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Vol. VII

JULY, 1907

No. 1

The
North Carolina Booklet



GREAT EVENTS
IN
NORTH CAROLINA
HISTORY



PUBLISHED QUARTERLY

BY

THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY

DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

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SINGLE NUMBERS 35 CENTS

\$1.00 THE YEAR

The North Carolina Booklet.

Great Events in North Carolina History.

The BOOKLET will be issued QUARTERLY by the NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY OF THE DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION, beginning July, 1907. Each BOOKLET will contain three articles and will be published in July, October, January and April. Price, \$1.00 per year, 35 cents for single copy.

EDITORS:

MISS MARY HILLIARD HINTON.

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MISS MARY HILLIARD HINTON,

"MIDWAY PLANTATION,"

Raleigh, N. C.

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*"Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her."*

Published by
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

The object of the BOOKLET is to aid in developing and preserving North Carolina History. The proceeds arising from its publication will be devoted to patriotic purposes.

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No. 1

NORTH CAROLINA IN THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR.

BY COLONEL ALFRED MOORE WADDELL.

“The French and Indian War,” as it is designated in our history, was the American part of the great Seven Years’ War in Europe in which Frederick the Great made his fame. It was the struggle between France and England for supremacy on this continent, or, more accurately speaking, between the genius of William Pitt and the enemies of England, for the possession and control of what is now recognized to be the greatest empire on earth. The years through which it continued were from 1754 to 1763, when the final treaty of peace was made. Nothing in the career of Mr. Pitt so wonderfully demonstrates his stupendous and all-embracing genius as his management of this war. It established his supremacy as a statesman and administrator over every English-speaking prime minister that has ever lived. His correspondence with the Governors and military authorities in the colonies, which has recently been published in two volumes by the Colonial Dames of America, is so astonishing in its comprehensive grasp of the whole field of operations, civil and military, and so minute in its detailed knowledge of every feature of the situation—from the financial needs of each colony and its geographical position and means of defense, the forces at its command, the most desirable routes

for military movements, the methods of remedying defective quartermaster, commissary and transportation facilities, and indeed every other general or detailed matter connected with the conduct of a war conducted three thousand miles from his office, down to instructions as to how certain boats and wagons should be built and hauled, and the like—as to justify the assertion that it is without parallel.

The greater part of the French and Indian War was carried on far from the borders of North Carolina, the principal theatre of it being from the Canada border down to Fort DuQuesne (now Pittsburg, Pa.), and the northwestern frontier of Virginia, but before it ended it was extended along the settlements southwardly to Georgia. The French were very enterprising in conciliating and making treaties with the Indians all the way down to Louisiana. Their first act of aggression was as early as 1753, but matters did not become serious in the way of fighting until 1754. In the latter year Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, made an appeal to the other Colonies for help to repel French aggression. To that appeal North Carolina made characteristic answer by voting twelve thousand pounds, and mustering a regiment for the service. In regard to this contribution, Governor Dinwiddie, writing to Mr. Hanbury in London, May 10th, 1754, said, "Except North Carolina, not one of the other colonies has granted any supplies," and it appears from a letter of Governor Dobbs to Pitt, 22d December, 1758, that out of 66,000 pounds raised in the Province, 38,000 had been given to assist the other provincies.

This expedition of 1754, about which he wrote, was the first one in which North Carolina had an opportunity to participate in that war. Fourteen years before that, however, she had sent a company (in 1740) on the expedition to Carthage in the war with Spain, which was commanded by Capt. James Innes; and the same officer, as Colonel, was as-

signed to the command of the regiment raised for the expedition of 1754. He was a native of Cannisbay, in Scotland, and a resident of New Hanover County, living on his plantation, Point Pleasant, about nine miles from Wilmington, on the northeast branch of the Cape Fear River.

He was an experienced soldier, having served "in the old country," as he expressed it, as well as in the Carthagera expedition. In the latter he was associated with General Washington's brother Lawrence, and upon his appointment to the command of the North Carolina regiment and all the forces in 1754, Washington wrote to Governor Dinwiddie: "I rejoice that I am likely to be happy under the command of an experienced officer, and man of sense. It is what I have ardently wished for." Governor Dinwiddie himself wrote to Sir Thomas Robinson in regard to him that he "has been in his Majesty's Army, and is of an unblemished character, of great reputation for his bravery and conduct."

And yet when Innes arrived in Virginia with his regiment he found a state of things so discouraging, and indeed so desperate, that he was compelled to inform the Governor that unless some relief was offered he would have to disband the North Carolina regiment, and let them go home, as they were in actual danger of starvation. Washington had been continually complaining of the miserable mismanagement of the expedition and of the want of necessary supplies, and when to this management was added a spirit of insubordination among some of the officers who refused to recognize the superior rank of Washington and Innes, and among others who were offended at the putting of Innes at the head of the expedition, the climax was reached. Washington, at the beginning of the expedition, was Lieutenant-Colonel and had gone forward with the first detachment of one hundred and fifty men from Alexandria, on the 10th of May, and had arrived within seventy-five miles of the place selected for the encampment.

tion of the fort at the forks of the Monongahela when he learned that a French force had come down on the company engaged in building it and had captured them, whereupon he went into camp and awaited reinforcements. Col. Joshua Fry had been made Commander-in-Chief of the expedition, but he died about the 1st of June, and Washington was promoted to the Colonelcy of the Virginia regiment in Fry's stead. It was at this juncture that Governor Dinwiddie wrote the letter to Washington, heretofore referred to, announcing the appointment of Innes as Commander-in-Chief, and referring to him as "an old experienced officer," which Washington acknowledged in the generous terms already quoted. Innes, who was as modest as he was brave, seemed to apprehend that his age would be against him, and moreover suspected that the Virginians would be dissatisfied with his assignment to the chief command—which proved to be correct, but Governor Dinwiddie wrote to him in these words: "Your age is nothing when you reflect on your regular mode of living," and "as for the expectations of the people here, I always have regard to merit, and I know yours and you need not mind or fear any reflections." After his arrival, however, and upon the discovery of the situation heretofore mentioned, viz, that he could get no supplies and no money to sustain his command, and after notifying the Governor of the facts, without receiving any assistance, he was compelled to disband his force of North Carolinians and let them go home to avoid starvation.

To aggravate the case, supplies were furnished to other troops, some of whom had gone on and joined Washington, and, with the command under him, had surrendered after a gallant fight against superior numbers at Great Meadows. Innes wanted and tried to resign, but was finally persuaded to remain on duty, and when Braddock's expedition was organized in 1755, to which North Carolina contributed about

one hundred men under Major Dobbs, son of the Governor, although they were not in the disastrous defeat but were in the reserve corps under Dunbar—Braddock appointed Innes commander of Fort Cumberland, with a title never before or since heard of, to-wit, Governor of Fort Cumberland, and it was fortunate that he did so, for he rendered invaluable service to Braddock's ruined and fugitive army at that point, notwithstanding he was abandoned by Colonel Dunbar, who succeeded Braddock, and who "went into winter quarters" (in August) at Philadelphia, leaving Innes with 400 sick and wounded, and a handful of Provincials to defend the frontier. He felt the ill usage accorded to him keenly, and, tried again to resign, but was begged by Governor Dinwiddie to be patient, and, yielding patriotically to these solicitations, he continued to do his duty to his King and country faithfully until the spring of 1756, when he returned to North Carolina on leave of absence, and ended his career as a soldier. He died September 5th, 1759, at Wilmington. In 1756 North Carolina sent three companies under Major Dobbs to New York. While these military operations were being conducted on the Pennsylvania and Virginia frontiers, and later in the year, Governor Dobbs of North Carolina was endeavoring as best he could to provide for the defense of the frontier of that province, as the region west of Salisbury was called, and, in the prosecution of that purpose two forts were built, one of them between Third and Fourth Creeks near the present town of Statesville, and the other as is believed, in Caldwell County, in or near what is known as the Happy Valley. These forts were built under the direction and command of a youth of twenty-one years of age who had been a Lieutenant in Innes' expedition, and had been promoted to the rank of Captain in Virginia, and who afterwards became Major, Colonel, and Brigadier-General, and died in

1773 before reaching the age of 39. His name was Hugh Waddell. While erecting these defenses he was engaged in negotiating treaties with the Catawba and Cherokee Indians. During the year 1756, under the same officer, service was rendered at various points in restraining the Indians, and again in 1757, under the same officer, a long and wearisome march, in the face of hourly danger of ambuscade, was made over three of the highest mountain ranges east of the Rockies to the relief of Fort Loudon, which was about thirty miles from the present city of Knoxville, Tennessee.

In 1758 the final expedition against Fort Du Quesne was organized under the command of General Forbes, and to this expedition North Carolina contributed three companies under the command of the same officer, who had been promoted to the rank of Major. It is to be regretted that, so far as this writer knows, no roster of these companies was preserved, but tradition says that among their officers were Thomas Brown, afterwards known as General Thomas Brown, the hero of the battle of Elizabethtown and the "Tory Hole," and Caleb Grainger, of Wilmington.

The battalion was promptly organized, marched at once to Virginia, and went thence immediately to the front. They were placed in the advance corps of Forbes's Army and were employed in scouting, reconnoitering, clearing roads, building bridges and boats, and rendering other valuable service. They had been engaged in this work for some time before Colonel Washington was assigned to the advanced corps, and their Commander, according to the testimony of Governor Dobbs, "had great honor done him, being employed on all reconnoitering parties." There is now in the possession of the writer of these pages a field return made by him on the 25th of October, 1758, which is in a good state of preservation, and with it is also preserved a piece of wood from a table brought by General Forbes from Scotland to Nova

Scotia in 1739, which was presented to this writer by a relative of General Forbes a few years ago, upon learning of the existence of the field-return. Forbes's expedition in a short while after it began operations, like its predecessors, began to be confronted by so many unexpected difficulties that Washington, who had already written to Speaker Robinson that "nothing now but a miracle can bring this campaign to a happy issue," united with the other officers in a council of war, at which the alternative was presented of going into winter quarters or abandoning the expedition. At this juncture, as Sparks, the biographer of Washington, says, "a mere accident occurred which brought hope out of despair." In reference to this occurrence the following passage is quoted from "A Colonial Officer and His Times," where it originally appeared: "This mere accident, which all the historians mention and to which Washington himself alludes as a providential occurrence, but without mentioning any names, was the capture of an Indian, from whom the true situation of affairs at Fort Du Quesne was learned. But although this mere accident, or in other words this event of absolutely vital importance to the success of this formidable expedition which established English supremacy in the South—is carefully recorded, the person who was so fortunate as to accomplish this mere accident is as carefully ignored, to-wit, Sergeant John Rogers, of the North Carolina forces. It was a little thing to do perhaps, but Forbes considered the importance of doing it so great that he offered a reward of fifty guineas and another officer offered a reward of four hundred guineas to any one who would take an Indian prisoner, so that they might get information of the enemy's movements. Rogers accomplished it at the hazard of his life, and from the prisoner captured by him it was ascertained that the garrison at Fort Du Quesne were only awaiting the appearance of the British, when they would withdraw, and thereupon the light

troops made a forced march and the enemy burned and abandoned the fort."

Poor Rogers was entirely overlooked and never got either of the rewards that had been offered, but after he came back to North Carolina the Assembly voted him twenty pounds for his gallantry, as appears from the Colonial Records of North Carolina, Vol. VI, page 384.

Among the light troops who made the forced march on the fort were the North Carolina companies, and tradition says that a large dog belonging to their commander first entered the ruins. There were with these troops a number of Cherokee Indians, and perhaps a few Catawbias, and when the expedition ended those Indians started on their return home, and while passing through western Virginia discovered some horses running wild in the woods, and, as they afterwards alleged, supposing them to have escaped from the nearest settlements and been abandoned, as sometimes happened, they captured them and went on their homeward march, but they were pursued by the Virginians and a number of them were killed. The survivors on their arrival at home told their story, which infuriated their kinsmen, and the French, who learned of it, added to the flame by telling them that the English were only waiting for a good opportunity when they intended to kill their warriors and reduce their women and children to slavery. They also furnished the Indians with arms and ammunition, and promised them active support. The consequence was that the fall of Fort Du Quesne, so far from affording relief to the people of North Carolina, only served to transfer the war to their own western frontier, and a series of outbreaks followed, which lasted for more than two years, and kept the settlers insecure until the treaty of peace was made between France and England in 1763. The first outbreak was directed against Fort Loudon on the Tennessee river, where there was a garrison of two hundred men

chiefly from South Carolina, and the fort was cut off from supplies and the garrison in danger of starvation. The news of this outbreak and of the murder and scalping of many inhabitants soon spread and the Governors of North and South Carolina organized a considerable force to attack the Indians, when the latter, fearing that they would be destroyed, begged for peace and made a new treaty; but, as was customary with them, they soon broke out again. Thereupon Waddell, now a Colonel, was ordered to re-garrison the fort between Third and Fourth creeks, (Fort Dobbs) and to put five hundred militia on duty to protect the frontiers. He was attacked at Fort Dobbs by the Cherokees on the night of the 27th February, 1760, the assault being made by two parties, but he repulsed them, killing ten or twelve and losing one killed and two wounded. He expected an attack the next night, but the Indians had enough of it, and did not make another attempt.

Colonel Montgomery and Major Grant invaded the Cherokee country and fought an indecisive battle in the Etchoe settlement near the present town of Franklin in Macon County, on the 27th June, but whether there were any North Carolina troops in the expedition or not is uncertain.

The retreat of Montgomery to Fort Prince George caused the surrender of Fort Loudon, which was followed by treachery and murder by the Indians. In the fall of that year (1760) Colonel Waddell was ordered to join Colonel Byrd, of Virginia, in striking the upper Cherokees, but the latter made peace and he discharged his troops.

And thus, strictly speaking, the part of North Carolina in the "French and Indian War" ended, although for years afterwards North Carolina pioneers had to fight the Indians until they were finally suppressed during and after the American Revolution.

This article embraces only the general outlines of the subject discussed, and omits much that might be said by way of comment upon individual conduct, and particular events in the several campaigns, as well as in the civil administrations in Virginia and the Carolinas during the war, which, if included, would exceed the limits prescribed for articles in this publication.

A portrait of General Hugh Waddell may be found in each of the following works:

"A Colonial Officer and His Times—1778," by Alfred Moore Waddell, 1890. Published by Edwards & Broughton, Raleigh, N. C.

"Wilmington," by Rt. Rev. Joseph B. Cheshire, in "Historic Towns of the Southern States." Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, 3 New York City.

"The Story of the Old North State," by R. D. W. Connor. J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia.

LOCKE'S FUNDAMENTAL CONSTITUTIONS.

BY MR. JUNIUS DAVIS.

He who attempts to write of the earliest events in the history of North Carolina with a single aim to the truthfulness of his narrative, will find himself painfully embarrassed by a want of accurate information. And this is notably true as to the story of the first settlers, and the early political history of the Province. Where was the first permanent white settlement in North Carolina—the date of it—the names of the settlers—who knows? Saunders says (1 Col. Rec., Pref. IX): “The first permanent white settlement in North Carolina was made, it may be safely said, somewhere to the eastward of the Chowan River, extending in time down to and along Albemarle Sound. Neither its date, nor its locality may now be fixed with absolute certainty, but it began, doubtless, before 1660, and probably as early as 1650.” I believe the correct date to be after 1660, but I am unable to fix it accurately. It seems to be certain that the first stout hearts, who, pushing into the wilderness beyond the touch of civilization, brought their families and household goods into the new land, came from Virginia and probably from Nansemond County. In July, 1653, the General Assembly of Virginia (1 Col. Rec., 17), regarding North Carolina as a part of that province, granted Ten Thousand Acres of land to the 100 persons, who should first settle on the Roanoke River, and the lands lying south of the Chowan and its branches; and One Thousand Acres to one Roger Green, to be chosen by him, “Having regard to those persons having a former grant.” This proviso, I take it, was merely a saving clause tacked on by some cautious representative of the Old Commonwealth, who held a righteous regard for the first rights.

And this grant seems to have been more of an inducement held out to prospective settlers, a tentative offer, than an actual evidence of an actual settlement. For it is certain that Yardley, when he sent out his first expedition into North Carolina in September, 1653, and his second early in 1654, found no white man in North Carolina, save one lone Spaniard, who had pitched his tent with a family of thirty, "seven whereof are negroes," among the Tuscarora Indians. (2 Hawks, 17.)

Yardley calls his explorations "an ample discovery of South Virginia or Carolina." His first expedition, in September, 1653, went through the sounds as far as Roanoke Island, where the Chief of the Indians "showed them the ruins of Sir Walter Raleigh's Fort." The second, early in 1654, penetrated into the interior, and during it Yardley bought and "paid for three great rivers" (supposed to be the Roanoke, Tar and Neuse) "with the surrounding lands, and took solemn possession of them, on behalf of the Commonwealth of England, by the delivery to them by the Indians of a turf of the earth with an arrow shot into it." His party neither heard of or met any white man save the Spaniard, and he certainly had lost himself, and claimed no allegiance to England. No after mention of Yardley, or his purchase, is to be found in any of the records. The grant from the King of Yeopin, dated March 1st, 1661, (1 Col. Rec., 19), to George Durant, was for land lying on Roanoke Sound and a river called by the name of "Pearquimans." It began at "*a marked oak*, which divides this land from the land I formerly sold to Samuel Pricklove," and is witnessed by two men of English names. George Durant probably came from Northumberland County, Virginia, for the record of his marriage to Ann Moorwood on January 4th, 1659, by Daniel Lindsey, a minister of the gospel in Northumberland County,

is to be found in the court-house at Hertford, N. C. (Hathaway, Vol. 3, page 199.) Durant, who was certainly one of the first "seators," was a man of ability and substance, destined to become prominent in the affairs of the province, and to be abused and villified by Hawks, without the least reason or foundation, as a Quaker and a turbulent promoter of sedition and resistance to lawful authority. On September 25th, 1663, Governor Berkley, of Virginia, issued grants to various parties for land in the Albemarle section of North Carolina, Seven Hundred and Fifty (750) acres to Thomas Relfe, Three Hundred and Fifty (350) to Robert Peele, Six Hundred (600) and Two Hundred and Fifty (250) to John Harvey, Seven Hundred (700) to Captain John Jenkins, and to George Catchwood One Thousand Five Hundred (1500). Both Harvey and Jenkins were afterwards Governors of the Province. These grants all describe the lands by actual metes and bounds, and call for the bounds of other lands belonging to actual settlers at that date, notably John Battle, Roger Williams, Thomas Jervis and others, names well known in the history of the State. It may seem strange to some that Berkeley, one of the Proprietors, should, as Governor of Virginia, be issuing grants for land in the Albemarle section some five or six months after the Great Grant of Charles. But the answer is, that the first grant to the Proprietors did not include the lands on the Chowan or north of the Roanoke.

It is well to note right here one most egregious error into which the historians of the State, Williamson, Martin, Hawks, Wheeler and Moore, have fallen. They all with one voice declare that the first settlers were Quakers and "religious refugees" from the Northern colonies "seeking a haven of rest from religious persecution." The utter fallacy of this statement has been completely proven by Bishop Cheshire, and declared by Colonel Saunders. Indeed it is strange to the

student of history of this day to see the many errors of these historians, notably Hawks, who had the least excuse of any.

I venture the opinion, that the first settlers acquired their lands by purchase or some like concession from the Indians, and that many of them afterwards "made good" by grants from the Governor of Virginia.

On March 24th, 1663, Charles Second, out of that careless generosity in which he was wont at times to indulge himself, granted to the Lords Proprietors the first Great Charter for Carolina. The inducement, or, as a lawyer would put it, "the consideration," for this truly princely gift, was the "laudable and pious zeal for the propagation of the Christian faith and the enlargement of our empire and dominions"—which were burning in the bosoms of these favored noblemen. But it was early ascertained that this grant did not include the settlements which had already been made in the Albemarle section; and so the Proprietors procured from Charles the second charter, dated June 30th, 1665, which extended their northern boundary to the line which now divides North Carolina and Virginia. It was truly a grand and noble estate, which Charles had so lightly and carelessly flung to his friends. It extended from Virginia on the north to the Spanish possessions in Florida on the south, and from the Atlantic Ocean on the east to the Pacific on the west; and included the present States of North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas, Indian Territory, New Mexico, Arizona and the lower part of California. Over it the Proprietors were made "the true and absolute Lords," with full and plenary powers, even of life and death. There were, however, in the charter two very pregnant and portentous provisions. One was the excepting and "saving also the right, title and interest of all and every one of our subjects of the

English nation, which are now planted within the limits and bounds aforesaid." The other was the restriction put upon the power of the Proprietors to enact and publish laws "for the good and happy government" of the province, which required these laws to have the assent and approbation of the freemen of the said province, or of the greater part of them, or of their delegates or deputies, whom for the enacting of the said laws, when and as often as need shall require, we will that "the Proprietors shall assemble," etc., etc.: "*Provided, nevertheless*, That the said laws be consonant to reason, and as near as may be conveniently agreeable to the laws and customs of our Kingdom of England." It is difficult to conceive why the Proprietors should have proposed such a restriction as this latter upon their otherwise plenary power. I say "*proposed*" advisedly. The grant cost Charles nothing, no expenditure of money, no loss of revenue. He was simply paying so-called debts of honor by giving something which had no value whatever in his eye. He had no love for Parliaments or Parliament law, and the judicial murder of his father at the command of the Parliament of England was then fresh and sore in his memory. He certainly would never have proposed such a limitation upon his bounty, and so I insist that the draft of the charter was left entirely in the hands of their Lordships, and this provision voluntarily inserted by them. It undoubtedly emanated from Ashley, who throughout his entire political career, was a strenuous supporter of the supremacy of the Parliament. If they had been endowed with the gift of prophecy, if they could have foreseen that rugged independence of their subjects, that sturdy resistance against any invasion of their chartered rights, which were so soon to follow, these restrictions would never have been written into their grant. But these Proprietors were great Nobles, in high favor with the King,

arrogant and overbearing toward their inferiors, living in the midst of luxury and plenty, and daily accustomed to obsequious and servile deference from their tenants and retainers, and utterly ignorant of the conditions prevailing in the province. No dream of trouble from the chance inhabitants of their newly acquired possessions far across the wide waters arose for one moment to disturb their serene and complacent indifference. They simply gave no thought to the just rights and welfare of the inhabitants of the land, who had long since lost sight and sense of Kings and Nobles, and who had, with infinite labor and at vast risks, builded their homes in the great wilderness, among the savage Indians, where the King's writ ran not, where Sheriffs and Courts were unknown, and their own stout hearts and strong right arms their only protection. They considered the settlers as "feudal vassals," mere chattels which they had acquired with the fief. Not only was there an utter lack of any community or bond of common interest between these non-resident landlords and their tenants, but their striking and unnecessary parsimony and greed was to destroy all hope of it in the future. The form of government and laws promulgated by them in the very outset were grievously unsuitable, unjust, irritating and surely calculated to create discontent and ill feeling.

In September, 1663, the Proprietors assumed control and sent out their first instructions to Wm. Berkeley, one of their number and then Governor of Virginia. He was authorized to appoint a Governor, with a grand council of six, who were to appoint all civil and military officers, and with the consent of the freeholders or their delegates to make laws, which should be in force until vetoed by the Proprietors. This was not so bad, but the further instructions as to the *parceling out*—not granting—of the lands was a striking exhibition of extreme stinginess and woeful lack of common sense

and common justice. The Governor and Council were instructed to grant to each man "one chayne of land consisting of 66 foote in bredth and 100 chaynes from the River into the country in lenkth, and the remainder of his land to be noe nearer than at the end of 200 chaynes from the River * * * by means whereof there will be 200 men armed and lodged within each myle and quarter square * * * and 10 acres, which is the proportions above, will be as much as one man can well plant and keepe cleane in that growing country."

Not only this, but it was expressly enjoined that those settlers who had bought land from the Indians must "*be persuaded or compelled to surrender them*" and take the small measure meted out by the Proprietors. And right here began trouble—that trouble, which ever after increasing and swelling even at times into revolt, resulted in the downfall of the rule of the Proprietors, and, having thus obtained sturdy root and Royal encouragement, flowed on in increasing volume until it burst into the Revolution and secured perpetual freedom from Royal rule. Ten acres indeed! what content, or joy, or happiness, did the promise of ten acres bring to those men, who had already acquired hundreds under titles expressly protected and secured to them by the great Charter! But this was not all. The settler, who had by great toil, with great peril, built him a house and cleared his lands for cultivation, who loved elbow room, and lived happy because his nearest neighbor was a mile away, who fairly revelled in the glorious possession of broad acres, was to be forced to abandon all these fruits of his labor and make a new home in a fortified village to serve the caprice of his overlords.

Land, the precious soil and the ownership of it, has ever been dear and close to the heart of the Anglo-Saxon from time immemorial even down to the present day. This ardent longing for a freehold was generated in the hearts of

our ancestors in the days of the feudal system, when the rich and the noble and the Church owned all the lands of England, and the stout yeomen were only tenants, and came down to us by inheritance. Land was beyond their reach, and therefore they coveted it and yearned for it above all things. For land even though it was so poor as only to "feed a hog or aiblins twa in a good year," we have always been ready and willing to spend our precious dollars and our blood.

Drummond was the first Governor of Albemarle and he assumed authority in October, 1664. In June, 1665, Woodward, the surveyor for the Province, protested, but with appropriate servility, against the restrictions upon the granting of lands, that the people resented the small acreage allowed, and that new comers were discouraged because of the better terms granted in the other colonies. He concludes his letter with the statement: "Those that live upon a place are best able to judge of that place, therefore the *Petition of the General Assembly that was here convened* will deserve your Honor's serious consideration."

It is important here to note two things, that a General Assembly of the freeholders—the first in the history of the State—had been held under the provisions of the great Charter soon after the appointment of Drummond, and that at the very birth of the Province, the deputies of the people were at war with their overlords.

In October, 1667, Samuel Stephens was appointed Governor and a new set of instructions, that is Laws, issued to him. These were fuller in detail and in some respects more liberal; but still some of the provisions were in express violation of the reserved rights of the people under the charter. On May 1st, 1668, the Proprietors, in tardy response to the protest of Woodward and the petition of the General Assembly, sent out the "Great Deed of Grant," under which lands were to be granted upon the same terms and conditions as

prevailed in Virginia. This document, of brief extent, was considered of such importance "that the original was preserved with the most scrupulous care, and sixty-three years after its date, was formally brought into the Assembly, and ordered into the special custody of its Speaker and its text spread upon its minutes." Nor does this great caution seem to have been in anywise unnecessary, for repeated attempts were afterwards made by the Proprietors and their Deputies, and even by Governor Johnston, under the Royal Government, to declare it revoked and annulled. But the colonists clung to it as a sheet anchor, and as late as 1856 it was invoked by our Supreme Court to sustain the validity of a grant issued in September, 1716, by the Governor and Council in accordance with its provisions. (See *Archibald vs. Davis*, 4 Jones, 133.)

This review of the birth and rise of the colony is necessary to a clear understanding of the political conditions existing at the time of the promulgation of the first set of the Fundamental Constitutions, and of the cause of the antagonism and opposition of the colonists to the Proprietors. Thus far the Proprietors had not attempted to establish any stable form of government, but had been content to dole out their laws in the form of changing instructions to each new Governor.

John Locke was a man of great learning and varied attainments, but an idealist, a profound philosopher and of broad religious and political views, but not a statesman, a fascinating conversationalist, an inimitable raconteur, a delightful companion, but not practical and utterly lacking in executive ability. He was born at Pensford, in Somersetshire, England, on August 29th, 1632. His father, who was a country attorney, was a Parliament man, and upon the breaking out of the rebellion against Charles I, entered the army as Captain of a troop of horse in the regiment commanded by Colonel

Popham. Locke's early youth was spent in the midst of war and bloodshed, for the storm of battle raged fiercely around his home. However, in spite of the absence of his father in the army and the fierce strife which was sweeping over the country, his education was not neglected.

In 1646, through the influence of Colonel Popham, he was admitted to Westminster School, where he remained for six years. In November, 1652, he matriculated at Christ Church College, Oxford. In 1658 he took his degree as Master, but continued with his college as tutor and lecturer. It is curious in this age of action and progress to note the range and variety of his studies—logic, metaphysics, philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, history, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, Roman Law, theology, chemistry, medicine, etc., etc. In his association here with great scholars of broad and liberal views, men learned in the theory of government, but without experience in its administration, we can readily see how Locke lost all touch with the spirit of Puritanism into which he had been born. His father died in February, 1660, leaving him a small estate, sufficient, with his studentship at Oxford, to afford him a comfortable living. Lord King, his kinsman, says he had the choice of three distinct roads to fame and fortune, the Church, the practice of medicine, and diplomacy, and with equal certainty of success in each. Medicine seems to have been his choice and love, and to this study he devoted the most of his leisure, save for that short dissipation in diplomacy, when he went as Secretary with Sir Walter Vane on his Embassy to Holland. In spite of his great ability and close devotion to his studies, through his neglect of some formalities, he failed to get his diploma in medicine. This failure would have ended his connection with his college but for the intervention of some powerful friends, who had been won to him by his charming personality and marked abilities, and who procured from Charles II a peremptory com-

mand to the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church to continue his studentship with its emoluments.

About this time he became associated in some way with Dr. David Thomas in the practice of medicine, and it was this association that in 1666 accidentally brought him in contact with Lord Ashley. Ashley, afterwards better known as the Earl of Shaftesbury, was a man of brilliant attainments and remarkable abilities. He was a masterly and unscrupulous politician, and had been Royalist, and Roundhead, and Royalist again, as the balance of power shifted. Probably no other man of his high rank and position was ever the subject of so much scathing abuse and bitter satire. Dryden immortalized his memory in caustic verse, and Macauley, in equally bitter and brilliant prose. But "during his long political career, in an age of general corruption, he was ever incorrupt," and he was always a devoted friend and staunch advocate of both civil and religious freedom. He was by far the ablest of the Proprietors, and his dominating personality made him easily the leader in all their conferences. Appointed Lord Chancellor by Charles II, November 17th, 1672, without even a smattering of the rudiments of law, he filled that high office with credit. He was dismissed from office in disgrace in September, 1673, and Lord Campbell says that the first act of his successor, Lord Nottingham, "was to seal a pardon to his predecessor, which had been stipulated for when Shaftesbury took the office, foreseeing that he might do many things for which a pardon might be required, *and wishing to have the pleasure of sinning with an indulgence in his pocket.*" It is difficult to tell which most compels our admiration, the wisdom of the politician or the delicious humour of the sinner.

Ashley was troubled with an abscess in his chest, the result of an ugly fall, which threatened to develop into cancer, but which was eventually cured under Locke's advice and direc-

tion. In July, 1666, Ashley, intending to visit Oxford, and wishing to try some medicinal waters in that vicinity, wrote to Dr. Thomas, who deputed Locke to wait on him. These two men, so great each in his different way, so dissimilar in character, and socially so far apart, were drawn together at their meeting into an intimate friendship, and a close association, that was not to be shaken by either time or fortune. As the result, in July, 1667, Locke left Oxford to live with Ashley as his Secretary.

Speaking of the Lords Proprietors, Bourne, in his life of Locke, Vol. 1, page 236, says: "Of these patentees Ashley was the most active and influential, and thus it happened that Locke, being Ashley's principal adviser and assistant, became in some sort of irregular way the chief secretary or manager of the whole company of Lords Proprietors of Carolina."

In their letter of September 8th, 1663, to Governor Berkeley, the Proprietors urge the necessity of doing something towards the development of their new possessions, "that the King may see we sleep not with his grant but are promoting his service," etc. And yet, in spite of this, nothing was done, but the promulgation of laws, until 1669. In fact, while the Proprietors in 1669 spent some £3200 (equal at this time to about \$75,000 or \$80,000), and other sums later, towards the settlement of South Carolina, they gave little or no financial aid to Albemarle, evidently believing that it was, or ought to be, able to support itself.

But now had come an important need for some settled and permanent form of government and laws for the province, and hence the Fundamental Constitutions. They are always called "Locke's Fundamental Constitutions," and are generally reputed to be solely the product of his pen and brain. But Bourne, whose life of Locke is by far the best that has

been written, says: "Wonderful pains were taken to provide good government for Carolina, and perhaps no colony was ever started with a more elaborate scheme of political, social, and religious organization. Locke had a large share in this work, though there can hardly be any doubt that it was initiated by Lord Ashley, and modified by his fellow Proprietors." A careful study of all the authorities forces me to the conviction that this Utopian scheme was devised by Ashley, aided by the suggestions of Locke, and discussed, modified and then adopted by the Lords Proprietors. It is incredible that a man like Ashley, of such great abilities, of such high position and influence, so arbitrary, and dominating, should have deputed to his Secretary, even though he was Locke, the making of laws, which were evidently intended to be perpetual for all time, for such vast possessions. It is certain, I think, that the general outlines having been framed by Ashley, and agreed upon by the Proprietors, it was given to Locke to draft, and put them in proper shape.

It is a fact, not generally known, that first and last there were five several sets of these Fundamental Constitutions. The first set, dated July 21st, 1669, contained eighty-one articles; the second, March 1st, 1670, contained one hundred and twenty articles; the third, January 12th, 1682, contained one hundred and twenty articles; the fourth, August 16th, 1682, contained one hundred and twenty-one articles; and the fifth and last, April 11th, 1698, of forty-one articles. Of the first set Bourne says "there is extant a draft in Locke's handwriting, dated the 21st of June, 1669, and which with some alterations were issued by the Proprietors on the 1st of March, 1670." This set was never officially promulgated or sent out to Carolina, and but little is known of them. The second set, dated March 1st, 1670, which contained 120 articles, is the one generally referred to as "Locke's Fundamental Constitutions," and is published at length in all of

Locke's works, in 1 Coll. Rec., 187, and 2 Rev. Statutes of North Carolina, page 449. It is this act which I propose to discuss in this article, and which for brevity I shall call Locke's Constitutions, for while there were three other sets adopted and promulgated afterwards, yet neither Locke or Shaftesbury had part in them.

In 1674 Locke's health began to fail, and about November, 1675, he went to France on this account and remained there until the last of April, 1679. Shaftesbury had lost favor with the Court, and was dismissed from the Chancellorship in September, 1673. From this time on he was alienated from the King, was imprisoned in the Tower twice, indicted for high treason, and finally, in November, 1682, fled to Holland, where he died soon after. From the time of his return to England in 1679 until November, 1682, Locke was much of his time in the country, and Shaftesbury too deep in political plots to devote much care or time to Carolina. Locke's connection with the Lords Proprietors certainly ceased when Shaftesbury fled to Holland.

There is some confusion and difference among the historians as to which of the first two sets was actually the one first adopted, but after careful study I feel assured I have named them in their proper sequence. This confusion, as Hawks correctly says (Vol. 2, page 184), arose out of the difference, which prior to 1752 existed between the civil or legal year, which began on the 25th of March, and the historical year, which began on the 1st of January.

I have before endeavored to show the serious differences which already existed between the colonists and the Proprietors, and the conditions which produced them. The Constitutions were intended as oil upon troubled waters, the deliberate result of a sincere desire on the part of landlords, utterly ignorant of the pulse of their tenants, to allay forever the rest-

less fever of rooted discontent. But the people—the governed—were not represented or consulted in their making, and by the voice of history they were in their very infancy doomed to disastrous failure. For when, since the day of Runnymede and Magna Charta, has any set of fundamental laws, in the making of which the people had no part, been of lasting duration?

In the preamble to each and every set of the Constitutions the Proprietors declare them to be “for the better settlement of the government of the said place, and establishing the interest of the Lords Proprietors with equality and without confusion; and that the government of this Province may be made most agreeable to the Monarchy under which we live * * * and *that we may avoid erecting a numerous democracy.*” And in the last clause of each it is solemnly declared that, “These fundamental constitutions * * * and every part thereof shall *be and remain the sacred and unalterable form and rule of government of Carolina forever.*” Hereafter will be seen the careless and indifferent ease with which their Lordships suspended, altered and revoked their “sacred and unalterable pledges” as it suited their pleasure, or their interest. Let us now, as briefly as may be, consider this system of law.

A nobility was created, consisting of Palatines, Landgraves and Casiques, in the order of precedence given; and some twenty or more clauses were devoted to defining their estates, their dignities, devolution of titles, etc. A noble could only be tried for a criminal offense in the Chief Justice's Court, and there only by a jury of his peers. The seven chief offices, besides that of Palatine, to-wit, Admiral, Chamberlain, Chancellor, Constable, Chief Justice, High Steward and Treasurer, could only be held by the Proprietors or their Deputies.

Then came the courts, of which there were a great number. There were eight supreme courts, called the Great Courts or Proprietors' Courts. The chief of these, the Palatine's Court, was composed of the Palatine and the other seven Proprietors. The other seven, each consisted of a Proprietor "with six councillors added to him." A queer attachment was tacked on to all the courts in the shape of a college of twelve assistants, whose sole office was to furnish a body out of which to select the Councillors. In order to preserve their proper dignity and equality, each of the Proprietors had his own especial supreme Court. These Proprietors' Courts had each power to mitigate all fines and suspend all executions in criminal cases arising in any inferior court.

The Palatine's Court, "wherein nothing shall be acted without the presence and consent of the Palatine or his deputy and three others of the Proprietors and their deputies," had jurisdiction to call the sessions of Parliament, to pardon all offences, to elect all officers, to dispose of all public moneys, except those set apart by Parliament for some *particular* public use, and to *negative all acts, orders, votes and judgments of the Grand Council and Parliament*.

Here we find a bold and clear nullification of that most important provision of the Great Charter by which the Proprietors could only make laws with the assent of the Parliament.

Then came the Chancellors' Court, composed of one of the Proprietors and six Counsellors, called Vice Chancellors. It had jurisdiction of all state matters, treaties with the Indians, invasions of the law of liberty of conscience, and of the public peace upon the pretense of religion, and the license of printing. The twelve assistants were called Recorders.

The Chief Justice's Court, consisting of one of the Proprietors and six counsellors called Justices of the Bench, had jurisdiction of all appeals in civil and criminal cases, except

such as were cognizable in the Proprietors' Courts, and the regulation of the registries of writings and contracts. The assistants were called Masters.

The Constable's Court, of one Proprietor and six Counsellors, called Marshals, had charge of all military affairs by land, arms, ammunition, land forces, forts, etc., and "whatever belonged unto war." Each of the assistants was a Lieutenant-General.

The Admiral's Court, one Proprietor and six Counsellors, called Consuls, was an Admiralty Court, and given authority over all ports, navigable streams "as far as the tide flows," shipping, and all maritime affairs. The assistants were Pro-Consuls.

The Treasurer's Court—a Proprietor and six Counsellors, called under Treasurers—had charge of the public revenue and treasury. The assistants were called Auditors.

The High Steward's Court, a Proprietor and six Counsellors, called Comptrollers, ruled over all foreign and domestic trade, public buildings, work-houses, manufactures, highways, sewers, bridges, carriers, fairs and markets, all things pertaining to the public commerce and health, surveying of lands, appointing places for towns to be built on, and prescribing their size and figure. The assistants were called Surveyors.

The Chamberlain's Court was a most remarkable legal machine. Of course it consisted of the usual and indispensable Proprietor and his six Counsellors, called Vice Chancellors. It had cognizance and charge—note well its grave and serious duties—"of all ceremonies, precedence, heraldry, reception of public messengers, pedigrees, the registry of all births, burials and marriages, legitimation and all cases concerning matrimony or arising from it," and "power to regulate all fashions, habits, badges, games and sports." The assistants were called Provosts. How gladly would such a tribunal be hailed and

welcomed in this day of the high tide of Democracy by members of the high and exalted Four Hundred, and of certain other exclusive societies, whose names I have not the courage to mention. But what wot those fustian clad yeomen and dames of Albemarle of fashions or habits, of pedigrees or heraldry, of ceremonies or precedence, in the gloom of the wilderness! To them there came no patterns of fashion from London, or Paris, or even from Philadelphia or New York, and her own good taste in the neat fitting of her gown to her trim figure, was the only pattern or guide to the good women of the Province.

As each of the Proprietors had his own especial high court, and each with equal but ill-defined power, it was vitally necessary to erect some tribunal to compose the disputes, which were certain to arise between them—and hence one reason for the Grand Council.

This was a most important body. It consisted of the Palatine and the other seven Proprietors and the 42 Counsellors of the seven Proprietors' Courts. One of the Proprietors and his deputy and twelve other members, no less, could make a quorum. It was given supreme power, to determine any controversy arising between any of the Proprietors' Courts as to their respective jurisdictions, or method of proceeding—to make peace and war, leagues and treaties, general command over the Constable's and Admiral's Courts for the raising, disposing and disbanding of the land and sea forces—the judging of all causes and appeals affecting any of the Proprietors or the Counsellors of their courts—and the disposition of all monies voted by the Parliament and directed by it to any particular public use. But these, in the opinion of the colonists, were but as trifles, compared with the other and most vital matters. This court was directed "to prepare all matters to be proposed in Parliament. Nor shall any matter whatsoever be *proposed* in Parliament but what has first

passed the Grand Council." One might safely presume that the Proprietors would be content with this two-fold limitation upon the power of the Parliament—that having provided that only such measures should be considered by it as were proposed by their courts, and that then they, sitting in the Palatine's Court could nullify any act so passed—they would be satisfied that this sickly shadow of authority could in no manner be hurtful to their interests. And yet so tender were their Lordships as to their prerogatives, so distrustful of their own perspicacity, and their deputies, so afraid that they—sitting as the Grand Council—might propose some dangerous legislation to this bastard Parliament which it might accept, that by the 76th article it was declared that "No act of Parliament shall be of any force unless ratified in open Parliament" by the Palatine and three Proprietors, or their deputies; and even after such ratification, the act was to continue in force only until the next Biennial Parliament unless in the meantime ratified by the Palatine himself and three other Proprietors under their own proper hands and seals. No deputies this time "an it please you." Pray, of what avail were the reservations of the great charter to the freemen of the Province in the face of this unlawful assumption of more than kingly power? How long would the Parliament of England have suffered such extreme and arbitrary measures on the part of the King?

These were the great departments of the Government and the Chief Courts. But besides these there were County Courts, Precinct Courts, and a special court for the trial of all capital crimes. No cause could "be tried twice in the same court upon any reason or pretence whatever." But appeals to higher courts could be *bought* by paying to the Proprietors prices ranging from £5 to £50 in capital cases.

All jurors in the Precinct Courts were required to own 50 acres of freehold; all grand jurors in the County Courts and

Assizes 300 acres, and all petty jurors 200 acres; and all jurors in the Proprietors' Courts must own 500 acres. A very decided change of opinion on the part of the Proprietors since 1663, when they gravely proclaimed that 10 acres of land was enough for any man to hold "in that growing country."

And yet with all this grand array of courts, all this confused and complicated machinery of law, lawyers were absolutely banned and proscribed. For by the 70th article it was declared, "It shall be a base and vile thing to plead for money or reward; nor shall any, (except he be a near kinsman, nor farther off than cousin, germane to the party concerned) be permitted to plead another man's cause, till before the Judge in open court he hath taken an oath, that he doth not plead for money or reward, nor hath nor will receive, nor directly nor indirectly bargain with the party whose cause he is going to plead, for money or any other reward for pleading his cause." This remarkable and unique provision was most undoubtedly the work of Locke, and copied by him after the *Cincia Lex* of the Roman Law—"Ne quis ob causam orandam pecuniam donumve accipiat."

The Parliament, or General Assembly as I shall hereafter call it, was composed of the four estates—the Proprietors or their deputies, landgraves, casiques and freeholders, all sitting together as one body. Only owners of 500 acres of freehold were eligible to the General Assembly, and every voter must own 50 acres. The Assembly was to meet biennially, and at the opening the first ceremony "was the reading of the Fundamental Constitutions, and its subscription by all the members present." For it was declared that no man should sit or vote in the Assembly until he had signed the Fundamental Constitutions. Elections for members of Assembly were to be held biennially.

"All manner of comments and expositions on any part of these Fundamental Constitutions, or on any part of the common or statute laws of Carolina, are absolutely prohibited." And so any criticism or discussion of any of these laws were "mala prohibita," crimes to be punished at the will of the Judges.

An office was established for the registration of conveyances, and one for births, marriages and deaths. The age of every one in the colony was reckoned from the date of the registration of his birth. No marriage was lawful until registered, and no administration could be had until the death of the decedent was registered. So that no man could be legally born, legally married, or legally dead until he was so registered.

All towns were to be governed by a Mayor, twelve (12) Aldermen and twenty-four (24) Common Councillors. The system so provided was a very cumbrous one for the small villages of the Province. This was in 1670; and yet in 1709, near forty (40) years later, it was said, (1 Coll. Rec., 715): "Here is no church, though they have begun to build a town called Bath. It consists of about twelve (12) houses, being the *only town* in the whole Province." This little town of Bath, which forty (40) years after the promulgation of the constitutions, only contained twelve (12) houses, was totally insufficient to furnish men enough to fill the municipal offices required by the above provision. Could there be stronger evidence of the total ignorance of the Lords Proprietors of the conditions existing in Carolina, and their incapacity to foster its growth and prosperity!

Port towns were to be established, and no goods or commodities could be lawfully exported or imported under a heavy penalty, unless loaded or unloaded at a port town.

It was declared by section 95 that no man could be per-

mitted to be a freeman of Carolina or have any estate or habitation within it unless he acknowledge the divinity of God; and by section 101, that no person, man or woman, of seventeen (17) years and upwards could have any benefit or protection of the law unless he was a registered member of some church or religious body. And that in a country in which no church was built until many years after the promulgation of these constitutions!

Very broad and liberal provisions were made for the freedom of religious convictions and worship, and stringent laws against the disturbance of any religious congregation or abuse of any church or religion. But at the same time the Church of England was declared to be the only true and orthodox church, and the only one entitled to support from the public revenues. Locke, sturdy in his defense of entire religious freedom, bitterly opposed this clause and refused to draft it.

All persons were given absolute power and authority over their negro slaves, even that of life and death. This provision needs no comment, save that it never had the sanction of law in any Southern State during the days of slavery.

Now we come to the 112th Constitution, by which the Proprietors deliberately proposed the most illegal and deadly blow at the very life and being of the colonists. It boldly declared that no person whatever should hold or claim any land in Carolina by purchase or gift or otherwise, from the Indians, or any other way whatsoever, save under and from the Proprietors, under pain of forfeiting all his real and personal property and of perpetual banishment. This decreed confiscation and banishment to any man who dared to claim or assert the title which he had previously acquired to the little estate carved out for himself at so great a sacrifice, and which had been expressly saved and guaranteed to him by the very words of the King's Grant. These titles and rights were preserved to him not only by the grant, but also by Magna

Charta, the greatest of those three great testaments, which, Chatham declared, composed "The Bible of the English Constitution." "Nullus liber homo capiatur, vel imprisonetur, aut utlagetur, aut exuleter, aut aliquo modo, destruat, nec super eum ibimus, nec super eum mittimus, nisi per legale iudicium parium suorum, vel per legem terrae."

"Nulli vendemus, nulli negabimus, aut differemus rectum aut justitiam."

Near seven centuries have swept over the world since that historic drama on the willow clad banks of the Thames, when the great Barons, churchmen and yeomen of England wrung with mailed hand from King John this declaration of their rights and liberties. New kingdoms, new principalities, new republics have reared their proud heads among the nations of the world, while others, old and new, have crumbled and vanished into the gloom of eternal night. Weak nations have grown strong and powerful, while others, once strong and powerful, are barely allowed a national existence in the jealousy and fear of disturbing the balance of power. Strange and unexpected cataclysms have from time to time violently altered and changed the destinies of nations. But through all the Anglo-Saxon people alone, crucified at times by war, but purified by revolution, increasing, conquering, broadening and expanding, have reached that great eminence, where standing together, they easily dominate the world. And yet even though they have separated and divided into two great nations, they have each always jealously and religiously preserved unaltered to themselves and to their children as a sacred inheritance, the everlasting shelter and protection of Magna Charta. If the evil day shall ever come, when this great protection from wrong and oppression shall be destroyed, then will inevitably follow violence, distress, ruin and anarchy. And from this day and this fate may God in His infinite mercy ever preserve our people.

All inhabitants over seventeen (17) and under sixty (60) years of age were bound to serve as soldiers, whenever required so to do by the Grand Council.

A copy of the constitutions was to be kept "in a great book" by the register of every Precinct, and signed by every person, whether male or female, over the age of seventeen (17) years; and no such person who had failed to subscribe the constitutions could hold any estate or possession in Carolina, or have any benefit or protection from the law. Any alien could subscribe these constitutions before any Register, and *ipso facto* he was naturalized. And having thus declared the laws some eleven rules of precedence among the nobility were established.

This lengthy abstract of the constitutions is necessary to a full and proper understanding of the laws, so solemnly enacted and declared by the Proprietors for the government of their subjects. It is to be noted here that no system of taxation, of raising revenues for the support of this cumbrous government, and no salaries for any of the officers were provided. One would naturally suppose that in drafting laws which were intended to be forever unalterable, for the government of their new possessions, the Proprietors would have provided some system for the support and maintenance of the officers. Why this was done, or was not done, does not appear. The Provincial Parliament evidently provided for certain of the expenses of the Province. The chief officers certainly took care of themselves in the handling of the public moneys.

Having thus promulgated these solemn declarations of their unalterable will, but a few months passed before the Proprietors declared that "they were not able to put it fully in practice by reason of the want of Landgraves and Cassiques and a sufficient number of people." And yet in the very next breath, and in the same instructions, they speak of four pre-

cinets in Albemarle County, and direct the Governor to issue writs for the election of five representatives in each precinct to the General Assembly. This was fully six years and more after their grant. It would seem that the yeomen of Carolina were not very desirous of being raised into the nobility. In fact, while some twenty-five (25) Landgraves and twelve (12) Cassiques were created by the Proprietors, only two (2) Landgraves and no Cassiques can be credited to this State. The Landgraves were De Graffinreid, and perhaps Eden. Even in the bestowal of these titles of nobility the Proprietors violated the provisions of the grant which restricted them to the inhabitants of the Province. John Locke was the first Landgrave created, and many of the others were never in the Province at all. It would seem that in the beginning the Proprietors sent out to their Governors blank deputations for Landgraves and Cassiques, which were for sale to almost any one who would pay the required price; but these were cancelled or ordered to be cancelled by the instructions to Governor Nathaniel Johnson, in June, 1702, (1 Coll. Rec., page 556.) These facts show what little regard, in fact what contempt, the settlers in North Carolina had for such empty honors. They felt, and correctly, that if they accepted titles of nobility from the Proprietors, that they would be in duty bound as vassals to support their rule; but they had no intention or idea of surrendering their independence for such baubles. From this time on for some years we find the Lords Proprietors, in their instructions to the different Governors, continually lamenting their inability to put their celebrated constitutions in effect and force by reason of the lack of material out of which to build Landgraves and Cassiques. In truth, the provisions of the constitutions were never enforced in North Carolina. Hawks says, "At last, in 1698, these fundamental "immortals" were laid aside by the Lords Proprietors forever." (2 Vol., 185.) In this, as in

many other things, he was in error; for in June, 1702, in their instructions to Governor Nathaniel Johnson, the Proprietors wrote him that "you are to follow such rules as we have given in our Fundamental Constitutions," etc. (1 Coll. Rec., 555.) And De Graffinreid was created a Landgrave August 4th, 1709. It may be curious to note that on the day he received the patent as Landgrave, De Graffinreid paid £50 to the Proprietors in part of the purchase of the land he had bought in North Carolina, and the greater part of it was immediately divided among the Proprietors, who each received a little over £5. It would seem from this that they were glad to get even so little amount as twenty-five dollars.

In commenting upon the existing conditions in the Colony at the time of the promulgation of these constitutions, Hawks most felicitously says, (Vol. 2, page 183): "Their Lordships theorized, the colonists felt: the Proprietors drew pictures, but the hardy woodmen of Carolina were grappling with stern realities. Titles of nobility, orders of precedence, the shows of an empty pageantry, were to them but toys which might amuse childhood; but there was no romance in watching the savage, or felling the forest, or planting the corn, or gathering the crop with the ever-present weapon in reach of the laboring hand. In short, 'the day of chivalry' had not then dawned on the widespread forests of Albemarle; and we may well believe that the rough colonists, in the mass, felt a sublime contempt alike for Palatine and Landgrave, and Cassique."

Governor succeeded Governor in quick succession. Drummond was succeeded by Stephens in 1667, who, in 1670, was succeeded by Carteret. There was some promise of peace and content in the Great Deed of Grant, but it was merely transient. The conflicting instructions to the different Governors, the flagrant violations of the provisions of the Great

Charter, the attempts to deprive the settlers of their lands acquired by them prior to the charter, the attempt to deprive the General Assembly of an independent part in the making of the laws, all combined to produce dissatisfaction and discontent, which at times swelled into disorder and violence. A free Parliament, a free hand in the making of the laws by which they were to be governed and protected in the possession of their lands, were what the people were determined to have. Carteret was unable to breast the storm and carry out his instructions. He left the Province in disgust late in 1675 or early in 1676 to carry the tale of his failure to England, leaving, says Chalmers, "the administration in ill hands and worse order. In truth there was no Governor and no government in Albemarle for about two years." Two of the colonists, Eastchurch, who had been Speaker of the General Assembly, and one Miller, who had a "grievance," followed Carteret to England and to an audience with the Proprietors. Eastchurch, seeming to them "a very proper and able fellow," was made Governor in 1676, and Miller Secretary, and Deputy of Shaftesbury, and also collector of the King's revenue. At this time, according to Hawks, the colony of Albemarle contained some 2,500 to 3,000 people, of course not including tribal Indians. Twenty-five hundred people, and no man yearning for a patent of nobility!

In 1677 Eastchurch sailed from England, stopping in the West Indies, where, beguiled by love, he dallied some months till he was married. Miller went on to Albemarle, and upon his arrival, without the least warrant of authority, usurped and took to himself the government and control of the affairs of the Province. Drunk with his stolen authority, and often, the historians say, with liquor, he ruled the Province and squeezed the people in the lordly manner of the ancient robber Barons of the Rhine. In six short months he gathered to himself some five thousand dollars (\$5,000) in money and

thirty-three (33) hogsheads of tobacco from one item alone, the export duty on tobacco. Tobacco was virtually the currency of the Province, and by this time a very considerable and lucrative trade in it between Albemarle and New England settlers had grown up, and this Miller made strenuous efforts to break up and divert to England. Out of his oppressions and extortions sprang what is generally called "Culpepper's Rebellion." The colonists had lived for two years and more in peace and content, and without a Governor. The breath of freedom was in their nostrils. The Proprietors had seemingly abandoned or forgotten them; for here was this man, one of themselves, allowed to plunder them with impunity and without authority. The inevitable happened.

"The law protects not us; then why should we be tender,
To let an arrogant piece of flesh threat us."

Vexed and oppressed beyond endurance by the extravagant actions of Miller, the people arose in 1677 and seized and imprisoned him and the deputies of the Proprietors. Chalmers says, (2 Carroll, 304): "They seized the royal revenue, amounting to £3,000, which they appropriated for supporting the revolt; they established courts of justice; they appointed officers; they called a Parliament, and for years exercised all the authority of an independent State." What nobler and bolder stand for their just rights could any people have taken! And this was but the prelude to what followed. For from now on, upon reading the history of our State as written in her records, we will find our ancestors in constant revolt against the oppression and injustice of their rulers. The insurgents, and among them were the most prominent and wealthy men in the Province, including the President of the Grand Council, in defense of their action, declared that Miller had "positively cheated the country out of 130,000 pounds of tobacco, had raised the taxes, misappropriated the public

funds, and denied them a free Parliament." Miller, escaping from prison, fled to England to spread his complaints in every quarter, and with the eager and confident expectation of warm approval and armed support from the Proprietors. He had before complained and triumphed, but now he met only bitter disappointment and humiliation.

Eastchurch now arrived in the colony with a commission as Governor, and authority from the Proprietors that was unquestionable. But the colonists were in an ugly mood. They had tasted of independence, and it was sweet and gracious to their taste. They would have none of Eastchurch, and he went to Virginia to seek aid and military support to establish himself firmly in the enjoyment of his just rights as Governor. But, fortunately for the colonists, he died before a sufficient number of troops was gathered to him.

Culpepper boldly followed Miller to England and confronted him before the Proprietors. Their accusations against each other and recriminations brought distress to both. Miller was put aside with contumely, and Culpepper indicted for treason; but he, that is Culpepper, was defended by Shaftesbury himself and acquitted. Undoubtedly he could have only been defended and acquitted upon the ground that Miller was a mere usurper, with no lawful claim to the authority and power which he had exercised over the Province. This uprising of the people against oppression was the first armed expression in the State of that yearning for freedom and independence, which later on was so often and so conspicuously displayed by them. It was a brave and reckless deed which the men of Albemarle did, in the very face of the extreme and bloody punishments which had so recently been inflicted in Virginia by the vindictive Berkeley on the unfortunate followers of Bacon. But there was this pregnant difference in the results of these two uprisings: Virginia was a

royal Province, and a fleet and soldiers were sent to it to crush Bacon and his adherents; while the Proprietors forgave, even to the verge of approval, the acts done in the Province of North Carolina. Looking at this event from the standpoint of their interests, it is impossible to account for their extremely weak and vacillating, indeed almost apologetic course of action, save upon one ground, their habitual aversion to the expending of any money out of their own pockets for the protection of their interests in Albemarle. If they had sent a fleet and soldiers to put down the revolt with a stern and bloody hand, and had followed this with strong government, how far-reaching may have been the effect! It would most probably have secured to them their possessions until the revolution; and even in that struggle might possibly have made the States South of Virginia loyal to them and their King. And if so, it is certain there would have been no King's Mountain, no Guilford Court House, no Yorktown, and no independence. It is difficult, if not impossible, for any impartial student to ascribe this uprising of the people to any other cause than that of a just and manly indignation and resentfulness of an unlawful invasion and denial of their rights. And yet Hawks heaps abuse and vilification with overflowing measure upon Culpepper and his followers. To him Miller was "the champion of order," "freedom's martyr," and his opponents, unprincipled, unscrupulous, bad, "a set of vulgar and ignorant insurgents and anarchists, * * * acting under the guidance of unscrupulous, artful and better informed leaders, whose most appropriate elevation would have been, not to the honor of legitimate office, but to the topmost heights of the gallows tree." This was a direct fling at the Proprietors, who afterwards appointed or recognized both John Harvey and Colonel Jenkins, who were both leaders in Culpepper's Rebellion, as Governors of the Province. Hawks even went to the extreme

of abusing Shaftesbury for, that in defending Culpepper, "he robbed the gallows of its due." Truly North Carolina has been unfortunate in her historians! When one of her own sons, and he a man of such marked ability, declares false judgment against his own people, what better opinion could we expect from others. The Lords Proprietors themselves, at the time of the occurrence and after full consideration and examination into the facts, formed a very different view from that which Hawks wrote into the history of his State. Miller, repulsed by the Proprietors with contempt, was not content to leave the matter so, but carried his complaint to the Committee of Trade and Plantations, which as his Majesty's interest in the revenue was concerned, promptly called on the Proprietors for an explanation. The answer of the Proprietors, under date of November 20th, 1680, is in many respects a remarkable paper, (1 Coll. Rec., 326). It begins, "Mr. Thos. Miller, *without any legal authority*"—the italics are in the original—"got possession of the government of the County of Albemarle in Carolina in the year 1677, and was for a tyme quyetly obeyed, but doing many illegal and arbitrary things, and drinking often to excess, and putting the people in generall, by his threats and actions in great dread of their lives and estates, and *they, as we suppose getting some knowledge that he had no legal authority*, tumultously and disorderly imprisoned him, and suddenly after Mr. Biggs and Mr. Nixon for adhering to Mr. Miller and abetting him in some of his actions, and revive an accusation against Mr. Miller of treasonable words, for which he had been formerly imprisoned, but never tryed, and appoynt Mr. Culpepper to receive the King's customs, etc." It further states that they had appointed Seth Sothell, "a sober, moderate man," who had lately become one of the Proprietors, Governor, but that he had been "taken by the Turks and carried into Angiers,"

(sic) ; that on hearing of this they had appointed John Harvey Governor until the arrival of Sothell, and sent his commission by Robert Holden, who had been appointed by the King's commissioners of customs, Collector of his Majesty's customs in Albemarle; that Harvey had died and the Grand Council had appointed Colonel Jenkins in the place of Governor, "*ad interim*," and that they were sending out Colonel Wilkinson temporarily as Governor. This report or explanation is a complete justification of the action of the colonists, evidently so intended, and a repudiation of the acts of Miller that whilom, "Champion of order" and "freedom's martyr." Harvey and Jenkins were both later on Governors of the Province; Holden, Durant, Blount, Willoughby, White, Bruner, Slocumb, Calloway, Lillington, Jarvis, and many other of the adherents of Culpepper, bore names which have since illumined the pages of the history of this State.

Harvey died very soon and was succeeded by Jenkins. But little is known of the short official life of Jenkins, but he was evidently "*persona non grata*" to the colonists, for he was deposed by the people. We are not enlightened by the historians as to the cause of his deposition, but as the Proprietors did not resent it, but seemingly concurred in it, by appointing Wilkinson to succeed him, we must assume that the people had just grounds for their extreme action. Sothell was worse than Miller. Hawks says, (Vol. 2, page 486): "His principles would not have disgraced an education in a college of thieves, and his morals illustrated the purity of a gambling-house. He had purchased the right of Clarendon as Proprietor, for no other purpose than to be placed officially in a position to plunder; and it was not long ere he had exhibited evidence that he was capable of almost any crime, and equally an adept in all." Hawks was right this time, for Sothell well merited all the abuse and opprobrious names

which Hawks heaped upon him in that vigorous style of which he was such a master. The patience and endurance of the colonists was finally exhausted, and in 1688, although Sothell was one of the Lords Proprietors, one of their lawful sovereigns, he was seized by them and imprisoned preparatory to being sent to England for trial. Sothell, however, did not want to be sent to England, but, Governor though he was, begged that he be tried and judged of by the General Assembly of the Province. The General Assembly found him guilty on all the charges brought against him, banished him from the Province for twelve months and compelled him to abjure the government of the Province forever. The Lords Proprietors mildly protested against this action of the colonists as "prejudicial to the prerogative of the Crown and to their honor." But they quietly submitted as usual and sent out another Governor. It does not concern us, however, to follow any further the fortunes of the various Governors sent out to Albemarle. A few specimens of them is sufficient. Raper says (page 6), that "From 1674 to 1712 the colonists knew little of governmental restraints except those of their own making, and drove out of office six of their fourteen Governors or Deputy Governors."

A mere cursory review of the Fundamental Constitutions makes it plain even to a casual reader, that they were utterly unsuited to the times, the situations and the people. There were laws in abundance—laws that were good, and others that were bad—some that were chimerical, and others most sensible—some despotic, others mild and lenient—and some Utopian, while others were brutal. Balancing the bad against the good, the bad greatly predominated. And to this was added the still greater evil of weak and unprincipled Governors. Hence the people refused the constitutions, and they were never enforced in Albemarle. Over and over again did

the Proprietors in their letters and instructions to the Governors and Deputy Governors of the Province acknowledge their inability to enforce the provisions of the constitutions; and always for the same and entirely erroneous reason that they could not find men worthy of nobility. If they had said that they could not find men who were ready and willing to buy themselves titles of nobility, that would have been nearer the truth. The weak and vacillating policy of the Proprietors, their greediness for revenue and stinginess for appropriations and financial aid, their easy condonation of the insubordination and revolts of the colonists, the weakness, greed and lack of principle and courage of their various Governors and Deputy Governors all inspired the people to a system of constant and persistent resistance against the laws and their rulers. Most unfortunately, the records of the proceedings and debates in the General Assemblies of that period have been lost, and we will never know the people's side of the question, the true reason for those acts, which have induced historians to denounce the early settlers of Albemarle as refugees from justice, absconding debtors, and law-breakers, reeking with turbulence and sedition. The truth is, and I am cherishing the hope that in the very near future an historian will make it plain, that they were a race of sturdy, independent, self-respecting men, always ready to obey cheerfully just laws and honest rule, but equally ready to resist oppression and evil rule. With the injustice of the first laws still rankling in their hearts, about the only effect of the coming of the constitutions was to knit the people more firmly together in their determination to resist all unjust laws.

And so the Fundamental Constitutions, after a stormy life spent in vainly striving to make a home in Albemarle, were shipwrecked and lost. They were never enforced, never abrogated or repealed, but simply died from inanition.

As it may interest some of the readers of the BOOKLET to know in what manner and by what mystic words and rites nobles were created in the Province, I give below a copy of the patent which was granted by the Proprietors to Landgrave, Thomas Smith, of Charleston, South Carolina. It is in the following words:

William Lord Craven, Palatine of Carolina, and the rest of the Lords Proprietors of the same, to all officers and ministers, & all the free inhabitants of the Province of Carolina, Greeting.

Whereas, his most serene Majesty, Charles 2nd of Great Brittain France & Ireland King Defender of the Faith &c of his special grace and favor has given and granted to us: together with the Province of Carolina power of constituting States, Degrees & Titles of Dignities and Honours in the said Province & Preferring to the said Degrees men of Merit & graceing & adorning such with Titles of Honours. And Whereas according to the forms of Government by us Established & which is perpetually to be observed by us and our successors: its appointed that there shall be a certain number of Landgraves and Cassaques who shall be the Perpetual & Hereditary Nobles and Peers of our Province of Carolina. And Whereas Thomas Smith a person of singular Merit will be very servisable to us by his great Prudence & Industry & we being willing to reward a Gentleman that has deserved so well of us we have Constituted him a Landgrave.....

Know ye therefore that as a lasting Monument both of our favor and his Merits we have promoted the said Thomas Smith & credited him Landgrave and by these presents do prefer to and confer upon the same Thomas Smith the Name, State, Degree, Style, Dignitie, Title & Honour of a LANDGRAVE together with four Barroneys each of which shall

containe Twelve Thousand Acres of Land and Other Privileges pertaining to the said Dignity, and forever unseparably Annexed to the same, and we have given and granted & by these presents in behalf of ourselves our Heirs & Successors, do give and grant to the said Thomas Smith his Heirs and Successors the Name, State, Degree, Stile, Dignity, Title, and Honour of Landgrave together with the four Barroneys En-nexed & all & every the rights Preeminencies privileges and Immunities belonging to the said Dignity, to hand and to hold the same according to the Dignity of our FUNDAMEN-TAL CONSTITUTION with and by these presents granting that the said Thomas Smith and his Heirs aforesaid shall always successively bear the name and enjoy State, Degree, Style, Dignity, Title and Honour of Landgrave and possess the four Barroneys annexed, and that Every one of them should bear, have and possess, and by the name of LAND-GRAVE be called and named, and that the said Thomas Smith & his Heirs aforesaid should be successively held in in all things as Landgraves and be treated and Reputed as such, and every one of them should be so held, and reputed. And that they should forever have hold and possess and each of them enjoy the four Barroneys Annext paying annually for each acre a penny Lawful money of England to us and our Heirs, which payment is to commence about the end of the year One Thousand Six Hundred and Ninety. And Further-more that the said Thomas Smith and his heirs aforesaid, all and singular of them should possess and use by the name of LANDGRAVE all and every the rights, privileges, preemi-nencies and Immunities which in Law & right belong to the said State. In witness whereof we have caused these our Letters to be made Pattent under our Great Seale of Carolina; given from and under our hands the Thirteenth day of May Anno. Dom. 1691.

The document, of which the foregoing is a copy, is very ancient, and is now in the possession of Mr. Edw. S. Tennant, of Spartanburg, South Carolina, whose father, Edward Tennant, was a lineal descendant of the Landgrave. The signatures have been cut off; and on the back of it is endorsed "The Landgrave Pattent, Englished." So the original was probably in Latin, and this is only a translation.

The four Baronies, 48,000 acres of land, were taken up by the Landgrave on the west side of Cape Fear River, in what is now Brunswick County, and included the large island at the mouth of the Cape Fear River called "Smith's Island," which took its name from the Landgrave.

INDUSTRIAL LIFE IN COLONIAL CAROLINA.

BY THOMAS M. PITTMAN.

If full credit be given the early writers on Carolina, we must believe that the men of that period were chiefly concerned to avoid every form of industry that involved physical labor or inconvenience. Lawson says, "Some of the men are very laborious and make great improvement in their way, but I hardly dare give them that character in general." And again, "The planter sits contented at home whilst his oxen thrive and grow fat, and his stocks daily increase; the fatted porkets and poultry are easily raised to his table, and his orchard affords him liquor, so that he eats and drinks away the cares of the world, and desires no greater happiness than that which he daily enjoys." It is quite possible that Lawson, and Brickell who copied him closely, had in mind the attraction of new settlers to Carolina and sought to convey the idea that living was easy. Col. Byrd, on the other hand, was contemptuous towards Carolina, and most likely fell into exaggeration from that feeling. He says in the Westover MSS.: "The men for their parts, just like the Indians, impose all the work upon the poor women. They make their wives rise out of their beds early in the morning, at the same time that they lie and snore till the sun has risen one-third of his course, and dispersed all the unwholesome damps; then, after stretching and yawning for half an hour, they light their pipes, and, under the protection of a cloud of smoke, venture out into the open air; though if it happen to be never so little cold, they quickly return shivering into the chimney corner. When the weather is mild, they stand leaning with both arms upon the cornfield fence, and gravely consider whether they had best go and take a small heat at the hoe; but generally

find reason to put it off 'till another time. Thus they loiter away their lives like Solomon's sluggard, with their arms across, and at the winding up of the year, scarcely have bread to eat."

No such imputations, however, attach to the mothers of those early days. They are ever spoken of with high appreciation. Lawson tells us: "The women are the most industrious sex in that place, and, by their good housewifery, make a great deal of cloth of their own cotton, wool and flax; some of them keeping their families, though large, very decently appareled both with linens and woollens, so that they have no occasion to run into the merchant's debt, or pay their money out in stores for clothing." Again, "Many of the women are very handy in canoes and will manage them with great dexterity and skill, which they become accustomed to in this watery country. They are ready to help their husbands in any servile work, as planting, when the season or the weather requires expedition; pride seldom banishing good housewifery. The girls are not bred up to the wheel and sewing only, but the dairy and the affairs of the house they are very well acquainted withal; so that you shall see them, while very young, manage their business with a great deal of conduct and alacrity." An incident recorded in George Fox's Journal shows that women of even the highest station were skilled in the handling of boats. On one occasion he was unable to bring his boat to the shore, when the wife of the Secretary of the Province, seeing his strait, as he says, "came herself in a canoe, her husband being from home, and brought us to land."

As opposed to the suggestion of indolence on the part of the men, the proposal of Tymothy Biggs to the Lords Proprietors in 1679, concerning Albemarle, shows that "Ye Inhabitants have liven and gott Estates under ye Lord^{ps} there by their owne Industry and brought it to the capacity of a hope-

ful settlement and ere these had it had your Lord^{ps} smiles and assistance but a tenth part of what your Southern parts have had It would have been a flourishing settlement."

It must not be supposed that the settlers were entirely dependent upon the labor of their own hands in the mastery of this new land. There were many slaves in the colony—white, Indian and negro—to whom fell the greater burden of reclaiming the wilderness. The whites consisted of male and female convicts who, we are told, were "bought by the planters for the terms specified in their respective warrants, and worked with the negro slaves, under the lash of an overseer." Many of these, by industry and reformation of life, prospered when finally released from bondage, so that one old writer tells us that "thousands of them, if we are not misinformed, have by turning their hands to industry and improvement, and, which is best of all, to honesty, became rich, substantial planters and merchants, settled large families, and been famous in the country; nay, we have seen many of them made magistrates, officers of militia, captains of good ships, and masters of good estates." This was written of Virginia, but the similarity of conditions in the two colonies makes the statement as applicable to one as the other, except that there were more of such slaves in Virginia than in Carolina.

Naturally the first interest of the settlers was the building of houses, the clearing of land and the development of agriculture. There was no inn or place of accommodation. Literally a place to lay the head had to be created from timbers yet standing in the forests. Title to their lands was also dependent upon such improvements. Their grants contained a proviso, that if the grantee, his heirs or assigns "doe not seat or plant or cause to be seated or planted upon y^e s^d Land wthin three years after y^e next Insueing y^t then it shall be lawfull for any Adventurer or planter to make choice and seat

thereupon." That agriculture was prosecuted with enterprise and vigor is manifest from the extraordinary statement, that aside from the supplies grown for their own necessities, tobacco, the great market crop, was grown to such extent in Albemarle, that in 1679, it yielded annual custom duties of at least £8,000 sterling—a most remarkable showing when we recall that the total white population of all the scattered settlements in the colony did not equal that of one-third or fourth rate town of the State at this time. At an earlier date even, the competition of this product with that grown in Maryland and Virginia had so embarrassed the trade of those colonies that they sought to induce a reduction of the crop.

The mild winters and fertile lands were so favorable to vegetable life that prodigious crops were produced—almost beyond credulity. Like favorable conditions furnished an opportunity for breeding horses, cattle, sheep and swine to great advantage, which the settlers availed of to become rich in flocks and herds. Lawson declares that the "beef of Carolina equals the best that our neighboring colonies afford. * * * The veal is very good and white. * * * Mutton is generally exceeding fat and of a good relish. * * * The horses are well shapen and swift. * * * The pork exceeds any in Europe." The writer of this paper has old letters of a later period, from which appears a custom of driving hogs in great droves to the Virginia markets from North Carolina. These products of the forest, farm and field were so greatly in excess of the needs of the people as to support a considerable export trade in "beef, pork, tallow, hides, deer skins, furs, pitch, tar, wheat, Indian corn, peas, masts, staves, heading boards, and all sorts of timber and lumber for Madeira and the West Indies, rosin, turpentine and several sorts of gum and tears, with some medicinal drugs." Many fish were also exported and considerable quantities of butter and cheese of good quality.

Manufactures, in the modern acceptance of that term, can scarcely be said to have had an existence in the colony. Yet the existence of a lumber trade suggests, and credible historians argue, that saw-mills must have existed here at a time when mob violence would not tolerate them in England. Good brick and tiles were made and worked into buildings still in use; also lime, which was made of oyster shells, the limestone deposit being too far inland for the convenience of the early settlers.

Buildings were at first of extremely primitive design and construction. Col. Byrd's description of the houses and fences will interest the older readers by its close resemblance to those of their own recollection. "Most of the houses in this part of the country are log cabins, covered with pine or cypress shingles, three feet long and one foot broad. They are hung upon laths with pegs, and their doors too turn upon wooden hinges, and have wooden locks to secure them, so that the building is finished without nails or other iron work." The fence: "They also set up their poles without any nails at all, and indeed more securely than those that are nailed. There are three rails mortised into the posts, the lowest of which serves as a sill with a groove in the middle, big enough to receive the end of the poles; the middle part of the pole against the inside of the next rail, and the top of it is brought forward to the outside of the uppermost. Such wreathing of the poles, in and out, makes them stand firm, and much harder to unfix than when nailed in the ordinary way." In a little while, however, frame, brick and stone houses came into vogue, and were fairly representative of the growing prosperity and ambitions of the people. They also evidence the improved facilities for building and the presence of skilled artificers and mechanics. Some of the houses of the Colonial period would make a creditable appearance in advanced and

prosperous communities of the present day. Dr. Rumble gives an account of the "Old Stone House" erected in Rowan by Michael Braun (Brown) of "native, unhewn, but rather well-shaped blocks of granite laid in cement so durable that it still stands in ridges between the stones." We are without the record of any furnace making iron plates in this State during the colonial period, but the inscriptions on the plates of the fire-box or stove of this house give pretty certain assurance of their American manufacture and indicate the possibility of Carolina origin. On one plate the inscription is

COM. BAN. NI:

1766 "

On another—

GEORGE ROSS. ANN

MARY ANN

FURNACE."

It was quite evidently the work of a German-American, but whether from Pennsylvania or North Carolina, does not appear.

Brickell, whose book was published in 1737, notes that "The men are very ingenious in several Handycraft Business, and in building their canoes and houses." Describing the houses of the period, he says, "The most substantial Planters generally use Brick and Lime, which is made of Oyster Shells, for there are no stones to be found proper for that purpose, but near the mountains; the meaner sort erect with Timber, the outside with Clap-Boards, the Roofs of both sorts of houses are made with Shingles, and they generally have Sash Windows, and affect large and decent Rooms with great Closets, as they do most beautiful Prospect by some noble River or Creek." Dr. Hawks adds, "The chimneys of the better class of houses, as well as ovens, were built of brick. Indeed, a brick chimney was a mark of gentility in its owner."

Naturally the earlier and more important trades repre-

sented among the early artisans were those connected with the building and related interests, as sawyers, brick, tile and lime makers, carpenters, masons, and blacksmith. The services of the smith, however, were by no means confined to the building interests. He was the metal worker of the community. "We have abundant evidence of his early presence in the province, though the iron which he wrought was all, at first, brought from abroad. The division of labor which in older countries characterized this branch of mechanical art, did not obtain in Carolina. The smith who made or repaired the implement of husbandry, was equally skilful in mending the gun-lock or making a hinge. So valuable was this artisan to the neighborhood that we find on the records of the Council, during the Indian War of 1711, representations made from a neighborhood of the indispensable need of a blacksmith in the settlement, and a consequent special order that he should be exempt from military duty, that he might not be obliged to march against the savages, and thus deprive the people of his important services." (Hawks.)

The carpenter, too, was in demand for making the furniture, implements and vehicles of the period, as well as for house building.

Another group of workers, most important, were those who contributed to the clothing of the people as tanners, shoemakers, weavers, tailors and hatters. The tanners learned from the Indians a mode of tanning deer skins, which converted them into a soft and pliable material of great toughness and endurance. This was extensively used for the ordinary dress of woodmen, and was admirably adapted to that purpose. The abundance of hides and the facilities for tanning them at small cost made this a most important industry, so that Dr. Hawks doubts "whether any manufactory in the province was more common than that of leather."

The shoemaker was sometimes tanner, too; and often a general worker in leather, making harness and saddles as well as shoes. They were reputed more numerous than weavers and smiths combined.

Dr. Rumple describes the towns as "composed of the public buildings, the residences of some of the county officials, a store or two, a hatter-shop, a blacksmith shop, a tailor shop, and a few inns."

There were also the trades relating to commerce—coopering and ship-building, both of which were considerable industries, the preparation of naval stores, the manufacture of tar, etc. To these should be added the fishing industry, licensed by the Governor. One writer mentions seeing, at one time, three New England whalers at Cape Fear.

The German settlements in the later Colonial period furnish probably the most interesting examples of industrial life in the history of the period embraced in this paper. Their indifferant knowledge of the English language cut them off largely from participation in the general movements of the times. "Hence letting public affairs alone, and attending to their home interests, they surrounded themselves with well-tilled farms, and adorned their premises with capacious barns and threshing-floors. Who has not seen the immense double barns, with wide double doors, to admit a four-horse wagon with its towering load of hay, or straw or wheat; and the threshing-floor, where the horses tramped out the wheat, and the wind-mill blew the chaff into the chaff-house? And who has forgotten the long stables where the cows were yoked to the trough, each one knowing her place, while the calves were tied to a trough at the other wall." (Rumple.)

The first Moravian settlers, who founded the village of Bathabara, consisted of twelve men, the most complete industrial group that ever came to the State. There was a minis-

ter, a warden (the business man), a physician, a tailor, a baker, two carpenters, a gardener, a shoemaker and tanner, and three farmers. Within the first year they had established and put in operation seven distinct enterprises, as follows: Carpenter Shop, Tailor Establishment, Pottery, Blacksmith Shop, Shoe Shop, Tannery, Cooper Shop. A mill was under way, but had not then been completed.

Within three weeks after their arrival six acres of land had been cleared and planted in winter wheat. During the first year not less than fifty acres were cleared and prepared for farming purposes. "In the first summer they gathered wheat, corn, flax, millet, barley, oats, buckwheat, turnips, cotton and tobacco in addition to the garden vegetables. Fruit trees were planted, and various kinds of medicinal herbs." (Clewell.)

Many reminders and specimens of the handiwork of the early days are preserved in the intensely interesting museum at Salem, which the writer of this paper was permitted to visit during the fall of 1906, through the courtesy of Judge Starbuck, and Mr. Lineback, the custodian. It is a pleasure to note that the community planted upon an industrial basis so sound and prudent has steadily prospered during its entire history and stands to-day unsurpassed by any community within the State in all the elements of a prosperous, enlightened and elevated citizenship.

NOTE.—The materials for this paper are drawn from Lawson's, Brickell's and Hawks' Histories of North Carolina, Bernheim's German Settlements, Reichel's Moravians, Clewell's Wachovia, Rumple's Rowan, The Colonial Records, etc.

An Address at Banquet Given by Newport News Chamber of Commerce to the League of Virginia Municipalities and Visiting North Carolinians Preceding the Launching of the U. S. Cruiser North Carolina.

BY HON. JAMES ALSTON CABELL.

"Governor Swanson showed good discretion in selecting Hon. James Alston Cabell to represent him at the 'North Carolina launching' banquet. Mr. Cabell's address was scholarly, tactful, generous and eloquent, and, with the good taste of a gentleman, he paid tribute to North Carolina's valor, chivalry and glorious achievement, without giving his remarks the sickly savor of flattery. In an address of this character, by a speaker of one State to an audience from another, one is apt to be either patronizing, or gushing. Mr. Cabell went to neither extreme. His praise consisted not in the emptiness of fine phrases, but in the recitation of the facts of history. It seems to us to have been an admirable address for such an occasion and was duly appreciated, we doubt not, by our neighbors from the Old North State"—*Editorial Richmond Times-Dispatch, October 7, 1906*

"OUR DEAREST NEIGHBOR—THE OLD NORTH STATE"

"Great souls by instinct to each other turn,
Demand alliance and in friendship burn."

I suppose it is understood that the Governor of Virginia was to have responded to this toast, but was unable to be present. I have been requested by him to express to you his heartfelt regrets. When your accomplished chairman informed me of the condition of affairs, and asked me to come to you, I thought of a scene in the closing chapter of one of Tom Page's stories, "Mah Lady," in which the minister, standing before the couple about to be married, asks: "Who gives this woman to this man?" and the old darkey said: "When he ax dat question and look at me and I think about all the suffin' we done been thro', and old Missus and Marse

Phil all gone, and dere ain't nobody to took up for de poor chile, I couldn't help it, so I says, when he ax dat question, 'Unc. Billy.'"

So when I thought of the Governor of Virginia being away, especially at this time, just as the big crowd has assembled here to witness the ceremonies of the marriage of a veritable queen, the battleship North Carolina to the king of waters, and that there would be no one to speak for the "poor chile," for the Governor of North Carolina will have his hands full in speaking for Virginia, I feel like "Unc. Billy," and am here to speak all unprepared and unfitted as I feel myself to be.

I do not know that I am wholly unfitted to respond for North Carolina. Some of my ancestors, of whom I am proudest, were North Carolinians, and played a prominent part in all the eventful epochs of her early history, and I am proud to say I am a member of the North Carolina, as well as the Virginia Society of the Cincinnati. I know her history, and delight to recall her glorious past, rich in lofty and heroic examples, and to witness her splendid present, so full of courage and industry and wisdom.

We all must admit that North Carolina had an excellent start, because when she began her career she was "Virginia," and she has done so amazingly well that we Virginians like to remind her of it, and we are proud to know that her first permanent settlement was made by Virginians. But she goes back of this and tells us that she boasts of the first English settlement in the new world, and that Virginia Dare, the first child of the English race, born on this continent, was hers. She was then known as "Virginia." Her first Governor, William Drummond, came to her from Virginia, and he began from the start to make her a record by becoming a patriot and martyr. Every boy knows that she boasts of being

once the home of Daniel Boone, that prince of pioneers, king of Indian fighters and pride of Kentucky. Not to speak of Flora McDonald, that picturesque and lovely Scotch heroine, as well as a number of romantic characters. But when we come to call over the names of her truly great men, and to look at her history, so resplendent with great names and great deeds, we must admit that no after-dinner speech can do her justice.

As I stood last April by the grave of Cornelius Harnett, in Wilmington, and took part in the laying of the cornerstone of the monument to be erected to his memory, and heard the long roll-call of North Carolina's immortals, I felt what the orator said was true, that the very air we breathed was fragrant with the incense of offerings laid on the altars of liberty and constitutional government, that that hallowed spot was richly red with patriotic blood. That the page of history was luminous with the records of deeds of valor done by North Carolina's sons.

But her's is indeed a wonderful history. It is connected with much of the romance of the career of Sir Walter Raleigh and Queen Elizabeth. No less a man than the famous John Locke drew up for her the most elaborate and comprehensive scheme of government ever devised for any colony. It was called the "Fundamental Constitution or Grand Model." From the earliest times she offered a retreat for the oppressed and unfortunate, and her history has been singularly free from the charge of persecution. She has ever been prompt to assert her rights and stand up for what she believed to be just. The first blood shed in the cause of the Revolution was upon her soil, and was that of her sons. First at the battle of the Alamance, May 16, 1771, and again at the battle of Moore's Creek Bridge, where Caswell defeated the British February 27, 1776. Henry Alexander White, in his recent History of the United States, says: "That this was the first clear vic-

tory won by the Americans in the war of independence. It was great in its results. It caused the failure of the British plan to land a large army in North Carolina." In spite of Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Ritchie it appears to be proven that she pronounced the first declaration of independence. She had her own tea party. Fully as patriotic and much more delightful to read of than any Boston ever produced. Colonel Hunter's ride (with the halter around his neck with which he was to have been hung) on Fanning's own stallion, down the side of the steep rock to Deep River, put Putnam's little exploit, down the steps, out of sight. Her resistance to the stamp act was bolder and more effective than that in any of the other colonies. The defiance she flung to tyranny, and the love and devotion she gave to liberty was second to none. King's Mountain and Guilford Court House changed the tide of war and led to Cornwallis's defeat at Yorktown. She has always played her part well. Slow to determine but prompt to act. She voted against secession, and was the last State to leave the Union, but the first blood shed for the Confederacy was that of one of her sons. She seems to have raised a storm by asserting the proud claim to 'First at Bethel, farthest at Gettysburg, and last at Appomattox.' I am not going to get into hot water by discussing this matter, but will simply say that the glory that North Carolina won in the Confederate war will endure as long as this country endures, or as men revere devotion to duty and splendid courage. How well she fought is shown by the wonderful record of 127,000 of her sons sent to the Confederate armies, 42,000 of these killed or wounded. What a story! What a glorious record! I wish that time permitted me to say all that I could, and all that I would like to say about this grand old State.

No Virginian will knowingly withhold the praise that belongs to North Carolina. She was once Virginia. She was

Virginia before the three famous ships sailed into this beautiful harbor, three hundred years ago, whose advent North Carolina is going to help us celebrate next year. Her first permanent settlement was made by Virginians in 1688. When she gave tobacco, potatoes and Indian corn to the world she was known as Virginia. It was all then "Virginia." All one then, and all one now, if our hearts are to make answer, whatever the difference in name. Our destinies have ever been, and must ever be the same, bound together as we are by a thousand tender memories and a thousand ties of common interests. As in the past, so in the future, America will again require the leadership of Virginia and North Carolina.

In the past, North Carolina was singularly careless about her history. She was content to do splendid things and let others claim the glory. The old books told us her principal products were "tar, pitch and turpentine," but they said little of her great products—her splendid women and her noble men. Believe me, she has always had something precious and distinctive in manhood and character to contribute to American life. She has awakened at last to the importance of letting the world know of her great children, and what they have done for this country. She is showing a past glittering with glorious deeds and an ancestry full of lofty and heroic examples. The sole object we have in view in recounting the great deeds of our ancestors and keeping alive their memories, is to infuse into the minds of the people a like spirit. This, indeed, is the object of all history, and as Lord Bolingbroke says: "It should be neither to soothe our indolence nor to gratify our vanity." The true and proper object is a constant improvement in private and public virtue. In this age of money-making, when the lust of wealth is threatening the ruin of the country, it is well that the people should be reminded by the examples of men who have gone

before, that they owe something to their motherland. A child-like attachment to the native soil has in all ages been the strongest and simplest basis of patriotism. It has ever been the inspired theme of all great seers and poets, and it is to-day the stronghold of all nationality.

Wherever this spirit is appealed to, in the rugged mountains of Switzerland, on the vine-clad waters of the Rhine, on the sacred soil of France, or in the marshes of Holland, we see the old worldworn nations becoming children in the violence of their passions.

What better way to foster this spirit, and infuse a love of native land and inspire the hearts of the people, than to keep before them the great deeds of their ancestors. The citizens of Rome placed the images of their ancestors in the vestibule of their houses, so that whenever they went in or out, those venerable busts met their eyes and recalled the glorious actions of the dead to fire the living, to excite them to imitate and even to emulate their great forefathers. The success answered the design. The virtue of one generation was transfused, by the magic of example, into several; and the spirit of heroism was maintained throughout many ages of that commonwealth. Let us continue to keep alive the memory of the great men who made these great States what they are, keeping ever fresh the recollection of the illustrious deeds of those great patriots who have gone before us, and by the magic of example, let them be infused into this generation. Let the people who know who were the men that established Virginia and North Carolina; that in their veins ran the blood of fierce, war-like, liberty-loving ancestors, rendering them incapable of counting the costs of resistance when liberty was at stake; let them know that the bold spirit which sustained their fathers in the trying hours of the Revolution and the Confederacy, has been transmitted to them unimpaired as their heritage and birthright.

North Carolina
State Library

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF CONTRIBUTORS.

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

[ALFRED MOORE WADDELL.

Hon. Alfred Moore Waddell, LL.D., whose valuable article on "North Carolina in the French and Indian War" appears in this issue, was born in Hillsboro, N. C., September 16th, 1834, educated at Bingham's School, Caldwell Institute, and graduated at the University of North Carolina, class of 1856. He read law under Chief Justice Nash, Judge Bailey, Judge Battle and Hon. Samuel F. Phillips. Since 1856 he has made his home in Wilmington, N. C. He edited the *Wilmington Herald* in 1860; entered the Confederate Army in 1861; was made Adjutant and advanced to Lieutenant-Colonel; was elected to Congress in 1870; was re-elected three terms; served from March 4th, 1871, to March 4th, 1879; was Chairman of Post-office Committee of the House during his last term; was elected Mayor of Wilmington five times. Colonel Waddell is a lawyer of acknowledged ability and distinguished for his power and eloquence as a public speaker and as a painstaking historian. He has brought to light many instances in the history of our State which have been generally unknown to the people of the other States. Col. Waddell was one of the twelve writers who contributed an article for Volume 1st of THE BOOKLET. His article was entitled "The Stamp Act on the Cape Fear." This recital of events leading to the Revolution is founded on the incontrovertable fact, that the Stamp Act, which was passed by the British Parliament March 22, 1765, and the repeal of which occurred just one year afterwards, was one of the most potent causes of the Revolution of 1776, which resulted in the estab-

lishment of the government of the United States; that in the old Colonial town of Brunswick, sixteen miles below Wilmington, on the Cape Fear River, the *first* armed resistance to British oppression on this continent occurred on the 28th of November, 1765. This was ten years before the Revolution and nine years before the Boston Tea Party. Colonel Waddell asserts "with absolute confidence, that while all the other colonies were resolute in their determination to resist the Stamp Act, yet in *one colony only* did they openly, in large numbers and with arms in their hands, resist in armed force a 20-gun sloop of war—in an attempt to land the stamps, and this two weeks after they had compelled a stamp master to resign his office."

Col. Waddell, in the article referred to, has given a full recital of the events leading to this armed resistance, not only the tradition as handed down to sons and daughters of the men who did these things, but the facts which are verified by Governor Tryon's letter book, which was discovered in London in 1848. There were various versions of the story before the contemporaneous records were brought to light, although in regard to the main facts they agreed. One of these versions confused these events with the "tea parties" of Edenton and Boston, which occurred several years afterwards.

North Carolina has ever been noted for the liberty-loving spirit of her people, and Bancroft, in his first edition, paid a magnificent and just tribute to this characteristic as displayed by them in Colonial days; but in editions published during the war for Southern Independence the tribute was eliminated and no longer appears in that standard work. Great credit is due Colonel Waddell for espousing the cause of the Cape Fear section, a section as historic as any in America, not only famous for its resistance to unjust oppression, but for the *first* victory of the American Revolution, won at Moore's Creek Bridge on February 27th, 1776, which

has been most ably written up by Prof. M. C. S. Noble of the University of North Carolina, in March number of *BOOKLET*, 1904.

The chief historical work written by Colonel Waddell is a volume entitled "A Colonial Officer and His Times"—this being a biography of his ancestor, General Hugh Waddell, who figured so conspicuously in the period just preceding the Revolution.

Col. Waddell comes of distinguished ancestry. His great grandfathers were Gen. Francis Nash (for whom Nash County and Nashville, N. C., and Nashville, Tenn., were named), mortally wounded at Germantown, Pa., October 4th, 1777; General Waddell (colonial); Col. J. Pugh Williams (revolutionary), and Alfred Moore, Justice of the United States Supreme Court (1799-1805), for whom he was named. His father's mother was the only child of General Nash.

Colonel Waddell was married first to Miss Savage, of Wilmington, and second to Miss Gabrielle de Rosset, of the same city. This genial and gifted gentleman at this writing resides in Wilmington and is engaged in the practice of law.

MR. JUNIUS DAVIS

Mr. Junius Davis, the author of the article in this number of *THE BOOKLET*, entitled "Locke's Fundamental Constitutions," is a prominent lawyer of the Cape Fear section of North Carolina, and was born on the 17th of June, 1845. He was the son of Hon. Geo. Davis, at one time Attorney-General of the Confederate States, who at the time of his death, in February, 1896, was called the first citizen of Wilmington; a man of unsullied character and eminent for his ability, culture and public service. The mother of Junius Davis, the first wife of his father, was Miss Mary Adelaide Polk, daughter of General Thomas G. Polk, of Mecklenburg County, and a granddaughter of Colonel William Polk, of the Revolution.

The subject of this sketch began his education in the primary schools of Wilmington, and on reaching his twelfth year he became a pupil of the celebrated Bingham School. In 1861, after the war began, the family having removed to Charlotte, he there studied for a few months, but on reaching the age of seventeen he enlisted as a private in Moore's Battery, which was Company E of the Tenth North Carolina Regiment. He passed through the dangers and perils of war, serving faithfully as private and corporal; was in the engagements at Plymouth, New Bern, Drury's Bluff, Bermuda Hundreds, battles around Richmond, in the trenches at Petersburg, Battle of the Crater, the assault on Fort Harrison, and continued to endure the hard experience which fell to the lot of Lee's veterans, and had the good fortune of escaping without any serious wound. It was with a sad heart, after hearing of the surrender of General Lee, that he with some companions pursued their way towards Bedford City, Va., with the purpose of joining Johnston's army; when they reached the vicinity of Greensboro they heard of Johnston's surrender, and that the last Confederate army had disappeared. Corporal Davis came to Greensboro and surrendered himself to the Federal provost-marshal at that point and was paroled. He then returned to his home in Charlotte, obtained employment for a time, returning to Wilmington in the fall of 1865 at the age of twenty years. In the absence of any other opening he engaged himself as a clerk in a dry-goods store. Indeed, at that time nearly every one was in a similar condition; young men all over the South were ready and willing to do any honorable service to earn a livelihood. As a clerk Mr. Davis was faithful, rendering efficient service to his employers, and passed through that period after the war that tried men's souls, with that resolution which insures success.

In the year 1867 Junius Davis began the study of law in his father's office, and obtained his license to practice in the

County Courts; was associated as a partner with his father until the death of that gentleman in 1896.

Inheriting much of the talent of his father and trained by him in the details of professional work, Junius Davis fell into the same careful habits of precision and thoroughness that were the distinguishing traits of that honored lawyer and public-spirited citizen.

Mr. Davis has attained an honorable position in his profession, and his opinions are held in as high esteem as that of any other lawyer in the State of North Carolina. He is an honorary member of the North Carolina Society of the Cincinnati and a member of the North Carolina Sons of the Revolution, and a member by baptism of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

On January 19th, 1874, Mr. Davis was married first to Miss Mary Orme Walker, daughter of Thomas D. and Mary Vance Walker. Mrs. Davis having died, some years later he married Miss Mary Walker Cowan, daughter of Colonel Robert H. Cowan, of Wilmington. He has had eleven children, of whom nine survive.

Mr. Davis is of distinguished lineage. Among his ancestors were Roger Moore, Sir John Yeamans, John Baptista Ashe, Major Alexander Lillington, Col. Sam Swan, as well as from other equally worthy lines of Colonial ancestors, whose axes had first rung in the forests of the Cape Fear. With such blood in his veins he is a worthy scion of illustrious stock.

Mr. Davis partakes of his father's literary and historical turn of mind, is interested in the local history of the Cape Fear, his public addresses though but few, on account of his arduous professional labors, have a genuine literary flavor, and his style is strong and forcible. His historical addresses show research and familiarity with the history of the State, and can be relied upon as thoroughly accurate.

(The above facts, chiefly condensed from a sketch of Mr. Davis in *Biographical History of North Carolina* by Capt. S. A. Ashe.)

MR. THOMAS M. PITTMAN.

Mr. Thos. M. Pittman, the author of the article in this issue entitled "Industrial Life in Colonial Carolina," is a practicing lawyer in the town of Henderson, North Carolina, where he devotes his time to his profession. He was born in Franklin County, North Carolina, November 24th, 1857. He was the son of Alfred H. Pittman and Elizabeth (Neathery) Pittman. His parents died when he was about fourteen years of age, but up to this period they had given him the best educational advantages that were attainable in the town where they lived. At the age of fourteen he began work at the Mecklenburg Iron Works and settled at Charlotte, N. C., where for four years he was diligent as a clerk, and won the esteem and confidence of his employers. At the age of eighteen he began the study of law, and at the age of twenty years received his license; was admitted to practice in the District and Circuit Court of the United States in 1878. In the fall of the same year, without waiting the usual three years, he was almost immediately appointed Examiner in Equity in the Circuit Court. Mr. Pittman, with these exceptional advantages, besides being an almost omniverous reader, has risen to the topmost round of his profession and has won the esteem and kindly consideration of his professional brethren, and of his countrymen. He has devoted much of his leisure time in gathering materials and making studies of North Carolina History, and has a notable collection of historical material hardly to be equalled in the State.

Mr. Pittman is a writer of ability and has delivered and written many addresses on different epochs in our State's history. Among the most important—

"The Great Sanhedrin of the Jews and its Criminal Procedure."

Address on "English Words."

The Race Question and Socialism.

The Preparation for Baptist Work in North Carolina.

The Revolutionary Congress of North Carolina, and the Monograph on John Penn, "the signer," written for the NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET, Vol. IV, September, 1904.

Address on Nathaniel Macon.

Address before the Baptist State Convention at Greenville, N. C.

Address at Guilford Battle Ground, July 4, 1902.

J. S. Carr Prize Essay.

Lemuel Brickett, A Sketch.

John Porter and the Cary Rebellion.

Address to Summer School at A. & M. College, 1903.

He has written several sketches for the Biographical History of North Carolina, 1906-7.

Mr. Pittman is a prominent member of the Baptist Church, and has filled the offices of Deacon, Clerk, Sunday School Superintendent, Teacher, Vice-President of the Baptist State Convention, and of the American Baptist Historical Society, and many other offices that are recorded in the annals of this progressive denomination.

Mr. Pittman married Mrs. Harriet Lassiter, formerly Thrower, in June, 1884, and they have two children, Elizabeth, a graduate of the Boston Conservatory of Music, and Thomas M., Jr., a civil engineer on the Illinois Central Railroad.

GENEALOGY.

The Pittmans are of German extraction, and were settled on the Rhine at an early period. They were in England prior to the settlement of Virginia. The first of the family in this country died at Jamestown within the first ten years of that settlement. Later two branches of the family settled in America, one in Rhode Island, the other in Virginia. His grandfather, Merritt Pittman, came to Halifax County, in

this State, from Isle of Wight County, Virginia; his father was James Pittman, who was settled on the James River.

Thomas M. Pittman's maternal ancestor was Richard Bennett, who came to North Carolina from Maryland about 1750 and settled in Halifax, N. C. He was one of three brothers. One settled in Marlborough County, S. C., and gave the name of Bennettsville to the county town; the other settled in Anson and was ancestor to Judge R. T. Bennett and others of consideration in that county. He numbers among his ancestors the Neatherys and Lancasters of Revolutionary fame.

With Mr. Pittman's determined will, noble ambition and character, together with a superior intellect, he will continue on the road to success, ranking with the best in all his undertakings.

COMPILED BY MARY HILLIARD HINTON.

HON. JAMES ALSTON CABELL.

The Honorable James Alston Cabell, lawyer, legislator, writer, was born in Richmond, Virginia. He belongs to an English family of undoubted antiquity, which was seated in the counties of Devon, Wilts and Somerset. His ancestor came to Virginia at a very early period. During the Colonial and Revolutionary epochs of our history, the members of his family bore a conspicuous part in all public affairs, and rendered their country useful and distinguished services in war as well as in peace, serving in the Colonial wars, the House of Burgesses, the Committees of Safety, the Conventions and the Army of the Revolution. His father, the late Col. Henry Coalter Cabell, was a prominent lawyer, and in the Civil War was Chief of the Artillery of the Army of the Peninsular, and Chief of Artillery of McLaw's Division of the Army of Northern Virginia. The mother of the subject of this sketch

was Jane Alston, daughter of Major James and Catherine (Hamilton) Alston, of Abbeville, South Carolina.

Mr. Cabell is a graduate of Richmond College, and also of the University of Virginia, having had three degrees conferred upon him by the latter institution. While at the University he was prominent in athletics as well as in his studies; was editor of *The Virginia University Magazine*, which he conducted with marked ability, and won the scholarship in the Scientific Department and a thousand dollar prize. He was called to a professorship in the Central University of Kentucky, which he filled for two years. This position he resigned in 1880, and joined his father in the practice of law at Richmond. In 1884 he was elected a member of the City Council. In 1893 he was elected a member of the General Assembly of Virginia. He was re-elected and served until 1897, when he declined re-election. In 1896 his constituents desired him to become a candidate for Congress, but he had determined at the close of his legislative duties to devote himself to his profession and literary labors. He has recently been conspicuously mentioned as a candidate for Governor of Virginia. He married June 12, 1895, Miss Ethel Hoyt Scott, of New York City. He served for nine years as Chairman of the Virginia Commission on the Uniformity of Legislation in the United States.

Mr. Cabell is a member of the State Bar Association and the American Bar Association; a life member of the American Historical Association, the Southern Historical Association, and the Virginia Historical Society. He has been a member of the Advisory Board of the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities since its organization. He re-organized the Virginia Society of the Cincinnati, and was elected President of Temporary Organization of the Virginia Society in 1890. He is also an hereditary member of

the North Carolina Society of the Cincinnati. He was elected President of the Sons of the Revolution in Virginia in 1895; President of the Alumni Association of Richmond College in 1896, and Commander of the Virginia Commandery of the Military Order of Foreign Wars in 1899. He is a graceful speaker.

Mr. Cabell is an active, honorary, or corresponding member of a number of literary historical and scientific societies in this country and abroad; is editor of the *Virginia Masonic Journal*, and is the author of a number of scientific historical and biographical treatises and papers.

This excellent address, delivered by this popular and talented Virginian, at a banquet given by the Newport News Chamber of Commerce last autumn before the launching of the U. S. Cruiser *North Carolina*, has been republished in THE BOOKLET at the suggestion of a prominent North Carolina lawyer.

ABSTRACTS OF WILLS

From the Office of Clerk of Superior Court of Chowan County, Edenton, N. C.

Will of Stephen Cabarrus, of Pembroke, Chowan County, October 20th, 1807. Sisters Marianna, Cadette and Julia Cabarrus, now living at or near Bayonne, \$3,000. Brother Augustus, now living with me, nephews Thomas and Augustus Cabarrus, now living with me; sister-in-law Clarence, wife of my brother Bartholemey Cabarrus, now living at Paris, France; my large diamond ring and gold snuff box, formerly belonging to my beloved deceased wife, Mrs. J. Charrier, sister of my beloved wife and wife of Mr. Jean Charrier *fils*, living at Bordeaux, France, all her sister's clothes, her diamond earrings, diamond Aigrette, our double gold wedding ring and a garnate necklace; my friend. General William Richardson Davie, living in S. C., my friend Judge John Louis Taylor; Sophia Niel, her sister Polly Niel, children of Julia Beaulien Charrier, wife of Jean Charrier *fils*. Samuel Tredwell, Judge John Louis Taylor, John Roulhae and brother Auguste, Exrs. My servants, Louis, Sylvia, Lorient and John I desire emancipated and to each \$100.00. Test. John Otis Freeman, Nat. Bond. From the office of C. S. C. Chowan Co., Edenton, N. C. Abstract of Will of Stephen Cabarrus.

Abstract of Wills taken from Secretary of State's Office.

Will of Elizabeth Anderson, Nov. 1732; prob. Dec. 1733. Son James, son Carolus, daughter Elizabeth Pitman, daughter Elizabeth Anderson, Eliz. Pitman's son, Wm. Anderson, daughter Sarah Anderson, granddaughter Elizabeth Anderson, granddaughter Sarah Anderson.

Will of Henry Bonner, Chowan. Son Henry, son Thomas, grandson Richard Lewis, daughter Elizabeth Lewis, daughter

Deborah, daughter Mary, granddaughter Sarah Lewis, granddaughter Deborah Lewis: Sept. 1, 1738.

Will of James Ansell, Sept. 12—1738; prob. Apr. 1—1740. John Ansell, daughter Sarah Roberts, grandson James Roberts.

Will of William Badham, Chowan. Oct. 28—1736; Ellen, daughter of Martha Dunston, relict of John Dunston, born at Edenton, Aug. 1st—1733, land I Bought of William Willson; 250 acres adjoining Orlando Champion to her sister Mary, born June 6th—, 1735.

Wife Martha, Barnaby Stetz Dunston, Richard William Dunston, Arthur Laport, son of Jonho Laport.

HELEN DEB. WILLS.

The North Carolina Booklet

A QUARTERLY PUBLICATION ISSUED UNDER
THE AUSPICES OF THE

"NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION"

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

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION:

One Year, One Dollar ; Single Copies, Thirty-five Cents.

Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton, Mrs. E. E. Moffitt, Editors,
Raleigh, North Carolina.

Registered at Raleigh Post-office as second-class matter.

Notice should be given if the subscription is to be discontinued. Otherwise it is assumed that a continuance of the subscription is desired.

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Vol. VII.

OCTOBER, 1907

No. 2

The North Carolina Booklet



GREAT EVENTS IN NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY



PUBLISHED QUARTERLY
BY
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

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THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET.

Vol. VII

OCTOBER, 1907

No. 2

ODE TO NORTH CAROLINA.

BY PATTIE WILLIAMS GEE.

I.

By Honor called
To stay the rocks from heralding the shame
Long gathering of oblivion to blame ;
Of silent tongue
While one beloved is still untrumpeted, unsung ;
A daughter of the pines would climb Old Bald,
And from his heaven-ascending brim,
Down the long slopes which greet the 'sea's low rim,
Would gonfalons of song unfold
(As when Vulcanus rolled
His rugged gold ;
Demeter swung her surging plumes,
All her arms held of primal blooms,
Of subtle beauty and of wild perfumes)
Far o'er the fruited, fern-robed Wold,
(A bride the burning Sun
Doth feast his amorous lips upon) ;
And over orioled mountain peaks
Whose sweeping eagles' piercing shrieks
Die in blue beds of cloud-blown deeps ;
Till e'en the bitterest wrong
Which through the sad years yearns and weeps
Shall from its stream of tears up-leap to strife-dissolving
song !

II.

O, Carolinians, lift your eyes!
(God-gladdened eyes!)
And know this well:—
That 'tis your happy lot to dwell
Where Nature walks
In affluence.
Beneath a low-hung sky forever slipping
Warm kisses on her lips and dewy nectar dripping
Upon her flowered petticoat
Oft caught by wandering mists afloat;
Whose tunic, jewel-broidered, gleams;
Whose train is sun-lit, shimmering streams,
And talks
With him who owns her influence!

III.

Yours the consecrated sod
Which first the Anglo-Saxon trod
Of all our hard-won soil!
And sanctifying home and toil,
Yours the Mother on whose breast,
Smiling in confiding rest,
Lay the first American!
O, Carolinians, know this well,
And to your children's children tell
That here our civil rights began!
That here a woman stricken sore
Scorned to spare the sons she bore!
That here our proto-martyrs bled!
Say no stately rites were said
O'er these first for freedom dead,—
These first red drops for freedom shed,
But tell them, Carolinians, how
From wounds and bruise of sword and lance,

From purple pools of Alamance,
There sprang the flower of Meeklenburg,
The laurel flower sprang, and how
Its spreading leaves of liberty
Wreathed first their Mother's brow!

IV.

O, blood-blown Leaves of Liberty,
So doubly dear, so fair,
O, blood-blown Leaves of Liberty
Which stained her glorious hair
When foes unnumbered sacked her shores
And left a leprous reptile at her doors,
A leprous reptile that a woman may not name,—
O, blood-blown Leaves of Liberty, men blush at your great
name!
Since Nero burned imperial Rome,
His torches flashed beneath her dome,
Was never scourge like this,—
This crucifix which weak lips needs must kiss!

V.

But who could bear to stir a woman's pain
When guns, corosive, cold,
Lie dumb and still?
When o'er a wind-swept hill
Where sleep her valiant slain
A flawless moon unfolds in sympathy to rise in glory and in
glory wane?
When o'er a silvered plain
The stars flood melody to light the reign
Of Love wherein young Hope was born?—
Born of the Awakening of unused resources
Wedded to Vigor of swift water courses

From towering summits scurrying cold
Through miles of cotton blossoms, miles of corn,
A Naiad robed in gold?—

VI.

Oh that a living lyre might tell
This patient Mother's virtues! Dwell
Upon each deed chivalric of her sons!
Oh that an Orpheus might sing
Of that chill morn whereon there fell
Such courage courting death
As merged Purpose into Promise; flowered incipient life to
breath
When Victory's voice o'er Moore's lonely dell
Shook the gray boughs; forced every woodland bell!¹
Oh that resounding hymns might ring
Of Ramseur's Mill and the four hundred under Locke
Who stilled the booming of a thousand guns!
Of Joseph Graham whose twenty score
Repulsed the madness of four thousand more
Flung powerless upon a human rock!
Of that immortal field in Memory's raptured fabric woven²
Whereon no foe was lost, no foe uncaptured or uncloven!
Of her who won a warrior's crest
And blazoned Charlotte with The Hornet's Nest—
The proud escutcheon of the Hornet's Nest!
And of Penelope of old,
Leading (as chronicles relate)
The women of quaint Edenton to hold
High council and protest
Against coercion by an alien state
In mad exaction of an alien tax!
Of New Bern, Hillsboro, and of Halifax!

¹The Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge, February 27, 1776.

²The Battle of King's Mountain.

VII.

Oh that a living lyre might tell
Her virtues! Dwell
Upon each deed chivalric of her sons,
Till from a million throats
Upon the rushing currents of the years,
(In tiger-breeding wars through tears)
There floats
This shibboleth—The spirit of the Spartan breathes and
burns!
Ah yes, what though her iron days are past
And though the adamant wherein her fate was cast
No longer binds,—
The spirit of the Spartan breathes and burns
And on the shifting winds
Of Duty seaward turns,—

VIII.

Seaward where torn flags are trailing over crushed and
crumbled walls,
Men are sighing, struggling, dying, to be freed from ancient
thralls,
And again a righteous Mother,
Instant to relieve another,
Instant at her country's call,
Sends one with this spirit in him
"To return with Valour's guerdon"—
(List the Spartan Mother's burden!)
"Or beneath a soldier's pall!"
(Oh the pity and the heartache
And the anguish of it all!)
For Alamance and Bethel's story
Rings again amid the glory,
Rings again when at the daybreak,

With the Southern fire within him,
With his father's sword without him,
With the old flag wrapped about him,
(Oh the triumph and the glory,
And the rapture of it all!)
For his country's vindication,
For a friend's amelioration,
For the healing of his nation
Gallant Bagley bleeds and falls!

IX.

Yes, Alamance and Bethel's story
Heard again amid the glory
Challenges a nation's praise,
Challenges the world's amaze!

X.

Oh, with this spirit, Carolinians,
Onward to those pure dominions
Overspread by angels' pinions,
By the strong Thought angels' pinions!
Through all dreaming with its leaning toward the infinite,
Through all seeming to God's meaning clear and definite,
Onward to those pure dominions
Overspread by angels' pinions,
Where divine, effulgent light is!
Turn not backward where the night is,
For the broad-orbed sun is risen;
Holy Progress calls you: Listen.

XI.

Onward, patriot souls, unfettered,
Lifting standards, golden-lettered,
"Esse Quam Viderie" graven,
Words no coward hands nor craven

Dare upraise! The Future calls you;
All her luminous doors uncloses,
Pelts you with her dew-drenched roses;
Subtle Art and Music greet you;
Clear-voiced Learning low entreats you;
All the intellects and sages
Of the lost and buried ages
Echoing their sublime acclaim:
Brothers, she who bore you, calls you;
Answer her with deathless fame.

THE FINANCES OF THE NORTH CAROLINA COLONISTS.

BY CHARLES LEE RAPER, PH.D.,
PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA.

At the mere mention of finance, unless it be in a suggestion of a gift to us in the shape of money, most of us at once declare our lack of interest, if not indeed our complete indifference. We have become so accustomed to the idea that the monetary phase of life is so dry and uninteresting, that the consideration of this phase of our life belongs exclusively to the economist, the expert historian, or the statesman, that most of us, if not indeed all of us, are ignorant of some of the most vital and fundamental aspects and problems of our common everyday life.

But, notwithstanding this apparent popular indifference, the monetary phase of our common life is really vital to all of us—to every man, woman and child among us. We can never, even for a single moment, escape the question of finance, however much we would like to do so. The sentimentalist, who according to his own conceited belief lives solely in the realm of the beautiful and the true,—even he is most fundamentally dependent upon its forces. Finance is not, as many of us have so oftentimes fancied, a subject foreign to our real everyday selves. It is indeed a most vital and universal phase of our normal life, of our life as individuals and as collective bodies of individuals. It is ever present and vital in our consumption of wealth, and in our production and distribution of wealth. It is ever a problem, and a most serious one, for the state, which of necessity must consume wealth for the satiation of all its myriad wants and for the performance of all its protective and developmental functions. The state must not only satiate all its manifold

wants, but also perform its part in the production of wealth or the conditions of wealth production. It must do its part in creating and maintaining efficient and equitable conditions, in which the individual citizen may produce the maximum of wealth and the maximum of enjoyment from its production or consumption.

Indeed, the individual must needs have money as a standard of his values and a medium of their exchange before it is at all possible for him to play an important role in life. In fact, money, an efficient and just system, is one of the really great achievements of civilized man. For all men who live in a stage above that of the most primitive type, who are above the exceedingly crude phase of the savage hunter, fisherman, and root-grubber, money is both a necessity and an efficient instrument of individual and social wealth and welfare. Whenever man has products which he desires to exchange with another man, wherever he may be, and the higher his civilization and culture the greater number of such products does he possess, then must he have money; then must he possess a standard of the values of these products and a medium of their exchange.

And the state, as well as the individual, has vital need of money. It, like the individual, must needs have money as a standard of values and a medium of their exchange. So numerous and varied are the State's wants and functions that we can not here give them in detail. It must perform all the functions of living, all the functions of protecting itself and all its citizens, and all the functions of developing itself and the conditions of peace, order, prosperity, and welfare, for all its citizens.

In all these phases of life, whether of the individual or of the state, money plays the ever vital part of transmitting economic forces and values, just as the blood carries to all parts of the body the physical forces. It also plays the part of supplying a common expression of these forces and values,

just as language gives to us a common medium of the expression of our thoughts and feelings.

With these convictions ever present in our minds, let us now trace and analyze the finances of our ancestors—the monetary system, and its forces and problems, of the North Carolina colonists. And we shall treat this vital phase of our colonial life under the following heads: Coin, Barter, and Paper.¹

COIN.

The first colonists, in North Carolina as well as elsewhere in the American provinces, possessed little, if any, money in the shape of coin. They were for the most part poor, and the small amount of wealth which they possessed was in other forms than metallic money. Their wealth was in their weapons, tools, implements, seeds, cattle, and horses, and in this form it was only very slight. People of much wealth were now comparatively few anywhere in Europe, and life in a far-distant and savage land, where at best it was very severe, could offer little attraction to the wealthy and the contented. It was indeed the economic force, or prospect rather, that brought men and women from old and comparatively prosperous countries—it was the hope of economic betterment that brought our ancestors to this wild and unknown land. The provincial government, either in North Carolina or elsewhere, was forbidden to coin money in any form or denomination, and consequently the colonists could obtain only that coin which came to them as a result of their trade with Englishmen, in the motherland, or with foreigners. During the

¹Since every fact upon which this paper is based can be found in our great collection, *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, and in the acts of the provincial assembly—in the first four *Revisals of North Carolina Statutes* or in manuscript now in the office of the Secretary of State—we do not deem it necessary to make detailed references to these collections. For full details we would, with the reader's permission, refer to our *North Carolina Study in English Colonial Government* (Macmillan's, N. Y.), pp. 125-147. And we shall, in referring to this work, use this abbreviated title: *Raper's North Carolina*.

colonial days English coins occasionally came to our ancestors, and these were of the denominations of pound, shilling, and pence. And at times came Spanish silver coins, called Spanish dollars, and Brazilian gold coins. To the North Carolina colonists the Spanish coins came rarely. Our colonial ancestors for many years lived in almost complete isolation. They carried on little direct trade with the colonists of the Spanish islands; their exchanges with foreigners, even with their friends in England, were largely carried on through the New England traders. Ships from New England came to our shores, exchanged finished products for our surplus of raw materials and finished goods, and then transported them to the Spanish islands or Europe. The Carolina colonists sold for foreign or English consumption the surplus products of their streams, forests, and farms, but for the most part they received in exchange finished goods, not coin.

BARTER.

The early colonists of North Carolina, coming into the possession of little coin by means of their commerce, and being forbidden by the government in England to mint such money, must needs resort to the use of barter or paper currency. And they used barter currency extensively, if not indeed exclusively, until 1712, when paper money came into existence; and the use of barter continued for many years after this time. This currency was, to be sure, no new creation by the Carolina colonists. Its use has been universal in certain stages of economic development. Whenever people have surplus products to exchange with each other and do not possess a common standard of the values of these products or common media of their exchange, they always resort to barter currency. They, by common consent or by legislative enactment, declare that a certain one of their products shall serve as a standard of all values, and that a number of their commodities shall serve as media of exchange; and to these commodities

they assign certain legal tender values, in terms of which all their exchanges must take place. The Carolina colonists already possessed a standard of values—the English pound, sterling. In terms of this standard all their barter commodities were given a legal exchange value.

Exactly when the Carolina colonists resorted to the use of barter currency and gave it definite form we are unable to find out, though we have many reasons for thinking that it was early in their provincial life. In 1715-1716 the lords proprietors allowed, though unwillingly, an act of the assembly to go into operation, in which seventeen commodities were enumerated and assigned full legal tender values as barter currency; and this act was only a revisal of a former one. This act, changed a few years later so as to incorporate a few more commodities, was in operation until the middle of the eighteenth century, notwithstanding much opposition on the part of the lords proprietors or the crown officials (after 1731). The following is the table of commodities and their legal tender exchange ratios in terms of the standard, sterling, as declared by the act of 1715-1716:

	Pound.	Shilling.	Pence.
Tobacco, per hundred.....		10	
Indian corn, per bushel.....		1	8
Wheat, per bushel.....		3	6
Cheese, per pound.....			4
Row buck and doe skins, per pound.....			9
Dressed buck and doe skins, per pound.....		2	6
Tallow, per pound.....			5
Leather, per pound.....			8
Beaver and otter skins, per pound.....		2	6
Wildcat skins, per piece.....		1	
Butter, per pound.....			6
Feathers, per pound.....		1	4
Tar, per barrel.....		10	
Pitch, per barrel.....	1		
Whale oil, per barrel.....	1	10	
Beef, per barrel.....	1	10	
Pork, per barrel.....	2	5	

This act was changed in 1723. Indian corn was now given the legal tender ratio of 2 shillings per bushel, in the place of 1 shilling and 8 pence, as by the act of 1715-1716, and wheat

¹Colonial Records, IV., pp. 291-92.

was given the value of 4 shillings, in the place of 3 shillings and 6 pence. Hemp, at 8 pence per pound, rice, at 1 pound and 5 shillings per hundred, and turpentine, at 1 pound and 5 shillings per barrel, were now added to the table of barter commodities.¹

As was to be expected, these legal ratios of the barter commodities did not long remain the same as their market ratios. Each commodity became more abundant or less abundant as compared with the demand for it, and consequently its market price must needs vary. Its market price must be either higher than the legal price or lower than this price. For instance, the market price of deer skins was in 1731 practically the same as that fixed by the law of 1715-1716, while the prices of tar and pitch in 1731 were from one-third to one-fourth of their legal value as fixed in 1716. Since the assembly for the most part took the maximum market value of the barter commodities and declared this to be the legal tender value, not only for that time but also for many years afterward, it was most natural that in the case of many of the commodities their market value should be much lower than their legal value. Exactly what the exchange ratio of these barter commodities in terms of the standard, sterling, was for the whole period of their use we can not say. It is, however, a well established fact that barter was for practically the whole period of its existence a depreciated currency. We have specific evidence that the average market ratio of these barter commodities in terms of sterling was in 1709, 1731, and 1733, three to one. So great was the depreciation of this currency, so much was the market value of many of these commodities below that assigned to them by law, that the lords proprietors at times refused to receive this currency in payment of their quit-rents,² unless this money should be offered at a fair market rate.³

¹Colonial Record, IV., pp. 292-93.

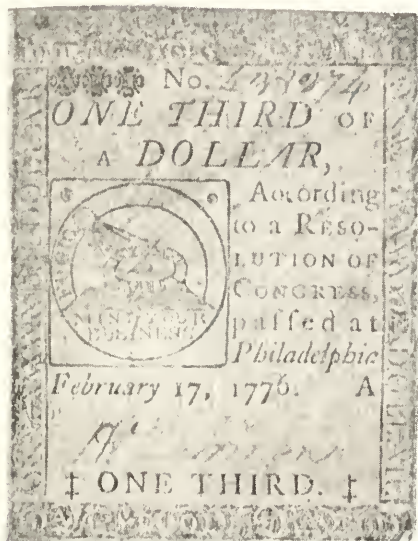
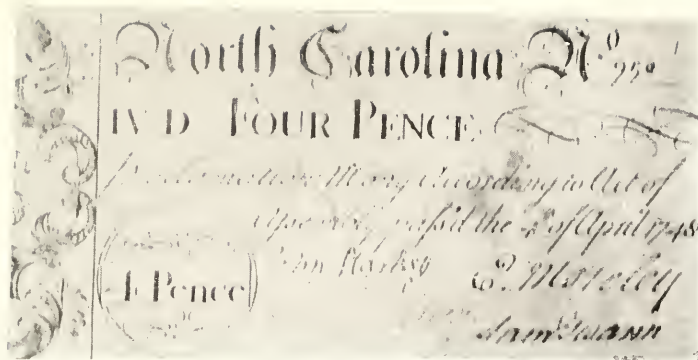
²Quit-rents were the land rents due from the colonists to the lords proprietors.

³Raper's North Carolina, pp. 129-30; Colonial Records, III., p. 185.

Such a currency, with its many fluctuations and its great depreciations, was, to say the least, very inadequate, if not indeed disadvantageous. It caused fluctuations in prices and wages. It was certainly a most inconvenient medium of exchange, both to the buyer and the seller, to the payer and the payee. It was also a dishonest form of the payment of fees to the provincial officers and of quit-rents to the proprietors, to say nothing of its great inconvenience. These fees and quit-rents were fixed in amount upon the basis of barter being equal to sterling, and were therefore only in part paid when barter money was actually worth from one-third to one-fourth sterling. Little wonder is it that we have so many and so frequent complaints of such a currency, on the part of the provincial officers, the lords proprietors, and the crown. And the defects of such a currency became more and more grievous as time went on and the economic life of the colonists became more extensive. There would be fluctuations and depreciations in this currency, even though the assembly at each session established new rates of the exchange of these commodities in terms of the standard, sterling; and this they most certainly did not do. Such a currency must be set aside entirely or the colonists must, at least, have some other form of money to supplement it. They could not, because of an order from England, mint coin money. They therefore resorted to the issue of paper currency, to supplement or take the place of barter. And the history of this paper money is full of disaster and broken faith, if not indeed of dishonor.

PAPER.

That a demand for this form of currency came early from the Carolina colonists, we are most certain. But the lords proprietors did not grant such a demand until 1712, and it was the pressing need of a financial emergency, that of war, which now caused them to yield. The provincial government was now burdened with a debt which the Tuscarora war had brought upon it. And, though this debt amounted to only





about 4,000 pounds, a really small sum, so inadequate was the province's machinery of taxation, and so great and fundamental was the colonists' opposition to paying a tax, that it was decided by the assembly to borrow this amount by forcing into circulation 4,000 pounds of bills of credit. These bills were given the same legal exchange ratio as barter currency; they were based upon the common standard of values, a pound sterling. They were also made full legal tender money—that is, they were forced into circulation by the provision that the refusal to accept them in payment of a debt caused the debt to become null. While theoretically they were to be redeemed, they were in actual fact irredeemable, at least for a time. To be sure, the legislature levied a tax for the purpose of their redemption, but this tax was only in slight part collected, and very slowly at that. But, notwithstanding its inconvertibility, this form of money passed for a time at its par value; its volume was small and the demand of the colonists for money was comparatively great.¹

A new form of currency had now been issued by the provincial assembly, and its use had now been allowed, though very unwillingly, by the lords proprietors. When once the precedent of issuing irredeemable paper money was established, it was certainly a most difficult thing to resist the demand of the colonists for a further use of this kind of money. In 1713 this demand was again granted, and 8,000 pounds of bills of credit were emitted. To these bills, as to those of the issue of 1712, full legal tender powers were given, and they were forced into circulation among the colonists. They, like the bills of the first issue, were theoretically redeemable. For this purpose a tax upon land and polls was levied, but this tax, like the one levied in 1712, was only in slight part collected, and the bills were in actual fact not redeemed. They, as a matter of course, did not long pass on

¹Raper's North Carolina, pp. 130-1.

the market at their par value; there were now in circulation 12,000 pounds (\$40,000) of practically irredeemable paper money, a supply very large for a population of not more than 10,000. Soon they had depreciated within the province to the extent of forty per cent of their legal value, and outside of North Carolina they were all the time practically worthless.¹

As we have already said, these issues of irredeemable and depreciating currency were very unwillingly allowed by the lords proprietors. But their opposition came not because of their conviction that such a currency would bring disturbances to provincial prices, but because they were keenly aware that this money would be an unfair form of payment of fees to their officers in the province and of quit-rents due to themselves from their land. Their opposition to the issue of such a currency was, however, of no avail. The lords proprietors lived in England, then an exceedingly great distance—a many-days' journey—from North Carolina, and their control over the provincial government was at best only slight.

This kind of currency once being established, and the policy of practical independence on the part of the provincial assembly once being allowed by the lords proprietors, paper money continued to be the chief currency of our ancestors for many years, in fact until the English parliament in 1764 forbade the issue, by any of the provincial assemblies, of bills of credit, and in 1773 of treasury notes. In 1714-1715, though the Indian wars were over, and, as time has proved, forever, though there was no pressing need for public revenue to the provincial government, the assembly again ordered, in spite of the opposition of the lords proprietors, an emission of bills of credit—24,000 pounds. This issue was for the purpose of retiring the bills which had been emitted in 1712 and 1713, now much worn and defaced, and of paying the other debts of the provincial government. The taxes which had been

¹Raper's North Carolina, p. 131.

levied for the redemption of the first two issues had either not been collected or the funds accruing from these taxes had been expended for other uses than their legal ones—in either case a most remarkable comment upon the province's fiscal fairness and honesty. And for the redemption of this issue, that of 1715, no limit of time was fixed, though theoretically a tax was levied for its redemption some time or other. These bills were given a legal exchange ratio equal to that of the barter currency, which was now 1.5 to 1 sterling. To prevent their depreciation, the assembly resorted to a most extraordinary and foolish plan. The assembly not only gave to these bills full legal tender powers, but also established a severe penalty for refusal to accept them in payment of debt. For refusing to accept them meant, so the law declared, the forfeiture of twice the amount of the bills offered. But, notwithstanding such a provision, this paper currency did not pass on the market at its legal ratio of exchange. Irredeemable paper money rarely, if ever, passes at par value; the conditions of its redemption are too uncertain and vague. The very fact that the assembly provided such a penalty for refusal to accept clearly enough indicates the weakness of such money. The public credit of the provincial government was too weak for these bills to pass on the market at their par value, regardless of such an extraordinary penalty. By 1721 they were passing at 2.5 to 1 sterling, though by the law of their issue they must be accepted at 1.5 to 1 sterling. And now even the lords proprietors refused to accept such depreciated currency in payment of lands or quit-rents, though they were at this time accepting in payment of such claims that inconvenient and depreciated currency known as barter.¹

So inefficiently was the tax which was levied upon land and polls for the redemption of these bills of credit of 1715, that one-half of the issue—12,000 pounds—was still outstanding in 1722, seven years after their emission. And,

¹Raper's *North Carolina*, pp. 128, 132-3.

too, it was most evident that the colonists did not seriously intend to redeem them, for in 1720 the assembly enacted a provision which diminished the rate of the tax, and this in spite of a clause in the act of 1714-1715 to the effect that the rate should never be diminished as long as any of this paper money was in circulation. These bills which were in 1722 still unredeemed were worn and defaced, and during this year the assembly ordered that they be replaced by new bills. This act, together with the fact that one-half of the issue of 1715 had been redeemed, it was hoped, would bring greater value to the province's paper money. But such a desirable result did not come. Bills of credit for practically the whole of the next seven years, from 1722 to 1729, passed on the market at about 5 to 1 sterling, while by the act of their issue they were given a legal exchange ratio of 1.5 to 1 sterling. And little wonder is it that their depreciation was so great. The faith of the provincial government had too many times been broken, and during these seven years very little was done to bring back public credit to a condition of fairness and honesty.¹

And this was by no means the last of irredeemable and depreciating paper money. The colonists were for many years yet to be cursed by the excessive use of this kind of currency—a curse which came to them while they were expecting a blessing. In 1729, just before the crown assumed administrative control of the province, though after the transfer of ownership of the soil had been made from the lords proprietors to the English king, 40,000 pounds of this very kind of currency, bills of exchange, were by the provincial assembly ordered to be emitted. The lords proprietors had all the time opposed the issue of inflated and inadequate, unfair and dishonest money, and the English crown was soon to advise, specifically and in strong terms, against its continued use. But now in the interim, as it really was,

¹Raper's North Carolina, pp. 133-4.

in the period between the administration of the lords proprietors and that of the king, the colonists fairly satiated their inordinate desire for such inflated money. They increased the paper currency of the province to the extent of 30,000 pounds of bills of credit. They now, through an order from their assembly, issued 40,000 pounds of such paper money; 10,000 pounds of this to be used for sinking the old bills, which were now defaced and which had really come down from 1712 and 1713, and 30,000 pounds to be loaned. For the redemption of this total issue, 40,000 pounds, a provision was made for the loaning of 30,000 at six per cent. interest for a period of fifteen years; the interest accruing from this loan would, they thought, bring in sufficient funds with which to redeem the whole issue—40,000 pounds—and leave a balance to the credit of the provincial government of 5,000 pounds. But this plan, if it was not indeed foolish, came to a disastrous failure. The security upon which the loans were made was, at least in many cases, the most inadequate. To these new bills was given the legal exchange ratio of 5.17 to 1 sterling, which was approximately the market ratio of the old bills. But these bills, like all the others, did not long pass at their par value. The banking scheme of the assembly, by which these bills were to be redeemed, was so inefficiently executed, the securities upon which the 30,000 pounds were loaned were so unsound, so long had the faith of the provincial government been broken, that irredeemable paper money could not possibly pass at par. By 1731 the bills of 1729 were circulating at about 8 to 1 sterling, though by the act of their emission they were given full legal tender powers to pass on the market at 5.7 to 1 sterling.¹

Such was the monetary condition when the English crown actually assumed control of the provincial government, such was the province's depreciated currency in 1731. And the

¹Raper's North Carolina, pp. 134-5.

first royal Governor, George Burrington, came with full and specific instructions from the officials in England not to accept such depreciated money in payment of fees and quit-rents. But such instructions could not possibly be carried out. Only in theory could Burrington and the other crown officials in the province refuse to accept such currency in payment of fees and quit-rents; the colonists refused to pay these obligations unless they were allowed to pay them in their own money. And the royal governor was also instructed not to allow any further emission of such depreciating and dishonest currency. But the conditions which prevailed throughout the province, the great powers which the provincial assembly had gradually acquired through all the years of the proprietary period, and the extreme weakness of the English control over the Colonists,—all these circumstances stood face to face with the royal instructions, and the instructions were ignored or set aside. By 1735 not one tenth of the money due from the loan of 1729 had been collected, and the small amount which had been collected had been used for other than the legal purpose of redeeming the bills of credit; the whole issue of 1729 was still in circulation. Quit-rents to the King and fees to the crown's officers in the province were greatly in arrears. All this created a most favorable atmosphere for the advocates of inflated currency, and they now demanded a further issue of irredeemable paper money. And Governor Johnston, notwithstanding his royal instructions to the contrary, saw fit to accept an act of the assembly by which 40,000 pounds of new bills of credit were emitted. These new bills were to sink the issue of 1729; and it was enacted that the loan of 1729 should be continued and that the funds which accrued from it should be reloaned until 1744. The colonists again, as in 1729, made a frank and open declaration in favor of a permanent use of irredeemable and fluctuating paper money. In all their early issues

they made theoretical provision for their speedy redemption. But now, as in 1729, they provided for a large volume of paper money for a period of at least ten years. In the past, the use of paper money had been practically permanent, though in theory only temporary. Now it is made permanent both theoretically and practically.¹

And this is not all of the monetary legislation of the year 1735. In order to pay certain claims against the provincial government, presumably salaries to the members of the legislature, the assembly made a grant to the crown of 14,150 pounds. In return for this grant of revenue to the crown, the assembly violated the royal instructions which forbade a further issue of bills of credit. They ordered to be issued 12,500 pounds of new bills, in addition to the 40,000 pounds already mentioned, and levied a tax upon polls and liquors for a period of five years.²

With 52,500 pounds of paper money in circulation for a population of only 35,000 whites, with very inefficient provisions for its redemption, and with a continuous record of broken public faith since 1712, it is not at all strange that the new bills of 1735 should depreciate. Soon they were passing at 10 to 1 sterling, while by the act of their issue they were given the full legal tender powers of 5.17 to 1 sterling—in reality the total volume of the province's actual media of exchange was only about 5,000 pounds sterling. All these bills should have been fully redeemed by 1745, but in actual fact none of them had been redeemed by this time. The loans of 1729 and 1735 had proved to be disastrous failures and the taxes levied in 1735 had either not been collected at all or had been illegally used for other purposes than that of redeeming a part of the issue of 1735.³

The monetary situation from 1745 to 1748, to say the

¹Raper's N. C., pp. 135-6.

²Ibid., pp. 135-6.

³Ibid., pp. 136-38.

least, was very unsatisfactory. To relieve the depreciated currency and to pay fees, quit-rents, and legislators' salaries, many attempts were made to emit more bills of credit. In the minds of many of the colonists the one panacea for all financial ills was the issue by the assembly of bills of credit—to inflate and inflate a currency which was already absurdly swollen. These attempts were, however, unsuccessful until 1748, when Governor Johnston, in spite of his royal instructions to the contrary, yielded. The province must make defence against the French and the Spanish. The crown officials must have their salaries, which were now greatly in arrears. Under the pressure of such conditions, Governor Johnston accepted a bill which provided for the issue of 21,350 pounds of bills of credit, and the whole amount was voted to the crown. These new bills were given full legal tender powers at the exchange ratio of 4 to 3 sterling and 1 to 7.5 old bills. They were called "new proclamation" money, in distinction to the old bills and barter currency, which were called "old proclamation." For their redemption a poll tax was levied, to be collected until all of the bills should be redeemed—redemption at an indefinite time, perhaps never. These bills were to be used for the following purposes: 7,000 pounds to sink the whole outstanding paper currency, nominally 52,500 pounds, but in terms of sterling only 7,000 pounds; 6,000 pounds for coast defence, and the remainder for salaries. 21,350 pounds of paper money was not an excessively large amount of currency for a rapidly growing population and agricultural development; \$71,093 should not have been an excessive amount of money for a population of about 85,000. But still these new bills, this "new proclamation" money, depreciated. Its redemption was too uncertain. It was based upon a tax which, according to the experiences of the past, would not be at all efficiently collected.¹

¹Raper's N. C., pp. 138-39.

For six years the demands for further inflation of the currency were resisted. The next issue was in 1754. The fourth intercolonial war, popularly known as the French and Indian war, was now fast coming on. The province must needs defend itself; it must have forts, soldiers, and provisions of war. Matthew Rowan, who as president of the council was now the crown's chief officer in the province, in the interim of Governor Johnston, now dead, and Governor Dobbs, who had not yet arrived, gave his assent to a bill of the assembly by which 40,000 pounds of bills of credit were emitted. These bills, like those of 1748, were "new proclamation" money and were given legal tender powers of exchange at the ratio of 4 to 3 sterling. Provision was, in theory at least, made for their redemption. A tax was levied upon polls and imported liquors for this purpose, but this, like former taxes, was very inefficiently collected, and the bills, like all former ones, depreciated.¹

War continued and the province's burdens increased. Governor Dobbs, though desirous of complying with his royal instructions which forbade the issue of bills of credit, was really forced to assent to a further emission of paper money. He gave his assent to an issue, not of bills of credit, but of treasury notes; in 1756, 3,400 pounds, in 1757 and 1758, 25,806 pounds, in all 29,206 pounds of treasury notes. These notes were essentially different from the bills of credit which had so long and with such disastrous results been issued. Unlike these bills, the notes bore interest. They were also redeemable within a short time; a poll and liquor tax was levied for their redemption. The bills, as we have seen, had been practically irredeemable, though in theory some provision had always been made for their redemption. And in this instance, that of the treasury notes, the provincial officers largely kept the public faith. By 1764 they had paid,

¹Raper's N. C., pp. 139-40.

in interest and principal, 23,807 pounds on these notes—the first really faithful fiscal performance since 1712, when the colonists started upon their policy of unsound and wasteful paper money. Though these issues and their comparatively speedy redemption brought much relief to a bad monetary situation, still it was expecting too much to hope that they would bring in a sound condition of public credit. Public faith broken constantly for more than forty years—this was a great difficulty to overcome.¹

While these treasury notes were redeemed, almost according to promise, the bills of credit issued in 1748 and 1754 were not redeemed, at least rapidly. They were, therefore, depreciating. By 1759 they were passing on the market at only 1.9 to 1 sterling, while by the act of their issue they had the legal tender ratio of 1.33 to 1 sterling. And this depreciation came in the face of a rapidly growing population and consequently an increasing demand for money.²

And still the province must provide the expenses of war. Governor Dobbs, in spite of royal instructions to the contrary, accepted in 1760 a bill of the assembly by which 12,000 pounds of bills of credit were ordered to be emitted; and again in 1761, 20,000 pounds. These bills, like those of former issues, were given full legal tender powers. They were also really irredeemable, though in theory at least a tax was levied for their redemption. The volume of this kind of currency had now become large. The acts of 1748, 1754, 1760, and 1761 had put into circulation 93,350 pounds of legal tender, non-interest bearing, paper money. By 1764 only 25,286 pounds of this currency had been redeemed. But this was really a remarkable showing, since during the first forty years of the issue of such bills practically none had been redeemed. There were, then, still in circulation 68,064 pounds of bills of credit and 6,769 pounds of treasury notes—a total of

¹Raper's N. C., pp. 140-1.

²Ibid., p. 141.

74,833 pounds of paper money. This was an amount of currency not apparently excessive for a population of at least 200,000. But we must remember that barter was still, to an extent, used in the western portions of the province.¹

We have now come to the end of the issue of bills of credit; the issue of 1761 was the last. The emission of this kind of currency had long been contrary to the king's instructions, but, as we have seen, these instructions were not infrequently set aside. Now, in 1764, the English parliament enacted a law which forbade its use, and from this time until the downfall of the royal government the demands of the colonists for this inflated currency were never granted. But still the bills which were outstanding, those of 1748, 1754, 1760, and 1761, did not pass on the market at their par value. In 1767 they were exchanging at the ratio of 1.82 to 1 sterling, and in 1771 at 1.60 to 1, though legally they were to pass at the ratio of 1.33 to 1 sterling.²

Why this continued depreciation? The population was rapidly increasing. Business was prosperous. And these bills were being redeemed. But now, in 1768, the assembly, perhaps for the specific purpose of putting an end to a decrease in the paper currency, ordered that the taxes which were levied in 1760 and 1761 for sinking the bills of these years, should no longer be collected. In the same year 20,000 pounds of debenture notes were issued. Bills of credit had been forbidden by parliament. Governor Tryon, who needed money to pay the expenses of his first campaign against the "regulators," and to finish his magnificent palace at Newbern, gave his assent to such an issue. Though these notes swelled the paper currency, they were not made legal tender—were not forced into circulation by law,—and provision was made for their speedy redemption. The issue of these notes did not, however, permanently improve the fiscal situa-

¹Raper's N. C., pp. 141-2.

²Ibid., pp. 143, 145.

tion. By the close of 1771 the provincial government, mainly because of a second campaign against the "regulators," was under a floating debt of 60,000 pounds. There were also outstanding 42,800 pounds of bills of credit. To provide for the floating debt, the assembly passed a bill and Governor Martin gave his assent to it, whereby 60,000 pounds of new debenture notes were issued. This issue of debenture notes made the paper currency at about 100,000 pounds, a volume of money not too great for a population of about 250,000. But still these bills and notes did not circulate at their par value. They were given the legal ratio of 1.33 to 1 sterling, but were passing on the market at 1.6 to 1. Too long had the provincial government broken its promise.¹

We come now to the end of the issue of paper money by the provincial government of North Carolina. The colonists still asked for more inflated paper currency, but from 1771 to the downfall of the royal government, in 1775, their demands were not granted.

And this is the record of the finances of the Carolina colonists, though presented in its barest outlines and told with all too little clearness and interest. Though a record of failure and even of unfairness, still many excuses should be offered for it. Lack of an understanding of the deep forces and problems of money, primitive conditions, and hard circumstances—these in part furnish an apology for such public conduct on the part of our colonial ancestors. And the monetary record of the other twelve American provinces is no less dark. They each have left a record of inefficiency and unfairness in their administration of that most difficult problem, money. And, too, the monetary record of the American people since they have become an independent and sovereign people is far from being all bright, honorable and glorious.

¹Raper's N. C., pp. 144-5.

JOSEPH GALES, EDITOR OF RALEIGH'S FIRST NEWSPAPER.

BY WILLIS G. BRIGGS.

Joseph Gales, martyr to freedom of the press in England, editor of *The Raleigh Register* for thirty-four years, champion of popular education, advocate of every measure for moral and industrial development of the people; his political creed combined the liberty upheld by Jefferson with the progressive national policies sustained by Adams, Webster and Clay and placed him ever in advance of his time.

This brief statement of fact is enough to justify our interest in the career of one who left an indelible impress for good upon this community and State. Joseph Gales was born February 4, 1761, in the village of Eckington, Derbyshire, England. His great grandfather and his grandfather had successively taught the village school and were men of the model immortalized in Goldsmith's "Deserted Village." The father, Thomas Gales, who lived to an advanced age, was likewise described as "an Israelite in whom there was no guile."

Joseph Gales was the eldest son, an unenviable position in a crowded humble household. As a child he attended school and was proud to occupy a place at his father's side in the village choir. He never lost his fondness for music and in his latter years was wont to credit this early passion as one of the most salutary influences in his life. When a lad of thirteen he was bound to a man in Manchester for seven years to learn bookbinding and printing. This was a common practice even at a much later period until it was superseded by the apprentice system of today. The youth was grossly abused in the Manchester household and finally determined to make his escape. With only half a crown in his pocket he trudged fifty miles back to his native village. Many

years later, touching upon this experience, Gales wrote "In a solitary spot on the mountain moors over which I wended my way, I bent my knees in prayer to my God, thanking Him for my release from a heavy bondage and praying for His future guidance and protection." Relatives then appealed successfully to the law in his behalf. Later he was apprenticed to an excellent man in Newark and shared the refinements of his home. The youth made the most of his opportunities and soon became a master printer and binder.

While employed at this trade, the young man won the favor of Winifred Marshall, youngest daughter of John Marshall, of Newark-upon-Trent. Now developing into a strong, courageous man, his habits frugal and his character irreproachable, his clear intellect and sympathetic heart fired with a passion for peace and justice, he added to these traits the inestimable blessing of centering his temporal affections in the heart of a worthy and excellent woman. Winifred Marshall was related to Lord Melbourne and came from a family of distinction but no longer wealthy. She was her father's pet and constant companion; together they studied Shakespeare, Milton, and the political essays of the day on the governmental side, for John Marshall was a staunch Tory. Her literary talent was recognized and several of her stories and verses published. "Lady Julia Seaton" was the title of a romance written when she was seventeen; thirty years later in America she had a granddaughter who bore this very name,—a strange coincidence indeed.

The marriage was solemnized May 4, 1784, in the Episcopal church at Newark by the bride's brother, a clergyman. After a visit to the Gales family in Eekington, the young couple went to Sheffield in Yorkshire, where the groom had recently established himself as a printer. The first work from his presses was a folio illustrated Bible with annotations by his gifted wife.

The Dissenters from the established church were numerous in Sheffield and they were practically all Liberals in politics. Gales' studious mind had led him to accept Unitarianism as his religious faith. In 1782, at the dawn of the political revolution eminent in England, he threw himself, then a youth of twenty, full hearted on the side of the great unenfranchised class. Reform became his passion but it never dimmed his sense of justice. His cultured wife, reared in far different surroundings, embraced with zeal the religious and political convictions of her husband. In 1787 Gales began the publication of *The Sheffield Register*, a weekly newspaper, and ardently championed reform. He warmly welcomed the French revolution. The English ministry, under leadership of Pitt, soon resorted to severe measures to repress the liberal wave, fearing that it would bring calamity to the monarchy.

The advocates of reform had formed various Constitutional Societies and Gales was secretary of the organization in his town. Some of these associations may have aimed to employ force in correcting existing injustice, but such was certainly not the purpose of the Sheffield society. The government was nevertheless alarmed. Holt, a printer in Gales' office, was sentenced to four years imprisonment for publishing a letter by the Duke of Richmond advocating reform. The flame was further fanned by the prosecution of Dr. Priestly, a Unitarian divine beloved by the Gales family, as the alleged author of a circular asking friends of liberty to celebrate the fall of the Bastille. Rumors of riots at Birmingham and other points increased the excitement at Sheffield.

The arrival of Tom Paine with his "*Rights of Man*" further frightened the English ministry. Booksellers were vigorously prosecuted for handling the book. In his shop Gales found a big demand for "*The Rights of Man.*" While Gales was in London on a business trip a timely warning giv-

en by Thomas Diggs, an American visiting in Sheffield, enabled Mrs. Gales to dispose of every copy just before the King's officers arrived and instituted a vain search for "those dangerous books," "those wicked, seditious works," which George III had condemned and forbidden to his subjects. From personal acquaintance Joseph Gales entertained regard for Paine, and Mrs. Gales paid him tribute in later years by writing of "the simplicity and sweetness of his nature and his sprightly wit that charmed the social circle." Paine's flight and the King's proclamation would have produced a riot at Sheffield had not Joseph Gales, "who led the poor man's cause, advocated equal representation and treated all men as brothers," persuaded the mob to go peaceably to their homes.

A study of the file of *The Sheffield Register* of 1794 reveals no policy which the enlightened twentieth century would not applaud. Joseph Gales' clear convictions gleam in his brief editorials. His sympathy was openly expressed for the two hundred wretched debtors confined in Lancaster Castle, with accommodation for only eighty persons, two sleeping in a bed. When a fifteen-year-old girl was hung for the murder of her grandfather the editor grieved because the child had been given no chance and was so ignorant and wretched as not to know right from wrong. Again he remonstrates on the severity of the law when a farmer in March, 1794, was sentenced to die for shooting a neighbor's foal. The Sheffield editor applauded "the glorious example" of the jury, which refused five times to obey the mandates of the court and persisted in a verdict of "not guilty" in the case of Robert Erpe, charged with speaking libel in that he criticised the Pitt ministry. "Twelve gold medals" ought to be presented to those jurors, declared Gales.

Twice at least was the Sheffield editor provoked to sarcasm. When Pitt entertained certain church dignitaries at

a Sunday dinner Gales observed "The conversation of this pious company, we are informed, turned upon the profaneness of the French atheists and many holy toasts were given for success to throat cutting in defence of our religion." When a company for the "Conversion of the Negroes in the West Indies to Christianity" was incorporated, he wrote, "If we add to these advantages the practical comment we, as a Christian nation, are displaying in our continuance of a trade in which we annually murder or enslave fifty thousand wretched Africans, their brethren in the West Indies will no doubt most readily embrace the Christian religion." When a minister, a lawyer and three other advocates of reform in representation were tried at Edinburg and sentenced to fourteen years exile, Gales echoed the sentiment of Charles Fox who exclaimed, "God help the people who have such judges."

Monday, April 7, 1794, was a field day for the "friends of justice, of liberty and of humanity" in Sheffield. Henry Redhead Yorke, a young man of great promise, a graduate of Cambridge, a protege of Edmund Burke, had announced his allegiance to the Liberal cause after a visit to Paris, where he met leaders of the Jacobin clubs. He was hailed as an invaluable ally, and the Constitutional Society and the Society of the Friends of the People at Sheffield endorsed the young man for parliament. Twelve thousand reformers on this April day assembled on Castle Hill, listened to a stirring speech by Yorke and adopted an address. This address, briefly stated, asserted: (1) The people were the true source of government; (2) freedom of speech is a right which cannot be denied; (3) condemnation without trials is incompatible with free government; (4) where the people have no share in the government taxation is tyranny; (5) a government is free in proportion as the people are equally represented. The address "demanded as a right," and no longer asked as a favor, "universal representation." It concluded

with a lengthy petition not only for "abolition of the slave trade" but for "emancipation of negro slaves" in the British West Indies. The mechanics of Sheffield were wrought to a pitch of highest enthusiasm. Horses were unhitched and the carriage, containing Yorke, the candidate, and Joseph Gales, secretary of the meeting and probably author of the address adopted, was drawn in triumph through the town by the multitude.

The principles which Gales enunciated on that occasion finally triumphed in England, but the triumph came many years later. The Duke of Wellington in 1828 wiped out the test oaths; William Cobbett in 1832 made uniform the system of representation; Wilberforce in 1833 at last saw the slaves emancipated; Disraeli and Arch in our own day expanded and equalized suffrage rights. When these reforms were accomplished then were vindicated the convictions for which Joseph Gales had bravely fought and suffered in the preceding century.

The Committee of Secrecy, appointed by parliament to investigate rumored conspiracies, made a report May 23, 1794, of such a character that the Pitt ministry immediately suspended the habeas corpus act, a course almost without precedent in time of peace. The committee found that there existed "The Society for Constitutional Information" and "The London Corresponding Society" and that these societies had by resolution "applauded the publication of a cheap edition of 'The Rights of Man,'" and voted addresses to the Jacobins at Paris and to the National Convention of France. Continuing the report said "The circumstance which first came under the observation of your committee containing a distinct trace of measures of this description, was a letter from a person at Sheffield, by profession a printer (who has since absconded), which was thus addressed 'Citizen Hardy, Secretary of the London Corresponding Society', which was

found in the possession of Hardy on the twelfth of May, last, when he was taken into custody." The letter was dated from Sheffield April 20, 1794, on paper from "Gales' printing office" and the objectionable portion of the communication was as follows: "Fellow Citizens: The barefaced aristocracy of the present administration has made it necessary that we must be prepared to act on the defensive against any attack they may command their newly armed minions to make upon us. A plan has been hit upon, and, if encouraged sufficiently, will, no doubt, have the effect of furnishing a quantity of pikes to the Patriots, great enough to make them formidable." This was the only reference to resistance or force in the letter. With Hardy's paper was also found an account of a meeting at Sheffield where a full chorus sang a hymn written by James Montgomery.

When the news that the right of habeas corpus had been suspended reached Sheffield Gales exclaimed in his paper "every wretch who has either through malice or envy a dislike to his neighbor will have now an opportunity of gratifying his malicious intentions." Warrants were issued for Yorke, Gales and others, charged with treasonable and seditious practices, and the Sheffield editor knew that the time had come when he must either seek safety elsewhere or be delivered to his enemies.

The Sheffield Register of June 26, 1794, contains the editor's farewell. In this address he wrote: "The disagreeable predicament in which I stand, from the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, precludes me the Happiness of staying among you, My Friends, unless I would expose myself to the Malice, Enmity and Power of an unjust Aristocracy. It is in these persecuting days, a sufficient Crime to have printed a newspaper which has boldly dared to doubt the infallibility of ministers, and to investigate the justice and policy of their measures. Could my imprisonment, or even

death, serve the cause which I have espoused—the cause of Peace, Liberty and Justice—it would be cowardice to fly from it; but, convinced that ruining my family and distressing my friends, by risking either, would only gratify the ignorant and the malignant, I shall seek that livelihood in another state which I can not peaceably attain in this.” He reviews his course: “I was a member of the Constitutional Society,” he admits, “and shall never, I am persuaded, whatever may be the final result, regret it, knowing that the real as well as ostensible object of this society, was a rational and peaceable reform in the representation of the people in parliament. * * * The Secret Committee has imputed to the Society intentions of which they had no conceptions and crimes which they abhor. * * * It has been insinuated, and, I believe, pretty generally believed, that I wrote the letter which is referred to by the Secret Committee, concerning the pikes. This charge, in the most unequivocal manner, I deny. I neither wrote, dictated or was privy to it. * * * It will always be my pride, that I have printed an impartial and truly independent newspaper, and that I have done my endeavors to rescue my countrymen from the darkness of Ignorance and to awaken them to a just sense of their privileges as human beings, and, as such, of their importance in the grand scale of creation.”

Ten years later in America, when a rival accused Gales of having been indicted in England, he replied in his paper, “If it be deemed a crime to have opposed by means of a free press, governmental usurpation on the rights of the people, I plead guilty.”

After he reached the continent the Sheffield Society adopted an address wishing “Health, peace and happiness” to “Our ever dear friend and brother,” and added “Though we regret your sufferings, yet, viewed in connection with their cause, we behold you dignified with the unfading crown of a martyr in the illustrious cause of God and man.”

The Sheffield Register and printing plant were left in charge of Joseph Gales' competent wife and his assistant editor James Montgomery, the poet, who had entered the employ of Gales when a lad. The political disturbances had given rise to frequent riots and the Gales' possessions were under constant guard. The mechanics of Sheffield marched in a body and volunteered their services to Mrs. Gales, but she begged them to go peaceably to their homes. The King's messengers came, made a vain search for the absent editor and left without molesting the family or injuring the property.

The Sheffield Register in 1794 had attained a circulation of 2,500 in the Yorkshire, Derbyshire and Nottingham districts and the ministry coveted a paper of such influence. Mrs. Gales, however, rejected with spirit a flattering offer made by an agent for the government and sold the property to their devoted friend James Montgomery. He changed the name to *The Iris*. A file of *The Iris* for several years is in our State library. Montgomery remained true to the liberal cause, was constantly persecuted and twice imprisoned. Although separated by the Atlantic, the brotherly affection between these two men was never severed. Thirty years later, when Montgomery retired from the editorship, a banquet was given in his honor and he embraced the occasion to pay glowing tribute to Joseph Gales, whom he denominated "the true friend of freedom and humanity" and characterized as "generous, upright, disinterested and noble minded."

In a letter instructing his wife to join him in Denmark, Gales wrote: "Bring nothing with you, my dear Winifred, but what the strictest justice warrants. Let us meet in peace, with a clear conscience, and my trust is in God, that He will help us. We are young, healthy, and able to struggle for a support for our dear children; and, leaving no one behind us who can with truth say that we have wronged him,

fear not but that He Who feeds the young ravens will feed us."

Mrs. Gales crossed the channel with the two children,—Joseph, born April 10, 1786, and Sarah, born May 12, 1789,—and the family was soon reunited at Altona. In September, 1794, they set sail for America. However, the harbor was scarcely cleared before the vessel encountered a storm, the craft appeared far from sea-worthy, and the captain had no control over the crew. Gales forfeited his passage and returned with his family to shore on a passing pilot boat. The winter was then spent in Altona and proved most profitable for Raleigh's future editor. Several years before an itinerant short-hand teacher had visited Sheffield and implored Gales' aid. He had assisted the man in organizing a shorthand class and himself became one of the students. The months spent in Altona gave him an opportunity to perfect himself in this art, rare indeed in that day, and leisure to acquire French and Spanish in addition to his Latin. He and his family also formed intimate friendships with numerous influential French refugees then quartered in that city. During the winter a daughter was born and named Altona Holstein Gales, in honor of their city of refuge.

Not until August, 1795, did the Gales family land in Philadelphia after an eventful voyage. When the vessel was a few hundred miles from the American coast it was captured by the notorious privateers, Hutchins and Bethel. Incredible as the story appears, the pirates were overcome by the wit and charm of Mrs. Gales and relinquished their prize.

The English printer was introduced by a friend to Dunlop and Claypole, owners and editors of *The American Daily Advertiser*, and was given employment on that paper as a compositor. His worth was recognized and he was soon promoted to bookkeeper. Congress was in session in Philadelphia and *The Advertiser's* reporter gave dissatisfaction by

his inaccurate reports of the debates. By mere accident the editor discovered that his bookkeeper knew the art of shorthand, so Gales was immediately transferred to the position of congressional reporter. The young Englishman was not a little embarrassed when the editor escorted him to the old court house, corner of Sixth and Chestnut streets, and introduced him to the Speaker of the House, who received him with great kindness and arranged a table for his convenience in reporting the proceedings for Philadelphia's daily newspaper. A few days later Thomas Pinckney arose and made a short but important speech on the then absorbing topic of our foreign affairs. Pinckney spoke without notes; it was not a set speech; hence Congressmen and the public were astounded next morning when they read in *The Advertiser* a verbatim report of his remarks. From that day the reputation of Joseph Gales as a reporter was made.

The uncertainty of our relations with France, the unpopularity of the Jay treaty with England, the wide difference of opinion in interpreting the Constitution of the United States, all served to draw a sharp distinction between the Federalists,—a school which embraced Washington, Hamilton, and Adams, and claimed the support of Hooper, Hawkins, Iredell, Johnston, Martin and Davie in North Carolina,—and the Republicans, led by Jefferson and championed in this State by Nathaniel Macon, leader of the congressional delegation, Jesse Franklin, Willie Jones, Bloodworth, Stokes and others. The sympathies of Joseph Gales were with France rather than with the Pitt ministry in England and his convictions were strongly Democratic. Aside from these motives, the passage of the Alien and Sedition laws under the Adams administration,—measures which savored strongly of the tyrannical laws from which he had so recently escaped,—made Gales of necessity an ardent Republican. He had succeeded in business and was now owner and editor of *The Independent Gazetteer*, which he had purchased from the

widow of the Revolutionary soldier, Col. John Oswald. He enjoyed the acquaintance of the public men of the day. Nathaniel Macon soon perceived the worth of this industrious, high minded man and made him his friend. Hence when Macon and his co-workers recognized the political expediency of a Jeffersonian-Republican newspaper, an organ if you choose, at the newly established capital of this State, Macon no doubt quickly decided that Gales was the man for this task.

This was in the summer of 1799 and Mrs. Gales was convalescing after an attack of yellow fever. The state of her health was a factor in the decision to leave Philadelphia. Otherwise life in that city had been pleasant for the English family. Here they had renewed acquaintance with Dr. Priestly, the persecuted Unitarian divine, and were among the thirteen persons who composed the Unitarian church organized in Philadelphia. Joseph Gales was the first lay reader. Gales sold *The Independent Gazetteer* to Samuel Harrison Smith, who followed the national capital to Washington and changed the name of the paper to *The National Intelligencer*.

The trip to Raleigh was broken by a sojourn at Halifax, where the Gales visited Willie Jones, a graduate of Oxford, father-in-law of John Eppes, an ardent disciple of Jefferson and leader in the Halifax convention of 1780 when the federal constitution was rejected. The stay at Halifax no doubt gave the prospective editor a clearer conception of the political situation in this State.

North Carolina, with her 344,807 free white persons, at the dawn of the nineteenth century ranked among the four most populous States in the Union. This State was then an important political factor and Thomas Jefferson proposed to leave no stone unturned to gain the support of this commonwealth. Nathaniel Macon, close ally of the aspiring Virginian, was determined to rout Federalism in North Carolina

and perceived the need of the press in this work. The population was scattered, there were no cities and few important towns, public schools were lacking and printing presses were rare. The few newspapers were in the hands of the Federalists and wielded a powerful influence, because any newspaper was indeed precious in those days. Abraham Hodge, publisher, a native of New York, a personal friend of Washington and a strong Federalist, had come to North Carolina in 1785. The legislature chose him State printer and this position he still held. Hodge had followed Washington's army with his press and, during the dark winter at Valley Forge, his paper cheered the drooping spirits of the soldiers with words of encouragement. He now had printing presses at Edenton, Halifax, Fayetteville and New Bern and had established three newspapers. In editing the North Carolina Minerva at Fayetteville he was ably assisted by his nephew William Boylan. While the Federal party was thus supported in North Carolina, the "mobocrats," "red Republicans" and "Jacobins," as they were repeatedly styled, recognized that they must have a newspaper.

Raleigh had been laid out for the State capital, and, at the sagacious Macon's solicitation, Joseph Gales was making his way to the village capital to launch a newspaper to do battle for Republican principles. His task did not appear easy. The Federalists had made decided gains in the North Carolina election of 1798 and had partially recovered the ground they lost in 1796. Instead of one, the Federalists now had four of the ten congressmen from this State. The State senate had passed a resolution by a vote of five to one approving the Alien and Sedition laws but the resolution failed in the house of commons, in which the Republicans had a slender majority. However, these Adams measures were not popular with many North Carolina Federalists, who otherwise approved the Adams national administration,

and Jesse Franklin was elected United States senator to succeed Alexander Martin, who had voted for the Alien and Sedition laws. The mixed situation in North Carolina puzzled the politicians, for, in the summer of 1800, Jefferson wrote that the condition of the public mind in North Carolina was mysterious to him.

Under these political conditions Joseph Gales issued the first copy of *The Raleigh Register*, October 22, 1799. The paper was indeed *The Sheffield Register* resurrected, without a single change in principles for which the editor stood. *The Raleigh Register* had for its heading a budding staff, surmounted by the cap of liberty, with a scroll bearing the word "Libertas" and the motto:

"Our's are the plans of fair, delightful Peace,
"Unwarped by Party Rage to live like Brothers."

The Register began immediately to arouse public sentiment against the Adams administration by printing the prosecutions under the Sedition law, characterized the encampment of the Sixth United States Regiment here as a threat, and published, without editorial approval, however, Jefferson's famous Kentucky resolutions, which met inglorious defeat in North Carolina. The paper soon became a power and copies were being sent by Gales to every county in the State.

The Register held the Raleigh field undisputed only a few months before William Boylan moved his *Minerva* from Fayetteville to Raleigh and sought to combat *The Register*. Electors in this State were then chosen by districts, and in the 1800 election the Republicans captured six and the Federalists four of North Carolina's districts. The legislature was Republican, and Joseph Gales succeeded Hodge as State printer, a position which ten years later paid only \$1,400 gross per annum, and *The Register's* rival then offered to take the job for \$900. *The Register* was paid less than \$80 a year for publishing acts of congress.

The Minerva was backed by the ablest Federalists, and in 1802 such men as Duncan Cameron, General Davie, Archibald Henderson, Colonel Ashe of Wilmington, and others were striving to extend *The Minerva's* circulation by something on the order of the club plan.

The Minerva denounced Jefferson as a demagogue, who cheats his neighbors and blasphemes his Saviour. *The Register* championed the President and his administration. It is not surprising that such irreconcilable opinions led to a personal clash. Both papers, be it said to their credit, denounced the then prevalent practice of the duel. The two editors met one morning on Hillsboro street and fought out their differences. Gales claimed that Boylan assaulted him and he brought a civil suit for damages. The trial was moved to Hillsboro, where a jury awarded the plaintiff 100 pounds. Gales paid his attorneys' fees out of this sum and donated the remainder to the Raleigh Academy. He was one of the first trustees of the academy and felt the keenest interest in the school.

Indeed Joseph Gales threw himself with enthusiasm into the life of this community. Dr. Stephen Weeks, in his little pamphlet on the press in North Carolina, says of him: "He was a man of untiring energy; besides editing *The Register*, he kept all his accounts, made out his bills, gave receipts, conducted a bookstore, managed a book printing establishment. He was director in a bank and secretary of nearly every benevolent society in the city. He was never idle. *The Register* was always on the side of law, order and good morals. It did not teem with editorials, but when it spoke it was with such fullness, discretion and power that the whole country was moved and impressed".

Gales and Macon were in thorough accord in their opposition to the Federalists' Alien and Sedition laws; both believed in full suffrage and fair representation, but, aside from these

issues, the union of their political convictions apparently ended, though their mutual regard was never severed. The Macon school believed that people least governed were best governed, that taxes should be endured in merely sufficient amount to operate the simplest possible government machinery; an army and navy, internal improvements or the development of industries or resources by governmental encouragement were extremely objectionable; that the States were sovereign and the Union but a weak confederacy with little power save for defense from invasion. Gales believed just as devoutly in the fullest liberty for the citizen, but he did not conceive that men must remain primitive or rustics in order to retain their freedom. He believed that a republican form of government was devised not simply to prevent men from cutting each other's throats, but to uplift and improve the condition of society; that the Union of States should not be a mere badge of defense but a force for righteousness and growth.

The files of *The Register* from 1800 to 1810 show that Joseph Gales during that decade advocated a State bank, after calling attention repeatedly to the fact that North Carolina was then the only one of the original States without such an institution; he urged a government banking system which would bring about specie payments; he sought to encourage home industries by offering prizes for the best cloth made in North Carolina, and recommended that the people wear no imported goods; the embargo he upheld; he urged in vain that the citizens subscribe \$20,000 to build a cotton factory in Raleigh, and presented arguments that the enterprise would pay; he pointed out the benefit of organizing the proposed North Carolina Insurance Company with three hundred thousand dollars capital, and was its most persistent champion; and at this early date favored public improvements. He was strong in his contention that dueling should

be prohibited, imprisonment for debt abolished, the existing harsh penal code modified, and above all a State penitentiary should be established. The slave trade, which South Carolina still fostered, should be ended immediately, for on this question, Gales wrote, in 1806: "We tremble when we reflect that this cloud (slavery) may one day burst and bury so many thousands in irretrievable ruin."

These convictions, enunciated prior to 1810, he expanded and perfected but never violated. Gales had warmly supported Madison's administration in the War of 1812, and viewed with pity and concern the disaffection then prevalent in New England. Before 1820 *The Register* was known as a defender of both a State and a National bank. When the enemies of the State bank were preparing for an attack on that infant institution in 1813 Gales, on the eve of the session of that Legislature, wrote: "We presume that it will be a difficult matter to persuade the citizens of this State, who before the State Bank went into operation, were in the habit of losing 5 to 10 per cent on New Bern and Cape Fear notes, to return to a similar state of things, by again putting afloat our ragged currency." He applauded in 1810 the first sympathetic expression, voiced by Henry Clay, for every people struggling to attain liberty and free government.

Perhaps Nathaniel Macon represented the prevalent opinion in this agricultural State when he declared: "Whilst the present Constitution remains to the United States it is utterly impossible for the United States to become a manufacturing nation," still Joseph Gales was no less positive in his declaration, "We are in favor of supporting American industries," and again "Protect the great staples of our country and articles fabricated from them." Later, when the North Carolina Legislature of 1820, by resolution, instructed our senators and requested our representatives in Congress "to use their best efforts to prevent any increase in the tariff to

protect manufactures," the editor of the *Register*, then State Printer, defied the sentiment of the Legislature and wished that "our people would use a little common sense" on the subject. In this editorial Gales regretted the passage of the resolution and added: "We are of the opinion that this country will never get clear of its embarrassment until a stand is made in favor of Home Manufactures; until the amount of our imports shall not exceed that of our exports." Indeed he had set the example by locating a paper mill here and, beginning with the issue of September 29, 1808, *The Register* was printed on paper manufactured at Raleigh.

As editor and as a member of the State Board of Internal Improvements he labored for the upbuilding of the State, the improvement of highways and navigable streams, welcomed Fulton on his visit to Raleigh and encouraged the establishment of steamboats on our waters. He was anxious for the government to maintain a great highway from Washington through Raleigh to New Orleans. Nearly a century ago he urged that the nation connect the Atlantic and Pacific by canal. Before 1830 many leaders of the dominant political party here, in their extreme adherence to State rights, denied the power of the nation to make river and harbor and kindred improvements. In the face of such contention, *The Raleigh Register* boldly asserted, "If the Union is dismembered it will be by the States trenching upon the rights of the general government."

While *The Register* contended for principles which have since prevailed and have been thoroughly vindicated, yet the editor did not represent the popular view in North Carolina at that time. He was not a statesman to side with every faction, or a politician whose supreme aim was to be on the winning side; Joseph Gales disdained not to stand with a small minority in city, county and State. At the close of Monroe's second term, *The Register* supported William L.

Crawford of Georgia, then Secretary of the Treasury, as logical successor to the presidency. However, when the election, for the second time in the history of the government, was thrown into the national House of Representatives and the choice lay between Jackson and Adams, Gales declared in his paper: "We assuredly prefer Mr. John Quincy Adams to General Jackson." He took this position notwithstanding the fact that Jackson in the recent election had swept North Carolina, carried Wake County by an almost unprecedented majority, and won in the City of Raleigh by a vote of more than two to one. Old-line Federalists, like William Boylan and Colonel Polk, who had carried Wake County over Gales' strenuous opposition in 1812, were now supporters of Andrew Jackson and remained in the majority.

Though Gales' policies were not accepted at home, still he had the full confidence of his neighbors. From 1813 to 1833, with one exception, he appears to have been annually elected by the people as Intendant of Police of the City of Raleigh. The one exception was in 1826, when Col. John Bell, editor of *The Star*, was chosen Intendant, but the next year the office was restored to Joseph Gales. A ten-dollar fine was, in those days, imposed upon the citizen who declined a municipal office here. Gales served on the city patrol, organized the first fire company here, and brought a fire engine to Raleigh prior to 1820. He retained the position of State printer until the Jackson party in the legislature gave the printing to his rival, *The Star*.

The Register strongly approved the Adams administration (1825-'29), and, when the presidential election of 1828 came, Gales was urging the re-election of President Adams, an attitude not popular in the South. A convention or caucus was held in Raleigh to name an Adams electoral ticket; Gales was secretary of that meeting and was made chairman of the Adams Vigilance Committee for the campaign. The

Adams ticket made a pitiful showing in the election; Jackson swept the State. Gales was too strong a man to be deterred in his policies by lack of popular support. However, he was not alone. During the decade ending 1830 his advocacy of policies which would uplift and improve conditions had brought him into more or less distinct political accord with the rising young Willie P. Mangum, Judge Gaston, a former Federalist, Wm. A. Graham and others, who became leaders of the Whig party in the thirties. In 1825 *The Register* had supported Mangum for congress from this district; he was elected by only 58 majority; his opponent, Rev. Josiah Crudup, a Baptist preacher,—who was denied a seat in the State Senate from Wake the previous year under the constitutional provision debarring ministers from the legislature,—carried Wake by the then almost unprecedented majority of 961 out of a total vote of less than 1,200.

While Gales in 1830 was consistently opposing a reduction of tariff duties, he at least had the satisfaction of seeing the legislature of North Carolina, almost unanimously and without regard to party, emphatically repudiate South Carolina's nullification doctrine,—a course more timid slave States had hesitated to take. In 1832 Gales was again bitterly opposed to Jackson, but for a third time the General easily carried North Carolina.

The time was now at hand for Joseph Gales to lay aside editorial work, and his mantle was to fall upon the worthy shoulders of his son, Weston R. Gales. William W. Seaton, a brilliant young editor, came from Halifax to Raleigh and formed a business partnership with Joseph Gales in January, 1809. March 31, 1809, he married Sarah Gales. Joseph Gales, after coming to Raleigh, had purchased an interest in *The National Intelligencer* at Washington for his son Joseph Gales, Jr., and in 1807 the young man, who had been carefully trained by his father and was an expert at shorthand,

went to Washington as congressional reporter on that paper. He became sole owner in 1810. Two years later William W. Seaton moved to Washington and joined his brother-in-law in owning and editing *The National Intelligencer* under the name of Gales and Seaton. Joseph Gales, Jr., married in December, 1813, Julia Lee, of Mestmoreland, Va., and this cultured woman often acted as reporter for her husband and posterity is indebted to her for preserving the famous debate between Webster and Hayne. Altona Holstein Gales, the second daughter, married Rev. Anthony Foster, a Presbyterian divine who afterwards became a Unitarian. He lived only a few years later, and his widow died here November 16, 1827. Anna Eliza Gales died here September 22, 1822, aged 25 years, in an epidemic of fever which was accompanied by great fatality in Raleigh. Caroline Matilda, the youngest daughter, married Major Thomas L. West, of Bertie, on March 25, 1818. There were two other sons: Thomas Gales, who studied law, located in Louisiana, served on the staff of General Jackson in the War of 1812 and with his own hand hauled down the Union Jack at Pensacola, Fla.

Weston Raleigh Gales was born April 20, 1802, and died July 23, 1848. In January, 1822, he became associated with his father in publishing *The Register* under the firm name of Joseph Gales & Son. From 1823 to 1830 the paper was issued as a semi-weekly. In the fall of 1833 Joseph Gales announced that he would retire from business, leaving *The Register* in the hands of his son, Weston R. Gales, and spend his remaining years with his children in Washington City. This was just as his political party was at last coming into power in North Carolina; Mangum was now in the United States Senate, and in 1834 a revolution in sentiment gave the opponents of Van Buren, Jackson's candidate, the State Senate, while Wm. H. Haywood, of Wake, a Jackson man, was elected Speaker of the House by only four majority.

The retirement of Joseph Gales called forth universal regret in Raleigh. The citizens gave a public dinner in his honor; Governor Swain presided; Chief Justice John Marshall, Judge Gaston and other distinguished men attended. The beloved Rev. William McPheeters, who came to Raleigh in 1810 as "Principal of the Raleigh Academy and Pastor of the City," paid tribute to his devoted friend and the resolutions he offered thanked Joseph Gales for his "long-continued, efficient and faithful services as corresponding and recording secretary of the North Carolina Bible Society."

Joseph Gales lagged in no worthy cause. For years he was secretary of the Peace Society, which sought to end dueling and promote peace between individuals and nations. His untiring efforts he devoted to the Colonization Society, which purposed to gradually end slavery by transporting to Africa negroes, as they were freed. The last few years of his life spent in Washington were occupied with work as secretary of this society. Slavery he abhorred but recognized that the institution was thrust upon the South. *The Register* in 1825 made the prophetic statement that slavery was "a great evil but we can not believe it irremediable, hopeless and perpetual." When the legislature passed a very pro-slavery act in 1831, *The Register* boldly declared: "A string may be stretched till it breaks. It is admitted that slavery is a curse to the Southern States. Would it not be better to think of some means of getting rid of it, rather than fly in the face of humanity and the Constitution."

With Nathaniel Macon he considered the custom of treating at elections one of the worst evils of the day, but more than a decade passed after he directed public attention to the curse before it was prohibited by law. Gales advocated in 1805 "guardians for drunkards, lunatics and idiots." When whiskey was being sold freely in almost every store at 40 cents a gallon and temperance societies had not been formed

here, *The Register*, in 1820, declared: "We heartily wish there were no grog shops in this country." Ten years later the same paper repeated that "to lessen the drink evil no experiment should be left untried."

Dr. McPheeters had a zealous worker for Sunday schools in Joseph Gales. *The Register* in 1820 hoped ere long to see "a good Sunday school in every neighborhood." An editorial in 1829 gave this information: "It is gratifying to find that the governors of our State are lending the influence of their example to the cause of good morals. Our late governor (Iredell), the successor of the venerable Macon in the United States Senate, would not permit card parties in the governor's palace. * * * Our present governor (Owen) has accepted an invitation to visit the Sabbath school in the Presbyterian church, which is chiefly composed of children of Baptist and Presbyterian parents." In 1829 he called attention to the fact that a canvas in Wake County showed 49 out of 114 families without a copy of the Scriptures, and he urged support for the Bible Society to enable it to place a Bible in every home. One of the few controversies into which *The Register* was drawn was when the honored and beloved Bishop Ravenscroft, a highchurchman, in a special sermon here in 1824 expressed misgivings about the free dissemination of the Bible among the people, without interpretation and church rites, and feared that the Bible Society would do harm rather than good. Joseph Gales was so deeply interested in the Bible Society, of which he was secretary, that he wrote an editorial in reply, in which he said:

"We have always believed that the Scriptures contained many things hard to understand, yet there is sufficient in them, which is plain and intelligent to the meanest capacity, to produce the best effects on the life and character: and sufficient even without a guide to teach men their duty to God and to their fellow-men. Nor do we conceive the diversity of opinion among men on the subject of religion as an evil to be lamented. All that is necessary to produce happiness under such circumstances is that men should think charitably of each other, and agree to differ,

believing that every one who professes himself to be guided by the principles of the Gospel, and leads a good life, is sincere in his profession and will hereafter be approved by his Maker."

Bishop English, of the Roman Catholic Church, came to Raleigh about this time and delivered a series of religious lectures in the Presbyterian church. Gales formed a high opinion of the Bishop and they became fast friends.

No victory gave Editor Gales keener joy than when the legislature of North Carolina in 1820 declared against imprisonment for debt, and thus set "a glorious example" to the other States and to the nation. If Gales could have seen a penitentiary established while he was in the editorial chair and the severity of the penal code mitigated, his cup of joy would have been almost full. As foreman of the grand jury in Wake County he aroused public attention to the fact that the jails were then hot-houses of filth and disease, with no sanitation, heating or proper ventilation, and at his insistence a sewerage system was planned for the jail here. There were only two crimes, he believed, for which the death penalty should be inflicted, although the list in North Carolina was then much longer and included horse stealing and bigamy. Executions were always public, multitudes, including women, attended; drunkenness was prevalent. *The Register* ever protested and declared that when the State took human life it should be done in private. He expressed agreement with the first movement, in 1825, which finally culminated in the Constitutional Convention of 1835, when the clause disfranchising Jews and Catholics,—a clause not enforced, however, (which *The Register* declared in 1826 "it will be expunged whenever an opportunity occurs for so doing")—was expunged and our constitution vastly improved.

An earnest champion of good schools, he repeatedly asserted that education should be the primary matter before the legislature. "The framers of our constitution," he wrote when the legislature met in 1825, "directed such schools to be

established, and it is time that direction was being obeyed." At a non-political public dinner given John C. Calhoun here in 1825, Joseph Gales gave this characteristic toast: "Industry, frugal habits and a good system of general education, the surest means of promoting and securing individual and national prosperity and happiness." As a publisher, "Matilda Berkley," probably the first novel published in the State, came from his presses; also numerous publications on agriculture and law, besides annually Gales' Almanac with weather prognostications by the famous Beasley of Wake. A study of the census of 1820 led Gales to begin advocating a school for the deaf and a hospital for the insane. In 1827 Gales, Dr. McPheeters and Dr. Caldwell led in a convention held here to urge the legislature to establish a school for the deaf.

After spending six years in Washington with his children, the old man returned to Raleigh. Nearly fifty years ago one who had known him well thus wrote: "In Raleigh there was no figure that, as it passed, was greeted so much by the signs of a peculiar veneration as that great, stalwart one of his, with a sort of nobleness in its very simplicity, an inborn goodness and courtesy in all its roughness of frame,—a countenance mild, commanding yet pleasant, betokening a bosom no low thought had ever entered. You had in him, indeed, the highest image of that staunch old order from which he was sprung."

Two years after the death of his dear companion, who had indeed been his comfort and helpmeet and charmed the social circle here, he died of paralysis in this city. In the City Cemetery a granite stone bears this simple inscription:

TO THE MEMORY OF

JOSEPH GALES,

an Englishman by birth, but for a period of nearly forty years

a citizen of Raleigh.

Born February 4, 1761,

Died August 24, 1841.

Authorities consulted.—Files of Sheffield Register, Raleigh Register, Minerva and Star; Dr. Dodd's invaluable Life of Macon, Dr. Weeks on the press in N. C., Dr. Bassett on suffrage in N. C., addresses by Dr. K. P. Battle and Gov. Swain; lives of Pitt, Jefferson, Adams and Jackson; I am specially indebted to Mr. Charles Root, a descendant of Joseph Gales, for Life of Wm. W. Seaton and extracts from memoirs of Mrs. Gales.—W. G. B.

OUR FIRST CONSTITUTION, 1776.

E. W. SIKES.

The last representative of the English government in North Carolina was not driven from the colony, but on April 24, 1775, he deemed it wise to leave New Bern and go to Fort Johnston on the Cape Fear River. This flight of Governor Martin marks the failure of the English government in this province. Martin little thought when he spent the night with his good Scotch friend, Farquard Campbell, on his flight, that it was his last night as governor of this province.

Martin had seen the danger threatening in the two provincial congresses that had met in August and April under the very shadow of his palace at New Bern, but when he saw from his palace window the citizens removing the cannons from the palace lawn, he thought it high time to seek safety in flight.

Samuel Johnston soon called the provincial congress to meet for the third time in August at Hillsboro. This body declared that whereas the governor had "abdicated," it was now necessary to establish some temporary form of government. With this brief declaration the English government was dismissed. The temporary government consisted of a provincial council of thirteen members. Six district committees of safety of twelve members each, and the county and town committees.

These vigorous committees were able to meet the Scotch Highlanders and defeat them at Moore's Creek in February, 1776. The sceptre that fell from the nerveless grasp of Governor Martin was picked up by vigorous committees. In April the provincial congress met at Halifax. Public sentiment in the State, or at least among the revolutionists, was

now crystalized. The victory at Moore's Creek in February made them feel that independence was in easy grasp. A few days after the meeting the congress instructed its delegates in the Continental Congress to vote for independence. Samuel Johnston wrote Iredell that "they are all up for independence." On April 12 these instructions were given to the delegates; on the next day a committee was appointed to prepare a temporary civil constitution.

This was no easy task. These men could declaim about political rights; they knew how to justify their rebellion, but to construct a form of government was a new and untried task. They had no models before them save the old English charters. These were of very little service. After much labor, on April 25th, the committee reported the outline of a form of a government. Briefly the plan was that the executive should consist of a president and six councillors always in session; the legislature was to consist of an upper house composed of one member from each county and a lower house chosen from among the people. Justices of the county courts were to be elected by popular vote. For the upper house only freeholders might vote; for the lower house a household qualification was necessary. All officials were to be elected annually. Thomas Jones wrote that the executive council was to be always in session for "receiving foreign ambassadors" and other such purposes.

These outlines were reported to the congress on the 27th, and were discussed with much division of judgment. On May 2d, Samuel Johnston wrote that "affairs have taken a turn within a few days past. All ideas of forming a permanent constitution are at this time laid aside."

Whatever may have been the cause of this turn of affairs—whether the threatened invasion of the British or the divergence of opinion—the matter was postponed and a temporary government by committees constituted.

The question of a constitution, a form of government, had now arisen. Men began to think on the matter and to work out their plans. The discussion had gone just far enough to show that the revolutionary party, though united on the question of independence, was divided as to the form of government that should be adopted.

On August 9, 1776, the State Council of Safety issued a call to elect delegates to a new provincial congress, whose chief duty it would be to form a civil government. In the call emphasis was placed on the great importance of the meeting.

The campaign that followed this announcement was very bitter. The danger of an invasion had passed, so the pent-up feelings broke forth in this campaign. It was conservative against radical. The conservatives had little fault to find with the principles of the English government. They were in revolt because these principles had been transgressed. On the other hand, the radicals had little love for anything English. They wished to change things "root and branch." Samuel Johnston was the outspoken leader of the conservatives. He had not hesitated to condemn openly the outline that had been proposed. Patriot that he was, he despised the tempest and turmoil of a popular democracy. The leader of the radicals was probably Willie Jones. He was well educated, a large slave owner, but in politics an extreme radical for that day. Johnston was defeated. His opponents rejoiced greatly and burned him in effigy. Jones was elected.

The congress assembled at Halifax on November 12, 1776. On the next day a committee was appointed to lay before the body a bill of rights and a form of government. Among the members of this committee were Richard Caswell, who had come into great popularity since the battle of Moore's Creek; General Pearson, the wealthy landowner of Regulator fame; Willie Jones, the radical "who could draw a bill in better

language than any other man of his day," and Thomas Jones, an astute lawyer and friend of Samuel Johnston. The credit of authorship of the constitution rests probably among these men. Judge Toomer reported a tradition that Caswell was its author. Samuel Johnston called it (Thomas) "Jones' Constitution," and others divide the honor between Thomas and Willie Jones.

The political theory of this time is found in the Bill of Rights. The years of quarrels with Colonial governors and their experience in local self-government separated them from English political theory. In this Bill of Rights they declare that all governments originate from the consent of the people and that all representative power vests in them. These men had gotten a great deal from England, but they had also outgrown much that they had received. These brief statements of the Bill of Rights are commonplaces with us now, but they were revolutionary in 1776. Taxation without representation was the practice in England. The colonists raised the question and claimed it as a constitutional right. In this they were clearly wrong. In the end they fell back not on constitutional rights but on inalienable rights—rights not found in parchments but in nature and given man by the Creator of nature.

But it was possible for men to agree on the fundamental principles of liberty and yet disagree as to what form of government best secures that liberty to the individual citizen.

It is surprising to one of the twentieth century to find so many restrictions as are found in the Constitution of 1776. Despite all the democratic maxims of the Bill of Rights, the constitution proper contains many aristocratic principles. True, hereditary succession, hereditary privileges and entails were forbidden, but political power was vested in a few only. The "Fathers" found no inconsistency in proclaiming that "all government rests on the consent of the governed" and then restricting political privileges to a few.

The prevalent belief in America in 1776 was that the man without property ought not to vote. Franklin said that "allowing them to vote for legislators is an impropriety." Landholding, or at least some property qualification, was required in all of these first constitutions. In the Constitution of 1776 only those owning fifty acres of land could vote for State senator, while the payment of public taxes was a requirement of an elector for the House of Commons.

Office-holding was also limited to the property holding class. The governor was required to own a freehold valued at one thousand pounds. This was not peculiar to North Carolina. Maryland required five thousand and South Carolina ten thousand. A State senator was required to own three hundred acres and a commoner one hundred.

The result of this legislation was the disfranchisement in some cases of one-half of the adult males, while the office holding class was composed of a much smaller per cent of the people.

The "Fathers" were jealous of any kind of government. They feared tyranny. They were willing to sacrifice efficiency of administration to escape the danger of oppression or a hereditary ruling class. Consequently the term of office was short. The governor was elected annually, as was the General Assembly. In this way the officeholder was directly answerable to the people. Every year he had to give an account of his stewardship. John Adams declared that "where annual elections end, there slavery begins." Macon quoted this with approval. This clause pleased conservative Samuel Johnston, who said that in this way the people could repudiate the designing demagogue who had won their vote.

The governor was still further restricted by the clause that he could serve only three years out of six. Many of them served the three years limit. In practice it was the policy to re-elect the governors. Only the judges and the secretary of state were elected for a longer term than one year.

These "Fathers" feared the executive power and hemmed it about on every side, but the legislative power they trusted. All the State officers were elected by the General Assembly and for one year only, save the secretary, who was elected triennially, and the judges, who were elected for life. Practically no power was given to the governor. William Hooper declared that he was given just enough power to receipt for his salary, and even his salary was left in the hands of the General Assembly. While the judges were elected for life, still their salaries were determined by the assembly.

The constitution did not establish any judicial system. This was left to the legislature. Though the Bill of Rights declared in favor of the separation of the three departments of government, the idea was not carried out in making the form of government.

Freedom of religious worship was recognized; all sects were tolerated; no church was established. Nevertheless, a belief in these principles did not deter these men from requiring a religious test of officeholders. All officeholders were required to be Protestants. Thus were both Jews and Catholics and disbelievers disqualified. This law was not strictly enforced against the Catholics, for the third governor—Burke—was a Catholic, as was also the distinguished judge, William Gaston. This requirement was not peculiar to North Carolina. New Hampshire, New Jersey, South Carolina, Georgia, Maryland and Massachusetts had similar restrictions, while Pennsylvania and Delaware required belief in God, in future rewards and punishments, and in inspiration of Scriptures.

Another restriction was that no clergyman while he continued active "in the exercise of the pastoral function should be senator, commoner, or councillor of State." In this way it was hoped that both the State and religion would be helped. Such men were not precluded from executive or judicial

offices, but it was deemed unwise to entrust them with the making of laws. This law was enforced, and John Culpepper and Josiah Crudup were unseated from the General Assembly on this ground.

There were various other clauses that excited much comment. It was at one time proposed to elect the justices of the county courts by a popular vote. Samuel Johnston thought that this was a most dangerous feature, and prevailed upon them to change, so that the governor commissioned them for life upon the recommendation of the General Assembly. Even the assembly was forbidden to remove them save for misbehaviour, absence, or inability.

Debtors could not be imprisoned after the delivery of his estate; schools were to be established; county officers were to be chosen, and there were other matters of minor importance.

Popular democracy had not yet come; in fact, representative democracy was not well understood. In the composition of the General Assembly the people were not represented, but the counties were. In the Senate every county had one representative, and in the House of Commons two. It mattered not whether the county was large or small, rich or poor, populous or not, the political power was the same.

Altogether, the first constitution of North Carolina was typical of the times. It differs not much from those of other States. It is probable that copies of the constitutions of other States were before the body. There were certain political ideas that had become common property in the colonies, and these find expression with some modifications in these early forms of government. This constitution was destined to withstand every effort to change till 1835, when it underwent a general revision.

NORTH CAROLINA'S HISTORICAL EXHIBIT AT JAMESTOWN EXPOSITION.

BY MARY HILLIARD HINTON,
(Member of Jamestown Historical Commission.)

It is indeed gratifying to know that the Old North State is creditably represented at this most interesting Exposition of the century, where history is given a place that never before has been accorded in the annals of America. Each of the thirteen colonies, realizing the importance of encouraging a thirst for research and knowledge in this essential branch of learning, has assisted in rendering the exhibition in the History Building a success. Connecticut proves the sole exception. This splendid edifice cost \$130,000 and months of careful labor. It is perfectly fire-proof and burglar-proof. Upon the collecting and installing of the exhibits thousands of dollars were expended in addition to the arduous work, wearing anxiety and ceaseless responsibility given by the learned, patriotic men and women from the various sections of this broad land. The results are a compensation to all. From the outset it was intended to be the center of attraction among all the other departments in the numerous buildings. Its work is to be educational. Here the slumbering talent of the ignorant is to be awakened and he is to learn what America has done, can and will do, while the student is to grow wise and the scholar can refresh his treasured acquisitions.

As fashion and history repeat themselves, so again the daughters of Carolina have taken the lead and done their duty in placing her historically where she justly belongs—in the front rank. Too much praise can not be given Mrs. Lindsay Patterson, Vice-President General of the Daughters

of the American Revolution, who first planned and arranged this exhibit. As chairman of the Jamestown Historical Commission she proved herself a genuine leader. The Jamestown Commission for North Carolina appropriated as much money as could be spared for this purpose, which was not a large sum. Mrs. Patterson was assisted by Miss Rebecca Schenck, of Greensboro, and Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton, of Raleigh, who have given months of arduous toil to this patriotic cause. North Carolina is the only State in which women have sole charge of the historical exhibit.

The relics are chronologically arranged save whenever the artistic can not be sacrificed. With a desire to start with the beginning of our State history, instead of an ambition to antedate the first permanent settlement at Jamestown by twenty-two years, the story of the "Lost Colony" is given by paintings and photographs. First on the post hangs the coat-of-arms of Sir Walter Raleigh; next, forming a frieze running along the top of the two partitions, which are the side walls of our space, are placed the White pictures—18 in number. In 1587 Queen Elizabeth sent John White to Roanoke Island to make paintings of the aboriginals. White remained a year minus five days and made a number of sketches from life. They represent the Indian features: their modes of prayer, dancing, fishing, cooking and eating; the styles of dress adopted by their chiefs, religious men, warriors, their women and children; views of their villages and tombs. The originals are in the British Museum. Colonel Bennahan Cameron gave an order for these paintings to be executed for exhibition, permission having been granted by the government, in the North Carolina space in the History Building. Afterwards they are to hang in the Hall of History at Raleigh. A more generous gift from a more patriotic citizen can not be found here.

Next are arranged the thirteen fine oil paintings of different scenes on the Roanoke Island of to-day, by Mr. Jaques Busbee, who was appointed by the State Historical Commission to undertake this task. Ballast Point, where Raleigh's colony first landed; Fort Raleigh, with its intrenchments plainly visible; the monument to Virginia Dare and the views of water, woods, sand dunes and sky, make one feel he is gazing in reality upon this sacred spot where was enacted the saddest tragedy of American history.

King Charles II. and his lords proprietors hang in the order of their rank: Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon; George Monck, Duke of Albemarle; William, Earl of Craven; John, Lord Berkely; Anthony, Lord Ashley; Sir George Carteret, Sir William Berkely. These photographs—symphonies in brown—are taken from the oil portraits in possession of Mr. James Sprunt, British vice-consul at Wilmington, the only collection of the kind in existence. John Locke, who drafted the fundamental constitution under their rule, has not been forgotten, but an engraving of him looks calmly down from an elevated position on the passing throng. As the beautiful Theodosia Burr, daughter of Aaron Burr, and wife of Governor Alston of South Carolina, met a horrible fate at the hands of pirates on the coast of Carolina, her portrait hangs with this collection. This was washed ashore at Nag's Head in the winter of 1812-13, and was picked up by a banker. It is loaned by Mrs. Overman, of Elizabeth City.

The group of oil portraits, while not large, represents our leading statesmen whose lives were spent in the service of the State and some assisted in making our country great. The three signers—William Hooper, Joseph Hewes and John Penn—are placed side by side. Mrs. Beale's picturesque painting of Charles I. is given a prominent position. Historians

can not agree as to the origin of the name of the Carolinas, claiming it is named in honor of either Charles I., Charles II. of England, or Charles IX. of France. It is most probable it was called for the Martyr King. Chief Justices Iredell and Alfred Moore hang on each side of the excellent portrait of the brilliant Judge Gaston. The portraits of Dr. James Norcom, skilled surgeon in the War of 1812, recommended by Dr. Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia and appointed by Nathaniel Macon of North Carolina, and that of Mrs. Winifred Hoskins, secretary of the "Edenton Tea Party," are masterpieces—among the gems of the hall. These are the property of Miss Penelope Norcom, of Hertford. The Secretary of the Fourth Provincial Congress, George Green, and Martha Cogsdell, his wife, are loaned by Mrs. George Green, of New Bern. The splendid likeness of Governor William A. Graham, one of the greatest men our State has produced, adorns the middle column, also that of General Joseph Graham, his father. Many photographs, etchings and watercolors of our great men and women, notable events and historic places cover the walls—but lack of space forbids even a cursory mention here.

Of the twelve cases, that devoted to the silver is the handsomest and most showy. It tells of the aristocracy of the colony and offers an opportunity for the study of the armorial bearings of some of our early prominent families. The Colonial service of the Cameron family, bearing the arms of that Clan, loaned by Col. Benchan Cameron, is beautiful in its simplicity and a fine specimen of the style of silver of that period. The elegant service, also Colonial, but not so old and a trifle more ornamented, once in possession of Governor Samuel Johnston of "Hayes," is loaned by members of the Wood family. A portion—four pieces—of the silver presented by Prince Charles Edward Stuart to the dauntless Flora McDonald can be seen. Spoons owned by William

Hooper, the signer, George Green, secretary of the Fourth Provincial Congress, the DuBrutz family, and a ladle of John Harvey, bearing the respective crests, are arranged to advantage. The paten and chalice presented by "Col. Edward Mosely" to St. Paul's church, Edenton, in 1725, has been loaned by the vestry and rector of that historic old parish. This disproves the exaggerated statements of Colonel Byrd concerning the religious condition of that borough in 1728. The silver coffee pot and cream pitcher, with the Eden crest, and cruets with the Paget arms engraved thereon, have been secured through the courtesy of Mrs. and Miss Drane, of Edenton. The communion set of pewter, used by the First German Reform church, comes from Alamance. Another relic of interest is the green and gold plate, with festive scene in center, in a red velvet frame, which was one of a set of thirty pieces made to order for a coronation gift for Napoleon to present to Joseph Bonaparte when the Emperor created the latter King of Spain. This was brought to Borden-town and sold to General Patterson, from whom it was inherited by Mrs. Patterson. The plate owned by George Durrant, whose treaty with the Indians deserves the reputation of that of William Penn, but is little known beyond our borders, comes from a descendant.

The quaint styles of the dress of long ago are revealed by a display of clothing that fills a case and a half.

The MSS. occupy another case and a half, while others are scattered here and there as chronological order demands. There are documents with the signatures of Generals William R. Davie, LaFayette, Anthony Wayne, Greene, Joseph Graham, Governors Caswell and Samuel Johnston, William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, John Penn, Colonel John Hinton, Major John Hinton, and many other distinguished Carolinians, subscribed. The gem of the collection is the court martial made out in the handwriting of John Paul Jones, from the library at "Hayes."

The treasures handed down in the Blount and Harvey families were tastefully arranged and loaned by Miss Lida Rodman, of Washington, filling a case and a half. They comprise many valuable historic heirlooms.

Army officers and martial spirits pause indefinitely before the battle case, studying the curious old guns and swords stored there. Relics that did service at Alamance, Moore's Creek Bridge, Guilford Court-House and King's Mountain are grouped effectively. The bell that was rung, in lieu of beating the drum, to gather together the bands of Regulators on that fatal day in May, 1771, is one of the chief objects—as is also Cornwallis' pistol. The shaving case—indeed, a handsome one when presented by General Nathaniel Greene to the famous Peter Francisco for courage—is loaned by his descendants, the Pescuds of Raleigh. The velvet-lined tray contained originally a razor for each day of the week, with the name engraved thereon. On the top is an inscription in the handwriting of General Greene, scratched with a sharp-pointed instrument.

The "Edenton Tea Party," so dear to the hearts of the Daughters of the Revolution, who have labored long and patiently to raise funds, by publishing the NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET, to erect a suitable memorial to those fifty-one patriotic women, is well told in relics. The most unique of our treasures is the dainty little model, an exact reproduction of the "Tea Party House," the residence of Mrs. Elizabeth King, in which the resolutions were signed October 25, 1774. This is a gift from that versatile writer and historian, Dr. Richard Dillard, of Edenton. Above hangs the painting of that historic gathering, also presented by the same patriotic gentleman to the State Library. Another of his gracious acts has been placing in the exhibit for distribution a number of pamphlets, containing his article, revised, which appeared in the BOOKLET, August, 1901. It is well illustrated. A

photograph of the stately Penelope Barker, president of the Tea Party, the portrait of Winifred Hoskins, already mentioned, the cut-glass dish, rare china plate and Prayer Book of Elizabeth Horniblower, the china plate of Mrs. Hoskins and the candlestand that came down from the Valentine family—all bring those fascinating dames of the Revolutionary days very close to us and we can *feel* their very presence, hear their voices in a conglomeration of discussion, and are inspired by their patriotism and zeal. They were true, noble, refined women, who fulfilled the duty of the home yet forgot not their country. Can the daughters of to-day act unwisely in following such examples?

The exhibit of the Wachovia Historical Society reveals the life of the people—their industries, household utensils and implements. The Moravians have an excellent display in the Pennsylvania exhibit and this completes theirs. The entire history of these thrifty, peace-abiding citizens—that have ever remained a distinct colony—affords unusual opportunity for the student. Never before has the Society allowed the whole collection to leave Salem. On this occasion consent was not obtained for the removal until a custodian was permitted to accompany and install it. The maps, covering a goodly portion of the wall, are considered of great worth. A century of lights shows a remarkable series of candlesticks (with quaint methods of manufacturing candles), lanterns, lard and oil lamps. A century of music presents instruments of equal interest, such as a harpsichord played when Washington visited Salem and a horn also used on that notable occasion, with the music, "God save great Washington," by its side. Here can be seen the first printing press in the State, which was seized by Lord Cornwallis at Hillsboro and used by him for printing his proclamations. The fire engine, one of the first in this country, is indeed curious. It could be of service should anything so impossible as a fire occur in this abso-

lutely fire-proof structure. Four cases are crowded with all kinds of curios. Wachovia has done well for her State at the Exposition. To Mr. J. A. Lineback, who installed this splendid exhibit, many thanks are due.

Numerous pieces of furniture were offered, but could not be taken for lack of room. The following, however, were accepted: A chair owned by Washington; a chair from "Buncombe Hall"; one that Cornwallis sat in; two loaned by Colonel Cameron—one came from "Sweet Hall" and has an interesting history attached, the other was the property of Richard Bennehan of "Stagville," and has held some of North Carolina's most notable sons; the card table, a beautiful bit of mahogany that belonged to President Jackson. North Carolina gave three Presidents to the Union—Jackson, Polk and Johnson—and one "first lady in the land"—Dolly Madison. Pictures of these statesmen and their homes with possessions of the last named (loaned by Mrs. E. E. Moffitt) enlighten many who did not heretofore know these incidents in our history.

A limited space forbids a fuller account of this engrossing work, which it is hoped will greatly aid in developing the historical awakening that now exists within our borders. More visitors seek the North Carolina exhibit than any other in the History Building, while numbers come just for a glimpse at that alone. No description can convey a correct idea of its worth or artistic effect—one must see to understand—then enjoy. To the generous men and women of Carolina who have made this exhibition a possibility by the loan of their priceless heirlooms and untiring assistance, to the custodians of other States who by their courtesy and encouragement rendered the installation an easier task—there are obligations existing which can never be repaid. Again, North Carolina has done right nobly.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF CONTRIBUTORS.

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

KEMP PLUMMER BATTLE, LL. D.

To Kemp Plummer Battle, the erudite scholar and assiduous student of North Carolina history, the BOOKLET owes a debt of gratitude. In no better way can it show its appreciation than by recounting the headings of the monographs which he has contributed from time to time and which has enriched its columns.

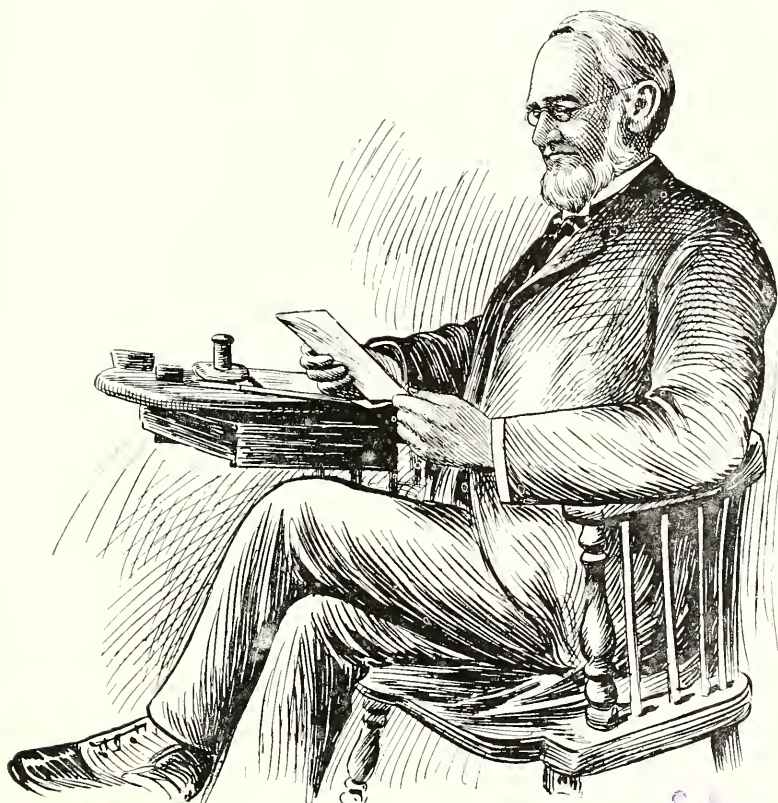
(1) In Vol. I, January, 1902, he wrote: "A North Carolina Naval Hero and His Daughter," showing the career of Captain Johnston Blakeley, the brilliant Commander of the American sloop, *Wasp*, and captor of the English brig-sloop, *Reindeer*, during the War of 1812.

(2) Vol. II, November, 1902: "Raleigh and the Old Town of Bloomsbury," the name given by Tryon to Wake Court House, the site of the city of Raleigh.

(3) Vol. III, May, 1903: "Trial of James Glasgow and the Supreme Court," showing how our higher Court was evolved from the special tribunal organized for the investigation of the frauds committed by Secretary of State Glasgow and others.

(4) Vol. IV, May, 1904: "The Lords Proprietors of the Province of North Carolina," giving a succinct history of each of the eight Lords Proprietors and their successors, including their service to the Stuarts, which earned the grant of the imperial territory of Carolina.

(5) Vol. VI, July, 1906: "Glimpses of History in Names of Counties in North Carolina," showing how these counties derived their names: some named in honor of favored Eng-



DR. KEMP PLUMMER BATTLE, LL.D.

North Carolina
State Library

lish lords, of statesmen officially connected with the colonies, of champions of civil liberty, and of Indian tribes; and of educators, governors, and navigators who have lived within the limits of North Carolina.

The following sketch of Dr. Battle by Edward L. Stewart, of the University, and which appeared in a recent issue of the *News and Observer*, is herewith reproduced by permission of the editor of that paper:

"Kemp Plummer Battle was born in Franklin County, North Carolina, December 19, 1831. His father, William Horn Battle, of the class of 1820, a great grandson of Elisha Battle, of the Constitutional Convention of 1776, was for years a Supreme Court Judge of the State. His mother, Lucy Martin Plummer, a granddaughter of Colonel Nicholas Long, of Revolutionary fame, was a daughter of Kemp Plummer, State Senator from Warren County, who was known as the 'honest lawyer.'

"He entered the University in 1845 and graduated four years later at the age of seventeen. The prize oration, the valedictory address, was drawn for by the three first honor men of the class, and Dr. Battle was the successful one of those who drew for the prize.

"In his senior year, as President of the Dialectic Society, he, in company with Hon. James Mebane, First President of the society and ex-Speaker of the House of Commons, presided at the dedicatory services of the then new Dialectic Hall, which is now known as the History Room, in the Old West Building.

"After graduation he was elected tutor of mathematics, in which capacity he served for four years, during which time he studied law under his father, receiving his license in 1854, and at once began a remunerative practice in copartnership with Quentin Busbee, of the Raleigh Bar.

"In 1855 he married Miss Martha A. Battle, a distant rela-

tive, who is still living, the joy of his life. They have been blessed with seven children, five of whom reached maturity. His daughter, Nellie, wife of Dr. Richard H. Lewis, of Raleigh, N. C., died in 1889. His four living children are Dr. Kemp P. Battle, Jr., of Raleigh, N. C.; Thomas H. Battle, of Rocky Mount, N. C.; Herbert B. Battle, Ph.D., of Montgomery, Ala., and W. J. Battle, Ph.D., Professor of Greek of the University of Texas.

"In 1860, he was one of the Whig candidates for the House of Commons in Wake County, and, although himself defeated, he aided in changing a Democratic majority of over five hundred to a Whig majority of two hundred. In this campaign he prepared a pamphlet on "Ad Valorem Taxation Explained by Questions and Answers," which was so highly valued by his party that one hundred thousand copies were printed and distributed among the people of the State. During the Presidential campaign of 1860 he was President of the Wake County Union Club and actively opposed both Lincoln and Breckenridge, but when the great Civil War broke out he embraced the cause of the South with equal zeal and enthusiasm, and was elected a member of the Secession Convention, in which he, foreseeing that the Confederacy would need fuel for its navy and for its factories, successfully advocated the building of a railroad to the coal fields of Chatham, which later became a part of the Raleigh and Augusta Air Line of the present Seaboard Air Line system. At the request of Governor Worth, he was a successful candidate before the Legislature for State Treasurer in 1865, and in 1867 was re-elected practically unanimously, to be turned out of office by the operation of the Reconstruction Acts in 1868.

"In 1862 he was made a Trustee of the University, and soon thereafter he was placed on the Executive Committee, in which position his love for his alma mater at once began to assert itself constructively.

"In 1867 the University entered the darkest period of its history, its funds were running low, and its professors were fast resigning. Dr. Battle, as Chairman of a Committee of Trustees, of which Solicitor-General Samuel F. Phillips and ex-Governor William A. Graham were of the other members, wrote an elaborate report recommending a reorganization along the lines of the present system. The report was adopted almost unanimously, but our dear old University in a short time passed into hands that failed to keep its doors open to the youth of the State.

"In 1874 the University, which had for eight years been but a pathetic reminder of better days in North Carolina, was reached after by the strong arm of the State and, by Constitutional Amendment, was given back into the glad hands of its old-time friends. Dr. Battle, one of the new Trustees, was elected Secretary and Treasurer, and, on his recommendation, successful application was made to the General Assembly for \$7,500 a year, interest on the Land Grant. With this amount as a beginning and, relying on the University sentiment in North Carolina, he began a movement to reopen the doors of our ancient seat of learning. But, its buildings were decaying, its beautiful campus was growing up in weeds, wreck and ruin were on every hand, and money must be had to put glass in the windows, stop the many leaks in the various roofs, and cut down the weeds in the campus. Confident that the generous heart of North Carolina still beat with love for the University, Dr. Battle appealed to its friends, who gladly answered his call for help, and gave him \$18,000 with which to make the needed repairs.

"In September, 1875, the doors of the institution were once more thrown open; sixty-nine students were enrolled; and the University, with face uplifted toward the coming of better days, began its present career of service to the State.

"After the first year it was seen that a President was needed

and Dr. Battle, upon urgent solicitation, abandoned a lucrative practice and reluctantly but loyally accepted the responsible post of labor and honor. His Presidency was most successful. Under his wise direction and co-operation the number of students steadily increased, the instruction in all the departments was widened and deepened, the departments of law, medicine, natural history and electrical engineering were added, the number of laboratories was increased from three to five, a gymnasium and memorial hall were built, several literary and scientific societies were organized, the University Railroad was completed, and many other needed improvements were made from time to time. From 1877 to 1885 he conducted the first Summer Normal School in connection with a university or college, which gave a strong impetus to the establishment of graded schools. He also procured from the General Assembly the first annual appropriation ever granted the University, largely increased since.

"In 1891 he resigned as President and was at once unanimously elected Alumni Professor of History, which position he has ever since most acceptably filled. His efficiency as President and Professor has been due not merely to his scholarly instincts and vast fund of knowledge, but also to his large and varied experience in the business world, where, in addition to the offices already referred to, he held the following: Director of the Insane Asylum, President of a successful life insurance company, President of the State Agricultural Society, one of the three founders of the Oakwood Cemetery in Raleigh, N. C., Director and one of the founders of the Citizens National Bank, Raleigh, N. C., Alderman of the city of Raleigh, and Chairman of the Committee of Aldermen which put the city finances in order after the confusion of 1868-'9, and President of the Chatham Railroad during the Civil War, which, as has been mentioned, was built for the purpose of getting coal for the Confederacy.

“As an author Dr. Battle has written many valuable historical papers, pamphlets, and addresses, among which may be mentioned the following: History of the Supreme Court of North Carolina, Trials and Judicial Proceedings of the New Testament, Life of General Jethro Sumner, Old Schools and Teachers of North Carolina, Otway Burns—Privateer and Legislator, etc.

“Every friend of the University and especially those students who have matriculated since the reorganization in 1875, will read with interest this short sketch of Dr. Battle's long and successful service for North Carolina. As a Trustee he has been ever faithful to the University; as President he successfully rescued it from ruin and decay, and brought it back to a life of wider usefulness and deeper scholarship than it had ever known before; and now in the seventy-fifth year of his age, buoyant as a youth, both mentally and physically, with a heart beating proudly with love for his native State, and an indomitable energy ever bent towards finding out the truth of history and exploiting the achievements of the fathers in State and Nation, studious, painstaking, and indefatigable, year after year he has enthusiastically led the flower of our youth to the most authentic sources of historic lore where opinions may be formed without the bias of sentiment or the blindness of prejudice. May many more years of honorable, useful and sympathetic service to his State and people be spared to him.”

(Dr. Battle has recently resigned as active Professor of History in the University of North Carolina and has been chosen Emeritus Professor. He is one of the few college professors in the South who have been placed on the list of the Carnegie Pension Endowment. Dr. Battle is now busy reading the proof of his new book, the “History of the University of North Carolina, 1789-1868,” and as soon as that comes from the press and Vol. 2, 1868, to the present, is finished, he will

begin the Social and Political History of North Carolina from 1830, for which he has gathered material during his long and busy life. Nothing ever comes from his pen that is not wholesome, reliable and good.)

CHARLES LEE RAPER.

The sketch in this number of the NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET, on the "Finances of North Carolina Colonists," by Charles Lee Raper, will be read by historians and financiers of the State, especially by the latter, with genuine interest. The author has taken great care in the collection of facts relating to the financial and commercial system as used by the colonists, and he has brought into small compass this history during a hundred years.

Professor Raper was born in High Point, N. C., March 10, 1870. He was graduated from Trinity College, N. C., in 1902, with the degree of A.B. At this institution he won the prize for three successive years for highest standing in scholarship.

He received the degree of Ph.D. from Columbia University in 1901-'02, was elected instructor of Greek and Latin in Trinity College, 1902-'03; was elected Professor of Latin in Greensboro Female College, N. C., 1893-'98; received the Columbia University scholarship, 1898-'99; was Fellow in Columbia University, 1899-1900; was lecturer in European and American history in the Barnard College of Columbia University, 1900-'01.

Professor Raper has been head of the Department of Economics in the University of North Carolina since 1901; has created and developed the department, which now offers five courses (10 hours per week) running through the year, and has 175 Juniors and Seniors electing them; has collected for

the University a good working library in economics, a branch of education so necessary to success.

Professor Raper was Associate Professor of History in the University of North Carolina, 1901-06. He has been the chief instrument in collecting the great "Ethel Carr Peacock Collection of North Carolina History." He takes great interest in the history of his native State, and has been an important member of the State Historical Commission since 1905.

He has received two small grants from the Carnegie Institution for research in the economic history of North Carolina.

The following is a list of his published works:

(a) The Church and Private Schools for North Carolina.

(b) North Carolina, a Royal Province: pp. 71. 1901; N. C. University Press.

(c) North Carolina, a study in English Government; pp. 260, 1904; Macmillan. This study was received with great favor in this country and in Europe.

(d) The Principles of Wealth and Welfare; pp. 336, 1906; Macmillan. This is being introduced as a text by the high schools, normals, and smaller colleges, in many places.

(e) The South and the Manufacture of Cotton, 1905; a paper in the South Atlantic Quarterly.

(f) Why North Carolina at first Refused to Ratify the Federal Constitution, 1906; a paper in the American Historical Association Reports.

(g) The economic Future of the Negro, 1906; a discussion, in the American Economic Association Publications.

Professor Raper is a versatile writer and has contributed a number of short papers to the local newspapers; has written a number of book reviews; has frequently been asked for lists of books and for opinions on economic questions, by students in the schools and colleges and by men of affairs in many of

the Southern States; has given a number of popular lectures on economic problems before the Southern schools and colleges.

Professor Raper's travels in Europe and in the eastern part of the United States have so enlarged his observations on economic and social conditions that he is considered an excellent authority in this line of education.

The article written by him for the North Carolina Booklet (September, 1903), on "Social Life in Colonial North Carolina" throws much light on that period of our history, laying a foundation for a fuller account for the future historian who may rescue from old documents and other sources not yet attainable but which, through the North Carolina Historical Commission, will doubtless be found in the private letters and records of the old families of the State. The possessors of such documents should co-operate with the Commission in its efforts to preserve and render available such material.

Professor Raper's literary and historical work so far is an augury to his future usefulness and reputation.

WILLIS GRANDY BRIGGS.

Willis Grandy Briggs, writer of the article on "Joseph Gales, Raleigh's First Editor," in this issue of The Booklet, is the postmaster at Raleigh, N. C.

Mr. Briggs was born October 9, 1875, and comes from the family of Hunters and Norwoods, pioneer settlers in Wake county. His great grandfather, John Joyner Briggs, helped clear the forest for this fair city, built some of the first houses in Raleigh and died here at the advanced age of ninety-six years. He was one of the founders of the Baptist church here, an officer in the first local temperance society and a man of great piety. Together he and Joseph Gales served on the

city patrol,—for the white males were then divided into squads of five for this duty.

His younger son, Thomas Henry Briggs, a building contractor and merchant, was successful in business and left a name the synonym of honesty. When his death occurred, August 4, 1886, the citizens held a mass meeting in the city hall and paid tribute to his memory. Though a modest quiet man, he was loved as has been given to few men to be loved here. His eldest son, Thomas Henry Briggs, second, father of the contributor to *The Booklet*, is one of Raleigh's best citizens, successful in business and a leader in Christian work.

Mr. Briggs' mother was formerly Miss Sarah Grandy, daughter of the late Willis Sawyer Grandy, who served in the Confederate army. She is a descendant of Caleb Grandy, Revolutionary soldier and first representative from Camden County; Colonel Peter Dauge, who was granted a large tract of land in 1794 "pursuant to an act of the General Assembly entitled an act for the relief of the officers and soldiers of the Continental line and in consideration of the signal bravery and personal zeal of Peter Dauge, a lieutenant colonel in said line;" William Ferebee, (1722-1783) of Currituck; Colonel Samuel Ferebee (1761-1845), of the War of 1812, last survivor of Fayetteville convention, 1789, which ratified for North Carolina the Constitution of the United States, and Dr. Enoch D. Ferebee, who lived in the old brick home on Lynhaven Bay. Dr. Ferebee (1797-1876) offered his negroes their freedom, which they declined, many years before the Civil War. His sons were in the Confederate army.

Mr. Briggs graduated with honors in a class of thirty-one at Wake Forest College in 1896. He was awarded the senior oratorical medal given by Thomas Dixon, the author. In that year, before he was of age, he aligned himself with the Republican party because of his opposition to "free silver." When a newspaper was established here in January, 1897, to aid in the re-election of Senator J. C. Pritchard, he ac-

cepted the position of city editor and retired from the business in which he had begun. The same year he was made United States Jury Commissioner, the youngest man, it is said, appointed to this position. He was connected with Raleigh papers and correspondent at the State capital for outside dailies until appointed postmaster by President Roosevelt Sept. 1, 1906.

He has made a number of contributions to the press on historical subjects. His sketch of Joseph Gales is written with appreciation of this great editor's work and cannot fail to be read with interest.

One among the many contributions to the press, published in The Raleigh Times of July 27, 1901, entitled "The Guardians of the Peace," was a comprehensive review of the early government of the city of Raleigh from 1792 to 1901, with biographical sketches of many who helped to frame the laws for the peace, security, prosperity and happiness of this community. This paper was of unusual local interest and great historical value.

When Postmaster C. T. Bailey retired from office, in 1906, Mr. Briggs was tendered the place by the President, which position he has filled with credit to himself and to the satisfaction of the public; and more than this, he is the youngest man that has risen in this city to this most responsible position. Mr. Briggs is now in the prime of vigorous manhood, and with such character and qualifications as to command the regard and respect of the citizenship of his native city.

PATTIE WILLIAMS GEE.

Miss Pattie Williams Gee, the author of the "Ode to North Carolina," which enriches this number of The Booklet, is a native of North Carolina, born in Halifax County March 10, 1867. On the death of her mother and grandmother, at the age of five years she was transferred to the home of her ma-

ternal aunt, Mrs. Richard C. Badger, of Raleigh, N. C., under whose care she grew to womanhood. She was educated in a private school and at St. Mary's School in Raleigh. Early in life, feeling the necessity of earning her own living, she went to New York and studied at Packard's Business College, receiving a diploma in a partial course. Thereafter she was employed in various lines of clerical work. She reported the proceedings of a three days' session of the North Carolina Senate Committee with reference to a railroad commission. She worked for the Winston-Salem Land Improvement Co.; was employed by the Democratic State Executive Committee of North Carolina; worked for the Mercantile Association of the Carolinas at Wilmington, N. C.; for Samuel J. Tilden (nephew of the late Governor Tilden, of New York) in connection with his pharmaceutical factory at New Lebanon, N. Y.; for Orlando M. Harper, a commission merchant of New York; for the United States Book Company, and many affiliated companies then in the hands of a common receiver; for the law firm of Armoux, Ritch & Woodford, of 18 Wall Street; for Bowers & Sands (one of the oldest and best known law firms in New York City), and finally was private secretary for Mr. B. Aymar Sands, a member of the above firm. In 1905 she resigned this position and is now living at a cottage at Harsbrouck Heights, New Jersey. Having run the gamut of lucrative endeavor she has found her work, she has struck the keynote in unison with a poetic nature, and here in her own little cottage she is enjoying a well earned competency, pursuing the vocation of student, poetess and genealogist.

Her pen is ever busy "still pursuing, still achieving" thus giving the exceptionable promise of even more exquisite achievement.

In 1905 she issued a small volume of forty poems entitled "The Palace of the Heart," which attracted the attention of

lovers of genuine poetry. It was critically noticed by many papers. Below is the appraisal of two which are worthy of reproduction. The Boston Transcript said: "The verses in this volume are largely of spiritual import reflecting a hopeful look upon life and revealing a depth of thought and a command of literary technique not usually found in collections of modern poetry."

The New York Times Saturday Review of Books, said: "The Palace of the Heart" is conspicuous chiefly for the strong, religious feeling, simple and fervent in its expression, that inspires the greater number of poems. An air of devotion suggesting Fra Angelica, or even Cimabue gives the archaic forms of such songs as these, 'The Sinner and the Violets,' 'Orate pro Me,' and 'Mother Love in After Years,' a grace of spirit altogether lovely." A Newark paper has this to say of another of her poems: "Unquestionably the finest poem in the volume is 'Mater Mea Carolina,' wherein the part played by North Carolina men in the Civil War is commemorated. Miss Gee is a native of that State and her poem is evidently inspired by a deep and abiding love for it. Her father fought in the Confederate army and her uncle, Major Sterling Gee, lost his life before Richmond. It is natural that she should write with feeling. She sings of the 'hundred thousand men and twenty thousand beardless boys' that Carolina sent forth to the fray, and her verse rings with exultant pride to be followed by a note of mourning. 'Mater Mea Carolina' is true poetry and whenever Miss Gee's subject inspires her as in this, her verse rises to real excellence. Elsewhere she needs the diligent practice in the technicalities of her art. But the thought is always sweet, and wholesome and winning."

Since she has given up clerical work she will overcome the slight faults in her verse and no doubt will win laurels fitting for a victor's crown.

Miss Gee is secretary to the Genealogical Mss. Company, 150 West Forty-sixth Street, New York, and is the inventor of the Medallion Genealogical Register which has been patented both in America and Europe.

GENEALOGY OF GEE FAMILY.

Pattie Williams Gee is the daughter of Dr. Charles James Gee and Tempie Williams (Austin) Gee his wife, of Halifax County, N. C. Dr. Gee was educated at the University of Virginia, was a graduate of Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, and member of the Secession Convention of 1861. Served as surgeon in the Army of Northern Virginia of First North Carolina State troops.

Miss Gee is a granddaughter of Sterling Harwell Gee and Mary Temperance (Williams) his wife. She is a great granddaughter of Nevil Gee and wife Elizabeth (Harwell) Gee, and she is great-great-granddaughter of Charles Gee, of Virginia, who was a descendant of Thomas Gee, of Boston, Mass.

Miss Gee is ninth in descent from Richard Warren of the Mayflower; eighth in descent from Richard Warren II.; seventh in descent from Anne Warren and Dr. Thomas Little; sixth in descent from Bethia Little (sister of William Little, Colonial Chief Justice of North Carolina) and Thomas Barker. (The Barkers and Littles were old families from Massachusetts. They came to North Carolina in 1713. The Barker family have been traced back to the year 1200.) Fifth in descent from Thomas Barker II., who married first Ferebee (Savage) Pugh, widow of Colonel Francis Pugh, of the Revolution, and second the distinguished Mrs. Penelope (Pagett) Craven, president of the famous "Edenton Tea Party of 1774." There were no children by this second marriage. Mr. Barker was a lawyer of considerable distinction, was one of the committee appointed to revise the laws in force in the colony for adoption by the newly formed State.

Miss Gee's descent from Thomas Barker and his first wife Ferebe (Savage) Pugh is interesting as she is connected by marriage to Penelope Barker the second wife of Thomas and the lady so famous as head of the Anti-Tea Drinking Society of Edenton, to which reference is made in this article. It may be of interest to the readers of The Booklet to know that Miss Susan Barker Willard, a descendant of the Barkers, lives at Hingham, Massachusetts. This lady has in her possession many letters from Penelope Barker dated July 22, 1788, Edenton, N. C. Pertinent to the above is the intention of the North Carolina Society Daughters of the Revolution to place a tablet at the capitol of North Carolina at an early day, in honor of those patriotic women. When all facts relating to that event will be fully brought forth and these valuable letters may be loaned for the occasion.

GENEALOGY OF WILLIAMS ANCESTRY.

Miss Gee is sixth in descent from Samuel Williams and Elizabeth (Alston) his wife (see will of W. W., first, dated 1704, Secretary of State's office, Raleigh, N. C.) married about 1725 to 1728. Fifth descent from Colonel William Williams and Mrs. Elizabeth (Whitmel) Blount his wife; married 1746. Fourth descent from General William Williams and Elizabeth Williams (second wife), daughter of Capt. Solomon and Tempie (Boddie) Williams. Third descent from Tempie Williams and Colonel Andrew Joyner, Lieutenant Colonel First Regiment of North Carolina, organized August, 1814. Second descent from Martha Williams Joyner who married first Archibald Alexander Austin, and second to Colonel Frank P. Haywood. First in descent from Tempie Williams (Austin) and Dr. Charles James Gee. Miss Gee is also descended from John Haywood Colonial Treasurer, etc. (—1757) and his wife Mary Lovat.

She is also descended from Rev. Thomas Burges, a clergyman and a pioneer of the Church of England in the colony.

She is also descended from Archibald Alexander Austin and Martha Williams (Joyner) his wife.

A rather interesting descent is that from Robert Alexander who belonged to the clan of McAlexander or McAlister, which is the same. He was a graduate of the University of Dublin and taught the first classical school west of the mountains of Virginia of which the present Washington and Lee University is the lineal descendant. Dr. Archibald Alexander, the first professor of theology at Princeton and the author of many religious works, was a descendant of his brother. This family has been noted for its scholarly attainments for many generations.

The North Carolina Booklet

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Midway Plantation, Raleigh. N. C.

Vol. VII.

JANUARY, 1908

No. 3

The North Carolina Booklet



GREAT EVENTS
IN
NORTH CAROLINA
HISTORY



PUBLISHED QUARTERLY
BY
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

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While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her."*

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THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET.

Vol. VII

JANUARY, 1908

No. 3

GENERAL ROBERT HOWE*

BY HON. JOHN D. BELLAMY.

Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House of Representatives:—During the present session of this Congress I introduced a bill (H. R. 17356) for the erection of an equestrian statue at Wilmington, N. C., to the memory of Maj. Gen. Robert Howe, of the American Revolution. I can not expect, in the closing hours of this session, when the congested state of the Calendar will preclude the consideration of many important measures, which are entitled to precedence, to secure the adoption of this resolution, but I do hope to bring to the attention of the country many of the incidents of the life and character of this remarkable man, in the hope that the next Congress will be possessed of sufficient patriotism to pass it.

In this centennial era, when we are commemorating the important events which have made this Government a great and powerful nation and enabled it to attain a century's growth, we should not alone seek to celebrate its material advancement, but should at least endeavor to perpetuate in some enduring form the memories of the great men whose wisdom and valor contributed so powerfully toward making the American Revolution successful, and thereby establishing the first great representative government that has ever been vouchsafed to mankind.

*This Address was delivered by Mr. Bellamy before the 57th Congress.

Carlyle has truly said that hero worship exists forever and everywhere; not loyalty alone; it extends from divine admiration to the lowest practical regions of life, and yet hero worship has never been a salient feature in the character of the average American citizen. A government whose basic principles are liberty and equality, and whose powers are not derived by divine inheritance and centered in a single individual, but emanate from the free consent of the people governed, has in it dogmas which tend to lessen reverence, yet it can never suppress the natural and spontaneous feeling of veneration for that which is truly great, for the true hero, be he philosopher, poet, priest, man of letters, warrior, or ruler.

There has always existed among all people and in all ages a special admiration for the warrior whose deeds of daring have worked good for his people, and the American people form no exception to this universal rule. The fame of Washington, the general, embalmed forever in the hearts of his countrymen, has been further perpetuated in statues of bronze and marble, that future generations may emulate his virtues and be inspired by his patriotic example. But few indeed of the great generals who aided Washington by their counsel, who shared his confidence, and who won glory and renown on many of the fields of battle which secured our independence, have been honored by their countrymen. Major-Generals Howe, Baron Steuben, Lincoln, Schuyler, and others performed their part in the great struggle equally with Washington, and achieved renown and fame excelled only by their leader. Some of them were leaders in the movement originating and precipitating the Revolution, and all prominent in consummating it with their sword and their talent. The Government, then an experiment, has become a Government respected and honored as the equal of the oldest and most permanent and stable governments of the world.

It is but just and proper then that these great generals should at least be remembered by a posterity which has reaped untold blessings from their patriotic efforts. It is with the view of rescuing from the oblivion into which it has fallen the life and services of one who possessed more eminently, if possible, the confidence of General Washington than any of his compeers that your speaker has offered this resolution to have Congress erect a monument to his memory in the city of Wilmington, near which he was born and lies buried.

Among the brilliant men of the Revolutionary period who have not been awarded the praise to which their patriotic services entitle them stands Maj. Gen. Robert Howe, of Brunswick, N. C. Of his early history little is preserved save that which is handed down by tradition in the vicinity of his birth. He was born in the precinct of Clarendon in the year 1732 in the present limits of Brunswick County, N. C. He was the son of Job Howe, a well-educated, influential, and wealthy rice planter, who resided at his palatial home on the Cape Fear River and spent his summers on the coast near the city of Wilmington. Like the Southern gentleman of that day, and for generations afterwards, this home was the seat of hospitality and refinement, and in this atmosphere of culture Robert Howe was partially reared. His grandfather had come over to America with the Yeamans colony in 1665, which was planted first on Old Town Creek, but afterwards moved to Charleston, S. C. His father, Job Howe, came to the Cape Fear region from Charleston with Col. Maurice Moore, his kinsman, who assumed charge of the lands of Sir John Yeamans abandoned in 1690.

Robert Howe was connected by blood and marriage with the best families in North and South Carolina. He was the lineal descendant of Sir John Yeamans, and was the grandson of Mary Moore, the daughter of James Moore, the gov-

ernor of the two Carolinas in 1670. At an early age, as was the custom in those days among gentlemen of wealth, Robert was sent by his father to England, and there had the advantage of the social life of the best London circles, and received the benefits of a solid and refined English education. He spent a good number of years in Europe, and did not return until a short time previous to his father's death, which occurred at his summer home on the coast in the year 1748. It appears from the will of his father, recorded in New Hanover County, that Robert had two brothers and two sisters, and although they lived in that vicinity, on fine plantations devised to each, yet in the early part of this century the name of Howe became entirely extinct, and is no longer found except occasionally among a few old family servants, negroes, who to-day alone retain the name.

In 1763 we find Robert Howe settled on his rice plantation at the mouth of Old Town Creek, the site of the first English settlement under Sir John Yeamans. He lived, like his father, in affluence, with his broad acres around him, his slaves, his library well stored with the best books of the day, which was always an indispensable requisite to the well-furnished home of the southern country gentleman. At that day the English Government had a well-fortified fort at the mouth of the Cape Fear River, known then and ever afterwards as Fort Johnston. Robert had an ambition to lead a military life. The royal Governor Tryon had partaken of his hospitality and had formed an attachment for him. A vacancy occurring in the position of commandant of the fort, he was appointed to it by the governor. In a letter dated July 29, 1766, at Old Brunswick, addressed to the Right Hon. Lord Burrington, secretary of war, Governor Tryon says:

"Capt. John Dalrymple, commandant of Fort Johnston, in this province, died the 13th instant in said fort. As the

*This is a
grove where
Howe lived
next to Fort
St. John
Brunswick.*

above command was from His Majesty, I have issued a new one to Robert Howe, a gentleman of this province, to succeed him." * * *

This is the first act of a public nature recorded of Robert Howe, and it was doubtless this appointment and the exercise of its duties that gave him a taste for the military life he was afterwards to lead. He held the position for a few years and was succeeded by John Abraham Collett. It was about this time that Robert met, wooed, and won the heart and hand of Sarah Grange, the daughter of Thomas Grange, a respectable planter on the Upper Cape Fear River, and they were afterwards married; and although they lived happily together for a number of years, they became, for some reason, eventually estranged and were afterwards peaceably separated, as appears from a deed providing for her support, recorded in the year 1772. They were never reunited.

In January, 1772, Robert Howe entered political life. He offered himself as a candidate from Brunswick County for the general assembly of the province, which was to meet that year in November, and was duly elected by the people. Josiah Martin was then governor of the province, having about two years previously succeeded Governor Tryon. Governor Martin was not so suave as Tryon, and was not generally popular. He was a man of a firm and obstinate disposition, and by his indomitable will doubtless widened the breach and precipitated the conflict which was soon to follow between the people and the Crown. The royal governors in colonial times were invested with the most absolute and arbitrary powers. They had entire control over nearly all appointments to office and almost as much power in the regulation of the elections themselves, and had also the right to convene, prorogue, and dissolve the assemblies at pleasure. Soon after the assembly met and organized Robert Howe introduced a resolution to regu-

late the elections and to have triennial meetings of the legislature. This bill was aimed at the curtailment of the governor's prerogatives, and was defeated through the instrumentality of the governor and his council, and a short time afterwards the governor dissolved the assembly. But by the resolution itself was exhibited a bold and fearless spirit in its author, which characterized him through life and was a faculty so necessary to fit him for the important part he was soon to play in the history of that momentous period.

A like spirit of opposition to the encroachments of the Crown and its officers had begun to prevail in the other colonies. Josiah Quincy, of Massachusetts, was prominent as a leader in the movement. He set out for a voyage through the Southern colonies for the purpose of having a conference with the Whig leaders. While on this expedition, on the 29th of March, 1773, Quincy paid a visit to Cornelius Harnett at Hilton, in the old mansion formerly standing there. Of this visit tradition informs us with some details. It is said that Mr. Quincy had no previous acquaintance with Harnett. On arriving at Harnett's residence he asked to be accommodated with a night's lodging, which was cordially granted him by his hospitable host. After supper, thinking Harnett might be a Tory, and it would be unsafe to advert to any political topic, Quincy specially avoided it, but in the course of the conversation, Harnett ascertaining in some way the cause of Quincy's appearance in the South, immediately began to express his views very positively and boldly concerning the tyrannical and oppressive course of the King toward his colonies. It is said that Quincy was so greatly surprised at finding Harnett so much in accord with his own views that he could not withstand embracing him upon discovering such a kindred spirit.

The whole night was spent in conversation, and the next

morning, upon Harnett saying to Quincy—which Quincy already knew—that in the immediate vicinity was a bold, intelligent, and determined man in full sympathy with their own views, Robert Howe, he was sent for and repaired thither without delay; and then and there, at Hilton, on the Cape Fear River, these three men, closeted together in the deepest of deliberation, concocted and agreed upon the scheme for the American Revolution. While on this journey Mr. Quincy kept a diary of the events of the day, and it is quite interesting to note the estimate of Howe by this sagacious and discerning patriot and of the incidents of this visit. In Quincy's Memoirs he records:

"March 26, 1773.—Spent most of the day in public and private conversation with Col. Robert Howe, a leader and active member of the general assembly. Fine natural parts, great feeling, pure and elegant diction, with much persuasive eloquence, a Crown officer with a lucrative post, a staunch Whig and colonist. I received much information in provincial politics and great pleasure from his relation. Zealous in the cause of America, he relished the proposed Continental correspondence, promised to promote it, and write to me by the first opportunity.

"March 28.—Yesterday was a most delightful day. Fort Johnston is as delightful a situation. The commander, Col. Robert Howe, is a happy compound of the man of sense and sentiment with the man of the world, the sword, and the senate.

"March 30.—Spent the night at Mr. Harnett's. Robert Howe, Harnett, and myself made the social triumvirate of the evening. The plan of Continental correspondence highly relished, much wished for, and resolved upon as proper to be pursued."

Well might Hilton be termed the birthplace and cradle of

American liberty, as it was so termed by Vice-President Henry Wilson, in a speech from the portico of this building, delivered in 1872. On departing from the Cape Fear region, Quincy bade his friend Howe adieu, each hoping to meet again and pledging each other to urge on the cause of independence, Captain Howe giving to Mr. Quincy a letter of introduction to Governor Tryon, who had then become governor of New York.

The legislature of 1772 was dissolved by Governor Martin in the early spring, as he desired to have members elected who would support his administration. But, notwithstanding the opposition fomented by the governor against him, Robert Howe was again returned to the assembly, which met the same year at New Bern on December 4th. At this session the speaker of the House of Commons laid before that body letters from several provinces requesting the appointment of a committee to inquire into the encroachments of England upon the liberties of the American people. The house passed a resolution—

“That such example was worthy of imitation by which means communication and concert would be established among the colonies, and that they will at all times be ready to exert their efforts to preserve and defend their rights.”

The committee was appointed, and after the Speaker's name, as chairman, stands next in order the names of Robert Howe and Cornelius Harnett. It was chiefly through the influence and exertion of these two men that this committee was chosen, and thus was recorded the first act of a legislative character that led to the revolution.

During this session the House had passed an act prohibiting the sheriffs from collecting that portion of the poll tax devoted to the payment of the public debt. The governor commanded the sheriffs to enforce the collection, and a direct

clash arose between the legislative and executive branches of the Government. The judicial branch was silent, as the courts were closed. The governor forbade the further meeting of the assembly. Whereupon among the Whig leaders it was decided to call a general congress to meet at New Bern August 20, 1774.

The governor called upon the council to concert measures to prevent the election of members as delegates to this meeting of the congress, but the people were thoroughly excited, and in spite of the governor's strenuous efforts to the contrary the congress assembled at New Bern on the 25th of August, pursuant to the call. Among the delegates sent was Robert Howe, of Brunswick County, and his learning and eloquence were felt in this body. Among the many important resolutions passed were those claiming the right of a citizen to trial by a jury of his vicinage, and denounced the sending of Americans to England for trial in criminal cases, and that no subject should be taxed without representation. They approved of the conduct of the people of Massachusetts, and resolved not to import tea or any British manufacture, or export their own products to Great Britain unless their grievances were redressed. On the 11th of February, 1775, Colonel Harvey called another congress to meet at New Bern on the 3d of April. As a delegate to this congress and also to the general assembly, which was to meet at the same time, Robert Howe was again elected from Brunswick County.

Governor Martin issued his proclamation against the assembling of this congress, and finding his voice unheeded, on the morning of the meeting of the assembly he issued another proclamation commanding them to desist from the proposed convention. But men determined on the attainment of the liberty for which they were striving would brook no opposition, and the convention was held in the very face of the gov-

ernor. Governor Martin still persevered in his course. On the meeting of the assembly he went before that body and addressed them at length. He told them that he looked with horror on the proceedings of some of the colonies; that the meetings and committees had injured the rights of the Crown and insulted its officers; that they were in duty bound to prevent the meeting of the congress; that it should be the care of the assembly to lead back the people to their allegiance; that Parliament was at that very time deliberating for the good of America, and they should await the result.

The assembly did not like the tone of the governor's address and immediately proceeded to the appointment of a committee to reply to it. Robert Howe, for his peculiar fitness, was selected as its chairman. On the 7th of April Robert Howe wrote and reported an address which, as a justification for the action of his people, as well as a refutation of the charges of the governor, stamps him as a clear, forcible and logical writer, than whom the colonies had no superior. Captain Howe said:

That they contemplated with horror the condition of America, involved in difficulties and distressed by invasions of ancient rights and immunities. In this way the colonies had been driven to measures which, however extraordinary, were still warranted by necessity. The appointment of committees in counties and towns had been adopted to resist unconstitutional encroachments, and the assembly was convinced that no step had been taken in that direction which was not salutary and proper. It was not to be controverted that all British subjects had the right of assembling and petitioning for a redress of grievances, and any attempt to deny or abridge this privilege was in direct conflict with the constitution. It was the least of their desires to prevent the objects and session of the provincial congress, then in session, or to join his excellency in his injurious epithets in its disparagement.

They further stated:

That they would gladly aid in the establishment of a proper court system, but declined any provisions for Fort Johnston.

This reply was so very distasteful to the governor that the next day he dissolved the assembly, and this was the last held under royal auspices in North Carolina.

Captain Howe returned to his home, and as the clouds of war were gathering thick and lowering over his country he immediately began to prepare for action. Having no trained soldiers he employed himself drilling the people and training them to arms. While thus engaged the governor issued a violent proclamation at Fort Johnston on the 16th June, 1775, against the people of the colony. A meeting of the district committee of safety was held at the court-house in Wilmington on the 20th June, with delegates present from Brunswick, Bladen, Onslow, Duplin, and New Hanover counties. Robert Howe appeared as a member from Brunswick.

Immediately a committee was appointed, with Robert Howe as chairman, to answer the proclamation which was ordered to be published. Captain Howe prepared the address, which, like his former addresses, was a masterly production. He said among other things:

"In order to prevent the pernicious influence of the said proclamation, we do unanimously resolve, that in our opinion his excellency Josiah Martin, Esq., hath by the said proclamation, and by the whole tenor of his conduct since these unhappy disputes between Great Britain and the colonies, discovered himself to be an enemy to the happiness of this colony in particular, and to the freedom, rights, and privileges of America in general. And in reply to Lord North's resolution, introduced into Parliament, concerning America, which his excellency alluded to, *Resolved*, That this was a low, base, flagitious, and wicked attempt to entrap America into slavery.

and which they ought to reject with contempt which it deserves.' ”

News of the battle of Lexington and Bunker Hill had now reached the Cape Fear, and the people began to prepare with increased exertions for the emergency. It became apparent that as Fort Johnston was the key to the entire Cape Fear country it must be held by the colonies, and on the 18th of May, after due preparation, Col. John Ashe, in command of a body of troops, among whom was Captain Howe, attacked, set fire to, and partially burned Fort Johnston, right under the English fleet then in the harbor.

About this time, also, another meeting of congress was called for August 21, 1775, at Hillsboro. Thither Robert Howe again went as the chosen delegate from Brunswick County. The meeting of this congress was alike denounced by Governor Martin from his place of refuge on a British man-of-war. But the congress, to his denunciation, voted to bear their part of the expense of a Continental army, and organized one of their own by providing for the immediate formation of two regiments of 500 men each, and appointed James Moore as colonel of the first and Robert Howe as colonel of the second regiment. By this same congress, on September 8, Colonel Howe was also appointed one of a committee, with William Hooper as chairman, to prepare an address to the people of the British Empire, declaring the views of the body as to the existing state of affairs. This was the last act of a civil nature in which Colonel Howe was engaged until the close of that great struggle which was to terminate in the establishment of the greatest constitutional republic the world has ever seen.

Colonel Howe, as we have seen, was prominent in every step which led to the Revolution. He was ever ready, with his broad and liberal views, to advance the cause of his country. He had with his pen, by his persuasive eloquence on the hust-

ings, and his debates in the legislative halls, as well as his votes, shown himself a true statesman, born as it were for the occasion. But it is not for us to regard him alone as a statesman, for he was great as a soldier. No sooner had the Hillsboro congress adjourned than Colonel Howe began to form his regiment, and continued training his soldiers. In this he was engaged when he was informed of the efforts of Lord Dunmore to raise an army at Norfolk, and of his emissaries to incite an insurrection among the slaves in the Albemarle region of North Carolina. He immediately, in December, 1775, proceeded with his regiment to Norfolk to engage the British and to rescue his people from the threatened insurrection. He arrived at Norfolk on the 11th of December, two days after the skirmish between Lord Dunmore and the Virginia troops at Great Bridge, but found that Lord Dunmore had only withdrawn to Norfolk and was then in possession of the town. Colonel Howe, being the officer of highest rank, assumed command of the American troops, and, an engagement ensuing, drove Lord Dunmore and his entire force from the country, and on the 14th of December took possession of the city.

Lord Dunmore on retreating betook himself to the British fleet, and on January 1, 1776, attempted to recapture the city. He opened a severe bombardment on the town from the fleet, and with such terrible results that nine-tenths of all the houses were reduced to ashes, and the fire raged for several weeks. But Colonel Howe successfully repelled the assault, and Lord Dunmore retired from the country.

At this point Colonel Howe remained until after the 1st of March, when, for his gallantry and good conduct, he was promoted by the Continental Congress to the rank of brigadier-general in the Continental Army and ordered to the Southern Department, under Major-General Charles Lee.

On May 4, 1776, the State Congress, through its president, addressed General Howe, and returned to him a vote of thanks "for his manly, generous, and war-like conduct in these unhappy times, and more especially for the reputation our troops acquired under his command." General Howe thus endeared himself to his own countrymen, but had become exceedingly obnoxious to the British.

So great was this aversion that on the 5th day of May, 1776, Sir Henry Clinton, then in command, issued a proclamation against committees and congresses, and invited the people to return to the royal standard, and offered and promised pardon to all the people of North Carolina who would submit, "except Robert Howe and Cornelius Harnett." On the 12th of the same month Cornwallis, sent by Sir Henry Clinton, with 900 men ravaged and burned General Howe's plantation at Old Town Creek and took away a few bullocks and a number of slaves. Major-General Charles Lee was now on his way to take charge of the military affairs in the South. While in North Carolina he was joined by General Howe and the two North Carolina regiments under Col. James Moore and Alex. Martin, the latter appointed to succeed General Howe, promoted.

These two regiments arrived at Charleston on June 11, 1776, and these, under the command of General Howe, participated in the brilliant victories of Forts Sullivan and Moultrie, which occurred on the 28th of June. At this battle the Americans had only one-tenth as many guns as were brought to bear on them, and yet they won the day. Of the soldiers General Lee said: "No men ever behaved better or ever could behave better." Here the North Carolina troops fought with conspicuous bravery and added new laurels to their own fame and that of their commander.

General Lee, in a report of the battle made to Edmond Pendleton, of the Virginia convention, said:

"I know not which troops I have the greatest reason to be pleased with, Muhlenberg's Virginians, or the North Carolina troops. They are both equally alert, zealous, and spirited."

During the month of July, General Lee, with General Howe and Colonel Moutrie, left Charleston for an expedition against Florida, but when they arrived at Savannah General Lee was recalled by General Washington, and in October following Howe was placed in command of the southern department, with headquarters at Charleston. In retaliation for incursions from Florida, General Howe, at the head of 2,000 Americans, militia from North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, attempted the capture of St. Augustine. He met with little opposition before he reached the St. Mary's River, where the British had erected a fort called Tonyn, in compliment to the governor of the province. On the approach of Howe they destroyed the fort and, after some slight skirmishing, retreated toward St. Augustine. But the Americans were driven back from Florida by a plague of fever which swept away nearly one-fourth of their number and rendered their retreat absolutely necessary.

It was while at Charleston that occurred the dispute between Colonel Gadsden and General Howe, which led to the duel between them on the 20th of August, 1778. As the duel was an episode in his life of so remarkable a character and our historians have been so inaccurate in their references to it, I deem it of so much interest as to here give a detailed statement of it, taken from an account of the duel in *The South Carolinian and American Gazette*, dated September 3, 1778, three or four days after its occurrence:

The dispute arose out of a conflict of authority between the States and the Continental Congress—a question of conflict of authority which agitated and seriously affected the Con-

federacy in the late civil war, and which was never clearly and permanently settled in the United States between the States and the General Government until the adoption of the Constitution:

“On the 29th October, 1776, General Howe published in his orders the promotion of Colonels Gadsden and Moultrie, and assigned them to their respective commands.

“On the 23d of August, 1777, General Gadsden resigned his command into the hands of General Howe. General Howe sent the resignation to Congress with a letter explaining it, and Congress, accepting it without comment, wounded Colonel Gadsden’s feelings. To this letter Colonel Gadsden replied in an open letter to Congress. This letter was the cause of the duel. General Howe says that about four months before the date of his letter, that is, about the 1st of May, after he had been about six months in undisputed command of the post, General Gadsden desired to know by what right he commanded, and claimed that he himself was the natural commander in South Carolina. General Howe explained to him his right, and showed the error into which General Gadsden had fallen respecting claims of right. General Howe replied that as he had no doubt respecting his own right he would express none, but if the other desired it he would communicate those doubts to Congress as his, and this was assented to.

“At a subsequent interview a few days afterwards General Howe was led to believe that General Gadsden was now satisfied as to his right, and the letter was not written. One day in August they met at the house of President Lowndes, and General Gadsden inquired whether the letter had been written as agreed, and on General Howe replying in the negative, and giving his reasons for not having done so, General Gadsden said the matter should be brought before the South Caro-

lina assembly. Shortly afterwards a motion was made by William Henry Drayton inquiring into the nature of General Howe's command in that State. This motion was promptly rejected, and General Gadsden immediately resigned his commission into General Howe's hands. General Gadsden gave an explanation of the matter and says:

“On the 11th of August I received by the General's aid-de-camp a long expostulatory letter, with a demand for satisfaction at the close unless I made him reparation for the expressions I had made use of relative to him in my letter of the 4th of July. I wrote for an answer next morning that I was ready to give him any satisfaction he thought proper, when and where he pleased; that I thought him the aggressor in having wrote such an unnecessary detail of that matter in it, omitting my principal objection, and especially for not letting me, whom it so nearly concerned, have a copy of it; and that he had nobody to blame but himself; that I never saw his detail, which had such immediate effect, for ten months after the date of it.

“Three letters from him and two from me passed before the matter came to a point. In his he gave me assurance that he did not mean in anything he said to reflect upon or injure me, and as to the breach of promise I accused him of he declared he really understood me as he had set forth; so that if there was a fault, his understanding and not his integrity was to blame; and had he imagined I wished to see his letter he should most cheerfully have sent it to me; that he had not the least wish to conceal it from me. My friends, Colonels Eliott and Horry, who were the only ones who had the least hint of the affair from me, seemed to think this a great occasion, and required some notice or apology on my side, and our friend, Colonel Pinckney, who was the General's second, appeared to be of the same opinion. But I, looking upon it

only as personal and private to me, and whereas the expressions of me he particularly referred to related to the manner of a public act, I determined to make no concessions, but to meet him in any manner he pleased.'

"Accordingly on the 30th of August the hostile meeting took place, and the following account given of it: 'After the generals met and courteously saluted each other, General Howe desired his second to acquaint his friends, in case he should fall, that it was his earnest request that they should not prosecute General Gadsden beyond the formality of a trial, and General Gadsden desired both the seconds to acquaint his friend in case he should fall, that he entirely forgave General Howe and earnestly begged them not to prosecute him, and he particularly enjoined Colonel Pinckney to charge his son not to intermeddle in the affair at all. General Howe's second then stepped off the distance then fixed upon by him and Colonel Elliott—18 short paces—and the generals being placed, Colonel Elliott said:

" 'Gentlemen, we have marked out your distance, leaving you to act as you please, not doubting but that, as this is an affair of honor, you will act consequently with the strictest rules of honor.' General Howe then said to General Gadsden, 'Fire, sir.' General Gadsden said, 'Do you fire first?' General Howe replied, 'We will both fire together.' General Gadsden made no answer, but both presented. There was a pause for a few seconds, and General Howe said with a smile, 'Why will not you fire, General Gadsden?' General Gadsden replied, 'You brought me out, General Howe, to this ball play and ought to begin the entertainment.' General Howe fired and missed. General Gadsden after a short interval fired his pistol over his left arm, about at right angles from General Howe, and then called out to General Howe to fire again. General Howe smiled, and at the same time dropping his

hands with his pistol in it said, 'No, General Gadsden, I can not after this.'

"General Gadsden's second said he was glad to see so much honor in the generals; that he did not think General Gadsden could have made a handsomer apology or General Howe have shown a higher sense of honor than in acting as he had done. Then General Gadsden went up to him and said, 'Now, General Howe, I will mention to you what I could not before, as my letter was a public one, and the words contained in it seemed to me proper, and as yours was a private one, the parts in it which, in the opinion of my friends, left an opening for an apology I could not take notice of; but I told my friends in the carriage before I came on the ground that I intended to receive your fire, and though I may, perhaps, talk this matter over again, I assure you I shall never in future make use of any harsh expressions concerning you.' General Howe said that it was very agreeable to him that the matter terminated in this way, and that he was happy that he had missed him. General Gadsden's second said he hoped that the difference that had caused this duel might now subside and be left on that spot. The generals, then, in token of this reconciliation shook hands and parted."

We rarely see such chivalry displayed in the duel; and although it is intended for the healing of wounded honor among gentlemen, yet as a practice to be condemned, if it must be resorted to, no finer example could be given of what ought to be observed as the rules of the code. General Gadsden was wrong in this matter, but, as it is said, "he was gloriously wrong," and General Howe was completely vindicated.

The unfortunate, but gifted Major André, of the British army, who was afterwards executed as a spy, wrote a humorous account of this duel in eighteen stanzas, set to the tune of Yankee Doodle, which was published as one of the humors of that day. It is thus given:

"ON THE AFFAIR BETWEEN THE REBEL GENERALS HOWE AND
GADSDEN.

"Charleston, S. C., September 1, 1778.

"We are favored with the following authentic account of the affair of honor which happened on the 13th of August, 1778. Eleven o'clock was the hour appointed for Generals H. and G. to meet. Accordingly, about ten minutes before eleven—but hold! It is too good a story to be told in simple prose.

It was on Mr. Percy's land,
At Squire Rugeley's corner,
Great H. and G. met, sword in hand,
Upon a point of honor.

Chorus: Yankee doodle, doodle doo, etc.

G. went before with Colonel E.,
Together in a carriage;
On horseback followed H. and F.
As if to steal a marriage.

On chosen ground they now alight,
For battle duly harnessed;
A shady place, and out of sight,
It shew'd they were in earnest.

They met, and in the usual way
With hat in hand saluted;
Which was, no doubt, to show how they
Like gentlemen disputed.

And then they both together made
This honest declaration,
That they came there, by honor led,
And not by inclination.

That if they fought, 'twas not because
Of rancour, spite, or passion;
But only to obey the laws
Of custom and the fashion.

The pistols then, before their eyes
Were fairly primed and loaded;
H. wished, and so did G. likewise,
The customs were exploded.

But as they now had gone so far
In such a bloody business,
For action straight they both prepare
With mutual forgiveness.

But lest their courage should exceed
The bounds of moderation,
Between the seconds 'twas agreed
To fix them each a station.

The distance stepp'd by Colonel P.
Was only eight short spaces;
"Now, gentlemen," says Colonel E.,
"Be sure to keep your places."

Quoth H. to G., "Sir, please to fire";
Quoth G., "No, pray begin, sir";
And truly we must needs admire
The temper they were in, sir.

"We'll fire both at once," said H.;
And so they both presented;
No answer was returned by G.,
But silence, sir, consented.

They paused awhile, these gallant foes,
By turns politely grinning:
"Till, after many cons and pros,
H. made a brisk beginning.

H. missed his mark, but not his aim;
The shot was well directed.
It saved them both from hurt and shame;
What more could be expected?

Then G., to show he meant no harm,
But hated jars and jangles,
His pistol fired across his arm
From H., almost at angles.

H. now was called upon by G.
To fire another shot, sir;
He smiled and, "After that," quoth he,
"No, truly I can not, sir."

Such honor did they both display
They highly were commended;
And thus, in short, this gallant fray
Without mischance was ended.

No fresh dispute, we may suppose,
Will e'er by them be started;
And now the chiefs, no longer foes,
Shook hands, and so they parted.

Chorus: Yankee doodle, doodle doo, etc.

After this encounter and toward the close of December, 1778, we find General Howe at Savannah, Ga., sent by General Washington to command the defenses around that town,

to prevent the threatened attack of the British. On arriving he immediately bestowed as much labor on the fortification as he could command men and means to give. But Governor Houston, of Georgia, denied his right to command at that post, as the governor himself claimed to be commander-in-chief and entitled to precedence of rank on Georgia soil. But General Howe as commander of the continental forces under Washington could not concede this to the State authorities. He deemed it his duty to point out to the legislature of Georgia and to the governor, in the strongest expressions of which he was master, the want of proper defenses, and asked for men to throw up the fortifications.

But owing to this friction between Governor Houston and General Howe over the precedence to command the legislature refused to take any action whatever. Governor Houston still continued to dispute his right to command; and when the British forces sailed in the river Savannah was without means of defense. General Howe, having under him only about 900 men, without fortifications, was unable to prevent the landing of the British force, nearly four times as large, with heavy guns and ammunition, and consisting of thirty-five hundred men, under Colonel Campbell, from New York, and a like number under General Prevost, from St. Augustine, among whom was the regiment of royalists, chiefly from North Carolina, under the command of Col. John Hamilton, of Halifax.

The North Carolina Continentals here fought face to face against their brothers, the Loyalists. A battle took place, with great loss of life, the Continental troops being attacked both in the flank and front by so great an excess in numbers that, notwithstanding the bravery and gallantry with which the Continentals fought, they were driven from their position, and the British carried the day. The valor and patriotism of the Americans could not prevail over the immense number of

the British. General Howe incurred here the resentment of Governor Houston over this dispute as to whether the State or Continental authorities had the right to control and direct the management of the affairs of war, but this disaster showed how necessary it was to concede this power to the Continental Congress, as it was through the want of the cooperation of Governor Houston, or, rather, his opposition, coupled with the paucity of numbers of the Americans, that led to the defeat at Savannah. But the whole conduct of the battle showed in General Howe the highest marks of generalship.

After this, at the instance of Governor Houston, a court-martial, presided over by Maj. Gen. Baron Steuben as president, with Brigadier-Generals Knox and others, to investigate the conduct of General Howe on the charges of having sacrificed the Georgia troops and leaving the country exposed, but the court held him not guilty, and, in the language of the Court, "We do acquit him of both charges with the highest honor." In the early part of the year 1779, General Howe was transferred to the North, and on the 15th of July was ordered against Verplanck's Point, subsequently to Ridgefield. He also cooperated with General Wayne in his attack on Stony Point on the Hudson.

About this time the city of New York was evacuated by the Americans, and the British under Sir Henry Clinton took possession. The American Army withdrew into the interior of the State. The position of West Point, on the Hudson, was considered by General Washington as the key to the Army's position. And so great was Washington's confidence in the military ability and courage of General Howe that to him was intrusted the command of that department, and on the 15th of May, 1780, he was instructed by Washington to increase his rank and file to 2,500 men, if not now that large, from General Clinton's New York Militia. Gen-

eral Clinton was then Governor of that State and commander-in-chief of the militia. Howe was soon joined by part of Clinton's brigade and latterly by a division of the Connecticut troops, when he was ordered by General Washington to dismiss the militia, having then 2,500 Continental troops.

General Clinton doubtless took offense at the dismissal of his State's militia, and immediately began with Benedict Arnold and others to plot for the removal of General Howe. General Arnold made immediate application for the position, whether then with a treasonable design we can only conjecture, but he alleged "that his wound would not allow him to remain in the field," and that was his ostensible reason for seeking the appointment. Arnold secured the influence of Mr. Robert R. Livingston, then a member of Congress from New York, to assist him. Mr. Livingston wrote to General Washington on the 22d day of June, 1780, and stated that General Howe (probably on account of his dismissal of the New York militia), would not inspire the confidence in them essential for engaging their efficient service, and said: "If I might presume so far, I should beg leave to submit to Your Excellency whether this post might not be safely confided to General Arnold, who is the favorite of the militia, and who will agree perfectly with our governor."

On the 30th of June, General Arnold visited the camp at West Point. General Howe wrote that day to General Washington, "I have taken General Arnold round our works, and he has my opinion of them and of many other matters. I have long wished to give it to you, but I could not convey it by letter." General Howe had always, to a most extraordinary degree, enjoyed General Washington's esteem and confidence, and upon the solicitation for the appointment of Arnold he refused to make it, except that General Howe might prefer to resume his position in the line of the army. Gen-

eral Howe signifying his preference, General Washington acceded to the importunities of Arnold's friends, and on the third day of August, 1780, Major General Arnold was ordered to take command of West Point and its dependencies. And scarcely a month passed before Arnold was guilty of his base treachery and Major André was captured. The result is well known. He was tried by a court-martial, of which General Howe was a conspicuous member, and was convicted and hung.

General Howe was then placed in command of a division on the east side of the Hudson, where he remained until January 10, 1781. At this time a mutiny broke out among the Pennsylvania troops, and by order of General Washington he was sent with five battalions to quell the disturbance. A similar occurrence took place in the New Jersey line on the 22d, and General Washington dispatched General Howe to Ringwood, in that State, to quell the mutiny there. Both of these missions were performed with great promptness, and a few of the leaders having been so speedily and fairly tried, condemned, and executed that a vote of thanks was returned by General Washington, in behalf of the country, to General Howe and his troops, and Congress likewise passed resolutions thanking him for these services.

On the 21st of July, 1781, while still in New York, he was ordered to reconnoiter the enemy's position at King's Bridge, which task was performed entirely to the satisfaction of General Washington. The long struggle of America for freedom was now drawing to a close. Lord Cornwallis, finding it impossible longer to withstand the aggressive movement of the Americans, surrendered his sword to Washington on the 19th of October, 1781, at Yorktown. And on the 18th of the following month, Major Craig and his forces left the Cape Fear, and with him disappeared the last vestige of

British dominion in North Carolina. General Howe still remained in the service of the Government. The Continental Congress was in session in Philadelphia in June, 1783. Owing to the failure of Congress to levy revenue, which was due to the want of power, a defect in the Articles of Confederation, the Congress, while in session, was attacked by a clamorous mob and compelled to disperse.

For their protection, General Howe was sent with five battalions to suppress the mob. This was successfully accomplished, and was the last act performed by him of importance while in the Army. Soon afterwards he was mustered out of the service, holding then the rank of major-general of the Continental Army. On September 23, 1783, Congress passed a resolution of thanks to General Howe and the officers and soldiers of his command. Before retiring from the Army he took an active interest in forming the Order of the Cincinnati, and was one of the general officers designated at the Cantonment of the American Army June 19, 1783, to establish that society, and he was the first officer of the North Carolina Chapter which he afterward formed.

He had given six years' continued service to his country, and during all that time he never asked or accepted one moment's recess. To use his own language: "For this service I have sacrificed all other considerations, however interesting, endearing, or heartfelt they might have been." In the spring of 1785, he returned to his home on the Cape Fear, ripe with honors and the gratitude of his country. At Fayetteville he was received with public ovation, and the popular homage extended him was unparalleled in that day, except in the single instance of that given to George Washington. He immediately applied himself to his former occupation of tilling the soil, but was not long allowed to remain quiet at his home. During the summer of the year 1785 he

was elected by his people to represent them in the legislature, where he took his seat at New Bern on the 19th of November.

On the 17th of March, 1786, he was sent to select a site for a lighthouse on the Cape Fear River, and, with Mr. Benjamin Smith and the commissioners of pilotage, fixed the location at Baldhead. Again during this year he was a candidate for the legislature from Brunswick. At this time in North Carolina the judiciary was in great disrepute. At Wilmington a court was being held by Judges Spencer, Ashe, and Williams. In the words of Mr. Archibald McLean, a brilliant lawyer of that day "the most shameful partiality disgraced the bench." The question of the extent of pardon which should be granted to the Loyalists, who had lately been in arms against the Continentals, or adhering to the British, giving them aid and comfort, was greatly agitated among the people, especially in reference to the confiscation acts. General Howe, being a man of broad and liberal culture, favored magnanimity and advocated the restoration of the Loyalists to their property rights and granting general amnesty. He warred against proscription, which filled the air. He met with violent opposition at the polls from the narrow-minded and illiberal.

In a letter written by Archibald McLean to James Iredell on the 3d August, 1786, he says:

"General Howe will, I believe, be returned from Brunswick, though opposed with great assiduity. He openly avows the most liberal principles and execrates the judges and other officers."

Notwithstanding the opposition he was triumphantly elected, thus establishing the fact that the conservative spirit existed and was in the ascendancy among the people of North Carolina even in that day, and for which they have ever been and are still justly renowned.

The legislature was to convene at Fayetteville on the 18th

November, 1786. General Howe set out for the capital, and on his way was taken sick. He stopped at the residence of General Thomas Clark, his old friend and comrade in arms, on the Cape Fear River. He became ill, and there continued in declining health until he died. On the 14th December, 1786, Judge Alfred Moore, one of the associate justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, wrote to James Iredell that "General Howe is at the very verge of the grave; it is supposed that he will die in a few days; he has only got as far as General Clark's." A few days afterwards he expired, at the age of 56 years, and was buried on Grange Farm, now a portion of Columbus County, N. C.

Not even a stone marks his last resting place, and nothing but a small hillock exists to show that even a grave was ever there. What a commentary upon the gratitude of his countrymen!

Thus ended the career of one who did more to bring about the crisis which caused the Revolution than any one man in North Carolina.

He was possessed of versatile talents. He was the life of social gatherings. On these occasions it is said of him that his imagination fascinated, his repartee overpowered, and his conversation was enlivened by strains of exquisite raillery.

He was of noble impulses and liberal views. He was an eloquent speaker and logical debater. He was a power in politics and was great as a soldier, and having attained the highest rank in the American army, he is easily distinguished as the greatest man North Carolina furnished to the American Revolution, and one of the most aggressive leaders for liberty and independence in all the colonies, in the preservation of whose fame every American citizen should take a just pride, and the American Congress should cheerfully erect a monument to make the name of Robert Howe immortal, that his example may be emulated by all future generations.

*Grange Farm belonged to
his wife's family.*

EARLY RELATION OF NORTH CAROLINA AND THE WEST.

BY WILLIAM K. BOYD, PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN TRINITY COLLEGE.

There are two well defined types of political and social development in our colonial history. In one the predominant influences were European; the thirteen colonies were founded by Europeans, the institutions and customs of the seventeenth century were, to a large extent, those of the old world, and even the physical features of their populations reminded careful observers of their kinsmen across the seas. In the eighteenth century, however, a new type appeared; the founders of twelve colonies had passed away and their places were taken by men of native birth; untrammelled by recollections of Europe, a new generation faced and solved the problems of life on this continent in ways distinctively its own, and thus created an American heritage for modern Americans. The place of North Carolina in the first of these types has been made familiar by many incidents, some of which have been described in the Booklet. Its relation to the second is not so often emphasized; but no movement in all the colonies better illustrates the nascent Americanism of the eighteenth century than the migration of groups of men and women from North Carolina to the country beyond the Alleghany mountains, and the political experiments and social conditions established there. In this movement are revealed all the features of that continuous American expansion by which new country has been converted into territories and States, and of that spirit of democracy which, in the Jacksonian era, revolutionized American politics.

Toward the middle of the eighteenth century the colonies

of the Atlantic seaboard were well advanced. While there were some strips of unoccupied territory between the various settlements, the land itself had become almost completely disposed of in numerous grants to individuals or corporations. The next wave of colonization must therefore cross the Alleghanies and possess the country between the mountains and the Mississippi. The British authorities were well aware of this problem. In 1748, the Board of Trade reported "that the settlement of the country lying to the westward of the great mountains would be for His Majesty's interest and the advantage and security of Virginia and the neighboring colonies;" in 1756, Sir Thomas Pownall wrote that "the English settlements as they are at present circumstances, are absolutely at a standstill; they are settled up to the mountains and in the mountains there is nowhere together land sufficient for a settlement large enough to subsist by itself and to defend itself and preserve a communication with the present settlements;" consequently in the negotiations which resulted in the Treaty of Paris of 1763, England took the western country as spoils of the war with France in preference to Guadeloupe and Canada, the alternative choice offered by the French.

But how should the new territory be colonized? There are two very suggestive answers. In the same year that the treaty was signed, the British authorities forbade the colonial governments to make any new settlements beyond the western frontiers of the colonies, and by a series of treaties with the Indians south of the Ohio prepared the way for a peaceable occupation of the new country. Evidently the occupation was to be made by the initiative of British rather than colonial authorities. This is confirmed by some interesting evidence. Several applications for land grants in the new country were filed. Most significant of these was that of the Vandalia

Company, whose agent was Benjamin Franklin. It asked for 400,000 acres of land which would include all of present West Virginia and Eastern Kentucky. This vast territory was to have a proprietary government, with some features similar to the government of Massachusetts. In 1775, a charter corresponding to these terms was drawn up and passed through the preliminary legal processes and was ready for the royal seal, but the events which preceded the Revolution prevented its completion. Evidently it was the purpose of the British government to colonize through proprietary grants and had Franklin applied a few years earlier, fourteen instead of thirteen colonies might have participated in the Revolution.

In the meantime the Americans, especially those in the western part of the Southern colonies, had taken into their own hands the problem of expansion. Without the permission of either British or colonial authorities they began to cross the mountains by individuals, families, and groups of families. The movement was spontaneous and seems to have been the result of discontent with the political and social conditions in the colonies as well as the land hunger common to all Americans of the eighteenth century. Since the days of Bacon's Rebellion the people in Western Virginia had shown discontent with the tidewater region, and this was re-enforced by the advent of the Scotch-Irish toward the middle of the eighteenth century; in upper South Carolina there was similar discontent which found expression in local associations for the enforcement of order and justice independent of the colonial authorities; and in Western North Carolina the War of the Regulators was the culmination of social and political discontent. In contrast to the ills at home were the rude plenty, the freedom, and the charms of adventure in an un-

known land; by hundreds the choice was quickly made and the migration resulted in the States of Tennessee and Kentucky.

The territory first settled was the broad valley between the Cumberland Mountains on the west and the Great Smoky and Unaka ranges on the east. Through it flow the Holston, the Watauga, the Nolachucky, the Clinch and the French Broad rivers, which finally combine to form the Tennessee. The earliest settlements were made by Virginians at Wolf Hills, on the Holston River, the present site of Abingdon, Va. Gradually the settlers extended southward into the valley of the Watauga, but here they were gradually outnumbered by emigrants from the Carolinas, especially from North Carolina.

The beginnings of the North Carolina migration to Watauga are veiled in obscurity. The first recorded expedition was late in 1768 or early in 1769; one of its leaders was Daniel Boone, who was then living on the Yadkin River, but his aim was to reach the farther western country and his relation to Watauga does not extend beyond this exploration; shortly after a company of Virginians and North Carolinians crossed the mountains and brought back good reports, and in 1770, the most important figure in the early history of Watauga appears. This was James Robertson, a native of Virginia, but a resident of Wake County, North Carolina. He was a man of unusual native ability; "he had a sound mind, a healthy constitution, a robust frame, a love of virtue, an intrepid soul and an emulous desire for honest fame." He was born in Brunswick County, Virginia, in 1742. Eight years later he removed to North Carolina. He seems to have had friends among Regulators, at least he was well acquainted with the conditions in the western counties and was probably seeking a refuge from them. His wife was a wo-

man of some education and from her Robertson learned his first lessons in books. His first journey to Watauga was made alone; there he met a settler named Honeycutt, made a crop, and then started back for his wife and child. On the journey he lost his way; he was forced to abandon his horse; his provisions were exhausted and he could not secure game because his powder was ruined by rain. Tradition says that he wandered fourteen days in this condition; at last on the point of starvation he was relieved by meeting two hunters. These adventures did not discourage him. Soon after his return he again went to the Watauga Valley, this time with his wife, family, and sixteen others, all of whom made homes there. This was in the spring of 1771, whether before or after the battle of Alamance is not certain. The following year the second prominent man in the early history appeared, John Sevier, of Virginia, who later was so prominent in forming the State of Franklin.

The rate of settlement and the population of Watauga in these early days are not known, but in 1776 one hundred and thirteen names were signed to the petition for annexation to North Carolina. The people were mostly of Scotch-Irish descent; except for the more reckless and daring individuals, the settlements were made in groups. A fort or stockade was erected with surrounding cabins; here all assembled in times of danger, while in times of peace the cabins or farm houses on the plantations were inhabited. The life was simple; each farmer made his own tools and harness; the neighborhood co-operated in corn husking, house building, and log rollings. Gradually the wilderness was reclaimed, homes were filled with rude plenty and settlements extended to the Nolachucky and Carter's Creek. The landmarks of these early Watauga settlements are chiefly in the vicinity of Elizabethton, Tennessee.

Two problems soon presented themselves that tested the good sense and character of the people. First of these was that of government. They went into the new country believing that it belonged to Virginia, but in 1771 a surveyor, Anthony Bledsoe, discovered that the Watauga region was south of the Virginia line and within the limits of North Carolina. As many of the people had come to Watauga seeking refuge from conditions in North Carolina, they did not care to appeal to the parent colony for protection, but decided to look to themselves for laws and organs of government. No contemporary records of their action have been preserved, but according to tradition and later accounts the people of Watauga and the neighboring communities met in a convention at the home of Robertson. They chose thirteen representatives, probably one for each of the groups of settlers. These representatives then chose a court of five commissioners to whom was entrusted the administration of affairs. These five men performed practically all the functions of government, they recorded wills, issued marriage licenses, made treaties with the Indians, decided cases at law according to the laws of Virginia, punished criminals, and even supervised the morals of the community. Justice, especially criminal justice, was speedy; once a horse thief was arrested on Monday, tried on Wednesday, and executed on Friday, and certainly some unruly citizens committed the unpardonable crime of fleeing to the Indians rather than submit to Watauga justice.

This Watauga Association, as it was called, was the first government established west of the Alleghanics; it was also the first organization for government created by native-born Americans. Its characteristics are therefore suggestive of the political ideals of the eighteenth century. Suffrage, which seems to have been universal, unrestricted by property quali-

fications, the absence of religious tests, the convention of the people, the representative body, and the powers delegated to the executive, all these seem to forecast the kind of government which became universal after independence from England was secured. This political activity, however, was not the result of any self-conscious political theory, but of political experience in the colonies, for the people of Western Virginia, Western North Carolina and upper South Carolina had been accustomed to taking the administration of law into their own hands; discontented with the inefficient colonial administration, they frequently formed associations for regulating their affairs, especially for the suppression of petty crimes and misdemeanors. From such associations the Regulator movement in North Carolina derived its name. So the people of Watauga were simply applying more extensively methods and principles that had been in use for some time. This habit of self-help, the solution of problems without reference to the legally constituted bodies, is of vast significance; it followed the expansion of the nation in its various stages from the borderland of the original colonies to the far west, and applied to national affairs, it gave rise to a political theory, the doctrine of squatter sovereignty, which had so important an influence in the slavery controversy.

The second immediate problem before the Watauga people was that of relations with the Indians. In 1772, a treaty was made between Virginia and the Cherokees by which the line $36^{\circ} 30'$ was made the dividing line between the western white settlements and the Indians. Alexander Cameron, the Indian agent, thereupon ordered the Watauga settlers to remove, as they were occupying country which the treaty reserved to the Indians; they promptly defied him, but conciliated the Indians by purchasing an eighty years' lease to all lands on the Watauga River. In this negotiation Robertson seems to have

been the leading spirit. In celebration of the contract a day of sports was set apart; whites and Indians engaged in races, wrestling matches, and games. But the good will of the occasion was broken in the evening by some lawless whites from the Holston settlements. Lurking on the outskirts of the festivities, they killed a straggling Indian and the Cherokees departed in wrath. Again Robertson came to the front. While Sevier superintended preparations for defense, Robertson, alone, took the trail to the Cherokee villages fifty miles away, and convinced the Indians that the Watauga people were not responsible for the murder and thus prevented war.

In the meantime the mother colonies had drifted into the Revolution. The policy of Watauga and the other settlements beyond the mountains was of vast importance; if they should espouse the British cause, they would not only threaten the seaboard settlements but they would save the country beyond the mountains for the English crown. As most of the settlers had left their former homes on account of grievances which they attributed to the British administration in the colonies, they cast in their lot with the Revolution. The method by which this choice was made is interesting, suggestive of the political ideals and methods of American democracy. "Alarmed by the reports of the present unhappy differences between Great Britain and America on which report (taking the now united colonies for our guide) we proceeded to choose a committee, which was done unanimously by consent of the people. This committee (willing to become a party to the present unhappy contest) resolved (which is now on our records) to adhere strictly to the rules and orders of the Continental Congress, and in open committee acknowledged themselves indebted to the united colonies their full proportion of the continental expense."

The first result of the Revolution was to bring Watauga

into closer relations with North Carolina. The exigencies of war made cooperation necessary and in 1776 the Watauga Association applied for annexation. This was granted by the Provincial Council and delegates from Washington District, Watauga Settlement, were admitted to the Provincial Congress at Halifax. The next year Washington District became Washington County, a land office was opened, and a system of land grants similar to that of North Carolina was instituted; yet there was no idea of a permanent union, for the North Carolina Declaration of Rights, in defining the limits of the State as extending from sea to sea, distinctly says that this shall not be so construed as to prevent the establishment of one or more governments westward of this State, by consent of the legislature. The country developed so much in a few years that two new counties were erected from Washington, Sullivan in 1779 and Greene in 1783, and in 1779 Jonesboro was founded, named for Willie Jones, of North Carolina. It became the county seat of Washington County.

Here, as in the eastern colonies, the Revolution was also a civil war; but the nature of the opposition was a contrast to that in the seaboard settlements. There the royalists were recruited from the property holders, the conservative and educated classes, but in Watauga the royalists seem to have been more extensively members of the disorderly and undesirable class of citizens. Government was severe and drastic. As the newly established North Carolina administration was unable to preserve order, the old self-regulative system was resorted to. Committees were appointed and military companies were organized; these arrested all suspicious persons; the mere fact of arrest was considered proof of guilt; the prisoner who failed to give security was shot, hanged or whipped, branded or drowned. The forger was branded, the murderer was whipped, and the horse thief was hanged.

Sometimes the regularly constituted authorities tried the prisoner; one indictment is against the defendant for toryism, the sentence that he be kept prisoner during the war, and that one-half of his property be confiscated.

The first military problem of the Revolution in the western country was the Indian question. The British administration instructed the Indian agents to make alliances with the leading southern tribes, the Creeks, the Choctaws, Cherokees, and Chickasaws, and turn them against the whites. Such an alliance was only natural for the Americans were constantly encroaching on the homes and hunting grounds of the red men, while the aim of the Indian agent was usually peace and trade. But the British policy was fatal; it aroused great hatred for England among the pioneers and led many to adopt the patriot cause who would otherwise have remained faithful to the king. In 1776 the Cherokees along the Carolina and Georgia frontier were persuaded to make war; they attacked the Americans in two simultaneous movements, one against the Holston, the other against the Watauga settlement. In both they were repulsed by the mountaineers while retaliatory operations against the Cherokees by troops from North Carolina under General Rutherford has already been told in this series.

The most noted service of the Watauga people to the Revolution, however, was their victory over the British and Tories at Kings Mountain. That, also, has been planned for a future article; a service equally important, often obscured by the more dramatic military events, was their part in furthering the westward expansion of the American people, in the conquest of the wilderness which lay beyond. In this work the interests of North Carolinians were closely concerned. Richard Henderson was, like many of his contemporaries, affected with the fever for western lands. Probably as early as

1763, he interested Daniel Boone in the exploration of the west, but not until 1774 were his plans matured. Then he organized at Hillsborough the Louisa Company, later called the Transylvania Company, and in 1775, at Sycamore Shoals on the Watauga River, he bought from the Cherokee Indians a vast tract of land now included in western Tennessee and Kentucky. Neither the British nor the colonial authorities would recognize that the treaty gave rights to the soil, and indeed the claim of the Cherokees to convey title were not so strong as usual, for the country in question was really a battle ground between rival hostile tribes. But migration at once began, from which the first settlements in western Tennessee and Kentucky have their origin. Among the first immigrants was James Robertson, of Watauga. In 1779, he crossed the hills through the Cumberland Gap and established a small colony on the Cumberland River at French Lick, an old Indian trading station. The next year he was joined by John Donelson, of Virginia. They built a block-house on a high bluff, which they named Nashborough, in honor of Abner Nash, who was made Governor of North Carolina in 1780. Four years later Nashborough became Nashville.

The early history of the Cumberland settlements resembles that of Watauga. The first year's crop was a failure, the Indians became hostile and the supply of ammunition ran low. Many wished to abandon the settlement and return to their former homes, but Robertson rallied their courage and alone made a dangerous journey to settlements in Kentucky for ammunition, and on the evening of his return, January 15, 1781, through his natural vigilance, saved the fort from surprise by the Indians. Government also suggests conditions on the Watauga. On May 1, 1780, representatives from various communities met and framed a constitution similar to the Watauga Association. The administration of justice

was vested in a court of "Judges, Triers, or General Arbitrators," elected by the votes of all men who were twenty-one years of age, and "as often as the people in general are dissatisfied with the doings of the Judges and Triers—they may call a new election at any of the said stations, and elect others in their stead." These articles were not only an expression of the popular will, they were also a contract between Henderson and the people, for it was written that "the said Richard Henderson on his part does hereby agree." It was not intended, however, that the Cumberland Association should be a permanent, independent government but a temporary arrangement until a county under North Carolina could be organized. This was done in 1783, when the Cumberland Association became Davidson County, North Carolina, and James Robertson, chosen as delegate to negotiate the formal union with the State, became the county's first representative in the General Assembly. Two years later the General Assembly authorized Rev. Thomas Craighead and others to organize Davidson Academy, which survives today as the University of Nashville.

No review of the causes and character of the early westward migration and of its relation to North Carolina would be complete without some account of the separation of the parent colony and the frontier communities, of how the State lost its sovereignty over the vast region that it had helped to colonize. For this there are a number of reasons. First of all, the remoteness of the new settlements from the State prevented the growth of sympathy and understanding between them. The westerners claimed that North Carolina would not pay the Indians for the lands they vacated, that the administration of justice by the North Carolina courts in the western counties was inefficient, and that the tax rate for lands on the frontier should not be the same as that for lands

in more thickly settled regions. On the other hand there was a feeling in North Carolina that the problem of the western country was too large for the State, and also a social cleavage which often exists between frontier communities and older settled regions. Above all was the interest of the nation, the necessity of ceding the western lands as a prelude to that more lasting union about to be established under the Federal Constitution. Therefore, in 1784 North Carolina ceded her claims to the lands beyond the mountains; the members in the Assembly from the western country voted for the cession and one of the representatives from the older counties of the State remarked that "the inhabitants of the western country are the offscourings of the earth, fugitives from justice, and we will be rid of them at any rate."

The act of cession provided that Congress should not take possession for two years and that in the meantime the western settlements should remain under the jurisdiction of North Carolina. But the people felt that something should be done for the better preservation of order and in preparation for Statehood in the new Union soon to be formed also, while the mountaineers had no great love for North Carolina, they were offended at being separated without their advice and consent. Committees from the captains companies of Washington, Sullivan and Greene Counties therefore called a meeting of delegates from the counties at Jonesboro in August, 1784. This body decided to form an independent government, to petition Congress to accept the cession by North Carolina, and called a constitutional convention. The convention met in November of that year but accomplished nothing, for those who favored immediate separation from North Carolina were divided as to methods of procedure while the opposition found strength in two acts of the North Carolina Assembly, one repealing the cession of the western lands, the other estab-

lishing a special Supreme Court and a brigadier generalship of militia for the western counties. Several influential men who had been in favor of the Statehood movement now opposed separation; among these was John Sevier himself. But its advocates seem to have gained strength by the action of North Carolina; they secured a majority in a third convention which met in December, 1784, and accomplished their purpose. A constitution was framed whose principal features were taken from that of North Carolina, the name Frankland was given to the new State, soon changed to Franklin, and the first legislature met early in 1785, and in November, a convention of the people approved the work of the constitutional convention, probably with a few alterations in its Constitution. Thus "the new society or State called Frankland has already put off its infant habit. Here the genuine Republican; here the real Whig will find a safe asylum, a comfortable retreat among those modern Franks, the hardy mountain men."

There were three questions on which the future of the State of Franklin depended—its relation to the national movement, to other frontier communities, and to North Carolina.

The western country favored the establishment of a strong national government because of the protection it might afford against the Indians and the Spanish in the southwest. Among the acts of the State of Franklin was the reservation of lands surrendered by the Indians as a contribution toward the national debt; and delegates were also sent to a convention of western settlers to provide for the opening of the Mississippi to navigation. One of the first acts was to appoint William Cocke a delegate to the Federal Congress to lay before that body the interests of the State of Franklin. But his mission was without result; no official recognition could be secured and Benjamin Franklin, for whom the common-

wealth had been named, advised that separation from North Carolina should not be pressed.

But the co-operation of other frontier communities and the enlargement of territory might prove a means of securing recognition in national affairs and permanent independence. This seemed possible in two directions: first, in western Virginia there was discontent with the State government similar to that in the western counties of North Carolina. Colonel Arthur Campbell, an officer of Washington County, Virginia, declared that the people would take up arms rather than submit to continued unjust taxation and two petitions were sent to the Virginia Legislature asking that a new State be created in the west, whose boundaries should include the State of Franklin. But the Legislature had no sympathy with the movement; in 1785 it declared any attempt to form an independent government within the limits of the State without the consent of the Virginia government to be high treason. In the meantime expansion southward was prepared for by negotiations with the Indians. Treaties were made with some of the Cherokee chiefs which were ineffective, as all the chiefs would not agree and their lands had been guaranteed to them by North Carolina; an expedition was then sent to the bend of the Tennessee River, at Mussel Shoals, to make occupation under titles from Georgia and negotiations were opened with that State to begin war on the Creeks. All of these measures failed, for the Indians became hostile and also the Federal Government appointed three commissioners, one from each of the States of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia to settle Indian affairs on the frontier.

So the State of Franklin was left to face the North Carolina authorities alone. The Constitution of 1776 had looked forward to the establishment of two or more governments west of the mountains; both Governor Martin and Governor Cas-

well were willing for a legal separation but the people of Franklin had acted independently, without the consent of the North Carolina authorities. Moreover, in 1784 the Assembly, dissatisfied with the negotiations for a federal union, repealed the cession of western lands. Governor Martin thereupon issued a manifesto, in which threats were made against the new government if the people did not return to their allegiance to North Carolina. Governor Caswell, his successor, was more conciliatory, but there was no hope for recognition, for the Assembly in 1786 decided to reassert its sovereignty over the country. North Carolina officials were sent into the western counties and pardon was offered to all who would return to allegiance. Conflict of jurisdiction between two sets of officials followed and the political issue threatened to widen into civil war, for John Sevier, after at first opposing separation from North Carolina, had been drawn into the movement and became Governor of the State of Franklin, while John Tipton, his personal rival, adopted the North Carolina cause. The extent of disorder is unknown; in one conflict twelve men were killed. But the danger of war was averted by the conciliatory policy of Governor Caswell. In 1787 he sent Evan Shelby to Franklin to open negotiations for a return to allegiance. Sevier was persuaded to sign articles of agreement in March, which promised a reference of all matters to the North Carolina Assembly. The following month he repudiated the agreement and declared that he would maintain the independence of the State of Franklin. This seems to have been due to distrust of the Assembly. War between the parent State and the colony seemed imminent, for Shelby urged sending troops to force submission; but Governor Caswell, in a broad-minded address, urged all parties to submit and unite against possible Indian hostilities and promised eventual separation. This

seems to have won the day. The Franklin Legislature authorized the election of representatives to the North Carolina Assembly; Sevier's term as Governor expired in 1788 and no successor was chosen; after his retirement he promised to do all he could for an amicable readjustment. Thus the State of Franklin collapsed. North Carolina's sovereignty was recognised until her claims to the western country were ceded to the Federal Government in 1789.

Bibliography: Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*; Haywood, *Civil and Political History of Tennessee*, written by John Haywood, of North Carolina, who went to Tennessee in 1810; he collected many traditions and facts from the pioneers. Ramsay, *Annals of Tennessee*, has many documents; Phelan, *History of Tennessee*, the standard State history; Turner, *Western State Making During the Revolution*, in *American Historical Review*, Vol. I., is very suggestive. Alden, *The State of Franklin*, *Amer. Ibid.* Vol. VIII.; *State Records of North Carolina*, Vol. XXII., has interesting documents relating to the State of Franklin.

INCIDENTS OF THE EARLY AND PERMANENT SETTLEMENT OF THE CAPE FEAR.

BY W. B. McKOY

The study of history turns up many obscure and buried facts, but with them grow up the tares and weeds of fancy and imagination, and all must be reaped and winnowed to separate the true grain. Therefore, it is well to continue the good work, and the results that follow may be of use.

It is not generally admitted that the first explorers of the Cape Fear were the French. In 1624, however, Giovanni da Verrazano¹, a Florentine, left Dieppe in France under direction of Francis I of France to find a passage to Cathay. On January 24 he sailed westward from Madeira with one ship, the Dolphin, and says: "On the 10th of March we reached a new country that has never before been seen by any one within ancient or modern times." He described the shores as "covered with fine sand about fifteen feet thick, rising in the form of little hills about fifty paces broad, several arms of the sea which made through inlets washing the shores on both sides as the coast runs. An outstretched country appeared at a little distance, rising somewhat above the sandy shore in beautiful fields and broad plains covered with immense forests of trees more or less dense, too varied in color and too delightful and charming to be described. They are adorned with palms, laurels, cypresses and other varieties unknown to Europe, that send forth the sweetest fragrance to a great distance." He entered the Cape Fear and sailed up as far as the present site of Wilmington. Although Cabot had, in 1497, found the continent, he only sailed south as far as 38 degrees north latitude, and though Sir Humphrey

Gilbert came near being wrecked off Cape Fear, he did not enter the harbor, and all the five attempts of Raleigh to colonize Virginia were north of this place. In the grant of this country to Sir Robert Heath by Charles I, October 30, 1629, he called the country "this our New Carolina." Notwithstanding that this grant was forfeited by their failure to settle the country, still a number of New Englanders settled on the point now called Federal Point, in 1660, to raise cattle, but soon abandoned the place, and only a post with a notice on it warning adventurers against the country, marked the occupancy.

In the first charter of King Charles II to the Lords Proprietors, March 20, 1663, and which, by the way, was the most princely gift ever conferred on subjects by a monarch, the name Carolina was retained as the name of a conquered province, named for Charles IX of France. The proprietors divided the province into North and South Carolina, making the Cape Fear River the boundary line. They gave to the counties north of the Cape Fear their own names of Albemarle, Bath and Clarendon to South Carolina. Settlers had already come into Albemarle from Virginia, but the first venture of the Proprietors was to form a colony at Cape Fear in Clarendon. The New Englanders had abandoned the point of land on the Cape, but still claimed the right to settle and maintain a colony there. On August 25, 1663, the Proprietors made a proposal² to settle the first colony on the Clarendon or Charles River near Cape Fear, and John Vassal and others, in behalf of the New Englanders and the people of London, petitioned for the privilege and set up their previous occupancy and right of possession. At the same time Col. Madyford, with several people of the Barbadoes, petitioned for the privilege of settling there.

In a letter to Sir William Berkley³, the Proprietors, in September, 1663, mention the proposal of the New Englanders but hope to find "more fassell³ people who may settle upon better terms for us," yet he was not to deter the planting of the colony there. On Monday, Oct. 12, 1663, the Barbadoes Commissioners came to anchor in Cape Fear Roads to spy out the land, took the meridian, altitude of the sun, and were in latitude 33 degrees 43 minutes. Their description and report reads as if it were a fairy land, and indeed it must have appeared so to them. The "scandalous⁴ writing" left by the New Englanders appears to us now in a new light, it apparently having been their intention to keep others off. Capt. Hilton and Long found the cattle still there, and the Indians brought them very good fat beef, also fat and very large swine. Yet, in November, 1764, John Vassal, who, by the way, claimed the country through Samuel Vassal as assignee of the Robert Heath⁵ Patent, obtained the appointment for his cousin Henry⁶ Vassal as agent, and he was made Surveyor General⁷ of the Cape Fear in the county of Clarendon. They carried a colony there, and settled⁸ at Charles Town at the upper side of the mouth of Town Creek on the Charles River, under license from Governor Berkley of Virginia.

In January, 1665, the Proprietors entered into the articles of agreement with the Barbadoes explorers and appointed Sir John Yeamans governor. These colonists arrived at Cape Fear November, 1665, and found there a colony "newly begun⁹ to be peopled," and Captain Edward¹⁰ Stanyon with a vessel on his way to Barbadoes. The New Englanders craved the use of the sloop to visit the Northern settlements, which was refused. Yeamans returned to Barbadoes and left the colonists under Robert Sanford; they planted the lands along Town Creek, and it has not yet become a notable fact that they were the first to cultivate cotton in North America.¹¹

In June, 1666, Robert Sanford, with Capt. Stanyon's frigate, which had returned from Barbadoes, set out to find a more favorable place for settlement, as the New Englanders and the Barbadians did not live together in harmony, and later Sanford removed with part of the colony to Port Royal.¹² Clarendon at that time consisted of eight hundred¹³ souls. Later that year, Henry¹⁴ Vassal, who signed himself sole agent at Cape Fear, complained that one Sir John Yeamans had been preferred to him, yet hopes to retain the colonists at Cape Fear.

October, 1667, John¹⁵ Vassal bewails the breaking up of the colony, though they had two years provision of corn on hand. After the abandonment of the settlement by Vassal and the New Englanders, the river was infested with pirates who became a menace to the other settlements.

Lawson, Surveyor General of both Carolinas, traveled through this country in 1700, and found whites all along the route trading with the Indians. He tells us that Sapona is the Indian name of the Northwest Cape Fear. Thomas Smith, one of the Landgraves¹⁶ of Carolina, received from the Proprietors a grant of land on the Cape Fear including the Cape Island at the mouth of the river. In his will, proved 30th of August, 1738, he wrote, "I give my four sons my Cedar Island (which is called now Smith's Island), at the mouth of the Cape Fear River, containing 800 acres, also the remainder of the Cape Fear lands." Other grants were issued for land along the south side of the Cape Fear River by South Carolina. In the fall of 1711, John Lawson, Surveyor General, was burned to death in a most horrible manner by the Tuscarora Indians, and then followed a bloody massacre of whites. Col. John Barnwell crossed the Cape Fear at the point where the town of Brunswick was afterwards established, quelled the insurrection and returned the same

way in July, 1712. In the fall of 1712, James Moore, Jr.,¹⁷ with a party crossed the Cape Fear and defeated the Indians at Taw River with great slaughter. The notorious pirates, Steed Bonnett and Richard Whorley, blockaded the port of Charleston and broke up their commerce, and in September, 1718, Col. Wm. Rhett sailed for Cape Fear, entered the harbor, boarded the pirate and captured the sloop; carried Steed Bonnett, with his crew, to Charleston, where he and thirty others were hanged. We may observe from the above that the ever drifting sand dunes on the restless shores of the main are permanent memorials of our first explorers' report; that the name Carolina is handed down through Charles I who claimed to be by the Grace of God, King of England, France, etc., and we yet cling to it instead of our English name Virginia. We find the names of the counties which the Proprietors attached still with us as a proof of our lineage; though Clarendon and Charleston drifted southward with the Barbadians, Cape Fear and Old Town are here memorials of the New England settlers. The cotton-wool¹⁸ here first cultivated was a distinct species. This was the beginning of the Sea Island, Barbadoesian, or black-seeded cotton, bearing a pure yellow blossom with a reddish purple spot in the base, and is the longest staple in the world, called "*Gossypium barbadenses*" by Linnaeus. We observe in the settlement of this country two classes of people who preceded the cultivators of the soil or permanent settlers, traders or adventurers and cattlemen who chose the wild, uncultivated life with the natives, traded and raised their stock on chosen spots far from the settlements. Those who accompanied Barnwell, Moore and Rhett on their several expeditions sounded the praises of the fertile lands of the Cape Fear and particularly their adaptability for the cultivation of rice on the lowlands of the river.

In 1720, the Proprietors, who felt the heavy loss by reason of the Indian war, became more exacting and imposed a heavy tax for the increased expense of the government, which was resented¹⁹ by the people. A revolution had taken place in South Carolina and the people had declared their independence from the proprietary government, and attempted to set up a royal government under the Crown, and the Proprietors' tenure became a matter of serious concern. North Carolina had had no regular appointed governor for several years but was under the rule of the Presidents of the Council, when, in 1724, George Burrington, Esq.,²⁰ of the county of Devon,²¹ who had been appointed Governor, opened his commission on Jan. 15. He immediately set about developing new settlements; he observed the approach of settlers on the Cape Fear from the South. Maurice Moore, a deputy of one of the Lords Proprietors, who had come from the southern colony in 1719 and had settled in Chowan, knowing the advantages of the Cape Fear, had induced his brothers and friends to make a settlement there as early as 1722,²² and from the South came Roger and Nathaniel Moore, William Dry, Eliezer Allen, Thomas Clifford, Job Howe, Henry and Edward Hyrne,²³ John Moore's widow²⁴ and many others, bringing their families²⁵, slaves and cattle, and means to cultivate the land, and became permanently settled there. Burrington seeing the advantage of having the Cape Fear within the²² northern colony²⁶ undertook to develop this section; he purchased an old grant issued in 1711, for a tract in Onslow County²⁶ at New River, and formed a colony of about 100 poor people upon the land, and offered as inducements large grants of land to settlers on the Cape Fear. In 1725, the town of Brunswick was laid out by Maurice Moore. John Porter²⁷ was granted, July 14, 1725, a tract of 640 acres adjoining Maurice Moore below Brunswick, and in 1726 con-

veyed it to Geo. Burrington. This is called Sturgeon Point or Governor's²⁸ Point on the old charts. Burrington,²⁹ in 1733, in speaking of his labors to develop the Cape Fear section said: "It cost me a great sum of money and infinite trouble." The first winter he went there he endured all the hardships that could happen to a man destitute of a house to live in, above a hundred miles from a neighbor, obliged to have all provisions brought by sea at great charges to support the number of men he carried there, whom he paid and maintained at his own expense; he sounded the inlets, bars and rivers, discovered and made known the channels of the Cape Fear River, Port Beaufort and Topsail Inlet. However, in 1725, Burrington was succeeded by Sir Richard Everard as Governor, and retired to the Cape Fear to improve his estates. He returned³⁰ to England about 1730. We have many grants from Everard for lands on both sides of the Cape Fear, even as far south as Waccamaw River and Lockwood's Folly³¹ and the impetus to build up this section was in no way impeded. On October 22, 1728, Pleasant Oaks was granted to Justina Moore,³² widow of John Moore.

In July 1729, the Governor and Council made a new precinct of Bath County, which they named New Hanover,³³ but the representatives were not admitted to sit, nor was the Act creating the county ever legally passed.

In 1729, the Act of Surrender³⁴ enabled³⁵ the Proprietors³⁶ to transfer to the Crown seven-eighths of Carolina on September 29th,³⁷ for 17,500 pounds and the colony became a Royal Province.³⁴ This change of government became of great benefit to the colonists. The reform of the tariff system, the removal of export duties on manufactured goods and import duties on raw material encouraged an extensive traffic.³⁸ After 1730, rice was exported to southern Europe; a bounty was allowed on naval stores, tar, pitch and turpentine, and the

duty on lumber, staves and shingles was removed. The colonists were even permitted to ship other goods and products to England, place them in bond and pay the tax when sold or to re-ship without tax; rice, cotton and indigo culture was greatly developed; saw mills were on every tributary stream, and the forests of pine appeared inexhaustible. The live oak was found to be far superior for ship-building to the English oak; ship-building being one of the early enterprises on the river. Just below Newton, Michael Dyer had, near the Oaks, a ship-yard and a grist mill, and at the foot of Church Street³⁹ in Wilmington, Joshua Grainger, Jr.'s ship-yard is still used. Grainger did an extensive business and brought out from Philadelphia Ebenezer Bunting, John Hands, Richard Hands and others. Archibald Corbett built a vessel here for Beard & Walker,³⁰ of Glasgow. James Wimble, Master of the brigantine *Penelope* also was a ship-builder and surveyor.

Governor Johnston⁴¹ informed us that during the year ending December 12, 1734, forty-two ships went out of the Cape Fear loaded, and in 1754, Governor Dobbs said: "Above one hundred⁴² vessels annually enter this river and their number is increasing; there were sixteen in the river when I went down." Small craft came into the Sound at Cabbage Inlet, near the head of Topsail Sound from the northward, and conveyed the goods over the narrow strip of land opposite the town of Brunswick called the upper and lower haul-over. This land in 1736, was owned by Col. Thomas Merrick,⁴³ who bought it of Landgrave Thomas Smith. Topsail derived its name from the fact that the Spanish Privateers sailing along the coast would observe the masts of the small craft over the banks and would land to pillage them. The trade of the colonies extended to Spain, Portugal and New England, as well as England. Before this, Virginia imposed an import

tax on North Carolina tobacco. Trade later, was extended to Jamaica, St. Thomas, Barbadoes, Leeward Islands and Madeira, but was more frequent with the northern colonies. Labor⁴⁴ was high, carpenters demanded twenty to thirty shillings, and ordinary laborers twelve to fifteen shillings.

In 1733, a large colony⁴⁵ of Irish were settled in the upper part of South Carolina and spread along the coast northward towards Cape Fear.

Burrington, in 1732, said: ^{C.R. 3 p. 344} "A multitude of people have come into this county to settle last winter. Some have very great American fortunes. I now think there are men here to make up a creditable council." In Burrington's instructions, he is recommended to encourage the purchase of negro slaves.

George Burrington, who had been Governor under the Proprietors, was appointed by George II, first Royal Governor 29th of April, 1730, and sent over on February 25th, 1731. He was a man very violent in his temper, true and loyal to his cause. He was by no means popular, in fact historians have given him a very bad character, but when we read what has been said of the men of those times in the colony, we must either take them all as a sad lot, if we accept the severe charges made about them in our records, or treat their writings as villifications of men who were fighting in opposing factions. Can we believe all that has been said about Governor Eden and Everard, Moseley and Porter, Harnett, Maurice, James, and Roger Moore? They all had their share of abuse in letters of opponents. In a dispatch to the Colonial office in 1731, Burrington said: "About twenty⁴⁶ men are settled on the Cape Fear from South Carolina, among them are three brothers of a noted family whose name is Moore. These people were always troublesome where they came from and will doubtless be so here." We ob-

serve that immediately upon entering into office Burrington again became interested in the Cape Fear settlement, and determined to make it a part of the northern colony and devoted his personal attention to this project. He and his associates prevailed⁴⁶ upon the settlers⁴⁷ from the south to see the advantage of his claim. He directed Edward Moseley to make a survey⁴⁸ and map of the coast, the Cape Fear and Waccamaw River, and agreed not⁴⁸ to disturb grants already made by the Southern province. He demonstrated that it was to their private interest to be near the seat of government. Moseley made a chart and hydrographic survey of the Cape Fear and gave the depth of water on the main bar as eighteen feet, and James Wimble's map in 1738, makes it twenty-one feet. What was called New Inlet later, was opened by a storm in 1761. Early maps show that a small inlet had previously opened there and closed again. In several of Burrington's letters, we observe that there was little money in the country, and that the people barter and trade; he stated that fresh pork was one and one-half pence to one shilling per pound. Less than twenty shillings of goods bought in England sold for fourteen pounds fourteen shillings. A bushel of wheat sold for six pence worth of English goods. Burrington⁴⁹ appeared before the Board of Trade with Sir Robert Johnston in the matter of the boundary line and secured the boundary at a distance of thirty miles south of Cape Fear, and exhibited to them Moseley's map. Adherents of the once powerful Puritan party in England in 1625, had come to America to avoid persecutions under the reign of Charles I, and planted seeds of discord that have yielded a vast harvest in America. The attempt of Charles I, through Sir Fernando Gorges and Mason, to counteract their influence and power in New England fanned the flames of rivalry between Separatists and Churchmen. The prejudices of a persecuted peo-

ple become in their offspring, race distinctions that in later generations have become more pronounced.

This province was peculiarly independent and difficult to restrain; here the people revolted against ancient laws and customs if they conflicted with their ideas of liberty of conscience or freedom of action. Here occurred the first revolution in 1719, against the government of the Proprietors, and here in 1765, on the Cape Fear, was the first armed resistance to the Stamp Act. Neither Churchmen, Separatists nor Quakers could prevail or enforce their views upon a people who chose to reason for themselves. Here force met resistance, persecution engendered hatred, which gave them advanced ideas of their constitutional rights in the revolution against England.

The most thickly settled part of Clarendon County was along Old Town Creek, and we find settled there William and Joseph Watters, John Dalrymple, John and Nathaniel Rice, John Lewis, William Lewis, Thomas Hill, Thomas Asope, Patrick Doran, Jerry Bigford, John Jean, in 1744 Collector of His Majesty's Customs. Between 1722 and 1730, there came quite a number of persons from the Albemarle section, Robert Halton, Provost Marshal of Bath County;⁵⁰ Col. James Innes, Martin Holt and wife, Mary Holt,⁵¹ of Beaufort County; Cornelius Harnett, Sr., who had been bred a merchant in Dublin, Ireland,⁵² and had married Mary, daughter of Martin Holt; his second wife was an Adams, of Bladen County; William Smith, Chief Justice; John Baptista Ashe, John and Nathaniel Rice, John Porter, John Maulsby, Edward Moseley, Surveyor General, and others, and received grants for large tracts of land from Governors Everard and Burrington. We have a tradition that bad blood was aroused between these new comers and the southern settlers in their eagerness to settle the most desirable locations. Burrington

entered Stag Park and Hawfields; C. Harnett, Sr., settled near Hilton and established a ferry there but later kept the ferry at Brunswick. In the neighborhood of Wilmington settled also Robert Halton and John Maulsby on the Northeast River. William Smith, Chief Justice, back of the present site of Wilmington. Martin Holt went to Brunswick, where he kept the ferry and a tavern; Maurice Moore and Roger at Orton; Nathaniel Moore at York, just below Brunswick; Allen at Lilliput, and Ashe on Town Creek.

In Burrington's instructions, we observe that public schools were provided for, but they direct that no schoolmaster⁵⁴ be permitted without license from the Bishop of London, and teachers in the province to be licensed by the Governor. William Wright was teacher in Brunswick. Education in the South⁵⁵ was of a higher type⁵⁶ than in the more northern settlements. The planters' sons were trained in the English schools and universities; were admitted to the English bar and were gentlemen in retirement, and imparted their manners and bearing to those about them. We find as early as 1712, a school teacher named Mashburn was in Albemarle. In 1750 George Vaughan,⁵⁷ an Irishman, writes from Lisburn, in Ireland, and offers to establish in the province at his own expense a seminary of learning. In 1756, the Assembly appropriated six thousand pounds for public schools but this fund was used in the French War⁵⁸ though refunded in 1760. In 1764, the public school committee appointed by the Assembly were Starkey, McGuire, Johnston and Harnett.

Burrington⁵⁹ remained in North Carolina until the arrival of his successor, Governor Gabriel Johnston,⁶⁰ at Cape Fear, October 27, 1734.⁵⁹ Governor Johnston was sworn in November 2, 1734, at the court-house in Brunswick. He was a Scotchman, a graduate of the University of St. Andrews and formerly professor there of Oriental languages, later a physi-

cian, and had received his appointment as Governor through Spencer Compton, Earl, of Wilmington, the Speaker of the House of Commons, with whom he lived while in London on intimate terms. He was received with delight by the people and great inducements were offered to have him make his residence in the northern part of the colony, which he at first acceded to. He married and settled at Salmon Creek, but subsequently returned to Cape Fear, where most of the Council resided, and attempted to make Wilmington the seat of government.

September 22, 1736, Governor⁶² Johnston, in a speech before the legislature, both houses, called attention to the lack of Divine worship in many parts of the province; he deemed it essential that all rational creatures should pay due homage to the Supreme Author of their being⁶³ and that it is always regarded as a matter of the greatest consequence to peace and happiness to polish the minds of our young people with some degree of learning, and to early instill in them the principles of virtue and religion; that the legislature had not taken care to erect schools that deserve the name in this country was a misfortune. He proposed the use of the powder money⁶¹ for the purpose but this was opposed. In Johnston's administration, this settlement rapidly developed, enterprising settlers came from many parts with retainers and slaves; they acquired extensive tracts of land and such as were best adapted to agriculture; and with fertile soils, abundant slave labor, they were easy and comfortable, with leisure to cultivate their mental faculties. They were eager students of history, literature, and the science of government, many were educated in England and broadened by foreign travel. They acquired a refinement of manners, which induced them to gather libraries and other comforts of home life; ease and abundance invited hospitality and social pleasures. Their daughters,

gentle in their manners, shone with natural graces which developed docility with independence. The restlessness of the face, the hurried gait, the quick voice and business air were wanting in their manners. It was not their part to fight in the holy cause of temperance of mankind, reformation of religion, labor or suffrage rights of women, but on the contrary their lot was that of devoted, honoring wives and mothers, filled with the spirit of the Lord, devoting their highest thoughts to the moral upbuilding of their offspring. Men yielded to them with pride and delight their prerogatives and privileges, but their rights were never considered or dreamed of; and though human nature through all ages has been stamped with vices, sin and passion, these people maintained a high ideal of woman which permeated through all classes, and with jealous care they guarded their wives and daughters until the restraint under which they were held from public intercourse became the palladium of their virtue and engendered a respect and honor from men which became a benison to the race. The wives of the wealthy planters, as well as the poorer classes had ample cares to occupy both their time and their thoughts; not only the household duties but the providing for their slaves in sickness and in health, and the preparing of their clothing and the distribution of food fell upon them.

As early as 1734, there were fine brick houses at Orton, Kendall, Blue Banks and Brunswick. The dwellings of the planters were not large but commodious, and had a remarkable capacity for having room to spare for the passing stranger and in them they entertained on occasions many friends and visitors. Many houses had the overhanging Dutch roof and were shingled both on roof and sides; ample open fire places extended across the end of the rooms, large enough to sit within, fire dogs holding the logs of wood. The fire filled

the room with warmth, and a glow of light more cheerful and comfortable than our modern method of lighting a house. Massive mahogany furniture, waxed and polished, but innocent of varnish, pewter and brass, chests of drawers, tables and chairs were imported from England. Their kitchen chimneys were hung with spits and chains for hangers, trammels and pot hooks, spiders and ovens where bread was baked for each meal; a modern cook might marvel how the savory meats and sweet breads were made. The dusky blacks toiling in the fields were dressed in bright dyed cotton clothes, women with red bandanas served about the houses, and at night they assembled about their cabin fires chanting weird and plaintive songs that called to the mind the pathetic lays of the daughters of Israel. Slaves were made mechanics, and there was little room for free labor.

Among early merchants we note Richard Quince & Sons, of Ramsgate, England, who owned several large ships; John Ancrum, from Hill House, near Frome in Somerset, England, secretary of the council, who purchased Old Town Plantation of Maurice Moore and resided there; Richard Morecraft and Thomas Merrick, from the Isle of St. Michael; William Dry, of Goose Creek, South Carolina; Rush Watts, of Lisbon, Portugal; Thomas Clark, a Captain of a Regiment of Foot in 1749.

Here in Brunswick, lived Matthew Higginbotham, the surveyor; Dr. Fergus, surgeon from a British Man of War, whose lot adjoined the town; Andrew Stewart, printer, who moved to Wilmington; Dr. Samuel Green, educated at Edinburgh University, and Jonathan Ogden, the cordwainer. We note in deeds, the chair-maker, the block-maker, the baker, the tailor, carpenters and brick-makers, ship carpenters, tavern keepers, vintners, weavers, and periwig makers. There were settled on the river many whose names are hardly re-

membered; they came from many parts and were active in developing the settlement. Isaac Kilpatrick, of Londonerry; Thomas Carson and Michael Sampson, of Lisburn, and Waddell, of County Down, Ireland; Robert Walker, of New York; Joshua Gabourell, of the Isle of Jersey; James Murray, of London; Jehu, John and William Davis and William Hill, from Massachusetts; Dunbibin, Monk, Hogg and DuBois, of New York; John Watson, whose father had early established a botanic garden in Charleston; Mills, LeGeere, James Smallwood and Laspeyre, of South Carolina; DeRosset, from Lyme, England; William Bartram, the botanist; Dr. Roger Rolfe and wife, Ann, who owned the Rock Spring lot and St. James Square in Newton; Lord George Anson, for whom Anson County was named, the friend of Governor Johnston, who circumnavigated the world and was stationed a long while here in the man of war Scarborough. Here came James Hasell with his wife and son, a Yorkshire gentleman, who first settled in Philadelphia and came here in 1735, bringing into the colony thirty-five persons and for these he received grants for 1,750 acres. He purchased a tract on Town Creek and one of his grants was a tract on the coast at Cabbage Inlet about opposite the town of Brunswick. He was for forty years in public office in the colony, justice of the inferior court, chief justice, member of the council, president of the council, and several times acted as governor. "All these were there, and many others more, whose names and nations were too long to tell."

Before the arrival of Johnston the raftsmen on the Cape Fear refused to carry their tar, timber and naval stores down to the town of Brunswick, because of the open and exposed waters in front of that town, and as early as 1729, stopped at a place called the Dram Tree, where the merchants came up to trade; and many plantations up the river had their own

wharves where vessels were loaded. Finally a settlement was made and a tavern erected for their accommodation and a town laid out by James Wimble, John Watson, Joshua Granger, Michael Dyer and others. This place was known by several names: New Town, Newton, Carthage, New Liverpool and finally through the influence of Governor Johnston incorporated under the name of Wilmington, in honor of his patron. We find the names of many forgotten streets on record of this old town, Nancy Street, King Street, Middle Market Street, Middle Street, Hannah Street, Coney Street. Finally by the removal of the Custom House, Court-house and Jail the town of Brunswick saw its downfall impending, and a hard fight was made at each move. The Governor called a council meeting there, and on May 18, 1735, organized the first Court of Exchequer⁶⁵ in the province, which he directed to be held at Newton, October 2, 1736, an act was passed making the town of Newton a township⁶⁶ to be called Wilmington, and the Assembly met there in 1741. Wilmington can not be called an offspring of Brunswick, but a rival settlement which finally absorbed the old town. The fight continued until February 25, 1740, when in the council, Allen, Nathaniel Rice, Edward Moseley and Roger Moore opposed⁶⁷ the Wilmington bill claiming that by the Act of 1729 Brunswick was made a township and empowered to build a court-house, jail and church; good houses had been built there by several people before Newton was established; that the custom house was too far up the river; while Robert Halton, Matthew Rowan and James Murray and William Smith contended that Brunswick was unhealthy, surrounded by ponds, and the people would not live there. The tie was broken by Chief Justice Smith⁶⁸ casting the second vote as chairman. December 17th, of that year, the Governor wrote that he hoped to get all public business done there. However, it is to Brunswick that our earlier traditions cling though it was never destined

to be a large town and only contained about forty families and in 1754, twenty families, while Wilmington then had seventy families.

The town of Brunswick was laid out on a tract of 320 acres granted to Maurice Moore and incorporated in 1729, and was divided into blocks with lots 86 feet front of a half acre each, about sixty lots fronting the river. The first street near the river with wharves in front was called Bay Street, the next in the rear Second Street, transverse streets were referred to as the streets where some person lived. In the town, the courts were held, merchants had their store houses and places of business, but they resided on plantations. The first minister⁶⁹ of the established church who resided in Brunswick was Rev. John LaPierre;⁶⁹ he came from Charleston in 1729, and remained nearly four years. His plaintive appeal to the Bishop of London, October 9, 1733, tells us of the sad plight of a missionary minister. He had no church, no provision made for salary, neither glebe nor house but was maintained by the contributions of a few. He speaks of a Mr. Chubb's⁷⁰ writings which leads his flock astray. He was succeeded by Rev. Richard Marsden,⁷¹ both minister and merchant, who supported himself by trade, made voyages to Lisbon and England, owned a vessel and preached without pay. He was there till July 7, 1735, having been there in the colony⁷² near seven years. Rev. James Moir came next in 1742, and March 26, 1745, tells us he lodges in a garret a little house which serves as a chapel Sundays and a school house during the week. He eats at the tavern among a rough set and his slave cooks his own food out of doors in all weather. Mr. Moir left Brunswick⁷³ in 1746. Rev. Mr. Bevis arrived in 1746, and was there two years; preached at the court-house; had much to suffer, neither a home provided nor parish laws observed. Then came Rev. Mr. Cramp

and Rev. John McDowell. The latter, in his will, directs⁷³ that he be buried⁷⁴ at the east end of the church near the grave of his wife, Sarah, and leaves his infant son to the care of the Governor and his uncle, John Grange, and requests that he be brought up under Mr. Richard Quince and his sons as a merchant.

The church at Brunswick was erected in 1751, and its walls still remain in very good condition. Cedar trees have sprung up within with spreading boughs which call to mind the arches of some gothic temple over which is spread a leafy canopy. Standing within the walls, one can well exclaim with the prophet: "Yea, the sparrow hath found an house, and the swallow a nest for herself, where she may lay her young, even thine altars, O Lord of hosts, my King and my God," for here it is verily true.

The church appears to have been built due north and south by an accurate astronomical observation. The building is seventy-six feet long by fifty-four feet and three inches wide, windows fifteen feet high by seven feet wide, walls two feet and nine inches thick, and the height thereof is twenty-four feet and four inches. There are eleven windows and three doors, and the floor was a tessellated pavement made of square Dutch tiles. Notwithstanding that there is a graveyard around the church, most of the dead are buried at the plantations, for the Act of 1741 required the owners of every plantation to set apart a piece of land for burial of dead Christians, free and bond.

In 1760, an Act called the Lottery Act was passed to raise funds to furnish the churches at Brunswick and Wilmington, and appropriated the proceeds of the sale of the pirates into slavery, and their personal effects captured in 1748, for the same purpose.

The minister and his family now resided in the town. On Sundays, court days, or holidays, the planters and their wives

and families came to town either for religious service or social pleasures, business or friendly intercourse with neighbors. Sunday laws were read in the churches twice a year by the minister, clerk or reader, under a penalty for neglect of twenty shillings for the benefit of the parish. Among the tombs near old St. Philip's we still find some worthy of notice for they will eventually crumble into dust like their inmates. The Hon. William Dry, Jr., who moved here from Goose Creek, South Carolina, in 1736, was collector of the port and a member of the council, died June 3, 1795. Rebecca McGuire, daughter of William Dry, Jr., and wife of Thomas McGuire, Attorney-General. Jane Quince, wife of John Quince, died in 1765. John Lord, a native of the town of Brunswick, died August 28, 1831, aged 66 years. William Hill died August 23, 1783, and his wife, Margaret, died November 3, 1788. John Guerard,⁷⁵ "for many years an inhabitant of Cape Fear, snatched by a sudden stroke of fate from life April 25, 1789." Elizabeth Guerard died June 30, 1775, aged 18 years. Elizabeth Eagen died June, 1785, aged 60 years. Benjamin Smith, "of Belvidere, once Governor of North Carolina, died January 10, 1826." Mary Jane Dry, wife of William Dry, Jr., born January 21, 1729, died April 3, 1795. Mary Quince, wife of Richard Quince, died 1762. Elizabeth Lord died February 26, 1847. Mary Bacot died August 29, 1838, aged 75 years. Peter Maxwell, of Glasgow, died at Wilmington September 23, 1812, aged 59 years, and wife, Rebecca Maxwell, died February 12, 1810.

In 1736 and 1746, vessels with Scotch Highlanders came but were advised to move to the up country where land was cheaper and better. It is said that their queer costumes, braw manners and shrill pipes unsettled the nerves of our Wilmington people.

In 1740, war was formally declared between England and Spain. Governor Johnston was active in raising troops to

invade the Spanish colonies. Even as early as June, 1739, letters of mark and reprisal were issued to privateers. November 5, 1740, transports left Brunswick with four companies of troops for Florida, and early the following year they arrived at Jamaica, joined Admiral Vernon and sailed for Carthagena, but we have scant reports of their fate. We know that Col. James Innes, Robert Halton and Lieut. Benjamin Heron were on the expedition and that the latter returned home by way of England. We also find numerous deeds of assignment of prize money during the following years, among them Isaac Lewis, Owen Jones, James Small, Robert Page, George Chapman, Gideon Stubbs, James Hardy, John Brown, William Purdie and other mariners.

In 1743, South Carolina asked the assistance of troops to meet the Spanish invasion from Cuba, and a thousand men were promised on condition that they should be commanded by an officer of this province, and Colonel Maurice Moore was chosen to command.

October, 1745, a squadron⁷⁶ from Havana entered the Cape Fear and burned the town of Brunswick.

In July, 1747, the Council directed⁷⁷ a fort to be built, and the Island⁷⁸ north of Oak Island was selected, and in September South Carolina offered⁷⁹ them ten pieces of ordnance, nine and twelve pounders and ammunition.

In 1745, an Act was passed to encourage the rebuilding of the town of Brunswick, also an Act which recites⁸⁰ that in view of the well known depth of water of the Cape Fear and its defenceless condition, a fort was ordered to be built to be called Fort Johnston to contain at least twenty-four cannon, and Governor Johnston, Nathaniel Rice, Robert Halton, Eliezer Allen, Matthew Rowan, Major John Swann and George Moore were appointed commissioners to erect the same.

September 17, 1747, John Ellis⁸¹ in an affidavit at Brunswick stated that he sailed in June on the brigantine John

Williams, Thomas Corbett Master, and that they were captured by the Spanish privateer, St. Gabriel the Conqueror, and sent to Hispaniola but retaken and sent to St. Simons; that the brigantine belonged to Rev. Richard Marsden.

November 8, 1748,⁸² two pirate ships came up the Cape Fear, trained their guns upon the town of Brunswick and threatened to sack the town unless a ransom was paid. The inhabitants, without means of defense, were demoralized and fled to the woods, but the town was saved by the explosion of the magazine in one of the vessels, and the people taking courage boarded⁸³ the other vessel and captured it. The prisoners were sold into slavery and with the proceeds of the sale of their personal property there was realized a fund which by an Act was afterwards applied to finish the churches of St. Philip and of St. James. An "Ecce Homo"⁸⁴ still hangs in the vestry room of St. James Church, at Wilmington, taken from this pirate ship, supposed to have been from the plunder of some Spanish church.

From stray leaves of records of the old Court of Common Pleas of the town of Brunswick, 1738, we observe that the court was presided over by Nathaniel Rice, Matthew Rowan, Eliezer Allen, Robert Halton, James Innes and Cornelius Harnett and others. Deeds were proved before the court and among them a power of attorney from George Burrington to his wife, Mary. Nicholas Fox produced a license to practice as attorney in the province from the governor. Complaint is made of citizens obstructing public docks and landings with lumber in front of the town; beef brought to market without exhibiting ear marks and brands complained of; keeping hogs and swine in town was forbidden. Several persons warned against selling liquor in the town and county at exorbitant price to the great damage of artificers and laboring men. Tax levied to build court-house and jail. C. Harnett made sheriff. Rev. Mr. Marsden ordered to appear before

the court for building his cellar in the street, and erecting an oven in the street, fails to appear and sends certificate from Dr. Roger Rolfe, of Wilmington, that he is ill.

Governor Johnston died July 17, 1752. Nathaniel Rice, the president of the council, succeeded but died January 25, 1753, and Matthew Rowan succeeded till the appointment of Governor Arthur Dobbs, who was sworn in at New Bern, October 15, 1754. He was an Irishman and formerly a member of the Irish Parliament and a man of education. He fitted out a galley⁸⁵ sent to discover the northwest passage. He was a correspondent of the Geographical Society and of Rev. William Wetstein,⁸⁶ chaplain of his R. H., the Prince of Wales, and wrote several letters upon the course of the Gulf stream.

"O, what an endless work I have in hand," as well count the sea's abundant progeny as continue longer on this theme. More could be told of John Dalrymple, commander of Fort Johnston, Governor Dobbs and Governor Tryon, the Stamp Act, Governor Martin, formerly Lieutenant Colonel 86th⁸⁷ Regiment of Foot; the proclamation of George II, as King at Brunswick, of Cornwallis and Clinton, Harnett and Ancrum, of Howe, Ashe, Waddell and Moore, of the remains of the old houses, ruins of St. Philip's Church, the tombs and marble slabs with inscriptions that not only bespeak the memory of the dead but their intelligence and refinement, and may the inscription on the grave of young Rebecca McGuire "*quisquis hoc marmor sustulerit ultimus suorum moriatur*" adjure us to guard these ancient ruins and the traditions and memories of all who lived there as monuments of our race.

AUTHORITIES CITED IN THE FOREGOING ARTICLE.

- ¹ World's Discoverers, by Wm. H. Johnson, with Verrazano's map, p. 185.
- ² Col. Rec., N. C., Vol. I, p. 43. Proposal of Lords Proprietors.
- ³ Col. Rec., I, p. 53.
- ⁴ Term used by Barbadoes Explorers, 1663.
- ⁵ Col. Rec., I, p. 35. Samuel Vassal, Assignee.
- ⁶ Col. Rec., I, p. 161.
- ⁷ Col. Rec., I, p. 73. John Vassal, Surveyor-Gen. Cape Fear.
- ⁸ Col. Rec., I, p. 56. Landed at Old Town (Charlestown) 29th May, 1664.
- ⁹ Col. Rec., I, pp. 119 and 116. Sanford, etc.
- ¹⁰ Col. Rec., I, p. 120.
- ¹¹ Col. Rec., I, p. 154. Cotton, etc.
- ¹² Professor Rivers some time ago earnestly denied this, but we have not agreed with him.
- ¹³ Col. Rec., I, p. 165. Souls.
- ¹⁴ Col. Rec., I, p. 145.
- ¹⁵ Thomas Wentworth Higginson, in allusion to the monument of a Madam Ann Vassal, widow of John Vassal, at Cambridge, says:

"At her feet and at her head
Lies a slave to attend the dead."

Another of these adventurers has left a record. In Suffolk, Mass., Probate Records, Vol. I, p. 536, is a will of George Davis, dated December 7, 1664, proved September, 1667; says he is bound for Cape Fear, mentioned his sons Benjamin and Joseph, his five daughters, when they come of age, his wife and brother, Wm. Clark of Linn. Probate records give inventory of goods of George Davis, lately deceased at Cape Fear.

¹⁶ New Hanover Co. Records, C, p. 74. Smith grant mentioned.

¹⁷ This family of Moores are said to be descended from Roger Moore, leader of the Irish Rebellion in 1641. James Moore came to America, settled in Charleston, and was Governor of South Carolina in 1700.

¹⁸ Col. Rec., I, p. 154. Also mentioned by Lawson, p. 269, who said: "We have clothes of our own manufacture of cotton, wool, hemp and flax of our own growth." Hon W. B. Seabrook, in an address before the South Carolina Agricultural Society, December, 1843, mentions this as the first recorded evidence of its cultivation in America. We also find that M. Le Page Du Pratz, 1758, in his History of Louisiana, p. 323, refers to the cotton raised in that country as the Siam or Turkey cotton, which is a green-seeded cotton, and this also was attempted in Virginia, but with indifferent success.

¹⁹ Acts 1711 and 1715, to raise money by duties on liquors and other goods.

²⁰ Col. Rec., II, pp. 480 and 481.

²¹ Col. Rec., II, p. 596.

²² Col. Rec., XI, p. 128. Gents. Magazine, 1756.

²³ Col. Rec., Records A, p. 102, New Hanover County.

²⁴ Rec. New Hanover Co., A, p. 93.

²⁵ Col. Rec., XI, p. 128.

²⁶ Col. Rec., II, p. 596.

²⁷ Records New Hanover Co., D, pp. 512 and 403; Col. Rec., III, p. 63.

- ²⁸ See Wimble's Map.
- ²⁹ Col. Rec., III, p. 436.
- ³⁰ Col. Rec., III, pp. 63 and 30.
- ³¹ Everard to John Bell, N. H. Co., p. 172; Lockwood's Folly and A, p. 93.
- ³² I am of the opinion that she was the Widow Moore for which Moore's Creek was named. She was Justina Moore, sixth child of Landgrave Thomas Smith 2nd, and who married John Moore, seventh son of the first Governor Jas. Moore.
- ³³ Col. Rec., III, p. 575, Acts Assembly 1736, chapter 8.
- ³⁴ Revised Stats. N. C., Vol. II, p. 21.
- ³⁵ Rev. Stats. N. C., II, p. 466.
- ³⁶ Gentleman's Magazine, 1756.
- ³⁷ Acts 1729, 34 Geo. II.
- ³⁸ A valuable table of exports and imports of Carolina from 1663 to 1773 will be found in the American Museum, Nov. 1789, pp. 400, 401.
- ³⁹ New Hanover Co., A, p. 342.
- ⁴⁰ New Hanover Co., D, p. 403.
- ⁴¹ Col. Rec., IV, p. 6.
- ⁴² Col. Rec., V, p. 158.
- ⁴³ New Hanover Co., A, p. 313, and Col. Rec., XI, p.
- ⁴⁴ Gents. Magazine, 1756.
- ⁴⁵ Col. Rec., XI, p.
- ⁴⁶ Col. Rec., XI, pp. 128 and 148.
- ⁴⁷ Col. Rec., XI, p. 18, and Col. Rec., III, p. 137 and 147.
- ⁴⁸ See 47.
- ⁴⁹ From two deeds of lease and release in New Hanover Co., dated 10th and 11th April, 1754, "Geo. Burrington, late Governor, etc., now residing in the Parish of St. Margaret Westminster, in the County of Middlesex," conveyed to Samuel Strudwick his lands on Northeast Cape Fear, called "Stag Park," of 10,000 acres, and lands on the Northwest Cape Fear called "Hawol Fields" (Hawfields) of 30,000 acres. This deed mentions that by letters patent dated 29th April, 1730, he had been appointed Governor with a salary of 700 pounds per annum, to be paid quarterly by John Hammerton, Esq., Receiver-General; that he was still in arrearage 3,325 pounds, and in consideration of advancement by Edw. Strudwick, the father of Samuel Strudwick, of Mortimer street, in the Parish of St. Mary Le Bow, in said County of Middlesex, he makes that conveyance. It is acknowledged before the Lord Mayor in the Mansion House, April 11, 1754. His wife was Mary Burrington, and proved a deed in Brunswick County. Moseley speaks well of Burrington. Col. Rec., III, p. 137.
- ⁵⁰ Since March 25, 1739, called Sheriff. Acts 1738, chap. 3.
- ⁵¹ Her will (New Hanover Co., C, p. 328,) mentions her grandson, C. Harnett, Jr.
- ⁵² J. H. Wheeler in South Atlantic, 1879.
- ⁵³
- ⁵⁴ Col. Rec., V, p. 1137.
- ⁵⁵ Encyc. Brit., 9th Ed., under United States, p. 177.
- ⁵⁶ Other references as to Education may be found in Col. Rec., V, pp. 288, 289, 298, 280, 281, 1160, 1225, and Col. Rec., VI, p. 477.
- ⁵⁷ Col. Rec., V, pp. 144b and 306.
- ⁵⁸ Col. Rec., VI, p. 477.
- ⁵⁹ Col. Rec., III, pp. 642, 633 and 626.
- ⁶⁰ Gents. Mag., 1733, and Col. Rec., III, p. 630.

⁶¹ Col. Rec., IV, p. 375—Thomas Clifford, receiver of powder money at Brunswick.

⁶² Col. Rec., IV, pp. 226 and 271.

⁶³ First Masonic Lodge at Brunswick, 1733, No. 113, called "King Solomon Lodge."

⁶⁴ Col. Rec., IV, p. 338.

⁶⁵ Col. Rec., IV, p. 44, Wilmington.

⁶⁶ Col. Rec., IV, p. 235. See Acts 1736.

⁶⁷ Col. Rec., IV, p. 456.

⁶⁸ Col. Rec., IV, pp. 424 and 415.

⁶⁹ Col. Rec., III, pp. 350 and 391.

⁷⁰ At that time a prominent deist in England.

⁷¹ Col. Rec., III, pp. 350 and 391; New Hanover Co., C, p. 62.

⁷² Col. Rec., IV, p. 10.

⁷³ Col. Rec., IV, p. 875, and Vol. III, pp. 391 and 350; New Hanover, C, p. 62.

⁷⁴ Col. Rec., IV, pp. 755, 605, 606, 608.

⁷⁵ Col. Rec., I, p. 242; a Normandy family.

⁷⁶ Moore's Hist. N. C., Vol. I, p. 41, Vol. 4. p. 1306.

⁷⁷ Col. Rec., IV, p. 700.

⁷⁸ Col. Rec., IV, p. 702.

⁷⁹ Col. Rec., V, p. 38.

⁸⁰ Acts 1745, chap. 6.

⁸¹ New Hanover Co., C, p. 133.

⁸² Col. Rec., V, pp. 38 and 72.

⁸² Col. Rec., V, pp. 38 and 72. Also Gents. Mag., 1749, in an account of this attack says one vessel escaped, and that 60 were blown up, 20 killed, 37 taken prisoners. One American—a pilot—missing.

⁸³ Col. Rec., IV, pp. 991, 1284, 922, 1300, 1306.

⁸⁴ See History of St. James Church.

⁸⁵ Gents. Mag., 1749, June.

⁸⁶ Gents. Mag., Dec., 1749.

⁸⁷ London Mag., 1764.

BIOGRAPHICAL AND GENEEOLOGICAL MEMORANDA.

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

JOHN DILLARD BELLAMY.

Born in Wilmington, March 24, 1854; graduated at Davidson College, N. C., 1873; B.L.; University of Virginia, 1875; married December 6, 1876, Emma M. Hargrove. He served as City Attorney of Wilmington, 1881; was a member of the State Senate, 1891; delegate to National Convention of the Democratic party, 1892; member of Congress, 1879-1903, Sixth North Carolina District.

Mr. Bellamy's painstaking elaboration of the life and services of Gen. Robert Howe will be read with interest, as the life and sacrifices of the distinguished man have not received heretofore the just amount of notice that should have been accorded him. Since the great revival in historic interest and research, many important facts have been secured from musty documents, old letters, and other data. North Carolina is awaking to her duty. The ignorance that has prevailed as to the facts of our colonial settlements is being dispelled by our educators. A North Carolina Day has been established by act of General Assembly, and for the last six years an appropriate program has been arranged, treating of some especial section; its settlement, and brief histories of the distinguished men of the period. This pamphlet was compiled with great care by the Superintendent of Public Instruction and sent out to the public schools with the hope of inspiring the children with a new pride in their State and a new enthusiasm for the study of her history. The subjects treated followed the chronological order of the State's history. THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET, from its first inception in

1901 has had in view the emphasizing and putting into convenient form great events in the State's history. It is acknowledged that this publication is doing as much for the education of the public in a historical way as any magazine in the State. The financial support of the public is solicited.

In addition to the above, and in this connection, I must not fail to mention the activities of the State Literary and Historical Association, which is doing such steady and efficient work collecting and preserving our State literature and history. Its object is the encouragement of public and school libraries; the establishment of a historical museum; the inculcation of a literary spirit among our people; the correction of printed misrepresentations concerning North Carolina; and the engendering of an intelligent, healthy State pride in the rising generation. Under the control of an active, intelligent, painstaking Board of Managers, this Association is advocating the establishment of a State Archives and Hall of Records.

WILLIAM KENNETH BOYD.

William Kenneth Boyd, author of "Early Relations of North Carolina and the West," was born in the State of Missouri in 1879, the son of Rev. H. M. Boyd (Presbyterian) and Mary Black Boyd. In 1888 his family removed to Western North Carolina, in search of a better climate, and located at Weaverville. His preparatory education was secured at Weaverville College, and in 1897 he graduated from Trinity College with the degree of A.B., and received his A.M. degree in 1898. He was then Master in History and Latin in the Trinity Park High School for the first two years of its existence (1898-1900). In 1900 he entered Columbia University as Scholar in History; in 1902-'03 he was Fellow in European History, in 1903-'04 Fellow by

Courtesy, and in 1906 received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. In 1904-'05 Mr. Boyd was a member of the editorial staff of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (Tenth Edition), in 1905-'06 he was Instructor in History in Dartmouth College, and in 1906 he accepted the Chair of History in Trinity College, where he had formerly, for one year (1901-1902), been Adjunct Professor of History.

Besides the present article, Mr. Boyd has contributed the following studies in North Carolina history and biography: "John S. Cairns, Ornithologist," "Dennis Heartt," "William W. Holden," "Nathaniel Macon in National Legislation," "Advalorem Slave Taxation," "Letters of Bedford Brown."

All of these have appeared in the Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society (Series I-VI). He will also contribute the sketch of William Gaston to the forthcoming Library of Southern Literature, with which Prof. C. Alphonso Smith is connected as associate editor. He has promised a study of the Battle of Kings Mountain for a future number of THE BOOKLET.

Besides these North Carolina studies, Mr. Boyd has published a monograph, "Ecclesiastical Edicts of the Theodosian Code," (Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, 1906), and has contributed the following articles to *The South Atlantic Quarterly*: "Alfred the Great as Legislator," Vol. I, No. 1; "Southern History in American Universities," Vol. I, No. 2; "Christian Persecutions and Roman Jurisprudence," Vol. II, No. 1; "Theodore Mommsen: His Place in Modern Scholarship," Vol. III, No. 3; "Dunning's History of Reconstruction," Vol. VI, No. 4.

Mr. Boyd, though not a native of North Carolina, has imbibed that spirit of research which is now pervading this section of the South. The day has passed when men are more ready to handle the sword than to wield the pen; con-

ditions have changed, the hand of the educator has grappled the pen, old dusty manuscripts are being brought to light, the many stories of traditional lore of her unparalleled record are being corroborated by documentary evidence, and simple truth will be thus enthroned, which is the highest ambition of patriotic North Carolinians.

WILLIAM B. MCKOY.

Author of the article, "Incidents in the Early Settlement of the Cape Fear."

Wm. B. McKoy was born in Wilmington, N. C., December 24, 1852; went to school in Wilmington; graduated at the College of New Jersey (Princeton) in 1876; studied law under Hon. Geo. V. Strong in Raleigh, N. C.; licensed to practice law in 1879; sworn in as a member of the bar at Rockingham, Richmond County, N. C., same year; since practiced law in Wilmington. He is from a long line of ancestors loyal and patriotic. His paternal ancestor in America was John McKay (now McKoy), who was sent out of Scotland after 1746 as an active adherent of Prince Charlie; settled in Bladen County; moved thence to Iredell County. On his maternal side his earliest ancestor in America was Col. Wm. Rhett, of Charleston, S. C. He is also a descendant of James Hasell and Charles Berry, two Chief Justices of the Province of North Carolina.

District Attorney
Chambers
Democratic Party

Mr. McKoy is Senior Grand Warden of the Grand Lodge of Free Masons, a place he fills with great ability.

Mr. McKoy having been a life-long resident of Wilmington, the chief town of the Cape Fear, he is familiar with its history and traditions. No more patriotic people ever lived than those of this section, and this patriotism has descended from generation to generation, dating from the first permanent settlements made in 1663. Mr. McKoy, like many

others of this present day of educational awakening, is discharging a conscientious and patriotic duty to his State by publishing an article additional to what has heretofore been published concerning the history of this section.

The long struggle of this American colony on the shores of North Carolina, dating from 1554 to 1775, is hardly equaled by any other; but those days were not without their good results. It was the formative period in moulding the character of the people, and to-day there is no State that can boast of a purer Anglo-Saxon race (having the smallest percentage of foreign born citizens of any State in the Union), and a people more devoted to their State and its history. Though long in asserting her rightful place as one of the leaders in colonization and in achieving independence, her great citizenship is now awake to the importance of writing her history. This great renewal of interest in North Carolina history may be attributed to the publication of the Colonial Records, that admirable work ordered by the State and undertaken by Col. William L. Saunders.

Colonel Saunders, as Secretary of State, saw too plainly the necessity of collecting and preserving full and complete records of North Carolina, therefore he took upon himself this self-imposed task from love for his native State.

At a period somewhat prior to his death in 1891, these Records, reaching from the beginnings of the Province, 1662, down to and inclusive of the year 1776, filling ten large folio volumes, were suspended. In 1893 the Trustees of the State Library invited Judge Walter Clark to assume the continuation of the work. This he has done, beginning from the year 1776, completing the period to 1781, as authorized by The Code, and continuing under the title of State Records, filling sixteen large folio volumes, including the laws of the the Province and State from 1663 to 1791, and also an index.

To Colonel Saunders and Judge Clark the State owes a debt of gratitude beyond estimation. These Records are of immeasurable value to the student of history and a capital source of stimulation to the young. THE BOOKLET has a promise of an article on this gigantic work.

Even the women of this Commonwealth, through their historical organizations, are awaking to the duty of impressing upon the youth of our land the part they must perform in order to perpetuate our history. It was a noble work of the Colonial Dames of North Carolina in erecting, in 1907, on a public square in Wilmington, a monument to "Cornelius Harnett and the Colonial Heroes of the Cape Fear." In Vol. V, No. 3, of THE BOOKLET, may be found an interesting sketch of Cornelius Harnett, the pride of the Cape Fear, who was styled "the Samuel Adams of North Carolina," written by R. W. D. Connor. It is well to mention here that THE BOOKLET contains other articles of great historical value relating to this part of North Carolina, Colonial and Revolutionary, as follows: Vol. I, No. 3, "Stamp Act on the Cape Fear," by Hon. A. M. Waddell; Vol. II, No. 10, "County of Clarendon," by John Spencer Bassett; Vol. III, No. 11, "Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge," by Prof. M. C. S. Noble; Vol. VI, No. 1, "A Colonial Admiral of the Cape Fear," by James Sprunt. All of which can be obtained from the publishers except No. 3, of Vol. I, which is out of print.

The North Carolina Booklet

A QUARTERLY PUBLICATION ISSUED UNDER
THE AUSPICES OF THE

"NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION"

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

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION:

One Year, One Dollar ; Single Copies, Thirty-five Cents.

Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton, Mrs. E. E. Moffitt, Editors,
Raleigh, North Carolina.

Registered at Raleigh Post-office as second class matter.

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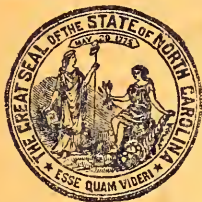
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Vol. VII.

APRIL, 1908

No. 4

The
North Carolina Booklet



**GREAT EVENTS
IN
NORTH CAROLINA
HISTORY**



**PUBLISHED QUARTERLY
BY
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION**

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\$1.00 THE YEAR

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Great Events in North Carolina History.

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The
NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

*"Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her."*

Published by
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

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THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET.

Vol. VII

APRIL, 1908

No. 4

SAINT JAMES'S CHURCHYARD.

BY MRS. LULA CLARK MARKHAM.

A bit of ancient England dropped adown
Amid these alien streets,
Where 'neath the soft, blue, Southern sky, there beats
The throbbing life-tide of the crude New World;
The old gray church keeps guard, o'erblown
By winds of many winters; here have been unfurled
The sunset banners of an hundred years;
On these old, leveled, grass-grown graves the tears
Were dried a long, long century ago.

With stately step and slow,
O'er the smooth velvet of this grassy aisle,
Perchance the proud Cornwallis walked, the while
Pondering his lofty dreams of power and fame
And thinking of the waters, vast and gray,
Which stretched their stormy leagues between
This untamed land and his loved island, fair and green;

 It may be that a grim
Foreboding came of sore defeat and shame
To cloud his haughty brow, an augury
Of dire disaster waiting him

 At Yorktown far away.

Past these gray walls the Redcoats marched one day
With measured step and glittering swords aglow,
Unwitting that for them the end was nigh
Of weary warfare; that they marched to meet
In one last test their scorned, provincial foe,
To lay their proud swords at those ragged feet.

And here to-day one lies
Wrapped in his garb of glory for a shroud.
The careless, bubble-seeking crowd
Goes idly by, and recks not that the eyes
Here closed in sleep once flashed with ardor bright
To lead the blind young nation to the light:
The lofty brow that long has turned to dust
Wrought in its fervid brain the daring dream
Of liberty triumphant in a proud, august,
Great nation born of great souls like his own.
He was the White Knight of undimmed renown;
Patriot, soldier, statesman, not a gleam
Of wealth or fame allured him, and he swerved
Not from his chosen path although it led
Through sacrifice and loss, through doubt and dread,
Content if but his country's cause were served.

We can not tell to what far distant stars
His bark of life was steered so long ago; .
On what high embassies he has been sent, what holy wars
For truth and right awaited him; we know
That here each flower, each crystal drop of dew
Is a white message from the heart of him,
Each buoyant breeze that sweeps in from the sea
Is whispering of his golden dreams come true,
Each radiant star that lights the evening's blue
Forever keeps his name from growing dim.
And while yon marble finger silently
Points to the heaven which claimed him for its own,
While one leal, Southern heart holds on its throne
The love of country and of right,
The fearless scorn of tyranny and might,
Cornelius Harnett lives and can not die.

And so, year after year, till ages have gone by,
These ancient graves will wait the mighty word,
When with his trumpet blast, the Angel of the Lord,
With one foot on the sea and one upon the shore,
Proclaims "Time was, time is, but time shall be no more!"
And those who sleep below so tranquilly
Through their hushed hearts will feel the thrill of birth
Which wakes to find new heavens and new earth.

THE FAYETTEVILLE INDEPENDENT LIGHT INFANTRY COMPANY.

BY JAMES C. MACRAE,
(Dean of Law School, University of North Carolina.)

“He that hath no stomach for this fight let him depart.”

The last decade of the Eighteenth Century was a time of trouble and perplexity to the young Republic which had so recently achieved its independence and taken place among the Nations.

Indeed, from the peace of 1783 to the defeat of Pakenham, some thirty years later, the permanent existence of the United States was an unsolved problem. Threatened on the one side by the ill-concealed enmity of its former sovereign, and urged, on the other, by the officious efforts of its former friend and ally to embroil it in foreign wars. With no standing army, a long and unprotected coast line, and a small, though gallant, naval armament, its hope and reliance was upon its citizen soldiery.

North Carolina was, at the end of the century, one of the strongest States in the Union, with all the elements of future prosperity. It had no cities nor large towns in its borders, but it had a population filled with the spirit of liberty. It was in those early days when the life of the Republic seemed threatened with foreign wars that the town of Fayetteville on the twenty-third of August, 1793, called its young men together to organize a volunteer military company.

Robert Adam, a young Scotch merchant, was elected Captain, John Winslow, Lieutenant, and Robert Cochran, Ensign. These were leading citizens of Fayetteville in their day, and up to the present time their successors have been the worthiest representatives of their community.

This sketch is largely made from an address delivered on the occasion of the Centennial of the Company, with such addenda as may embrace some reference to the very important public services rendered by the Company since the close of its first century. A history of the organization would require much larger space than has been allotted to this paper, but the archives of the command contain full records and rosters, and one may find in several instances five generations of Fayetteville men upon its rolls.

The characteristic of this organization from its inception may be summed up in the word, *duty*. Its leaders and promoters were men of intelligence and position.

It was not formed for the simple purpose of giving grace to holiday pageants, but for the defense of the people in their rights and liberties.

It realized the true conception of a citizen soldiery; for its members were *citizens* as well as soldiers.

The same spirit which induced them to submit to discipline, that they might become efficient soldiers, led them also to take up the responsibilities incident to citizenship, without the bearing of which there can be no real enjoyment of the benefits of good government.

So, they were the upholders of law and order, and in times of agitation were ever ready to preserve the peace.

The strength and value of a military organization in a community, under the direction of cool and intrepid men (for with any other leaders they become a firebrand and a source of anxiety and of danger), can only be fully appreciated by those whose business it has been to execute the laws.

In times of excitement, when there is danger of some outbreak of popular violence, the advantage of an organized body of disciplined men, under proper officers, to be called out in the last resort, is simply incalculable.

The community whose foremost men constitute such a body is comparatively safe from intestine trouble.

The machinery of the civil law is ordinarily all-sufficient in itself.

A very large majority of the people are obedient to law, and it is an easy matter, when public sentiment is rightly directed, to administer the same for the welfare of all concerned.

But men, taken collectively, are sometimes, like the individual, overborne by passion; and while under its impulse they may break down the barriers which ages of exertion and sacrifice have built up around their liberties.

It is on occasions of such temporary bursts of lawlessness which are liable to occur in human society that it becomes necessary, under our system, to call in the citizen soldiers to assist the civil arm.

The great efficiency of the State Guard of North Carolina to-day is attested by the fact that it is so seldom necessary to bring them into actual aid of the civil authority.

So potent is their influence that the bare knowledge that such an organization is in existence and ready for action at a moment's warning, is sufficient in general to prevent any serious outbreak. Such has been the happy case of this community for all these hundred years.

For most of this period there have been other military companies here just as good and just as true, which, in the mutations of time, have risen and flourished and passed away, but this old company has lived through every change.

With the exception of those occasions when it was absent in active service, and when, in the overpowering calamity which fell upon us all, we were deprived of our arms, it has ever been the bulwark of these people's safety and the nucleus around which they might rally for defence.

It was organized in those unsettled times when the States of the American Union, having just emerged from the seven years struggle for freedom, each found itself face to face with the great problems of government which, pending the

conflict, had been held in abeyance; political feeling ran high; the spirit of peace had not yet calmed the passions of the recent combatants; and it seemed that the new and scarce formed nation was about to face as enemies those who had been its recent friends and allies. The first apparent necessity was the establishment of an armed militia for protection against all foes, both foreign and domestic.

It was then, before the laws which were soon after passed for its organization, that this company was brought into existence.

And on July 23, 1807, when a second war with England was imminent and the President had warned the militia to be in readiness for an emergency, this company tendered him its services in the following resolution which was communicated to the President:

Resolved unanimously. That we very much admire, and highly approve of the dignified, manly and independent sentiments contained in the proclamation of the President of the United States; and having observed that he has ordered the raising of 100,000 militia, to hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's warning, and it is his pleasure to accept Volunteers to compose a part thereof.

Resolved unanimously, That the Fayetteville Independent Light Infantry Company, officers and soldiers voluntarily tender their services, with this declaration that although as citizens, they highly appreciate the blessings of peace, yet, as citizen soldiers, they are ever ready to avenge an insult offered to their country by any nation whatever, and pledge themselves to be ready, whenever called upon, for the defense of such measures as may be adopted by the Government.

In acknowledgment of this tender Mr. Jefferson, under his own hand, wrote as follows:

To Captain John McMillan and the

Fayetteville Independent Light Infantry Company:

The offer of your services in support of the rights of your country merits the highest praise. And whenever the moment arrives in which these rights must appeal to the public arm for support, the spirit from which your offer flows, that which animates our nation, will be their sufficient safeguard.

To the legislature will be rendered a faithful account of the events which have so justly excited the sensibilities of our country, of the measures taken to obtain reparation and of their result; and to their wisdom will belong the course to be ultimately pursued.

In the meantime it is our duty to pursue that prescribed by the existing laws, toward which should your services be requisite, this offer of them will be remembered.

I tender for your country the thanks you so justly deserve.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

WASHINGTON, July 31, 1807.

In 1813, when the enemy threatened to make a landing on our coast, it promptly marched to Wilmington, and there was the special bodyguard of Governor Hawkins, the Commander-in-Chief of the North Carolina forces. Upon the conclusion of its tour of service it was relieved from duty in the following communication:

To Lieutenant WM. BARRY GROVE.

SIR:—I am commanded by his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief of the state of North Carolina, to express through you to the officers and privates of your company, the very high approbation which they merit, and which they have met with, for their prompt and soldier-like march to one of the vulnerable points of our state when it was invaded. And to his Excellency it is a high gratification that all composing your company have done all that could be expected from officers and soldiers. Stimulated by this laudable example, it is confidently hoped the militia of the state of North Carolina will derive much benefit.

On your arrival in the town of Fayetteville you will dismiss from duty the members composing your company. I am, with much regard,

Your obedient servant,

F. N. W. BURTON, *Aid.*

In 1825, it attended LaFayette upon his visit to Fayetteville, the name of this town having been changed in 1784 from Cross Creek to honor the distinguished soldier who had done so much to achieve for us our liberty.

In 1846, when North Carolina was called upon to send a regiment to Mexico, while it was, of course, impracticable that this company, composed as it was of the leading business and professional men of the town should go on foreign ser-

vice, it sent out a noncommissioned officer, Sergeant W. E. Kirkpatrick, to take command of the Cumberland Company, F, of the North Carolina Regiment, as its Captain, advanced him to the same rank in its own company, and at the close of the Mexican war received him with distinguished honors.

In those peaceful days which followed, it continued to be the pride and glory of the town, ready in every emergency; foremost on every festive occasion—making casual visits to its brother commands in other towns, and keeping up its own *esprit du corps* by a generous rivalry with the other companies of the town.

On the 15th of April, 1861, after the Confederate States had been formed by the resumption of the sovereignty of the State of South Carolina and those to the south of her, President Lincoln issued his proclamation calling upon the States for 75,000 troops “to put down these combinations,” and this was the declaration which brought about the war between the States.

Immediately upon the publication in Fayetteville of this proclamation, on the 17th day of April, the Independent Company unanimously tendered itself to the Governor of North Carolina to serve in opposition to the coercion policy of the Federal Government of which North Carolina was still a part.

Its tender was accepted, and its first service, in conjunction with the other companies of the town and county, was the taking possession of the United States Arsenal at Fayetteville, where it remained as guard until May 7, when, being relieved, it went into camp on Harrington Hill, and on the morning of the 9th of May, 108 strong it went to Raleigh, whither it had been preceded by the LaFayette Light Infantry, a magnificent company, with which it was at once embodied into the First Regiment of North Carolina Volunteers; and on the 20th of May, 1861, when the ordinance of

secession was adopted by the people of North Carolina in convention at Raleigh, it was already tasting the never-to-be-forgotten hospitality of the people of Richmond in camp at Howard's Grove in that famous city.

Though it had offered itself for ten years or the war, it had been mustered in for six months. It served its term on the Peninsula; its regiment, having taken a leading part in the engagement at Big Bethel, received the name of the Bethel Regiment, which was retained by its successor, the 11th North Carolina Troops.

Upon the return of the company home at the end of six months, while its organization was retained, its members, many of them having been fitted for command by their service in the ranks, became officers in other companies and regiments and on the general staff.

Many entered the ranks of other commands and there illustrated the effect of the fine discipline to which they had been subjected under the tutelage of their old Regimental Commander, D. H. Hill.

A remnant remained at home and kept up the organization. Too few to form a separate company in the field, they performed a tour of duty at and near Fort Fisher, as part of the Clarendon Guards. For a few years after the close of the war they were not permitted to bear arms, but they kept their organization, meeting each year upon their anniversary for that purpose. It was not long, however, before the federal troops were withdrawn, and the days of reconstruction were over, and at once they were re-equipped and armed.

In 1876 this company with its distinguished guests to-day, the Washington Light Infantry of Charleston, S. C., was part of the Centennial Legion, and assisted in the opening of the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia, and before its return visited Boston by special invitation, where its officers and men were treated with marked consideration.

For some years it constituted the first company of the Second Regiment of the State Guard and attended the annual encampments, but upon the adoption by the Guard of a distinctive uniform for all its members, this company having been allowed by special legislation to select its own uniform and preferring to retain that which it wears to-day, became by order of the Commander-in-Chief, the late Governor Fowle, an unattached company of the North Carolina Troops.

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA, GENERAL HEADQUARTERS,
ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
RALEIGH, *May 3, 1890.*

GENERAL ORDER NO. 6.

Company A, Second Regiment North Carolina State Guard, is allowed to withdraw from the State Guard and is restored to its former status as an independent Company, to be designated as the Fayetteville Light Infantry Company, under the Act of the General Assembly of 1819. It will be subject only to orders from the Commander-in-Chief.

It will retain the arms and equipment now in its possession, but the overcoats heretofore issued to it whilst a member of the State Guard will be returned to Col. F. A. Olds, Quartermaster General, who, upon receipt of the same will deliver to said Company the bond executed by said Company for said overcoats.

By order of the Commander-in-Chief.

JAMES D. GLENN,
Adjutant-General.

Recently it became again a company of the State Guard, and the question has arisen as to its right to wear the Confederate gray and is still unsettled.

No wonder, then, that with its record of long and faithful service, this ancient and honorable corps has become well known in North Carolina and beyond its borders. No wonder that it has been the recipient of marks of special regard from time to time at the hands of the Legislature.

In 1819 a joint resolution was passed by the General Assembly giving to its commanders the rank of Major and to its Lieutenants that of Captain "so long as the corps shall continue to hold itself armed and equipped agreeably to the tenor

of its rules and regulations.” As I had occasion to say in an address to this company on its 81st anniversary, in the year 1859 an act was passed to encourage this company, by the terms of which its officers and men were exempted from the performance of jury duty; but this favor was unanimously declined upon the ground that its duty as soldiers did not and ought not to relieve its members from any of the duties incident to citizenship.

Thus was evinced the high spirit of the corps and the devotion of its members to the performance of duty.

Could I recount to you the pleasant traditions and some of the peculiar customs pertaining to this company it might afford you some amusement, but they are already perpetuated in successive addresses which have been delivered on the former anniversaries.

Some day, and it is to be hoped at no great distance, your historian will gather them into a book and hand them down the line, that those who come after you may, like you, partake of the spirit of the fathers.

The last public act performed by this company was a few weeks ago in Raleigh, when it followed the remains of the great man who had been the President of the Confederate States, as they passed to their place at Hollywood, testifying the respect of its members for his memory, and seeking participation in whatever may be awarded of praise or blame to him who was the embodiment of all that was left of their common cause.

If by any strange mischance the career of this company was closed with its century of service, what an honorable end it would have reached before giving up its arms and passing into history, that its last act should have been to follow the bier of Jefferson Davis as it bore him to his eternal rest.

Organized, as this company was, a few years after the adoption of the Constitution of the United States by the

State Convention assembled in this town, of the circumstances of which adoption, the fierce and bitter contest, the thorough discussion, and the guarantees of personal freedom and State autonomy required before final action, we have all been made quite familiar by the recent celebration in this place of its centennial, and the splendid oration there pronounced by Senator M. W. Ransom, and the impromptu speech of great merit by Senator Vance, the officers and men were thoroughly imbued with the first principles of loyalty to the State, which was its sovereign, except as to certain powers and jurisdictions for special purposes granted to the general government. They have ever been true to these traditions, and, recognizing certain changes tending to strengthen and perpetuate the union of sovereign States brought about by the submission of the question in dispute to the ultimate arbitrament of arms, they are, as ever, true and steadfast in their devotion to North Carolina and the Constitutional Union of which she now forms an independent and indestructible part.

No call has ever been made by the State authorities which this company has not obeyed with alacrity.

Distinguished among, and not above, its comrade companies by reason of its great age and repeated services; the last public relic of the hallowed past, except the venerable University which is its senior in years but is perennial in its strength and in the renewal of its youth; surviving the old Constitution, the best ever made for a free people; surviving the old judiciary system and the executive and legislative departments, for they all gave place in 1868 to the new ideas and forms of government begotten of the last revolution, it ought to have some mark by which it may be known among its fellows.

It might, under the special laws which govern it, have chosen to be recognized by the old uniform of blue and buff

which it wore for many years. But when it came to take up its arms again after an enforced suspension, it was thought it might be well to cling to that garb which typified its greatest service to the commonwealth; it was thought that it might serve to teach the coming generations to revere the memory of the fathers who wore the gray; to know that there rests no stain of treason upon those who, clad in the Confederate colors, lost all but honor on the field of battle.

It was thought that it might further illustrate for those who shall see it march wherever duty calls in future years, that they who took the parole of honor to bear faithful allegiance to the United States were none the worse for the struggle they had made to compass the freedom of the State; that their patriotism was in no way weakened, and that the old company could be as instant in discharge of duty to constituted authority in this year of grace, 1893, as they were in the days of '61; that it might serve to bind to the grand future of a united and prosperous nation in the 20th Century the traditions of the no less glorious Confederacy, when the gray-clad soldier marched with Robert Lee and rode in the column where Wade Hampton led.

And so, at the sacrifice of much that was pleasant and companionable and profitable, this company, in no spirit of insubordination, but simply in the exercise of a discretion granted years ago by those who made the laws which govern us, has chosen to retain the gray uniform as an object lesson in the teaching of those things which will serve to lead enthusiastic youth to honor virtue and heroism, whether its reward is victory, or its issue death.

We are honored by the presence at our festival of comrades from Virginia and South Carolina whose splendid companies vie with ours in age and which, like ours, have renewed their youth and yet preserved the traditions of the early days of the Republic.

Each of them, like our own, has been the pride of its State and the honor of its community.

We have already welcomed them to the freedom of the city. We thank them for the soldierly distinction with which they have come to join us in the celebration of our natal day.

The Richmond Light Infantry Blues celebrated its centennial in May; it shares with us the honor of having tendered its services to the President in 1807, and taken part in the war of 1812, and its record in the late war has covered it with glory. And in this connection there is a tender episode in its history which binds it fast in our affections. It was in a gallant defense of the soil of our own State at Roanoke Island on the 9th day of February, 1862, that its peerless young commander fell pierced with the messenger of death. His last words made the battle cry of the command until the scene closed upon the remnant left at Appomattox: "Fight on, fight on, keep cool."

Of all the lifeblood poured out for years on Southern soil there was none that welled from knightlier heart than that of Jennings Wise.

Our kindred and friends, the Washington Light Infantry, from the sister Carolina, have come to us from the citadel of liberty, the city of Charleston.

They, too, have traced their lineage from those early days of our country's history, have added to the glory of South Carolina in all her struggles for constitutional freedom, and we are bound to them by all the ties of a common cause and a common fate. Their record in the war of 1812 and that between the States was worthy of the reputation of their State and city.

To add to the interest of the occasion, they bear with them the crimson flag of the Cowpens and of Eutaw, the banner under which Virginia and the twin Carolinas rushed to vic-

tory. Long may this sacred standard remain in the keeping of the brave and gallant men who hold it now.

May the friendships formed between the two commands in 1876 ripen now into more intimate knowledge of each other as distance has been so shortened by the new lines of communication between Charleston and our town.

Nothing could have been more appropriate than the participation of these representatives of our neighbor States in the celebration of our centennial.

When each of these commands was formed there was a fresh memory of the heroic campaigns of 1780-81, when the patriot troops of Virginia and the Carolinas dealt the blow to Ferguson at Kings Mountain, which turned the tide that had overborne the State of South Carolina and was intended to crush out liberty in North Carolina and Virginia. With the Maryland Line and Washington's Light Horse they gained a victory at the Cowpens, under Morgan.

And after Cornwallis had been forced at Guilford to turn his course to the sea and abandon his idea of conquest, again they struck at Eutaw such a blow as resulted in the retreat of the invader to the coast, and the virtual redemption of South Carolina.

In all these desperate encounters the men of the three States stood together and the Maryland Line, the Delaware Contingent (the blue hen's chickens) and the Georgia troops, Light Horse Harry Lee and Swamp Fox Marion and Sumter, and old Ben Cleveland and Shelby and Graham and Campbell and Washington raised such a storm as swept the land of the invader and drove Cornwallis to his fate at Yorktown.

How fitting it is that we should meet here on common ground and recount the exploits of the fathers, keep alive their grand traditions and resolve that we shall ever stand together, in war and in peace, as soldiers and as citizens.

The founders of this company have long since gone to their rest.

Fifty years ago there was a day of brave rejoicing. An address was delivered by Ed. Lee Winslow, Esq., an old member of the company which was in itself a complete history of its first half century.

In 1850 on this day you were addressed by Hon. Robert Strange who had been the Major Commandant, a Senator and a Judge. His elegant oration has been printed with Mr. Winslow's and is preserved in the archives.

In 1873, a distinguished South Carolinian, though a native of Fayetteville, Hon. W. S. Mullins, came to join with us in the celebration of the eightieth anniversary and address his former comrades.

Time fails me to call over the list of the honored officers and members of this corps who have passed away.

God rest them in the land of Peace.

It is easier to speak of the olden times, the first years of the organization, because we never knew the actors in those stirring scenes, they were already in the halls of history when we were born.

But when we come to read the names of those who, in the vigor of manhood, took part in the festivities of the semi-centennial, or when we recall the names of those who have since been its members and have gone, we are brought into the visible presence of our fathers and our brethren and the ground is hallowed where we stand in the show of our own memories.

It was an established custom in the olden time that on the 1st of May the company should appear in garments of immaculate white and act as escort of the fair young Queen of the May to the scene of her coronation, and for that day of all the year its fealty belonged to her majesty alone.

In later times, for one day in the year, it is under the orders of the Ladies' Memorial Association in the celebration

of the solemn rites which they have instituted over the graves of the Confederate dead.

And for the small service it has rendered her she returns a tenfold devotion. No sacrifice has been too great for her to make in the past for the benefit of this company. Its silken banners are always the workmanship of her fair hands. Its festive board is garnished with her exquisite taste.

But how can I recount the many tokens of her favor? She is here to-day in all her loveliness to grace the festival. If I could express a wish that would include all good to the members of this old company it should be that each one shall be truly worthy of the tender love of one of these fair women.

For the members of the Veteran Corps and those of the dispersed abroad, who are here to join in this most interesting occasion, we have the heartiest welcome. They will rejoice to see that at the entrance of the old company upon its second century it has laid the foundations of an elegant armory, under whose temporary roof we assemble to-day, and which it expects from time to time to enlarge and beautify and embellish until it shall be in itself a history of the corps.

God speed the young men in this undertaking. May they realize that there is something of responsibility in taking up the escutcheon which bears the insignia of the F. I. L. I. upon it.

“He that hath no stomach to this fight, let him depart.”

May they live and flourish and uphold the ancient reputation of the Corps and hand it down the New Century with undimmed lustre and renown.

So passed into history the first century of the existence of this command and the years rolled quickly on.

The controversy concerning the right of the Company to select and wear its own uniform under the resolution of 1819 was revived and became sharp and decisive.

An order from Governor Carr to the Company in 1893 had

required the return of the arms and other public property in its possession and had dropped the Company from the State Guard for failure to parade for inspection dressed in the regulation uniform, although it had been expressly invited by a former administration to resume its place in the State Guard as an unattached company subject to orders direct from the Commander-in-Chief. The order was resented by the Company and itself set right in a long correspondence and after a long report by a committee of leading members of the Company to whom it was referred. This report is spread at length upon the records and reserves forever as a complete vindication of the action of the command under rather trying circumstances.

But the order of the Governor was promptly obeyed, the arms and other property of the State returned, and the Company as promptly armed and accoutred itself and tendered its services to the Governor as an independent volunteer organization of the North Carolina Militia under the law of 1819.

Then came a time of great festivity. The Company was immensely popular, especially with the ladies, on account of its distinctive uniform.

In May, 1894, it had the post of honor on the occasion of the unveiling of the Confederate Monument on Capitol Square in Raleigh, and was treated with distinguished consideration.

In the month of January, 1898, there was a great mid-winter fair under its auspices in Fayetteville, which was attended by several of the visiting military companies, and there seemed to be for the community and for the country at large an era of lasting peace and prosperity.

The large and convenient armory was completed, the archives were kept therein, and the walls were adorned with the beautiful banners it had borne in its various service, and with the portraits of its worthy members and commanders.

To appropriate the words of one of its most devoted members and sons, the late Col. John D. Cameron, of Asheville:

The organization was formed of the best blood of Fayetteville; it was the pride of the sons to succeed the fathers, and such has been religiously observed. Service in such a company has always been esteemed an honor; and, for nearly a century, joining the Independent Company has been almost an essential to the young man of Fayetteville, as a formal declaration of manhood, as the assumption of the *toga virilis* by the youth of Rome.

Lawyers, physicians, merchants, mechanics, all have taken their turn in the ranks, and in their turn have succeeded to command; the course of promotion is uniform and inflexible; the lowest corporal, if he serves long enough, will in time rise to the rank of Major, but can only do so when those above him have passed through the same course by the rise and withdrawal of those who have attained the highest rank.

By this time the old town, itself scarred all over by fires of war, had begun to look up again; the old landmarks were being removed by the march of progress.

"Camp Adam" on Haymount, named for its first commander, where the beautiful May festivals used to be held, is now ceasing to be a memory. And the old shooting ground on Cross Creek where, after the target firing on the 23rd of August, the long tables groaned with the weight of the feast, and the shady grove resounded with eloquent periods, as the rippling waters made cool the summer air, and the "Foresters Spring" afforded purest beverage, either straight or mixed, according to the taste of the drinker. And historic "Cool Spring" higher up the creek where on whose banks for a century the company was accustomed to halt for refreshments and fire its memorial volley over the grave of old Isaac Hammond, the colored fifer, whose last wish it was to be laid where he might hear the music of the fife and the drum; are not all these things written in the rich chronicles of the old Independent Company?

Even now some of the quaint customs of the grandfathers are preserved. The young member of this company, be it

officer or man, who takes unto himself a wife, must sure as fate meet the ordeal for every new-made benedict in the rank and file, a free ride around the company, thrice repeated, on the arms of his comrades at the next regular muster.

But the new century, so full of peaceful promise, had not gone far before in the clear sky rang out the call to arms, and of course the reveille sounded at the armory, and the citizen soldiers without a moment's hesitation took up their duty and responded to the summons, and young husbands and fathers and younger boys, whose furthest thoughts on yesterday had been of battles, were putting on their armor and off to the wars as their fathers had gone before them.

It was an easy matter now to settle the question of uniforms. This company was mustered into service of the United States as company A, Second Regiment, N. C. Volunteers for the Spanish war.

Perhaps because of its being unattached to one of the regiments of the State Guard, or by some other strange mischance, its natural place at the head of the first regiment was filled by others, but it was supposed that North Carolina's two regiments, so promptly tendered and accepted would have been among the first at the front.

The first regiment reached Havana, and the second, delayed by the work of preparation on the part of the government, was held in Raleigh for some weeks and then distributed along the coast awaiting transportation, when by reason of the total destruction of the Spanish Navy and the overpowering rush of the first American troops who reached the field, the war was brought to a sudden determination. And soon the men were at home again engaged in their ordinary avocations. The organization is kept up; the company is now a part of the State Guard of North Carolina and a beautiful arrangement has been made, well-pleasing to all concerned.

There is a battalion, the Gray and the Blue.

For all special occasions the company musters in the colors of the North Carolina State Guard, whatever it may be, blue now, but soon to be turned into some invisible khaki color, possibly gray.

But when the anniversary comes, or Washington's or Lee's birthday, or the first of May, then it is the Gray Company, the old Independent, its commander a major, and all its lieutenants captains.

The armory has been disposed of to the United States, its site is to be occupied by a public building; a newer and a finer armory will soon be provided and the progressive city of Fayetteville will take as much pride in the future of this ancient and honorable corps as the fathers and mothers did in the old company, whose history, like a golden thread, runs through the annals of the municipality and of the State.

THE EXPEDITION AGAINST THE ROW GALLEY "GENERAL ARNOLD"—A SIDE LIGHT ON COLONIAL EDENTON.

BY REVEREND ROBERT BRENT DRANE, D.D.,
(Rector of St. Paul's Church, Edenton, N. C.)

In the year 1781, the American colonies were yet in the life and death struggle for political freedom from England and the southern portion of them was the scene of many important actions. The incident herein treated is not given in the histories, but the fact and its importance to the Edentonians are witnessed to in "The Life and Correspondence of James Iredell," and in certain papers of Josiah Collins, Esq., heretofore unpublished.

Writing in that year to James Iredell, Samuel Johnston, says: "All Europe have their eyes on America, and particularly the Southern States. Much will depend on our exertions and success. The great and sudden fall of the old continental money has occasioned very great convulsions and dissatisfaction in this city and has reduced all paper currency to a very doubtful state, very many refusing to have anything to do with it." And again, "We shall suffer much in this campaign, it will be very bloody, but I hope it will be the last. * * * My hopes and expectations of a favorable issue to our troubles are very sanguine."

Such was the spirit of the leading men of Edenton in the face of the invasion of their region by Cornwallis, both by land and water.

In those days and for long afterward the port of Edenton was much more important than we of today know it, since the development of Norfolk and the railroads has given trade greater facilities than through our shallow sounds. As the "Port of Roanoke" Edenton was entered by many vessels of

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the foreign trade, and this suggested to the British invader an avenue of distress to the Americans, which they entered.

At the time above indicated and for the cause here specified, many Edentonians sought safety in flight across the sound, particularly to Bertie County; and Windsor was crowded with fugitives, especially women and children, who seem to have made the best of the situation. Familiar letters of those days anticipate for us the scenes of Refugee Life in our "Sixties." Good humour and old fashioned hospitality prevailed. News from the front was continually conveyed by the gentlemen in person, passing and repassing, and through the letters sent by "expresses," or messengers, to their loved ones and their business correspondents. *

Under date of 23th May, 1781, Charles Johnson writing from Edenton to James Iredell gives some particulars relative to one of the most formidable of the British predatory boats in Albemarle Sound, the Row Galley "General Arnold." †

*The following subscription paper illustrates this aspect of the life of that day:

"We, the subscribers, being willing and desirous of establishing a Post between this Town [Edenton] and that of Suffolk, in Virginia, for the purpose of receiving the earliest News and Intelligence in the Present Critical times, do agree to pay the several sums affixed against our Respective Names, the same to be paid into the hands of Robt. Smith, Esq., for the purpose of Employing a Rider once a fortnight. Given under our hands this 6th of May, 1775."

Signed for five shillings each by J. Charlton, John Pearson, Charles Bondfield, Arch'd Corrie, George Gray, S. Dickinson, Thos. Benbury, Wm. Hoskins, Roger Pye, Wm. Boyd, Wm. Littlejohn, Geo. Russell, Arch'd Campbell, Jno. Green, Jno. Horniblow, Chas. Johnson, Robt. Patterson (K. Williams?); and for ten shillings each by Jos. Blount, Thos. Jones, Rob. Smith, Michael Payne, Quintin Miller, Jos. Montford, Andw. Little, James Blount, Jas. Iredell, Sam'l Johnston.

† In J. R. B. Hathaway's Hist'l. and Gen'l. Register, Vol. 3, No. 2, page 299, it is made probable that the infamous Benedict Arnold visited Edenton in 1774.

“We last night returned from a cruise, unfortunately not having taken the galley, our principal object; but as we were so happy as to retake Mr. Smith’s schooner, in which his whole property was embarked, it gives, as you may conceive, every person concerned in the expedition the most heartfelt satisfaction. Ten of her hands [the Galley’s] were taken by about the same number of ours in Mr. Johnston’s canoe, after a smart fire on both sides, in which, however, nobody was wounded. We pushed them so close that they were obliged to set fire to Mr. Littlejohn’s schooner and, under favor of the night, made their escape. We are now fully employed in fitting out three or four armed boats to go in pursuit, Nelson’s brig proving improper for the service, as the Galley can always get in shoal water, where a large vessel can not follow her. If she does not immediately leave the sound, or is not reinforced, which the prisoners seem to expect, I have not the least doubt of our people taking her. The inhabitants, in general, and sailors have, and do, turn out unanimously. I never saw, nor could hope to see, so much public spirit, personal courage and intrepid resolution—it would please you to see it. I am convinced that was the measure adopted of fitting out one or two armed vessels, we might laugh at all attempts of the enemies’ plundering banditti.

“I feel for Mrs. Dawson’s exposed and unprotected situation. I’m apprehensive this is but a prelude to what we must expect upon return of the enemies’ boats from the plunder of James River, but thanks to Providence for the formation of our natural fortifications, which will hinder their small craft being supported by their large ships.”

Robert Smith, owner of schooner above happily retaken, a considerable merchant of Edenton, writing to Iredell from Eden House, in Bertie County, says: “I am just going over to town to know the worst. They have given me a pretty little switching, but it might have been worse; they have

ruined poor Littlejohn and would have left me nothing had they not have taken fright. * * * I apprehend this visit is only a prelude to many such we are to expect."

Another glimpse of the situation is seen from Mrs. Blair's letter to Iredell: "I think it will be very wrong for my sister to stay below any longer, for though these boats come up to cut out vessels, it is, I think, more than probable they will call at plantations, and those in particular where they see good houses, for there they will expect rich plunder. I believe they seldom want information where the most is to be had. I should think it would be better for Mrs. Dawson also to get out of the way, if it was only on account of the continual dread and uneasiness she will continue to be under."

Judge Iredell, writing to his wife, under date Edenton, 30th May, 1781, adds something: "The boats went yesterday, four of them, under the respective commands of Captain Gale, Captain Bateman, Captain Addison, and Captain Finch, all together having about fifty men, or perhaps more. They are Mr. Johnston's canoe, Mr. Pollok's, the Caswell's barge, and Bonitz's boat, and each, I believe, has a swivel, besides muskets. The men are well chosen, and went with excellent spirits, without any kind of riot or disorder. The Galley, when the last account came, was in the marshes. Two other boats were to go from Perquimans, and two, it was expected, would be fitted out by the Bankers below.* * * * Mr. Smith has lost several of his papers, though not the most valuable, his table and other linen and clothes, and very near seven hhds. of rum.

Littlejohn has lost little, I am told, except his schooner. Two of his negroes are returned."

While such was the agitation in and about Edenton and Mrs. Johnston's friends were advising her to vacate "Hayes," the family seat, just out of town, to follow her friends to Bertie County for safety, her husband, Samuel Johnston, in

attendance on the sessions of the Continental Congress at Philadelphia (whence we heard from him, in the opening of this paper) wrote his friend James Iredell: "I am sorry people were in such haste to remove themselves and property from Edenton. I rather could have wished they had thought of defending it, which would have been attended with less risk and expense, in my opinion, for till the conquest of Virginia is effected, which I flatter myself will not speedily take place, I scarcely think you will be molested with any considerable invasion, and if the phundering parties meet with opposition they will grow sick of the business.

"However, every one will, and has a right to, judge for himself on these occasions.* * * Should a few fortunate events cast up in our favor, I hope there will be no more of it after this summer,—if otherwise, God knows where it will end, *for America can never submit.*"

The above quotations from letters and the documents to follow, (now printed for the first time) show us something of the people,—who they were and how they felt, and what they did; that they were not disposed to be "like dumb driven cattle." There is an absence of *heroics* which saves the situation from being comical; in view of the *one row galley* of the British, a shallow draught boat, which might have been floated in the barrels and hogsheads of rum listed as captured by her and as provided for sustaining the courage of the various crews of sloop, galley, and dispatch boat fitted out against her. We may suppose that the lack of information concerning her whereabouts and purposes tended to exaggerate the gravity of the situation. For, since the days of Tacitus, "*omne ignotum pro magnifico.*"

At any rate the Edentonians were not going to take any chances on a duel-like encounter with the "General Arnold." They believed in "team play," and they did not scorn the suggestion of auxiliaries from Perquimans, nor even from the

distant Bankers whose familiarity with the shoal waters of Currituck and Roanoke should well qualify them to cope with a row galley which affected the marshes.

Fifty-nine men, leading citizens, subscribed £74,500, or \$186,250 in their accounts. Lest they should seem to us extravagant in their preparations to give the enemy's row galley a proper reception, let us recall the expense which our government has just now incurred for the war-vessel, North Carolina, \$7,000,000, in much better money, too.

The following are transcribed from papers in the handwriting, mostly, of Josiah Collins. There are many interesting autograph signatures:

THE EXPEDITION AGAINST THE ROW GALLEY, GENERAL ARNOLD.

Where as the Navigation of this state will be rendered dangerous unless a stop is put to the depredation of the Enemy by the capture of their Galley now in Albemarle Sound—

For the encouragement of those who are willing to turn out for the purpose, we the subscribers in behalf of themselves and the State in general, which will doubtless reimburse them for all sums they may Advance for a measure of such publick utility, do promise and engage that should they be so fortunate as to make prize of the galley called the General Arnold or any other of the enemies' armed Vessels, the whole of such Vessel or Vessels shall be divided in Just proportions amongst them, and shou'd they retake any Vessels made prize of by the enemy they shall be entitled to the whole of such part as the Law allows in such cases, without any deduction whatever on account of the Boats or Vessels they gain, which Boats or Vessels shall not be entitled to draw any part of such prizes—

It is further agreed that shou'd any person receive A Wound that may disable him shall be entitled to receive three shares over and above as aforesaid and shou'd any person be so unfortunate as to lose his life, his wife and family (if he have any) shall receive four shares, over and above, as aforesaid.

The subscribers promise and agree to the sum of One Hund'd pounds per day for each man who shall engage in this enterprise untill such time as the Cruise is finished, besides being sufficiently provid'd for in provision, Rum, &c., &c.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Thos. Benbury. | 28. Geo. Gray. |
| 2. James Neilson. | 29. John Blackburn as for as |
| 3. Robt. Hardy. | £1,000. |
| 4. Nath'l. Allen. | 30. Stephen Cabarrus. |
| 5. Chas. Johnson. | 31. Wm. Bonitz. |
| 6. Mich'l. Payne. | 32. William Cumming. |
| 7. Wm. Littlejohn. | 33. Alex'r. Black. |
| 8. Joseph Smith. | Nehemiah Bateman. |
| 9. S. Dickinson. | 34. Jas. Whedbee as far as £1,000. |
| 10. Sam'l Cooley. | 35. Gavin Hamilton. |
| 11. Josiah Collins. | 36. Wm. Scott. |
| 12. Arch'd. Bell. | 37. Jno. Horniblow. |
| 13. Jos. Blount. | 38. J. Mare. |
| 14. Wm. Bennett. | 39. John Etheridge. |
| 15. Nath'l Allen for Robt. Smith. | 40. Pamburse. |
| 16. Wm. Boyd. | 41. Enoch Sawyer. |
| 17. Will'm Skinner. | 42. David Meredith. |
| 18. T. Barker. | 43. Thos. Ming, £1,000. |
| 19. Chas. Pettigrew. | 44. John Bennett. |
| Jas. Lutin. | 45. James Webb, junr. |
| 20. Wm. Savage. | 46. Ditto for Willis Langley. |
| 21. B'n. Bryor. | 47. Joseph Underhill. |
| 22. Ed. Blount. | 48. Samuel Black. |
| 23. Wm. McDonald. | 49. Chris'r. Clark. |
| 24. Henry O'Neil. | 50. Nich's. Long. |
| 25. Wm. Roberts. | 52. David Lawrence. |
| Wm. Gardner. | 53. Michael Levy. |
| 26. Robt. Egan. | 54. John Baptist Beasley. |
| Thos. Bonner. | 55. John Anderson. |
| 27. Fine & Scott. | |

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS ON THE EXPEDITION AGAINST THE ROW GALLEY,
GENERAL ARNOLD.

1. Thomas Barker, W. B.....	£1,500
2. Thomas Benbury, pd. J. C. & B.....	1,500
3. James Nelson, pd. W. B.....	1,500
4. Nath'l Allen, pd. J. C.....	1,500
5. William Sawyer, J. B.....	1,500
6. Genl. Skinner, W. B.....	1,500
7. Robert Smith, pd. J. C.....	1,500
8. John Horniblow, pd. J. C.....	1,000
9. Joseph Underhill, pd. J. C.....	1,000
10. John Baptist Beasley, W. B.....	1,000
11. Mich'l. Payne, W. B.....	1,000
12. Charles Pettigrew, pd. J. C.....	1,000
13. Gavin Hamilton, J. B.....	1,000

14. William Bonitz, W. B.....	1,500
15. Robert Hardy, J. S.....	1,500
16. Joseph Smith, J. S.....	1,500
17. Willis Langley, J. B.....	1,500
18. James Webb, W. B.....	1,000
19. Samuel Dickinson, W. B.....	1,500
20. Enoch Sawyer, J. C.....	1,000
21. Jno. Blackburn, £1,000 pd. J. C.....	1,000
22. Thos. Ming, £1,000 pd. J. C.....	1,000
23. Roullack, W. B.....	1,000
24. David Lawrence, pd. J. C.....	1,000
25. Fine & Scott, W. B.....	3,000
26. Henry O'Neil, W. B.....	1,000
27. Robert Eagan, J. B.....	1,000
28. Josiah Collins.....	1,500
29. Geo. Gray, pd. J. C.....	1,000
30. Will'm McDonald, J. S.....	1,000
31. Benj'n. Bryce, J. B.....	1,000
32. Sam'l. Cooley, J. B.....	1,000
33. Arch'd. Bell & Co., J. B.....	1,500
34. Alex. Black, pd. J. C.....	1,500
35. Chas. Johnson, pd. J. C.....	1,500
36. Sam'l. Johnston, pd. J. C.....	1,500
37. Joseph Whidbee, J. C.....	1,000
38. William Littlejohn, J. B.....	1,500
39. Joseph Blount, J. B.....	1,500
40. Thomas Bonner, J. B.....	1,000
41. William Bennett, pd. W. B.....	1,500
42. Christ'r. Clark, pd. J. C.....	1,500
43. Nehemiah Long, pd. J. C.....	1,000
44. William Scott, J. S.....	1,500
45. William Armstrong, J. S.....	1,500
46. John Mare, J. B.....	1,000
47. John Etheridge, J. S.....	1,000
48. Dominique Pamburse, J. B.....	1,000
49. Samuel Black, J. S.....	1,000
50. John Stewart, J. S.....	1,000
51. Edmund Blount, J. S.....	1,500
52. Rich'd. Blow, by Wm. Bennett, Esq'r.....	1,500
53. David Meredith, W. B.....	1,000
54. Stephen Cabarruce, J. S.....	1,000
55. Levy, J. S.....	1,000
56. Nehemiah Bateman, J. S.....	1,000
57. Geo. Wynns, pd. J. C.....	1,500
58. William Boyd, pr. W. B.....	1,500
59. William Roberts, J. B.....	1,000

A List of Seamen and Marines on board of the Galley Tartar, viz:

William Proby, Cap.....	1	*Michael Young.....	15
†Valentine Nohell, 1st Lu.....	2	*John Guey.....	16
†Jacob Butler, 2nd ditto.....	3	*George Jackson	17
†James Luten, Cap. of Marcins..	4	*Frederick Morris.....	18
*Malvin Moore, Cap. of the		Tho. Mann, pilate.....	19
Ward Boat.....	5	*Jeremiah Johnson.....	20
*Cap. Cannon Master.....	6	*Emanuel Spaniard.....	21
*William Heaker.....	7	*Marino Spaniard.....	22
*Henry Flury.....	8	*John Moore.....	23
*Thos. Oates, Steward.....	9	*John Fife.....	24
*Thos. Gaskins.....	10	*Henderson Luten, Sr.....	26
*David McKinsey.....	11	*Henry Roads.....	27
*Abraham Clark.....	12	*Daniel Leonard.....	28
*Moses Gregory.....	14	Samuel Twine.....	29

6 Days Wages on board of the Galley Tartar..... 29
6

Dollars..... 174

To Sundry Expenses 7

Dollars..... 181

To Sundries pr. acct..... 12½

193½

Amt. brot. over..... 193½

Capt. Proby for his trouble over and above his daily pay..... 6

£52.14 199½

3. 2

£55.16

Received Edenton, August 12, 1782, of Josiah Collins One Hundred Ninety-Nine and five-eighths Spanish Milled Dollars, being in full for the within account.
W. PROBY."

The Subscribers to the Expedition against the Row Galley, General Arnold, to Joseph Smith, William Bennett, Joseph Blount, and Josiah Collins, Commissioners appointed by the said subscribers.

1781.

Dr.

June 7. To 40½ galls. Rum @ £240..... £9,640
1 Barrel Pork..... 2,000
264 lbs. Bread 80d..... 1,056

† These lines have pen line drawn through names, but numbers remain.

Bags for ditto.....	480
40 lbs. Sugar, £24.....	960
20 lbs. Coffee, £30.....	600
8 lbs. Pork for hands to go over the Sound to fetch Mr. Pollock's Canoe.....	80
8 lbs. Bread for do. do.....	32
Negro hire for do. do.....	60
12 lbs. Muskett Balls.....	360
	<hr/> 15,318
9 days hire of 40 men, £40.....	36,000
Cash paid the Captains for Sundry ex- penses while on the Cruises.....	2,162
5 lbs. Nails	180
14 Swivell Balls.....	140
Amt. Messrs. Sam'l Cooley & Co., acct.....	485
2 Saddles and 2 Worms, 8d.....	640
2 gin cases.	
Error in Cash paid Capt. N. Bateman.....	362
Cash paid Negro hire going over the Sound with M. Pollock's Canoe.....	100
Mr. Geo. Gray for Liquor for Sailors.....	200
Thos. Ming, amt. of his acct.....	1,920
6 pr. Handcuffs, £320.....	1,920

The Sloop commanded by Capt. Cross.

The Galley commanded by Capt. Simons.

The Dispatch Boat, Capt. Yeomans.

1782.

To JOSIAH COLLINS, *Dr.*

July 30th—

To 10 gallons rum, 14d.....	£7. — —
To 100 lbs. salted Pork, 8d.....	3. 6. 8.
To 104 lbs. Ship Bread, 5d.....	2. 3. 4.
To 10 lbs. Beacon, 8d.....	— 6. 8.
To 2 Tinn Potts, 12d.....	1. 4. —
To 1½ lbs. Tallow	— 1. 6.
To 1½ lbs. Nails, ¾.....	5. —
To Cash paid 28 Hands for 2 days Hire each at 8d.....	22. 8. —
To do. pd. Capt. Yeomans for boat hire.....	1. 4. —

£37. 19. 2.

The effect of all this upon the hostile "row galley" does not appear, so far as this writer has been able to discover.

Lord Cornwallis's surrender to General Washington at Yorktown on the 19th of October, 1781, practically ended the

war. The date of the last account above given, 1782, July 30, may suggest a continuance of the expedition much longer than the original subscribers bargained for. The treaty of peace was finally signed at Paris, September 3, 1783. While we are guessing, possibly there was a parallel here with the Americans' victory in the battle of New Orleans, in the later war of 1812, won after the treaty of peace had been signed, of which they knew not. At the least, let us be sure that the event of this expedition justified the means adopted by the people of Edenton and their neighbors to rid their sound and America of such a pest as the Row Galley General Arnold.

THE QUAKERS OF PERQUIMANS.

BY JULIA S. WHITE.

To write of the Quakers of Perquimans County involves almost the complete history of the Friends' Church in North Carolina for the first seventy-five years of its existence. It also involves the beginning of all North Carolina church history; for, so far as known, the first religious gathering in the State was a Quaker meeting. Says the Rt. Rev. Joseph Blount Cheshire in the North Carolina Booklet of April, 1906, page 261: "Quakerism was the only organized form of religion in the colony, with no rival worship among the people for the rest of the seventeenth century (1672). * * * It drew to itself a number of the intelligent and well-disposed inhabitants, especially of Perquimans and Pasquotank. * * These zealous and self-sacrificing men deserve to be held in honorable memory, who at the expense of so much time, labor, and bodily suffering, cultivated the spiritual harvest in that distant and unattractive field. Quakerism did not begin the work of settlement, and of reclaiming the wilderness for civilization, but it has the greater honor of having brought some organized form of Christianity to the infant colony, and of having cared for those wandering sheep whom others neglected."

The first Quaker in North Carolina was one Henry Phillips, who had been a member of that church in New England previous to his coming to Carolina in 1665; though William Edmundson, an Irish Quaker preacher, was the real instigator of Quakerism among the settlers. This "traveling Friend" after much hardship reached a place probably not far distant from where the town of Hertford now stands, and in a three days stay held two religious services. One of these two was at the home of Henry Phillips, who, with his family,

had wept for joy at the coming of Edmundson, not having seen a Quaker for seven years. The second of these services was at the home and by the invitation of one Francis Toms, a justice of the peace, who with his wife had at the first meeting "received the truth with gladness." Edmundson was followed in a few months by George Fox himself, the founder of the church. Fox's carefully kept diary gives much insight into the methods and route of travel as well as the conditions, social and religious, in the infant settlement. No doubt his coming had much to do in fostering and establishing the church, especially by instigating his letters of advice written after his return to England.

Four years later Edmundson returns to Carolina and says, "Friends were finely settled and I left things well among them." All of this occurred in what is now Perquimans County; and from that day to this (1672-1908), a term of two hundred and thirty-six years, Friends have been prominent citizens of that county.

Friends (this term is far preferable to Quaker, though the latter has no longer the opprobrium of its origin) until very recent years included in their church organization four distinct assemblies, viz: the Preparative, the Monthly, the Quarterly, and the Yearly Meeting. The first has now been done away with and all yearly meetings which have adopted what is known as the Uniform Discipline are no longer a court of final appeal or distinct within themselves as in early days, but are subject to the action of the Five-Years Meeting, or rather the consensus of opinion of all the Friends on the American continent.

Of the transactions of their various meetings for business the Friends have been unusually careful to preserve a record, and these manuscripts are now invaluable to the student, giving not only an insight into the social condition of the time, but also the methods of church discipline and authority and

the doings of its members. The faithful records of the marriage certificates with the signatures of the witnesses, the chronicling of births and deaths, all give the genealogist a mine yielding rich returns.

The oldest record preserved by the Quakers of North Carolina is a marriage certificate of Christopher Nicholson and Ann Attwood, both of Perquimans, and dating 1682, which it will be noted, is just ten years after the visits of Edmundson and Fox. The regular minutes of the business meetings do not begin till later, and these are rather fragmentary as they were not properly collected till 1728.

The first organization of Friends in Perquimans County was known as Perquimans Monthly Meeting. After 1764 it was called Wells.' This meeting finally set off Sutton's Creek Monthly Meeting and transferred itself to Piney Woods Monthly Meeting in 1794. Piney Woods Monthly Meeting is the only monthly meeting in that county at the present time, and is, as shown, the direct outgrowth of the first organization of Quakers in the State. The Wells' meeting house stood not far from the present town of Winfall, just across the road from the Jessup homestead. A rather interesting episode occurs in the annals of this meeting. It seems that one Jonathan Pearson had for some reason filled up the spring to which Friends of this meeting had had access. He was "churched" in regard to the same and so the spring was opened again.

Almost coequal with the growth and development of Quakerism in Perquimans County was that in Pasquotank County, and the two monthly meetings joined in constituting a superior, or quarterly meeting known as Eastern Quarter. This was done in 1681, and in 1698 the yearly meeting was established, embracing only the one quarter and the two monthly meetings. For nearly three-quarters of a century (till 1757) this was the condition of the church.

Perquimans County continued to be the radiating center for Quakerism for the first century of the State's history; that is, until the great migratory wave of Quakers from Nantucket, New England, Pennsylvania, and other points north had swept into our borders and organized themselves and asserted their powers. Then the Quakers of Perquimans shared their power and a new quarterly meeting was established in the section near where Guilford College now stands, which by way of distinction was called *Western Quarter*. The migratory spirit was in the air and the old Teutonic blood which had made our sturdy forefathers first cross the Virginia border now impelled many of them to move from the lowlands to the Piedmont section of the State. But for eighty-eight years (till 1786) the yearly meeting of North Carolina (that is the highest authority in the church), was held either at Perquimans or Old Neck or Little River—all in Perquimans County. Then there was a series of years (1787-1812) in which the yearly meeting alternated between Perquimans and Guilford Counties, with four exceptions when Pasquotank claimed the honor. So that it is only in recent years, 1812-date, that Perquimans County has not been a rallying point for the Quakerism of the whole State.

As to what part of the population the Quakers were, there is no means of determining; but this fact is assured, that prior to 1700 the Quakers had things much their own way in church and state and that this "golden age" of North Carolina Quakerism culminated in the appointment of a Quaker governor, John Archdale, who, though giving his time and energy to South Carolina, left an impress and gained much prestige and recognition for his co-religionists in North Carolina.

Early in the eighteenth century the Quakers began to need all the metal which was in them in order to breast the tide of opposition and to remain true to what they believed right. Governor Walker aroused the Church of England in such

words as these addressed to the Bishop of London: "My Lord, we have been settled near this fifty years in this place, and I may justly say most part of twenty-one years, on my own knowledge, without priest or altar, and before that time, according to all that appears to me, much worse, George Fox some years ago came into these parts and by strange infatuations, did infuse the Quakers' principles into some small number of the people; which did and hath continued to grow ever since very numerous, by reason of their yearly sending in men to encourage and exhort them to their wicked principles; and here was none to dispute nor to oppose them in carrying on their pernicious principles for many years, until God, of his infinite goodness was pleased to inspire the Rev. Dr. Bray * * * to send in some books * * * of the explanation of the church catechism, etc." * * *

"My Lord, I humbly beg leave to inform you, that we have an assembly to sit the 3rd of November next, and there is above *half* of the burgesses that are chosen are Quakers, and have declared their designs of making void the act for establishing the church; if your lordship, out of his good and pious care for us, doth not put a stop to this growth, we shall the most part, especially the children born here, become heathens."

This quotation, lengthy as it is, is yet of great intrinsic value. It shows a great antagonism on the part of the writer for the Quakers, and incidentally their origin, growth and present power. That one-half the burgesses were of the Quaker faith is about the nearest approximation we can secure as to relative numbers in their community, and this was in their years of waning power too.

But more than all, it shows us the beginnings of a long struggle between church and state, and the beginning of a protest on the part of the Quakers which has eventually resulted in the existence of many of the civil and religious privi-

leges of today; notable among them is the privilege of affirmation by any individual and in any court of justice, rather than the taking of the legal oath.

That a vigorous effort was made and much legislation secured toward making the Church of England the church of the Carolinas is easily shown by a study of the legal enactments of the time. That the Quakers were for a long time the only organized body of Dissenters must necessitate crediting them with trying to stem in its beginning the current which was about to sweep from us religious tolerance and individual liberty. To be sure in later years (from 1750-) the Presbyterians were much more potent in this struggle, but the Quakers held the fort until that time. As to taking the oath (and the laws of our State have on the face of them seemed lenient toward Quakers), it will hardly be claiming too much to say that the universal privilege of affirmation in any court of justice in our State is an outgrowth of Quaker influence. It must not be overlooked, however, that it was just this matter of taking an oath which first put the Quakers out of politics and which eventually made it a disownable offense for any members of the Friends' Church to hold office under the government. It is only in recent years, very recent years, that Friends have awakened to the fact that they may without being untrue to the tenets of their faith hold office. We are glad to realize that they are again making themselves a part of civic life and doing their part politically, as well as socially, in the great civic awakening which is spreading over our country.

Another point in which the Quakers figure largely in the early law annals of our State and in which the Quakers of Perquimans must have been prime movers, as it occurred in the years when they were the leaders of Quakerism in the State, is in regard to taking up arms. They paid gladly their militia fines which were *thrice* the usual tax on property; and while

these taxes were heavy at times, and long imposed, i. e., till 1783, the Quakers then were even more so than now, it seems, extremely careful to meet all financial obligations, so that there was credence in the old adage, "A Quaker's word is as good as his bond." While today the man who would vouch for the genuineness of an article of production must call it "Quaker Oats," "Quaker Gelatine," etc.

That the Quakers were a large majority of the inhabitants of Perquimans in 1723 can be almost assured from the following data. At that time the law of 1715 was in force which provided "that no Quaker or reputed Quaker shall by virtue of this act (that is of affirming instead of taking the oath) be qualified or permitted to give evidence in any criminal causes or to serve on any jury, or bear any office or place of profit or trust in the government." Now we have a list of jurymen in the various precincts for the year 1723, and while Pasquotank and Chowan have 156 and 142, respectively, Perquimans has only 54, and Perquimans was just as old a province as either of the other two. Furthermore, in this list the surnames so familiar in Quaker records are conspicuously absent. Despite all this, in the formative days of the civil and ecclesiastical history of the Old North State, the Quaker was a very influential individual; and shall we not claim that this wide influence of what Weeks calls the "flower of Puritanism," was the great influence which preserved our State from any dark pages of history, pages which mar the annals of Virginia and Massachusetts, and place us along with Pennsylvania in matters of justice to the Indian and opposition to war?

So much for the Quakers of Perquimans and their relation to the State. It now remains to be told of their workings among themselves. Their records show many points of interest and much which seems to us like an infringement of personal liberty and that the church was overstepping its bounds.

With the special privilege granted the Quaker in regard to the marriage rite, it is matter of much pride to the church that it exercised so much care in this regard. Upon every occasion careful inquiry is made in regard to the life and conversation of the parties wishing to marry, and especially in regard to their freedom from marriage relations; and then the church has its representatives present at the wedding and they must be responsible and report on the good order maintained at the ceremony and produce to the meeting the marriage certificate always very carefully and explicitly written, with the names of many witnesses to the ceremony affixed thereto. The whole thing with the signatures is properly recorded in the church books provided for that purpose.

It might be said on passing that these records which the Friends have always been so careful to keep are one of the fruitful sources for genealogical study before mentioned.

"Marrying out," that is, marrying some one not in membership with the Friends, was a disownable offense; and it was thus that the Quakers lost many members. The church would not grant its permission to a marriage request sometimes, and such a thing as a man's not having paid his debts would hinder no less than grösser evils if such were detected.

Indeed, it has always been a care of the Quakers to keep their outward affairs in proper condition, and in the early days of the Perquimans records, where boundary lines were not marked with sufficient definiteness, one of the principal matters of church record is the settlement *by the church* of such differences as may arise in regard to land tenure. The manner in which these differences were settled is something like this: the two contesting parties would each name an equal number of individuals to act as arbitrators, and the church would appoint *one*; and generally such a committee reached a satisfactory conclusion. Should either party appeal to the courts for justice, he was immediately "churched,"

and if no acknowledgement was made, he was disowned. "Brother goeth to war with brother and that before the unbeliever," had a very vivid meaning to the Quaker fathers.

The Perquimans records show time and again that its members were under surveillance if they were not prompt and exact in the payment of their debts. In 1769 a party is disowned for bankruptcy. This is the actual wording of the inquiry which was made at least once a year, and generally oftener, for nearly two hundred years in the Quaker church: "Do you maintain strict integrity in all transactions in trade and in your outward concerns; and are you careful not to defraud the public revenue?" or something in substance the same.

Other matters which concerned the Quakers of Perquimans in the pioneer days seem trivial only as they give an insight into the social customs of the time and also what the Quakers regarded as right. For example, one Friend asked the church for the privilege of wearing a wig, and the request was *not granted*; but some years later another request came up and the privilege *was* granted, with the advice "to wear a *plain one*."

So soon as a member was known to be "drinking to excess" or "using bad language," he was at once "churched;" and twice the records of Perquimans show where individuals were up before the church for "striking or whipping their wives," and once a Friend is reputed to be keeping a tavern. The committee of investigation is appointed and the tavern keeper, by forsaking his chosen business, is restored into good fellowship.

But these are of the early days. At the present time there are two hundred and ninety-six Friends in Perquimans and Chowan Counties (the latter has only about thirty-five). These all belong to Piney Woods Monthly Meeting, which is composed of Piney Woods and Up River meetings for worship.

Quakerism in Perquimans has long been on the wane. The peremptory way in which Friends have disowned its members make us almost wonder that any at all are left. But it was not disownment any more than migration which brought about the present condition. The Teutonic spirit which made the people first migrate into the State was the same which, working in their descendants, caused them to move further South or over West, seeking new lands and new environment. For there was a decided exodus from Perquimans to points South and also to points in central Carolina. As the Quakers were very careful to take their church credentials with them, it is easy to follow them from place to place as they moved.

The Quaker protest against slavery and war, when he found he could not remove the one from our midst much as he succeeded in getting it out of his church, and when he would not take part in the other—the Quaker's protest, I say, was a very quiet one, that of leaving the State; and the Quakers of Perquimans were among those who so largely settled the free States of Ohio and Indiana. It was this migration which left the Quakers on their original site not a weak body, but shorn of much of its strength.

What the Quakers have been to the county and the community is best shown by stating a few facts. For seventy-two years the Quakers of Perquimans have maintained an academy at Belvidere which has always stood for high grade work and has been, and still is, recognized as one of the most worthy institutions for secondary education in the State. This institution now enrolls about one hundred and thirty pupils per year who are here prepared for any of the leading colleges of our State.

The Total Abstinence Society of Perquimans and Chowan Counties, which claims to be the second oldest temperance organization in the State, dating back to the early part of the

nineteenth century, while by no means an exclusively Quaker organization, had as its founders men of Quaker faith and such have always been its ardent supporters, working shoulder to shoulder with the Baptists. This fact is worthy of mention at this time; for in the recent election in Edenton the temperance forces at work there felt and acknowledged the fruits of the work of this pioneer organization.

Shakespeare says, "What's in a name? That which we call a rose, by any other name would smell as sweet;" and on the naming of their places of worship, the Friends had no ear for the artistic or euphonious, but were purely *local*. This strict adherence to facts is full of hints to the research student, and the hallowed associations are just as sweet as if we had not such names to bring them up as those named below. All of the Friends' meetings, that is, all of the places in which church services have been held in Perquimans County, aside from the private houses first used, are as follows: Perquimans, Wells', Suttons' Creek, Old Neck, Little River, Boice's, Beech Spring, Piney Woods and Up River.

As to the people, the surnames which appear in the Quaker records of these meetings are names still to be found in Perquimans and adjoining counties or are among those transplanted to central Carolina and the middle West. Notable among them are Nicholson, Albertson, White, Winslow, Newby, Toms, Bagley, Elliott, Blanchard, Nixon, Cannon and others equally as important, but the list is already too long. I mention the last for it is not a matter of conjecture, but a matter of history that the present Speaker of the House, Joseph G. Cannon, is not only of Quaker extraction through his mother, but also on his father's side; and that were the Cannons of Guilford County traced back a few generations, Perquimans might come in for a share of the honor, if such there be, attaching to our countryman.

While Quakerism in Perquimans has much to be proud of in its past history and can pride itself in the worthy citizens which it has produced, we believe none in the past can surpass some of the standard-bearers of the present day, and though the outlook in that county might be more hopeful, the outlook for Quakerism in the State was never more encouraging; and we know that much of the brain and sinew of the Perquimans Quakers are only transferred and are now working in other and more aggressive portions of our State, looking steadily to the future, but never unmindful of the past.

AN EARLY PEACE SOCIETY IN NORTH CAROLINA 1819-1822.*

BY MARSHALL DELANCEY HAYWOOD.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

In these days of The Hague Tribunal, Carnegie peace endowments, and general efforts to substitute arbitration for force of arms in settling the disputes of nations, we of the present time are inclined to claim for our own generation credit for a movement which has gone on, in one form or another, through ages past. Thoughtful men in all times have labored to avert wars or lessen their horrors, and yet some of the bloodiest and most desolating conflicts recorded in history have been carried on in the name of religion. Not only in the Crusades, where Christian fought infidel, has such warfare raged; but even more bloody and bitter still have been the turmoils when princes of the earth really thought they did God an acceptable service by slaying and burning those who differed from them only in a doctrinal way, while fellow-worshippers of Jesus Christ. The altar of military glory and popular applause has had devotees from time immemorial, and will so continue to have until the changing natures of men shall bring forth that brighter day when the nations shall learn war no more.

David Low Dodge, of New York, is generally regarded as the father of the organized peace movement in America. He published, in 1809, a tract called *The Mediator's Kingdom not of this World*. In 1812 he first proposed the formation of a peace society, and the New York Peace Society was organized at his home in August, 1815. Similar organiza-

* An address delivered before a Conference on Arbitration and Armament in the hall of the House of Representatives at Raleigh, N. C., March 23, 1908.

tions soon sprang up in other States, including North Carolina, where the Raleigh Peace Society was formed in 1819.

It was on April 21, 1819, that the Raleigh Peace Society proceeded to organize. We are fortunate in finding in *The Star and North Carolina State Gazette*, a Raleigh paper of April 30th following, an account of the first meeting, when "a number of respectable gentlemen of the town and its vicinity" met and elected officers, also adopting a constitution, which is given in the same newspaper. The meeting was presided over by William Shaw, as Chairman *pro tempore*; and Jeremiah Battle, M.D., acted as Secretary. The officers elected were William Peck, President; Richard Fenner, M.D., Vice-President; Kimbrough Jones, Recording Secretary; Jeremiah Battle, M.D., Corresponding Secretary; and Sterling Wheaton, M.D., Treasurer. The preamble and constitution of the Society were as follows:

"We, the subscribers, impressed with the belief that the Gospel is designed to produce peace on earth; and that it is the duty of all good men to cultivate, and, as far as they have power, to diffuse a spirit of kindness, do agree to form ourselves into a society for the purpose of disseminating the general principles of peace, and to use all proper means, within the sphere of our influence, to promote universal harmony and good will among men.

"ARTICLE 1st. This Society shall be called the Raleigh Peace Society.

"ARTICLE 2d. The officers of this Society shall be a President, Vice-President, Secretary, Corresponding Secretary, and Treasurer.

"ARTICLE 3d. Any person subscribing this constitution and paying one dollar annually shall be a member of this Society; or, by the payment of ten dollars, on subscribing, shall be considered a member for life.

"ARTICLE 4th. It shall be the duty of the President, or, in his absence, the Vice-President, to preside at all meetings, and to call a meeting at the request of any three members. The Secretary shall record the proceedings; and the Corresponding Secretary shall conduct the correspondence under the direction of the President and Society. The Treasurer shall collect subscriptions, receive donations, and hold all moneys subject to the disposal of the Society.

"ARTICLE 5th. The annual meeting of the Society, which shall be the stated meeting for choosing officers and transacting business, shall be holden on the first Monday after the fourth of July.

"ARTICLE 6th. This constitution shall not be altered except at an annual meeting, and by a vote of two-thirds of the members present."

The above-quoted newspaper, in its issue of May 21, 1819, gave a copy of a letter addressed to a peace society in England by the Czar of Russia, who was then, as his successor is now, crying "peace, peace," when there was no peace—especially in his own dominions.

Another old paper, *The Raleigh Register*, throws considerable light on the peace movement at that time in North Carolina. It happened that the Society's first anniversary fell on Monday, July 5, 1819; and, as the day preceding was the nation's birthday and fell on Sunday, the usual Fourth of July festivities had to be postponed till the 5th day of July, both occasions falling on the same day. In a religious way the Raleigh Peace Society observed Sunday, July 4th, and held its business meeting on Monday. *The Raleigh Register*, of July 2, 1819, contained this notice: "To afford an opportunity to the citizens to hear both sermons on Sunday, the Rev. Dr. McPheeters will preach the Independence Anniversary Sermon at the Presbyterian Church at 10 o'clock, and the Rev. Mr. Charlton will preach the Anniversary Ser-

mon of the Peace Society at the Methodist Church at 12 o'clock. The Peace Society will meet at the State House on Monday at 5 o'clock p. m. for the election of officers for the ensuing year, and for the transaction of other business."

The above services by the Reverend William McPheeters and the Reverend G. W. Charlton were held at the appointed time, Mr. Charlton's sermon being from the text, "Blessed are the peacemakers." On the next day the Peace Society held its regular meeting and elected the following officers: William Peck, President; William Shaw, Vice-President; Daniel DuPré, Recording Secretary; Jeremiah Battle, M.D., Corresponding Secretary; and Sterling Wheaton, M.D., Treasurer. In the proceedings published in *The Raleigh Register*, of July 16th, we learn that a memorial was drawn up to be forwarded to the President and Congress, asking that international treaties should be made to prohibit privateers from operating in naval warfare, and citing a treaty of this nature made through Benjamin Franklin with Prussia. On this point, at least—the desire to abolish privateering—the wishes of the Society were gratified eventually, but not until many of its members had passed to the realm above, where the Prince of Peace reigns supreme. Says the above account: "It was gratifying to see at this anniversary all parties, professions, and conditions of men unite for the holy purpose of diffusing and cherishing the pure Gospel principles of peace and general benevolence. Men who fill high stations in the civil and military departments of our government, ministers of three different denominations of Christians, and those who were opposed in politics at a time when parties existed amongst us, all cordially joined hands in this work, and enrolled their names as members of the Society."

Some North Carolinians, it would seem, had fears that their right to answer a call to arms in time of war, even to repel invasion, would be curtailed by the Peace Society; and,

to quiet these misgivings, the announcement was made: "It may be proper to notice an error which some few uninformed persons have fallen into respecting this Society. They have supposed its principles were those of passive submission and non-resistance. Far from it. No man, by becoming a member of this Society, surrenders his independence of thinking and acting, and many of them distinctly avow their determination to take up arms to defend their country whenever the occasion requires. But they all unite in the endeavor to do away with the necessity of wars, and hope to do so by means first suggested and attempted by the great and good Henry the Fourth, of France, in an age not sufficiently enlightened and humanized for plans of such extended beneficence." From the extract, just quoted, it will be seen that the tenets of the Raleigh Peace Society were identical with those now advocated by those who favor arbitration and armament—peace if possible, but war if necessity should require it.

The Raleigh Peace Society recommended as reading matter, for the instruction of the public, a series of pamphlets entitled *The Friend of Peace*.

In the year 1820, the annual meeting of the Raleigh Peace Society was announced for July 10th by *The Raleigh Register* of July 7th. It was also stated that the Reverend William Hooper, of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, would preach the annual sermon in the Methodist Church on Sunday, July 9th. This meeting, together with the religious services, no doubt took place, though the later newspapers fail to enlighten us as to this.

In 1821, it was expected that the anniversary sermon before the Society would be delivered by the Reverend Mr. Crocker in the Baptist Church on Sunday, July 8th, but the Reverend Dr. McPheeters preached on that day, as, for some reason, Mr. Crocker did not deliver his promised discourse. Mr. DuPré, the Recording Secretary, published a report of

some length in *The Raleigh Register* of July 20th, and this expresses regret over the small gains in membership during the preceding year. Yet at that time there were thirty-eight members of the Raleigh Peace Society, and about thirty-five similar organizations throughout the United States, containing an aggregate membership of over sixteen hundred. The Society in Raleigh kept up a fraternal correspondence with peace societies in several distant States, the newspapers mentioning among these one in New Lebanon, Ohio, another in Richmond, Indiana, and also one in Great Britain. At or near Cincinnati, Ohio, was a peace society made up exclusively of women.

Though the Raleigh Peace Society in 1821 had a balance of only ten dollars in its treasury, it had—since its formation in 1819—purchased six hundred and sixty-six pamphlets, periodicals, etc., advocating the cause of peace, and had two hundred and fifty-two undistributed copies on hand.

So far as I can learn, the last public announcement by the Raleigh Peace Society was under date of July 3, 1822, when the statement was made that the anniversary sermon would be preached in the Methodist Church on Sunday, July 14th, by the Reverend George M. Anderson, and that a business meeting would occur on July 15th. This meeting was probably the Society's expiring effort, for the faith of its members was tried by failure. Yet faith they had, and strong faith too, in the ultimate success of the cause they advocated. One of their last public declarations—made while the Society was declining in power—said: "The cause we advocate is the happiness of our species. We know of whom it is said, 'he maketh wars to cease unto the ends of the earth.' We know also who hath said, 'the nations shall learn war no more'—and we know him who hath called the peace-makers 'blessed'. With a knowledge so rich, so animating, how can we despair of ultimate success? Though our march may be slow, it will

be sure; and must end in universal peace on earth and good will among men."

Before closing the above account of the old Raleigh Peace Society, a word or two concerning its officers may not be altogether devoid of interest; and so we shall give, in a very brief way, some account of each one.

WILLIAM SHAW, who presided over the first meeting and was later Vice-President of the organization, was a Scotchman, born in Ayrshire about the year 1763, and died in Raleigh on December 27, 1827. He came to America early in life and lived for more than thirty years in Raleigh, of which town he was postmaster for a considerable length of time. He was a merchant; and, besides his possessions in Raleigh, he owned lands in Scotland, and at Cape May, New Jersey, bequeathing the former to his nephew. He was married, but left no children, yet had relatives in North Carolina. He was a zealous Christian, and an elder in the Presbyterian Church. In his will he bequeathed \$150 to the Bible Society of North Carolina, \$150 to the Foreign Missionary Society, \$150 to the Presbyterian Missionary Society, and \$50 to the Raleigh Female Tract Society.

WILLIAM PECK, who was President of the Peace Society upon its organization, was born in Norfolk, Virginia, April 1, 1772; was carried to Petersburg, in the same State, when a child, and came to Raleigh in February, 1798. He spent the remainder of his life in Raleigh, and died there on June 21, 1851. In his religious affiliations he was a Baptist. In recording his death, Seaton Gales, editor of *The Raleigh Register*, wrote as follows: "For more than fifty years he has been actively engaged in business; and, in the midst of its fluctuations, he pursued the even tenor of his way, neither elated by prosperity nor depressed by adversity. He learned in early life to rely on himself for success rather than on the favors of friendship, and thereby acquired an independence

of character which elevated him above the reverses of fortune and secured the confidence of his fellow-citizens in all his business transactions. He was not only an honest man, but a good man and a Christian. He delighted in doing good to the bodies and souls of men." Mr. Peck had two sons, Willis and Lewis W. Peck. The latter lived until recent years, doing business in the same little shop formerly occupied by his father, just east of the southeast corner of the Capitol Square.

RICHARD FENNER, M.D., who was Vice-President of the Peace Society at the time of its organization (but who was later succeeded in that office by Mr. Shaw), knew what war was by personal experience, having fought for America's cause in the Revolution and languished for more than a year in the military prison at Charleston, South Carolina. Dr. Fenner lived in early life at New Bern, later in Franklin County, for a while in Raleigh, and eventually went to Jackson, Madison County, Tennessee, where he died at an advanced age in May, 1828. Both personally and in his chosen profession—the practice of medicine—he was highly esteemed, being described as "a kind-hearted friend and neighbor, and an active and useful member of society." In religion he was an Episcopalian, having originally been connected with the old colonial parish under the Church of England at New Bern. In the Revolution his career began as Paymaster of the Second North Carolina Continental Regiment, on June 1, 1778; he was commissioned Ensign, January 10, 1780; was captured when General Benjamin Lincoln surrendered the city of Charleston to Sir Henry Clinton on May 12, 1780, and remained in prison till exchanged, on June 14, 1781; was made a Lieutenant on May 12, 1781, (just before his exchange), and served till the end of the war. In 1783 he was one of the Continental officers who founded the North Carolina Society of the Cincinnati, at Hillsborough.

KIMBROUGH JONES, Recording Secretary, was born on the 26th of April, 1783, and died on the 30th of March, 1866. He was a planter of large interests, and came of a family which had long been prominently identified with the affairs of Wake County. He was a son of Nathaniel Jones, of Crabtree, whose father (also named Nathaniel) was a brother of Attorney-General Robert Jones, Jr., better known as "Robin" Jones, an eminent lawyer in the days of royal rule. Kimbrough Jones represented Wake County at five sessions of the North Carolina House of Commons, and in the Constitutional Convention of 1835, his colleague in the latter body being Judge Henry Seawell. In religion Mr. Jones was a Methodist. The plantation where he lived—about three miles north of Raleigh on the Louisburg road, just beyond Crabtree Creek—is now owned by his son and namesake. All of the sons of Mr. Jones, who were living at the time of the war, went into the Confederate Army, the eldest, William Hogan Jones, being a Major in the Forty-eighth North Carolina Regiment, and Henry W. and Kimbrough, Jr., serving in the Third Cavalry or Forty-first Regiment, Company I. Ex-United States Senator James Kimbrough Jones, of Arkansas, is of this family, his father having been born on the upper waters of Crabtree Creek.

DANIEL DUPRE, who succeeded Mr. Jones as Recording Secretary, was a bank officer and planter. As an expert accountant he had few equals in the State. For more than forty years he resided in or near Raleigh, and was a consistent member of the Baptist Church. Not long before his death, he went to Wilmington, but did not remain there permanently. He died in Raleigh on April 9, 1858, at the age of eighty. "From childhood he had led a pure, unsullied and upright life," says an account written at the time of his death.

JEREMIAH BATTLE, M.D., Corresponding Secretary, was a physician by profession, whose latter years were spent in Ra-

leigh, where he died on the 28th of February, 1825. He belonged to a noted family, at that time chiefly residing in Edgecombe County, of which he was a native. His father, Elisha Battle, Jr., was the son of Elisha Battle, a Revolutionary statesman. Dr. Battle was a capable physician, "universally respected for his liberality and kind and benevolent deportment." He died unmarried, and was a Baptist in religion. He was author of a treatise of a statistical and historical nature relating to Edgecombe County in 1810. This was originally delivered as an address before an agricultural society. It was first published in a newspaper, afterwards in *The North Carolina University Magazine*, April, 1861, and later still in *Our Living and Our Dead*, October, 1874.

STERLING WHEATON, M.D., Treasurer, was another physician who practiced in Raleigh at that time. As early as 1802 he aided in organizing the North Carolina Medical Society. That society passed out of existence in a few years, and the present North Carolina Medical Society was not organized until 1849, some years after the death of Dr. Wheaton, which occurred in the summer of 1832. What his church affiliations were I am unable to say, yet his last will and testament (now filed in the records of Wake County) breathes a deeply religious spirit. In it he says: "I die in the full faith of that religion I have professed, and in the humble hope that I shall, by the mercy of my God, through the merits of my Redeemer, be raised up and accepted at the last day, when all shall be called to render an account of the deeds done in the flesh."

Thus I have given some account of the short-lived Peace Society of Raleigh, with a few remarks concerning its officers. Who its thirty-eight members were I am unable to say; for, so far as can be learned, its membership list has not been preserved. The religious affiliations of the above officers are

given, to show that the movement was inter-denominational in its character.

It must be acknowledged that the Society in Raleigh apparently accomplished nothing in its day. It may be, however, that during the brief period of its existence, it encouraged other local societies, of like nature, to keep alive until greater and more effective measures could take shape. If this be true, the influence of these early North Carolina peace-workers is still felt, even though they may have accomplished no noticeable results in their day. And the same influence may be felt more strongly in the years to come, for the movement is steadily gaining favor with civilized nations throughout the world. So the old worthies, who labored and lost in the earlier stages of the efforts for peace on earth, well might say:

“’Tis not in mortals to command success,
But we’ll do more, Sempronius—we’ll deserve it.”

BIOGRAPHICAL AND GENEEOLOGICAL MEMORANDA.*

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

MRS. LULA CLARK MARKHAM.

Mrs. Lula Clark Markham was born in Christian County, Kentucky. She is descended from distinguished North Carolina families, her ancestors belonging to the Phillips family of Rowan County.

She is classed among the most promising of the younger writers of her native State, and has long been a contributor to the poetry columns of the leading magazines.

Her home at present is at historic Wilmington, where she is engaged in literary work along the line of North Carolina history.

JAMES CAMERON MacRAE.

Judge James C. MacRae, the author of the article on "The Fayetteville Light Infantry," comes from ancestors numbered among the old and distinguished families of the State. He was born in Fayetteville, North Carolina, October 6, 1838; son of John MacRae and Mary (Shackelford) MacRae, the latter a native of Marion, South Carolina. Judge MacRae grad-

*The writer desires to say that this method has been adopted in order to give to our present readers and to posterity some account of those useful citizens who have the history of North Carolina at heart, and who from true and accepted historical records, original manuscripts, wills and other authentic sources have made valuable contributions to this publication.

To these writers THE BOOKLET owes its prosperity and continuance in the work projected by it of developing and preserving North Carolina history. All profits from this publication will be devoted to securing tablets and other memorials to commemorate important events in the history of our commonwealth.

MRS. E. E. MOFFITT.

uated from Donaldson Academy at Fayetteville. At the age of fifteen taught school for a short time, then secured a position as clerk and continued in that occupation for several years, when he again turned his attention to teaching. Ambitious to become a lawyer, he studied with this aim while teaching in Brunswick, North Carolina, and Horry District, South Carolina.

In August, 1859, he was licensed to practice law, and in June, 1860, he located in Fayetteville to practice his chosen profession. During the Civil War he enlisted as a private in Company H, First North Carolina Volunteers, and was subsequently promoted to Adjutant of the Fifth North Carolina State Troops. He commanded a battalion in Western North Carolina as Major, and was Assistant Adjutant-General for General Baker in the Eastern District of the State until the end of the struggle. After the war he resumed his practice and succeeded in securing a large clientele. In 1874 was elected a member of the Legislature. July, 1882, he was appointed Judge of the Superior Court to fill an unexpired term, and during same year was elected Judge of the Fourth, afterwards the Seventh Judicial District.

Subsequently he was appointed a Justice of the Supreme Bench of North Carolina, by Governor Holt, to fill the unexpired term of Justice Davis, and was subsequently elected to the position. After leaving the bench he returned to the practice of law and became a member of the legal firm of MacRae & Day, with offices in Raleigh.

Judge MacRae, as attorney for the Seaboard Air Line System, executed his duty with commendable ability. While practicing in the Federal and State courts he was considered an able lawyer and steadily and closely applied himself to the performance of every duty devolving upon him, and to-day holds a position in the front ranks of North Carolina's eminent lawyers. At the bar he has ever disdained the small

arts of the pettifogger, and upon the bench he ever held the scales of justice with an even hand, treating with impartiality the poor and the rich, the innocent and the guilty. The degree of LL.D. was conferred upon him by the University of North Carolina. He has also served as Chancellor of the Episcopal Diocese of Eastern Carolina.

On October 31, 1867, he married Miss Fanny Hinsdale, of Fayetteville, and the union has been blessed with nine children.

Judge MacRae was, on August 19, 1899, elected Dean of the Law School of the State University, one of the highest honors that can come to a lawyer. He is editor of *North Carolina Journal of Law*, and has published several addresses. His sketch of the "Highland Scotch Settlements," which he contributed to the columns of THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET, February, 1905, was a concise and interesting account of this strong and exuberant race, principally from which the American Colonies were peopled. In this sketch may be found information heretofore wanting in historical libraries, interesting not only to the present generation but to those who shall come after them.

During the last month, in the presence of a distinguished array of counsel from the Seventh District and of a number of friends from the Raleigh Bar, ex-Chief Justice James E. Shepherd presented to the Supreme Court a handsome oil portrait of ex-Justice MacRae, a former Associate Justice of this high tribunal.

The remarks of Judge Shepherd consisted of a brief outline of the life and service of Justice MacRae more potent than any eulogy that, as he said, the modesty of his subject forbade. He spoke, however, at the request of the court—in part as follows:

"It is meet, therefore, that a few words be said of one, who, though still living, began his career in that crucial

period in the history of his State which reflects his greatest civic and military glories—a time, indeed, when ‘None was for the party and all were for the State’—when men bared their breasts to the iron hail of battle, not for conquest or glory, but in defense of their homes and firesides.”

Accepting the portrait for the Court, Chief Justice Clark said, “The Court is gratified to receive this portrait and to add it to those of the other learned and able men who look down upon us from these walls, and whose lives and labors reflect credit upon this court and the State.

“It can not be said that Judge MacRae has ceased to be a member of this court. The sitting members are only a part of that greater court which takes part, and whose views are potent in the decision of controversies. The opinions of our predecessors are daily quoted to us at the bar as controlling. The long rows of volumes before us are the repository of their views. In our deliberations and decisions, they descend as it were from their frames, sit at our counsels, throw light upon the path we should go and point the way. They are ‘the dead but accepted sovereigns, whose spirits rule us from their urns.’

“In the illustrious company of our predecessors, the recorded opinions of Mr. Justice MacRae, who is yet spared to us, make him still a part of the court. His services were long enough to establish his fame, but too short for the full measure of the service he might have rendered the profession. Yet it may be doubted if in his present position he is not rendering greater service still and more enduring, through his influence upon the future Bar and Judges of North Carolina.

“To those who sat with him here the memory of his uniform courtesy, his great learning and indefatigable labors is a benediction.”

Judge MacRae continues as Teacher of Law at the Univer-

sity, beloved by Faculty and students. He is a genial and courteous gentleman, possessing that quiet dignity and strength of character worthy of emulation.

REV. ROBERT BRENT DRANE.

Rev. Robert Brent Drane, D.D., was born in Wilmington, N. C., December 5, 1851. His father, the Rev. Robert Brent Drane, D.D., came from Maryland and was Rector of St. James's Parish, Wilmington, N. C., for twenty-five years.

His mother's maiden name was Catherine Caroline Parker. Her early home was Tarboro, N. C.

He was ordained to the Priesthood in 1876, and, through Bishop Atkinson's advice, accepted the Rectorship of St. Paul's Parish, Edenton, of which he is yet in charge.

Dr. Drane's article, in this number of THE BOOKLET, on "Historic Edenton," will be of value to students of North Carolina history. Since becoming a resident of this historic place, Dr. Drane's interest in its past has been unabated. He found here a town "rich with the spoils of time" and a most inviting field for one fond of legendary and historical lore. One of the many important movements made by him was having the Records of St. Paul's Church copied by the young

NOTE—The BOOKLET takes this method of calling the attention of the patriotic citizens of North Carolina to a matter that if more widely known many names no doubt, would be added to its list of stockholders. Dr. Drane is desirous of getting more subscribers and thereby increase personal and popular interest and money resources.

This Association held its annual meeting in Edenton on April 27th in commemoration of the sailing of Amadas and Barlowe from the west of England April 27th, 1584, O. S. which resulted in the discovery and occupation of Roanoke Island in July 1584.

A review and memoranda of what the Association has accomplished will be given in a future number of the NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET.

It remains for a generous and patriotic public to uphold the hands of Dr. Drane and the other officers of this Association who are going their time and zeal for the love of their section and their State.

men of the town, in order that the originals might be filed away and saved from destruction by frequent handling. These precious records, dating back to 1701, are carefully preserved in the archives of the church and are greatly valued by the vestry and citizens of the Parish.

Another notable movement projected by him was the removal from abandoned graveyards to St. Paul's church-yard the remains of people distinguished in Colonial and Revolutionary times—a work that his parishioners entered into with zest and interest.

Dr. Drane, through maternal connection with Col. William Haywood, of Revolutionary fame, became a member of the North Carolina Society Sons of the Revolution, and is Chaplain of this Society. His wife, Maria Louisa Warren, is a daughter of a brave Confederate soldier, Maj. Tristram Lowther Skinner, who fell in the Battle of Mechanicsville.

She traces her lineage back to some of the best of old Edenton's good people, the Edens, Lowthers, Blounts, Johnstons and Harveys.

Dr. Drane is the President and a most active member of the "Roanoke Colony Memorial Association," with headquarters at Edenton, N. C. This corporation was organized for the benevolent and patriotic purpose of reclaiming, preserving and adorning Old Fort Raleigh, built in 1585, by the first English settlers on Roanoke Island, the birthplace of Virginia Dare, the first white child born in America; and also to erect monuments and suitable memorials to commemorate these and other historic events in North Carolina.

Dr. Drane's long rectorship in the Parish of St. Paul's argues well for the popularity and usefulness of this golden-hearted Christian gentleman. To him and others of his class for services in the cause of Christianity and unfaltering interest in the material things around, both church and state owe a debt of gratitude.

MISS JULIA SCOTT WHITE.

Miss White's article, in this number of *THE BOOKLET*, on the Quakers of Perquimans County, will enlighten many who are not familiar with the tenets of this sect of Christians whose distinguishing doctrine is that of the "light of Christ within."

Miss White was born in Perquimans County, N. C., in the year 1866. She is the daughter of Jephtha and Anna M. White, and granddaughter of Joseph and Charlotte (McAdams) White, natives of Scotland. She is a descendant of the Whites, Jordans, and McAdams, of Eastern Virginia, also connected with the Scotts, for whom she is named. Her maternal ancestors have been "Friends" for many generations, but her paternal ancestors for only two. Her father adopted the faith of his father, and was a prominent and useful member of the Friends' organization, and died in the faith, leaving an honored name to his posterity.

Miss White's parents dying in her infancy, she made her home with a sister, Mrs. Josiah Nicholson, at Belvidere, N. C., which she yet retains as her home. It was here that she received her early education, afterwards graduating at Westtown, Pennsylvania.

Adopting teaching as a profession, she was elected Principal of the Graded School in Southampton, Virginia, in 1884-1887; Teacher and Governess at Guilford College, N. C., 1887-1892; was awarded the B. S. degree at this college in 1891; was graduate student of Bryn Mawr College, Pa., 1892-1894; Teacher in Mathematics in Nolt Female College, Louisville, Ky., 1894-1896; Teacher of Mathematics at Pacific College, Oregon, 1896-1900.

Miss White's talents for painstaking accuracy well fitted her for the position to which she was called as Librarian of Guilford College, one of the best and most complete in the

State until the recent disaster, which occurred in January, 1908, when about 8,000 volumes were burned. This was a great loss to the college and one most keenly felt by its careful custodian, whose familiarity with these books and records kindled a love like of that unto a brother. Her task, though arduous, in collecting and arranging for another library, will be one of love and interest, and she will heartily welcome the gift of suitable books from a generous public.

Miss White has done considerable editorial work for newspapers and magazines. Among her most recent articles in *The American Friend* (the national organ of the Friends of America) are the following:

(1) "Dolly Payne Madison," giving the records preserved at Guilford College, showing that she was a "birth-right" member of New Garden Monthly Meeting of Friends in North Carolina.

Dolly Madison came of pious stock. While presiding genius of the White House, during the administration of her husband, James Madison, she commanded the respect of the nation, and for thirteen years succeeding his death, she maintained a conspicuous and respected position in society at Washington, never forsaking the early and careful teachings received in her youth.

(2) "Friends in South Carolina," particularly the Bush River settlements.

II. In *The Guilford Collegian*, the College Magazine:

(1) "Matthew W. Ransom," the distinguished soldier, statesman, scholar, and orator. This article was well received and highly commended by his relatives as a true and just eulogy of the merits and public services of this great North Carolinian.

(2) "Guilford—What's in a Name," was a carefully compiled study of the origin of the name and how and why it was transplanted to America.

Miss White, though not a native of Guilford County, loves its people and its traditions.

It was in this county that the "Battle of Guilford Court House" was fought, March 15, 1781—the battle that led to the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. The site of this noted battle was secured through the services of that dutiful and distinguished son of North Carolina, the late Judge David Schenck, and the formation of the "Guilford Battle Ground Company," which has cleared up, adorned, and placed there many monuments to distinguished men of the Colonial and Revolutionary period. Since the death of Judge Schenck, Maj. Joseph M. Morehead has been the untiring, zealous and devoted President, under whose guiding hand the work goes on, making this the historic rallying ground of the Piedmont section of North Carolina.

A biographical sketch of Mr. Marshall DeLancey Haywood will appear in the next BOOKLET. In future issues will be given sketches of those who contributed articles previous to Vol. VI.

ABSTRACTS OF WILLS PREVIOUS TO 1760.

BY MRS. H. DEB. WILLS, GENEALOGIST AND HISTORIAN, N. C. D. R.

Will of George Deane, Sr., of Chowan; 1700; Son George, daughter Christian, Wife Elizabeth.

Will of William Benbury; July 1709; Wife Jane Son-in-law James Watch; sons William and John; daughters Martha and Hannah. Test. Henry Bonner, Ann Moseley and Edward Moseley.

Will of James Fewox, Tyrrell; May 5th, 1711; son Robert, John Lawson, Mary Lawson, Jr., grandson Samuel Hardy, son of William Hardy, (brother of John and Jacob Hardy of Bertie), wife Anne, Mary Lawson, wife of Nathaniel Lawson.

Will of Farnifold Green of Bath, 1711; sons Thomas, John, Farnifold, and James Green; wife Hannah, daughters Elizabeth and Jane Green; daughter-in-law Ann Smithwick; wife Hannah Exx.

William Duckenfield, of Cheshire, Eng., Feb. 1721; brother John, Cousin Charles Barbour, Cousin Nathaniel Duckenfield, son of my brother Sir Robert Duckenfield, Mary, Anne, Susanna, Jane, Katherine, and Judith, sisters of Nathaniel.

William Barry, 1722; Marian, brother David Barry, Theo' Morris, Mary Meads, daughter of John Meads of Little River.

Will of Gov. Charles Eden; prob. 1722; dear niece Mrs. Margaret Pough, youngest daughter of Robert Pough, deceased; dear friends John Holloway, Daniel Richardson, James Henderson, John Lovick; John Lovick, Ex.

Will of Thomas Hoskins, 1733-'34; daughter Sarah Charlton, son William, daughter Mary, William Hoskins and John Benbury, executors. (He had other children, among them

son Thomas; who can furnish the full list.—*N. C. Hist. and Gen'l Register.*

Will of Christopher Gale, Chief Justice of the Colony 1734; b. at York, G. B., 54 years old; wife Sarah Catherine, brother Edmund, debts due from the estate of my wife's former husband, John Ismay, son Miles Gale, daughter Penelope Little, Mary, daughter of Mrs. Elizabeth Clayton, gr. daughter Sarah Clayton, Nephew and godson Edmund Gale, Granddaughter Penelope Little. Note, Wife Sarah was Widow of Gov. Thomas Harvey, *nee* Laker (dau. of Benj. Laker). William Little married his daughter Penelope.

Will of John Baptista Ashe; * * * prob. 1740; son Lemuel, son John, daughter Mary, brother Samuel Swann.

Will of Richard Hill of Bath, Granddaughter Elizabeth Hill, brother Francis Hill, son-in-law Evan Jones, daughter Ann Jones, Craven Precinct 1723-4.

Will of Samuel Johnston of Onslow Co., Prob. Jan. 3—1759; daughters Jean, Penelope, Isabel, Ann and Hannah; sons Samuel and John. Test Cary Godbie, Wm. Williams, John Milton.

Will of Gov. Gabriel Johnston of Eden House, Bertie Co., prob. April 10th, 1753; Wife Frances, daughter Penelope, * * * brother Samuel's children my books to Wm. Catheart, sister Elizabeth Sinclair of Fife N. B.

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