fields, while the ravines opening into Pigeon House and Rocky Branches, starting from the water-shed of the Capitol Square, were for some time covered with beech and poplar of large growth. The giant trees which have given us the name of City of Oaks, are remnants of the forest which sheltered the venerable men who, eighty-four years ago, chose the Seat of Government of North Carolina.

The site is certainly most favorably situated. The rail of the Raleigh & Gaston Rail Road is 303 feet above the sea level. The surface of the ground at the West door of the State House is 42 feet higher, so that the highest point of Union Square is 345 feet above the Atlantic. The latitude of the capital is $35^{\circ} 17'$ N. The longitude $78^{\circ} 41'$ West from Greenwich. Its isothermal line (line of equal temperatures) enters Europe a little North of Lisbon, passes through Madrid, near by Genoa and Florence, leaves Europe not far from Constantinople, passes near the spot designated by tradition as the Garden of Eden, then through China and Southern Japan hard by Shanghai and Yeddo, and strikes the American continent South of San Francisco. Its climate is therefore the climate of the grape and the fig, of cotton and tobacco, of corn and wheat. Its compromise character is apparent in many respects. Its average temperature for the year is $59^{\circ} 1'$ Fahrenheit. That of the whole State is 59° . Its spring temperature is 58° , its summer 78° , its autumn 60° , its winter 40° . The State is a little less in each of these seasons. Its rainfall is 48.2 inches; that of the State, including the mountains and sea coast, is 53.1 inches. It is near the centre of the central county. It is near the line between the lands which grow cotton and the lands which grow tobacco. The census tables show that on a single acre in Raleigh can be grown, and profitably grown, not only every product of North Caro-

lina, but of the United States, with the exception of oranges and sugar cane.

PLAN OF THE NEW CITY.

The commissioners lost no time in carrying out the other branch of their duties. They proceeded to lay out a plan for a city, to comprise, besides streets, 276 lots of one acre each, the whole making four hundred acres. I am inclined to think that the true acre (208.67 feet square) was adopted and the failure to follow this and the practice of using the conventional acre (210 feet square) are the causes of the disputes about boundaries and encroachments on streets.

Besides Union Square, which the old maps call 516 feet square, four other squares of four acres each were left for the use of the public. Reservations at each corner of the city were left open, not included in the city, so as to provide for a future extension of the corporate limits.

Four streets radiate at right angles from Union Square 99 feet wide, viz: to the North, Halifax; to the East, Newbern; to the South, Fayetteville; to the West, Hillsboro; all the others being 66 feet wide. It must not be supposed that these names were given in order to express ideas of superiority of those towns. The roads from Wake Court House in the directions of these streets were similarly called before the establishment of Raleigh. The streets adjoining Union Square on each side were laid out through the length and breadth of the city. They were honored with the names of leading towns in the State, two east and two west. Running north and south we have Wilmington on the east and Salisbury on the west; running east and west we have Edenton on the north and Morgan on the south. In those days the name of the beautiful county seat of Burke being written Morgan Town, the selection of this name in preference to other western towns was doubtless in compliment to Gen. McDowell.

The other north and south streets to the east were Blount, Person, Bloodworth and East. To the west were McDowell, Dawson, Harrington and West.

The other east and west streets to the north were Jones, Lane and North, and to the south, Hargett, Martin, Davie, Cabarrus, Lenoir and South.

The city of Raleigh was named after the great historian, soldier and statesman, whose energies were so long directed to the settlement of North Carolina. The appellation of "city" was given because it was to be the home of the sovereignty of the State, derived from *Civitas*.

I have told you who Hargett, Jones, McDowell, Blount, Dawson and Martin were. Of the others, Person street commemorates Gen. Thos. Person, long a member of the Legislature from Granville, who was one of the first Brigadier Generals of the Revolution; was an ardent patriot, a liberal benefactor of the University. He enjoys the triple honor of giving his name to a Hall at Chapel Hill, a street in Raleigh and to a gallant little county carved out of Granville.

Timothy Bloodworth is a striking example of the ephemeral nature of political fame. He was a very prominent man in his day; was member of the Legislature from New Hanover, Speaker of the Senate, and attained the high dignity of Senator in Congress. He is said to have lost a portion of his popularity in consequence of giving the casting vote in favor of Raleigh, and fairly earned the honor of being handed down to posterity in connection with one of its streets.

Davie street commemorates one of the most accomplished men of the day, Wm. Richardson Davie, after whom the county of Davie is called, a gallant officer in the Revolution, member of Congress, Ambassador near the Court of Napoleon, one of the founders of the University, and a true friend of the education of the people.

Cabarrus street commemorates Stephen Cabarrus, after

whom a flourishing county is also named ; was often Speaker of the House, was member of the Legislature from Chowan, a genial and popular man.

Gen. Wm. Lenoir was a distinguished soldier of the Revolution ; was senator for many years from Wilkes and was Speaker of the Senate. He likewise gave a name to a county in the East and to a town in the West, as well as to a street of Raleigh.

Lane street was after Joel Lane from whom the land was bought.

The four squares of the city are named in honor of distinguished men of the Revolutionary period. Caswell Square, as well as Caswell county, hands down the name of the great General and Governor, Richard Caswell, of Lenoir ; Moore Square, of Alfred Moore, who, after eminent services for North Carolina, was appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States ; Nash Square, of Abner Nash, and Burke Square, of Thomas Burke, both Governors and eminent statesmen of Revolutionary times.

The plan thus laid off was reported to the General Assembly of 1792, and adopted. The language of the act should be carefully noted as being of importance to the inhabitants of the city.

“The plan of the city so laid off and reported to the General Assembly by the Commissioners aforesaid, shall be and the same is hereby received, confirmed and ratified by the name of the City of Raleigh ; and the several streets represented in the plan, and the public square, whereon the State-house is to be built, shall be called and forever known by the names given to them respectively by the Commissioners aforesaid ; which plan, together with the deed for the land purchased, with a plat thereof annexed, shall be forthwith recorded in the Secretary’s office.”

Section 3. “The public square composed of Nos. 246,

247, 262, 263, shall be called and known by the name of Caswell Square," &c, &c.

And lots were sold by order of the Legislature fronting on these squares.

Proposals have been made in the General Assembly to sell to the highest bidder the public squares of the city, except that on which the State House and the Deaf and Dumb Asylum are situate. I contend that according to plain principles of law, those who have purchased lands in the city, *and especially those who purchased lots on the squares*, have legal right to prevent such sale and insist that according to the pledge of the State they shall be perpetually "Public Squares."

The streets of the city of Raleigh are under the protection of the law. The city authorities may and shall improve them, but they cannot enclose or discontinue them.

The same rules of law do not apply to the reservations in the corners of the city, but it is important that the city authorities shall as soon as practicable carry out the provisions of chapter 205 of the Acts of 1871-'72, so as to found by enclosing and improving a valid claim for securing the Nash and Moore squares as valuable breathing places of the city.

At the session of the General Assembly of 1856-'57, the corporate limits were extended one-fourth of a mile each way. This was resisted in the Courts by persons living in the included portion, but the Supreme Court sustained the action of the Legislature. Within this new part of the city, other streets have been laid out: East of the the Capitol, running north and south, Swain street named after the distinguished ex-Governor and President of the University, David L. Swain; Linden Avenue, a fancy name, west of the Capitol; Boylan street, after the late Wm. Boylan, who was in the beginning of the century editor of the *Minerva*, the rival of the *Register*,

and was for over sixty years one of our most enterprising citizens; Saunders street, after the late eminent ex-Judge Romulus M. Saunders, once minister to Spain. Then north of the Capitol, running east and west, is Peace street, after Wm. Peace, in old times a leading merchant, the founder of Peace Institute, one of the best of our men; Johnson street, after our worthy fellow-citizen, Albert Johnson; Polk street, after Col. Wm. Polk, who will be more particularly mentioned. And south of the Capitol are Smithfield street, after the town of Smithfield; Cannon street, after Robert Cannon, once a leading citizen; and Manly street, after our late distinguished ex-Governor Charles Manly.

SALES OF LOTS.

The same Commissioners who laid out the city made sales of the lots. I cannot find their reports to the Legislature, and the Registry books of that period have been burnt, but I can state some of the early subsequent sales which are a measure of the value of property in that day.

In 1801 one quarter of an acre of No. 160, on Fayetteville street, above Hargett, sold for \$60. It is worth now \$12,000 to \$15,000.

In 1801 W. & J. Peace bought a lot nearly opposite the above, on Fayetteville street, above Hargett, part of No. 147, fronting 21 feet and running back 60, for \$165.

In 1797 W. J. Humphries sold to Matthew Machlin the west half of No. 173, on Newbern avenue where J. J. Litchford lives, for \$36, which was probably what was paid for it.

Dr. R. B. Haywood tells me that it appears from the account books of Joel Lane that he advanced for a friend \$79, to pay for No. 216, now the residence of W. J. Hicks.

Mr. David Royster, in 1802, bought of Oliver Fitts, of Warren, two acres Nos. 142 and 143, on Moore square,

where David L. Royster now lives, for \$100 and a breakfast table.

On the east of Moore square Mr. Royster, about the same time, bought two acres for \$50—afterwards sold one for \$40, and was considered to have made a great speculation.

On October 10, 1801, J. Harvey sold to Stephen Haywood the two acres where Mr. Wm. Dallas Haywood lives, for “\$120 in silver dollars,” or \$60 per acre.

In 1801 Nat. Jones sells to Dugald McKeethan No. 276, at N. W. corner of North and Lane streets for \$51.

Many of the first sold lots were purchased by those who did not intend to make Raleigh their home. Some of the leading politicians of the day were purchasers—such as Bloodworth, Ashe, Davie, Hawkins, Dawson and Lane—who bought on speculation and lost money on the resale.

Four acres owned by the wealthy descendants of Thos. D. Bennehan are the only instances of continuous ownership in any family from the beginning, and Mr. Bennehan was a resident of Orange.

The foregoing sales are mentioned because they afford standards of comparison as to the general rise of values, the prices now being from fifty to seventy and eighty times as high as at the dates mentioned. Near the business centre, however, lots have been sold at the rate of nearly \$200,000 to the acre, or five and six thousand times the original cost.

SALES OF 1813.

In 1813 the General Assembly appointed Henry Potter, Henry Seawell, Wm. Hinton, Nathaniel Jones, (Crabtree) Theophilus Hunter, and Wm. Peace, to sell the lands of the State south, west and north of the old corporate limits. The first named had been a City Commissioner. He was

Judge of the District Court of the United States for about sixty years. Henry Seawell was a member of the Legislature from Wake, elected at that time Judge of the Superior Court, an able lawyer. Wm. Hinton was repeatedly Senator from Wake. Nathaniel Jones, father of the late Kimbrough Jones, called of "Crabtree" to distinguish him from Nathaniel Jones of "White Plains," near Cary, the ancestor of the late Wesley and Alfred Jones, had been often Senator and member of the House from Wake. Theophilus Hunter was the respected and hospitable owner of "Spring Hill," which adjoins Raleigh on the west. Wm. Peace has already been described.

The commissioners were ordered to reserve lots around the different springs in the State lands, and on this account it is that Rex Spring on the north, and the springs near the Governor's Mansion and the colored Deaf and Dumb Asylum, are public property.

It was at this sale that John Rex bought the land devised by him to provide a comfortable retreat for the rich and the afflicted poor. The money bequeathed by him for the same purpose had accumulated to over \$20,000, when by the contingencies of the late war a great part of it was lost. The object is a noble one, and the name of John Rex, the tanner, should be honored among us.

The proceeds of the sale of 1813 were devoted to the erection of what is by a kind of grim joke called "the Governor's Palace." Before that time the acre where the Raleigh National Bank is located, No. 131, having on it a two-story house of wood, which was removed about 1859, was the Executive Mansion. Governor Miller, of Warren, was the first occupant of the new mansion. It has been the scene of many gay festivities. In the good old days it was the custom for the governors to give frequent entertainments. The members of the Legislature and officers of State, and all decent people of the city, as well as strangers, were generally invited to attend. The

annual "parties" of the Governor were looked forward to and enjoyed by young and old.

The "Palace" continued to be occupied by the Executive until April, 1865, when Governor Vance yielded the occupancy to Gen. Sherman, who took possession of it as his headquarters. After the officers of the army left it in 1868, Governor Holden declining to leave his own handsome residence, and Governors Caldwell and Brogden preferring hotel life, it was for several years rented to the highest bidder. It is now used for a flourishing graded school, under the superintendency of Mr. J. E. Dugger.

SALE OF 1819.

In 1819 the lands of the State east of the city, except the Rock Quarry, were ordered to be sold, the commissioners being Duncan Cameron, John Winslow, Joseph Gales, Wm. Robards and Henry Potter. Of these Duncan Cameron for many years was one of the most trusted men, not alone of Raleigh, but of North Carolina. He was an eminent lawyer, a Judge of the Superior Courts, Senator and Member of the House from Orange, from 1829 to 1849 President of the leading banks in the State, and was considered of highest authority in the State on matters of finances. John Winslow was member of the House from the borough of Fayetteville. Joseph Gales was Intendant of Police of Raleigh for over twenty years, was an able editor, the founder of the *Raleigh Register* which was a leading paper of the State for fifty years, the father of the distinguished editor, Joseph Gales, of the *National Intelligencer*, in Washington, and of Western R. Gales, his successor as editor of the *Register*. Mr. Robards was of Granville, an excellent man, Treasurer of the State. Henry Potter has been mentioned.

The proceeds of the sale were applied to repairing and

enclosing the State House, which was well done under the supervision of an able architect, Wm. Nichols.

This was the last sale of the lands of the State.

The sales of 1813 were low according to our standard. For example, John Rex bought the land given by him for a hospital, \$481 for 15½ acres.

The sales of 1818 were called "very good." This applied chiefly to the land in the N. E. part of the city comprising the noble forest owned by the late Henry Mordecai, which brought \$100 per acre. The lots along Newbern Avenue west of the old graveyard averaged about \$50 per acre, while those on the south side of Hargett opposite the old graveyard, commanded from \$40 to \$70 per acre; the broad slopes of Vinegar Hill were rated at about \$50 per acre, and all this on a credit of one, two and three years, without interest.

Some persons of speculative turn of mind and imperfect knowledge of the law have cast hungry eyes at the unoccupied lots belonging to the State around the city with a view to take possession of them under the Entry Laws at 12½ cents per acre. But counsel "learned in the law" have quickly informed them that as the land had been once entered by and granted to Joel Lane, the repurchase by the State did not restore them to the class of "vacant and unappropriated lands," which are only subject to entry.

THE EARLIEST DAYS.

The growth of the city was slow. The State House, an ugly pile of brick and wood, without porch or ornament of any kind, said to have been built by Rhody Atkins, was finished in 1794, so that the General Assembly met in it for the first time in November of that year. Richard Dobbs Spaight, of Craven, met the Legislature as Governor, and on the first day of the succeeding January,

Sam'l Ashe, of New Hanover, took his place. The first settlers were State officers, and hotel (then called tavern) keepers, followed of course by the "country merchant."

In February 1795, the General Assembly appointed as Commissioners, a board of seven, who (as would be said in our neighboring town of Durham,) were, the *genuine original* "Fathers of the city; viz: John Haywood, of Edgecombe, Treasurer of the State; John Craven, of Halifax, Comptroller; John Marshall and James Mares, Hotel-keepers; Dugold McKethan and John Pain, whose business I cannot discover; John Rogers, a member of the Legislature from Wake, not a resident of the city. In 1801, the Legislature added as Commissioners, Joshua Sugg, a very respectable farmer, Col. Wm. Polk, who had lately become a resident, whom I shall mention again more particularly, and Theophilus Hunter, Senior, who had served the State in Revolutionary times.

The buildings, with the exception of the State House, were for years all of wood. Governor Swain, in his interesting Tucker Hall address, says that the Eagle Hotel of Charles Parish, now the National Hotel, was the next house of brick built after the Capitol. The old State Bank, now the Episcopal Rectory, the Bank of Newbern, now Dr. F. J. Haywood's dwelling, were built in the following year.

As late as 1803, Henry H. Cooke advertises that living at "Wake old Court-House, about a quarter of a mile of the State-House, he can accommodate 10 or 12 gentlemen with board during the session, and will take a few horses to feed at 2s.6d. (25 cts.) a day."

But in December, 1803, the banner of the "Indian Queen" is thrown out as the best stand in the city, with 13 rooms, 9 of which have fire-places! This was on the site of the new Federal Court-House and Post-Office.

This was followed by Casso's tavern, in 1804, on the N. E. corner of Fayetteville street, next the State House

square, opened by "the public's most obedient and humble servant, Peter Casso," who enhances the attractiveness of his tavern by announcing that "the Northern and Southern stages leave his door three times a week."

The hotels (or taverns, as they were called.) were of a primitive nature.

A gentleman tells me that many years ago he was at Cooke's Hotel, when besides himself Chief Justice Marshall and Judge Cameron were the only guests. A traveler drove up and asked for quarters. The answer was, "I can't take you, I am full." The furniture of Judge Marshall's room consisted of a bed and bedstead, two split-bottom chairs, a pine table covered with grease and ink, a cracked pitcher and broken bowl. The next morning when breakfast came on, the host, disdaining the use of forks, transferred from the dish to his plate pieces of the dismembered fowl with his fingers.

PERMANENT CHARTER.

The charter of 1795 was superceded by a permanent charter granted in 1803, by which the election of Intendant and seven Commissioners was given to the people. The qualification of such officers was that they should be seized in fee of land in the city, with a dwelling house thereon, and should be actual residents. Any free male of full age, resident for three months, or owning land in the city, whether a resident or not, could vote. The corporate name of the government was "The Commissioners of the City of Raleigh."

The public lands being in forests, for their protection a Ranger was appointed. The power of taxation was doubled, *i. e.*, raised to fifty cents on the \$100 value, it having been twenty-five cents under the act of 1795. A poll tax as high as \$1 was authorized on all male polls and on male slaves between twelve and fifty. Under

this charter the inhabitants were not compelled to work on the streets in person. On failure to pay the tax on a lot on or before the first of August the commissioners were authorized and directed to sell the whole lot. It is remarkable that no right of redemption was allowed, no saving of the rights of infants and others under disability. This seems hard. It was probably caused by the fact heretofore mentioned that many of the lots were bought on speculation by those who would neither improve nor allow others to improve them. It is said that the large estate of the late Dr. Cooke was greatly attributable to the purchases by his father and grandfather at these tax sales.

It seems strange, too, as land was so very abundant and cheap, the charter of 1804, as well as that of 1794-'95, should have contained stringent regulations in regard to encroachments on streets. They were required to be annually measured and entered on the city journals, and a tax was required to be imposed not over fifty cents a foot's width. These regulations were probably aimed chiefly at shop-keepers and tavern-keepers, who built in this manner to attract the attention of passers-by. Most of the "stoops" and cellar-doors, which are an offence and stumbling block to so many were constructed in these ancient days, when much of the city was in forest and oak trees waved their boughs in our most populous streets.

The charter of 1803 did not divide the city into wards. This was done in 1806, five commissioners being authorized from the Middle ward, three from the Eastern, and one from the Western, showing that the western half of the city was settled more slowly than the other. The taxes of each ward were to be expended by its commissioners in that ward, and nowhere else. The commissioner of the Western ward had a pleasant office, being a full board all by himself, so that he could in truth say, as an eminent public man of this State once announced, "I

have convened for business," the solitary instance in municipal government where the voting was always unanimous. This was remedied in 1809, by giving three commissioners to the Western ward.

A difficulty occurred about the act of 1806, which shows that our ancestors were troubled about ward divisions, as we have lately been. By that enactment, "all east of Wilmington and Halifax streets constituted the Eastern ward; all west of Salisbury and Halifax streets constituted the Western ward, and all the residue of the city was the Middle ward."

The following preamble of an act of 1811 shows at once the trouble and the remedy. It is a curiosity of legislation. I copy it *literatim*, with all its blunders. Note how evidently its draughtsman was an ill-tempered and unlearned "Middle ward man:"

"AN ACT TO EXPLAIN AND AMEND THE FIRST SECTION OF AN ACT PASSED IN 1806, AS FAR AS RESPECTS THE DIVISION OF THE CITY OF RALEIGH INTO THREE WARDS.

Whereas, It is found and discovered that the division of the city, as prescribed by the aforesaid act of 1806, is unequitable, and the boundaries of each ward not so precisely described as to prevent disputes, and that said division into wards is not nor neither can be as was intended, viz: that the Eastern and Western wards should receive all the taxes, and leave the main street North from the State House, called Halifax street, for the Middle ward to keep in order; and as the division now is, the commissioners of the Eastern ward do collect and receive all the taxes on the East of said street, leaving the naked street for the Middle ward to keep in order, although the commissioners of the Eastern and Western wards acknowledge there is no equity for them to receive the taxes and leave the naked street for the Middle ward

to keep repaired, and consider that they are bound to act agreeable to the law of 1806; the commissioners of the Middle ward have always been willing to act justly, to give them the taxes, and they will keep the street in repair, &c.”

Two years after this, in 1813, the evil of having four boards, one general board and one from each ward, was remedied, and the commissioners reduced to seven, three from the Middle and two from the others, were constituted into one board. The injunction to expend the taxes of each ward, not needed for general purposes, in the ward whence they were raised, was continued until 1856.

In the same year the constable of the city was vested with the powers of the constable of the county. There was only one constable. The inhabitants of the city were compelled to serve as a city watch. This was done without fee or reward until 1843, the best citizens generally in person, though substitutes were allowed, taking their turn in patrolling the streets at night. It grew into a custom, which had the force of law, that the captain of the guard should adjourn his men to a restaurant and fill them with Dutch courage to enable them to perform their dangerous duties and drive away sleep—hence a glass of brandy and water received the name of “eye-opener.”

WATER WORKS.

In 1815 the question of supply of water was mooted, and for its introduction for the first time in the history of the city a public debt was authorized. A dam was erected on Rocky Branch, east of the Insane Asylum. The working of a water-wheel forced the water into what was called a “Water Tower,” situate on the hill east of Syl-

vester Smith's house, whence the unfiltered water was carried by wooden pipes by force of gravity to Hargett street, thence down Fayetteville street. There were spouts at various points along the street. The engineer was an ingenious mechanic, Sam'l Lash, of Salem. The water was of great convenience to the citizens of the Middle ward, but on the whole the scheme was a failure. The pipes became frequently clogged with mud, and leaky, sometimes burst by the pressure, and there being no filtration, whenever there was rain the water became of the hue of the "Yellow Tiber." To crown the whole, there were great heart-burnings among the citizens of the section of the city not benefited. After a few years—seven or eight—the old engineer died. His son, who succeeded him, took to intoxicating liquors, and the more he drank, the less freely the water ran. The water-works failed. The first money our city borrowed was buried in the ground; the first debt incurred was for a profitless work. It was not until that generation passed away, about the year 1845, that a second debt was incurred, for transferring the new market-house from Hargett street to its present position.

The year 1817 is memorable in our history as being the time when the General Assembly allowed incorporated towns to lay a tax on dogs. In the early state of the country, these canine pests were useful, but at present they are a fruitful source of poverty.

The taxation on dogs in our city has always been unequal, paid by a few, who are afflicted with consciences, while the rest go scot free. Few have the tender regard for truth of a good old citizen of sixty years ago, who, in giving in his taxables, stated that he had one dog. After he had finished, the list-taker handed him a Bible. "What! have I got to swear to my list?" "Oh, yes, sir!" "Then," with a heavy sigh, "put me down another dog."

The charter of 1803, amended in important particulars from time to time, continued until the charter of 1856,

which was drawn, with his usual ability, by Hon. B. F. Moore, then city attorney. By this the name of the Intendant of Police was changed to Mayor. By direction of the Commissioners an amended charter was prepared by myself as city attorney in 1866, but the General Assembly made its going into operation dependent on a vote of the people, and because it increased powers of taxation it was defeated. A compilation of the charter of 1856 incorporating subsequent amendments, was made by Mr. R. H. Battle, in 1867. In 1876, Fabius H. Busbee, Esq., city attorney, at the instance of the Board of Aldermen, made an able compilation of all the laws relating to Raleigh, now in existence, with reference to those which are obsolete, also all the ordinances of the Board now in operation.

By an act passed by the General Assembly of 1874-'75, the city is divided into five wards. This has been attacked in the courts on the grounds of unconstitutionality, the plaintiffs alleging among other things that the lines of the wards were ran in order to give voters of one political party more weight than those of the others in the government of the city. Four wards elect three Aldermen each, and one elects five, making a Board of seventeen. The matter is still in litigation.

CORPORATION OFFICERS.

It is creditable to the public spirit of our people that for over half a century the Intendants of Police served without compensation. Some of them, particularly Joseph Gales, and Weston R. Gales, his son, were conspicuous for their generous hospitality, and the elegant style with which they entertained strangers and supported the dignity of the city. In 1831 the former removed to Washington city, but returned in 1839, and was immediately elected to his old post, which he held until his death in May, 1843. The charter of the city was amend-

ed in January, 1843, giving to the Intendant the judicial powers of a Justice of the Peace, and authorizing the corporation to pay him a salary. Under this authority the commissioners voted the venerable editor who had served the city so many years, whose time and talents and means had been almost from the beginning of the century expended liberally on every great public enterprise, the paltry salary of \$100 per annum, which he lived only a few months to enjoy.

I have taken great pains to ascertain all the Intendants and Mayors and Commissioners, from the beginning of the city. It was a difficult task in consequence of the destruction of the records, as heretofore mentioned, and I have not met with entire success.

From the fact that Treasurer John Haywood was first mentioned of the commissioners appointed by the Legislature in the charter of 1795, I assume that he was the first Intendant. He was Treasurer of the State from 1787 to 1827, one of the most hospitable, kindly and popular men who ever lived in the State. The first Intendant elected by the people was Wm. White, the highly esteemed Secretary of State, whose excellent wife the daughter of Gov. Caswell, survived to our own times. I can not learn who held the office in 1804, but in 1805 the intendant was Joseph Ross. In 1806 it was William Hill, who was clerk in the office of the Secretary of the State, whose stern integrity and devotion to duty were such that he was elected to the office of Secretary of State continuously from 1811 until his death in 1857, nearly half a century, amidst all the mutations of parties.

For many years the most prominent and influential citizens were known as the "five Williams," viz: William Polk, William Peck, William Boylan, William Peace, and William Hill, of whom the three latter were living when I began the practice of law in the city in 1854.

After the Intendancy of Mr. Hill, we find in succession

Dr. Calvin Jones in 1807, John Marshall in 1810 and 1811. John S. Raboteau in 1812, Sterling Yancey in 1813, then Joseph Gales until 1832, then Thomas Cobbs, Weston R. Gales, Wm. C. G. Carrington, Thomas Loring. Mr. Wm. Dallas Haywood was a very popular Intendant for many years, and so was his successor Wm. H. Harrison. Messrs. C. B. Root, Wesley Whitaker and Joseph W. Holden have of late years held the office for one or two terms, and the list is closed by the present worthy incumbent, Major Basil C. Manly.

The list of Commissioners is most instructive. In the earlier days, when the population was small, it shows the names of the founders of the city, and in the large majority of cases it contains very fair representatives of the business talent and integrity of our people. We see among those gone to their last homes Wm. Boylan, John Craven, Charles Parish, William and Joseph Peace, Henry Potter, Southey Bond, Robert Williams, Wm. Peck, Benj. S. King, Robert Cannon, Wesley Whitaker, Richard Smith, Thomas Henderson, Sherwood Haywood, Wm. Henry Haywood, James McKee, Wm. Shaw, Alex. Lucas, David Royster, Charles Manly, James F. Taylor, Thos. G. Scott, Wm. F. Clarke, Wm. Thompson, Stephen Birdsall, Ruffin Tucker, Dirk Lindeman, Henry M. Miller, Benjamin B. Smith, Beverly Daniel, Alexander J. Lawrence, F. H. Reeder, E. B. Freeman, John Christophers, John O'Rorke, Wm. Ashley, H. D. Turner, Daniel Murray, James Litchford, John Hutchins, John Primrose, W. H. McKee, S. W. Whiting, David W. Stone, A. M. Gorman, Edward Yarborough, Silas Burns and many others who enjoyed the confidence and respect of their fellow-citizens. And we find that some of our best elderly men now living, who have lost the taste for municipal office life, such as Dr. F. J. Haywood, Jordan Womble, Alfred Williams, Sylvester Smith, Wm. White, Geo. W. Haywood, and John J. Christophers, at

an earlier period of their lives consented to serve the city in this capacity, in which, as in all other cities, the incumbents are liable to abundant and sharp criticism, with no possibility of pay, and little possibility of praise. And Mr. Christophers should be especially remembered for his long and faithful services as clerk of the city—services only paralleled by those of Mr. James II. Murray—as City Constable.

The Intendant of Police originally was only what the name implies, viz: a Superintendent of the Police force, without judicial powers. The powers of a Justice of the Peace were conferred in 1843. The name was changed to "Mayor" in 1854, and the name "Commissioners" to "Aldermen," in 1875.

These names "Intendant of Police" and "Mayor" show not only the composite nature of our language, but call to mind interesting historical facts. The former is a French official name, taken from French municipal government, at a time when America greatly admired its ancient ally.

The word "Mayor," same as "Major," has a splendid ancestry. It came into England with the Normans who conquered the country at Hastings seven hundred years ago, and the Normans got it from the majestic Romans, the conquerors of Gaul, whose descendants intermarrying with the natives of the land, were in turn subjugated by the adventurous northmen. So that after the lapse of over half a century, the foreigners "Intendant of Police" gives place to the Norman "Mayor," and the name "Commissioners" likewise yields to the Anglo Saxon "Aldermen" (or Elder-men), which emigrated to England from Germany with Hengist and Horsa.

FOURTH DAY OF JULY.

Among the first Commissioners appointed by the Leg-

islature in 1801, was a colonel of the Revolution, with the wounds, scarce healed, of Germantown and Eutaw Springs, long a leader in Raleigh society, Col. Wm. Polk, who removed to Raleigh from Mecklenburg county. It was with him not only a duty, but a pride, to keep alive the glories of 1776. The celebration of the 4th of July filled so large a space in the minds of the people of that day, this address would be incomplete without an attempt to recall them. With our fathers this celebration was no idle holiday. It was in vivid reality to them the birthday of the nation—the day of deliverance from slavery, the great Passover, keeping in remembrance the staying of the hand of the destroying Angel.

The day was ushered in by firing of cannon. Then at sunrise there was prayer at the Presbyterian church. Large numbers attended and thanked with devout hearts the Almighty for his blessings on the country, a custom kept up until the breaking out of the great civil war, but revived, I rejoice to see, on this day.

At 12 o'clock there was a Federal salute, as it was called—one gun for each State in the Union. Then a procession was formed at the Court House, and moved to the music of fife and drum to the capitol square. There an ode was sung. Then the Declaration of Independence was read. Then an ode. Then the Oration, which was followed by an ode. These odes, sung with spirit, were far more soul-stirring than the brass bands of these days.

At 12 o'clock a good dinner was set. There were two tables presided over by President and Vice President. Toasts were drunk, followed by speeches and convivial songs.

Here are specimens :

“The SPIRIT OF 1776, encircled by Wisdom and reclining on Peace, but possessing the eye of the Eagle to discern and the arm of a Lion to avenge our country's wrong.”

“The PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, may they become more and more in feeling and fact, a BAND OF BROTHERS; whilst they remain in principle and conduct a band of PATRIOTS and thus prove themselves Americans without alloy.”

A participant enables me to give an account of one of these scenes, which is a fair sample of all. Gov. Holmes presided at one table, Col. Polk at the other. Three Judges were appointed to decide which table furnished the best song and the best speech, viz: Joseph Gales, the distinguished editor, Chief Justice Taylor and Judge Hall of the Supreme Court. The favorite singer at Gov. Holmes' table was one Reeder, a tinner, who had gallantly *run* “for his country's fame” at Bladensburg. The champion of the other table was Leonidas (or Lonny) Polk, son of the Colonel, afterwards the great Missionary Bishop of the South-west, the soldier Bishop who was killed at Chicamauga. By the vocal powers of the future Bishop the Judges awarded the victory to the table of his father. The prize of the victory was the privilege of taking the occupants of both tables to the home of the victor and treating them to new viands. The crowd hurried tumultuously, singing and shouting as they went, to the residence of Col. Polk, following him as a leader, dragging a cannon as they went. An ample table was found spread for them, new toasts were drunk, new songs sung, the cannon was fired, and amid shouts and hurrahs for Col. Polk and Independence, the patriots, their bosoms too full for utterance, meandered to their homes.

At such seasons “King Bragg” reigned supreme. The following poetry copied from a newspaper of a later date shows the proud boasting of the patriotic heart:

“Of one thing, reader, be thou sure—the Yankee eagle one day
Will stretch his wings from Behring's strait beyond the bay of Funday.

And from the pole to Panama, when sleeping I and you lie
Will all belong to Uncle Sam, some future Fourth of July.”

Every great event was celebrated in those days of cheap "hog and homony," (spelt, I mention for the information of boys and girls and spelling bees) h-o-m-o-n-y, and I must add of cheap liquor, and in the exuberance of spirit the toasts soared to the skies and got lost in the clouds.

Here is one given at a dinner during the war of 1812, on Oct. 29th 1813 :

"LAWRENCE AND LUDLOW : at the tremendous thunder of whose cannon the Fates in astonishment snapt their thread and left a nation drowned in tears."

This picture of the grim *Parcae* losing their self-possession at the sound of cannon in a sea-fight and snapping off life threads at random, is above anything in Homer or Virgil.

At the same dinner was given a toast which shows that our fellow citizens from Old Erin were then, as they are now, friends of education.

"THE RALEIGH ACADEMY—May the sons of St Tammany and the sons of St. Patrick dance hand in hand to the music of the Irish harp, new strung by the goddess of liberty."

But I confess with shame that in blood and thunder sentiments Raleigh was beaten by our sister, Wilmington. At a feast given in honor of the Father of his country at that good city Feb. 22nd 1813, the following toast was given and enthusiastically applauded.

"THE AMERICAN FLAG—Wrapped in a blaze of boanless glory, like the resplendent shield of Jove, shaken aloft in the skies. May it flash lightning in the faces and strike terror into the hearts of its enemies and in every conflict may it triumphantly wave over continued streams of incessant peals of destructive, all subduing thunder, until it renders itself a free pass and an inviolable protection to every citizen who may sail under it."

It is needless to add that the music which followed this toast was—Yankee Doodle.

I here remark that the division between Federalists and Republicans, the friends of peace and the friends of war, was sharply defined. At this anniversary of the birth of Washington, in Wilmington, the Federalists called by public advertisement for a separate celebration by "Federalists and the friends of Peace," and were sharply reprimanded therefor by the Raleigh *Register*.

The division was not so marked in Raleigh, as the evils of the war did not fall so heavily in the interior towns, but it is certain that there was much opposition to the war here and in the county of Wake. Notwithstanding his military temperament, Col. Polk refused a Brigadier Generalship, tendered him by President Madison, and the late venerable Wm. Boylan, a staunch Federalist, always in the minority before, was elected to the Legislature from Wake during all the time of the war. Still there was no factious opposition. The people of Raleigh seem to have done their whole duty. A Raleigh company volunteered. On July 4th, 1812, they held a separate celebration. In a paper of that day I read:

"The Raleigh Volunteer Guard, and a number of citizens, (all dressed in home-spun,) met at Rex's Spring to celebrate the Day. Capt. Wiatt was President and Allen Rogers Vice-President. After plain but plentiful dinner the following toasts were drank in home-made liquors," &c.

The toasts were in good taste, entirely free from the fire and fury I have just given you—the toasts of men going to the battle, rather than of "bomb-proof," stay-at-home men boasting of the deeds of others.

And I find that on the 4th of July, 1813, the usual firing of cannon was dispensed with, the reason given being that "the powder was needed for the war."

The services of the Raleigh Volunteer Guards were accepted and they were ordered to Beaufort, but they had no opportunity to show their valor. A company of drafted militia of the county was sent to Norfolk. Mr. James

D. Royster, to whom I am indebted for much information, remembers well this draft, which was held at the north door of the State House. The great crowd collected, the terrified countenances, the agony of suspense, the lamentations of the women, as the unlucky lot fell to their sons, husbands, or lovers, are fresh in his mind although he was a mere boy. Their fears were justified, for many a good Wake man lost his life in the fever-stricken camp on the shores of Hampton Roads.

THE NEWSPAPERS OF EARLY DAYS.

It is difficult to realize the condition of the society of the city in its early days. The population was small, travel was so difficult and tedious that strangers were rare, and welcomed with peculiar cordiality as bringing news from abroad. A trip to New York was a matter of weeks of tedious journeying.

We now pick up our morning papers and read the tidings from San Francisco, and Vienna, London, and St. Petersburg, Calcutta and Japan of the day before.

I have in my hand copies of the rival newspapers of the day—the *Raleigh Register* and the *Minerva*—furnished me by my friend, Major Gales. The *Register* is dated April 12th, 1810. The latest news from Congress is March 30th, a speech from John Randolph. Under the head of Foreign Intelligence, we read: “Norfolk, April 2. By the ship *Portia*, Cab. Tabb, we have received London papers to January 24.” In a postscript we have accounts from Cadiz to 10th of February. The news of the battle of New Orleans was not heard in Raleigh until the 17th of February.

As we read these papers we seem to be among a different people. It may interest you to give some idea of the kind of newspaper literature, which amused and instructed the Raleigh man of seventy odd years ago. Here

is a copy of the Treaty of Amiens in 1802. In another column is an account of a lottery had for the University—1,500 tickets at \$5 each—the highest prize, \$1,500, drawn by Gen. Lawrence Baker, of Gates. The lucky number is 1,138. In fact, all through the paper we see notices of lotteries—for schools, for churches and other objects. Here is an account of a negro insurrection in Bertie, about which all Eastern N. C. was excited to madness. Horse stealing seems to be common, the country being thinly settled, and there being no railroad or telegraphs, escape was easy. Amusements they had, sometimes in the Court House, sometimes in the Capitol. Here are some grand wax figures--“Washington and Lady—Gen. Bonaparte--1st Consul--The late Gen. Butler, who fell in St. Clair’s defeat, represented as wounded in leg and breast, and Indians rushing on him with tomahawks.”

Big tales, too, they tell. What do you say of this as a specimen ?

“William Weldon, of Warren, saw a hern (as a heron was called), seized by a turtle, and went to relieve the hern, when it darted its bill into the socket of Weldon’s eye, and holding it by the ball, suspended itself and the turtle, hanging to its legs. He will probably lose the sight of the eye.”

And here is a correspondent who waxes wroth at a recent announcement of the State Treasurer that £5,847, 10s of “ragged money,” have been burnt. The correspondent says such contraction will ruin the country. It should be duplicated and re-issued.

And they had anecdotes in old times. Sir Walter Raleigh, while at a nobleman’s house, overheard early one morning the nobleman’s wife ask the servant, “Have you fed the pigs?” At breakfast he said to his hostess, with a meaning look, “Have the pigs been fed?” “Yes,” said she, “all but one *strange pig*, and I am about to feed

him now." A boy in this day of cant would say "she was *heavy* on Sir Walter."

The election news, too, see how slowly it comes in! The election was on the 1st Thursday in August. August 16, heard from 11 counties; August, 23, 18; August 30, 19; September 6, 7; September 13, Tyrrell; September 27, Guilford comes creeping in.

Duels are common. In one paper there was a desperate fight between Clinton and Swartwout, between Peter Van Allen and Crawford. Van Allen was killed.

Then the duel between Stanly and Spaight on the outskirts of Newbern with many lookers on, in which Spaight was killed. I am proud to say that I find no record of any duel fought by citizens of Raleigh while they were such, although blood was hot and spirit high here as elsewhere.

Here is an advertisement of the opening of the University with Rev. Joseph Caldwell, Professor of Mathematics, and Rev. William Bingham, (grand-father of Col. William and Major Robert Bingham,) Professor of Language: "Tuition, \$20 per year. Board at Steward's Hall, \$57 per year. Grammar schools hereafter to be separated from the college." And here is an account of the presentation of two handsome Globes to the University by the ladies of Raleigh. The names of the donors are not published. Our forefathers shrank from putting the names of the ladies into print, as I grieve to see is beginning to be the abominable custom now.

What indignation and disgust the announcement by our Supreme Court that attornies should not be allowed to practice before the Court would cause among our lawyers, yet we find such a notice by the Court of Conference in 1802, made in pursuance of an Act of Assembly.

Nor does the present time, with its Kuklux trials and its "Kirk-war" *habeas corpus* cases, Swazey suits, and

Self special tax bonds mandamus, have the monopoly of great forensic displays. In January, 1805, came on before Judge Potter, Chief Justice Marshall declining to sit for personal reasons, the grand ejection suit, in which the Lord Granville of the day endeavored to establish title to the magnificent territory granted to his ancestor, one of the Lords Proprietors, stretching from about the latitude of Raleigh to the Virginia line, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. We read that on Thursday Gaston “spoke at great length and with much method, perspicuity, eloquence and strength. The defence was conducted by Cameron, Baker and Woods, with great ingenuity, skill and force, and the argument was closed on Saturday by Mr. Harris for the plaintiff with much learning and ability.” The case was decided against the plaintiff, and the appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States was never prosecuted to a hearing.

On February 21st, of 1803, there was a great fall of snow, eighteen inches to two feet on a level. This was equalled, I think, in January, 1857, when there was great suffering among us for want of fuel, and there were traces of snow on the north sides of walls six weeks afterwards.

And how grateful subsequent events have proved the coal owners of Pennsylvania have been for the following advice editorially given in 1802: “We recommend the people of Eastern Pennsylvania to adopt the practice of forcing the earth for pit coal. We are credibly informed that in England coal has been discovered at a depth of 120 fathoms—720 feet!” Since then coal has been profitably mined at 2800 feet.

How delightful it would be to read as of July 4th, 1876, this announcement made June 29th 1802. “Tomorrow will die, unregretted by the American people, the death awarded them by Congress, all our Internal Federal Taxes, consisting of duties on stills and domestic

spirits, on refined sugars, license to retailers, sales at auction, carriages, and all stamped duties. May they have an eternal sleep."

What spicy news this is of the 15th May 1802, just received on July 12th 1802:

"Bonaparte has at last reached the acme of his ambition. Before this time it is presumed, he has been declared Perpetual Consul."

The editor annexes the notice of the Mayor of Havre that a vote will be taken on this question on the 25th Floreal (15th May).

For the benefit of my school-boy hearers, I state that Pizarro's speech by Sheridan so familiar to them, beginning: "My brave associates, partners of my toil, my feelings and my fame," was first received and printed at Raleigh, October 24th 1803. And for the benefit of my older hearers, I state that this speech was circulated throughout England as an attack on the ministry.

It is amusing to read how fiercely the editor assails so distinguished a character as Noah Webster, who edited a paper in Connecticut, for complaining that Jefferson prefers the society of mechanics to that of men of manners and education. "We would like to know which is the most useful of the two, the inventor or maker of a mathematical instrument, for example, or the *mechanical* compiler of a spelling book." He declares his opinion that Webster's writings "might have required industry but not half as much ingenuity as is necessary to construct a quadrant, clock or watch!"

In justice to the editor, (by the bye in those days "editors" were called "printers"), I state that, when this was written, "Webster's Unabridged Dictionary" was only in the brain of its great "mechanical compiler."

INSURRECTIONS.

It is impossible for us to imagine what terror rumors of insurrections among slaves caused among our ancestors. They created a wild panic in which reason and sense had no part. We find such rumors common in the early part of the century. The most notable was in June 1802 when the discovery that one Frank Sumner had embodied a company of 13 men under his leadership as Captain, threw the whole country from Tar River to the Atlantic into consternation. Volunteer companies were organized for patrolling and for arresting suspected persons. Martial law reigned supreme. The writ of *habeas corpus* was suspended in practice, though not by law, as to the negro race. At the time 100 men were locked up in Martin county jail. Poor Captain Frank Sumner for his ill-timed ambition was promptly hung by judgment of a special court and his deluded followers were glad to escape one with the loss of his ears, one with branding, the rest with flogging.

A similar panic about that time occurred in Franklin county, but after great excitement in all middle North Carolina and many arrests, the accused were pronounced by the court hastily convened for the emergency, to be not guilty.

When Nat. Turner's massacre of fifty-five persons occurred in Southampton, Virginia, in 1831, the whole of Raleigh was placed under arms. The able-bodied were divided into four companies, each to patrol the streets every fourth night. The old men were organized as Silver Grays. The fortress was the Presbyterian Church and it was agreed that whenever the State House bell should sound the women and children were to hasten to its protecting walls. At last one night O'Rourke's blacksmith shop took fire. It was night—says my informant—

his hair is frosted now ; but he remembers as vividly as if it were yesterday, the women with disheveled hair and in their night clothes running for life through the streets. It was no laughing matter to them. One of our most venerable and intelligent old ladies (and she is an uncommonly brave woman), although she disbelieved the stories, yet when she heard the loud clangor of the bells at midnight, drew her children around her, determined to beg the enemy to kill them first so that she might see them safe in death rather than be the first to die, leaving them to brutality and torture. But her son, then a mere boy, brandished his deceased father's sword and prepared to defend the household. I hope he will pardon me for mentioning an act so much to his credit. It was our Raleigh poet, James Fontleroy Taylor.

The negroes were frightened more than the whites. They fled and hid under houses, in garden shrubbery, lay between corn rows—anywhere.

There never was a time when the colored people of Raleigh would have risen against our people. It is greatly to the credit of both races that notwithstanding party animosity and sudden emancipation, the kindly personal feeling between the whites and their old servants has never been interrupted.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES.

A similar terror in regard to smallpox often seized the city. When this disease prevailed, the city was actually in a state of blockade. The country people shunned it as an object of horrible dread. Ropes were stretched across the infected streets. Many families would not allow their inmates to leave their lots for any cause. An old citizen had a colored man who, he discovered, had made a forbidden visit to one of his old cronies. On his return he was smoked with tar and feathers to kill the

pestilence. The same citizen owed a neighbor some money. He handed it to him through the fence with a pair of tongs. The doctors were kept busy with vaccinating. A nurse who had been attacked and cured of the disease could command any price. A country woman came into town to sell a bushel of potatoes, sitting on the bag on horseback. She called at Mrs. Royster's and asked her if she wished to buy her potatoes. "Yes," said Mrs. Royster, "I would like to buy." Before alighting the woman said, "Mrs. Royster, I wish you would tell me honestly whether the small-pox is here?" "Yes," said Mrs. Royster, "Don't you see the ropes across the street yonder?" She started with a scream, put whip to her horse and raced him for miles, carrying the potatoes with her. I record it to the honor of old Mr. Wm. Peck, whose strong sense of justice was remarkable that, when he was the only grocer who had flour for sale, he refused to sell it by the quantity but retailed it, a few pounds to each, to the families known to be needy.

Scarlet fever aroused a feeling almost as intense as small-pox. I myself remember when a camphor bag, suspended around the neck was as necessary an adjunct to a school-boy as a "shining morning face" or as an Elementary Spelling Book.

PRICES OF NECESSARIES.

It is interesting to note the prices of articles in ordinary use. I have examined the account books of W. & J. Peace, for 1805 and 1814, kept in a beautiful manner, page after page without erasure or blot or interlineation, kept in pounds, shillings and pence; \$2 to the £; 10 cts. to the shilling.

The war of 1812 did not cause such rise in values as I expected:

Salt in 1805 \$1.75, in 1815 \$1.75 per bushel; Calico in

1805 87½ cts. per yd, in 1814 \$1 per yd; Nails (8d) in 1805 20 cts. per 100, in 1814 25 cts. per 100; Shot in 1805 20 cts. per lb, in 1814 37½ per lb; Tea in 1805 \$2.50 per lb, in 1814 \$3.20 per lb; Loaf Sugar in 1805 37½ cts. per lb, in 1814 50 cts. per lb.

The price of advertisements in the newspapers of the city continued for years, unaffected by wars and financial panics, "not over twenty lines, for the first insertion, half a dollar; for each succeeding insertion, a quarter of a dollar."

During our late civil war the following were the prices, in February 1865, when gold was selling at \$1 for \$50 Confederate currency.

Nails \$3.50 per pound, in gold 7 cts; Flour \$500 per barrel, in gold \$10; Quinine \$200 per oz, in gold \$4; Morphine \$800 per oz, in gold \$16.

These prices were terrible to salaried men and mechanics, whose compensation by no means rose as Confederate prices depreciated.

THE RALEGH ACADEMY.

The attention of the people of Raleigh was early directed to the subject of education. The most active man in inaugurating schools was Joseph Gales, the editor of the *Register*, one of the most enlightened of the fathers of Raleigh.

The following is the list of the Trustees elected March 27th, 1802: John Ingles, Wm. White, Nathaniel Jones (of White Plain), Henry Seawell, Simon Turner, Wm. Boylan, John Marshall, and Joseph Gales.

Nathaniel Jones, who had donated \$100, was chosen President, and Joseph Gales Secretary.

One month afterwards \$800 is reported subscribed and soon an academy is built by permission of the General Assembly, on Burke square, one building for the males, one for the females.

This Academy became a power in the land. It grounded the education of nearly all the boys of that day in central North Carolina. It was the pride and glory of Raleigh for the third of a century.

The Academy began in grand style. In 1804 we read an advertisement which announces the teachers as follows :

Rev. Marin Detargney (late of Princeton, and of the college of Maryland) as Principal.

Chesley Daniel, graduate of the University of North Carolina, and late one of the Tutor's assistants.

Miss Charlotte Brodie, Teacher of Needle Work.

Greek, Latin, Spanish, French, Mathematics, with application to the system of the World, Astronomy, Navigation, &c., all at \$5 per quarter. A less amount might be had for \$4 per quarter. The English branches for \$3 per quarter, and Needle Work free.

Such array of all the sciences seems to have been above the demands of young Raleigh, and in 1810 it is announced by William White, the Secretary of the Board, that the Trustees of the Academy had engaged the Rev. William McPheeters, from Virginia, a gentleman eminently qualified for the undertaking, to become the Principal of the Academy and "Pastor of the City."

The leaders in the great contest with the social and political evils of the day, those who must drill the young to their full powers and enable them to cope with the active adventurous, nothing fearing, all daring spirit of this age, are the teachers of the land. Our people captivated by the eloquence of the statesman, or the brilliant achievements of the warrior do not fully appreciate the grandeur of their calling.

We honor with abundant praise that man by whose investigation into the laws of nature, rich harvests of golden grain beautify the sterile heath, fat cattle crop a grateful food on a thousand barren hills. How much more worthy

of lasting glory is the man by whose aid heaven-born ideas spring up and flourish in a desert mind, principles of noble conduct in a moral waste, high aspirations for the beautiful and sublime in the place of low and vulgar prejudice.

Dr. Wm. McPheeters was one of the best of his class, pains-taking, conscientious, thorough, parental and kind to the dutiful, but a terror to the truant—high-minded, brave, frank, abhorring all meanness, he not only instructed the minds of his boys, but he trained their consciences to aim at his own lofty standard.

He was, too, pastor of the city for several years. His ministrations in the Commons Hall were attended by all, and Episcopalians and Baptists, Presbyterians and Methodists, in their triumphs and their sorrows, on the bed of sickness, and in the hour of death, found in him a sympathizing friend, a safe counsellor, a true, tried, well-armed Great-Heart.

Under this remarkable man the Raleigh Academy grew and flourished, and the Raleigh people insensibly looking up to him as a common guide, were a united community, unpretentions, sociable, cordial to one another and cordial to strangers.

Dr. McPheeters did not consider his responsibility for the morals of the children under his care to cease with the dismissal of school on Friday evening. On Sunday morning they were called to assemble at the Academy for Sunday School, and after the Presbyterian church was built in 1816, a procession was formed with the assistance of the female teacher, Miss Nye, and all marched to the Presbyterian church. On Monday the roll was called and woe to the chap who could not give a good reason for non-attendance. He firmly believed in "moral suasion," provided it was rubbed in with a little hickory and chinquapin oil. As illustrating his management, as well as displaying his grim humor, one of our best and most dignified citizens tells me that, when a boy, he with two others concluded

that hunting birds' nests on Pigeon House Branch was more agreeable than learning the Shorter Catechism. Accordingly their handsome faces were not found for several Sundays in the procession marching from the Academy to the church. One morning the good Doctor dryly observed, "I have noticed that several of these boys are affected with a new disease—the Sunday fever—I have a sovereign remedy for it and for fear it may prove contagious, I will now proceed to administer it." Whereupon he drew forth his stout hickory and gave them such a dose as cured the fever never to return. He was no respecter of persons; regarded neither position nor the age of badly behaved boys. On one occasion he was about to whip a large youth, weighing 175 lbs. The boy expostulated, "Dr. I am too old to be whipped." The reply was, "As long as a boy misbehaves he is young enough to be punished."

It is to the credit of the Ancient Freemasons that they were the first benevolent organization to occupy Raleigh. They even preceded any religious denomination.

The first Lodge of Ancient Freemasons in the city of Raleigh was organized February 11th, 1793, at the house of Warren Altord, under the charter granted by the Grand Lodge, Friday, December 14th, 1792, styled Democratic Lodge, No. 21, with John Macon, Master; Rodman Atkins, Senior Warden; and Gee Bradley, Junior Warden. This Lodge existed for two or three years. Hiram Lodge No. 40, was established under a dispensation of Wm. R. Davie, Grand Master, dated the 10th day of March, 1799, with Henry Potter, Master; John Marshall, Senior warden; and Robert Williams, Jr., Junior warden. Its charter bears date 15th of December, 1800; was signed by Wm. Polk, Grand Master. The names of many of the men who composed the early membership of this Lodge are prominently connected with the history of Raleigh, either from its foundation or from a date not far remote from it. The names of Henry Potter, Theophilus Hunter, John Marshall,

William Boylan, William Hill, Calvin Jones, William W. Seaton, and many others are remembered now by the Masonic Fraternity with fraternal reverence.

The Grand Lodge of Masons, after holding its communications alternately in Tarborough, Hillsboro, Newbern and Fayetteville, met for the first time in Raleigh, on the 3rd day of December, 1794. It has since held its Annual Communications in Raleigh. Many of our worthy citizens, some of whom are now living, have been and are yet active members of this body. There are many interesting facts connected with the history of this order in Raleigh, which I regret cannot be given to you on this occasion.

CHURCHES.

For a long time after the foundation of the city the people worshipped in the State-house or the Court-house, only too glad to listen to the teachings of the missionary of any denomination who might favor them with his ministrations. The great Methodist Bishop Asbury records that he officiated in the former place in 1800. When, in 1810, Dr. Wm. B. McPheeters was employed as principal of the Raleigh Academy, it was announced that he was likewise engaged as "Pastor of the City," and tradition hath it that for years he actually exercised this great charge with a wise and fearless hand.

The first church edifice in the city was erected by Rev. Wm. Glendenning, a half crazy O'Kellyite parson, who made money enough by trading on week days to support himself in preaching on Sundays. This was where the residence of Mr. N. S. Harp is now.

A Methodist church of wood was next erected on the site where the present building now stands, as we learn from the excellent address of Prof. A. W. Mangum, on the history of the Methodist Church in Raleigh. A Baptist church was built in 1813 which had a singular history.

It was at first on a lot east of the Moore square, (once called Old Baptist Grove), was afterwards moved to the square and was used by all the Baptists of the city until 1835. A lady friend remembers when each pious member, whenever services were conducted at night, carried his or her individual tallow candle to aid in the illumination of the building—which illustrates the wonderful growth of that denomination in the city. In 1835 there was a division in this church and the majority holding the building joined themselves to the sect called “Christians.” They gradually dwindled until since the war, Mr. Mark Williams, being the last survivor, sold the building to a colored congregation who removed it to a part of the city known as “Hayti.” The minority built the church at the corner of Wilmington and Morgan streets, which was afterwards purchased by the Catholics when the Baptists erected the handsome Salisbury street building.

The Presbyterian church, the first of any architectural pretensions, was finished in 1817, and is the only building still occupied by the denomination which erected it. It was used with true christian liberality as the House of Worship, not only by the Presbyterians, but by others. In the Parish Registers of Christ’s Church, we find an entry by Bishop Ravenscroft in his own hand-writing of the baptism in the Presbyterian church, in presence of the congregation, of an infant son of Episcopal parents, who is now one of the most trusted officers of Christ church.

The first Episcopal church was built in 1829, the congregation before that time occupying a house known as the “Museum.” This was erected by Jacob Marling, near where the Citizens’ Bank stands, for the exhibition of phantasmagaria, minerals, insects, mechanical inventions and curiosities, for a visit to which 12½ cents a head was charged. The Episcopalians sold their building to

the colored Methodists, after erecting their present handsome granite structure.

FIRES.

It was in 1821 that fire companies were first authorized, and in 1826 provision was made for drafting in case there were not sufficient volunteers. An engine had, long ago, as early as 1802, been purchased by voluntary contribution. It may be of interest to some of my firemen friends to state the prices of seventy-four years ago.

An engine for 24 hands, throwing 50 yards, 130 gallons per minute, \$560.

One for 18 hands, throwing 100 gallons per minute, 47 yards, \$414.

One for 16 hands, throwing 44 yards, 80 gallons per minute, \$374.

The cheapest of the above was bought for Raleigh.

The Rescue Steam Fire Engine can throw a 1½ inch stream a *vertical* height of 126 feet, 600 gallons per minute.

A brief notice of some of the principal fires in Raleigh may not be without interest, and may serve as warnings.

Raleigh has had an uncommon share of disasters from fire. All of Fayetteville street, on both sides, from Martin to the Capitol Square, except from the spot where Fraps' beer garden reminds our German brethren of the glories of the "Vaterland," to the corner where the Raleigh National Bank reminds us that the time was when money could be borrowed at six per cent. interest, and excepting one other house, have been swept by fire, some parts twice, others three or four times.

The first great fire on record was in 1816, on the east side of Fayetteville street, extending from Martin street to Hargett, and thence nearly to Wilmington street. Zach. Miller owned a store on the corner of Hargett and

Wilmington streets. He had in his house ten barrels of vinegar stored. Not having water wherewith to encounter the advancing flames, he dashed upon them and on his smoking walls the precious apple juice, and stayed their progress. My informant, our old friend, John R. Harrison, tells me he remembers well how strangely the yellow fluid looked as it streamed over the planks and spluttered in the flames. The ill-fated water-works here-mentioned were the result of this fire of 1816.

In 1821 a second fire broke out near the site where the market house stands, and, without interruption, the flames rushed to Hargett street, sweeping all in their path. Here they leaped across to the opposite corner and levelled to the earth all the buildings on both sides of Hargett, two dreadful parallel columns of fire to Wilmington street. They likewise hurried north with unchecked fury, until stopped by the unconquerable energy and pluck of a woman.

This lady deserves especial mention on an occasion like this. Her house stood, a two storied wooden building, where Tucker's handsome hall rears its iron front. It was about 20 feet from the nearest house on the south and a little further from its next neighbor on the North.

She was a widow, sister of our venerable old friend still living (Mrs. Lucas) the daughter of Casso, who has been mentioned as keeper of one of the principal hotels. By her unaided exertions in keeping a private boarding house she was rearing the large family, the members of which are among our best citizens.

Not only in the conflagration of which I speak, but afterwards when the fire demon, starting from the corner next to Capitol square, moved down, levelling all the houses on its way, and assailed her from the north, did this heroic woman stand like a bulwark against the onward march of the flames. While the hearts of others failed, hers stood firm. While strong men gazed, help-

less and despairing, at the grand but awful sight, she sprang forth to active conflict with the danger. She spurred on the lagging, she animated the faint hearted, she heeded not the advancing column of the flames, the falling cinders, the suffocating smoke, the crashing timbers; she forgot for a time the natural timidity of her sex. Armed with wet blankets and hastily filled buckets, she stood in the very jaws of the terrible heat, until others, ashamed into action by the recklessness of her daring, rushed to her aid. Twice she conquered. Twice did she save from destruction her own property and long rows of her neighbors' houses. Among her contemporaries her praise was in the mouths of all. Let our young men and young women remember the deeds, and honor the name of Mrs. Hannah Stewart.

It will grieve you all, I know, to learn that, twenty years afterwards, when old age had diminished her strength, she was again assaulted by her ancient foe, and this time defeated. A fire broke out in Depkin's shoe shop, the nearest house on the north, and from suddenness of the attack and the direction of the wind, her dwelling, so often saved, was destroyed. The flames again swept down to and along Hargett street, until checked within one house of Wilmington street. The hose of the engine was burst soon after it was brought into action. The water flowed on the ground and mixing with earth formed an impromptu imitation of Fayetteville street, as once macadamized by the transcendent genius of our city commissioners, with thick layers of soft red clay from the basement of the market house. The ready witted firemen gathered this plastic material by handfull and buckets full, and dashing it against the walls of the threatened store, formed a non-conductor, impervious to heat. The fire was extinguished and the grateful citizens dubbed, I should say *daubed*, this heroic

band as the "mud company," and this well-earned name stuck fast up to the day of its dissolution.

Those tracing titles to property are often perplexed by inability to find records of deeds made over forty years ago. This is in consequence of the loss of twenty registry books in a disastrous fire, which originated in the store of Richard Smith, the county Register, which was located at the corner where an excellent friend of ours, A. Creech, sells goods. This fire was caused by an incendiary, Benjamin F. Seaborn, who kindled the flame in order to hide his theft of the money of his employer. On this occasion all the buildings on the west side of Fayetteville, from Hargett street to the Capitol Square were destroyed, except the Newbern banking house, now the residence of Dr. Haywood. It will be a great satisfaction to the lawyers, when groaning over the loss of the registry books, as it was to the citizens of Raleigh, to know that Seaborn, after removing his trial to Fayetteville, and obtaining, by an appeal to the Supreme Court, an excellent opinion against him from Judge Ruffin, was hung, as he deserved to be.

BURNING OF THE CAPITOL.

In 1831 occurred an event of momentous consequence to the people of Raleigh, which not only caused great loss of itself but, according to tradition, came near ruining the city. This was the burning of the Capitol. The old State House was constructed in 1792. It was described as wholly without architectural beauty, an ugly mass of brick and mortar. It was repaired in 1822, under the supervision of Capt. Wm. Nichols, an experienced architect, who covered its dingy walls with stucco, and rendered it more sightly by the addition of porticos and a dome. The form of the building was similar to the present noble granite structure

which, by its unpretending but stately beauty, fitly represents the solid virtues of North Carolina character.

By a freak of liberality, unusual in those good old days, when the State never spent over \$90,000 a year for all purposes, when taxes were six cents on the \$100 value of real estate only, and personal property was entirely exempt, the General Assembly had placed in the rotunda a magnificent statue of Washington, of Carrara marble, by the great Canova. It was the pride and boast of the State. Our people remembered with peculiar pleasure that La Fayette had stood at its base and commended the beauty of the carving and the fitness of the honor, to the great man under whom he had served in our war for Independence, and whom he regarded with a passionate and reverential love.

The carelessness of an artisan engaged in covering the roof, lost this great work of art to the State. On the morning of the 21st of June, 1831, while the sun shone bright in the heavens, flames were seen issuing from the roof. The owls and flying squirrels, which had built their nests among the rafters, hastened through the ventilator to escape from the doomed building, followed by thick smoke and then by bright flame. With no such powerful machine as the Rescue engine, the progress of the fire was unchecked. A few citizens, incited by a gallant little lady, Miss Betsy Geddy, who had all the spirit of her Revolutionary fathers, endeavored with frantic haste to remove the statue. But its great weight was too much for their strength. They were forced to witness its destruction. Forty years have not erased from their memories the splendors of the closing scene of this drama. For many minutes, like its great original, serene and unmoved among the fires of Monmouth or of Trenton, the statue stood, the central figure of numberless blazing torches, untouched and majestic, every lineament and feature and graceful dappery white—hot and of supernatural brill-

iancy and beauty. Then suddenly the burning timbers fell, and the master-piece of Canova, was a mass of broken fragments.

ROCKY BRANCH NAVIGABLE.

I have said that, according to tradition, this fire came near ruining our city. Haywood was in old times an ambitious little village, situate as you know, at the confluence of the Haw and Deep rivers. The digging of the Erie canal across the State of New York, and the great increase to the commerce and wealth of New York City, caused thereby, aroused a wild, speculative fever on the subject of canal and navigation works throughout the whole country. Civil engineers could not be manufactured fast enough to supply the demand. In this State, so eager were the statesmen of the day, headed by Judge Murphy, President of the Board of Internal Improvements, to realize the vast benefits to accrue from the navigation of our water courses, that Peter Browne, the eminent lawyer, then in Scotland, was authorized to send out an engineer at any price for which he could be obtained. In those days of low salaries, when the Secretary of State and Treasurer received only a few hundred dollars per annum, the Intendant of Police in Raleigh nothing, and all the Clergymen of the county of Wake put together only received \$3,500. Mr. Browne, an able, hard-headed, long headed and *square*-headed Scotchman, was obliged to pay \$6,000 per year in gold, salary to Mr. Hamilton Fulton, for his services. Great works were projected. Tar River was to be made navigable to Louisville. The corn and wheat of the Yadkin Valley as high as Wilkes, of the Broad River, in Rutherford, of Haw River in Alamance, of Neuse River, up to Orange county, of the Roanoke and Dan, up to the county of Stokes, of Deep River to the interior of Randolph, were to be trans-

ported to the ocean in canal boats. A dam across Roanoke Sound was to force the water to re open Nag's Head Inlet.

I have before me the estimate for connecting Rocky Branch at the Fayetteville road crossing, at Tucker's Mill, with the ocean, by way of Walnut creek and Neuse river. The fall from the Fayetteville road to Neuse river is seventy-four feet three inches. The distance is ten miles four furlongs and eleven rods. From the mouth of Walnut creek to Major Turner's ferry (below Smithfield) the descent is 66 feet, 8 inches. The distance is 31 miles, 6 furlongs 8 yards.

I have also the survey from the Kimbrough Jones bridge down Crab tree to Neuse river. The descent is only 23 feet 10 inches, the distance 8 miles 6 furlongs, 11 yards.

The engineer advises against making Walnut creek and Rocky branch navigable for 4 reasons. 1st, the sinuosities, 2d, the number of dams and locks required to overcome the fall, 3d, the flatness and width of the valleys, 4th the purchase of the lowlands flooded.

But Mr. Fulton sees no difficulty in making Crabtree navigable. I have his estimates including a rail road from Raleigh to the creek at the Kimbrough Jones bridge. Total \$35,255.

The Engineer seems to recommend a railway (or tramway) from Raleigh to Neuse river 9 miles, making the total cost of connecting Raleigh with the ocean \$27,875.

To us who have witnessed so many failures in navigation works it seems strange that sensible men should have credited these estimates, yet they were credited and acted on. We had a Neuse River Navigation Company in which our people took stock, paid in their money and elected their officers. They built boats and launched them. Mr. James H. Murray so long known among us as the fearless and incorruptible Constable of the city, as

Captain of a flat-boat, made one trip from Stone's (now W. R. Pool's) mill on the Neuse to Newbern, and after many and tedious day she returned. And that was the end of making Raleigh a seaport town.

To those who indulged in all these visions, Haywood, at the confluence of the Haw and the Deep, seemed to be the exact spot for building a new London, or Paris, Liverpool or Glasgow, New York or Philadelphia. It was a central point, certainly to be joined to the ocean, the land high, healthy and suitable to the location of a city. It seemed so certain that Haywood should be the metropolis of North Carolina that many of the leading men of that day bought lots and hoped to be millionaires.

When therefore after the burning of the Capitol in 1831, the General Assembly was called on for appropriations to re-build, in such a manner as not to incur the risk of loss by fire, the new State house, Hugh McQueen, of Chatham, put in a claim for Haywood. It is true Raleigh was fixed, unalterable except by a convention of the people. But then a new convention was shortly to be held. It is firmly believed among our old people that Haywood failed by only one vote. I must confess that I am unable to verify this legend. It is true that in Dec. 1831 the proposal to rebuild the Capitol in Union square was voted down 68 to 65 in the House of Commons, but that does not prove that a proposal to build at Haywood would have been carried by the same vote. Certain it is that in Dec. 13th 1831, the bill to appropriate \$50,000 towards rebuilding the Capitol here passed the House by 73 to 60 and the Senate by 35 to 28.

REBUILDING OF STATE-HOUSE.

The State house of Raleigh (the old acts call it by this name, borrowed from our Holland allies, the name Capitol borrowed from Rome is of later growth), is a signal ex-

ample of Legislatures. "building better than they knew." It was well known at the date of the first appropriation that the inexperienced members of the interior counties fully expected that the sum of \$50,000 would complete the new edifice and have it ready for occupancy in a year or two. The old building of 1792, of brick from the public brick-yard on lots No. 138 and 154 was, by the act, to cost only \$20,000. The repairing of the same, the addition of porticos, &c., in 1819 was paid for out of the sale of the public lands east of the city and that cost was not known. If \$20,000 could build a house in 1792, why could not \$50,000 in 1832?

The first commissioners were among our strongest and best men, William Boylan, Duncan Cameron, William S. Mhoon, Henry Seawell and Romulus M. Saunders.

They were succeeded by such eminent men as Samuel F. Patterson, Beverly Daniel, Charles Mauly, Alfred Jones, Charles L. Hinton.

These commissioners were enlightened men and deserve great credit for their perservance and courage in giving us a building worthy of the State. Demagogues criticised them, Legislative committees carped at them, but they were in all respects sustained not only by the Legislatures, but by the people.

I am enabled to give you the cost of the building as finally summed up in 1840, viz: \$530,684.15.

I have found and copied a full description by David Paton, who, after the first year or two, became the architect. I will not read the whole but will mention now that the building is 160 x 140 feet. It is 94½ feet high to top of dome; to apex of the pediment, 64 feet. The columns are 5 feet 2½ inches in diameter and 30 feet high. The entablature, including blocking, is 12 feet high. The columns and entablature are Grecian-Doric, copied from the Parthenon at Athens. The dome is decorated after the manner of the monument called the

Lantern of Demosthenes. The lobbies and hall of the House of Representatives have columns and antæ modeled after the Octagon Tower of Andronicus Cyrrhestes, and the plan of the hall is that of a Greek Theatre.

COMPLETION OF R. & G. R. R.

The same year that the Capitol was finished, the first locomotive steamed to Raleigh over the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad. The name of the locomotive, the Tornado, expressed fitly the wild excitement which swept through the bosoms of the people. It was determined to hold a celebration in honor of the double event, the completion of the Railroad and completion of the Capitol.

For three days in June was this celebration held. Everybody's door was thrown wide open. From distant counties, from the cities of Virginia, men, women and children flocked in to see the new wonder. Ruffin's Richmond band discoursed sweet music for the occasion. The Tornado was constantly employed in making excursion trips into the country for the delectation of visitors. A grand procession under the marshalling of Gen. Beverly Daniel, marched from the Court house to the depot.

There, on five tables each 90 feet long, was spread a mighty dinner, prepared by the best efforts of Mrs. Hannah Stewart. Gov. Dudley was President. Weston R. Gales was toast-master. The Vice-Presidents were Gaston, Iredell, Branch, Bryan, Hinton, Mordecai, Patterson, Dr. Jos. W. Hawkins, Dr. Watson Dupuy. There were 13 regular toasts, and 76 volunteer toasts. Speeches grave and gay, eloquent and witty, were delivered. Judge Gaston's speech was worthy of the finest orators of the century.

At night the trees of the Capitol square were illuminated with colored lamps, and similar lamps on Fayetteville

street made a splendid vista of brilliancy, terminated by the Capitol and the Governor's Mansion, where every window was a blaze of light. Every important house in the city was illuminated. Gorgeous transparencies could be every where seen. One was a representation of the Capitol, another of a Locomotive, another of mountains and the sea. Gay couples danced in Commons Hall under the light of the old chandelier, while in the Senate chamber the more staid talked over the great wonders of the Iron Horse, the splendid architecture around them, the Presidential Campaign on which they were entering.

THE FIRST RAILROAD IN NORTH CAROLINA.

One of the toasts given at the grand dinner was sent by Mr. Wm. Peck. It was "to the distinguished female who suggested the construction of the Experimental Railroad. She well deserves a name among the benefactors of the State."

The Raleigh Experimental Railroad was the first attempt at a railroad built in North Carolina. It was a cheap strap iron tramway, costing \$22,50 per mile. It was the suggestion of Mrs. Sarah Polk, the widow of Col. Wm. Polk, and the mother of Bishop Polk. She became the principal stockholder, which showed her financial judgment, for it paid over three hundred per cent. Capt. Daniel H. Bingham was the Engineer, an accomplished scholar who taught a military school in Saunders' house, on Hillsboro street, and was assisted by two of his advanced students—Dr. R. B. Haywood, of this city, and Col. Wm. C. Abbott, of Mississippi. The road ran from the east portion of the Capitol to the stone quarry, turning to the right at the Hutchings House until it reached the middle of the ridge, a hundred yards south of Newbern Avenue; thence down said ridge to within fifty yards of Camp Russel; thence bending to the right, running under the site of Lambright's

Beer Garden, and so on to the quarry. Quite a deep cut was made in the Capitol square, which was afterwards filled up with the debris of the yard. A six foot embankment was raised in front of Dr. Little's residence, and a part of the embankment is yet visible at the Hutchings House, a row of elms having been planted on it. It was finished January 1st, 1833, and a handsome car was put on it, as was announced, "for the accommodation of such ladies and gentlemen as desired to take the exercise of a railroad airing." The motive power was a good old horse that was warranted not to run away. People came from the adjoining counties to avail themselves of this opportunity, and the passenger car often interfered with the regular car for hauling stone.

REMOVAL OF THE MARKET.

The market house was, in the early part of the century, a small octagonal house in the middle of Fayetteville street. It was afterwards on Hargett street, between Fayetteville and Wilmington. Shops for the sale of spirituous liquors clustered around it in such numbers that this portion was called "Grog Alley"—the scene of much drinking and disorder, of many a fisticuff fight and occasionally a homicide. A party was formed for the removal of the market to its present location, which party after a fierce struggle, succeeded in carrying the municipal election in 1840. The conquerors were so elated that they marched through "Grog Alley" with torches and shouts of victory. This so irritated the valorous inhabitants of that place of resort that a bloody riot ensued, the only riot in the history of the city. Brickbats and other missiles flew so furiously that the victors retreated in great disorder without the loss of a man. It was in this battle that the expression "who struck Billy Patterson," arose. Patterson being a noted free negro of stuttering fame, who was smitten by an unknown assailant.

This new Market house was burnt in 1865 and the "Market house debt" of \$50,000, now afflicting the city, was incurred in erecting the present building.

GROWTH OF THE CITY.

The increase of population and rise in value of property since the beginning of the century need some mention.

The total population in 1807 was 726.

In 1810 this had increased to 976.

Thirty years after, in 1840, we find the population 2,240, very little over twice as much in thirty years.

In 1850, however, we find the population 4,518, having increased as much in ten years as it had done before in thirty.

This increase was probably due to the certainty of Raleigh's continuing to be the seat of Government, caused by the completion of the Capitol and to the increased communication caused by the finishing of the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad.

But the city seems to have stood still in the decade from 1850 to 1860, increasing only to 4,780 in the aggregate. Indeed as the corporate limits were extended in 1856, the inference seems to be that there was a positive decrease.

In 1870, however, the number is proved to be 7,700, and in 1876 it is generally supposed to be over 10,000.

In 1870, Raleigh township, being a square whose sides are distant one mile from the Capitol, had 2,379 inhabitants, besides those in the corporate limits, so that the population of Raleigh, including those living in its outskirts and contributing to its wealth, was 10,169.

In 1860 this outside population was very small in comparison to that of 1870.

I conclude that Raleigh more than doubled in the decade from 1860 to 1870, nearly all of which increase was

after 1865, and certainly there has been a marked increase since 1870.

The increase in the value of property in Raleigh has been striking, especially in localities near the market house.

The lot on the corner of Martin and Wilmington, streets, on part of which the Adams' building rears its imposing front, 140 by 120, was bought for \$2,500 in November, 1851. In February, 1874, nine-fourteenths of it were sold for \$15,050, at the rate of over \$22,000 for the whole.

The ground where the Citizens' National Bank stands was bought about thirty years ago for \$2,200. It was sold at auction in 1868 for \$8,200.

The southeast corner of Fayetteville and Martin streets was bought by Dr. F. J. Haywood in 1838 for \$750, and sold in 1872 for \$10,000 cash. It has been rented as high since the war as \$1,200 per year and generally at \$800 \$1,000.

The lot fronting 105 feet on Fayetteville street, owned by the late E. B. Freeman, was bought about 1858 for \$3,500. It was sold in 1875 for \$7,100.

Various vacant lots, worth before the war, \$400 or \$500 to \$800 have been easily sold since the war at \$2,000 to \$3,000 per acre.

The half acre where Dr. Wm. Little lives between Newbern, Blount and Edenton streets, was bought in 1838 for \$500. It was sold two or three years ago for \$2,000 cash.

The Bank lot, including this half acre, sold for \$4,500 in 1838. In 1867 it brought \$11,025 at auction.

The increase of the trade of the city has been as astonishing as the rise of property. The cotton trade of Raleigh has increased from 500 to 600 bales 10 years ago to — bales in 1875 and during this year the trade will handle over 40,000 bales and the receipts are increasing

every year—about fifteen counties sending their productions to us.

The dry goods trade has advanced in astonishing ratio. When in 1852 W. H. & R. S. Tucker, who have been pioneers in mercantile adventure knocked out the partition of their old store, now used by the Express Company, and increased its length to 100 feet, they were looked on as so daring that an old kinsman refused on this account to be surety on their paper. When after the war in 1866 they further dared to construct Tucker Hall, the finest store in the State, they equally defied what some thought the rule of prudence. But in each case the success justified the venture. Their sales have been 300 per cent. over what they were before the war.

The noble buildings along Fayetteville and Martin streets, the Briggs Building, the Fisher Building, the Holleman Building, the Adams Building, the State National Bank, the Andrews Building, the Citizens' Bank Building, the enlargement of the Yarbrough House, the National Hotel, the completion of Peace Institute and Baptist Seminary, and many smaller, but in the aggregate, very important edifices, and the magnificent private residences on Blount and other streets, together with countless cheaper dwellings in all parts of the city, the homes of the rich as well as of our mechanics, show that we have entered on a new era of prosperity. The general grocery and hardware business have grown so enormously that it may be said they have been created within the last ten years.

And all this improvement is in despite of the want of banking capital.

The total banking capital of Raleigh is only \$600,000. As the bonds required under the National banking act for the issue of currency were of necessity bought in New York, and as the maximum currency allowed to be issued is ninety per cent. of the bonds, the banks actually

sent out of the community considerably more money than they brought in. The Bank of North Carolina had \$2,500,000 capital, and after parceling off to the branches what they required could, before the war, reserve for Raleigh what our people needed. In those days a solvent man could always get money in bank on proper security at six per cent. Since the war the percentage has been as high often as 18 and 24 per cent, and frequently can not be had at any price, not even with the best collaterals.

Great fortunes measured by a North Carolina standard, have been accumulated by industry and thrift in Raleigh. For the encouragement of young men I will give some striking instances, not mentioning any living person.

The late William Boylan must have been worth nearly a million when he died. The foundation of it was laid here. Part of this however was in the increase of slaves, which in some instances was very great. In the first place the intrinsic value advanced. The highest price I can find paid for the best man about 1801 was \$425. In 1860, \$1,500 was not uncommon. But the natural increase in the number of slaves was often enormous. Mr. Boylan some years ago gave \$300 for a young woman and talked about suing the seller for her unsoundness. That woman had twenty-four children, fifteen of whom grew up and were valuable. Gov. Swain had a woman who was a grand mother at the age of twenty-six. But there are striking cases of great accumulation of wealth where it was not in negro property.

Mr. Ruffin Tucker came into Raleigh as a clerk at a salary of \$25 per year. He was obliged to furnish his own candles. His employer thought sunlight cheaper. He died possessing a large estate, part of which was the very store where he had commenced life so plainly.

William and Joseph Peace made all their large estate by merchandising in Raleigh, and the rise of city prop-

erty. And Richard Smith started life as an humble clerk. The real estate he left is worth largely over \$100,000.

And there are divers men in Raleigh, worth now from \$50,000 to \$80,000, who at the end of the war had not a twentieth part of it. Let my young friends remember that it is extravagance which ruins so many fortunes. Micawber sums up it up exactly: "Annual income £20; annual expenditures £19.10s. Result, happiness. Annual income £20; annual expenditure £20.10s. Result, misery. The God of Night goes down on the cheerful day. In fact you are flooded.

I must bring this series of sketches to a close, leaving much unsaid of great interest and value. It would be a pleasing task, if I had time, to continue the history of the institutions of our city to the present. I would like to tell of more of the great and good men who have resided among us, learned divines, members of the bar, of the medical fraternity, of the counting house, of the workshop; of the ladies who were distinguished in church, in the social circle, in charitable work, in the instruction of youth. I would like to give the history of the Press of Raleigh from the *Register*, the *Minerva*, the *Star*, down to the newspapers of our day; of the schools, male and female, which, since the days of McPheeters, have done so much good in the land; of their teachers, especially of those, my preceptors, whom I remember so affectionately, Rev. Edwin Gier, John Y. Hicks, Silas Bigelow, and that nestor of the school-room, still pursuing his honorable calling, J. M. Lovejoy; of the Episcopal school for boys, under the late learned Librarian of the Astor Library of New York and Rev. Dr. Curtis, distinguished as a botanist among all the savans of the world—and then of St. Mary's school for girls, which, under Rev. Dr. Smedes, has been shedding abroad its light for thirty-five years, and of those other excellent schools of more recent origin, Peace Institute, under Rev. Dr. Burwell, and the Baptist

Female Seminary, under Prof. Hobgood. I would like to describe the beginnings and progress of the societies of Raleigh; the Masonic order, the Odd Fellows, Knights of Pythias, Sons of Temperance, Friends of Temperance, Good Templars—the Fire Companies, Military Companies, Insurance Companies. A sketch of the Banks of Raleigh, of the progress of the Churches, of the Cemeteries, would be instructive, and then I would like to narrate the trials of our people in the great civil war, of its occupation by the armies of the Confederacy and by the armies of the Union, of the part taken by our boys in that great strife, their victories, their defeats, their sufferings, their deaths. And then I would give—I give it now, with my whole heart—a sentiment uttered with great enthusiasm at a dinner had March 15th, 1815, after peace with Great Britain was declared:

“TO THE HEROES ON EACH SIDE who have fallen in the late war. The memory of the brave is consecrated by the love of their countrymen and hallowed by the admiration of the world.”

The great civil war is like a mighty flood between the old time and the new. The habits and ways of the Raleigh of thirty years ago are becoming unknown among us; they are mere matters of tradition to our children. They are passing away, those dear, good, kindly-loving people of the old school. Many have crossed the deep and dark river, and have been lifted up the farther banks by the angels of light. A few still linger, their feet almost touching the swift water as it rushes past. Let us who are taking their place among the old folks of Raleigh strive to follow their virtues and reap their reward.

I have known Raleigh well for thirty-six years. She has been a loving mother to me. Her people have been to me as brothers and sisters. Stern, imperious duty will soon demand my most active labors elsewhere. I feel I

will carry your good wishes with me. I know I will never abate my good will and affection for you. If I have contributed in any degree to arouse your feelings of city pride, to infuse into any of you one glorious resolve to be worthy of our good city's past, to lift her to a higher position among the *foci* of civilization and religion, I will have reaped my reward.



ERRATA.

- On page 34, for "seven hundred" read "eight hundred."
" 40, for "Americus" read "~~Americus~~ *Americus*"
" 47, for "Confederate prices" read "Confederate currency."
" 57, for "carrata" read "carrara."
" 63, near the bottom, for "east portion" read "east portico."
- J









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