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Vol XV,

No. 1

The North Carolina Booklet



GREAT EVENTS IN NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY



PUBLISHED QUARTERLY
BY
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION
RALEIGH, N. C.

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The North Carolina Booklet

Great Events in North Carolina History

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EDITOR:

MISS MARY HILLIARD HINTON.

VOLUME XV.

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Number of North Carolina Troops in the Revolution.

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For particulars address

MISS MARY HILLIARD HINTON,

Editor North Carolina Booklet,

"Midway Plantation," Raleigh, N. C.

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**

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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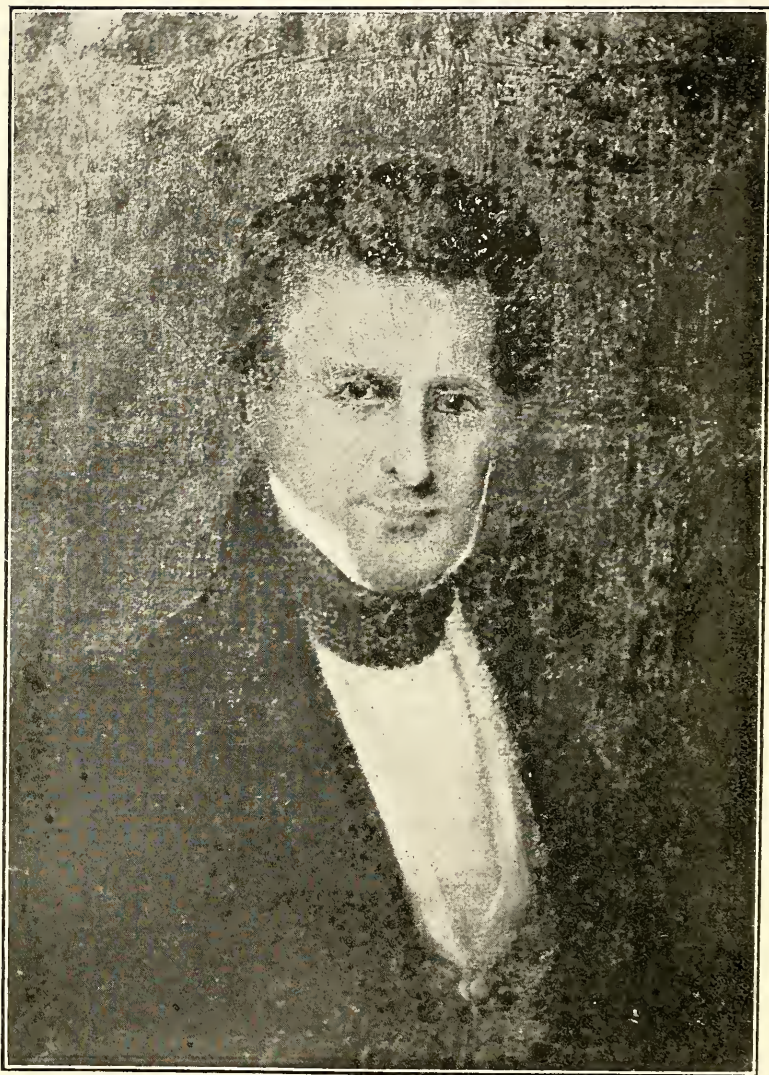
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EDMUND STRUDWICK

The North Carolina Booklet

Vol. XV

JULY, 1915

No. 1

Edmund Strudwick, Surgeon*

*Read before the N. C. Medical Society, June 12, 1907.

BY HUBERT A. ROYSTER, A. B., M. D., F. A. C. S.
RALEIGH, N. C.

The most heroic figure so far recorded in the medical annals of North Carolina is Edmund Strudwick, of the County of Orange. His character, his work, his life and his death were each marked by courage of the supreme type. His was a masterful mind—and with it there was a physical earnestness and a moral heroism scarcely to be surpassed. Edmund Strudwick was born in Orange County, North Carolina, on the 25th day of March, 1802, at Long Meadows, about five miles north of Hillsboro, the county seat. His lineage was ancient and long-established in the community, his father being an important political factor and distinguished for those qualities which afterward graced his son.

Doctor Strudwick received under the famous Bingham, the elder, what would now be called a high school education, though he did not finish the prescribed course of instruction, "so impatient was he to begin the study of the science to which nature seemed especially to have called him, and which he pursued with undiminished ardor, literally, to the last moment of his conscious existence." What was lacking in a classical education he made up by native ability and assiduous reading.

His medical studies began under Doctor James Webb, who stood to him almost as a father and whose place in the hearts of his people Doctor Strudwick subsequently filled. He was graduated as a Doctor of Medicine at the University of Pennsylvania on April 8, 1824. As a classmate of Doctor John

K. Mitchell (the father of S. Weir Mitchell) and with him, an office student of the celebrated Doctor William Gibson, young Strudwick became imbued with the best medical thought of the time. He served for two years as resident physician in the Philadelphia Almshouse and Charity Hospital.

Equipped with clinical experience, fired with enthusiasm and running over with energy, Doctor Strudwick in 1826 returned to his native heath and began the practice of medicine in the town of Hillsboro. From the very beginning he achieved success, soon becoming the commanding officer of the profession in that region of country. Never was success more deservedly gained. Every attribute of his being contributed to the result, for not only was he blessed with a sound body and a warm heart, but he had a superior intellect.

Doctor Strudwick never affiliated with any medical organization except the North Carolina State Medical Society. Of this he was a charter member and the first president. The Society thus honored itself by launching forth under the name of a man who had already risen to an eminence in his profession rarely attained in those days. At its meeting in Raleigh he delivered a striking address in which he urged education of the people to the necessity for autopsies. The following is a strong paragraph from this address: "Neither the apathy of friends, the cold neglect and deep injustice of legislation, nor pampered quackery and empiricism can stay its onward course. True medical science will, like the majestic oak, withstand the shock and storm of every opposition. It has been beautifully compared to a star, whose light, though now and then obscured by a passing cloud, will shine on forever and ever in the firmament of Heaven." He took a lively interest in the work of the Society to his last years, though he practically never contributed to medical literature. The only case he ever wrote up was a death from ether by paralysis of the respiratory centre. This paper was sent to his friend, Doctor I. Minis Hayes, then editor of the *American*

Journal of the Medical Sciences, but was either lost in transit or found its way to the waste basket—at least, it was never accounted for. So that, the first and only case that this busy man ever recorded was one of which he had no special reason to boast—a death from an anesthetic—but reported from a sense of duty and honesty, and that one was never published.

The character of Doctor Strudwick's work was such as came to every country practitioner in his day. He was apothecary, physician, obstetrician, surgeon. And though he performed those duties as other men had performed them before him, there seemed to stand out in him something that was different—above and beyond the country doctor around him. It was the man behind the physician, the strong mental and moral force back of his activity.

Though Doctor Strudwick was a well-rounded medical man, his forte was surgery and, had he lived in this day and generation, his name would be at the top of those who exclusively practice that art. Indeed, it is not saying overmuch to assert that no one man to this time in our State has made so enviable a reputation in surgery. When we consider the conditions under which he lived and labored, his work and its results were little short of miraculous. His reputation was not merely local, but during the '40's and long afterwards, he was doing operations in Raleigh, Wilmington, Charlotte, Greensboro—all the principal cities of the State. Numerous patients were sent to him also, some of them from long distances. There was no general hospital in the State then, but he cared for his cases somehow and always gave them faithful attention. No modern surgeon in North Carolina has ever attained to such individual eminence. Nor were his results less wonderful. He attempted not only the lesser cases but also those of magnitude and this fact gives greater color without losing an eye. Once as he was driving homeward to the results. All kinds of surgery attracted him and he sought for it. Scores of operations for cataract were performed by him, according to the now obsolete needle method,

after a long trip in the country, he saw an old man trudging along being led by a small boy at his side. Doctor Strudwick stopped, ascertained that the man had been blind for 12 years, made him get up into the carriage and took him to his (the doctor's) home. One eye was operated on first and the other the next week, sight being restored to each. This case, as did all other similar ones, appealed to Doctor Strudwick very greatly.

If there was any special operation for which Doctor Strudwick was famous, it was that of lithotomy. Certainly he was the leading lithotomist of his time in North Carolina. There is no record of the exact number he performed, but it was large and his mortality was low. More calculi undoubtedly occurred then, and Doctor Strudwick lived in a section of the State where this affection abounded. His custom was always to do the lateral operation and to introduce no tube or other drainage unless there was hemorrhage. It is said that he did 28 consecutive lithotomies without a death.

The most important operation of Doctor Strudwick's career was one about which, unluckily, the record is meagre. It was, however, probably in 1842, that he successfully removed from a woman a large abdominal tumor weighing 36 pounds. The nature of the growth is not made clear.

Dr. Strudwick was married in 1828, two years after beginning practice, to Ann Nash, whom he survived but two years. Their union was blessed by five children—two girls and three boys. The girls died in infancy. Of the sons, one (Frederick N.) was a well known lawyer, having been solicitor of the Fifth District before his death, and both the other two followed their father's profession. The youngest, Doctor Edmund Strudwick, Jr., became a practitioner of repute in Dayton, Alabama (where his son is now engaged in the drug business), and died at the age of 69 years. The eldest child, Doctor William Strudwick* is now living in Hillsboro, N. C., in the vigor of a ripe manhood and will apparently never

*Died at his home in Hillsboro since this paper was written.

grow old. He is just at the age which his father attained—77 years—and embodies many of the traits which one feels were precious legacies from Edmund the Great. The present Doctor Strudwick is a fluent conversationalist, a most gracious host and withal a rare example of the fast-passing “doctor of the old school.” May his shadow never grow less.

It now remains to say something of the personality of Edmund Strudwick and to call up incidents in his life which show what manner of man he was. That he was a hero—morally, mentally and physically—can be attested by his deeds as they stand. Doctor Strudwick was built in a big mold. His soul could not conceive, his mind could not think, his body could not do a little thing. A study of his career indicates that his ways were not the ways of the ordinary man either in the medical profession or out of it. He was a master of men. And this was not an acquirement of age, but he was all his life a leader. His moral force in the community may be shown by his set determination never to allow doctors to quarrel. He simply would not let them alone until peace was made. A favorite way was to invite the warring ones to his home on a certain time without giving them an opportunity to know in advance that they were to meet. This done, he usually accomplished his purpose. He was determined even to the point of stubbornness. Just after the Civil War, his most influential friends attempted with all their power to persuade him to take advantage of the homestead law, which was designed to permit Southern men to save a little during the reconstruction pillage—but he would not. Instead of this, he sold everything to pay his creditors, and lived in a two-room house without comforts till he died.

In personal appearance Doctor Strudwick was attractive. His height was about 5 feet 9 inches, and he weighed 190 pounds for the greater part of his life. He was exceedingly active and actually up to his final hours his energy was comparable to that of a dynamo. There was about him an intensity that was of itself commanding and overpowering.

Underneath this exterior of rough force was a suppressed tenderness that came from a humane and sympathetic heart and that, let forth, was as gentle as the outward manner was firm. The physician in that time was of necessity also the nurse. Here Doctor Strudwick showed his strength. Whenever he wished, for instance, a foot-bath administered, he did not ask that it be done, but issued the order, "Get things ready," and then, with a detail almost unheard of, he impelled his untrained assistants to do his exact bidding. One of his special feats was what he called "lacing" a bed—making up an old-fashioned feather bed so as to render it a more comfortable resting place for his patient.

It was this sort of care that contributed largely to his successful work. He never neglected a case. No matter how insignificant the case, how poor the patient, how far the ride, he pursued it with the same zest. He never stopped for inclement weather, or swollen streams. He braved the former and swam the latter. Obstacles only seemed to increase his zeal to press onward.

His healthy body was a boon to Doctor Strudwick. Never but once in the working period of his existence was he sick. He had gone with his son to perform an operation. On the way out he complained slightly and, having finished the task, he became quite ill, so that he had to be brought home lying down. He was nauseated, had a high fever ("calor mordax") and was delirious on reaching his room. It proved to be scarlet fever, though there was not a case then known in the county and, while he had been exposed to it many times, had never before contracted the disease. He was then about 50 years of age.

This fine condition of salubrity was aided also by his simple habits. He was not a big eater, and was extremely temperate. He never asked for a second portion of anything, but always took of each article what he thought was the proper amount for him to eat, finished it and would have no more. An oft-repeated saying was, "I have never swallowed anything that

I heard of afterwards." He also had the gift of taking "cat naps" at any time or place—a habit that William Pepper, the younger, did so much to celebrate. Doctor Strudwick frequently slept in his chair. He was an early riser, his life long, the year 'round. And one of his invariable rules—which illustrates the sort of stuff of which he was made—was to smoke six pipefuls of tobacco every morning before breakfast. He was a most insatiate consumer of tobacco, being practically never free from its influence. What liberal contracts nature makes with some mortals!

In politics Doctor Strudwick was an ardent Whig, though he never sought or held public office. His sense of humor was shown when, later in life he remarked to his son, "I don't know what I am coming to. Just to think I am wearing a slouch hat and a turn-down collar, and reading the *New York Herald*!"

In religion he professed the creed of the Presbyterians and was an elder in the church. His interest in life and its affairs was forever keen and live, particularly in any project for the public good. He was everybody's friend and an absolute paragon of cheerfulness. Even during his sudden reverse of fortune, his optimism never left him. But, while he was friendly and gentle, no one ever came down with more thundering tones upon those who were guilty of mean or unworthy acts.

Though his heart was chiefly in his surgery, yet Doctor Strudwick showed great fondness for every branch of the profession. He bought all instruments and books as they came out. All his spare time he spent in reading medical literature. He devoured all knowledge voraciously and thoroughly digested it. His study of a subject was exhaustive. For a goodly part of his time he rode on horseback—and he was a superb horseman to his last day. When he went in a vehicle he used a surry, with a boy in front, so that he could read along the road. Many hours a day did he spend thus, acquiring information which he was ready at a moment's

notice to put to use. In a flap on the dashboard he kept a bag in which were stored a small library and a miniature instrument shop. And often he would return with his carriage full of cohosh, boneset, etc., indicating his familiarity with medical botany. He prepared a good deal of his own medicine in this way. One of his favorites was a preparation of sheep sorrell ("sour grass") for lupus. The herb was inspissated in a pewter spoon by exposure to the air and sun, and the resultant mass applied to the ulcerated part. It is said to have been very efficacious. What reaction was produced and what substance was formed cannot here be said.

The crowning incident in the history of this great man happened when he was near the age of sixty years. Neither in fiction nor in real life has there been an example of firmer devotion to duty or of more daring fortitude. The glorious deeds of Willum MacClure exhibit nothing that can compare to this one achievement of Edmund Strudwick. He was called to a neighboring county to perform an operation. Leaving Hillsboro by rail at 9 o'clock in the evening, he arrived at his station about midnight and was met by the physician who had summoned him. Together they got immediately into a buggy and set out for the patient's house, six miles in the country. The night was dark and cold; the road was rough; the horse became frightened at some object, ran away, upset the buggy and threw the occupants out, stunning the country doctor (who, it was afterwards learned, was addicted to the opium habit), and breaking Doctor Strudwick's leg just above the ankle. As soon as he had sufficiently recovered himself, Doctor Strudwick called aloud, but no one answered, and he then crawled to the side of the road and sat with his back against a tree. In the meantime the other physician, who had somehow managed to get into the buggy again, drove to the patient's home, where for a time he could give no account of himself or his companion; but, coming out of his stupor, he faintly remembered the occurrence and at once dispatched a messenger to the scene of

the accident. Doctor Strudwick was still leaning against the tree, calling now and then in hopes of making some one hear, when the doctor's buggy came up at sunrise. He got in, drove to the house, without allowing his own leg to be dressed, and sitting on the bed, operated upon the patient for strangulated hernia, with a successful result. "Greater love hath no man than this."

What an inspiration is the life of such a man! Viewing it even from afar one cannot help seeing the sublime soul that was back of it all. He would have been no uncommon man in any age, in any place. It is to his surgical skill that extraordinary tribute must be paid. Were he living today, Edmund Strudwick would be the surgical Samson of our State. Indeed, it is doubtful if any of us equal him in the work which he essayed to do. In these times of wide possibilities his fame as a specialist in surgery would rank high. Such estimates are not overdrawn, for Doctor Strudwick's position in his period was such as to admit of them and more.

The going out of this great man's life was as tragic and unusual as his career had been brilliant and useful. In possession of his customary good health, at the age of seventy-seven, he succumbed to a fatal dose of atropine taken by mistake from drinking a glass of water in which the drug had been prepared for hypodermic employment in an emergency. An account says that "he was buried in the cemetery of the Presbyterian church at Hillsboro, the funeral being attended by almost the whole population of the town." But for the accident which terminated his life, Doctor Strudwick would by all reckonings have lived to an advanced age and some of us might have been privileged to know him. Priceless heritage this—to have fellowship with these rare souls that stand apart in passing generations; eternal inspiration ours—to contemplate the life and character of Edmund Strudwick and to hold him forever in our memories as the very finest model of those whose days are spent in—

"Battling with custom, prejudice, disease,
As once the son of Zeus with Death and Hell."

Grace Greenlee, a Revolutionary Heroine

BY WILLIAM CARSON ERVIN.

This is a story of a beautiful woman. That she was brave as well as beautiful was a matter of heredity. That she was beautiful as well as brave is proven both by family tradition and by the canons of descent. Some of the most charming women of the South, bone of her bone and flesh of her flesh, are living witnesses of the truth of that tradition of loveliness which throws a glamour around the name of this gracious feminine figure of the Revolutionary period.

To many of her descendants in North Carolina her musical name is all that is remembered—like a sweet note of some old melody that lingers after the song is forgotten. And yet, she was very real, this lady of long ago—wife of two soldiers and ancestress of brave men and fair women. The blood of the Scotch Covenanters and the English Puritan pulsed in her veins, with a wee bit of an Irish strain to quicken wit and mellow voice and darken the blue of the eyes.

Our American pioneers were living so intensely in the present that they took little thought of the future, leaving very scant records of their lives for the enlightenment of their descendants. Burke County, so rich in historical interest, had the peculiar misfortune of having nearly all of its priceless court records destroyed at the close of the Civil War. One volume of the minutes of the old Court of Pleas and Quarter-Sessions, covering the period from 1790 to 1808, remains. To depend, therefore, upon our records in writing a historical sketch is like the task of the botanist who would attempt to catalogue the flora of our mountains after inspecting a withered bouquet of wild flowers gathered haphazard by a child.

Happily for us, such men as Judge A. C. Avery and Colonel T. Geo. Walton, gathered from the lips of living witnesses

much of the history of this region, and preserved it in their historical articles.

Such books as Foote's "Sketches" of Virginia and North Carolina, Draper's "Kings Mountain," Greene's "Historic Families of Kentucky," the "Historical Papers" of Washington and Lee University, Wheeler's "History of North Carolina," and the "Reminiscences" of the same author, the "Colonial Records," Mrs. Boyd's the "Irvines and Their Kin," and Judge Avery's "History of the Presbyterian Churches at Morganton and Quaker Meadows," serve to throw some light upon the subject of this sketch or upon those parlor times in which she lived.

The ancestry of Grace Greenlee can be traced to one Christopher Irvine, who fell at Flodden Field in 1513. It was Robert Irvine, one of the descendants of Christopher, who married Elizabeth Wylie near Glenoe, in Ireland, and whose daughter, Margaret, became the wife of Ephraim McDowell. This Scotch-Irish soldier, who fought as a youth at Boyne River and in the siege of Londonderry, having buried his devoted wife, Margaret, in the old church yard at Raloo, in Ireland, brought his children, John, James, Margaret and Mary, to America about the year 1729, landing in Philadelphia.

Mary McDowell, one of the daughters of Ephraim, married prior to 1837, James Greenlee, whom Judge Greene styles "a Presbyterian Irishman of English descent." The Greenlees came from Philadelphia with Ephraim McDowell and his son, John McDowell, the latter of whom had married in Pennsylvania, Magdalena Wood, and became the first settlers on Burden's Grant of 500,000 acres in what is now Rockbridge County, Virginia. They reached Virginia in 1837, James McDowell, eldest son of Ephraim, having preceded them to that State. Hon. Hugh Blair Grigsby states that the excessive taxes imposed by Pennsylvania upon immigrants was the cause of the hegira of the Scots from Pennsylvania to Virginia and North Carolina.

Here, in the midst of that great wilderness and hard by the cabins of James and John McDowell, the Greenlees set up their home; and here, in 1738, their first child, John Greenlee, was born. The second son, named James after his father, was born to the Greenlees in 1740, and Grace, the subject of this sketch, the only daughter of whom any record is left, was born at the Greenlee home in Rockbridge County, Virginia, on June 23, 1750.

Of her early life in Virginia we have little knowledge. The Scotch-Irish Presbyterians of Augusta County, in which the Greenlees then lived and which included Rockbridge, had established, as early as 1749, the first school of high grade west of the Blue Ridge under the charge of Robert Alexander, a man of great learning, who had been educated at Edinburgh. He was succeeded as principal of the Augusta Academy in 1753 by Rev. John Brown, a Princeton graduate, who for more than twenty years taught the youth of the settlement. Washington and Lee University was the outgrowth of this great pioneer school. John and James Greenlee, brothers of Grace, were educated at Augusta Academy. Where she herself obtained an education, we do not know; but she was reared in a community where education was highly prized, where there was a considerable number of men who had been educated in the best schools of Scotland or at Princeton, and where, doubtless, she had educational advantages equal to those enjoyed by her brothers. Hon. Hugh Blair Grigsby, in an address delivered at Washington and Lee University in 1870, speaking of Augusta County at the time Grace Greenlee was in her girlhood, said: "It was a time when the proudest building in the vast region sweeping from the Blue Ridge to the Mississippi, was built of logs and rough rocks; when the rich and the poor—if indeed the word rich can be applied to any of the brave and pious settlers of this region—lived in log cabins; when the dwelling house, school house and the church were built of logs." Unbroken forests, in which bears, wolves, and deer abounded, and through which

roamed bands of hostile Indians, stretched for hundreds of miles on every side. Communication between the settlers was carried on by riding horse-back over rough trails, and merchandise was hauled hundreds of miles in rude wagons over almost impassable roads.

Colonel John McDowell, an uncle of Grace Greenlee, had been killed by Indians in the winter of 1743. Mrs. Estil, the sister of Colonel George Moffett (who had married Sarah McDowell, a first cousin of Grace Greenlee) had been captured and carried away by the Indians, and was rescued by her intrepid brother, Colonel Moffett, in charge of a band of frontiersmen, after a long chase through the forests. Some of her relatives had tasted the bitterness of Braddock's defeat, and had shared with her neighbors the victory at Point Pleasant. There was hardly a family in that old Virginia settlement some member of which had not been killed or wounded in the French and Indian wars. Such were the scenes and surroundings in which the early life of this pioneer woman was spent.

About the year 1776 Grace Greenlee married in Virginia, Captain John Bowman, a grandson of Joist Hite, a wealthy German who owned 40,000 acres of land in Frederick County, Virginia. Hite and his son-in-law, George Bowman, father of Captain John Bowman, had come to Virginia in 1732 from Pennsylvania, and had purchased the 40,000-acre tract from John and Isaac Vanmeter.

There is a tradition in the family that the father of Grace had arranged for her to marry a rich land owner of Virginia, well advanced in years; that the wedding trousseau was prepared, the wedding feast in readiness, and that the wedding ceremony had actually progressed to the point where the bride-to-be was asked if she would take the ancient bridegroom for "better or for worse," when she electrified the assembled guests by a most emphatic "No."

At any rate, she chose the young soldier, Captain Bowman, and in company with her husband and her brother James,

set out for North Carolina, where her relatives, the McDowells, and her second cousins, Margaret and Mary Moffett, who had married into the McDowell family, had preceded her. Reaching the Moravian settlements at Salem, the Greenlees and Bowmans were informed that the Cherokee Indians were on the war path in the upper Catawba settlements, and instead of coming directly to Burke, they went first to the home of their relatives, the Mitchells and Neelys, in South Carolina. These Mitchells were children of Margaret McDowell, a daughter of Ephraim and an aunt of Grace Bowman. Margaret McDowell had married James Mitchell in Virginia, and had moved thence to North Carolina and afterwards to South Carolina, where many of her descendants still reside.

It was probably on this trip to South Carolina that James Greenlee wooed and won his cousin, Mary Mitchell, to whom he was married and whom he brought to Burke County. The exact date when the Greenlees and Bowmans finally reached the Catawba Valley cannot be definitely fixed. It was certainly between the time of the battle of Point Pleasant in 1774 and the year 1778; for as early as 1778 both James Greenlee and John Bowman made numerous entries of land in Burke County. The McDowells, of Quaker Meadows and Pleasant Gardens, had made the first entries of their land in the office of the agent of Earl Granville, and afterwards took out new patents from the State of North Carolina; and it is asserted by members of the Greenlee family that both James Greenlee and Captain Bowman also made their original entries of land with the Granville agent, probably on some visit made to North Carolina before they came here to live.

It seems very probable that the time the Greenlees and Bowmans were deterred from coming direct to Burke by the news, which reached them at the Moravian settlements, that the Cherokee Indians were raiding the Catawba Valley, was during the summer of 1776, when the Cherokees crossed the Blue Ridge, murdered and scalped thirty-seven people on the

upper Catawba, and surrounded the McDowells and ten of their men and one hundred and twenty women and children whom they were protecting in a log fort, either in Turkey Cove or at the old Indian fort which stood where the village of Old Fort now stands.

On their arrival in Burke, Greenlee and Bowman were entertained by their relatives, the McDowells, at Quaker Meadows. Learning of their desire to settle in the valley, General Charles McDowell took both of the men to see a fine tract of land embracing the lower valley of Canoe Creek and fronting on the Catawba River at the mouth of that stream. This tract, which adjoined the Quaker Meadows lands, appeared so desirable that both Greenlee and Bowman wanted to acquire it. At the suggestion of Joseph McDowell, Sr., the question was settled by a wrestling match between these stalwart frontiersmen, and James Greenlee won. Captain Bowman then crossed the Catawba River, and on February the 2nd, 1778, entered three adjoining sections of good land on Silver Creek, embracing 1,380 acres. Here at "Hickory Grove," near the present station called Calvin, on the Southern Railway, the Bowmans built their home and prepared their fields for cultivation. The lands on Canoe Creek and Silver Creek, granted to James Greenlee and Captain Bowman in 1778, remained in the possession of their heirs until about ten years ago.

It was at Hickory Grove, on March 22, 1779, that Mary, the only child of John and Grace Bowman, was born. The Revolution in the meantime was in full swing, and Captain Bowman soon had to leave his young wife to join the McDowells in their numerous forays against the Tories in South Carolina. He was killed at the battle of Ramseur's Mill, just outside of the present town of Lincolnton, on June 20, 1780.

His wife, who was at Hickory Grove, heard that her husband had been desperately wounded and was lying at a house

near the battlefield. A superb horsewoman and possessed of dauntless courage, she mounted a fleet horse, and taking her fifteen months old child in her arms, rode like the wind to the bedside of her husband, who expired a short time after her arrival. It was a forty-mile ride through the South Mountains, over dim trails and through a country infested by bands of Tories smarting under their recent defeat, and it proved that the granddaughter of Ephraim McDowell had all of the courage of the old Londonderry soldier. Captain Bowman was buried on the battlefield where he fell, and a tombstone, erected by his widow, marks his last resting place.

Wheeler relates that Mrs. Bowman, on one occasion during the Revolution, pursued some Tories who had plundered her home during the absence of her husband, and compelled the robbers, at the point of a musket, to give up her property. The same author vouches for the statement, confirmed by family tradition, that she aided her husband in making gunpowder for the Whigs. Another story current in the family is that on one occasion some of Tarleton's troopers carried away some of the Bowman horses. This courageous woman rode to the British camp some miles away, and demanded her horses from the officer in charge, and was allowed to bring them back in triumph. It is also related that on another occasion, while riding alone on her favorite thoroughbred horse, she met a band of Tories, who insolently halted her and asked her the news. She told them there was nothing of interest to relate except that the McDowells were out with a large troop hunting for Tories, and were then approaching over the same road she had traveled. The Tories fled precipitately, and left her to return home.

In the fall of 1782, Grace Bowman married General Charles McDowell, and became the mistress of Quaker Meadows and its 2,000 acres of fertile land. With her little daughter Mary (or "Polly," as she was known to the family,) Bowman, she left Hickory Grove and moved across the Catawba to Quaker Meadows, which, even at that early date

had belonged to the McDowells for nearly half a century. Joseph McDowell, Sr., the husband of Margaret O'Neill, and the father of General Charles McDowell, had died there nine years before. It is probable that his good wife, Margaret, whom he had married in Ireland, had also passed away, though she was still living in 1780. Colonel Joseph McDowell, the brother of the General, was then settled on his fine estate at Johns River, with his wife, Margaret Moffett, the daughter of Sarah McDowell and a granddaughter of Ephraim.

Hugh McDowell, ancestor of the Walton family of Burke, another brother of the General's slept beside his father, having died in 1772, when only thirty years of age.

Her neighbors were the Erwins of "Belvidere" and "Bellvue," Waighstill Avery of "Swan Ponds," Captain Henry Highland, Robert Brank, James Greenlee, who resided near the present Walton residence at "Brookwood," John Henry Stevelie, who made his home on what is now known as the Magnolia Farm, and David Vance, ancestor of the distinguished family of that name.

Vance had come from Frederick County, Virginia, some time before the Greenlees and Bowmans reached Burke County. Foote mentions him as having administered the oath of office to eight magistrates in Frederick County in November 14, 1743. James Vance, son-in-law of Samuel Glass, was one of the first settlers on the Hite Grant, in Frederick County, Virginia, where he arrived in 1732, and where he is buried at Opequon church. He was probably the father of Colonel David Vance, though this I have been unable to verify. Colonel Vance, after he came to Burke, married the daughter of Peter Brank, a Whig patriot, whose old dwelling still stands on the Presnall farm overlooking the Catawba river a mile north of Morganton. Robert Brank, the Revolutionary soldier, was a brother of Colonel Vance's wife.

At the time of the marriage of Grace Greenlee Bowman and General McDowell, a little hamlet called "Alder

Springs," had sprung up on the hills south of the Catawba, in full view of the Quaker Meadows home. The lands embraced within the limits of the embryo town had been granted to James Greenlee, John Stringfield, James Jewell, Joseph Morgan and Robert Brank on September 20, 1779. By an act of the General Assembly held in Hillsboro in April, 1784, the town of "Morgansborough" was established, and Waighstill Avery, James Johnson, William Lenoir, Joseph McDowell and John Walker were appointed commissioners and authorized to purchase one hundred acres of land in the County of Burke, "as near the center thereof as may be convenient;" to levy taxes, erect public buildings and lay off streets and lots. The act provided for a tax of one shilling on every hundred pounds valuation of property in Burke and of four pence per hundred pounds in the counties of Lincoln, Rutherford and Wilkes, to be used for erecting a court house and jail in Morgansborough. The site finally selected for the new town was the little hamlet, Alder Springs, on the south side of the Catawba where Morganton now stands. At the session of the General Assembly held at Newbern in October, 1784, the commissioners reported that they had purchased 235 acres for the town site; and a new commission, composed of General Charles McDowell, John Blanton and Alexander Erwin, was appointed to carry on the work of building the new town.

The new county seat of the "State of Burke," then extending from Wilkes to Buncombe and westward to the Tennessee line, was soon provided with a pretentious court house and jail, two or more general stores, an inn kept by David Tate and a number of licensed "ordinaries." The opening of the Superior Court brought judges and lawyers and litigants to "Morgansborough," or "Morgan," as the village was then called, and the hospitality of the McDowell home, a mile away, became proverbial throughout the State. There were routs and balls for the youth of both sexes, horse racing, fox hunting and deer driving for the men, and many a good

"fist and skull fight" for the delectation of the populace. Morganton's merchants brought their goods from Charleston or Fayetteville in wagons, and silks, broadcloth, "Dutch blankets" and Jamaica rum, loaf sugar and silver shoe buckles were largely dealt in.

Among the many guests who partook of the hospitality of General McDowell and his young wife at Quaker Meadows was that reckless blade, Colonel John Sevier, from the Watauga settlements beyond the Blue Ridge. Sevier was arrested in the fall of 1788 by his enemy, Colonel Tipton, and sent to Morganton in irons to answer to a charge of treason against the State of North Carolina. General Charles McDowell and his brother Joseph became bondsmen for their old comrade in arms, and entertained him royally until his sensational escape from the custody of Sheriff William Morrison, of Burke.

In the social life of that period Grace McDowell was a leading figure. General McDowell was a member of the State Senate at the time of their marriage in 1782, a position which he held until 1788. For many years he was a justice of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions. Besides, he was a commissioner for the new town of Morganton, went with General Griffith Rutherford on his expedition against the Cherokees, was with Robert Henry and David Vance in establishing the line between North Carolina and Tennessee, and was, moreover, one of the largest land owners of the State. His manifold duties, public and private, consequently, kept him away from home much of the time, leaving to his capable wife the charge of his fine Catawba River plantation.

Slave traders were already hawking their "chattels" in the Catawba Valley, and the first United States Census, compiled in 1790, shows that General McDowell had at that time ten negro slaves on his estate. His brother, Major John McDowell, who was settled on Silver Creek, had the same number, and Colonel Waighstill Avery owned twenty-

four slaves, among them an Arab of great intelligence, learned in mathematics and the lore of the Orient.

In addition to her duties as the mistress of a large establishment, Grace McDowell had to care for her six children: Mary Bowman, already mentioned, and Margaret McDowell, born December 31, 1783; Charles McDowell, born December 27, 1785; Sarah McDowell, born December 16, 1787; Ethan Allen McDowell, born October 27, 1790, and James R. McDowell, born September 28, 1792.

That the daughter of James Greenlee and Mary McDowell would espouse the Presbyterian faith and bring up her family in that church, went without saying. About the time of her marriage to General McDowell, the first Presbyterian church in the upper Catawba Valley was built about three miles north of the McDowell home, in the center of the Scotch-Irish settlements on Johns River, Upper Creek and in the Linville Valley. It was styled the Quaker Meadows Church, and Grace McDowell was one of its first members, transferring her membership to Morganton after the establishment of the Presbyterian church in that town some years later. Rev. James Templeton was pastor of the Presbyterian church at Quaker Meadows and Pleasant Gardens in 1784, and Rev. James McKamie Wilson, who married Mary, the daughter of Alexander Erwin, was pastor of the same flocks in 1799. James Greenlee, brother of Grace McDowell, was an elder at Quaker Meadows, and afterwards at Morganton. As these early Presbyterian ministers were often teachers as well as preachers, and as Mr. Wilson a short time later engaged in educational work in Mecklenburg County, it is probable that the education of "Polly Bowman" and the McDowell children was entrusted to these Presbyterian divines.

I have before me, as I write, an old account book, kept at "The Morganton Store," in 1791 and 1792, in which there are numerous charges made of merchandise sold to General McDowell and his neighbors. The entries are in pounds, shillings and pence, and here is one of the bills:

June 12, 1791.
L.—S.—D.

Gen. Charles McDowell, Dr.

1 pen knife.....	4
1 Pr. knee buckles.....	4
1 ink stand	3
3 childrens' knives & Jews Hrp.....	5

16

From which it may be logically deduced that the General's goose-quill pens needed attention, that his pokeberry crop was good, that he was fond of music "that was music," that he was a bit of a dandy, that he was an indulgent father, and that he was a man of letters and could have claimed the "benefit of clergy" if occasion arose. As most of the other bills on the account book mentioned contained entries of "one pint Jamaica rum, 3 shillings," the absence of this item in the above account may be taken to prove either that "The McDowell" believed in encouraging home industries, or that his Presbyterian wife was along when he bought the goods.

Mary Bowman, only daughter of Grace Greenlee and Captain John Bowman, married in 1798 Colonel William Tate, who, in partnership with his brother Robert, during the year 1795, obtained grants from the State of North Carolina for about 300,000 acres of land in the present counties of Burke, McDowell and Yancey, which they afterwards sold to Robert Morris of Philadelphia. Mary Bowman was a large land owner in her own right, possessing not only the Hickory Grove estate of 1,380 acres, but owning a half interest in numerous tracts on Swannanoa and Ivey rivers in Buncombe County, and on the "western waters," which had been entered by her father and her uncle, James Greenlee. The records at Raleigh show that the grants for these lands were issued to James Greenlee and Mary Bowman.

Eight children were born to William and Mary Tate. They were, John D. Tate, born January 15, 1799; Samuel C. Tate, born January 30, 1801; Elizabeth Adeline, born March 25, 1804; Mary Louisa, born April 10, 1810; Margaret Allison, born November 13, 1812, and Robert Mc-

Dowell Tate, born August 17, 1814; and Eliza and William J. Tate, the date of whose birth I have been unable to ascertain. Of these, three Tates, John B., William J., and Eliza G. (who married Stanhope Erwin) died without issue.

Samuel C. Tate, who married Eliza Tate, his cousin, was the father of the late Captain Junius C. Tate of Hickory Grove and of Mrs. Mary Joe Adams, who married Mr. Laurence Adams of Augusta, Ga.

Elizabeth Adeline Tate married William McGimsey. She is buried beside her husband at Quaker Meadows. They left one son, Robert Vance McGimsey, whose children are living in Louisiana.

Mary Louisa Tate married Rev. Thomas Espy and left one daughter, Harriet N. Espy, who was the first wife of the late Senator Z. B. Vance, and the mother of Charles, David N., Zebulon B., Jr., and Thomas Vance.

Margaret Allison Tate married William C. Butler, and left one daughter, Sallie, who married Ephraim Greenlee, and who, at last account, was still living in Tennessee. She paid a visit to Morganton a few years since. The Butlers, husband and wife, are buried at Quaker Meadows.

Robert McDowell Tate married Sarah R. Butler, a daughter of Colonel John E. Butler, and left eight children, of whom Mr. Charles E. Tate of Morganton, is the only survivor.

Of the McDowell children of Grace Greenlee, Margaret, the eldest, married William G. Dickson, who lived in what is now Caldwell County on Mulberry Creek, on June 1, 1801, when in her eighteenth year, and bore him twelve children, Charles McDowell Dickson, Grace Eliza, M. Isabella, Mary M., Joseph H., James F., Sarah E., Ann M., W. Athan, Robert M., Carolina C., and William W. Of these Dickson children, all died without issue except four. Eliza Grace Dickson married Moses T. Abernethy and left five children. Margaret Dickson married Dr. W. L. Glass. To them were born eleven children, three of whom died in infancy. Joseph H. Dickson married a Miss Estes and left three children.

William W. Dickson married a Miss Jones, of Wake County, N. C., and left six children, a number of whom are still living in or near Raleigh.

Charles McDowell, eldest son of Charles McDowell, Sr., and Grace, who represented Burke County in the Legislature from 1809 till 1811, married his cousin, Annie McDowell, a daughter of Colonel Joseph McDowell of Pleasant Gardens, and his wife, Mary Moffett. They had six children: Eliza, Mary, Samuel, Myra, James and Margaret. Of these, Eliza and Myra married the Woodfin brothers of Asheville; Mary married first the distinguished lawyer, John Gray Bynum, Sr., and afterwards Justice Richmond M. Pearson of the North Carolina Supreme Court; James married Julia Manly, daughter of Governor Charles Manly; Margaret married William F. McKesson, and Samuel died without issue.

Ethan Allen McDowell, second son of General Charles and Grace, who served a number of times as sheriff of Burke, and as State Senator from the county in 1815, and fought in the Creek War, married Ann Gordon, a step-daughter of Colonel William Davenport. Of this marriage four children were born: Charles Gordon McDowell, who married Miss Emeline Jones of Henderson County; Louisa C., who married Col. James C. Harper of Caldwell County, and Mary A., and James McDowell, who died in infancy.

Sarah McDowell, second daughter of Charles and Grace McDowell, married Colonel William Paxton, a brother of Judge Paxton, to whom were born four children: John, William, James and Mary. Mary Paxton married Rev. Branch Merrimon, the father of the late Supreme Court Justice and United States Senator, Augustus S. Merrimon, and of Judge James H. Merrimon of Asheville.

James R. McDowell, third son of Charles and Grace, never married. He was a man of brilliant parts; served two terms in the State Senate, and three in the House, and died in 1826 when only 33 years of age, his early death closing what his friends had predicted would be a splendid political career.

I would be glad to trace further the descendants of Grace Greenlee, but the lines are too numerous and divergent to make it possible in this sketch. Senators, judges, soldiers, lawyers, leaders in business and the professions, are her sons. Brilliant and beautiful women are her daughters. I have done what little I could, in the limited time at my disposal and with the many interruptions caused by the pursuit of an exacting profession, to rescue from obscurity some of the incidents of her most interesting career.

A few days ago, I visited her grave where, on one of the noble hills of Burke, overlooking both Quaker Meadows and Hickory Grove and the town of Morganton a mile away, she sleeps beside the soldier consort of her maturer years. Close by her side repose Joseph McDowell, husband of Margaret O'Neill; her brothers, James and John Greenlee; her sister-in-law, Mary Mitchell Greenlee; her daughter, Mary Tate; her sons, Charles, Ethan and James; Hugh McDowell, her brother-in-law, 'Tates, Butlers, Espys, Bynums, McGimseys, Harbisons, her relatives, neighbors and nearest friends. Broad fields of wheat, ready for the harvest, waved in the fertile Catawba Valley, upon lands which the McDowells have held in freehold for more than one hundred and fifty years. My mission there was to copy from the ancient tombstones, as a fitting conclusion to this paper, the epitaphs below. The poetry, like the carving, is rude; but the story told by the stones is as eloquent as it is enduring:

“Sacred to the memory
of
Gen. Charles McDowell,
a Whig officer in the Revolutionary
War, who died as he had lived—
a Patriot, the 31st of March, 1815,
aged about 70 years.”

“Sacred to the memory of
of
Grace McDowell,
Consort of Gen. Chas. McDowell, who
died May 18, 1823, in the 73rd year of her age.
“Once engaged in scenes of life,
A tender mother and loving wife;
But now she’s gone and left us here,
The lesson bids us all prepare.”

Note.—The facts stated in the above paper were collated from the books and records mentioned and from data furnished by Mrs. Emma Harper Cilley, of Hickory, N. C.; Miss Lizzie D. Glass, of Rufus, Caldwell Co., N. C.; Messrs. Charles Manly McDowell and Charles E. Tate, of Morganton, descendants of Grace Greenlee; from Mr. John A. Dickson and Miss Mary F. Dickson, descendants of James Greenlee; and from Miss Margaret McDowell, of Morganton, N. C., a descendant of Colonel Joseph McDowell, of Pleasant Gardens. To all of them, thanks for the aid so kindly afforded me.

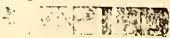
Number of North Carolinians in the Revolutionary War

BY MARSHALL DELANCEY HAYWOOD,

Author of "Governor William Tryon and His Administration in the Province of North Carolina, 1765-1771," "Lives of the Bishops of North Carolina," "Ballads of Courageous Carolinians," etc.

How many troops did North Carolina furnish to the American cause during the War of the Revolution? This is an interesting question, well worthy of consideration and study. The present writer, while recently serving as Historian of the United States War and Navy Departments for collecting North Carolina Revolutionary Records, made a close examination of all the available archives in Raleigh and elsewhere throughout North Carolina, and the result of these researches convinces him that the State has never had credit for anywhere near the number of men she had on her rolls during that war. In taking up this subject we shall begin with the Continental Line, or regulars, and later speak of the Nine Months Drafts, and the Militia—or Minute Men, as the last mentioned class was usually called in New England and other Northern localities.

Most students of North Carolina history are familiar with the printed Roster of the Continental Line (regulars) which is given in the sixteenth volume of the State Records of North Carolina, pages 1002 to 1196. This gives a list of Continentals to the number of about six thousand—or 5,997 in exact figures. Many names, it is true, are given more than once on this Roster—owing to transfers from one regiment to another, as in the cases of promoted officers, etc.,—but the subtraction which we must make for this cause is counterbalanced by additions which might be made of numerous names of North Carolina Continental soldiers which are given on the



United States Pension Rolls, State Land Grant Lists, and other authentic records, but which do not appear on the above-mentioned Continental Roster. So we may safely assert that North Carolina furnished six thousand regulars to the Continental Army. Indeed she must have furnished an even greater number if her Continental regiments—ten in number—were ever recruited to anywhere near the full strength authorized by law and military usage.

We now come to the Militia forces of North Carolina, which were far greater than the Continental troops of the State. In the Spring of 1782 there were no less than 26,822 Militia troops enrolled in North Carolina, as shown by returns from all the counties in the State made at that time. This most valuable document (now in the manuscript archives of the State, deposited in the collection of the North Carolina Historical Commission) we shall reproduce verbatim, including the certificate of Alexander Martin, Governor and Commander-in-Chief. Governor Martin's certificate, it will be observed, expressly states that this list does not include either Continental troops or Nine Months Drafts. The list is as follows:

RETURN OF THE FENCIBLE MILITIA OF THE STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA, MAY 6, 1782.

Counties.	Colonels.	Lt.-Colonels.	Major.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Non-commissioned Officers and Privates.	Total.	
Franklin	1	1	2	8	8	8	530	557	4002 Halifax District.
Warren	1	1	2	9	9	9	590	621	
Halifax	1	1	2	12	12	12	650	690	
Northampton	1	1	2	11	11	11	550	587	
Edgecombe	1	1	2	10	10	10	650	683	
Nash	1	1	2	7	7	7	487	512	
Martin	1	1	2	6	6	6	330	352	
Guilford	1	1	2	17	17	15	800	853	
Rowan								1500	
Surry	1	1	2					700	
Wilkes	1			12	12	12	544	581	Including both battalions.
Burke	1	1	2	13	13	13	687	730	
Mecklenburg	2	2	4					960	
Lincoln	1	1	2	6	6	6	344	366	
Rutherford								250	
Anson								484	
Montgomery								460	
Richmond								340	
Washington*	1	1	2					1000	
Sullivan*	1	1	2	11	11	10	499	568	8792 Salisbury District.
Carteret	1	1	2	5	5	5	218	237	
Craven	1	1	2	10	10	10	622	657	
Beaufort	1	1	2	5	5	5	268	288	

Hyde	1	1	2	5	5	4	8	217	235
Johnston	1	1	2	8	8	8	8	452	480
Dobbs†	1	1	2	10	10	10	10	580	614
Pitt	1	1	2	13	13	13	12	606	648
Jones	1	1	2	4	4	4	4	384	400
Wayne	1	1	2	---	---	---	---	420	424
Bertie	---	1	2	11	11	11	11	623	659
Chowan	1	1	2	5	5	5	5	215	234
Gates	1	1	2	8	8	8	8	371	398
Perquimans	1	---	2	5	5	5	5	222	240
Camden	1	1	2	8	8	8	8	388	416
Currituck	1	1	2	7	7	6	6	236	259
Pasquotank	1	1	2	6	6	6	6	236	358
Hertford	1	1	1	6	6	5	7	392	415
Tyrell	1	1	2	8	8	8	8	373	401
Onslow	1	1	2	9	9	9	9	407	438
Brunswick	---	1	1	4	4	4	4	142	156
Cumberland	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	556
New Hanover	1	1	2	5	5	5	4	110	128
Duplin	1	1	2	14	13	13	12	883	927
Bladen	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	600
Orange	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	4002
Granville	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	8792
Caswell	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	Salisbury District.
Randolph	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	3983
Wake	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	New Bern District.
Chatham	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	3380
	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	Edenton District.
	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	2815
	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	Wilmington District.
	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	3850
	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	Hillsboro District.

26,822 total.

ALEX. MARTIN.

The above estimate is exclusive of those persons in the Continental service, the nine months draughts, and others exempted in the State from military [militia] duty.

ALEX. MARTIN.

*Washington and Sullivan counties are in what is now Tennessee. M. DEL. H.

†The territory of the old county of Dobbs now forms Greene and Lenoir counties. M. DEL. H.

Having thus shown from authentic documentary evidence that the North Carolina Continentals, or regulars, numbered 6,000 or upwards, and that her Militia forces numbered exactly 26,822, the only remaining class of soldiery to be added (as Governor Martin said it was not included in the Militia returns) is what was known as the Nine Months Draft.

Unfortunately, we have been unable to find any record to show the exact numbers included in the Nine Months Drafts; but, from the frequency with which they were called into service, and the reliance placed upon them, we think that 2,500 is a very conservative estimate of their numbers.

Hence, with 6,000 Continentals, 26,822 Militia, and 2,500 (estimated) Nine Months Drafts, the belief is not unreasonable that North Carolina had at her disposal, during the progress of the Revolution, upwards of 35,000 soldiers. But this is a larger number than the great State of New York furnished, it may be said. In answer we have only to observe that when the first official Census of the United States was taken in 1790 North Carolina's population was 53,631 in excess of the population of the State of New York, the former State having 393,751 inhabitants, and the latter only 340,120; and in this Census of 1790 Tennessee was not counted as a part of North Carolina, its mother.

Was Lederer in Bertie County?

BY CAPTAIN S. A. ASHE.

Dr. Hawks, in his valuable History of North Carolina, gives, at page 43, Vol. II, some extracts from the Discoveries of John Lederer, a German, who was living in Virginia in 1669 and 1670, and who made three journeys to the mountains. Dr. Hawks says: "The second of these expeditions was from the Falls of the James River, west and southwest, and brought Lederer into North Carolina." "Certain Englishmen were appointed by Berkeley to accompany him; these, however, forsook him and turned back. Lederer proceeded,, notwithstanding, alone; and on his return to Virginia (which, by the way, was never expected), met with insult and reproaches, instead of the cordial welcome to which he was entitled. * * * * Under these circumstances he went to Maryland, and there succeeded finally in obtaining a hearing from the Governor, Sir William Talbot, and in submitting his papers to him. The Governor, though at first much prejudiced against the man by the stories he had heard, yet found him, so he says, "a modest, ingenious person, and a pretty scholar." And the Governor himself took the trouble to translate from the Latin and publish Lederer's account of his journeyings. The pamphlet with map was printed in London in 1672. Dr. Hawks makes extracts from this pamphlet and reproduces two maps on which Lederer's route is indicated and from these it appears that Lederer explored the mountain section, but notwithstanding this, Dr. Hawks locates the explorations in eastern North Carolina—especially in Bertie County.

We quote from the narrative:

"The twentieth of May, 1670, one Major Harris and my-

self, with twenty Christian horse and five Indians, marched from the falls of James River, in Virginia, towards the Monakins. * * * Here inquiring the way to the mountains, an ancient man described with a staff two paths on the ground, one pointing to the Mahocks and the other to the Nahyssans. (Dr. Hawks locates the Mahocks at the junction of the Rockfish with the James River; and the Nahyssans west of them, and between them and the first range of mountains.)

“But my English companions, slighting the Indian’s directions, shaped their course by the compass due west. * * * Thus we, obstinately pursuing a due west course, rode over steep and craggy cliffs. In these mountains we wandered from the 25th of May till the 3rd of June. * * *

“The third of June we came to the south branch of the James River, which Major Harris, observing to run northwardly, vainly imagined to be an arm of the Lake of Canada. * * * Here I moved to cross the river and march on; but the rest of the company were so weary of the enterprise that, crying out, one and all, they would have offered violence to me.

“The lesser hills, or Akonshuck, are here impassible, being both steep and craggy. James River is here as broad as it is about a hundred miles lower at Monakin.

“The fifth of June, my company and I parted, good friends, they back again, and I, with one Susquehanna Indian, named Jackzetason, only, in pursuit of my first enterprise, changing my course from west to southwest and by south to avoid the mountains.

“From the fifth, which was Sunday, until the ninth of June, I traveled through difficult ways, without seeing any town or Indian, and then I arrived at Sapon, a town of the Nahyssans, about a hundred miles distant from Mahock, situate upon a branch of Shawan, alias Rovenock River.

(Dr. Hawks says: “By Shawan, Lederer meant Chowan;” and he thinks Lederer struck the Staunton River.)

"And though I had just cause to fear these Indians, because they had been in continual hostility with the Christians for ten years, yet etc. But I, though with much ado, waived their courtesy and got my passport, having given my word to return to them within six months.

"Sapon is within the limits of the Province of Carolina. * * * Not far distant from hence, as I understood from the Nahyssan Indians, is their king's residence, called Pintahal, on the same river, which my curiosity would have led me to see, were I not bound both by oath and commission to a direct pursuance of my intended purpose of discovering a passage to the further side of the mountains.

"From hence, by the Indians' instructions, I directed my course to Akenatzzy, an island bearing south and west and about fifty miles distant, upon a branch of the same river, from Sapon. * * * By easy journeys I landed at Akenatzzy upon the twelfth of June. The Island, though small, maintains many inhabitants, who are fixed here in great security, being naturally fortified with fastnesses of mountains and water on every side. (Dr. Hawks locates this island in Halifax and Northampton counties in North Carolina.) The fourteenth of June, pursuing a south-southwest course, some times by a beaten path and some times over hills and rocks, I was forced to take up my quarters in the woods; for though the Onock Indians, whom I then sought, were not, in a direct line, above thirty-odd miles distant from Akenatzzy, yet the ways were such, and obliged me to go so far about, that I reached not Onock until the sixteenth.

(Dr. Hawks says: "We are not without knowledge of the locality of the Ohanocks. They were in the present County of Bertie. It would, therefore, seem that Lederer traveled down from Northampton, on the eastern side of the Roanoke, into Bertie, towards the Chowan.")

"Fourteen miles, west southwest of the Onocks dwell the Shackory Indians. * * * I travelled until the nineteenth of June, and then, after a two days troublesome

journey through thickets and marsh grounds, I arrived at Watary, about forty miles distant; and bearing west southwest to Shakor.

"I departed from Watary the one and twentieth of June, and keeping a west course for near thirty miles, I came to Sara. Here I found the ways more level and easy. I did likewise, to my no small admiration, find hard cakes of white salt among them; but whether they were made from seawater, or taken out of salt-pits, I know not, but am apt to believe the latter, because the sea is so remote from them. From Sara I kept a south-southwest course, until the five and twentieth of June, and then I reached Wisacky. * * * This nation is subject to a neighbor king, residing upon the bank of a great lake called Ushery, environed on all sides with mountains and Wisacky marsh.

"The six and twentieth of June, having crossed a fresh river which runs into the lake Ushery, I came to the town, which was more populous than any I had seen before in my march. The water of Ushery Lake seemed to my taste a little brackish. * * * I judged it to be about ten leagues broad, for were not the other shore very high, it could not be discovered from Ushery. How far this lake tends westwardly, or where it ends, I could neither learn nor guess.

"I understood that two days' journey and a half from thence to the southwest, a powerful nation of bearded men were seated, who I suppose to be the Spaniards.

"Not thinking fit to proceed further, the eighth and twentieth of June, I faced about and looked homewards. To avoid Wisacky marsh, I shaped my course northeast, and after a three days travel over hilly ways, I fell into a barren, sandy desert, where I suffered miserably for want of water. * * * In this distress we traveled till the twelfth of July, and then found the head of a river, which afterwards proved Eruco. We were led by it, upon the fourteenth of July to the town of Katearas, a place of great Indian trade, and chief seat of the haughty emperor of the Tuskaroras.

Leaving Katearas, I traveled through the woods until the sixteenth, upon which I came to Kawitziokan, an Indian town upon a branch of the Rorenoko River, which I have passed over continuing my journey to Mencharink, and on the seventeenth departing from thence, I lay all night in the woods, and the next morning betimes, going by Natoway, I reached that evening Apamatuck in Virginia, where I was not a little overjoyed to see Christian faces again."

Dr. Hawks traces Lederer in his wanderings into the eastern part of North Carolina. That has always seemed to me unreasonable. The several statements of Lederer cannot be reconciled. He starts west to find a way across the mountains. He is accompanied by a force of forty horsemen under Major Harris, to the junction of the north and of the south branches of the James River, across the Blue Ridge, at about the Natural Bridge. There Major Harris and the horsemen leave him. From that point, according to his narrative, Lederer journeys to the southwest down the valley. In four days he reaches the Rorenoko River, now called the Staunton. From there he starts for an island Akenatzty, fifty miles distant, on the Rorenoko, naturally fortified by mountains, which he reaches in three days. After a journey to the southwest of about forty miles he reached Watary. Then he went a west course for thirty miles to Sara. And here he found salt cakes. Apparently two days later he reached the great lake Ushery, environed with mountains; ten leagues broad and extending so far to the west that he could not guess its extent. And there he heard of "bearded men" to the southwest. The salt cakes doubtless came from salt springs in western Virginia. The lake was the product of his imagination. But doubtless the Indians told him of the great lakes, and of the French or Spaniards. Having determined to return, he took a northeast course on the 28th of June; on the 16th of July he crossed the Roanoke River.

On the 17th of July he departed from Mencharink, and the next evening, going by Notoway, reached Appomatox. Prob-

ably he struck the Appomatox near where Petersburg is—or still further to the west; having crossed the head waters of the Notaway. Mencharink seems to have been an Indian town on the upper Meherrin southwest of Petersburg. Lederer seems to have crossed the Roanoke a few miles south of the mouth of the Dan; and indeed he probably would have found some difficulty in crossing it lower down. A southwest line from there would take him south of the Dan, and he probably followed the ridge dividing the waters of the Dan from those of the Cape Fear River.

As the physical conditions prove that a large portion of Lederer's narrative is the product of his imagination, Dr. Hawks discards his statements that he pursued a southwest course from the junction of the two branches of the James, where Major Harris left him, and brings him down into Bertie County.

I surmise that after Major Harris turned back, leaving Lederer to pursue his own course, with no witnesses, Lederer sought and reached an island in the Roanoke River, or Staunton River, just south of Lynchburg; which he called Akenatzy, and which Lawson in his map (1708) indicated as Oconeche—but with a very indefinite location. There is an island in the Roanoke near Weldon; but there is also Long Island much higher up which was probably that visited by Lederer, called by him Akenatzy. If he started from there on a southwest course he probably passed over the head waters of the Dan, and then returned south of the Dan, never crossing the mountains at all. He mentions finding the salt at Sara; a name that may be associated with the Sawra Indians, and Sauratown, in Stokes County.

On the whole, the entire narrative is deprived of historical interest or importance because of its obvious inaccuracies.

On his return the Virginians treated him coldly—and apparently with good reason. Still it seems that Dr. Hawks is far out of the way when he localizes Lederer's wanderings in the eastern part of North Carolina.

Historical Book Reviews

MISS ALBERTSON'S "IN ANCIENT ALBEMARLE." A REVIEW.

BY ARCHIBALD HENDERSON.

In welcoming any new book dealing with phases of local history and tradition in North Carolina, I fear that I am quite incapable of maintaining on this subject a position of "strict neutrality." The fact is that I am a deliberate partisan on this matter, for I am more eager than I can well express to inspire and stimulate the writing of county and sectional history. This is, incomparably, the most important and pressing need which all of us, who are profoundly concerned for the unveiling of the truth about our people, now feel should be met and satisfied.

I cannot omit any occasion which presents itself to press upon our people the need for preserving local history and, before it is forever lost, recovering and embalming in permanent form the accurate and intimate story of our local and sectional life, as distinguished from the story of the State as such and its part in national affairs. The innumerable contributions of North Carolina to the life of the nation have, in a measure at least, been sketched out; the exhaustive and detailed story, in many instances, has yet to be narrated. But this is not the case with our local history. Very few satisfactory county histories have been published in North Carolina—some are exceedingly slim and fragmentary. Yet, I welcome every one of them, as a sign of the growing interest of our people in local affairs, and as an effort, at least, toward a contribution to local history. I deplore the burial—which in some cases amounts to total loss—of countless articles, genealogical, traditional, and historical, in local newspapers in North Carolina. An examination of the files of these local

newspapers would often result in the resurrection of valuable articles the contents of which are found in no book. The articles, once published in the local newspapers, are quickly forgotten and so permanently lost to view.

Three works, recently brought to my attention, have given me great cheer and caused me to rejoice in the development of historical activity in our midst. All three deal with sections of North Carolina, and are, on that score, particularly conspicuous, since there have been virtually no works of just this sort hitherto written and published by North Carolinians. I refer to *The History of Western North Carolina*, by Mr. John P. Arthur; *Chronicles of the Lower Cape Fear*, by Mr. James Sprunt; and *In Ancient Albemarle*, by Miss Catherine Albertson. The works of Mr. Arthur and Mr. Sprunt are quite exhaustive and purport to give a general historical survey, down to the present time, of the sections studied. The treatment is topical and desultory, rather than strictly chronological and successive. Both are very full, in interest, subject matter and content, and very bulky.

On the other hand, Miss Albertson's little book is a collection of historical essays on subjects of particularly local interest clustering around a particular section, "the broad sound whose tawny waters wash the southern shores of this peninsular (between the Perquimans and Little Rivers), as well as that tract of land lying between the Chowan River and the Atlantic Ocean." These essays are quite devoid of pretension in either manner or method; there is no fringe of foot-notes to distract the attention from the real story of human interest. Yet the writer bases her recitals on personal investigation and authentic records; and is always very particular to draw the line between delightful tradition, however romantic, and disillusioning documents, however prosaic. Yet she succeeds in imparting romantic glamour to her story in her descriptions of historic remains, such as that of "The Old Brick House," reputed to have been one of the many widely scattered haunts of Blackbeard, the Pirate, Edward Teach. "A small slab of

granite, circular in shape . . . is sunken in the ground at the foot of the steps and bears the date of 1709, and the initials 'E. T.' The ends of the house are of mingled brick and stone, the main body of wood. The wide entrance hall, paneled to the ceiling, opens into a large room, also paneled, in which is a wide fire-place with a richly carved mantel reaching to the ceiling. On each side of this mantel there is a closet let into the wall, one of which communicates by a secret door with the large basement room below. Tradition says that from this room a secret passage led to the river; that here the pirate confined his captives, and that ineffaceable stains upon the floor in the room above hint of dark deeds, whose secret was known only to the underground tunnel and the unrevealing waters below."

The story of this self-same "Brick House," as unearthed by Mr. Joseph Sitterson (pp. 64-5), is full of strange interest. And much of historic atmosphere still hovers about "Elmwood," the old Swann homestead in Pasquotank County, for this family made almost incomparable contributions to the service of Colony and State. In the slight story of John Koen, we have the following suggestive passage:

"According to Colonel Koen, who was with Washington on that momentous night (of the crossing of the Delaware), no boats were used. The river was frozen over, and the soldiers, in order to keep their footing on the slippery ice, laid their muskets down on the frozen river and walked across on them to the Jersey shore. At times the ice bent so beneath the tread of the men that they momentarily expected to be submerged in the dark waters, but the dangerous crossing was safely made, etc." One of the most interesting and detailed chapters is that one dealing with General Isaac Gregory; and one cannot repress a thrill of pride in reading the following passage from the account by Roger Lamb, a Britisher, of the ill-starred field of Camden: "In justice to North Carolina, it should be remarked that General Gregory's brigade acquitted themselves well. They formed on the left

of the Continentals, and kept the field while they had a cartridge left. Gregory himself was twice wounded by bayonets in bringing off his men, and many in his brigade had only bayonet wounds." A remarkable exhibition of coolness and sheer bravery, accentuated just now when troops on the fields of France and Flanders have broken again and again, unwilling to endure the cold steel of the bayonet. The criminal hoax of Captain Stevens, the British officer, cast an utterly unmerited gloom over General Gregory's later years—cruel "reward" for conspicuous bravery and personal leadership on a stricken field. No wonder that the old General, in his later years lived a secluded life; and it is amusingly related of him that he "knew so little of events beyond his own family circle that he addressed to a lady, the widow of Governor Stone, a letter making a formal proposal of marriage, full six months after her death."

Many and quaint are the stories told by the charming authoress; of the "teacher meeting" conducted by George Fox in October, 1672, in Perquimans; of the thrice-wedded Samuel Ferebee, who, as the family chronicle notes, "was always married on Sunday and on the fourteenth day of the month;" of the dilemma of Duckinfield over the law of 1719 that all baptised slaves should be set free, resolved only by the repeal of the law because all the darkies immediately clamored to receive the rite of holy baptism; of the astute McKnight who neatly jockeyed the Chief of the Yeopims, John Durant, out of four hundred acres of land, by turning the tables of Indian superstition upon him. A charming and delightful book, full of truth and fancy, of tradition and sentiment—stimulative of pride and patriotism. Three slight errors only are patent: mention of a History of North Carolina by Dr. "Hawk;" citation from some writing of a Dr. "Brickwell," and reference to the "Iredell Letters" of "McCree."

Aside from its own merits, this work is important as the first of a series of historical works which will be published by the North Carolina Society of the Daughters of the Rev-

olution. These works will be the production solely of members of the society. Such an undertaking deserves the hearty support of all North Carolinians. The society is to be warmly congratulated upon the patriotic spirit which prompts it to embark upon this worthy undertaking. The present volume is appropriately dedicated to Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton, State Regent. A meritorious feature of the attractively bound and printed volume is that of the illustrations, reproduced from pen and ink drawings by Miss Mabel Pugh.

Genealogical and Biographical Memoranda

BY MRS. E. E. MOFFITT.

WILLIAM CARSON ERVIN

The BOOKLET hails with pride the article on Grace Greenlee, a Revolutionary heroine, one of the many who figured largely in the independence of our country. Mr. Ervin has given this interesting sketch, thus perpetuating the service of a woman thus far too little known in the history of North Carolina.

William Carson Ervin was born December 16, 1859, in the town of Marion, N. C. He is the son of Rev. James S. Ervin, a native of South Carolina, and a minister of the Methodist Church. His mother was Matilda Carson, a daughter of William M. Carson of McDowell County, N. C., and a granddaughter of Colonel John Carson and his wife, Mary Moffett Carson (Mary Moffett Carson was the widow of Colonel Joseph McDowell of Pleasant Gardens, and a daughter of Colonel George Moffett of Virginia).

William Carson Ervin was educated at Finley High School in Lenoir, and at the University of North Carolina. Before taking his University course he read law under Judge Clinton A. Cilley of Lenoir; passed his examination before the Supreme Court of North Carolina in 1880, before attaining his majority, and has been engaged in the practice of his profession since 1881. He was for several years associated with W. W. Scott as editor of the "Lenoir Topic," and was editor of the "Mountaineer" and the "Herald" of Morganton, his editorial work covering a period of fifteen years. Since 1889 he has been a member of the law firm of Avery and Ervin of Morganton; is president of the Realty Loan and Guarantee Co., and the Morganton Building and Loan Association, and is connected with a number of corporations, making a specialty of corporation law. He has a large

practice, but being of a modest and retiring nature he has never contended for honors in the court room. He has never held public office except to serve as Mayor of Lenoir and Morganton and could have held this office continuously if the citizens could have had their way.

Mr. Ervin is a man of splendid physique and commanding appearance, with a countenance alert, indicating an ever present sense of humor. He is a delightful conversationalist and his mind teems with apt jokes, and his speech flavored with the wit that makes friends of all who come in contact with him; largely due to his charitableness, which has no place for irony or sarcasm. In his business dealings he is deliberate; temperate in his mode of life; orderly and rational in his intellectual activities, therefore his advice is sought on all important matters affecting the town, and the community repose the most implicit confidence in his judgment and his integrity.

Mr. Ervin's fondness for literature has made him acquainted with the best prose and verse in the language. He is fond of history, and this has induced him to perpetuate in attractive essays some of the early history of Burke County. He is especially fond of poetry and considers it one of his chief pleasures; he is the author of several beautiful poems, and through many of these the reader is able to see into the heart of nature with something of his own keen insight.

The literary, poetical and historical essays of Mr. Ervin would make a volume of rare merit and one well fit to win the Patterson Cup. With all the good qualities and acquirements of Mr. Ervin he is a devoted church member, not only active and efficient in his own denomination, but liberal towards other denominations.

Mr. Ervin married Miss Kate Sheets, daughter of a pastor of the Morganton Presbyterian Church. His home life is attractive, and he is the ideal husband and devoted father. He has two children, Morton S. Ervin and Miss Julia Ervin, the latter a devoted teacher of the Deaf in Berk-

ley, California. Mr. Ervin is a rounded and complete man, and quoting the words of an admirer: "His character, his mental equipment, his professional training and his loveableness are the basis of the people's esteem and affection for him."

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"I am very glad indeed to know that the historical articles which Miss Albertson has been writing for the State papers are to be put in book form. I feel that your Society will render a distinct service to the Albemarle section and to the whole State by giving Miss Albertson this recognition and encouragement. She has done much to rescue from oblivion much of the tradition and history of a section that has been peculiarly rich in noble deeds and heroic service."—*N. W. Walker, Professor of Secondary Education and State Inspector of Public High Schools, University of North Carolina.*

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Editor North Carolina Booklet,

"Midway Plantation," Raleigh, N. C.

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

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.

EDITOR.

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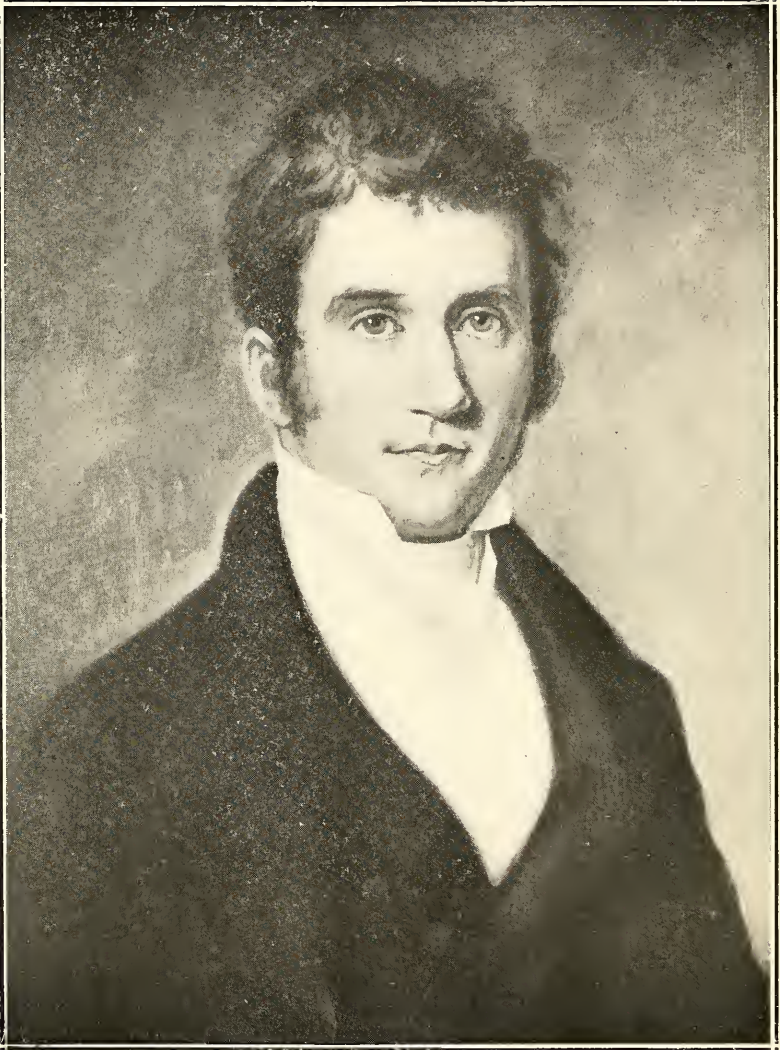
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JOHN BRANCH

1782-1863

GOVERNOR OF NORTH CAROLINA, UNITED STATES SENATOR, SECRETARY OF THE NAVY,
MEMBER OF CONGRESS, GOVERNOR OF FLORIDA, ETC.

The North Carolina Booklet

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No. 2

John Branch, Secretary of the Navy in the Cabinet of President Jackson, etc.

BY MARSHALL DELANCEY HAYWOOD,

Author of "Governor William Tryon and His Administration in the Province of North Carolina, 1765-1771," "Lives of the Bishops of North Carolina," "Ballads of Courageous Carolinians," etc.

Before the office of Secretary of the Navy was created, the functions which were later performed by the occupant of that office devolved upon the Chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs in the old Continental Congress, and Joseph Hewes, of North Carolina—a Revolutionary statesman, who made his name immortal by signing the Declaration of Independence—was the first person who held that post. Since the Revolution, five North Carolinians have, at different periods of our country's history, entered the President's official family in the capacity of Secretary of the Navy, viz.: John Branch, in the Cabinet of President Jackson; George Edmund Badger, in the Cabinet of the first President Harrison; William Alexander Graham, in the Cabinet of President Fillmore; James Cochran Dobbin, in the Cabinet of President Pierce; and Josephus Daniels (present incumbent), in the Cabinet of President Wilson. It is the purpose of the writer of this sketch to give an account of the distinguished services, both State and National, of the first of these five cabinet officials.

JOHN BRANCH, three times Speaker of the Senate of North Carolina, three times Governor of that State, a member of the United States Senate and National House of Representatives, Secretary of the Navy, member of the North Carolina

Constitutional Convention of 1835, last Governor of the Territory of Florida, and first Acting Governor of the State of Florida, was born in the town of Halifax, in Halifax County, North Carolina, on the 4th day of November, 1782, at a time when his father, Lieutenant-Colonel John Branch, was bravely participating in the War for American Independence, then drawing to a successful close. The services of the Revolutionary patriot, last mentioned, were useful and varied. He was High Sheriff of the County of Halifax at the outbreak of the war; and, while acting in that capacity, was a terror to the Tories in that vicinity. The records of the Committee of Safety tell us that he brought disaffected persons before the committee and "prayed condign punishment upon them." He was a Justice of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions (a tribunal made up of all the magistrates of the county) from December 23, 1776, until after the close of hostilities. On February 11, 1780, he became Lieutenant-Colonel of the Halifax Regiment of North Carolina Militia; and, as such, served for a while in the army of General Greene. In 1781 he was one of the State Auditors for the Halifax District. He was a member of the House of Commons at two sessions during the war, 1781 and 1782; and once in 1788, after the return of peace. He likewise served as a delegate to the Convention of North Carolina which rejected the proposed Constitution of the United States in 1788—he voting with the majority to reject. For many years after the war he held a seat in the Council of State, during the administrations of Governors Richard Dobbs Spaight (the elder), Samuel Ashe, Benjamin Williams, and James Turner. Colonel Branch survived the Revolution nearly twenty-five years. He belonged to the Masonic fraternity and was a member of Royal White Hart Lodge, No. 2, in the town of Halifax. A contemporaneous newspaper announcement of his death said:

"Departed this life, on the 14th of March, 1806, at Elk Marsh, in Halifax County, N. Carolina, Col. John Branch, a soldier of the Revolution. Of this good man, the voice of panegyric is wont to

sound praises in the most exalted strain. As a man, he was brave, open, and ingenuous; as a citizen, active and useful; as a husband, father, and master, he was kind, tender, and affectionate. The child of sorrow found in him a protector; the man of worth, a sincere friend; the poor and needy sought shelter beneath his hospitable roof, and a numerous circle of acquaintances will partake of his glad cheer no more forever. His morning sun was fair and unclouded; its meridian, bright and effulgent; and its descending rays insured him a glorious immortality."

In the Will of Colonel Branch, he left (among other property) to his son Joseph "ten thousand acres of land in the State of Tennessee, on the waters of Duck River." By the same will, Joseph was given a 600-acre tract called "The Cellar," near Enfield. "The Cellar" or "Cellar Field" was afterward owned and occupied by Governor Branch, who probably purchased it from his brother.

Colonel John Branch, Sr., was twice married: first, to Rebecca Bradford (daughter of Colonel John Bradford and his wife, Patience Reed), and left by her the following five children:

I. James Branch, who was twice married and left an only child, who died young, upon which his property (by the terms of his Will) reverted to his brothers and sisters.

II. Martha Branch, who married General Ely Benton Whitaker.

III. John Branch, Jr., subject of the present sketch, who married (first) Elizabeth Foort, and (second) Mrs. Mary Eliza Bond, née Jordan.

IV. Joseph Branch, who married Susan Simpson O'Bryan, and removed to Tennessee, where he died in 1827, at the town of Franklin, leaving (among other children) Lawrence O'Bryan Branch, of North Carolina, who became a Brigadier-General in the Confederate Army, and was killed at the Battle of Sharpsburg, otherwise known as Antietam.

V. Patience W. Branch, who married the Reverend Daniel Southall.

The second wife of Colonel John Branch, Sr., was Elizabeth Norwood, daughter of John Norwood, and a sister of Judge William Norwood, of Hillsborough, North Carolina. By her he left the three following children:

I. William Joseph Branch, who married Rosa Williams Harriss.

II. Washington Lenoir Branch, who married Martha Anna Lewis.

III. Elizabeth Ann Branch, who married (first) Gideon Alston, and (second) the Reverend William Burge.

As already stated, one of the sons of Colonel John Branch was John Branch (known as John Branch, Jr., during his father's lifetime), and to the latter's career we shall now confine this sketch.

It was in the General Assembly of North Carolina, which convened at Raleigh on the 18th of November, 1811, that JOHN BRANCH, our present subject, made his first appearance in public life, having been elected State Senator from the county of Halifax. So acceptable were his services to the people of his county that he was repeatedly re-elected. Twice during the Second War with Great Britain, in 1813 and 1814, he was State Senator; and, as such, was a firm supporter of the measures of the National and State administrations in prosecuting that war. He was chairman of the Joint Legislative Committee which presented resolutions of censure (December 15, 1813) against the Honorable David Stone, in a tone so severe as to cause that gentleman to resign from the United States Senate, and make place for a more active supporter of the war measures demanded by the people of North Carolina. Mr. Branch had attained so high a reputation that when he was next sent to the State Senate, in 1815, that body unanimously elected him Speaker—the presiding officer of the Senate then being called Speaker, instead of having the more recent title of President. He was again State Senator and again unanimously elected Speaker, at the

two following sessions of 1816 and 1817. On the 3d of December, 1817, while serving his third term as Speaker of the State Senate, Mr. Branch was elected Governor of North Carolina by a joint ballot of the General Assembly—the office of Governor then being annually filled by the Legislature, and not by popular choice. On the day after his election as Governor, Mr. Branch sent in his resignation, both as Speaker and member of the Senate, whereupon that body unanimously passed the following resolution:

“Resolved, That the thanks of this House be presented to the late Speaker thereof, Colonel John Branch, for the able and impartial manner in which he has discharged the duties of the chair; and that a select committee of this House, composed of Mr. Murphey and Mr. Pickett, be appointed to wait on Colonel Branch and make known to him this Resolution.”

Mr. Branch was re-elected Governor on November 24, 1818; and elected for the third time on November 25, 1819, serving until December 7, 1820. In his official correspondence, and messages to the General Assembly, we see evidences of sagacity and foresight, while the humaneness of his disposition is shown by efforts to secure alterations of the over-severe penal laws of the time in which he lived.

Though Mr. Branch was elected Governor in 1817, he was not inaugurated until December 6th in that year, when the General Assembly had transacted most of its business, and hence it was not until the Legislature of 1818 convened that he transmitted his views on public matters, in the shape of an annual message, on November 18th in that year. Concerning education he then said:

“In a government like ours, where the sovereignty resides in the people, and where all power emanates from, and, at stated periods, returns to them for the purpose of being again delegated, it is of the last importance to the well being and to the existence of government that the public mind should be enlightened. Our sage and patriotic ancestors who achieved the liberties of our country, and to whom we are indebted for our present benign and happy form of government, duly impressed with the magnitude of the subject, and anxiously solicitous to impart stability to our institutions, and to transmit to

posterity the inestimable boon for which they fought and bled, have, as regards this subject, with more than parental caution, imposed the most solemn obligations on all of those who may be called to administer the government. Permit me, therefore, to refer you in a particular manner to this solemn injunction contained in the Constitution of the State of North Carolina, Article XLI, 'that a school or schools shall be established by the Legislature for the convenient instruction of youth, with such salaries to the masters, to be paid by the public, as may enable them to instruct at low prices; and all useful learning shall be duly encouraged and promoted in one or more Universities.' Let it be recollected that by this chart we are bound as the servants of the people, under the solemnities of an oath, to steer the vessel of state; and when we connect this imperious duty with the luminous and impressive appeals which have so often been made to the Legislature for the last year or two, I apprehend that nothing that I could add would impart additional force. It surely will not be denied that it is a subject, of all others, in a republican government, of the most vital importance: for it is in this way, and this alone, that our republican institutions can be perpetuated, or that radical changes can be effected in the morals and manners of the people."

In this message the Governor also commended the cause of internal improvements, dwelt upon the banking system of that day and other matters not of present interest, and earnestly recommended that punishments under the criminal law should be made less severe. The desirability of establishing a penitentiary was also discussed, imprisonment therein to supplant the many capital punishments then imposed by the statutes.

It is a fact not generally known that the Supreme Court of North Carolina was established in pursuance of a recommendation contained in the above-mentioned annual message, which Governor Branch sent to the Legislature on November 18, 1818. Before that time, the highest judicial tribunal in the State had been called the Supreme Court, but the Supreme Court of North Carolina, in its present form, was not organized until the year just mentioned. In his message, Governor Branch dwelt at some length on the inconveniences of the court procedure then existing, and closed by saying: "I will take the liberty of recommending that three additional

judges be appointed to preside in our Supreme Court, with sufficient salaries attached to the offices to command the first legal talents of the State." No time was lost by the Legislature in acting upon the Governor's recommendation, for Chapter I. at that session established the Supreme Court, and Chapter II. made some supplemental provisions defining its jurisdiction. The new Court first convened on January 1, 1819, John Louis Taylor presiding as Chief Justice, with Leonard Henderson and John Hall as Associates—worthy fore-runners of the long line of eminent jurists who have since given North Carolina a rank second to none in the judicial annals of America.

Governor Branch's interest in the cause of public education never flagged; and, when the next session of the State Legislature convened, he renewed his former recommendations, saying in his annual message, dated November 17, 1819:

"In the first place, as claiming a pre-eminence above all others, allow me to call your attention to the subject of the education of youth, the only durable basis of everything valuable in a government of the people, and to press on your attention the moral and political obligations which you are under, created and imposed by the solemn injunctions of the Constitution, to patronize and encourage a general diffusion of knowledge; for, when we advert to the languishing condition of some of our nurseries of science, and observe the apathy which prevails in regard to their advancement, it becomes a subject of no less astonishment than regret."

In the same message Governor Branch speaks in terms of emphatic condemnation of one of the most oppressive and unjust laws of that day, as follows:

"Imprisonment for debt must be considered as a kind of punishment which is inflicted at the mercy of the creditor, and must often be exercised upon objects where pity and not punishment is due. In truth it seems to be a remnant of that Gothic policy which prevailed during the ruder ages of society—a policy as barbarous as it is useless, and it is to me strange that it should so long have been suffered to disgrace the code of laws of a State which might otherwise boast of its freedom and humanity."

This message likewise refers to another law, then on the statute books, which provided that a person convicted of per-

jury should have his ears cropped off and nailed to the pillory, in these words:

"The cruel and sanguinary nature of the punishment inflicted on those guilty of perjury, and probably some other offences, without reference to the different degrees of criminality, are well worthy of legislative animadversion. The certainty of punishment, it is universally admitted, has more influence in preventing the commission of crimes than its severity. Hence it is desirable to apportion, as nearly as practicable, the punishment to the enormity of the offence."

Love for the memory of Washington by the people of North Carolina had moved a former Legislature to provide for the making of a marble statue of the Father of his Country, by the great sculptor Canova, to be placed in the rotunda of the Capitol, and to give an order to the artist Thomas Sully for two full-length portraits of the same great patriot—one to be hung in each of the two Houses of the General Assembly. In a special message, dated November 23, 1819, Governor Branch announced that the statue would soon be ready for delivery, and suggested that the State content itself with one portrait of Washington. He said:

"However much we may be disposed to honor the virtue and perpetuate the fame of the immortal patriot, yet it appears to me that it will look a little like overdoing the matter to have a marble statue and two portraits of the same person in the same building."

The advice of the Governor was followed by the Legislature, which procured one portrait instead of two. This portrait (copied by Sully from Stuart's original) was saved from the burning Capitol in which Canova's statue was destroyed, June 21, 1831, and still adorns the walls of the House of Representatives in Raleigh.

The wisdom and foresight of Governor Branch were strikingly displayed in his last annual message, November 22, 1820, when he referred to impostors in the medical profession, and urged a system of regulation for the government of physicians. This was his language:

"The science of medicine, so vitally interesting to our citizens and so well deserving of legislative attention, has as yet, with a few excep-

tions, passed unnoticed and unprotected. And it must be admitted, however unpleasant the admission, that there are but few States in the Union, where medicine is in a less reputable condition than in North Carolina. The question naturally occurs, why is this the case? The answer is obvious. Because, in almost every other part of the country, a medical education, regularly acquired, and formally completed at some public medical university, or satisfactory testimonials of professional ability from some respectable and legally constituted Board of Physicians, is essential to the attainment of public respect and public confidence.

"Hitherto the time of our annual sessions has been almost exclusively devoted to the preservation and security of property, while the lives, health, and happiness of a numerous and intelligent population have been left at the mercy of every pretender; and thousands and tens of thousands of our fellow-citizens, I might say, have fallen victims to the empirical efforts of a host of intruders.

"The youth of our State who have been reared and educated for the profession, with that native modesty which I trust will ever characterize them, advance with becoming diffidence in their avocations, while the more adventurous quack, presuming on the ignorance and credulity of the people, runs off with the spoil. This certainly in no one instance can last long; but, from the facility with which these persons change quarters, and from the eagerness with which afflicted humanity seizes the offered relief, the first fruits are but too often gathered by the rash though ignorant practitioner. Under these circumstances, what inducements have our young men to trudge up the rugged hill of science and spend their time and patrimony in laying the foundation for future usefulness? True, the intellectual triumph is exquisite; but, of itself, it is insufficient to sustain the diffident and desponding youth who finds himself pressed by so many difficulties, and finds, too, that his very sustenance is taken from him by the characters above alluded to.

"Again, it must be mortifying to see our young men constrained to abandon their native State in pursuit of medical science abroad, where, too often, in reaping the fruits of science, foreign principles and foreign habits are formed, not only opposed to the genius and spirit of our government, but measurably disqualifying them in other respects for useful life—thus exhausting, as it were, the last earnings of parental industry and frugality to obtain what might, with little effort, be as well obtained at home. Let me, however, observe, what may be deemed superfluous, that this Medical Board will not prejudice the pretensions of any practitioner of the present day, for its operations must necessarily be prospective.

"This subject presents so many interesting points, and in truth is so susceptible of illustration, that I must believe it is only necessary

to interest the mind of the intelligent statesmen to perceive its importance.

"I am aware that some diversity of sentiment may be expected as to the manner in which the Medical Board, above alluded to, should be established; but that it is not only practicable but highly expedient, none, I think, can rationally doubt when they advert to the uniform success which has attended the efforts of many of our sister States. Let me then entreat you, as the guardians of the people's best interests, to give this subject, of all others the most interesting, a full, fair, and dispassionate consideration."

Under the State Constitution then in force, Governor Branch was not eligible for more than three terms in succession, and in his last message he made (by way of conclusion) warm acknowledgments to the Legislature for past honors, in the following words:

"I shall now, gentlemen, close this desultory address; and, in doing so, permit me to tender you, and through you my fellow-citizens generally, the unfeigned homage of my respect and gratitude. If, in the discharge of the duties attached to the Executive Office, my conduct has been such as to give efficacy to a government of laws—to impart in the smallest degree vitality and energy to the benign and happy institutions under which we live, and finally to meet the approbation of my fellow-citizens, I can confidently say that my highest ambition will have been gratified, and that my fondest and most ardent anticipations have been realized."

While Mr. Branch filled the Executive Chair in Raleigh, a little incident occurred (communicated to the writer by the Governor's granddaughter, Mrs. Eppes) which makes an interesting story. On going to his tailor's on one occasion, a small boy employed in the shop ran out and held his horse. After finishing his business, the Governor spoke kindly to the little fellow and tossed him half a dollar as he rode away. More than forty-five years thereafter, in June, 1865, when one of Governor Branch's daughters returned to her home in Tennessee, which she had left a few years earlier to be near her husband, Major-General Daniel S. Donelson, of the Confederate Army, who had died in 1863, she found the place in a state of dilapidation and filth, with wood-work and furnishings wantonly broken and defaced, and the building occupied by a Federal officer, who refused to yield possession of the

place, though the war was over. Mrs. Donelson had made the trip from Florida in wagons, accompanied by some of her former slaves, and under the escort of her brother-in-law, Mr. Arvah Hopkins. Having occasion to continue his journey by rail to New York, Mr. Hopkins stopped in Washington and obtained an interview with President Johnson, to whom he explained the treatment Mrs. Donelson had received. After listening attentively, the President had an order issued and forwarded by telegraph to the occupant of the Donelson house to vacate it immediately, to have the premises cleaned, and workmen employed to repair such damage as the place had received. Then turning to Mr. Hopkins, he said: "I thank you, sir, for telling me of Mrs. Donelson's predicament. I wouldn't have missed this opportunity of doing a favor to a member of Governor Branch's family for anything in the world. He gave me the first fifty-cent piece I ever owned." Then the "Tailor-Boy President" related to Mr. Hopkins the small act of kindness shown by the Governor of a great State to little Andy Johnson, a penniless orphan in Raleigh nearly half a century before—an act which no doubt escaped Governor Branch's own memory less than an hour after it occurred.

Although Governor Branch's very soul abhorred the cruel laws of his day which inflicted punishments, severe out of all proportion, for many comparatively trivial crimes, and though he freely exercised the pardoning prerogative in such cases, no earthly power could move him to interfere where he deemed it proper and just for the law to take its course. During his term of office, a case arose in Raleigh where an intoxicated young white man had stabbed to the heart an in-offensive negro slave, and was sentenced to death therefor. A perfect avalanche of petitions and protests from practically the entire population of Raleigh was thereupon showered upon the Governor, asking a pardon. Among the many who sought clemency for the condemned were several State officers, one hundred and twenty-three ladies, and young Frederick Sterling Marshall, owner of the slave who had been killed. The prisoner's youth, his belated contrition and penitence, his al-

leged temporary "derangement of understanding," the insolence and insubordination which the petitioners declared would be encouraged among the negroes by putting the life of a freeman and of a slave upon the same footing, and many other considerations were urgently set forth without avail, and the prisoner died on the gallows on the 10th of November, 1820—notice being thereby served on the world that all human lives, those of the humble and dependent slaves as well as of their masters, were under the protection of the law in North Carolina.

Though always resentful of Northern interference, thoughtful men throughout the South were seeking a solution of the slavery problem for nearly three-quarters of a century before the outbreak of the War between the States. One of the experiments tried was the organization of the American Colonization Society in 1816, with Judge Bushrod Washington, of Virginia, as president. The object of this society was to take charge of such negroes as might from time to time be emancipated, and form a colony of them in Africa. Local branches of this association were formed in various cities throughout the South. On June 12, 1819, the Reverend William Meade, afterwards Bishop of Virginia (who proved his sincerity by freeing his own negroes), visited Raleigh and organized a local society. Governor Branch presided over the session which was then held, and became first president of the Raleigh organization, which later made considerable contributions in money for the furtherance of the plans set forth in the constitution of the society, \$1,277.50 being subscribed at the first meeting. The full list of officers was as follows: Governor Branch, President; and Colonel William Polk, Chief Justice John Louis Taylor, Judge Leonard Henderson, and Archibald Henderson, Vice-Presidents. The board of managers consisted of State Treasurer John Haywood, Judge Henry Potter, General Calvin Jones, General Beverly Daniel, the Reverend William McPheeters, Dr. Albrington S. H. Burges, Dr. Jeremiah Battle, the Reverend John Evans,

Secretary of State William Hill, Thomas P. Devereux, Joseph Ross, and Moses Mordecai. The secretary was Joseph Gales, and Daniel Du Pre was treasurer. This list of officers (to which some additions were later made) is set forth in the *Raleigh Register*, of June 18, 1819.

In the General Assembly of North Carolina which convened on the 18th of November, 1822, Ex-Governor Branch was present as State Senator from Halifax County. On December 14th, after a prolonged contest, that Legislature elected him United States Senator, for a term beginning March 4, 1823, as successor to Montfort Stokes.

From the *Annals of Congress*, for December 2, 1823, we learn that, on that day "John Branch, appointed a Senator by the Legislature of the State of North Carolina, for the term of six years, commencing on the 4th day of March last, produced his credentials, which were read, and the oath prescribed by law was administered to him".

It is not the purpose of the present writer to attempt a detailed account of Mr. Branch's career in the United States Senate. The records show that he was one of the leading debaters in that august body—a body presided over by Calhoun, and made up of such men as Thomas H. Benton, Robert Y. Hayne, Martin Van Buren, John McPherson Berrien, Hugh Lawson White, William Henry Harrison, William R. King, Nathaniel Macon, and others of scarcely less note. While in the Senate, Mr. Branch advocated, as he had formerly done when Governor of North Carolina, the abolition of imprisonment for debt. Of the pension bill which provided for the relief of Revolutionary officers, to the exclusion of privates, he was a pronounced opponent, declaring that "he never would consent to place the officer, who had reaped the laurels of victory, on a different foundation from the private soldier who stood by the flag of his country, stimulated alone by patriotism." Internal improvements by the General Government he usually opposed, believing that this class of work should be done by the States wherein the improvements

were made, while harbors, rivers, canals and other waterways should receive the care of Congress. It is said that Mr. Branch's opposition to the Senate's confirmation of Henry Clay as Secretary of State, in 1825, first won for him the friendship of Andrew Jackson, between whom and the great Kentuckian little love existed.

When Senator Branch's first term was drawing to an end, the General Assembly of North Carolina, on November 24, 1828, unanimously re-elected him for six years more, to begin on March 4, 1829. He did not enter upon this second senatorial term, however, owing to a higher honor which fell to his lot a few days after his first term expired.

On the 9th day of March, 1829, President Jackson sent to the United States Senate the nomination of John Branch, of North Carolina, for the office of Secretary of the Navy. This nomination being duly confirmed, Secretary Branch went to North Carolina to arrange some private affairs and to tender his resignation, as United States Senator, to Governor Owen. The selection of Mr. Branch as a member of the President's Cabinet was naturally a source of great gratification to his friends in North Carolina and elsewhere; and, in the month following his appointment, the citizens of his native county of Halifax were preparing in his honor a great public entertainment, but this proffered courtesy he was forced regretfully to decline, owing to a promise to the President that he would return to his new post as head of the Navy Department with the least possible delay.

In the latter part of December, 1834, while a member of the Legislature of 1834-'35, to which he was elected after the expiration of his term in Congress which followed his Cabinet service, Mr. Branch made a speech in which he gave an interesting account of his official association with President Jackson. Concerning his appointment as Secretary of the Navy he said:

"Without solicitation on my part, he [President Jackson] desired me to become a member of his Cabinet, and take charge of the Navy

Department. I returned him my warmest acknowledgments for so distinguished an evidence of his confidence, but remarked that I doubted my ability to discharge the duties of that Department, either to my own satisfaction or that of my country, and that I must ask time to consult with my friends. To this he consented, and I promised to call and give him an answer next evening. The first person I asked counsel of was my friend and colleague, Governor Iredell, now perhaps within hearing of my voice, a gentleman whose high claims to confidence are universally acknowledged, and (to borrow a figure of the gentleman from Warren) whose inherent virtues and talents rendered him peculiarly fit to perform so delicate an office. He unhesitatingly said that, inasmuch as it was the first appointment of that grade ever tendered to a citizen of North Carolina, and as it was an honor intended to be conferred on the State through me, I was not at liberty to decline. The next friend with whom I consulted was the Senator from Burke [Samuel P. Carson], then a member of the House of Representatives of the United States—a friend indeed I may call him, a friend while in favor, but still more a friend when in adversity. His merits and just claims on the State I will speak of elsewhere. His counsels were substantially the same as those of Governor Iredell. I then sought interviews with many others; and, finding there was but one opinion among my friends as to the course proper for me to pursue, I in due time signified my acceptance of the trust."

On December 1, 1829, Secretary Branch sent his first annual report to President Jackson. It told of the movements of various vessels in different parts of the world—the Mediterranean Sea, West Indian and South American waters, the Atlantic, Pacific, etc. It also gave a list of Navy Yards and Hospitals, and recommended in the strongest terms the establishment of a Naval School, where junior officers might be given a finished education, with especial attention paid to modern languages. Such instruction, said he, would be of great service during foreign cruises, while officers were in contact with the representatives of other nations. Many of the older officers, the Secretary intimated, were more of a hindrance than a help to the service, and should be relieved from active duty. He observed, however, that as these officers had formerly rendered honorable and useful service to the Government, ample provision should be made for their main-

tenance in retirement. He also recommended a revision of the laws respecting the Marine Corps. Piracy had not then been blotted out of existence, and he gave some account of operations against these depredators on American commerce. The pay of Naval officers, as compared with officers of relative rank in the Army, he said was unjustly inadequate, and should be increased.

In the message to Congress from President Jackson, he called attention to the annual report of Secretary Branch, as follows:

"The accompanying report of the Secretary of the Navy will make you acquainted with the condition and useful employment of that branch of our service during the present year. Constituting, as it does, the best standing security of this country against foreign aggression, it claims the especial attention of the Government. In this spirit the measures which, since the termination of the last war, have been in operation for its gradual enlargement, were adopted; and it should continue to be cherished as the offspring of our national experience."

A few weeks before the entrance of Secretary Branch upon his duties as head of the Navy Department, Congress took its first action toward attempting to lessen the use of strong drink among junior officers of the Navy. On February 25, 1829,* the House of Representatives passed a Resolution instructing the Secretary of the Navy "to require three of the Medical Officers of the Navy, whom he shall designate, to report to him their opinions, separately, whether it is necessary or expedient that 'distilled spirits' should constitute a part of the rations allowed to Midshipmen." In pursuance of these instructions, Secretary Branch designated Surgeons Thomas Harris, William P. C. Barton, and Lewis Heerman; and required them to give their opinions on this point. What these opinions were, the present writer has been unable to ascertain; but consideration of the same matter, with some

*Strange to say, the reported proceedings of Congress for February 25, 1829, fail to mention this matter, but manuscript letters in the Navy Department quote the language of the resolution of that date.

additions as to enlisted men, was again taken up by Congress one year (to the very day) after its first action. On February 25, 1830, the Honorable Lewis Condict, a member of Congress from New Jersey and a physician by profession, introduced the following resolutions in the House of Representatives:

"1. *Resolved*, That the Committee on Naval Affairs be instructed to inquire into the expediency of inducing the seamen and marines in the Navy of the United States voluntarily to discontinue the use of ardent spirits, or vinous or fermented liquors, by substituting for it double its value in other necessities and comforts whilst in the service, or in money payable at the expiration of the service.

"2. *Resolved, also*, As a further inducement to sobriety and orderly deportment in the Navy, as well as with a view to preserve the lives and morals of the seamen and marines, that said committee be instructed to inquire into the expedience of allowing some additional bounty, in money or clothing, or both, to be paid to every seaman or marine, at the expiration of his service, who shall produce from his commanding officer a certificate of total abstinence from ardent spirits, and of orderly behaviour, during the term of his engagement.

"3. *Resolved, also*, That the said committee inquire and report whether or not the public service, as well as the health, morals, and honor of the Naval officers would be promoted by holding out to the Midshipmen and junior officers some further inducements and incentives to abstinence from all intoxicating liquors."

In introducing these resolutions, Congressman Condict said similar ones had already been before the Committee on Military Affairs, which recommended such action with respect to the Army; but had refused to make any recommendation concerning the Navy, as the latter branch of the service was considered outside of that committee's jurisdiction. What effect, if any, these resolutions had, the present writer is unable to say. It was not until some years later that the use of liquor on ship-board by enlisted men was peremptorily forbidden. In 1914, Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels made a similar prohibitory order applicable to commissioned officers also.

The second (and last) annual report of Secretary Branch bears date December 6, 1830, and is much similar in character to the first. It contains little matter which would be of

present interest. Not including many antiquated vessels which were laid up for repairs, or discarded, the ships then actively in commission consisted of five frigates, ten sloops of war and four schooners—a very diminutive armament when judged by present standards. Indeed, Secretary Branch was an avowed opponent of the policy of maintaining a large Navy in days of peace, which was an evidence of his wisdom when we consider the fact that he lived in the time of wooden vessels, when several hundred ship carpenters could build a fleet in a few weeks, as had been demonstrated on the Great Lakes during the War of 1812-'15.

Soon after Jackson's inauguration, a small coterie of his personal friends was gathered about him, consisting of General Duff Green, editor of the *United States Telegraph*, organ of the administration; Major William B. Lewis, of Tennessee, Second Auditor of the Treasury; Isaac Hill, editor of the *New Hampshire Patriot*; and Amos Kendall, Fourth Auditor of the Treasury, former editor of a Jackson paper in Kentucky. As these gentlemen were supposed to have more influence over the President's actions than did his official advisers, the opposition derisively styled them "the Kitchen Cabinet". Some time later, upon the rupture between Jackson and Calhoun, Green cast his fortunes with the latter. Thereupon, the elder Francis P. Blair came to Washington to establish a new administration organ, the *Globe*, and he was afterwards classed as a member of "the Kitchen Cabinet" as Green's successor. Of the newspaper war which followed, it has been truly said that "there were rich revelations made to the public."

When first inducted into office, President Jackson had made up his official family as follows: Martin Van Buren, of New York, Secretary of State; Samuel D. Ingham, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of the Treasury; John H. Eaton, of Tennessee, Secretary of War; John Branch, of North Carolina, Secretary of the Navy; John McPherson Berrien, of Georgia, Attorney General; and William T. Barry, of Ken-

tucky, Postmaster General. This first Cabinet was later dissolved, after a stormy controversy between the President and three of these gentlemen—not in consequence of any divergence of opinion or disagreements on the public policies of the day, but because Mrs. Branch, Mrs. Berrien, and Mrs. Ingham refused to pay social visits to Mrs. Eaton, or invite her to parties given in their homes. This Mrs. Eaton, wife of the Secretary of War, was the daughter of William O'Neal, a tavern-keeper in Washington, and grew to womanhood in her father's establishment. Peggy O'Neal, as she was familiarly known in her younger days, was vivacious, pretty, and apparently not possessed of as much prudence and decorum as might be desired, in consequence of which the Washington gossips (male and female) had whispered light tales concerning her for many years past. Her first husband, Purser Timberlake of the Navy, had committed suicide while stationed in the Mediterranean, leaving her with two small children. Among the boarders who spent much time at her father's inn were General Jackson and Major Eaton. After her first husband's death, Major Eaton (then a widower) became so much enamored of Mrs. Timberlake that he consulted his friend General Jackson about the propriety of seeking her in marriage. The gallant General strongly advised such a course. Major Eaton then mentioned—what was no news to Jackson—that many damaging reports had been spread broadcast concerning this lady, and that he himself (Major Eaton) had been credited with being over-intimate with her. "Well," said Jackson, "your marrying her will disprove these charges and restore Peg's good name." Accordingly Major Eaton and Mrs. Timberlake were married in the month of January, 1829. All went well for a while; but, a few months later, when a rumor began to gain credence that Major Eaton would be taken into the new President's Cabinet, the horror and consternation of the ladies of Washington may well be imagined. The matter grew even tenser after Eaton's appointment had been an-

nounced. With the exception of Secretary Van Buren—a widower with no daughters—all of the Cabinet officers were married men, whose wives were much given to hospitality, but their hospitality, even at public receptions, was never extended to Mrs. Eaton. When Jackson wrote to John C. Calhoun, remonstrating about Mrs. Calhoun's action (or rather inaction) in this matter, the Vice President very sensibly replied that it was a quarrel among ladies, and he would have nothing to do with it. To much the same effect was the observation of the Secretary of the Navy, when first approached on this subject; and later, when President Jackson attempted to dictate to him the social course his family should pursue, he found a man as headstrong and determined as himself in the person of the official whom one of Jackson's biographers has (not over-accurately) described as "the weak-willed Branch." And it may be said in passing while referring to Jackson's biographies, that there seems to be no truth whatever in the oft-repeated assertion in those works that Branch owed his appointment to Eaton's influence. Branch was tendered the appointment while Jackson was still debating in his mind whether to make Eaton or Hugh Lawson White the Secretary of War—a point which he found so difficult to decide that he finally left the matter to be settled by those gentlemen themselves, when White generously withdrew in Eaton's favor. Concerning Branch's own opinion of Eaton's appointment, he said in a statement issued in 1831: "Before the President had nominated Major Eaton for the War Department, and while the subject might be supposed to be under consideration, I took the liberty of stating to General Jackson candidly my reasons for believing the selection would be unpopular and unfortunate."

Even the Lady of the White House, Mrs. Andrew Jackson Donelson, wife of the President's nephew and private secretary, refused point-blank to call on Mrs. Eaton, whereupon she was promptly sent home to Tennessee, though later summoned back to Washington. Of his own family's con-

nection with this matter, we are fortunate in being able to give an account by Secretary Branch himself. He said:

"About the last of May, my family came on to mingle with a society to which they were strangers. They found the lady of the Secretary of War, a native of the city, excluded from this society, and did not deem it their duty or right to endeavor to control or counteract the decisions of the ladies of Washington; nor did they consider themselves at liberty to inquire whether these decisions were correct or otherwise. Engaged, as I was continually, with all the engrossing affairs of the Navy Department, I did not know at night whom my family had visited in the day, nor whom they had not; and thus the time passed without, I can confidently assert, the least interference on my part, with the matters that belonged exclusively to them."

Though some bachelor members of the diplomatic corps (notably those from Great Britain and Russia) extended social courtesies to Mrs. Eaton in the shape of dinner parties, etc., the wives of other foreign ministers were no more considerate of her than were the ladies of the Cabinet. Indeed, the President so far lost his head in his desperate efforts to force Mrs. Eaton upon Washington Society that he seriously contemplated sending home the Minister from Holland because that diplomat's lady had withdrawn from a dinner at the Russian Embassy where Mrs. Eaton was a guest. Balked at every turn in his efforts to secure social honors, or at least social recognition, for Mrs. Eaton, the President now determined to dissolve his Cabinet, and find advisers more subservient to his wishes in social matters—for no record of political disagreement, at that time, between Jackson and his Cabinet, can be found.

The various letters, recorded interviews, newspaper communications, etc., brought forth by the affair of Mrs. Eaton, both before and after her husband's appointment, would fill a volume, and the present writer has no desire to weary the reader by attempting to set them forth. On April 8, 1831, Secretary of War Eaton sent in his resignation; and Secretary of State Van Buren did the same three days later. Secretary of the Navy Branch resigned on April 19th; and At-

torney General Berrien, then absent from Washington, sent the President his resignation on June 15th—Postmaster General Barry being the only member of the former Cabinet who remained in office. In fact the office of Postmaster General was not included in the Cabinet list before Jackson's time. The resignations of Van Buren and Eaton were received with many expressions of regret by the President, who later honored both of these gentlemen with other appointments. Indeed, it was Jackson's influence which afterwards elevated Van Buren to the Presidency as his successor. At the time of Branch's resignation, the President intimated his willingness to send him on a foreign mission. He also offered to appoint him Territorial Governor of Florida. These proffered honors were declined by Mr. Branch, though he became Governor of Florida some years later by appointment from President Tyler. Regarding his interview with Jackson just before he tendered the President his resignation, Secretary Branch has left the following account:

"He commenced by saying that he had desired my attendance to inform me of the resignations of Mr. Van Buren and Major Eaton, and then a solemn pause ensued. I could but smile, and remarked to him that he was acting in a character nature never intended him for; that he was no more a diplomatist than myself, and I wished him to tell me frankly what he meant. This unrestrained manner of mine relieved him; and, with great apparent kindness, he spoke out his purpose, and asked me if there was anything abroad I wanted, adding that the commission for Governor of Florida was on his table, and it would give him pleasure to bestow it on me. To this I replied that I had not supported him for the sake of office, and soon after retired."

After the close of the interview just mentioned, Secretary Branch lost no time in forwarding to the President his resignation in the following communication:

Washington, April 19th, 1831.

Sir:

In the interview which I had the honor to hold with you this morning, I understood it to be your fixed purpose to reorganize your

Cabinet; and that, as to myself, it was your wish that I should retire from the administration of the Navy Department.

Under these circumstances, I take pleasure in tendering to you the commission, which, unsolicited on my part, you were pleased to confer on me.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Yours, &c.,

JOHN BRANCH.

To the President of the United States.

Upon receipt of this communication, President Jackson replied, upon the same day, in the following letter :

Washington, April 19th, 1831.

Sir :

Your letter of this date, by your son, is just received—accompanying it is your commission. The sending of the latter was not necessary; it is your own private property, and by no means to be considered part of the archives of the Government. Accordingly I return it.

There is one expression in your letter to which I take leave to except. I did not, as to *yourself*, express a wish that you should retire. The Secretaries of State and of War having tendered their resignations, I remarked to you that I felt it to be indispensable to reorganize my Cabinet proper; that it had come in harmoniously, and as a unit; and, as a part was about to leave me, which on tomorrow would be announced, a reorganization was necessary to guard against misrepresentation. These were my remarks, made to you in candor and sincerity. Your letter gives a different import to my words.

Your letter contains no remarks as to your performing the duties of the office until a successor can be selected. On this subject I should be glad to know your views.

I am very respectfully yours,

ANDREW JACKSON.

The Hon. John Branch,

Secretary of the Navy.

Immediately upon receipt of the letter just set forth, Secretary Branch sent the President the following reply:

Washington, April 19th, 1831.

Sir :

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of yours of this date, in answer to mine of the same.

In reply to your remark that there is one expression in my letter to which you must except, I would respectfully answer that I gave

what I understood to be the substance of your conversation. I did not pretend to quote your language. I regret that I misunderstood you in the slightest degree. I, however, stand corrected, and cheerfully accept the interpretation which you have given to your own expression.

I shall freely continue my best exertions to discharge the duties of the Department until you provide a successor.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your obedient servant,

JOHN BRANCH.

To the President of the United States.

The concluding letter of the official correspondence between President Jackson and Secretary Branch fully sets forth the former's reason for reorganizing the Cabinet, and bears testimony to the high opinion entertained by him of the manner in which the affairs of the Navy Department had been conducted by the retiring Secretary. It was as follows :

Washington, April 20th, 1831.

Sir :

Late last evening I had the honor to receive your letter of that date, tendering your resignation of the office of Secretary of the Navy.

When the resignations of the Secretary of State and Secretary of War were tendered, I considered fully the reasons offered, and all the circumstances connected with the subject. After mature deliberation, I concluded to accept those resignations. But when this conclusion was come to, it was accompanied with a conviction that I must entirely renew my Cabinet. Its members had been invited by me to the stations they occupied ; it had come together in great harmony, and as a unit. Under the circumstances in which I found myself, I could not but perceive the propriety of selecting a Cabinet composed of entirely new materials, as being calculated, in this respect at least, to command public confidence and satisfy public opinion. Neither could I be insensible to the fact that to permit two only to retire would be to afford room for unjust misconception and malignant representations concerning the influence of their particular presence upon the conduct of public affairs. Justice to the individuals whose public spirit had impelled them to tender their resignations also required then, in my opinion, the decision which I have stated. However painful to my own feelings, it became necessary that I should frankly make known to you my view of the whole subject.

In accepting your resignation, it is with great pleasure that I bear testimony to the integrity and zeal with which you have managed the

concerns of the Navy. In your discharge of all the duties of your office over which I have any control, I have been fully satisfied; and in your retirement you carry with you my best wishes for your prosperity and happiness.

It is expected that you will continue to discharge the duties of your office until a successor is appointed.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your most obedient servant,

John Branch,

ANDREW JACKSON.

Secretary of the Navy.

It has been said that the social controversy over Mrs. Eaton, which terminated in the dissolution of President Jackson's Cabinet, had an important bearing on United States history for many years thereafter, as it gained for Van Buren the Presidency, through the influence of Jackson, and widened between Jackson and Calhoun the breach which later resulted in the Nullification proceedings.

After winding up his affairs in Washington, Mr. Branch returned to his home in Enfield, North Carolina. Not long after this, he wrote a full account of his experiences in and retirement from the Cabinet to his friend, Edmund B. Freeman, then residing in the town of Halifax and later Clerk of the Supreme Court of North Carolina. This letter was first published in the *Roanoke Advocate*, of which Mr. Freeman was editor, afterwards being copied in the *Raleigh Register*, of September 1, 1831, in *Niles' Register*, of September 3, 1831, and other publications of that day. It is here given in full:

Enfield, August 22, 1831.

Dear Sir:

Of the causes which led to the dissolution of the late Cabinet, I have never entertained a doubt. I will briefly state the reasons I have for my opinion, and leave you to judge of them as well or as ill founded. Before the President had nominated Major Eaton for the War Department, and while the subject might be supposed to be under consideration, I took the liberty of stating to General Jackson candidly my reasons for believing the selection would be unpopular and unfortunate. I reminded the President that he knew I was the friend of Major Eaton, and *personally* preferred him to either of the others proposed for his Cabinet; and, of course, nothing I should say on the subject ought to be construed into an intention to injure

him (Major Eaton), but, on the contrary, to save him from infinite vexation and annoyance, which, it was too plain, were in store for him if he took a seat in the Cabinet under the circumstances in which he was placed. The President admitted that charges had been made against the character of Mrs. Eaton, but insisted on it they were slanders, and that he ought not to notice them. I did not perceive at the time that he was hurt by the frankness or nature of my communication, though I afterwards learned that he had become offended with, and had discarded from his acquaintance, several of his old and best friends who had used the like freedom of speech on this subject. My remonstrances, it is known, were without effect, and Major Eaton was soon after formally appointed Secretary of War. Before this was done, however, I made an appeal to Major Eaton himself, and without reserve disclosed my apprehensions to him, adding that I did not pretend to intimate that there was the least truth in these reports; but, if utterly false, they would still have an effect on the President's peace and quiet, as he must know what use the opposition would make of it; that I believed it was impossible he could be willing to subject General Jackson to such a state of things; that he could not have forgotten how much General Jackson had been distressed by the calumnies and ill reports which had been formerly circulated about Mrs. Jackson; that, since the death of that lady, those reports had subsided, and would soon be heard of no more; that General Jackson knew the same kind of reports and imputations had prevailed with respect to Mrs. Eaton; that if he (Major Eaton) entered into the Cabinet, the enemies of the President would not fail to make a handle of it, and thus revive, in the General's bosom, recollections which could not be but painful and distressing; and which could not fail to disturb the tranquility and usefulness of his administration. My remarks were received apparently with the same kindness and courtesy which characterized my manner, but they no doubt laid the foundation of that hostility which afterwards became active and unextinguishable. From the moment of Major Eaton's appointment, General Jackson began to use his utmost efforts to bring Mrs. Eaton into public favor and distinction. He frequently spoke of the neglect Mrs. Eaton received when she attempted to appear at public places. He did not fail to intimate that it would be a most acceptable service rendered him if the members of his Cabinet would aid in promoting this object. I felt greatly embarrassed by such appeals to myself. It was impossible for me to comply with his wishes on this point, but it was, nevertheless, painful for me to say so. In any other matter in which I could, with a proper respect for myself and the feelings of my family, have complied with an intimation of his desire, no one would have done so more cheerfully than myself. By way of diverting his mind, I several times spoke of the difficulty he would experience in attempting to regulate the intercourse of the ladies;

that they were, in matters of that kind, uncontrollable and omnipotent; that he would find less difficulty in fighting over again the Battle of New Orleans. Soon after it was ascertained that Mrs. Eaton could not be received into the society of the families of the members of the Cabinet, Major Eaton's conduct to me discovered an evident change in his friendly feelings, and became cold, formal, and repulsive. I repeatedly threw myself into his company, and endeavored to assure him that I still had the most sincere desire to be on friendly terms with him, and wished for opportunities to convince him of the sincerity of my professions. In this course there was no guile—no view but that which my words fairly imported. I most sincerely regretted the state of public feeling towards Mrs. Eaton, but it was not within my power to control or soften it. It was a sentiment resting in the breast of the female community of Washington City and the Nation, which was not to be suppressed or obliterated. After this, Major Eaton's enmity to myself became every day more and more apparent. I could hear frequently of declarations to this effect, and of his determination to be revenged. It is true these reports came to me circuitously and indirectly, but I could not, from circumstances, doubt their truth.

At length came the mission by Colonel Johnson, the substance of which has already been given to the public by Messrs. Ingham and Berrien. I will only add to their statements that I distinctly understood Colonel Johnson to say that he came to us from the President of the United States, authorized by him to hold the interview; and, unless our difficulties in reference to Mrs. Eaton could be adjusted, that Mr. Ingham, Judge Berrien, and myself must expect to retire. When he closed his remarks, I well recollect rising from my seat, and, with an earnestness of manner which the extraordinary character of the communication was so well calculated to produce, observed, among other things, that no man had a right to dictate to me and my family, in their domestic relations, and that I would submit to no control of the kind. The Colonel undertook to reason the matter with us by observing that, although it might be impracticable to establish *intimate* and *social* relations between our families and Mrs. Eaton, he could see no reason why she should not be invited to our *large parties*, to which everybody was usually invited, Tom, Dick, Harry, &c. With this concession, he said, the President would be satisfied. We protested against the interference of the President in any manner or form whatever, as it was a matter which did not belong to our official connection with him, soon after which Colonel Johnson expressed his deep regret at the failure of his mission, and we separated.

I waited until Friday, a day having intervened, in expectation of hearing from the President; but, receiving no message, I walked over, in hopes that an opportunity would offer to put an end to my

unpleasant state of feeling. I found the President alone. He received me with his wonted courtesy, though evidently but ill at ease. In a few minutes the absorbing subject was introduced. Among other things, he spoke in strong language of the purity of Mrs. Eaton's character and the baseness of her slanderers, and presently mentioned a rumor, which he said had been in circulation, of a combination to exclude her from society. Several parties, he said, had been recently given, among others three by Mr. Ingham, Judge Berrien, and myself, to which she had not been invited; and from this it was strongly inferred that we had combined to keep her out of society. I told him that, so far as I was concerned, I believed my family were doing no more than the members of Congress, the citizens of Washington, and visitors to the seat of Government, had a right to expect from me as a member of his Cabinet. It was certainly in accordance with universal custom; and that, as to a combination, I knew of none; that I could never acknowledge the right of any one to interfere in matters affecting the private and social arrangements of my family; and that, before I would be dictated to, or controlled in such matters, *I would abandon his Cabinet, and was ready to do so whenever he desired it*, and added several other strong remarks of a similar character. He assured me, in reply, *that he did not desire it; that he was entirely satisfied with the manner in which I had discharged my official duty, and that he did not claim the right to dictate to us in our social relations*, but that he felt himself bound to protect the family of Major Eaton, as he would mine under similar circumstances. I then informed him that Colonel Johnson had formally announced to Mr. Ingham, Judge Berrien, and myself, that it was his intention to remove us from office for the cause mentioned, and I had learned from Mr. I. the evening before, who derived his information from the Colonel, that he had gone so far as to make temporary arrangements for the Departments, viz., Mr. Dickins for the Treasury, Mr. Kendall for the Navy, and some one else for Attorney General. This the President denied, and said he would send for Colonel Johnson, and for that purpose called for a servant. When the servant came, I observed it was unnecessary to send for the Colonel—his word was sufficient. "Well," said he, "if you are satisfied." I told him I was. We continued our conversation for some time. I attempted, on that occasion, as I had done several times before, to convince him of the impropriety of his interfering at all in a question of such a delicate character, but his feelings were evidently too much enlisted to weigh any reasons which might be offered.

I have already informed the public that no paper was presented to me, or read to me, or alluded to, having reference to the future conduct of the members of the Cabinet. On this head I cannot be mistaken. I may add that the President constantly insisted on the necessity of harmony among the members of the Cabinet. Here I cannot

refrain from a remark upon this injunction of the President, that Major Eaton was the only dissatisfied member of the Cabinet, the only one who carried complaints to the President of the conduct of others, the only one who employed his efforts to bring us to discredit with the public or the President. Among the others the utmost civility and sociability prevailed. No one annoyed him (Major Eaton) or made any effort to embarrass the operations of his Department or in any manner acted towards him as inimical or deficient in respect; and yet we are to be punished for the discordances of the Cabinet. Can any decision be more arbitrary and unjust?

A few days after this interview with the President, Colonel Johnson came into the Navy Department, and as he entered I rose to receive him. With his wonted cordiality of manner he expressed his satisfaction at the pacific aspect of our relations. I observed to him, with a smile, that the President denied having authorized him to make such a communication as he had made. He good-humoredly replied, "Let it pass; I presented it to you in the most favorable light," and, as he was hurried, here the conversation ended.

About the same time I had an interview with Major Eaton, in the presence of Judge Berrien and Major Barry. This was brought about by the President. Major Eaton, it seems, had complained to him, either directly or indirectly, that at a party given by my family the last of September or the first of October, 1829,* to the family of a most estimable friend and relation of mine, from Nashville, Tennessee, who was on a visit to Washington City, the Rev. J. N. Campbell, then of that place, now of Albany, N. Y., was among the invited guests. The circumstances were these: Mr. Campbell, who had resided in the city for some years previous to General Jackson's inauguration, was the pastor of a church, and such was his reputation that the President and three members of his Cabinet, viz., Mr. Ingham, Judge Berrien, and myself, took pews and became regular attendants at his church. In the course of his ministry he formed an acquaintance with my family, and occasionally visited them. He happened there while my friend Hill and his family were with us, contracted an acquaintance with them; and, when the party alluded to was given, my daughters invited him. He attended, and took the liberty of carrying with him his friend Dr. Ely, of Philadelphia, who had just arrived. I knew no more of his being invited than of any other person who happened to be present. He was, however, not the less welcome on that account, nor was his friend Dr. Ely. Neither of these gentlemen require a recommendation where they reside. Mr. Campbell is known to be a learned, pious, and most eloquent divine. Some short time after the party, I heard, very much to my surprise, that Major Eaton and some of his partisans were enraged with me,

*Mr. Branch later corrected this statement, saying September 8, 1829, was the exact date.

M. DeL. H.

and threatened my destruction, because Mr. Campbell and Dr. Ely were at my house as above stated. I could scarcely credit the report, until it was mentioned to me by the President, when I emphatically asked him who questioned my right to invite whom I pleased to my house? He testily observed, No person; but, as there was some misunderstanding between Major Eaton, Mrs. E., and Mr. Campbell, that he (Major E.) thought it evinced hostility to him. At the interview above alluded to, between Major Eaton, Judge Berrien, Major Barry, and myself, Major Eaton mentioned the circumstances of Mr. Campbell and Dr. Ely being at my house on the occasion referred to. I asked Major Eaton, in the most frank and friendly manner, if this was his only complaint, and if he would be satisfied, provided I convinced him he was in error, assuring him at the same time that he had no right to consider me as being under the influence of unfriendly feelings towards him; that, on the contrary, he ought to know my personal attachment for him, before the Cabinet was formed; and further, if he would obtain the consent of his brother-in-law, Major Lewis, to read a confidential correspondence which passed between Major L. and myself, in the Winter of 1827-'28, on this *disturbing subject*, he would then be convinced of the disinterestedness and correctness of my course, and of its entire conformity to that friendship and good will which had so long subsisted between us. I might have gone further and said that Major Lewis, in the Winter of 1827-'28, when there could be no unworthy motive to mislead either of us, considered Mrs. Eaton an unsafe associate for his daughter, although he was now endeavoring to induce General Jackson to drive me out of the Cabinet because I would not compel my daughters to associate with her. Major Eaton would not say whether he would be satisfied or not, and the explanation was withheld. But as we were about to separate, he offered me his hand in a more cordial manner than he had done for some months previous. I have no doubt that Major Eaton, in tendering his resignation, stipulated for the dismissal of the three offensive members of the Cabinet. Mr. Van Buren, also, I have reasons to believe, urged the adoption of this measure. This gentleman had discovered that the three members of the Cabinet (afterwards ejected) disdained to become tools to subserve his ambitious aspirings, and he determined to leave them as little power to defeat his machinations as possible. It is said to be a part of his character to tolerate politically no one who will not enter heart and soul into measures for promoting his own aggrandisement. He had become latterly the almost sole confidant and adviser of the President. How he obtained this influence might be a subject of curious and entertaining inquiry. But I shall not pursue it. I may add, however, that amongst the means employed, were the most devoted and assiduous attentions to Mrs. Eaton, and unceasing efforts to bring her into notice, especially with the families of the foreign Ministers.

Finally, when the President found that his efforts to introduce Mrs. Eaton into society proved abortive, he became every day less communicative, and more and more formal in his hospitalities until there could be no doubt that, as to myself, an unfriendly influence had obtained an ascendancy in his private councils, and the result shows that he had determined to sacrifice me to gratify the feelings of those whom I had offended as stated above.

I may at some future time add to these views. At present I take my leave, with assurances of great respect and esteem.

Yours, &c.,

To Edmund B. Freeman, Esq.,

JOHN BRANCH.

Halifax Town.

P. S.—I have not considered it necessary to notice a charge made in *The Globe*, against Judge Berrien, of suppressing a material part of a letter which I wrote to him, and my substituting another in its stead. If any person has been misled by this bold accusation of the editor of *The Globe*, and is desirous of obtaining correct information, he has my permission to read the whole letter, although it was not intended to be made public.

For some years the bitter feelings, caused by the disruption of the Cabinet, survived, and came near causing a duel between Ex-Secretary Branch and Senator Forsyth, of Georgia, in the year following, while Mr. Branch was serving as a member of Congress, to which office he had been elected after his resignation from the Cabinet. The newspapers published what purported to be a speech made by Senator Forsyth, in an executive session of the Senate, on the nomination of Martin Van Buren as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of St. James, in which Forsyth was quoted as referring to "a late Secretary" as a "volunteer repeater of confidential conversations with the Chief Magistrate." Upon having this called to his attention, Mr. Branch addressed the following communication to Senator Forsyth:

Washington City, February 5th, 1832.

Sir:

I have read the printed report of your speech, prepared by you for the press, purporting to be the remarks which you made in the Senate, in secret session, on the nomination of Martin Van Buren as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of St. James.

The notice which you take of a conversation referred to in the debate by Mr. Poindexter, Senator from Mississippi, requires that I should ask of you to state to me, explicitly, whether you did or did not know, or had reason to believe at the time you wrote out your speech for publication, that I was the "somebody, one of the late Secretaries" to whom you refer as the volunteer repeater of confidential conversations with the Chief Magistrate?

Your reply to this communication will regulate my future action on this subject.

I am respectfully yours, &c.,

JOHN BRANCH.

Hon. John Forsyth.

This note was conveyed to Senator Forsyth by the Honorable Samuel P. Carson, a Representative in Congress from North Carolina, who also had a verbal discussion of the subject with the Georgia Senator, who did not consider it consistent with self respect to make any explanation while the implied threat, with which Mr. Branch's note concluded, was allowed to stand. By the hands of Congressman William S. Archer, of Virginia, he sent to Colonel Carson the following communication:

Washington, February 5th, 1832.

Dear Sir:

Although perfectly satisfied with your verbal declaration, on reflection, since we separated this morning, I think it indispensable that the concluding paragraph in the enclosed letter should be omitted, or that your remarks to me on the subject of it should be in writing before an answer to it is transmitted to you.

I return it to you to adopt either course that may be most agreeable to you.

I am, dear sir, very sincerely,

JOHN FORSYTH.

Hon. Mr. Carson.

After consultation with Colonel Carson, Mr. Branch consented to withdraw the objectionable paragraph, it being considered immaterial, and Carson replied to Forsyth as follows:

House of Representatives, February 6th, 1832.

Dear Sir:

If the simple interrogatory contained in the letter of Governor Branch, would be more acceptable to you, without the paragraph

with which it concludes, I am authorized, as his friend, to state to you that that paragraph may be considered as stricken from his note, not deeming it essential to the substance of his inquiry.

Very respectfully,

Hon. John Forsyth.

SAM'L P. CARSON.

P. S.—Your note was not handed to me till this day, since the meeting of the House.

Feeling now free to answer Mr. Branch's letter, Senator Forsyth sent this reply to the inquiry therein contained:

Washington, February 6th, 1832.

Sir:

I have received your note by Colonel Carson.

The remarks of mine, to which you point my attention, were made in answer to Mr. Poindexter, and intended to apply to the person referred to by him, without *knowledge* of that person, on my part, then, or at the time my remarks were prepared for the press.

I am very respectfully yours, &c.,

JOHN FORSYTH.

Hon. Mr. Branch.

On the day after Senator Forsyth's reply was written, another note from Mr. Branch was conveyed to him in these words:

Washington, February 7th, 1832.

Sir:

In your answer to my note by Colonel Carson, you state that you did not know that I was the person referred to by Governor Poindexter as having held a conversation with the President. It being now made known to you that I was the person, I wish to inquire whether you feel yourself at liberty to disavow the application of those remarks to me?

I am respectfully, &c.,

JOHN BRANCH.

Hon. John Forsyth.

The matter was concluded to the satisfaction of all parties when, on the same day, Senator Forsyth sent the following disclaimer:

Washington, February 7th, 1832.

Sir:

Your note of this morning informs me that you were the person referred to by Mr. Poindexter in the observations alluded to in your

former notes, and inquires whether I feel at liberty to disclaim the application to you of my remarks in reply.

Having submitted the subject to some of my friends, who unite in thinking that the inference from the observations of Mr. Poindexter, under which my remarks were made, that the conversation referred to had been confidential, was not warranted, and satisfied that the view of the subject is correct, I have no hesitation in disclaiming the application to you of the charge, imported by these remarks, of having repeated a *confidential* conversation.

I am respectfully, &c.,

JOHN FORSYTH.

Hon. John Branch,
House of Representatives.

The above correspondence, made public by Messrs. Carson and Archer, first appeared in *The United States Telegraph*. Later it was copied in *Niles' Weekly Register*, of February 11, 1832.

It was doubtless a source of satisfaction to the friends of both parties that the controversy between Mr. Branch and Senator Forsyth was adjusted in a manner honorable to both gentlemen, and probably to none so much as to Colonel Carson, who, less than four years before, in consequence of some aspersions cast on the honor of his aged father, had challenged and killed Ex-Congressman Robert Brank Vance—a circumstance which marred his happiness throughout the remainder of his life.

While speaking of the practice of duelling, it may be mentioned that Mr. Branch, during his term as Senator, was one of the party of gentlemen who witnessed the famous duel between Henry Clay and John Randolph in 1826.

Upon the retirement of Secretary Branch from the Cabinet of President Jackson, he returned to North Carolina, and was received with every mark of consideration and honor by the people of his native State. Under date of August 18, 1831, the citizens of Bertie County, through a committee of their number, sent him an invitation to become the guest of honor at a banquet which they wished to give at the town of Windsor as a testimonial to his worth, or (to quote the language of the

invitation) for the "purpose of expressing their high regard for his private virtues, as well as the high opinion which they entertained of his firm and undeviating course, prominently displayed in many important services rendered his State, and more especially by his late demonstration of attachment to those principles which had always governed him." On August 20th, Mr. Branch replied that, under the most auspicious circumstances of his life, such marked kindness could not fail to be highly acceptable; but the fact of his having been recently expelled from the Cabinet of the President by the ascendancy of certain "malign influences" and of still being pursued in his retirement with a fiendlike vengeance, bent on the destruction of his good name, nothing could be more grateful to his feelings than the generous confidence and support of those who had known him from his earliest entrance into public life. Sickness in his family, he said, now required his undivided attention and would soon render necessary a trip to another climate. Hence he would have to forego the high gratification he should otherwise experience in making his acknowledgments to friends gathered around the festive board. A few months after this, Mr. Branch went on a visit to Tennessee. On October 4th, he delayed his trip in Raleigh long enough to call attention, through the *Raleigh Register* of October 6th, to the fact that in a lengthy statement recently issued by Ex-Secretary Eaton, the latter, in publishing a letter written by Mr. Branch to Jackson, had altered the date and thereby made it appear that Branch was so lacking in self-respect as to continue expressing feelings of ardent friendship for the President two days after that official had shown him marked discourtesy in an interview on the all-disturbing topic of Mrs. Eaton. As a matter of fact, the letter was written two days before the interview took place, and at a time when Mr. Branch had every reason to count the President among his best friends.

While on his way to Tennessee, Mr. Branch passed through Asheville (where the Superior Court was in session), and his admirers in that vicinity tendered him a public entertainment, but circumstances rendered it impossible for him to accept the proffered courtesy.

In August, 1831, a signal honor was paid Mr. Branch when the Honorable Jesse A. Bynum and other candidates for Congress in the Halifax District voluntarily withdrew from the race and caused his unanimous election to the National House of Representatives. Mr. Branch entered upon his new duties at the first session of the Twenty-second Congress, which assembled on the 5th of the following December. Having long been a conspicuous figure in National politics, he at once took high rank in his new station. During the course of his service he was a debater on many bills and resolutions which came before that body, including banking laws, Indian affairs, the tariff, naval affairs, &c., all of which were important in their day but which would not be of interest if set forth at length in this sketch.

When men first began to make use of steam power, numerous conjectures were made as to what purpose it would serve; and, in 1832, a bill was introduced in Congress to authorize the Navy Department to expend \$111,704 in the fitting out of a steam frigate and the construction of two "steam batteries." On June 21st, in the year just mentioned, Congressman Branch called up this bill and advocated its passage. He said that Secretary of the Navy Woodbury wished the experiment made, to ascertain whether steam power might not successfully be introduced as a means of naval defense. With keen foresight he further declared: "It is admitted on all hands that, sooner or later, this newly discovered power will be introduced, if not in offensive, certainly in defensive warfare, and I think the contemplated experiment worth making". These so-called "steam batteries" were small vessels, not much more than barges, propelled by steam and carrying small batteries, to be used chiefly for coast defense. Seven

years later, in 1838, Secretary of the Navy Dickerson also recommended the construction and equipment of this type of defensive craft.

At the expiration of his term in the National House of Representatives, Mr. Branch declined to become a candidate for re-election. This left the field open to the Honorable Jesse A. Bynum and Colonel Andrew Joyner; and, in the contest which followed, Mr. Bynum was victorious.

In the year following his retirement from Congress, Mr. Branch made his last appearance as a member of the Legislature of North Carolina, taking his seat in the State Senate which convened in the month of November, 1834, and continued its sittings into the early part of 1835. The General Assembly of the year just mentioned had many distinguished members, who were chiefly interested in the question of calling a State Constitutional Convention in 1835, which was accordingly done. In this Legislature was also a bitter fight over the proposition to instruct United States Senator Willie P. Mangum to vote for expunging the resolution of censure against President Jackson for removing from office the Secretary of the Treasury, William J. Duane, and withdrawing Government deposits from the banks. There was much discussion among the North Carolina legislators as to the proposed instructions to expunge, and Mr. Branch (an ardent advocate of States' Rights, now allied with the Calhoun faction) made a notable speech opposing the proposed instructions to Senator Mangum. In this speech he gave a full narrative of his past connection with Jackson, and his remarks attracted wide attention. The *Raleigh Star and North Carolina Gazette*, of December 25, 1834, said Mr. Branch's speech was the "topic of conversation in every circle", and the same paper of February 12, 1835, gave the speech in full, remarking editorially: "It is an able production, and, as it comes from one whose sound republicanism, unimpeachable veracity, and sterling integrity, his bitterest political enemies would not dare to question, the extraordinary

facts which he narrates cannot fail to produce a powerful effect upon the public mind." Notwithstanding the opposition of the faction led by Branch, the Jacksonians were victorious, triumphantly carrying the resolution of instruction, which Senator Mangum refused to obey after it was passed.

On the 4th day of June, 1835, the Constitutional Convention of North Carolina assembled in Raleigh. In this body were many of the State's ablest and most distinguished citizens. John Branch was the delegate from Halifax County. On the opening day of the session he placed in nomination for President of that body the venerable Nathaniel Macon, his old senatorial colleague, who was unanimously elected. Mr. Branch took a prominent part in the deliberations and debates of the Convention. Annual sessions of the General Assembly he strongly favored. Of his position on this point the Convention Journal says: "He believed that annual sessions of the Legislature were well calculated to keep in check Federal usurpations. The powers of the General Government are constantly increasing and American liberty depends on the preservation of State Rights and State Powers." The speaker declared that he was no disorganizer, but favored keeping a constant watch on the Federal power. He advocated the abolition of borough representation in the Legislature though in his own county was one of the "borough towns." On the subject of the Thirty-second Section of the Constitution, aimed at Roman Catholics and providing a religious test for office-holders, he said he had risen from an attack of illness to vote for its repeal. He realized, as all men did, that this section had always been inoperative (Burke, Gaston, and possibly other Roman Catholics having held office without molestation on account of their religious views), but he declared that the section ought to be expunged from the Constitution as unworthy to remain in it. When, however, a Christian test was proposed to be substituted in its place, Mr. Branch declared that he could not conscientiously vote for the substitute. "Striking out the word

Protestant and inserting the word *Christian* would not cure the evil," said he, and asked: "Why are the Jews to be excluded from office? They were the favored people of the Almighty. Our Savior and His disciples were Jews; and are there not men among the Jews as talented, as virtuous, as well qualified to fill any office in our Government, as any other citizen in our community? A Jew may be appointed to any office under the General Government. He may be raised to the Presidency of the United States. And why shall we refuse to admit him to any office under our Government?" The speaker added: "I am opposed to all religious tests for office, and shall therefore vote against this amendment." In this Convention, Mr. Branch opposed the proposition to deprive free negroes of the right to vote, provided they possessed property, saying "he was willing to keep the door open to the most intelligent free men of color, but was unwilling to part with the freehold qualification." His membership in this Constitutional Convention was the last public office ever held by Mr. Branch in North Carolina, though he was once more a candidate before the people of the State.

The amended State Constitution, which was duly ratified by the people in a general election, provided that the office of Governor should be filled by popular vote, and not by the Legislature as theretofore; and Edward B. Dudley, of Wilmington, was elected by the Whigs over the Democratic nominee, Ex-Governor Richard Dobbs Spaight, (the younger) in 1836. In 1838, Governor Dudley, who had ably administered the affairs of his office, was a candidate for re-election, and Mr. Branch (still legally a citizen of the State though absent much of the time in Florida) was nominated by the Democrats to oppose him; but the Whigs were again victorious. After this defeat, Mr. Branch was never again a candidate for public office in North Carolina, though a post of high honor in Florida was soon to be conferred on him—a post which had been tendered him before, in 1831, but which was declined at that time.

In 1836, when Martin Van Buren was the nominee of the Democratic party for President, being given this honor chiefly through Jackson's influence, John Branch voted against that candidate; but, by 1840, when Van Buren was again the choice of his party for President, Mr. Branch's resentment against his old associate in the Cabinet had so far cooled down that he returned to the Democratic ranks and gave him his unqualified support.

The present sketch has heretofore dealt with the public career of Governor Branch in North Carolina and at the National Capital, and it may be well now to say something of his personal history and domestic life before we treat of his later services as Governor of Florida. In telling of these private aspects of his life, the present writer wishes to make acknowledgments, for valuable assistance, to the Governor's granddaughter, Mrs. Nicholas Ware Eppes (née Bradford), of Tallahassee, Florida, a lady of rare intelligence, who in childhood and youth was thrown into close association with her grandfather, and probably has a better first-hand knowledge of his life and character than any other person now living.

Though born in the town of Halifax, Governor Branch's early childhood was spent at Elk Marsh, his father's country-seat near Enfield, in Halifax County. He is said to have been a slender, delicate little lad, very studious, and given to thinking deeply on any subject that interested him. After a preparatory education in a neighboring "old field school," he entered the University of North Carolina, at Chapel Hill, a few years after the establishment of that renowned institution, and graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1801. His loyalty to his Alma Mater was lifelong. He was *ex officio* Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the University when Governor, from 1817 to 1820, and remained a member of that Board until absence from North Carolina in 1844 made him ineligible for further service. Time and again he attended the commencement exercises, and was

probably the oldest living graduate for some years prior to his death, which occurred sixty-two years after the completion of his University course.

After his graduation from the University of North Carolina, young Branch returned home, and soon went to the neighboring county of Franklin, where he became a student of law under Judge John Haywood, a native of Halifax County, who then held a seat on the Superior Court Bench of North Carolina and was afterwards a Judge of the Supreme Court of Tennessee. Law, however, seems not to have been to the liking of Mr. Branch, and he soon entered the more active field of politics, also taking a deep interest in the management of his extensive landed estates. His first wife (the mother of all his children), to whom he was married on April 6, 1803, was Elizabeth Foort, daughter of John Foort, Jr., a gentleman of Scottish descent, residing in Halifax, whose wife, Margaret Randolph, was a daughter of Dr. Richard Randolph, of Virginia. At the time of his marriage Mr. Branch was only twenty years old, and his wife sixteen, she having been born on January 1, 1787. The youthful pair took up their abode on the "Cellar Field" plantation near Enfield. In worldly possessions they were not lacking, Mr. Branch having inherited a good estate from his mother and later from his brother James, and Mrs. Branch being a woman of wealth in her own right—her father having died before her marriage. Mrs. Eppes, whom we have already mentioned, says of her grandparents: "The young couple were almost children, yet they were happy children and devoted lovers throughout more than forty years of their married life. Never was there a more hospitable home, and besides the nine sons and daughters who came to them, two orphan nieces of Mrs. Branch's and five of Joseph Branch's children, as well as several cousins, found a home and a father's and mother's loving care beneath their roof." One of the orphan children of Joseph Branch, here alluded to, was Lawrence O'Bryan Branch, in after life distinguished as

railroad president, Congressman, and Confederate General, who was slain in 1862 at the battle known to the Federals as Antietam and to the Confederates as Sharpsburg. Besides three daughters, General Branch left an only son, William Augustus Blount Branch, who saw service in the Confederate Army before reaching manhood, as a courier on the staff of Major-General Robert F. Hoke, and afterwards was a member of the fifty-second and fifty-third Congresses, 1891-'95.

Mrs. Elizabeth Branch was indeed a woman qualified by nature, training, disposition, and intellectual endowments, to share the fortunes of her distinguished husband in the various high stations to which he was called. In the capitals of both North Carolina and Florida, her gracious hospitality, when wife of the Chief Executive, won for her the esteem and admiration of the refined circles in which she moved, and, while sojourning among the notables of Washington, she was fully equal to the task of upholding the social responsibilities resting upon the lady of a cabinet official or national legislator. Indeed, if the traditions of old Washington be true, the Branch home surpassed all others in the fashionable yet wholesome character of its entertainments. So elaborate and largely attended, too, were these social affairs, that a lady of that day, in a letter, spoke of one of them as "Governor Branch's crush-party."

As already stated, Mrs. Elizabeth Branch, the first wife of Governor Branch, was the mother of all of his children. They were nine in number, as follows:

I. Martha Lewis Henry Branch, born September 29, 1806, who married Dr. Edward Bradford, on November 10, 1825, and left descendants.

II. Rebecca Bradford Branch, born August 25, 1808, who married Robert White Williams* on April 19, 1831, and left descendants.

*After the death of his first wife, Rebecca Bradford Branch, Mr. Williams married her first cousin, Susan Simpson Branch, sister of General L. O'B. Branch.

III. Margaret Branch, born August 4, 1810, who was married on October 18, 1830, to Daniel S. Donelson (a nephew of Mrs. Andrew Jackson), who distinguished himself in the War with Mexico and the War between the States, holding the rank of Major-General in the Confederate Army when he died in 1863, leaving descendants.

IV. James Branch, born November 17, 1812, who married Ann Eliza Belton on February 20, 1839, and left an only child, who died in infancy.

V. Sarah Harris Branch, born on February 14, 1814, who married Dr. James Hunter on July 15, 1833, and left descendants.

VI. Mary Eliza Branch, born on July 21, 1815, who was first married to General Leigh Read on May 17, 1838, and after his death to General William Bailey, leaving by her first marriage an only daughter, who died young, and by her second marriage, an only son.

VII. John Richard Branch, born September 28, 1819, who married Josephine Woods in November, 1841, and left descendants.

VIII. William Henry Branch, born October 9, 1823, who married Mary Eliza Horton on October 11, 1848, and left descendants.

IX. Susan Branch, born January 8, 1826, who married Arvah Hopkins on December 13, 1849, and left descendants.

Through the nine children just enumerated, Governor Branch has a large number of descendants now living. Their homes for the most part are in Florida, though some are residents of Halifax County, North Carolina, as well as of other localities. To Governor Branch's second marriage, which occurred after he had passed his three-score years and ten, reference is made elsewhere in this sketch.

Governor Branch, whose business (both public and private) demanded his presence for prolonged periods of time in various localities, necessarily had many different domi-

ciles during the course of his life. In infancy or early childhood he was removed from his native town of Halifax to Elk Marsh, his father's plantation in the same county. After reaching manhood, he took up his abode on the Cellar Field tract near the town of Enfield. The first house occupied by him on that tract was later burned, and he afterwards built on or near its site a handsomer and more commodious structure, to which we shall refer more at length later on in this sketch. While serving as Governor of North Carolina, his official residence in Raleigh was the building known by the imposing title of the "Governor's Palace," then recently completed, and of which his immediate predecessor in office, Governor William Miller, was the first occupant. This "palace" was a large brick building with a front portico supported by massive white pillars and stood across the southern end of Fayetteville Street, about a mile from the Capitol. It was used as a home for the Governors of North Carolina until the close of the War between the States, then being abandoned, and about ten years later transformed into the Centennial Graded School. It was afterwards demolished to make room for a more modern school building. While occupying this official residence in Raleigh, Governor Branch also had a summer home near Wake Forest, in the same county. His residence, of course, was in Washington during his service as United States Senator, Secretary of the Navy, and member of Congress. Of his home in Florida, and the circumstances which led to the removal of himself and family to that State about the time of his retirement from public life in North Carolina (in which latter State he always retained his citizenship), we have the following account in the narrative of Mrs. Eppes, heretofore quoted:

"In the meantime, Dr. Edward Bradford, who married Governor Branch's eldest daughter, Martha Lewis Henry, had moved to Florida. The glowing accounts he gave of the new country fired all the family with enthusiasm, so one after another they wended their way southward; and the year 1836 found Governor and Mrs. Branch, with three sons and two daughters, settled at Live Oak, three miles from Tallahassee—Dr. Bradford practicing medicine in the little town,

Daniel S. Donelson surveying the new Territory, Robert W. Williams serving as Surveyor-General, and Dr. James Hunter and his wife (Sarah Branch) newly arrived from the Old North State.

"Governor Branch was deeply interested in his new estate. He had purchased several thousands of acres in Leon County, where the primeval forests, as yet untouched by the hand of man, covered lofty heights and lovely valleys, and he selected as a site for his dwelling a magnificent grove of live oaks crowning a high hill overlooking the blue waters of Lake Jackson. Here he built a large and handsome residence in colonial style, and had a landscape gardener from France to lay out the grounds. A steep declivity led from the garden to a grove of magnolias, and in their midst was a beautiful spring which from its boiling depths sent forth an immense volume of sparkling water. Here Governor Branch installed a ram, which carried this delightful water to his dwelling, supplying bath-rooms and giving irrigation to the beautiful gardens surrounding the house, where rare flowers, collected from all parts of the earth, were to be found."

Before his family removed to Florida in 1836, Governor Branch had visited that Territory more than once, and had purchased land there. The first tract which he acquired (December 27, 1833) was from the Marquis de Lafayette, it being part of a township in Leon County, which township had been granted by the United States Government to the illustrious Frenchman on the occasion of his visit to America in 1824-'25. In 1834, Governor Branch was again in Florida, and, as already stated, settled there in 1836, but legally he remained a citizen of North Carolina to the day of his death, going to Enfield to vote, and retaining the possession of his home there.

Amid the delightful surroundings of his beautiful Florida home, Governor Branch spent many of the happiest years of his life—sorrows, too, coming at intervals through the several deaths which occurred in his family while he resided there. His health being somewhat impaired in 1843-'44, he was persuaded to try a change of scene, and spent much time in travel. During the course of his journeyings, he met his old friend President Tyler, and the two found it pleasant renewing their former acquaintance. Though Mr. Tyler had been elected Vice-President as a Whig on the ticket with President Harrison (upon whose death he succeeded to the

Presidency), he was not now in sympathy with the policies of his party, a fact which drew to him many Democratic leaders and estranged many of his old Whig associates—Secretary of the Navy George E. Badger, a North Carolinian, being among the several members of his Cabinet who resigned. Before President Tyler and Mr. Branch parted, the latter was tendered the office of Governor of the Territory of Florida, and accepted the appointment. As already stated, he had declined to assume this post in 1831, when it was offered him by President Jackson.

The nomination of John Branch as Governor of the Territory of Florida was sent by President Tyler on June 4, 1844, to the United States Senate, and was duly confirmed by that body eleven days thereafter, on June 15th. The appointment was to take effect on August 11, 1844, that being the date when the commission of Governor Richard K. Call, who then filled the Executive Chair, would expire.

The office of Territorial Governor of Florida was no sinecure, and this was fully realized by Mr. Branch before he accepted the commission tendered him by President Tyler. The bloody and destructive war with the Seminole Indians in that Territory had scarcely drawn to a close; business was demoralized by an unsound financial system, made worse by the machinations of non-resident speculators; and yellow fever had gotten in its deadly work among many of the settlers. The Twenty-third Territorial Legislature, or "Legislative Council," met amid such unfavorable surroundings at the beginning of 1845; and, on the 10th of January, in that year, Governor Branch sent his official message to these law-makers, advising ways out of the difficulties by which the people were beset, and complaining of the unjust course pursued with reference to the Territory, by the General Government. In the course of this message he said:

"It must be admitted that Florida has rights to maintain, as well as wrongs to redress, of such a character as to demand our undivided energies. With these convictions, I should be wanting in a

proper discharge of my duty were I to shrink from the high responsibility of recommending them, not only to your favorable notice, but to your efficient action.

"If ever there existed a community with well-founded claims on its Government for indemnity, it is to be found in Florida—a country highly favored by Providence, but laid waste by a ferocious and implacable foe—provoked and goaded on, not only without a provident preparation for such an occurrence, but in the prosecution of a war, to say the least, of doubtful policy. It is painful, as it is unnecessary, for me to dwell on the manner in which it was conducted and protracted. It is enough to know, as our citizens but too sensibly feel, that, by this ill-advised measure, Florida has become, through no agency of her own, an almost blood-stained wilderness, and that half a century will scarcely suffice to place her where she would have been but for the mismanagement of her Federal Trustee. Would that this were all—but not so! Through the same agency, an unwise and ruinous legislation has been inflicted on her, worse, if possible, than war, pestilence, and famine. I mean the blighting influence of a corrupt and corrupting *paper* system, so utterly rotten that I cannot undertake its dissection. * * *

"It is true that all parties now denounce the banking system, as it has existed in Florida, as a Pandora's box, and cry aloud for the nuisance to be forthwith abated. In this I concur. But let us take care that we do not involve the innocent with the guilty in one indiscriminate wreck; for, in critical operations in surgery, the utmost caution and skill are necessary.

"In addition to all this, Florida has had indignities superadded to injuries. She has been charged with repudiating her *just* debts. Nothing can be more libelous; and, in her behalf, I feel it to be my duty to repel the charge. On the contrary, it is her anxiety to pay her *honest* debts that induces her to scrutinize the spurious demands of speculators and bank-swindlers, generated and fostered by irresponsible Federal rulers. * * *

"In making the foregoing remarks on our Federal relations, it is not my intention to question the *motives* or patriotism of any administration, either past or present, but to do justice to a people over whom I have the honor and responsibility of presiding as their Chief Magistrate, by a plain narrative of facts, which I believe to be incontrovertible; and to hold those responsible, and those only, who have been the cause of your insufferable ills. On the contrary, I should do violence to my own feelings were I not to acknowledge the debt of gratitude we owe to the patriotic officers and soldiery, both of the regular army and militia, who periled everything in this inglorious war—and that, too, under the most discouraging circumstances. And I may further add that I sincerely sympathize with them, that, from

the character of the enemy with whom they had to contend, and the country in which their operations were carried on, so few laurels have been won, though doubtless merited."

On a previous page we have shown that, during his three terms as Governor of North Carolina, Mr. Branch repeatedly urged upon the State Legislature the importance of fostering public education. His interest in this subject never abated; and, in the above mentioned message to the Legislature of Florida, he used this language:

Allow me to impress upon you the sacredness of your obligations, to the rising generation and to posterity, to extend every facility in your power to the acquisition of a liberal education. This can only be done by establishing schools in every part of your territory, to the extent of your ability."

The inefficiency and inadequate equipment of the militia of the Territory, and the unprotected state of the sea-coast, were sources of misgivings to all thoughtful men in Florida, and Governor Branch dwelt upon these matters as follows:

"The proper and efficient organization of the militia cannot be a subject of indifference when it is borne in mind that on this species of force we have mainly to rely for the defense of this, the most exposed portion of the United States. Permit me to urge its importance, and respectfully to recommend a revision of your laws so far at least as to ensure prompt and accurate returns to the Adjutant General of the United States. For the want of such returns, our citizens are comparative unarmed, and *so have been for the last thirteen years*, although engaged in a bloody war for more than half that time. Having done our duty, we may then confidently rely on the Federal Government for the fortification of our extended seaboard. This, I am gratified to learn, is now attracting the attention of Congress, and I cannot doubt that everything will be done that money and the indomitable spirit and energy of our fellow-citizens can achieve to render our exposed frontier impregnable to a foreign foe."

The honor of statehood was not accorded the Territory of Florida so soon as she thought herself entitled thereto, and Governor Branch expressed himself with his wonted force on this matter in his message:

"Under the Providence of God, Florida earnestly desires to carve out her own fortunes in her own way. She asks to be permitted to

appoint her own officers, and to make and administer her own laws; and, in thus asking, she feels that she seeks nothing but what she is justly entitled to, and what she would be recreant to her best interests and posterity were she not to insist on. She demands the rights of a sovereign State, so long withheld from her, though guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States and the Treaty of Cession. With a solitary Delegate in Congress, without even a vote to oppose aggressions on your rights, how can you expect successfully to contend for equal participation in the benefits of this glorious confederacy? Allow me, then, to advise you to gird on the armor of State sovereignty—to shake off the *old boy*, and put on the new man!

“To those of our fellow-citizens who believe that we are incapable of sustaining the expenses of a State Government, I would respectfully say that, if the estimates of our able and indefatigable Delegate are to be accredited—of which I cannot doubt—your fears are groundless. Instead of being a loss of a few dollars and cents, it will be a gain of thousands and tens of thousands. But, I would remark, that we ought not to be deterred from the pursuit of the great prize by such considerations. The right of self-government is inestimable to freemen, and ought not to be abandoned for light and trivial causes.”

Toward the conclusion of his message, Governor Branch took a brighter view of the future of the Territory over which he presided, saying:

“With a virgin soil, a genial climate, and a wise and paternal government to develop and foster her resources, Florida may yet promise herself a prosperous and happy future. Although causes beyond her control, as previously remarked, have retarded her growth and cast a shade over her territorial fortunes and good name; and, although, at the moment of throwing off the degrading yoke of vassalage, her difficulties may seem to be appalling—yet, when calmly viewed, and impartially weighed by intelligent, patriotic, and honest statesmen, Florida will have nothing to dread.”

As Mr. Branch was Governor of Florida for less than a year—from August 11, 1844, until June 25, 1845—the message from which we have made the extracts set forth above, was the only one which he sent to the “Legislative Council,” or General Assembly of the Territory, except a few brief special messages which would not be of general interest if quoted in the present sketch.

The Territory of Florida was admitted as a State into the American Union by an Act of Congress passed on the 3d of March, 1845. In order to make an even balance of the power thus added to the South in the Halls of Congress, another Territory (of opposite political tendencies) was raised to statehood by the inclusion of Iowa within the provisions of the same Act. There was great rejoicing when news was brought to Tallahassee that the Territory of Florida had been created a State. This action of Congress was especially gratifying to Governor Branch, who gave a large and brilliant reception at Live Oak in honor of the event, and invited all residents of that vicinity, as well as visitors from other parts of Florida, to attend. There is still preserved a letter from the Governor's youngest daughter, written to a schoolmate at Georgetown, near Washington City, in which is this description of the entertainment:

"Oh, I wish you could have seen Live Oak last night! All the world and his wife were bidden to help us celebrate, and everything possible was done to add to the occasion. Bonfires blazed on the edge of the grove, and lanterns were hung in the shrubbery. The house was brilliantly lighted, and from top to bottom was thrown open to the public. Across the front entrance, in large letters of living green on a white banner, was 'State of Florida,' and inside the house all was jollity and congratulation, feasting and music."

Soon after receiving official advices that Florida had been admitted into the Union, Mr. Branch (who had thus become Acting Governor of the new State) issued a proclamation, on April 5, 1845, fixing upon the 26th of May as the time when a general election should be held for the purpose of choosing a Governor, a Legislature, and a Representative in Congress. Governor Branch, being the foremost Democrat in Florida, was urged by his friends to enter the lists as a candidate for Governor of the State against the Whig candidate, Ex-Governor Call. To this proposition Mr. Branch declined to assent. Already he had "sounded all the depths and shoals of honor," and was not only willing, but anxious to return to the walks of private life. Other considerations moving him to decline fur-

ther participation in politics were Mrs. Branch's continued ill health and a set determination on his part never to relinquish his citizenship as a North Carolinian. William Dunn Moseley, a personal and political friend of Mr. Branch, was thereupon nominated by the Democratic party as Governor, and was duly elected. In the new State government, Governor Branch's nephew, Joseph Branch, became Attorney-General. The first session of the Legislature of the State of Florida met on the 23d of June, 1845, and two days later, on June 25th, Governor-elect Moseley was inducted into office. This inauguration of a successor closed the career of Governor Branch as Governor of the Territory and as Acting Governor of the State of Florida. Between the careers of Governor Branch and Governor Moseley, we may add, there was a striking similarity: both were native North Carolinians, both were graduates of the University of North Carolina, both had been Speakers of the State Senate of North Carolina, both had served as Governor of Florida, and both died on the same day.

After the expiration of his term of office as Governor of Florida, Mr. Branch remained a citizen of Tallahassee. He also spent much of his time at Enfield, his old home in North Carolina. He likewise paid frequent visits to the fashionable summer resorts of that day. On the 19th of January, 1851, he suffered the loss of his beloved wife, who passed away in the sixty-fourth year of her age, after a happy married life of nearly half a century. In referring to the devoted ministrations of Governor Branch during the last illness of his wife, his granddaughter, Mrs. Eppes, says:

"Mrs. Branch's health grew steadily worse. I have said that they were lovers to the last. She was very fond of flowers, and every morning Governor Branch plucked a few pink blossoms—clove pinks, if he could find them, but of a rosy hue always—and with his own hands pinned them in the dainty folds of the sheer white kerchief, which the fashion of that day prescribed for a married lady's adornment. When at last she slept peacefully in her casket and he was called for a last look at the face which was so beautiful to him, he

turned away with a heart-broken sob, and in a few moments was back again with a cluster of tiny pink rosebuds, which he pinned on with trembling hands. As long as he lived he never failed at every visit to adorn her tomb with the bright-hued blossoms which she loved."

After the death of Mrs. Branch, Governor Branch returned to his native State, and again took up his abode at Enfield. In depicting the closing years of his life, we again quote the narrative of Mrs. Eppes, who writes of her grandfather as follows:

"Governor Branch never resigned his citizenship in North Carolina; and, after his wife's death, he spent most of his time at the old home in Enfield, coming to Florida each winter for a short stay. Though it was the old home [at Enfield], it was a new house, the original building with all its contents having been destroyed by fire. It was a most comfortable and commodious dwelling on a hill overlooking the station. A smooth lawn, with many shade-trees, led up to the house. On the right was a garden, a veritable bower of beauty; and, on the left, a very fancy stable and barn were outlined against a splendid orchard of peaches and apples, while at the back, among other buildings, was an icehouse, all combining the beauties of fairy-land with practical uses.

"Here he entertained his friends, for to him hospitality was one of the cardinal virtues, and here he made his children warmly welcome, and urged strongly that some of them should live with him; but, at last, even his widowed daughter, Mrs. Read, married again and left him, so in the Winter of 1853 he was married to Mrs. Mary E. Bond, of Bertie—a lovely woman, who proved an admirable companion for his declining years.

"Governor Branch's religious convictions were of the strongest, and he had the deepest respect for all things sacred. Late in life he united with St. John's Church in Tallahassee, and his confirmation service was a beautiful sight. Just before the morning service he walked alone up the aisle—tall, spare, and erect, with eyes of clearest blue, and abundant hair of snowy whiteness. At the altar he was met by the Bishop of Florida, the Right Reverend Francis H. Rutledge. He, too, had snow-white hair, and in his robes was most imposing. The morning sun came stealing softly in; and, when Governor Branch knelt and the venerable Bishop placed his hands upon his head, the rays of the sun crowned them both with a halo of glory, and we, the spectators, felt that it was God's own benediction on His good and faithful servants."

As might be expected of a States' Rights Democrat of the Calhoun school, Governor Branch stood loyally by his native State when it seceded from the Union, and became a faithful citizen of the Confederate Government. He ministered unceasingly to the needs of those who had enlisted in defense of the South, and his purse was ever open to relieve the necessities of the dependent ones they had left at home. By the hand of death he was spared the horrors of Reconstruction, but did not escape altogether the afflicting consequences of the war, for his favorite nephew (General Lawrence O'Bryan Branch) was slain early in the conflict, and other members of his immediate family were sharers of the dangers by which the land of their birth was beset.

Governor Branch died at Enfield, in his native county of Halifax, North Carolina, on the 4th day of January, 1863. It was his good fortune to retain his mental and physical vigor to the last. The brief illness, which terminated his earthly career, was pneumonia, contracted while riding horseback to direct the operations of an ice-plow. At a time when countless messages, by telegraph and mail, bore tidings of the death in battle of hundreds of the younger generation of Southerners, the peaceful passing away of "an old man, broken with the storms of State," may not have attracted the attention of the country at large to such an extent as it would in more peaceful days, but his death was mourned sincerely by those who had known his worth. In commenting upon this event, the *Raleigh Register*, of January 14, 1863, said: "He bore the weight of years with more elasticity than any man we ever saw; for, when he had passed four-score years, his person was more erect and his step more springy than many a man of half his years could boast of. It may be truly and emphatically inscribed on his tombstone that he was a man of the most sterling integrity." In a Florida newspaper, published at the time of Governor Branch's death, there is a tribute from an old acquaintance, who said: "Born at the end of the American Revolution, this aged patriot lived to wit-

ness the dissolution of the Union then formed, and to pass away amid the convulsions which now shake the continent." The same writer said of Governor Branch's political tenets: "A strict constructionist, he was ever sternly opposed to all encroachments upon the rights of the States and the people; and, though retired from public life, the influence and weight of his moral character and intellect were always given in resistance to the spirit of Northern fanaticism and lust of power, and in upholding the rights and liberties of his native South. A patriot of the early days, reared in an age made illustrious by the virtues of Macon, the genius of Randolph, and the patriotism of the associated statesmen of their day, he soon acquired a correct knowledge of the Constitution of his country and the structure of her Government, which, under the guidance of his liberal mind, enabled him to sustain himself with honor in every contest and in every station he was called upon to fill."

Several likenesses of Governor Branch are in existence. The one accompanying this sketch is from an oil portrait, in the Navy Department at Washington, which was copied from a miniature painted by Anna C. Peale in 1818, during Mr. Branch's term as Governor of North Carolina. Another portrait, painted later in life, hangs in the Hall of the Philanthropic Society at the University of North Carolina.

It is not the purpose of the present writer to attempt a eulogy, or even a studied portrayal of the character of John Branch. The foregoing pages give some record of his official actions in the various high stations which were conferred upon him, and those actions speak for themselves. They show that he was no time-serving politician, but a fearless, firm, wise, and patriotic statesman, whose fidelity to a public trust was never shaken by thirst for office (though many offices he had) or by any other selfish consideration. It may be truly said of him that—

"He would not flatter Neptune for his trident,
Or Jove for his power to thunder."

At one time it was the expressed wish of Governor Branch that he should be buried in Florida by the grave of the wife of his earlier years; but later, when his life's long journey was nearing its end, he declared his utter indifference on this point. "I am convinced," he said, "that this body is but as a worn out garment which we cast aside; and that in the world of spirits, to which I am going, there are no limitations of time and space." And so, when the end came, the mortal remains of John Branch were laid to rest in the family burial ground at Enfield, within the bounds of the historic county which gave him birth.

"'Tis little: but it looks in truth
As if the quiet bones were blest
Among familiar names to rest
And in the places of his youth."

The Pre-Revolutionary Printers of North Carolina : Davis, Steuart, and Boyd

BY STEPHEN B. WEEKS.

I. JAMES DAVIS.

The biography of James Davis, the proto-typographer of North Carolina, is practically the history of the North Carolina press for the first generation of its existence. There were other printers and one other press, but Davis was pre-eminently the founder of the art in the colony, and to him belongs not only the honor of introducing, but also of establishing this great civilizing and educating agency.

With the exception of Georgia, North Carolina was the last of the original thirteen colonies to receive the printing press. The reasons for this are numerous and obvious. The Southern colonies tended to reproduce the landed gentry of England, not her village communities. The form of government interfered; the New England colonies were practically self-governing bodies from the beginning, but not so with those at the South; they were under either royal or proprietary governments, and few privileges were accorded them. No American colony saw her efforts for autonomy, or whatever seemed an approach to self-government, more often or more rudely interfered with than did North Carolina.

The first settlements in North Carolina were made by individual immigrants, who roved over a vast and fertile region and took up land where fancy dictated, and not by immigrants coming in a body, as was the case in Massachusetts and Connecticut. This method of settlement was favored by the mildness of the climate, the fertility of the soil, and the comparative peaceableness of the Indians.

Nor were the first settlers educated, in the broadest sense. There were educated men and gentlemen among them, but

these, like all others, were remoulded by the democracy of toil to break the wilderness, and this made the first generation of natives much inferior in intellectual attainments to their fathers, the immigrants. Not only was the province a frontier community, but there were no towns of any size, and as towns have been the birthplace of political freedom, so they are also the generators and developers of intellectual life. The population was not homogeneous and social solidarity was unknown. In these rural and primitive conditions there were necessarily few schools and churches, and little demand for the labors of the press. The laws were never printed, so far as known, before 1751. The Revisal of 1715 was published by being read in the courts, and perhaps at other public places on stated occasions, but it was never printed in full (or nearly so) till the year of grace 1904. It seems that in 1740 the "Narrative of the Proceedings of the North Carolina House of Burgesses" was printed in Williamsburg, Va. It is said that printing was done for the colony in Virginia, South Carolina and London, but if so, I have found little contemporary records of such.

But as the colony grew in extent, in numbers and in wealth a printing press became a vital necessity. The immediate cause of its introduction was the desire to revise and print the laws which had not been codified since 1715. In 1736 Governor Johnston addresses the Assembly on the condition of the laws as follows: "Upon the strictest inquiry I can't find that there is one complete copy of them in any one place, neither have I yet seen two copies of them that perfectly agree . . . most of them either appear under ridiculous titles, are full of contradictions, or their language and stile is childish, ridiculous and against the common rules of grammar. As the happiness of every private man depends upon the laws, I think that it is a grievance which can never too soon be redressed." The Assembly agreed with the Governor's remarks, and did nothing. In 1739 Governor Johnston returned to the charge, and a committee of revision—which

did nothing—was appointed. Again in 1740 and 1744 Johnston speaks of the “shameful condition” of the laws. In 1746 Edward Moseley, Samuel Swann, Enoch Hall, and Thomas Barker were appointed “to revise and print the several acts of Assembly in force in this province.” They were allowed 60£ proc. money out of the duty on wine, rum and distilled liquors and rice for their trouble, and 100£ more for printing, furnishing and delivering the books. The revision was completed in 1749, confirmed and declared to be in force (chap. 6, Oct. sess., 1749).

This revisal had brought the committee face to face with the question of publication. The April session of the Assembly, 1749 (chap. 3), had passed an act under which James Davis was encouraged to remove to North Carolina. He was paid a salary of 160£ proc. money to “begin and commence from such time as the said James Davis shall have set up his press at Newbern . . . and be ready to proceed on his business of printing.” The contract was for five years, while the services required were the printing of legislative journals and proceedings, laws, proclamations, and other official matters. Davis was required to reside in Newbern, was given absolute copyright on all government documents published by him, and his salary was to be raised by a levy of four pence on every taxable.

Davis imported and set up his press and entered upon his contract June 24, 1749. This is the birthday of the fourth estate in North Carolina. He came from Virginia, and most probably from Williamsburg, as there were then presses at no other place. He was born in Virginia, October 21, 1721, and was probably brought up at the printing trade, but of his early life we know nothing. His mature years were all spent in North Carolina, where his work for the advancement of the commonwealth will give him a place among the men whose lives have been worth while.

His first work seems to have been to print the proclamation money and the journals of the Assembly for 1749 and

1750, and this he probably continued as long as he remained a printer. His first important publication was Swann's Revisal, which had been prepared by the commissioners appointed in 1746. He could hardly have begun work on this publication before the formal ratification of the compilation by the Assembly at October session, 1749, but Governor Johnston, writing to the Board of Trade, December 21, 1749, says the revised laws "are now in press, and I expect to be able to send your Lordships a copy of them by the middle of June next." I have never heard of a copy with the imprint 1750, however. Until recent years it was thought that 1752 was the only date of publication, but at least five copies are known with the imprint 1751. These are distributed as follows: One each in the libraries of Congress, Pennsylvania Historical Society (Charlemagne Tower Collection), New York Public Library (Lenox), New York Historical Society, and my own copy. Of these five copies my own is clearly the first published, for it ends with the laws for 1750. All the other copies have the laws for July session, 1751, which shows that my copy was published before July session, 1751. The 1751 edition is followed by an eight page table, while that for 1752 has a two-page table and a new title page. An imperfect copy without title page, also in my possession, is doubtless a 1751 issue, for page 330 shows an offset of the word "Table." This indicates that it was bound and ready for sale, but as it was not immediately disposed of, the table was removed and the laws of 1751 added. It is probable that the sheets of the 1752 issue are the same as those of the 1751, with possibly a few changes and corrections here and there. Of the 1752 issue nine copies are known to me, seven of them being in public libraries.

This first printed revisal of the laws of North Carolina is worthy of the attention here given it because it is the first book printed in North Carolina, is, so far as known, the first book printed by James Davis, and is the corner-stone of the history of the State and of her domestic literature. With

age, and because of imperfect tanning, the leather binding assumed a yellowish hue, and this gave it the popular name by which it is still known, "Yellow Jacket."

After the publication of this revisal Davis continued to print the session laws, the journals, the paper currency and the miscellaneous matters of the colony. He served the colony and State as public printer for about 33 years, 1749-'82. But his path was not always a smooth one, nor was his work always satisfactory. His original contract was for five years. It was renewed in 1754, 1757, 1760. In 1762 he asked for reappointment, but it was rejected by the council, for this involved the larger question of the struggle between the governor and the council on one side and the house of commons on the other. McCulloh brought in a bill in the council to appoint Alexander Purdie as public printer. It seems that Davis had not given entire satisfaction to the lower house, but it was necessary to have a printer, and he was reappointed for six months, "and from thence to the end of the next session of Assembly and no longer." In 1764 his nomination was again defeated in the council. Then follows a bit of spicy correspondence between the governor and the lower house, which shows what manner of men these colonial Carolinians were, and proves that they well deserved Bancroft's appellation of the freest of the free, and is too delicious to be paraphrased. Under date of March 5, 1764, Governor Dobbs writes to the lower house: "I can never approve of the late printer appointed by the Assembly, upon account of his negligence. . . . I must therefore recommend it to the Assembly to . . . encourage a printer to reside where he can attend the government and Assembly, and do his duty to the public, and not barely consider his own profit and conveniency." The lower house thereupon appointed a committee to employ a public printer at 200£ per annum, and this committee invited Andrew Steuart, of Philadelphia, to come to North Carolina. On November 21, 1764, Dobbs informed the house that as a bill to appoint a printer had failed in the council,

he had, with the consent of the council, appointed Andrew Steuart as public printer for eighteen months, "from the 24th day of June last, the time of his arrival here." This angered the commons, and they resolved that "the appointment of a printer under the sounding appellation of his Majesty's printer . . . is of an unusual nature, truly unknown either to our laws or constitution, and as it appears to us, a most extensive stretch of power, and may, in its tendency, establish a new office to exact new fees. . . . We, the Assembly of this province, therefore, to guard the liberties of the subjects and our indubitable rights Do Resolve, That we know of no such office as his Majesty's printer of this province; and of no duties, fees or emoluments annexed or incident to such office; and that the said appointment is of a new and unusual nature unknown to our laws, and is a violent stretch of power." In answer to this patriotic outburst Dobbs replied two days later by appointing, "in support of his Majesty's Just Prerogative," Andrew Steuart to be his Majesty's printer. On the same day the house resolved to pay Steuart 100£ for his "voyage, trouble and expense" in coming to the province, and resolved that James Davis be reappointed to the office and made his election doubly sure by ordering that the treasurer pay out no money "by order of the governor and council without concurrence or direction of this house."

But, however angrily the house might fulminate, we know that Steuart retained his appointment and printed the session laws for 1764, for I have a copy in my Collection of Carolina. Whether he was ever paid for his labor is another matter.

Davis prepared, and in 1764 published, a "Revisal of the Laws of the province, 1751-1764." In 1765 he issued a "Collection of all the Acts of Assembly" then in force, from 1715, and including what he had published in the edition of 1764. In 1773 he published "A Complete Revisal" (it appeared prior to October 8, 1773); in 1774 he compiled and pub-

lished his "Office and Authority of a Justice of the Peace," the first book of its kind issued in North Carolina. The "Revisal" of 1764 is the rarest of all North Carolina revisions, but four copies being known; that of 1765 is the next rarity.

The editions of these two revisals, as well as that of the 1751 and 1752 revisal and of the session laws, must have been very small, for as early as 1773 Governor Martin writes Earl Dartmouth that "the laws of this province are more rare than any book can be named."

It is believed that Davis printed the session laws with regularity from 1749 to 1782 (except 1764), for he was re-elected public printer in 1766, 1770 and 1774. At the April session, 1777, the Assembly saw fit to drop Davis as public printer, and chose in his stead John Pinkney, a bankrupt printer of Williamsburg, Va., for those were the days when any outgrown garment or outworn creed was good enough for circulation in North Carolina if it but had the Virginia brand, and the public printing office was transferred from Newbern to Halifax. Contemporary accounts give us the remainder of the story. Caswell writes Hezekiah Alexander under date of September 15, 1777: "The Assembly thought proper to remove an old servant (the printer) for neglect of duty, and appoint one who resided in Virginia who, after long delay, removed to Halifax about five or six weeks ago, where he died." Willie Jones tells us more of the successor of the faithful Davis. He writes Caswell under date of August 29, 1777:

"Mr. Pinkney is dead; his death is not regretted by a single person who knew him in this part of the world. His conduct was so scandalous that we only regret that he did not die before he had an opportunity of abusing this state in the gross manner he has done. I used every means in my power to stimulate him to his duty, and to enable him to perform it; but all to no purpose. When I went to Williamsburg after my return from Newbern, I found he was so involved there that his creditors would not let him depart without money or security, and to expedite the public business, I advanced him money and be-

came his security to the amount of upwards of 400£, for which I have no kind of security. His types were brought to Halifax and I think of detaining them until I am made secure."

What did Davis now do when the State was without a printer? He carried the acts through the press at his own expense, relying on the justice of the Assembly for reimbursement. Had his purpose been to defend his career in the eyes of posterity, no man could have made a more overwhelming reply to his detractors than did Davis by this patriotic act. He was reappointed public printer in November, 1777, but from then till the end of his public career he seems to have had hard fortunes, due to the stress of the times. From a petition that seems to belong to 1780 we learn that he was sustaining heavy losses by reason of the rise in printing materials, by depreciation of currency, and the slowness of payment. He had applied to the Assembly from time to time for relief, "but was unhappy enough to receive no other consolation than being again appointed printer to the State." The Assembly continued to neglect him; paper rose to 100£ per ream, and he determined to resign, but was dissuaded by appeals to his patriotism. The Assembly on February 9, 1781, requested him "to continue in the business of public printer." May 18, 1782, his son Thomas Davis was appointed public printer in his place. The latter had removed his press to Halifax in February, 1782, and the laws for April session, 1782, bear the Halifax imprint, as do those for April session, 1784, while those for October session, 1784, show him again in Newbern. This seems to have been the last issue with a Davis imprint, for Arnett and Hodge became public printers in December, 1785. James Davis was then dead. His son Thomas seems to have gone out of business, and died about 1790.

Besides his work as public printer there was little for James Davis to do in the colony of North Carolina in the line of his trade, but he was not idle. He aided in building

the commonwealth in many ways, and was always a useful and progressive citizen.

Besides his official publications, laws, revisals, journals, proclamations and similar matters, and such semi-public works as his "Justice of the Peace" of 1774, he published in 1753 Clement Hall's "Collection of Christian Experiences," the first book or pamphlet so far as known to be compiled by a native of North Carolina; in 1756 he printed a sermon, another in 1761, and another in 1768; in 1778 appeared Ruddiman's "Rudiments of the Latin Tongue," and Dyche's "Spelling Book." Such were the feeble beginnings of literary life in North Carolina.

Besides the revisals made and published by him in 1764, 1765 and 1773, he was appointed December 1, 1777, to revise the Acts of Assembly, and was to lay a fair copy of "the whole compilement" before the next session of Assembly, and four days later he was allowed 500£ for the work. Again on May 12, 1783, a bill was brought in to authorize him "to revise, print and publish all the laws now in force and use." This bill was in answer to an offer from him, but like the proposal of 1777 came to naught. (See chap. 46, laws 1783, and chap. 4, laws of 1787.)

To Davis also belongs the honor of establishing the first newspaper in the colony. This was the *North Carolina Gazette*, with the freshest advices, foreign and domestic. Number one probably appeared in the spring of 1755, as No. 103 is dated April 15, 1757. It was published Thursdays, on a sheet post size, folio, often on a half sheet, and bore the imprint: "Newbern: Printed by James Davis, at the Printing-Office in Front-street; where all persons may be supplied with this paper at Sixteen shillings per Annum: And where Advertisements of a moderate length are inserted for Three Shillings the first Week, and Two shillings for every week after. And where also Book-binding is done reasonably." This newspaper venture succeeded perhaps better than was to have been expected. The *Gazette* was published about six

years and then suspended. The American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass., has five copies of this *Gazette*, of which No. 200 bears date October 18, 1759. (See full size fac simile in Ashe's "Narrative History of North Carolina," Vol. 1.)

In 1764 Davis issued the first number of the *North Carolina Magazine, or Universal Intelligencer*. It was printed on a demy sheet in eight pages, quarto, with a view to its being bound, and was divided into two columns without rules, and the printed page was eight by five and a half inches. It was jejune and vapid. The want of regular mail facilities rendered the news department very insufficient. The first number was from Friday, June 1, to Friday, June 8, 1764. We may take the fifth issue as a fair specimen. The first article is a non-original one on the different ages of the world; then comes a scrap of the history of Rome just after the death of Cæsar; the next two pages and a half give us the third part of the discourse of the Bishop of Salisbury on the use and intent of prophecy in the several ages of the world; an article headed "News, London, East India House, April 4th," fills a column. The remaining page and a half is given to advertisements, which were inserted at three shillings the first week and two shillings for every continuance. Single copies were sold at four pence. At the close of 1764 a new volume was begun, with a diminution of one-half in size, and nothing in price. It is unknown how long the *Magazine* continued to be published, but it was succeeded by the *North Carolina Gazette*, which appeared again on May 27, 1768. It was numbered one, and was enlarged to a crown sheet folio. It is probable that there was no suspension in the publication between 1764 and the reappearance of the *Gazette* in 1768, and that the reappearance of this paper at this time simply marks a return by Davis to the name first used by him in 1755. The copy of the *Gazette* for July 4, 1777, is numbered 383, and has as its motto, "Semper pro Libertate et Bono Publico." It is a small folio of four pages, two broad col-

umns to the page, with a sheet twelve by sixteen inches. On June 20, 1778, it was reduced to a quarto, and so continued until November 7, when it resumed its former size. The last number in the volume here described is that for November 30, 1778. It was suspended perhaps soon after that date, for Davis writes the Governor, November 2, 1778, that his son Thomas had been drafted into the army, that he was his chief hand in the printing office and that without his aid it would be impossible to carry on the newspaper; and the prospectus of another *North Carolina Gazette* started in August, 1783, says "there has not been a newspaper published in North Carolina for several years." The paper used on the *Gazette* was fine, heavy and water-lined, but as the war advanced it became of an inferior quality. The impression is somewhat blurred, but Davis's work is generally very good. There are no column rules and no head rules. There is no editorial matter and very little local news. The body of the paper was filled with reports from the seat of war and from Congress, and that the pressure on his columns was somewhat greater than he could meet we learn from the fact that at times he omits his own advertisements and even his imprint.

Davis's work as a printer made him prominent in Newbern affairs. He was appointed postmaster there in 1755; in that year he contracted to carry the mails from Suffolk, Va., to Wilmington, N. C., and was still doing this work in 1758. He was elected to represent the town in the Assembly in 1754, but as he was then sheriff, was pronounced ineligible; he was elected again in 1755 and then took his seat; he was also a member in 1756, in 1757; and in 1760 represented Craven County. He was a J. P. in 1768, 1771, 1774, 1776 and 1778; was foreman of the grand jury in 1771; commissioner of Harlow's Creek canal in 1766; signed the Craven County address on Liberty in August, 1774; was on the committee to arm and fit out a vessel of war in 1775, and in March, 1776, was a commissioner of exports for Newbern; was a

member of the Provincial Convention which met in Newbern in April, 1775, and of the Hillsboro Congress of August, 1775, as a representative of Newbern, and in the latter was on the committee to prepare plans for the regulation of internal peace, order and safety of the province; was a member of the Council of Safety of Newbern in March, 1775; was elected a judge of the oyer and terminer court for Newbern District in 1777, and in January, 1781, was a member of the council of state.

Although it is thus evident that he was an ardent Whig in the Revolution he had his enemies and did not escape the charge of Toryism; he was also a man of strong passions, and these were not always under control. He accumulated large property in negroes and real estate, and died in Newbern in February or March, 1785, as his will is probated at March Term, 1785. We learn from this will that his presses and other printing material then in Newbern were in the hands of Robert Keith and Company. All the printing apparatus and the book bindery was given to his son Thomas, who had been as early as November 2, 1778, "chief head in the office," and in 1782 had succeeded his father as public printer, but after 1784 the name Davis disappears from the history of North Carolina typography, his material and apparatus being probably absorbed by Francois Xavier Martin.

Davis married Prudence Herritage, a connection of the wife of Governor Caswell. He had four sons: James, the eldest, married in the West Indies and died in Havana, Cuba; John, the second son, served in the patriot army, was captured and imprisoned at Charleston, was later transferred to a British man-of-war, refused to do menial service on ship-board and died under the lash (see State Records, XV, 377-78, for the details of this infamous cruelty); William, the third son, also saw service in the patriot army; Thomas was the youngest son. If there were daughters no record has reached this writer.

II. ANDREW STEUART.

Short and sad are the annals of Andrew Steuart, the second North Carolina printer. He was an Irishman, born in Belfast, and served his apprenticeship there. He came to America and in 1758 or 1759 set up a printing press in Laetitia Court, Philadelphia, but soon removed to the Bible-in-Heart in Second street. His business seems to have been confined to small jobs, such as pamphlets, ballads and almanacs. The particular course of events which induced him to migrate to North Carolina, and the exact time of his arrival have been mentioned already in the sketch of James Davis. Steuart settled in Wilmington, then practically the capital, and it appears that he became officially public printer on June 24, 1764, the date of the expiration of Davis's contract with the province. Record of but two imprints of Steuart has come down to us, the first of these being his edition of the session laws for 1764, of which there is a copy in my Collection, and Moore's Justice and Policy of taxing the American Colonies (1765), of which there is a copy in the John Carter Brown Library.

In September, 1764, he began the publication of *The North Carolina Gazette and Weekly Post Boy*, which was the second newspaper in the colony, if we count Mr. Davis's effort in 1764 as a revival and continuation of the original publication of 1755. Steuart's *Gazette* is said to have been suspended in 1767. No copies are known to be in existence. He tried to sell out in 1766 to Isaiah Thomas, then on a visit to Wilmington, as he was anxious to return to Philadelphia, where his business was still being conducted, but Thomas and Steuart failed to come to terms, and the latter was drowned in the Cape Fear in 1769.

III. ADAM BOYD.

The third and last of the pre-Revolutionary printers was not a printer at all. He was what we should call in this day a publisher. He seems to have purchased Steuart's outfit

after the death of the latter, and about October 13, 1769, issued the first number of *The Cape Fear Mercury*. We have record of one or two other publications as coming from Boyd's press, but his business was confined mainly to the publication of the *Mercury*. This seems to have been continued with more or less regularity down to 1775, and in that year earned for itself large posthumous fame by its publication of certain "Mecklenburg Resolves" which, while yet unseen, were confidently appealed to by faithful believers as able to establish the genuineness of the Declaration of Independence of May 20, 1775. At last a copy was found and the article to which such trusting appeal had been made was found to be the Resolves of May 31.

The *Mercury* does not seem to have survived the year 1775, nor did Boyd appear again as a printer and publisher. He devoted himself to the ministry and spent a part of his last years (1790-1799), in charge of the Episcopal Church in Augusta, Georgia. Later he was in Nashville, Tennessee, and Natchez, Mississippi, where he seems to have died.

Adam Boyd married in 1774, the widow of Moses John DeRosset. The late Colonel William L. DeRosset sent me nearly twenty years ago copies of some letters written by Boyd in his declining years to members of the family. They are perhaps worth publication as pictures of the times and of the fortunes of a man who served well his adopted State:

Augusta, Ga., April, 1798.

MY DEAR JOHN:

* * * And now I am on the subject of self, wonderful appears to me the events that have continued me in this place. Last year I was determined on leaving it and this year the same. Now I am not able to travel; but if I were, it appears improper. The regard with which I am treated and the provision made for my support appear, with many other circumstances, as if Providence had designed this for my charge. The provision is not what it should be, but it is nearly twice as much as it has yet been, except part of last year. These and such things attach me to the place (in a moral view). And yet after all, my heart breathes many a sigh for Wilmington. In W. I could not breathe. Had I continued there, I have

no doubt but the grave would have closed over me long ago. Here I have escaped gout, asthma and much of a cough which there used to harass me alternately. Besides, in my professional character I think I have been more useful here than I could have been there. With respect to the money much the same I suppose, except in this. There the non-payment of the Parish would not have distressed me as it did here. I have been in real want of clothing, and as to board I live chiefly at others' tables. In this distress I attempted to relieve myself by selling certificates at about one-fourth of their value. I was cheated out of the whole.

I got lots then in demand but it soon appeared the whole were mortgaged to the public. My certificates funded about £1000, and I lost all. The man went away and died, a bankrupt. A friend of mine was on his return to Ireland, so he called to see me. Talking of my situation he observed "you need not wish to be in better esteem than you are. All this increases my attachment, but still I wish to be with Maggy and you * * * Recollection fails me very often. I was always an absent man. * * *

Yours affectionately,
ADAM BOYD.

Feby. 8, 1799.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

My strength returns so slowly that I am not yet able to write you as I wish. Yet the mercies which I enjoy demand infinitely more thanks than I can give. I hope this little attempt at justice will please. If it be approved and engraved it will give me pleasure. Should it be thought proper to publish it, I submit. If published, below is the proper introduction. Hoping that Heaven will regard us with an eye of mercy I have much pleasure in thinking we shall meet again. I am extremely anxious to be amongst you, but I fear I shall not be able to breathe that air, and to be a burden to you would distress my mind. It is astonishing, weak tho' I be, almost a child, I am enabled to preach more to the satisfaction of the audience than I could four years ago, and with more satisfaction to myself. Adieu.

The Almighty in his great goodness preserve us all.

Affectionately yours,
ADAM BOYD.

Nashville, Tenn., April 18, 1800.

DEAR DOCTOR:

Nothing can be said in opposition to your reason and yet I feel the disappointment. My situation is extremely unfortunate. I believe it worse by the neglect of some cross-posts. I know four letters have

been lost, that is they have been out six months and no account of them yet. This has made me ignorant of things I should have known about my own affairs. I also believe it is owing to some accident in that way that I have not had a little relief from Charleston. I had hoped from the benevolent exertions of a few, a sum to be refunded, but without interest. These disappointments will I fear compel me to accept terms which will do little more than give me present relief. A deception in the survey will oblige me to commence a suit or to petition your assembly. Both of these I dislike. Yet it is hard to lose so much, especially as my journey hither has been so unfortunate and expensive. However, I shall not repine and hope to preserve such a sense of the goodness of God as shall secure to my mind that calmness which is natural to a trust in that Power. Yet with grief and shame I confess I am not as tranquil as I was. Continual disappointments and losses, I now fear, have an influence I did not expect. If you knew all, or one-half you would say to be serene. Under such a mountain requires more strength of mind than is commonly the lot of man. Indeed, I do not think it attainable without superior aid. Perhaps I failed in this, in being too secure or too confident in myself; the first I think the cause, as to the last I know I have no strength. I am too thoughtless in everything, hence all or nearly all the evils of my chequered life. You know Fielding's Parson Adams.

My sermon on Feby 22 was so well received that a subscription was directly opened for its publication. But such triflers are our Printers that I know not when they will be able to publish it. The name of Washington may recommend it, but such has been their negligence that the time for selling is lost. The story is growing old and two courts have passed.

I am afraid my dear Magdalen will suspect my affection for her. I did write her once but I felt so much I did not like to write her again. Her happiness is very dear to me. I have sent some little pieces of mine to Mr. Wilkings with design that Mrs. Toomer should have a copy if she desired it. Perhaps they may assist her meditations.

My capacity for travel is not to be boasted of. A stiff inflexible knee that deprives me of the use of one leg, a dislocated hip and a leg at least four inches shorter than nature made it. So helpless that I cannot put on my own clothes. I must go in a carriage, but into that I must be lifted. On my way hither often did I descend from my car to avoid jolts. But on crutches I cannot contend with rocks nor walk over them. So I shall get jolting enough for a life of one hundred years. The worst is—rocky bottoms of rivers and steep banks. Terrible are the many things in the perspective; yet if life be spared I mean to make the attempt as soon as possible. I hope

to be with you in October. Is it possible to get anything for preaching in your town? But I fear the asthma will find me out there. However, I propose to try it. I wish very much you could get \$50 on loan, and even on interest to be transmitted to Dr. Say, of Philadelphia. It is for a very particular purpose and can be replaced within the year. I had sent some money there, but my last summer's misfortune obliged me to recall it. I have no doubt that Major McRee would lend it. Please tell the Major I am glad to find he is so well settled and that I wish him to write me.

I have heard our Cousin James Moore made a sale of land to Gov. Blount, who is dead. I fear James made a bad bargain. However I think he should write without loss of time to Willie Blount, Esqr. I take him to be a man of candor and he will probably secure the property. The heir of Col. Wm. Davies should likewise appear or employ some attorney. Lands are not saleable but so many tricks are played that great attention is necessary to prevent chicane. Two of my horses have died and another is runaway, tho. I hope he may be recovered. So according to the old saying one single misfortune rarely happens to a man. If I think of Wilmington, I must be often at the sound—and I must endeavor to be concerned in some little business. I can eat your meat but must wear my own clothes. I must also have a servant and should keep a horse for exercise as I cannot walk much through the sand. In your letters you rarely mention any of my old friends. What has become of Lillington's family? Shaw; Jno. Moore; Major Sam Ashe, the General's son, and my old friend Gov. Ashe, Mr. Heron, etc., etc. If it please God, I shall have not a little pleasure in seeing my old friends once more.

Yet, I know not why, I feel as if I should never reach that place. I lament very much that I can so seldom declare the Word of God in public. A clergyman who reasons admirably, preaches here every other Sunday. The house he preaches in has an earthen floor, so I am afraid to go into it either to speak or hear. I did preach in a tavern the other Sunday, but the Methodists have taken the alarm and as the house is theirs, they preach every other Sunday, so that I am cut off. This silence grieves me. Yet I am not idle. I weekly publish some moral essay or advice in the papers. More serious pieces I attempted but they have been laid aside as too solemn for their readers, that is, their publishers. So I try always that I can do some good. My carriage is so shattered by the fall, and worn out like myself by time, that to buy another I suppose will be cheapest. Heavy, heavy, are my losses, but they do not depress my spirits. I still have a hope that I shall be supported so as not to suffer want. Yet it is not long since a clergyman was suffered to languish out of the world in an * * * Pray beg Mr. Wilkings to enquire if Mr. Jno. Caldwell, lately from Ireland, merchant, be in New York or not.

He had ten Guineas for me, sent by my cousin in Ireland. I drew for the money to pay my surgeon, and I have written him three times but no answer can I yet obtain. God of his infinite mercy grant us all his protection and blessing that we may all meet around his throne in the fulness of eternal joy. Amen.

Affecty. yours,
ADAM BOYD.

The orator of Congress makes a vacancy of happiness in Heaven. Is it possible that such a body could pass unnoticed such a denial of everything sacred?

The last of this series of letters is dated Natchez, December 30, 1802. It requests Dr. DeRosset to send him (Boyd) his certificate of membership with the Masonic Lodge—states that he was initiated in January, 1764. It is evident then that he died after the date of that letter or later than the date assigned in my Press in North Carolina in the Eighteenth Century.

An Early Fourth of July Celebration

BY ADELAIDE L. FRIES.

If any one should ask you when the Fourth of July became a national holiday, what would you say? From the very first, or at least as soon as American Independence was established? Well, you are wrong, for the "Glorious Fourth" is not and never has been a *national* holiday! As a matter of fact, the United States has no national holiday; neither the Fourth of July nor Washington's Birthday, nor any other, for to make it national in a strict sense, would mean that Congress had so declared it, and that Congress has never done. In early years it set apart certain days as Days of Fasting and Humiliation, or Days of Thanksgiving, according to circumstances, but these were for the special occasion only, though the custom lingers in the annual Proclamation of the President appointing Thanksgiving Day. But to make the President's Proclamation effective rests with each State, which has either provided for it by legislative enactment, or follows it with a Proclamation from the Governor. Legal holidays as affecting the Post Office and National Banks? Set apart by *State* Law, the national Government having recognized them by providing that the legal holidays of each State should apply to Post Offices and Banks therein.

The actual age, therefore, of the Fourth of July observance varies with each State, and here again a great surprise awaits us. In the city of Philadelphia, the birthplace of the Declaration of Independence, the anniversary was celebrated from 1777 on, but the State of Pennsylvania did not make it a legal holiday until 1873. No, that is not a printer's mistake—it was actually one hundred years, less three, before Pennsylvania formerly recognized her most highly prized anniversary, and the legislatures of other States took the same step

even later, though each State and Territory now has the Fourth of July as one of its legal holidays.

So far as is known, the first celebration of the Fourth of July by legislative enactment, took place in North Carolina in 1783. That was the year in which peace began to smile once more upon the war-weary but victorious colonies. In November, 1782, the Commissioners of the Colonies and of England had met in Paris, and (most reluctantly, no doubt) "his Britannic Majesty acknowledged the United States of America free, Sovereign and Independent, and for himself, his Heirs and Successors, relinquished all claims to the Government, proprietary and territorial rights of the same;" hostilities to cease as soon as England and France had come to terms on their own account. News travelled slowly in those days, the Atlantic cable had not been dreamed of, and a "wireless" was beyond the reach of the wildest imagination, so we may imagine the courier carrying his dispatches to the nearest sailing vessel, the slow progress of that little craft across the storm-tossed wintry Atlantic, the copying of the dispatches, and their transmission by courier again to each of the thirteen States. When the word finally reached North Carolina, on April 19, 1783, the Legislature was in session, and with great gratification Governor Alexander Martin communicated the good news to that body.

Eleven days later another dispatch arrived, this time a Proclamation from Congress "declaring the cessation of arms as well by sea as land;" and orders were given for the release of prisoners of war, etc.

A great wave of rejoicing and gratitude thrilled through the Legislature, and before it adjourned it recommended the Statewide observance of the Fourth of July, "as a day of Solemn Thanksgiving," and called upon the Governor to issue a Proclamation to that effect. A MS. copy of this Proclamation has recently been found:

“State of North Carolina,

By His Excellency Alexander Martin, Esquire, Governor
Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief of the State
aforesaid.

A PROCLAMATION.

“Whereas the honorable the General Assembly have by a Resolution of both Houses recommended to me to appoint the fourth of July next being the anniversary of the declaration of the American Independence, as a Day of Solemn Thanksgiving to Almighty God, for the many most glorious interpositions of his Providence manifested in a great and signal manner in behalf of these United States, during their conflict with one of the first powers of Europe: For rescuing them in the Day of Distress from Tyranny and oppression, and supporting them with the aid of great and powerful allies: For conducting them gloriously and triumphantly through a just and necessary War, and putting an end to the calamities thereof by the restoration of Peace, after humbling the pride of our enemies and compelling them to acknowledge the Sovereignty and Independence of the American Empire, and relinquish all right and claim to the same: For raising up a distressed and Injured People to rank among independent nations and the sovereign Powers of the world. And for all other divine favors bestowed on the Inhabitants of the United States and this in particular.

“In conformity to the pious intentions of the Legislature I have thought proper to issue this my Proclamation directing that the said 4th Day of July next be observed as above, hereby strictly commanding and enjoining all the Good Citizens of this State to set apart the said Day from bodily labour, and employ the same in devout and religious exercises. And I do require all Ministers of the Gospel of every Denomination to convene their congregations at the same time, and deliver to them Discourses suitable to the important occasion recommending in general the practice of Virtue and

true Religion as the great foundation of private blessing as well as National happiness and prosperity.

Given under my hand and the great Seal of the State at Danbury the 18th day of June in the year 1783 and seventh year of the Independence of the said State.

ALEX. MARTIN,

God save the State."

By his Excellency's Command.

P. Henderson Pro Sec."

In October, 1783, the representatives of the United States in Congress assembled, issued a Proclamation calling upon the people to observe a Day of Thanksgiving, for the Lord "has been pleased to conduct us in safety through all the perils and vicissitudes of the War," and "in the course of the present year hostilities have ceased, and we are left in the undisputed possession of our liberties and Independence." But to these causes for gratitude were added thanks "for plentiful harvests," "the light of the blessed Gospel," and "the rights of Conscience in faith and worship," and the date appointed was not the Fourth of July but the second Thursday in December, that being the month in which the annual Thanksgiving Day was then celebrated.

Nowhere was the news of Peace more gladly received than in little Salem, N. C., and Governor Martin's Proclamation for the Fourth of July was willingly obeyed. On the time-yellowed page of Pastor Peter's diary stands the full account of the observance of the day, no gunpowder, no accidents, but a "sane Fourth" that left the little village refreshed and strengthened for the new life just beginning.

Early in the morning the sleeping people were aroused by the sweet strains of trombones, playing appropriate chorals. Then a large congregation assembled in the prayer-hall, where the "Te Deum Laudamus" was chanted, the minister preached a beautiful sermon on the blessing of peace, and the choir sang "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace,

good will toward men." In the afternoon another service was held, largely choral, and the full text is preserved in the old diary aforesaid. Picture to yourself that large upper room, with its sanded floor, and the men and women seated on opposite sides, in the old-fashioned way. In front, to the minister's right, would be the little girls, with their white caps tied under the chin with pretty pink ribbons. Behind them the older girls, wearing white linen caps and cherry ribbons; behind them again the older women, their linen caps tied with light blue or pink or white as circumstances required. To the left were the boys and men; and for this occasion two choirs led the singing, many of the stanzas being composed expressly for this day. Listen!

FIRST CHOIR.

Peace is with us! Peace is with us!
People of the Lord.

SECOND CHOIR.

Peace is with us! Peace is with us!
Hear the joyful word!

ALL.

Let it sound from shore to shore!
Let it echo evermore!

MEN.

Peace is with us!

WOMEN.

Peace is with us!

ALL.

Peace, the gift of God!

CHOIR.

Let the heavens rejoice and the earth be glad;
Let all the land pray to Him and sing praises to His name;
For He hath done glorious deeds;
He hath done mighty deeds! Selah!

ALL.

Full of joy our hearts are singing
And to our God thank-offerings bringing,
For His great miracle of Peace!
Far and wide the war was spreading,
And terror by its side was treading,
To daunt us and our woe increase,
And little else was heard
Than foe and fire and sword,
Need and sorrow.
How often I cried, anxiously:
"Look down, oh God! and pity me!"

CHOIR.

The Lord is a mighty warrior; Jehovah is His name.
He causeth war to cease in all the earth.
Because the miserable are distressed, and the poor cry,
I will arise, saith the Lord; all soldiers must drop their hands.
For I will arise, saith the Lord; they must put down their
hands.

ALL.

Oh, Rest that softly cometh,
So gracious and so blest!
We hail it with rejoicing,
For we in Peace may rest!
Redeemed from present sorrow,
And trusting for tomorrow,
Secure from every foe
Thy flock may come and go.

ALL.

Pour out Thy richest blessings now
Wide as the clouds of heaven;
From churches, homes and governments
Be every evil driven;
Give blessed peace in Christendom,
Let godly fear and concord come
To reign in every nation,
Oh God of all creation!

These and other hymns were sung by choirs and congregation, and at length a stately Hallelujah Chorus closed the celebration of the Fourth of July, one hundred and thirty years ago.

Winston-Salem, N. C., April, 1913.

An Appeal to the Daughters of the Revolution

The Daughters of the Revolution, and those interested in raising the Ellen Wilson Memorial Fund, should feel most sympathetic towards one another. It is the noble object of both to perpetuate the goodness of the human race—and what could be more beautiful or glorious?

As it has been stated at numerous times since the Ellen Wilson Memorial Fund was first agitated, the object of the Fund is to establish scholarships which may be used by those mountain boys and mountain girls whose parents have located in such places where the population is thin, and the advantages for getting on, almost lacking. Mrs. Wilson sympathized with these youths, and through her own efforts established scholarships, that is, as far as she was able to do it. And it is peculiarly fitting for the splendid organizations such as that fostered by the Daughters of the Revolution to be turned to, in the general appeal to enlarge this Fund, and make it a factor in strengthening and the upbuilding of our nation.

It may interest the Daughters of the Revolution to know, in trying to incur their good will and high favor, that those striving to raise the Fund wish each contributor to feel a part of the Memorial. On this account, it has been decided to make it possible to have private memorial scholarships given and named by the contributor, but being a part of the Ellen Wilson Memorial Fund, so that the Memorial will be the dominating spirit which will exert influence, not only for the time being, but forever. A contributor to this fund is one of the powers who will help to make of us a civilized nation, and by lending one's energy and time to this project one necessarily becomes a world-wide influence, which will be good so long as the civilized world maintains the right standards and ideals. And that is also one of the obligations that we shall all have to recognize and shoulder.

If the Daughters of the Revolution will manifest their interest by contributions, and kindly speaking a good word for the cause, it will not be a surprise to those who make this appeal—the Daughters of the Revolution have always maintained a stand of this sort. It is on this account the appeal is made with a genuine feeling that it will be met with co-operation and hearty response.

In regard to the organization of the Ellen Wilson Memorial, a word may be said. The Honorary President is Mrs. Thomas R. Marshall; the Honorary Vice-Presidents:

Mrs. W. J. Bryan.
Mrs. L. M. Garrison.
Mrs. T. W. Gregory.
Mrs. A. S. Burleson.
Mrs. J. Daniels.
Mrs. F. K. Lane.
Mrs. D. F. Houston.
Mrs. W. C. Redfield.
Miss Agnes Wilson.

The Administrative Board is:

Mrs. W. S. Elkin, Chairman.
Mrs. Preston Arkwright, Vice-Chairman.
Mrs. Thomas H. Latham, Secretary.
Mrs. Archibald Davis, Treasurer.

The Memorial Committee is composed of State Presidents, as follows:

Mrs. John B. Knox, Alabama.
Mrs. Fred Allsop, Arkansas.
Mrs. Thomas P. Denham, Florida.
Mrs. H. C. Cunningham, Georgia.
Mrs. Edmond S. Delong, Kentucky.
Miss Ella F. Hardie, Louisiana.
Mrs. Harris E. Kirk, Maryland.

Mrs. Charlton H. Alexander, Mississippi.
Mrs. Wade Childress, Missouri.
Mrs. R. J. Reynolds, North Carolina.
Mrs. Kibben Warren, Oklahoma.
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Resolutions of Respect to the Memory of Mrs. Annie Moore Parker, who died June, 1915

IN MEMORIAM.

Whereas, God in His all-pervading love and wisdom, has removed from the blessings and sorrows of the earthly home to the greater joys of the higher life, our beloved member Mrs. Annie Moore Parker:

Therefore Be It Resolved, That the North Carolina Society, Daughters of the Revolution deploras the loss sustained by her removal from our midst.

That they realize the immensity of their loss in the death of such a faithful and loyal member, whose noble example, whose exceptional bravery, will ever be an inspiration to all other members. Her home was ever at the disposal of the Daughters, where we frequently gathered in counsel, and her patience at all times knew no flagging.

That her absence will be felt in our meetings and her guidance missed.

To her family in this hour of affliction we offer our warmest sympathy.

That these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of the Society and a copy sent to the family.

MARY HILLIARD HINTON,
MRS. JAMES E. SHEPHERD,
MRS. PAUL H. LEE,
MRS. JOHN E. RAY,

Committee.

Genealogical Queries and Answers

Hill—Hopkins. I am anxious to find out the names of Margaret Hill's father and mother. Margaret Hill married Alexander Joyce about 1790, and they lived in Rockingham County, North Carolina, after their marriage, but I think she came from Stokes County, North Carolina. Alexander Joyce's mother was a Miss Hopkins, a descendant of Stephen Hopkins, of Rhode Island, and I am anxious to trace to that. If any one can give me any information on this line I shall greatly appreciate it. Address Mrs. J. W. Jones, Martinsville, Virginia.

Howell—Lewis. Can anyone give any information of the present whereabouts of the portrait of Mary Howell, mother of Howell Lewis, of Granville County, North Carolina? She was the daughter of John Howell, Gentleman, and wife of Colonel Charles Lewis, of "The Byrd," Goochland County, Virginia. This was taken when she was sixteen and was at one time in the possession of the mother of Miss Mildred Lewis Rutherford, of Georgia, her lineal descendant, then it was later at "Wyanoke," the home of her descendants, the Douthats, in Virginia. A picture of it is to be found in "The Barons of Potomac and the Rappahannock," by the late Dr. Moncure D. Conway. Also can any reader of *The Booklet* furnish the names of the children of James Lewis, son of Colonel Lewis and Mary Howell, his wife, who settled in Granville County, North Carolina, in Colonial days? He married a Miss Taylor. Any information on these subjects will be gratefully accepted. Send reply to Editor of *The North Carolina Booklet*, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Biographical Sketches

Biographical Sketches of the following writers, whose articles appear in this issue of *The Booklet*, have been written by Mrs. E. E. Moffitt and published in the order given below:

Marshall DeLancey Haywood, *The Booklet*, Vol. VIII, 1.

Stephen B. Weeks, *The Booklet*, Vol. IX, 1.

Adelaide L. Fries, *The Booklet*, Vol. IX, 4.

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Vol. XV

JANUARY, 1916

No. 3

The North Carolina Booklet



GREAT EVENTS IN NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY



PUBLISHED QUARTERLY
BY
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION
RALEIGH, N. C.

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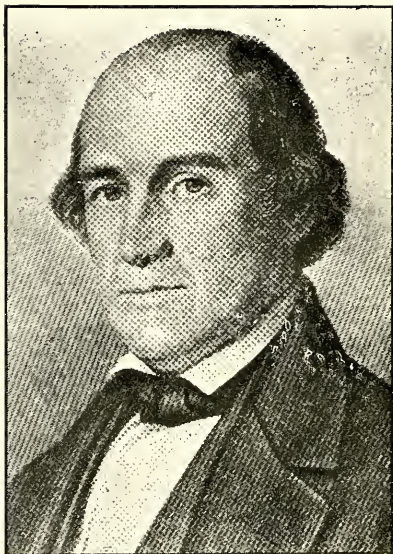
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of the Navy, Etc.

The North Carolina Booklet

Vol. XV

JANUARY, 1916

No. 3

George Edmund Badger, Secretary of the United States Navy

By PETER M. WILSON.

This paper is written by request and in the character of an impression rather than a chronology. It may go without saying that no statement of fact has been made without examination, and no expression of opinion as to his features of official reputation given without a careful reading of the printed or manuscript history bearing upon it. It has been kept in mind that in the counting-house of the modern historian traditions are at a discount and facts at a premium. The acts and orders on which the most important measures of his administration of the Navy rest have, therefore, been set forth at length. They tell the tale. Governor Graham emphasizes Mr. Badger's devotion to truth in its broadest and highest meaning, and to trifle with it for the purpose of making the world think him other than he was would be an impertinence to his memory.

In a service of ten years in the Senate, whenever Naval matters were under discussion he took an active part in it, and the proceedings show that his views were sought and his opinions deferred to. There could hardly be better proof that he had acquired a great range and vast quantity of information as to the theory and practice of naval administration, and that he held it at the disposal of his brother Senators. This made him an authority. If his connection with the Navy had been of that perfunctory character which the mere holding of the Secretaryship renders unhappily possible, when he became a legislator he would not have been suggestively associated in the public mind with his former dignity.

George E. Badger was the thirteenth Secretary of the United States Navy. He was appointed on March 5, 1841, confirmed and took office on March 6th, and on the dissolution of the Harrison Cabinet resigned September 13th of the same year, the anniversary of his forty-sixth birthday. On March 19th he was called to his home in Raleigh to welcome into the world his youngest daughter, and for one month was absent from the seat of Government on that account. The brief period of five months therefore measures his active service as the head of the Navy Department. What he did in that time to give him a place in its annals can best be learned from the records and the literature which interprets them, but it will also help us to know the man and his work if we can learn what those who saw him and knew him say that he was. They seem to agree that he was not only by temperament and appearance in harmony with his office, but that the same intellectual superiority which set him in a place of his own in all the stations he ever filled gave him in this one a commanding character.

Governor Graham says in his "Discourse in Memory of the Life and Character of the Hon. George E. Badger," that Mr. Badger reluctantly accepted the naval portfolio when President Harrison tendered it. He had done notable work on the hustings in the picturesque and, in some respects, grotesque campaign of 1840, and perhaps as much as any other orator had been at pains to give a sane gravity to the popular uprising into which the presidential contest converted itself. It was largely in recognition of these services that President Harrison invited him into the Cabinet. Certain it is that he was not inclined to abandon the successful pursuit of his profession, and it is safe to assume that whatever ambitions he may have harbored, he had not dreamed of ruling the seas. He had never sat in the National Legislature, and his fame as a lawyer of broad learning, and as an advocate of most persuasive and compelling power, was known beyond his own State only to the better informed section of his pro-

fession. We need not wonder then that more than one Member of Congress when his name was sent to the Senate asked, "Who is George E. Badger?" A decade later when in the same Senate, ranking with Webster, Clay, Calhoun, Benton, Jefferson Davis and John Bell, he was helping to mould a great compromise and delivering his great speech of March 18th and 19th on the slavery question, such a query would have been impossible.

Deciding to accept the office he took it in good conscience, and he set about with a devouring greed of mind to absorb all that was to be known about the duties it carried with it. His associates all bear testimony to his industry and his intuitive perception in discarding what was unnecessary, and his capacity for assimilating essentials in dealing with large affairs. So, pursuing a natural bent and a cultivated habit of intense application, he almost at once came into possession of the technical details of the Department and comfortably settled himself into its routine. He memorized its history, worked out the elements of its personnel and materiel, and became saturated with its ideals. It is not mere praise to say that he knew as few could know the relation of the military marine to the life of the government. He understood that it was bottomed on the Constitution in the power which that instrument granted Congress to provide and maintain it. Believing the Navy, in the words of Admiral Dewey, "must ever remain our first and best line of defense," the mobile outworks of our fortifications, the floating bulwark of our coasts and of all that our coasts' outline embraces, he set to work to make it such.

Knowing in all its correlations the great force with which he had to deal, he looked with faith to the good uses to which it was to come. He projected a Navy, not necessarily superior in size to that of any other power, but sufficient for the high purposes of a nation situated like the United States. The main feature of his plan was to make good the doctrine of

defense as opposed to the doctrine of aggression, and to carry abroad an unmistakable guarantee of the country's commercial rights.

In his report of May 29th, submitted to the session of Congress called to meet on the last day of May, he brought forward the policy, and committed the administration to it, of a greater Navy, a better Navy, and a Navy primarily for home defense. This is what is meant by his proposal to establish a "Home Squadron," a "sufficient supply of suitable munitions" and "a reorganization of the Navy to fit it to the changing methods of construction and propulsion." The "home squadron" proposed by him grew to be the Atlantic fleet of today; the prime necessity for abundant ordnance and education in its uses is the preparedness advocated today; the reorganization of the Navy is its enlightened and enlarged adaptation to what has been found to be best suited to its purposes. The report is not only comprehensive, but suggestive. Its statements of the needs of this branch of the service were the arguments which secured the adoption, at least of its most material recommendations, before that Congress adjourned, and as it would lose in attempt at condensation, it answers the better purpose to submit it in full:

"It is presumed Congress will scarcely be willing to give attention to general matters unconnected with the objects for which the extraordinary session of that body was convoked, yet recent events induce me to bring to your notice, with a view to the action of Congress, two subjects as worthy of present consideration. *The first* is the establishment of a home squadron. While squadrons are maintained in various parts of the world for the preservation of our commerce, our own shores have been left without any adequate protection. Had a war with Great Britain been the result, as was at one time generally feared, of the subjects of difficulty now in a course of adjustment between that power and the United States, not only would our trade have been liable to great interruption, and our merchants to great losses abroad, but a naval force, comparatively small, might, on our very shores, have seized our merchant ships and insulted our flag, without suitable means of resistance or immediate retaliation being at the command of the Government. To guard against such a result, to be ever ready to repel or promptly to

chastise aggressions upon our own shores, it is necessary that a *powerful squadron should be kept afloat* at home. This measure is recommended by other considerations. There is no situation in which greater skill or seamanship can be exercised and acquired than on the coast of the United States; and in no service would our officers and seamen become more thoroughly initiated in all that is necessary for the national defense and glory. In that service, aided by the coast survey now in progress, a thorough acquaintance would be gained with our own seacoast, extensive but imperfectly known, the various ports would be visited, the bays, inlets, and harbors carefully examined, the uses to which each could be made available during war either for escape, defense, or annoyance, be ascertained, and the confidence resulting from perfect knowledge would give to us, what we ought surely to possess, a decided advantage over an enemy on our own shores. Should it be thought desirable that such a squadron be put in commission immediately, and kept constantly on duty, an additional appropriation may be necessary, for the amount of which, as well as the force deemed proper to be employed, I beg to refer to the accompanying report on the subject, prepared under my direction, by the Board of Navy Commissioners.

"The attention of Congress has been heretofore earnestly invited to the state of our ordnance and ordnance stores, and I deem it worthy of immediate consideration. A sufficient supply of suitable arms and munitions of war is indispensable to the successful operation of the bravest officers and men, and taken not from the nature of the case, but provided upon a sudden emergency. Sailors may be hastily collected from our commercial marine, ships may be purchased, but ordnance cannot be supplied on such an emergency, nor can some of the materials for the preparation of ammunition be procured either by purchase or manufacture. Hence the ordnance should, by a timely foresight, be provided in advance and the materials be secured, from which a supply of ammunition can be speedily prepared. The accompanying report from the Board of Navy Commissioners shows the amount of expenditure which will be required under this head. Should the object be deemed of such importance and urgency as to require the immediate attention of Congress, I respectfully recommend that an appropriation of one-third of the estimated amount be now made.

"The opinion seems to have become general, as well in the service as in the nation at large, that a thorough reorganization of the navy is demanded by consideration connected with the defense and honor of the country, and in this opinion I heartily concur. Yet I am fully aware that any plan for this purpose should be the result of the most careful deliberation, and that it be at once unwise and injurious to submit to Congress and the country any proposed arrangements which should be liable to the charge of haste and inconsideration."

To have rested on the oars of recommendation might have argued a very enlightened grasp of the work to be done, its scope and its magnitude, but it would have been an incomplete performance. The new Secretary proceeded hot-haste to impress his views on Congress. In the House, Henry A. Wise, Chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs, brought in the bills carrying into effect the new policy; he had as committee associates Mallory of Florida, afterwards Secretary of the Navy of the Confederate States; Clifford of Maine, afterwards Mr. Justice Clifford of the Electoral Commission; Mr. Stanly of North Carolina, and other notable men. In the Senate, Mr. Mangum, afterwards its President *pro tempore*, was Chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs, and guided these bills to a safe and successful passage. Before Mr. Badger resigned his portfolio, the special provisions for the home squadron and the ordnance supplies had become law, and the foundation laid for the appropriation for the years 1841-'42 of the sum of \$8,272,977.10, the most generous provision for the naval establishment which Congress had ever voted. As on these two acts depend the definition of his conception of a naval policy, it will be best to set them forth in full:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the sum of six hundred thousand dollars be paid out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the purpose of purchasing ordnance and ordnance stores for the use of the Navy of the United States.

Sec. 2. And be it further enacted, That the Secretary of the Navy is hereby authorized to apply a part of the sum herein and hereby appropriated, not exceeding fifty thousand dollars, to the purpose of making experiments to test the value of *improvements in ordnance*, in the *construction of steamers*, and other vessels of war, in other matters connected with the naval service and the national defense; and also to the purpose of defraying any charges left unpaid on account of experiments of the like character heretofore made by authority of law.

Approved September 11, 1841.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That for the pay, subsistence, increase and repairs, medicines and contingent expenses of two frigates, two sloops, two small vessels and *two armed steamers* to be employed as a *home squadron*, the sum of seven hundred and eighty-nine thousand three hundred and ten dollars is hereby appropriated.

Approved August 1, 1841.

Secretary Badger did not belong to the school which believes that only those things which have been can and should be. He had possessed himself of full and accurate information as to the improved methods of armament, transportation, equipment and propulsion in use in European warships, and was in sympathy with the younger men of the Navy who were hopeful of every invention and much enamoured of the then new doctrines of steam and steel. As he expressed it, he "had anxiety for, but confidence in, these new elements in naval affairs." He found the vessels driven by sail; he ordered the ships Mississippi and Missouri to be fitted with steam, and they became the nucleus of the home squadron. Under the act of Congress to enable Lieutenant Hunter to try the merits of a submerged horizontal wheel, he ordered "a steam vessel of war to be built on your plan, not to exceed 300 tons burthen." On September 11, 1841, he directed that the "Gem" be put at Lieutenant Hunter's disposal. On June 1st he directed Commodore Stewart, in command of the navy yard at Philadelphia, to prepare drafts and explanation of machinery of a steamer to be driven by a *screw propeller* and ordered Captain Stockton to superintend the work. The construction of the steamer was entrusted to Captain Stockton in the following order:

"The Department has directed the Commissioners of the Navy to cause a *steam vessel of war* to be built on your plan, not to exceed 600 tons burthen. You will superintend the building of the said steamer under the direction of the Commandant of the Navy Yard at Philadelphia, making to him from time to time during the progress of the work such suggestions as you may think proper."

The vessel put on the ways for this purpose became the "Princeton," the flagship at Vera Cruz and of Commodore Perry at Tokio. Secretary Badger had appreciated the ability of Stockton, who was offered the Secretaryship in succession, but declined it rather than interrupt his career. He also ordered built *three steamers* of medium size to be driven by the *Ericsson propeller*. In these ways he showed his faith in American capacity to do equally well what other nations had done and were doing, and he planned to proceed upon the line of consistent development.

He despatched the sloop of war "Yorktown" to the Sandwich Islands to protect American whalers, and he advocated the establishment at Honolulu of a naval depot. Just half a century later the United States on "naval grounds" saw its true interest in annexing these islands.

Without tedious detail the policies of increase and expansion of the Navy through the addition of the home squadron, the adoption of the latest improvements in the building and propelling of warships, both as to material and kinds of power; the furnishing forth of an abundance of war munitions, and the encouragement of practice in the most effective use of them; the forecasting of the strategic value of the Sandwich Islands as a base for our naval operations on our Pacific seaboard, might be said to lay the even keel on which the frame of his services in the Navy have their foundation. They show what he initiated, what he contrived as best for the Navy as he found it and for the Navy of the future. It would be hard to deny the conclusion that he had successfully devoted himself to the work of making the Navy better than he found it.

In the larger matters of policy, the head of the Navy had to deal, on behalf of his department, with the legislative organ of the government, to which he had to look to make effective his best laid plans. It was, it will be remembered, a time of profound peace. There could be no brilliant sea-faring exploit. It was difficult to excite popular

attention to the Navy. He seemed wise, then, in engaging the support of the people through their representatives. But this support could not be had, or when had could not be relied on if the Navy did not show itself to be worthy of it. He planned to make it so, and whether or not he did much to bring this about can be judged by studying his methods of managing its internal affairs. To get a discernment of value into these methods it is necessary to go to the letter-books and order books, which set forth the daily life of the department. From this source can be obtained the real view of his relation to the department itself.

In one of his earlier letters he exhibits his jealousy of the Navy's dignity and his hostility to influences which could affect its morale. He was not a jurist turned head of the Admiralty only for place and power, but the tone of his letters show that he became a sailor of the sailors.

The politics, even of those halcyon days, was not above burrowing into the Navy. Complaints were made to him that the navy yard in New York had been made use of in an election. He at once addressed a letter to Captain Matthew Calbraith Perry, a brother to Commodore Perry, which is such a complete exposition of the attitude of the Navy to such pernicious practices and his condemnation of them that it is even now a precedent much respected. After notifying Captain Perry that he had appointed him to the command of the navy yard from confidence in his ability to discharge delicate duties, and that the appointment had not been sought by him either directly or indirectly, and calling his attention to the complaints about politics being allowed to control its operations and influence thereby freedom of elections, he says:

"It is deemed alike necessary to the honor of the Navy and to the welfare of the country that this evil should be corrected, and from you I feel assured that no countenance will be given to a system alike injurious and disreputable to the service. But in order to accomplish this desirable reform, it is highly important, if not indispensably necessary, that those should be removed from stations

of subordinate authority in the yard who have in any means abused their power for electioneering purposes. I request therefore that the changes may be made. It is my earnest desire that no person in the service shall be either the better or the worse off in consequence of his political opinions—merely that he shall feel himself at perfect liberty to exercise the elective franchise according to the dictates of his own judgment and conscience, and that no agent of the Government shall be allowed to impose any restraint upon him for any party or political purposes, and that it be made manifest that as the Navy belongs to the nation, so its stations are established, their officers appointed, their laborers employed and their whole operations directed solely for the honorable and efficient service of the country.”

In more than one letter can be read the determination above all things to be just to those under him.

He was strict in exacting obedience, and did not dally with punishment, whether it had to be meted to the great or to the humble. But he was ready, and even eager, to repair a wrong when he knew of it, even when the doing so was to his own hurt. In regular course, and upon apparently good reasons, he ordered the dismissal from the service of a petty officer. The man, conscious of his innocence and tenacious of his good name, came to the Secretary in person and pleaded his own cause. He convinced him that his order had consummated a real wrong. Immediately thereupon Secretary Badger wrote to Commodore Perry unreservedly confessing his belief that he had done a grave injustice, and invoked his aid in righting its effect as fully as possible by either reinstating the man in his former place, if that were possible, and if not, to provide some equally honorable post for him.

He showed customary consideration for others when imposing his affairs on them by apologizing to the Commodore for the inconvenience he was giving him in this instance.

The anxiety of a great minister to do an act of justice to a petty officer is not so commonplace a phase of official life as to preclude its setting forth in a paper of this sort. It lends a pleasant expression to the face of stern authority.

There are many sentences in his letters which leave no doubt that his temper was least dangerous when it slept. But one respects it more when one sees that when aroused it usually fell on the higher heads. Sometimes it scorched subordinates when they were delinquent. His impatience with those who were loose in money matters, whether through dilatory habits or design, is shown in many instances in the cases of petty officers who owed debts of various sorts, and to pursers who had misapplied moneys for expenses of voyages. The reprimands evidently carried terror, as replies to them show.

He was mildly tolerant of foibles and venial offences, and when reproving them often added a line of fatherly advice to the erring against "being seduced into conduct unworthy of their state," and urging them to make the talents ascribed to them useful to the country and honorable to themselves. Even in these formal letters a touch of humorous irony once in a while crops out, as when he wrote to an officer who had assumed that his request had been granted, and acted on the assumption: "Here things asked and not granted are deemed refused."

He did not brook for an instant any disloyalty to or secret criticism of the service by members of it, and the half dozen lines to Commodore Wilkinson, commander of the West India fleet, at Boston, touching some anonymous newspaper correspondence, meant to be a warning, as well as an effective method of uncovering the guilty, read in this wise: "Your communication of the 5th inst. inclosing a publication taken from the *New York Herald*, has been received, and you are hereby authorized to require each officer under your command to answer on honor whether or not he be the author of that publication, which is herewith returned to you."

His pride in the Navy was as great as if he had been born into it, and he was sensitive to any criticism of it. When the "Brandywine" returned to America from the Mediterranean at a time when there were stiff rumors of impending war

between Great Britain and the United States, he showed and expressed much disappointment and displeasure at the lack of discretion displayed by the officer in command. He did not wish it in the critic's mouth to say aught about one of his ships. Happily, there was nothing more than a small blow, which expended itself in a rather insignificant tempest in the Senate. The confusion in the dates of certain information which occasioned the departure of the ship was satisfactorily cleared up, and the investigation which had been asked for was dropped. Senator Preston, of South Carolina, restored the calm with the observation that so long as the administration had so amiable a Secretary of State as Mr. Webster, our ships could feel free to sail without consulting the fears of diplomats. All of which smacks of the criticisms of today.

Again, when the "Constellation" came out of the navy yard at Boston, ill-fitted for her cruise, he expressed to those whom he held responsible for the condition of the ship his intense mortification that such a thing could happen in the Navy. He was ever alert to the needs of the ships and their crews.

It must not be supposed that he was over given to the habit of fault-finding, because quite as many of his letters are filled with praise when it was merited, as with censure when deserved. He gave warm commendation to the officers and men for the punishment of what he called an act of horrible piracy in the mouth of the Mississippi. Especially commending them for the promptness which they exhibited and which, he added, the American people had a right to expect from the naval force of the country.

He was unremitting in his interest in behalf of the personal welfare, not only of the officers, but of what are sometimes called the mere sailors. In this welfare he embraced their physical, mental, and moral fitness for their profession. To illustrate this, in many letters he insists that the chaplains perform the duties for which they were appointed and which the regulations clearly set forth. He shrewdly sus-

pected that there was a lull in the activities of the commissioned parsons against the evil one. He took advanced grounds in demanding high moral character and thorough scientific acquirements on the part of physicians appointed to the Department. Looking upon the ship as a home and the crews as its family, he planned to have its medical officers, in the first place, gentlemen, and then physicians and apothecaries. One of these last named prerequisites was that they understand the modes of preparing those "poisons called medicines."

In a letter to Commander Morris he catalogues quite a list of books, which he ordered to be purchased and put in the ships' libraries, among them several Universal Histories, The Writings of Washington, Story's Commentaries, dictionaries, both English and classical, besides technical books adapted to improvement and perfection in the profession.

It is not difficult to find in his interest in this form of continued education the crude germ of the "school idea" aboard, which is now accepted by authorities of experience as calculated to make the highest type of officer, sailor, and even stoker.

It is not altogether disagreeable to us to read that those in authority, in what were called the better days of the Republic, as all days that are gone are fancied to be, were not averse to impressing those holding the purse-strings by object lessons or by what may without disrespect be called "junkets." The Secretary writes to Commodore Morris that he wanted the "Delaware" brought to Annapolis in order that many distinguished members of Congress, probably the President of the United States, might have an opportunity of inspecting a line-of-battle ship.

At heart Mr. Badger was honestly democratic, and many a good story is still current in his home of his familiarity with people in much humbler stations. He delighted to have the good woman who brought his weekly supply of eggs sit at his table and have a hot breakfast with him, but as the

Secretary of the Navy he could be as ceremonious as the most imposing Commodore, and rather liked the forms of martial observances.

Our country has always delighted in a splendid hospitality to the representatives of France, that superbly unselfish land which fought to give America a Republic before it gave one to Europe. When, therefore, the Prince de Joinville arrived in our ports no courtesy on the part of the Navy, with sails filled and banners flying, was omitted. The order to effect this runs in this wise:

"You will show the usual and appropriate civilities to him and the vessel, and afterwards on proper notice of the presence of the Prince, should he visit the Navy Yard, you will give him a royal salute of 21 guns and show him all the usual civilities due a person of his rank. Should the vessel on her arrival hoist the royal standard, which is not anticipated, your first salute will be that of 21 guns."

These letters and orders reveal in an imperfect way the internal or domestic life of the department, if it may be so called. They show that he was jealous of the Navy's integrity, just in his administration, parental almost in his solicitude for its personnel. They are just such words as a modest, able, painstaking, broad-minded official could and would write. They show a sympathetic personality and a high character that cabals and political intrigue could not swerve from faithful service. These lines seem to imprint minor shades which go to complete the picture of a man who did much in six months time to make the Navy greater. He left it better in every way than he found it. No man of his day perhaps did more to win for it a favoring and growing public sentiment. He convinced Congress that it did well to vote the largest allowance it had ever made up to that time. Under this and subsequent grants the naval force came to be well enough equipped for the capture of Vera Cruz and the taking over of our great California possessions. The report made to Congress in December, 1841, although made by his successor, carries many of the proposals devised by Mr. Bad-

ger for the future welfare of the Navy. It is proof that he left undone much that he would have done. But if he had done nothing more than begin the home squadron and get the most generous money grant for a really growing Navy, he would have deserved to rank as a great Secretary.

His last official act was a request that a worthy mechanic should have employment in the navy yard. It is in these words: "In consideration of the long and faithful services of John Ford in the Navy, I request that you will give him employment in the yard under your command if you can find any suitable for him."

This parting thought for the welfare of a comrade of the lowest rank leaves a kindly touch on the conclusion of a high service.

It is a cause of satisfying pride to the people of North Carolina to reflect that for three-quarters of a century no name has led that of Badger on the register of the Navy in loyal, lofty, and conspicuously efficient service. It has been borne by a Secretary, a Commodore, who more than once received the thanks of Congress for distinguished bravery, an Admiral, who as the commander-in-chief of our greatest fleet, made it admirable and welcome in the ports of all the great powers as well as a safeguard against our turbulent neighbors, and is now safe in the hands of a young Ensign, who has recently been handsomely mentioned in the Official Gazette for gallantry in action in protecting his men and punishing the enemy under a grilling fire from the house-tops of the streets of Vera Cruz.

“The Spratt Burying-Ground”—A Colonial Graveyard

BY VIOLET G. ALEXANDER.

This graveyard is one of the oldest burying places in North Carolina and is known as the “Spratt burying-ground.” The historian, C. L. Hunter, in his “Sketches of Western North Carolina” (pages 77 and 78) writes:

“Near the residence of Thomas Spratt, where was held the first court in Mecklenburg County, is one of the oldest private burying-grounds in this country, in which his mortal remains repose. Here are found the gravestones of several members of the Spratt, Barnett and Jack families, who intermarried; also, those of the Bingham, McKnight and a few others. On the headstone of Mary Barnett it is recorded she died on the 4th of October, 1764, aged 45 years. A hickory tree, ten or twelve inches in diameter, is now growing on this grave, casting its beneficent shade. The primitive forest growth, once partially cut down, is here fast assuming its original sway, and is peacefully overshadowing the mortal remains of these early sleepers in this ancient graveyard.”

The historian Foote, in his “Sketches of North Carolina” (page 510), says: “Thomas Spratt removed to the spot, near to Charlotte, where he died and lies buried in the angle of the woods, near his dwelling. There appears to have been at this place a burying-ground as old as that at Sugar Creek (the first one) now entirely grown over with trees.”

This property, in recent years, was owned by Mr. Thomas Vail and his heirs, and today this sacred spot lies unnoticed and unmarked, in a new residential suburb of Charlotte, known as “Colonial Heights.” It is situated, today, on a new street, “Vail Avenue,” and has been divided into building lots, now owned by Mrs. S. M. Johnson, a daughter of Mr. Vail, and Mr. Robert Glasgow. The old graveyard was grad-

ually neglected in former years and was in a great state of dilapidation when Mr. Vail became the owner of it some years ago, for it was included in the sale of many acres of land which he purchased in this locality. The relatives of those buried here were either deceased or had moved to other sections of the country, so for many years no one interested was left to give tender or reverent care to this "God's Acre." The graves were fast disappearing and the tombstones falling down and breaking into bits, and so great was the desecration that the negroes in the neighborhood, laying aside their customary superstition, were known to have used several of these hallowed stones as hearthstones in their cabins!

Miss Cora Vail, a daughter of Mr. Thomas Vail, often went to the little graveyard, and was much troubled over its neglect and this vandalism, and realizing that it would soon disappear from the sight and the knowledge of the people of today, determined to take some steps to preserve a record of it. She consulted Mr. George F. Bason, a well-known and prominent member of the Charlotte bar, who advised her that as the graveyard was private property, and no means had been provided for its "perpetual care," her best course was to carefully and accurately take the names and inscriptions on all the tombstones, have this record filed in some public building in Charlotte and to *level* and *bury* all the tombstones. Miss Vail followed his advice and carefully made a complete copy of all names and inscriptions then visible and filed a copy of the same at the Charlotte Carnegie Library with the librarian, then Mrs. Annie Smith Ross, since married to Mr. Horey; this valuable paper is now in the custody of the present librarian, Miss Mary Belle Palmer. A full and complete copy of this paper is incorporated here as follows:

Paper is entitled:

"Burying-Ground East of Charlotte, N. C., near Elizabeth

College. Inscriptions on old headstones in Colonial Graveyard on Vail Farm."

"Here lies ye body of
Hugh Bingham who
departed this life
Nov. ye 4th 1765.
also
nearby lies ye body of
Joseph Bingham, a child."

"Here lies the body of
Mary Bingham who deceased
Jan. 18th 1772 aged 55 years."

"Here lys the body of
Samuel Bingham junr.
who departed this life
April 25th 1774 aged 33 years."

"Here lies the body of
Jean Barnett who
deceased April 20th 1776
aged 20 years."

"Here lies the body of
Thos. Barnett who deceased
May the 3rd 1776
aged 22 years."

"Here lys the body of
John Jack Barnett who deceased
Jan. 14th 1778
aged 9 months."

"Here lies the body of
Esther Johnston who deceased
Oct. 22nd, 1775
aged 31 years."

"In memory of Andrew Sprot
who died Nov. 29, 1772
aged 64 years
also here lys his wife
Mary Sprot who died
June 7th 1771 aged 64 years."

"Here lies the body of
James McKnight who deceased
Oct. ye 23rd 1764 aged 60 years."

"Here lies the body of
Robert McKnight who deceased
Oct. ye 19 1778 aged 60 years."

The above is a complete list of all the inscriptions found by Miss Vail, which she carefully copied as to wording and spelling. The reader will be struck by the similarity and formality of the style of all the inscriptions—closely resembling inscriptions found today in many old churchyards of England and Scotland, and, doubtless, these early settlers in writing inscriptions conformed to the accepted style of that day in the land from which they had come.

The earliest date given by Miss Vail is that in the inscription of James McKnight and 1764 is the year. It is stated that James McKnight was 60 years old when he died, so he must have been a man in middle life when he came to this, then remote, part of North Carolina. We have no means of knowing how many years before 1764 he came to his new home or how long he had resided here, but we know he must have been a man of action and of sturdy qualities and of strong characteristics, as were, also, that small company who had traveled this far with him. It will be noted that the grave of Thomas Spratt, referred to by Hunter and Foote, had disappeared, as no record of it was found on any of the headstones by Miss Vail. Other names of individuals or families known to have been buried here were given the writer

by Miss Vail, who found no stones commemorating them, but tradition still points out the location of some of the most important graves.

John Jack, supposed to be a brother of Captain James Jack—the fearless patriot, who was the bearer of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence to Philadelphia—is buried here. He seems to have a little namesake, and probably relative, buried near, for we find the record of the grave of a baby boy—John Jack Barnett—who died at the age of nine months. Of especial interest is the fact that *Ann Spratt, the first white child* born in Western North Carolina, lies buried in this old graveyard, known as the “Spratt burying-ground.” Again we quote Hunter (page 77), who says: “Thomas Spratt is said to have been the first person who crossed the Yadkin River with wheels; and his daughter, *Ann*, was the *first white child* born in this beautiful champaign country between the Yadkin and Catawba Rivers.”

Ann Spratt became the wife of John Barnett, and their daughter married James W. Jack, a son of Captain James Jack (see Hunter’s Sketches, page 74.) Mrs. Ann Spratt Barnett’s grave has almost disappeared and no stone now marks the last resting place of Mecklenburg’s first white child.

When a committee from the Colonial Dames, composed of Miss Violet G. Alexander, Miss Cora Vail, and Mrs. Lucy Alexander Halliburton, visited the burying-ground in March, 1914, Miss Vail was able to point out its location and, also, that of several other important graves. Other persons known to have been buried here were: Thomas Spratt, a man of large influence and means, at whose home the *first* court was held in Mecklenburg County; Mary Spratt, Mary Barnett; and members of the families of Osbourne, Johnston, Barnett, Spratt—spelled *Sprot* on the tombstones; Polk, relatives of Mecklenburg’s only President, James Knox Polk; Bingham, McKnight, Jack and others, whose names and graves have been lost, lie buried in this forgotten place.

A great wave of sadness sweeps over the soul of one as he stands in this little graveyard, situated on a lovely wooded

knoll and lets fancy fly back to those first days in Mecklenburg's splendid history, when the brave men and braver women and tender little children, whose dust hallow this sacred spot, lived and moved and had their being in the very beginning of our glorious history and "acted well their part" in its making.

It may not be inappropriate to recall to mind those beautiful and significant words from the pen of the loved English poet Gray:

"Beneath those rugged elms, that yew tree's shade,
Where heaves the turf in many a mouldering heap,
Each in his narrow cell forever laid
The rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep.

Perhaps in this neglected spot is laid
Some heart once pregnant with celestial fire;
Hands that the rod of empire might have swayed,
Or waked to ecstasy the living lyre.

Yet e'en these bones from insult to protect,
Some frail memorial still erected nigh
With uncouth rhymes and shapeless sculpture decked,
Implores the passing tribute of a sigh."

May the citizens of the Queen City, moved by gratitude and patriotism, see to it that this colonial graveyard, hallowed by the sacred dust of the first settlers of Mecklenburg County, is properly and appropriately marked.

Charlotte, N. C.

Historic Homes, Part VI: Ingleside, Home of Colonel John Ingles

BY MARY HILLIARD HINTON.

A certain eminent Colonial Dame who, like the immortal Scott, keeps a note-book and jots down every bit of antiquarian knowledge encountered, particularly that imparted by our oldest inhabitants, has performed a good service for her own State of Maryland in particular and her country in general in preserving in permanent form many vanishing facts of American history and set an example that all who are historically inclined might well afford to emulate. One never knows when the engrossing story of an apparently commonplace habitation that is hastening to its ruin may be unearthed, some ghostly legend retold after half a century's silence, an unmarked grave located, or some hidden treasure brought to the world's attention.

During the frequent drives to Raleigh, North Carolina, over the Tarboro Road, my interest in the quaint house that crowned the summit of one of Wake County's highest hills, that rose gradually from the picturesque bend of Crabtree Creek, has been keen ever since memory and imagination have asserted themselves. Nothing bearing on the past could be ascertained—the names of the place and the earlier owners were alike shrouded in mystery. So imagination played an active part and around the antique abode fancy wove numberless marvelous stories; one that is still remembered was a startling ghost tale. Of course there must be a ghost around, for does not every very old and striking house claim such an appendage, doubtless in imitation of ancestral homes in older lands? Time passed and not until the summer of 1915 did facts about the plantation come to light.

It was known that this tract of land had formerly been the property of Governor Charles Manly and his name is still



INGLESIDE.

recalled through the nomenclature of that locality. "Manly's Spring" furnishes water to some of the inhabitants of Raleigh who are suspicious of the purity of Walnut Creek (the source from which the city receives its water supply) and "Manly's Branch" has impressed every individual living two miles east of the capital by the unmannerly way it had of intercepting traffic after heavy rainfalls. "Manly's Hill," with its red mud, that on winter days came to the very hub of the wheel, was the dread of travelers over the Tarboro Road, for its steepness was a tax on any animal's strength. The better road system has eliminated both of these stumbling blocks to the wayfarer; one can no longer assuage the thirst of the passing steed, as a bridge closes the stream to him, while the other has disappeared at the edge of the shovel. Who were the original owners? Who are they that sleep in those graves long since disturbed by the plow and can no longer be located save by perhaps one person only? Are they the earlier landlords? These questions received only silence as answers.

During the summer of 1915 the early history of the summer home of Governor Charles Manly was revealed. In the spring of that year Mr. W. Plummer Batchelor, of Raleigh, feeling the call of the country to the extent that he wished to give up the delights of a residence in town for a home amid the charms Nature offers, after an inspection of all the farms in the market around the capital, at last showed excellent taste by deciding upon one of the finest, if not the finest, site obtainable in Wake County—the Manly home—which he purchased, with the surrounding two hundred and sixty acres. As one travels east, after passing "Norwardin," the artistic home of Mr. James Moore, what a fair landscape picture greets the eye! Standing in clear relief, facing the setting sun, amid the grove of locust trees (that shade tree which was so popular with the colonists and is fast passing), bathed in the golden sunshine, stands the new home, nearing completion, which appears all the more radiant when viewed from the deep shadows of the thoroughfare, the dark green foliage on

each side forming a soft frame for the faraway vista. An attractive view indeed, an ideal location which commands an extensive view of the surrounding countryside.

Upon investigation among musty, time-dimmed records for the "clear title" that must accompany each conveyance of landed estate, Mr. Batchelor learned that one Colonel John Ingles took possession of the estate in 1800. At that time there were three hundred acres in the tract. Here, on the highest eminence on the plantation, by the road that has for generations been one of the State's main highways, Colonel Ingles built his home to which he gave the name of "Ingleside." It faced the road; the style of architecture was similar to that followed in building other residences of that period in the county, like "The Oaks," "Beaver Dam" and others. The house was well built, with handwrought nails, heart timber and hewn oaken beams, that were in such an excellent state of preservation that Mr. Batchelor renounced the resolution to cast these away in destroying the old in order to erect the new house, and resolved to utilize the same stalwart scantling and beams for the frame work of the latter. There were three rooms downstairs and four upstairs, with a back and a front porch, both of which were quite small. Like all homes of that time the front entrance was through the parlor. Back of this, the largest room of the house, was a small hall from which an enclosed staircase ran to the half story above. The outside brick chimneys were of generous proportions and the roof was so steep that it shed water with such rapidity that a leak was an impossibility. The low-pitched roofs of today explain why so many coverings are unsatisfactory. With a due reverence for things antique, Mr. Batchelor retains the euphonious name of "Ingleside," although a clever friend insisted on substituting one that was in every way appropriate. The condition of the structure generally caused it to be torn down. A member of the Society of the Cincinnati, on hearing of the demolition, remarked that it should never have been done, that it should have been restored. Our forefathers built well,

but the twentieth century excels in conveniences that frequently compel the neutralization of sentiment for the antique. The erection of handsome homes in the county indicates a revival of ante-bellum tastes, and it is hoped more may feel the call of the country.

Colonel John Ingles was born in 1739 and was a citizen of Edgecombe County. Like other inhabitants of that section he must have been attracted by the salubriousness of the climate of Wake. During the early part of the nineteenth century many persons from Edgecombe spent the summer months in Raleigh to avoid the malaria of the lower counties. Colonel Ingles had served through the Revolution in the Continental Line, Second Regiment. He first entered as First Lieutenant on May 3, 1776. On October 24, 1777, he was promoted to the rank of Captain. The following year he was taken prisoner and carried to Charleston, May 1st. Thirteen months later—in June, 1781—he was exchanged. From that time to the close of the conflict he was in active service. He became Brevet Major September 30, 1783. The commissioned officers of his Regiment were John Patten, Colonel; Henry ("Hal") Dixon, Lieutenant-Colonel; Reading Blount, Major; Captains: Robert Raiford, Clement Hall, Benjamin Coleman, Robert Fenner, John Ingles, Thomas Armstrong, John Craddock, Benjamin Carter, Charles Stewart. It has not been discovered how John Ingles won the title of Colonel. At the time of the first census, in 1790, his household numbered five, which included himself as "head of family" and four "free white females" who were Mrs. Ingles, his wife, and three nieces and wards. At that date he owned the small number of nine slaves. For twenty-one years Colonel Ingles' family dwelt at "Ingleside." He came to a country that was divided into immense estates, some containing several thousand acres each. Wake had been a county only thirty years; there was but one town within its boundaries, which eight years before had been selected for the site for the state capital of North Carolina. He died in 1816, and was buried in the

graveyard by the orchard in front, or north, of "Ingleside." Here, by his side, five years later, Mrs. Ingles was laid at rest. His will, bearing the date, February 27, 1816, was probated on September 8th in the same year. Therein he bequeathes property to his wife, Courtney, and leaves legacies to nieces, daughters of Dennis O'Bryan. Annie O'Bryan became the second wife of Dr. Thomas Falconer. He left no children, so with him the name became extinct in Wake.

As late as the seventies, the burying-ground was still surrounded by a Maryland rock wall. In time this was removed to furnish the foundation for a gin-house that stood near Manly's Branch, and the graves were desecrated by the plow. No trace remains to locate them in the cultivated field. The fate of the gin-house was pronounced by some to have been a judgment for vandalism. It was demolished by a terrific storm that swept over the land afterwards. To locate and mark the grave of this Revolutionary Patriot of the Continental Line is a work that could worthily engage the attention of the Daughters of the Revolution. May they soon honor the memory of one who faithfully served our country.

"Ingleside" became in 1821 the property of the Honorable Charles Manly. The first fifty acres were presented to him by his father-in-law, Mr. William Henry Haywood, Sr., in order to secure for him the privilege of the ballot under the property qualification clause. This law, which then required the possession of at least fifty acres of land to become a voter, is of especial interest today to those advocating restricted, and opposing extended, suffrage. Governor Manly was elected in 1848, inaugurated January 1, 1849, retired from office January 1, 1851. He was the last governor elected under the qualification clause, which was deranged by the Democrats. His brother-in-law, Edward B. Dudley, was the first governor of the State elected by the people. It was during 1848, when he was engrossed with the campaign, having been nominated by the Whigs for the office of governor, that Governor Manly's family stayed at "Ingleside." This was the only season that

they spent there, though it is called his summer home. It was the plantation from which the bounteous supplies were brought to maintain the lavish hospitality that was dispensed at his town residence and later at the Governor's Palace. Here the hundred and fifty slaves were comfortably housed in the quarters nearby the "Great House." Beautiful sheep—Southdowns—grazed in the meadows; the pastures were filled with fine blooded horses that were the pride of the Governor's heart, for he loved a thoroughbred and raised some fine specimens at "Ingleside" that became noted. The wool of the Southdowns was cleaned and carded and dyed there, then sent to the mills of Chatham to be woven into cloth for the negroes. Their cotton clothes were woven on the plantation from cotton produced on the place. Chickens and turkeys in abundance were raised to fill the demand at the town residence. The old South lived extravagantly, but the plantations met the requirements of a bountiful hospitality.

There was quite an amusing incident related about Governor Manly's fondness for the turf. He had recently been confirmed at Christ Church, Raleigh, and felt that presence at the race-track, with its consequent gain and loss of money on the winners and losers, was not consistent with Church membership, when some exciting races were scheduled to come off at the old Fair Grounds, then on Hargett Street, south of the Soldiers' Home. He could not, however, forego the pleasure of beholding the spectacle at a distance, so climbing to the top of a poplar by the spring in what was called "the white field," he prepared to enjoy the races. His plans were frustrated by a fall from his lofty seat that came near resulting in serious injuries. Taken as a warning, he renounced racing henceforth.

The spring by the roadside, alluded to above, known yet as "Manly's Spring," was the scene of the ghostly vision. There Governor Manly sat one dreamy autumn day gazing upon the fair landscape, thinking doubtless of some improvement his beloved North Carolina greatly needed, of a way by which it

could be brought about, or of the possibilities of his State, his county or estate. The warmth, the radiance of the sun, the sleep-inviting atmosphere were conducive to the building of air castles, the entrée of fairies and all the glorious train of the realm of fancy. The hour was auspicious, and seizing the opportunity, a radiant vision, with gentle tread, appeared before him; the gracefully draped figure of the inhabitant of the spirit land, pausing but a few moments, vanished, leaving him dazed and motionless. A member of the family in recounting this incident added that of course the Governor must have fallen asleep and dreamed of the vision, and that a partridge or rabbit scudding through the thicket at hand made the noise that wakened him. Anyhow there is another version of the haunted visitor. Darkies aver that on dark nights an object mounted hurries over the road past the spring, "Ingleside," over branch and hill, disappearing in the denser gloom beyond. So, after all, the old place did possess a ghost.

To "Ingleside" retired John H. Manly, son of Governor and Charity (Haywood) Manly, to study law, being confident that the quiet of the retreat was inviting for the gain of knowledge. His popularity, that evidenced itself by a constant flow of company, made a failure of the venture. Here Major Basil C. Manly, a younger son of Governor Manly, lived both prior to and after his marriage to Miss Lucy Bryan. He was Captain of Manly's Battery and Major of Artillery in the Confederate Army. After the surrender he was Mayor of Raleigh. A true cavalier of the old régime, a brave soldier and genial Southern gentleman, Major Manly, like his distinguished father, was loved by all who knew him.

In April, 1865, Sherman's Army invaded "Ingleside," but did not demolish the buildings or apply the torch as they had done a few miles away. In 1870, after the death of Governor Manly, the plantation was sold for division and has since passed into a number of hands. At that time the tract contained one thousand and sixty acres.

A Federal officer with Sherman's army when "Ingleside" was ransacked, buried there twenty thousand dollars in silver and gold coin he had appropriated. He made a map of the spot, thinking he would return after peace was restored, but ill-health prevented, and nearly thirty years after he sent a friend to unearth the buried treasure. The place had changed and the fortune was never located. After several weeks of hard work, digging daily, he relinquished the search. That sum, as far as is known, has never been found but still remains hidden where the soldier placed it in 1865.

So after the passage of many years, "Ingleside" is again to become the abode of life as well as "a thing of beauty" when Mr. Bachelor's plans have materialized. It will be one of the attractions of the county, and those who know the cordial owner, his charming Kentucky wife and interesting young family look forward to the hospitality that will be dispensed there.

In preparing this article the writer is indebted to Mrs. John G. B. Grimes (who was Miss Helen Manly), Mr. W. P. Batchelor and Mr. Marshall DeLancey Haywood for information furnished. References used were: Colonial Records, Heitman's, Newspapers of that time, Will of Colonel Ingles.

Historical Book Reviews

CHRONICLES OF THE CAPE FEAR RIVER.

BY NINA HOLLAND COVINGTON.

"From early youth I have loved the Cape Fear, the ships and the sailors which it bears upon its bosom. As a boy I delighted to wander along the wharves where the sailing ships were moored with their graceful spars and rigging in relief against the sky line, with men aloft, whose uncouth cries and unknown tongues inspired me with a longing for the sea, which I afterwards followed, and for the far-away countries whence they had come."

So says Mr. James Sprunt in his foreword to the interesting and valuable volume, "Chronicles of the Cape Fear River," which is one of the recent additions to the books dealing with the history of certain sections of North Carolina, other volumes of like character being Miss Albertson's "In Ancient Albemarle" and "The History of Western North Carolina" by Mr. John P. Arthur.

It is eminently fitting that Mr. Sprunt should have undertaken to collect in book form the many historical and romantic incidents in which Wilmington and the surrounding Cape Fear region are so rich. For Mr. Sprunt, with, as he says, a deep love for this section in which he has lived for a number of years, having watched closely the growth and development of this portion of the State, and having also played a prominent part in the business life of "the city by the sea," is well qualified to compile such a book as this, and to make it both attractive and valuable.

He has collected in the volume legends, descriptions, historical articles and anecdotes of the Cape Fear section.

First, there is given a full account of the exploration and settlement of the region, and included in this part of the book is an interesting discussion of the Indians of the Cape Fear and of the Indian mounds of the section. Then

comes a review of the historical facts in connection with the colonial life of the Cape Fear and of the very active part taken by the people in the American Revolution. There is given also a list of the colonial members of the General Assembly and a description of the battles taking place near Wilmington. There is an excellent account of the settling of the Highlanders in North Carolina and a valuable selection, "Plantations on the Northeast River," by Dr. John Hampden Hill.

In the description of the building of the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad there are some delightfully quaint and amusing statements, such as "Timid apprehensions of danger were allayed by the official assurance upon the time-table, that under no circumstances will the cars be run after dark."

Under the section of "Notable Incidents," there are described the visits of Washington, Monroe, Polk, Fillmore, Taft and other celebrities. Old letters, diaries and newspaper clippings are quoted from to give contemporary descriptions of the visits of these famous persons, and particularly of the social functions which the hospitable and aristocratic Wilmingtonians gave in their honor.

Wilmington's famous duel is told in all its exciting detail, and decidedly one of the most attractive sections of the volume is "Old School Days in Wilmington," which is a description of one of the select schools for boys which used to be so numerous in the South. One paragraph is exceptionally interesting, for it gives the names of the boys who attended, and who as men were, and are, well known in the literary, commercial, and legal life of the State.

"Wednesday was given up to lessons and exhibitions in declamation. Bob McRee in 'Robert Emmet's Defense,' and Eugene Martin in 'The Sailor Boy's Dream' headed the list and melted us to tears. Clarence Martin, Junius Davis, Gilbert and Fred Kidder, Alexander and John London, Cecil Fleming, Duncan and Richard Moore, Platt D. Walker, John D. Barry, John Van Bokkelen, Willie Gus Wright, Levin

Lane, Griffith McRee, John Rankin, Tom Meares, Sam Peterson, Sonny West, Eddie and Tom DeRosset, Stephen and Willie Jewett, Willie Meares, Willie Lord, and others not now recalled, gave promise of undying fame in their fervid renditions of 'Sennacherib,' 'Marco Bozzaris,' Patrick Henry's 'Liberty or Death,' Mark Anthony's Oration over Cæsar's Dead Body, 'Kosciusko,' 'The Burial of Sir John Moore,' 'Hamlet's Soliloquy,' and 'Hohen Linden,' and John Walker and big Tom Wright divided honors on the immortal 'Casabianca.' Henry Latimer and the writer were tied on the same speech, and when the judge, Colonel Hall, decided in the former's favor, the unsuccessful contestant withdrew permanently from the arena."

In the section, "War Between the States," the troubles of the distressed seaport town, which played an important part in this struggle also, are clearly and pathetically told, with a touch of humor here and there to break the grimness of the narrative.

"Cape Fear Pilots" gives an account of the pilots who were among the very bravest men in the War Between the States, and of the exciting incidents in their life histories.

"Blockade Running" (with all its dangers and thrilling adventures) is the subject of another interesting chapter, while the volume closes with a well told account of the restoration of peace, the development and growth of Wilmington and of the section of the Cape Fear, showing the rapid strides made by this important port during the years following the Civil War.

Dr. Henderson, in his review in the July BOOKLET of Miss Albertson's "In Ancient Albemarle," voices the feelings of all true North Carolinians when he says in regard to the three books mentioned above: "These works, recently brought to my attention, have given me great cheer and caused me to rejoice in the historical activity in our midst." Surely literary activity in North Carolina seems to be on the increase, and headed by such a writer as Dr. Henderson himself, and

many others who are gaining fame in the State, and also outside of the State, we can all feel encouraged, and can begin to indignantly challenge the statement of the bard J. Gordon Coogler—a statement quoted sadly sometimes in the past, I believe by Dr. Henderson himself, that “The South never was much given to literature”—and proudly point to our recent productions and the promise of other works which are now in preparation, and which will soon also be given to an expectant reading public.

Genealogical Department

In this Department will appear hereafter the genealogies of North Carolina families. Letters bearing on this line of research are received constantly by THE BOOKLET, therefore space will be devoted to this subject with the hope that many may be benefited thereby.

Lewis, of Granville County, North Carolina:

Arms—Argent, a dragon's head and neck, erased vert, holding in the mouth a bloody hand, ppr.

Crest—A dragon's head and neck, erased vert, holding in the mouth a bloody hand.

Motto—Omne solum forti patria est.

Howell Lewis was born in Goochland County, Virginia, and removed to Granville County some years prior to the Revolution.*. He was the youngest child of Colonel Charles Lewis of "The Byrd Plantation," Goochland, and Mary Howell, his wife. He married Isabella, daughter of Colonel Henry Willis (the Founder of Fredericksburg,) Virginia, and his second wife, Mildred Washington. Their home near Oxford, North Carolina, is still standing. This "became the center of one of the most cultured and patrician circles of the State" (Watson). His will was probated at the February, 1814, term of the Granville Court. In it he mentions his children as follows (his wife died several years before):

1, Charles Lewis; 2, Willis Lewis; 3, Mildred Lewis, who married John Cobbs (changed later to Cobb). They moved to Georgia (Their children were: Howell Cobb, Secretary of the Treasury under Buchanan; Mary Willis Cobb; Mildred Cobb; Susannah Cobb; John Addison Cobb); 4, Isabella Lewis, who married a Jeffries; 5, Anne Lewis, who married a Morton; 6, Frances Lewis, who married Samuel Bugg and left, among other descendants, Mrs. Charles F. Farnsworth

*About 1756.

and Miss Frances Church, of Memphis, Tennessee, and Mrs. Richard Cheatham Plater, of Nashville, Tennessee; 7, Jane Lewis, who married David Hinton; 8, Mary Lewis, who married a Kennon. Howell Lewis, who married Betsy Coleman, of Goochland County, Virginia, is not mentioned in his father's will.

The Lewis family came originally from Wales to Virginia and by marriage came into possession of "Warner Hall," in Gloucester County, the famous seat of the Warners. The children of James Lewis, who married a Miss Taylor, also settled in Granville. Their line will appear in a later issue.

The Coat-of-Arms borne by the Willis family of Fredericksburg is:

Argent, three griffins passant sable; a bordure engrailed gules and besantee.

Crest—A griffin segreant holding a spear piercing a boar's head, sable.

Motto—Defende rectum.

Genealogical and Biographical Memoranda

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

PETER MITCHEL WILSON.

Mr. Wilson's article in this number of "THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET," entitled "George Edmund Badger, Secretary of the United States Navy," throws more light on a subject which will be read with interest by all our readers and to render it more interesting is to know something more of our native North Carolinian who has, years ago, removed to Washington City. He is now in the service of the United States Senate, where he has been since 1893, and is now its Chief Clerk.

Mr. Wilson was born at Warrenton, N. C., in 1848. He was the eldest son of Thomas Epps Wilson of Virginia, and Janet Mitchel, his wife, who was the great-granddaughter of Colonel William Person of Bute County, and a great-great niece of General Thomas Person, who was appointed, for his patriotic services, one of the first brigadier generals by the State Congress, and was complimented afterwards by having a county named for him. His liberality towards the University, in bestowing a munificent donation, caused a hall to be erected at Chapel Hill, which still bears his name.

Mr. Wilson received his early education in the Warrenton Male Academy and the Bingham School until they were closed by the instructors becoming captains in the Confederate Army; he was two years at the University of North Carolina just before its suspension; he took the degree of M. A. at the University of Edinburgh. He was Reading Clerk of the State Senate in 1876-'77; was city editor of the Raleigh Observer under E. J. Hale, William L. Saunders and Capt. Sam'l A. Ashe, filling all these positions satisfactorily. For a time he was Secretary to the State Board of Agriculture, and

under it represented the State at the Atlanta, Boston, New Orleans and Chicago Expositions. Through his efficiency, stalwart honor, exactness and affability, Mr. Wilson's services were continually in demand. After his appointment as Assistant Clerk of the Disbursing Office of the United States Senate he found the work suited to his taste, therefore, he settled at Washington.

Mr. Wilson married Miss Ellen Williams Hale, eldest daughter of the late Peter M. and Mary Badger Hale, and they have one daughter, Mary Badger Wilson.

Mr. Wilson's advantages for education were unusually good; with parents ambitious for the best the State afforded, Warrenton Male Academy, Bingham's, the University, and Edinburgh, he improved his opportunities and the positions he has held attest his success. The schools which he had the privilege of attending were among the oldest in the State. Warrenton Male Academy dates from 1786, when an Act was passed by the Legislature for erecting an Academy for the education of youth; Bingham's School began as early as 1800, and continues to this day, and the University was provided for in the Constitution of 1776, and chartered in 1789. The growth of all these institutions has been steady and sure, excepting a shortage of students during the period of the War Between the States. Mr. Wilson is an ardent advocate of these North Carolina institutions, and uses his influence for their continued success.

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This list of subjects may be changed, as circumstances sometimes prevent the writers from keeping their engagements.

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Editor North Carolina Booklet,

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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

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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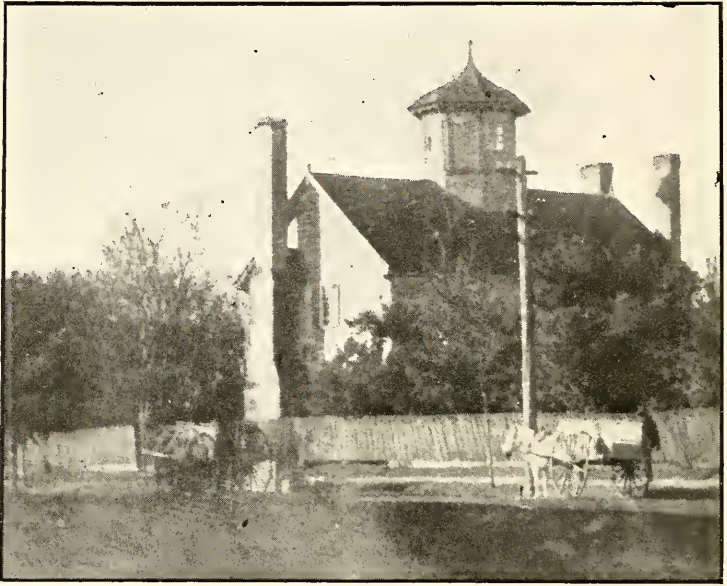
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No. 4

The Secession Convention of 1861

By KEMP P. BATTLE, LL.D.
(The last survivor.)

INTRODUCTORY.

I have experienced a melancholy interest in preparing this summary of the proceedings of the "Secession Convention" of 1861. A more able and high-toned body of men has never been assembled in the State. They were among the leaders in their counties and "given to good works." Many had won high distinction in the service of the State. All in the decision of the most difficult questions acted, I am persuaded, with a sincere desire to do right. My friend John Gilchrist McCormick, while at our University, with commendable industry and accuracy prepared sketches of the delegates, those first elected and those who filled vacancies, including the principal officers, 139 in number. They are published in a pamphlet, No. 1, of the James Sprunt Historical Monographs, by the University of North Carolina. Of all the number only two survive, as I am informed.* William S. Battle and myself, "Battle of Edgecombe" and "Battle of Wake."

In the Monograph, Mr. McCormick makes the following interesting statement, "Out of the total enrollment sixty-seven had the advantage in whole or in part, of a college education. If we add sixteen physicians, who had taken a professional, but not a literary course, the total number reaches eighty-three."

The following is a full and, I feel sure, an accurate statement of the work of this important body, as gathered from the Journal and my memory.

KEMP P. BATTLE.

*Since writing the above William S. Battle died, leaving myself the only survivor.

CALL OF THE CONVENTION AND ORGANIZATION.

Between 1850 and 1860 it became evident that a minority of the people of North Carolina intended to break the constitutional compact of 1787. They believed that to secure this it was necessary to secede from the Union and set up a separate government. They were known as "Original Secessionists." The majority of our people, while they viewed with indignation the resolve of the majority of the Northern States to deprive citizens of the slave-holding States of the right to carry their property into the common territory and to disregard the constitutional right to recover runaway slaves, they were of the opinion that there was no legal right to secede from the Union, and secondly, that the rights of the South could be secured without resort to measures which would lead to war. War, they contended, would cause not only the usual horrible results but would end in the destruction of slave property. They were called Union men. They argued, however, that there was no constitutional right to coerce by force of arms a seceding State back into the Union, and that if such attempt should be made they would fight against it.

The Secessionists, Governor Ellis being a chief leader, as early as December, 1860, agitated to induce the General Assembly to call a Convention of the people with full powers, so as to be ready for all contingencies. The Unionists were afraid of giving to a small body of 120 men the power over such tremendous issues, especially as the Secessionists were exceedingly active, and they therefore provided for a vote of the people on the question of Convention or no Convention. The Act was passed January 1, 1861, and on the 28th of February the people by a majority of less than one thousand refused to call the Convention and the election of delegates was void.

On the 15th of April, President Lincoln called for troops to enforce United States laws in the South. Governor Ellis

refused and summoned the General Assembly together. On the 1st day of May that body called an unrestricted Convention to be elected on the 13th, to meet on the 20th, a notable date in the history of the State. The members of the Assembly were under great excitement. Battle, of Wake, in a speech, as member of the Convention, showed that they conferred on Governor Ellis the power to appoint 565 officers, including a Major and three Brigadier-Generals, 14 Colonels, 13 Lieutenant-Colonels, 34 Majors, 133 Captains, etc., etc., their salaries amounting to \$769,344 per annum.

When the roll was called on May 20, 1861, 117 answered to their names, only three being necessarily absent, but afterwards allowed to vote as if present. There were at first practically three parties. 1. The Original Secessionists. 2. Those who had been Union men, but temporarily, so angry against the war party of the North that they for many days acted with the Secessionists, and 3. "Old Union Men," who, although they had resolved to aid in resisting coercion to the fullest extent, could not admit that secession was a remedy authorized by the Constitution. They too believed that President Davis and Governor Ellis in appointment of officers had largely discriminated against those of their way of thinking. The Act of Assembly for raising ten regiments gave the appointment of all the regimental officers to the Governor.

The first act of the Convention was, of course, the election of a President. The Original Secessionist nominated was Weldon N. Edwards, whose middle name was in honor of his radically States-rights relative Nathaniel Macon. The old Union man nominated was William A. Graham. Edwards was elected 65 to 48, nearly all of the minority belonging to the third class above mentioned. The first and second classes were of the majority. The expression, "let us show a united front with the Confederate States" was commonly heard. A few were sanguine enough to hope that by such a united front the Northern people would do justice in order

to avoid war. And some wrongheaded men said: "Show we will fight and the Northerners will back down; they are cowards." But these were not delegates.

PASSAGE OF ORDINANCE OF SECESSION.

Immediately after the election of President and Secretary, Col. W. S. Steele, Mr. Badger, on behalf of those who did not believe in the legal right of secession, offered an elaborate Ordinance of Revolution, entitled, "An Ordinance declaring the Separation of North Carolina from the United States of America." The hot words of the preamble show how the Republican party at the North had alienated and angered the people of the South. The whole paper bristles with vituperation and hate. Omitting much verbiage I quote enough of its language to give an idea of its spirit. The Republican party, it was alleged, is hostile to the institutions of the Southern States. North Carolina "remained in the Union hoping to obtain security for our rights and to keep all the States in a fraternal union. While indulging this hope Lincoln called upon the States, under false pretense of executing the laws, to march an army into the seceded States, with the view of their subjection, under military authority without legal or constitutional right." "It is the fixed purpose of the government and people of the non-slaveholding States to wage a cruel war against the seceded States, to destroy the finest portion of this continent, and to reduce its inhabitants to abject slavery." Lincoln "in violation of the Constitution declared our ports under blockade, seeking to cut off our trade. His course has been marked by a succession of false and treacherous acts and declarations, proving that in his dealings with Southern States and Southern men he is void of faith and honor." "In all his wicked and diabolical purposes, in his unconstitutional, illegal and oppressive acts, and in his position of usurper and military dictator, he is supported by the great body of people of the North."

The foregoing abusive epithets, all the more notable because Mr. Badger was of a conservative temperament generally, were the preamble to the Ordinance, not of Secession, but of Revolution, the right that the Colonies exercised when they broke off from Great Britain. It was declared that "the connection between North Carolina and the United States was dissolved. This State is free, sovereign and independent, owing no obedience or other duty to the United States, and has full power to do all things which independent States may do. Appealing to the Supreme Governor of the world for the justice of our cause we will to the uttermost of our power uphold this declaration."

Mr. Badger demanded a vote on this ordinance, as soon as the President and Secretary, Walter L. Steele, were elected. This was objected to because the Sergeant-at-Arms and other officers had not been chosen, but he contended that no rules of order had been adopted, and therefore the Convention was ready for business as soon as there was a head to direct and a hand to record. This view prevailed but by general consent the vote was not taken until after Leonidas C. Edwards became Assistant Clerk; James Page, Principal Doorkeeper, William R. Lovell, John C. Moore and Drury King, Assistants.

Mr. Burton Craige offered as a substitute for the Badger Ordinance, one approved by those who had faith in the constitutional right of secession, said to have been drawn by Judah P. Benjamin for Louisiana. As it is short I copy it in full.

AN ORDINANCE DISSOLVING THE UNION BETWEEN THE STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA AND THE OTHER STATES UNITED WITH HER UNDER THE COMPACT OF GOVERNMENT, ENTITLED "THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES."

"WE, THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA, IN CONVENTION ASSEMBLED, DO DECLARE AND ORDAIN, ETC.

"That the ordinance adopted by North Carolina in the Convention of 1789, whereby the Constitution of the United

States was ratified and adopted; and also all acts and parts of acts of the General Assembly, ratifying and adopting amendments to the said Constitution, are hereby repealed, rescinded and abrogated."

"We do further declare and ordain, that the Union now subsisting between the State of North Carolina and the other States, under the title of the United States of America, is hereby dissolved, and the State of North Carolina is in full possession and exercise of all those rights of sovereignty which belong and appertain to a free and independent State."

It will be noticed that here are no abusive epithets. The ordinance is a clear, bold, statesmanlike exercise of sovereign power.

The proceedings were interrupted by the introduction of the Delegate from South Carolina, Hon. Franklin J. Moses, commissioned to lay before the Convention the Ordinance of Secession of that State. It differs from the Craige ordinance in omitting the words declaring the possession of right of sovereignty belonging to independent States.

Mr. Moses made a strong speech from the South Carolina point of view. He was a man of high standing, but was the father of F. J. Moses, who gained a bad reputation as Governor of South Carolina in Reconstruction days.

After the address of Mr. Moses, ex-Chief Justice Ruffin moved that both ordinances be referred to a committee to report an Ordinance of Separation. This failed by five votes, 44 to 49.

The next motion was to strike out the Badger Ordinance, which passed by a large majority, 72 to 40.

Judge Ruffin then offered as a substitute, an ordinance, penned by himself, ordaining that the Union be dissolved, and that the State is free and independent, but not repealing the ordinance of 1789 and acts of Assembly amending the Constitution. This failed by 49 to 66.

The old Union men, and those who thought secession as a constitutional right a legal heresy, having thus recorded their

views in their votes on the Badger "Ordinance of Revolution" and the Ruffin amendment, not claiming the right to repeal the measures of adhesion to the Federal Constitution, deeming it patriotic to present an undivided front, waived their scruples and voted for the Craige Ordinance, passing it by a majority of 115 to 0.

Mr. Badger yielded with reluctance, left the hall and withheld his vote until next day. The result was celebrated by the firing of cannon in Capitol Square. Many expressed their rejoicing in jubilant terms, but there were not lacking faces gloomy from the consciousness of the momentous task on which we had entered.

Mr. Whitford moved the adoption of a State Flag. A blue field with a white V thereon, and a star, encircling which shall be the words, surgit astrum, May 20, 1775. Referred to a committee of seven.

Mr. Thomas P. Meares then offered a resolution that the Convention at once should adopt the Provisional Constitutional of the Confederate States, which had been agreed to February 8, 1861, by South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana. Mr. Graham, in behalf of those who thought best not to enter into a new government without proper safe-guards, moved to adjourn. Lost, 39 to 64. Mr. R. P. Dick moved to refer it to a vote of the people, but the Convention refused to concur, 34 to 72.

It was then passed unanimously.

Hon. Abram W. Venable then offered an ordinance providing that "North Carolina assents to and ratifies the Constitution of the Confederate States of America, adopted at Montgomery, Alabama, March 11, 1861, by Conventions of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina and Texas, and agrees to enter into a Federal association of States on the terms proposed." This by consent was laid over for further consideration. A night session was held on the 21st, when, in presence of many spectators, all the members, by counties signed the Secession Ordinance, elegantly enrolled on parchment.

JOINING THE CONFEDERACY.

The ordinance to adopt the permanent Constitution of the Confederate States was passed on the 6th of June, 1861. Ex-Governor Graham's motion to adopt a proviso that due representation should be given to this State in Presidential and Congressional elections was negatived by a two-thirds vote, the majority thinking that it would imply distrust of the fairness of the new government. Mr. Dick's motion to submit the question of adoption to a vote of the people failed by nearly the same vote. An amendment offered by Hon. W. S. Ashe claiming the right to secede if the powers conferred should be used to the injury of North Carolina was lost by 88 to 24. After the ordinance was unanimously passed the Ashe declaration was brought up again. A motion to lay it on the table failed by a tie vote. It was not called up again, probably because Mr. Ashe was appointed by President Davis to take charge of the railroad system and resigned his seat.

LEGISLATION.

It is impossible for want of space to give a full history of the general legislation. A mere outline is only practicable. Rules of Order, based on those of 1835, but with material additions were adopted. Mr. Badger was the leader in Parliamentary law. Next to him was Mr. Graham. President Edwards was also an expert. He was overruled only twice during his term. First, where a day's notice of a motion to adjourn had been given, a motion to rescind it did not require an additional day's notice. He ruled to the contrary. Second. A motion to rescind a resolution of adjournment did not require three readings, as the President decided.

The following rulings, the reason for which were clearly given by Mr. Badger, are useful. While the motion to reconsider must by the adopted rules only be made by one of those who passed the measure, if the yeas and nays have not been called, any member may move a reconsideration. That is,

if the record does not show the names of those voting, for and against, all are presumed to vote aye. We must go by the journal.

The presiding officer, if he thinks a motion unobjectionable, and no one demands a second, may presume it, and put the motion without it.

On the 27th of June, 1861, the State troops, etc., were transferred to the Confederate Government. Also forts, light-houses, mint in Charlotte and arsenal in Fayetteville. Fifty dollars bounty was offered for volunteers for three years of the war. Various other provisions were made which I will not enumerate.

A State Flag was adopted. A red field with a white star in the centre. Above the star May 20, 1775; below it May 20, 1861. Two bars of equal width, the upper blue, the lower white.

May 21, 1861, Governor Ellis reported 10,717 volunteers. The ten regiments enlisted for the war had not been entirely raised. He estimated 15,350 troops needed for defence to cost \$6,625,000 per annum. It was certain that the Confederate Government will accept and pay twelve regiments of infantry, one of artillery and one of cavalry, leaving \$3,120,968 to be paid by this State.

Of the officers of the United States, 35 were appointed from North Carolina; 14 tendered their services to this State.

Major T. H. Holmes, Captain R. C. Gatlin, R. G. Campbell, Robert Ransom, First Lieutenants: George B. Anderson, W. D. Pender, R. H. Riddick. Second Lieutenants: Joseph R. Jones, Sol Williams, Alexander McRae, Lawrence S. Baker, Gabriel H. Hill, S. D. Ramseur, R. C. Hill. Besides these, Captain John C. Winder, Major James A. Bradford and Lieutenant W. G. Robison had already tendered their services.

Of the cadets of the Military Academy A. S. Moore, J. E. Craige, G. S. Lovejoy, O. C. Petway, P. H. Faison, G. W. Clayton, R. B. Cowan, J. W. Lee; of those in the Naval

Academy W. F. Moore, T. S. Galloway, ——— Fish; of the officers of the United States Navy, Commanders John Manning and W. T. Muse; Lieutenants J. T. Cook, W. E. Boudinot, J. N. Maffit, P. U. Murphy, Paymaster J. Johnson, Professor A. W. Lawrence, Lieutenant of Marines, W. W. Kirkland and Master ——— Kerr; Third Lieutenant in Revenue Service M. W. Brown.

Steamers Albemarle and Ellis were purchased and Kenabec chartered for the State.

Early in June, 1861, ex-Judge Ruffin and ex-Governor Graham were appointed a committee to arrange for the transfer of the forces of the State. There was a difference of opinion as to the right of appointing officers but the claim of the President prevailed, The ordinance of transfer was ratified June 27, 1861.

Provision was made for calling for volunteers to meet the requisition of the Confederate authorities but these were all superseded by the conscriptions acts of Congress.

On motion of an "old Union" man, Hamilton C. Jones, on December 6, 1861, the Convention passed a resolution of confidence in the Confederate cause, readiness to submit to all sacrifices and denouncing the cruelty and barbarism of our adversaries.

The Friends (Quakers) were allowed exemption from military service on payment of \$100 each.

Three million, two hundred thousand dollars was appropriated to meet the demands of the Treasury for two years. Three million of treasury notes were authorized, one-half \$5s, one-fourth \$10s and one-fourth \$20s. In 1863, \$2,000,000 more were authorized, \$8,000,000 \$5s; \$7,000,000 \$10s; \$500,000 in \$20s, and in addition \$10,000 in five cents and \$10,000 in ten cents. The manufacture of spirituous liquors was prohibited after February 21, 1862, not as a temperance measure, but to save grain for food.

A Board of Claims against the State was created. Messrs. B. F. Moore, S. F. Phillips and Patrick Henry Winston, of Bertie, all Old Union men, were chosen.

The manufacture of salt out of sea water was undertaken. Dr. John M. Worth, was elected Superintendent. State Geologist Dr. Emmons reported that the French consume fourteen pounds to each individual per annum, the English twenty-two, and North Carolina comes between the two. Employees were exempt from military duty. The products were distributed freely by the County Justices. Any one re-selling State salt was guilty of a misdemeanor. Power of impressment of free negroes was given to the Superintendent, also the power of condemning the necessary land.

The ordinance proposed by ex-Governor Graham as a substitute, offering one dollar a bushel for 1,000 pounds, failed to pass.

An ordinance carefully drawn by Mr. Badger endeavored to put a stop to speculation in the necessities of life, i. e., forestalling and regrating. It was passed with the exception of the clause dispensing with grand juries. If it had any effect it was not known.

Railroads from Washington, North Carolina, to Tarboro; from Florence, South Carolina, to Fayetteville, and Greensboro to Danville, were chartered, and amendment to the railroad from Fayetteville to the coal fields of Chatham, and from Raleigh to the same, were granted. The Sapona Iron Company was allowed to mine iron in the same valley.

The Convention accepted from Colonel Wharton J. Green a marble bust of John C. Calhoun.

Resolutions discountenancing party spirit, aimed at the supposed partiality of the Confederate and State administrations in favor of original secessionists, were offered but failed. Mr. Gilmer moved a resolution to appoint Colonels G. E. B. Singletary and Z. B. Vance Brigadier-Generals, but did not press to a vote.

Much excitement was caused by the report that the Confederate Government contemplated seizing the arms of the people. Also that Isaiah Respass and other citizens, not in the military service, had been removed to Richmond. Mr. Badger offered strong resolutions against both movements. There was hot discussion. Effort was made to cut off this discussion by a motion to adjourn, but it failed by a two-thirds vote. After divers excited speeches made, adjournment was agreed to, and satisfactory action being taken by the authorities, the subjects were dropped.

Authority was given to cities and towns to prohibit the sale of spirituous liquors within the corporate limits or within a mile thereof, probably the first prohibition law in our State history.

Notwithstanding the vigorous opposition of Colonel William H. Thomas, the agent of the Cherokees, the Act allowing Indians to testify for or against whites, was repealed by a two-thirds vote.

The Commissioners of Wilmington were authorized to borrow money for fortifying the city and obstructing the river, with the consent of the Confederate officer in command. The same privilege was extended to New Berne and Washington and to any other town which might ask for it.

Authority over the acts of the General Assembly was claimed and exercised.

On motion of W. W. Holden the Convention gave the first official recognition of the "patriotic ardor of the ladies of the State, which they have exhibited in behalf of the country in the prosecution of the war."

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS.

Under the Provisional Constitution of the Confederate States the Convention elected the following delegates. For the State at large, William W. Avery and George Davis. For the Districts, William N. H. Smith, Colonel Thomas

Ruffin, of Wayne; Thomas S. D. McDowell, Abram Venable, John M. Morehead, Richard C. Puryear, Burton Craige and Allen T. Davidson.

The old Union men had before this election become dissatisfied with the attitude of the original secessionists and their recruits. The old proverb, "politics make strange bed-fellows" was never more clearly proved to be true than when a caucus was held in Holden's parlor, with ex-Governor Graham presiding. Those of us who attended recalled in memory the many hard things *The Standard* had said of the public acts of the distinguished Chairman. The caucus nominated Bedford Brown and H. W. Miller for the State at large, and W. N. H. Smith, George Green, W. F. Leak, Archibald Arrington, J. M. Morehead, R. C. Puryear, W. R. Myers, R. T. Davidson, for the Districts. The original Secessionists nominated W. W. Avery and George Davis for the State at large and R. H. Smith, Thomas Ruffin, of Wayne; T. S. D. McDowell, A. Venable, J. W. Cunningham, R. L. Patterson, B. Craige and N. W. Woodfin. There were enough independent members to elect men from both tickets. Those chosen were Messrs. W. W. Avery and George Davis, for the State at large, and W. N. H. Smith, Thomas Ruffin, of Wayne; T. S. D. McDowell, Abram Venable, J. M. Morehead, R. C. Puryear, Burton Craige and A. T. Davidson, for the Districts.

SECRET SESSIONS.

Secret sessions were sometimes held, mainly concerning the danger to the tide-water sections. There was fear of a stampede of the slaves to the Federal Army, as soon as there was an invasion of our coasts. Complaints were vigorous of the withdrawal of troops from threatened points. Some counselled the removal of slaves from the coastal countries, Mr. William Pettigrew stated that when he called up his slaves for transportation to the up-country they fled to the swamps. He afterwards persuaded them to change their

abode and, after the close of the war, was utterly unable to assist their return. Much mournful speech was uttered in the secret sessions, but little effectual was done; nothing could be done. The chief speakers were Messrs. Speed, F. B. Satherthwaite, K. Rayner, R. H. Smith, Spruill, Pettigrew and Woodfin. These were good speakers and being intensely in earnest, were eloquent in depicting the dangers threatening their counties. But the duty of protection had been transferred to the Confederate Government. The members were sympathetic but waited in vain for practical proposals of relief.

DEFEATED ORDINANCES.

The following proposed ordinances failed to meet favor. Some of them show the excited spirit among many members.

1. Allowing free negroes to enslave themselves.
2. *Debtors in prison bounds to go free during the war.
3. †Selling cotton yarns for over \$1.50 for five pounds a misdemeanor.
4. Creating a Minister of War.
5. To repeal the Stay Law, passed by the General Assembly. The vote was close, 54 to 52.
6. To deprive the courts of all civil jurisdiction during the war. Also to give the Superior Court judges the power of calling criminal courts at their pleasure for the trial of felonies.
7. A self denying ordinance, prohibiting a member of the Convention from holding any office.

A committee, of which Judge Asa Biggs was Chairman, reported an ordinance which reminds us of the stern temper of the days of Cromwell. This was to make seditious language criminal, and requiring a stringent test vote to be

*Debtors could be released unless fraudulently concealing their property.

†This was introduced by Major W. A. Smith, who whispered to me, "That is for Johnston County. You will never hear of the d——d thing any more."

taken of all males, except volunteers in the army, under a penalty of banishment or disfranchisement. Judge Biggs was leader for the affirmative and ex-Governor Graham for the negative.

Each of the following offenses was declared a high misdemeanor, punishable with fine and imprisonment, with obligation to give good security for three years.

1. Attempting to convey intelligence to the enemy.
2. Publishing and deliberately speaking or writing against our public defense.
3. Maliciously and advisedly endeavoring to excite the people to resist the Government of this State or of the Confederate States.
4. Or persuading them to return to a dependence on the United States.
5. Knowingly spreading false and dispiriting news.
6. Maliciously and advisedly terrifying and discouraging the people for enlisting into the service of the Confederate States.
7. Stirring up or exciting tumults, disorders, or insurrections in this State.
8. Disposing the people to favor the enemy.
9. Opposing or endeavoring to prevent the measures carrying on in support of the freedom and independence of the Confederate States.

Two or more credible, or "other sufficient evidence," were sufficient to convict.

One witness could charge a person with the commission of any of the foregoing offenses, and a Judge or Justice of the Peace must bind him to appear at Court, or for want of security commit him to prison.

It shows deep bitterness of feeling against those supposed to be favorable to the United States. When we note these proposed laws, capable of tyrannical suppression of free speech, and even of free thought, as evil as the laws of the most despotic and cruel governments, received the votes of

twenty-nine good men, who in quiet times were lovers of liberty and as much opposed to despotism as the forty-five who voted to indefinitely postpone the whole subject, we realize the hot temper of the times.

The next proposition to rid the State of opponents of the Confederate Government was to require an oath, called the Test-oath, of all free males, except volunteers in the army, idiots, lunatics and prisoners of war, first of allegiance to the State, secondly, that they will defend the independence of the Confederate States; third, renounce allegiance to the United States; fourth, to support the Confederate States and this State. If they should refuse, the Court may order him to leave the State within thirty days. If allowed to remain they would be disqualified to hold office. If they should not leave the State when ordered, they were to be sent at their own expense. If they should return they would be guilty of treason, punishable with death.

The speech of ex-Governor Graham against this proposal was very able and was published in pamphlet form. The best on the other side was perhaps that of Mr. Biggs. Only twenty-two voted aye against forty-five noes. Mr. Rayner then moved an ordinance to define and punish seditious language, which failed by forty-five to twenty-nine.

A proposal to confiscate the property of those abandoning the State, or being residents of another State should not return, was also willed.

The proposal to have an Executive Council with dictatorial powers over persons and property was also voted down.

Among the propositions of an interesting nature which met with no favor, was one to have no amendment to the Constitution except by a Convention, so that there shall be no submission of a legislative amendment to the people.

The requirement of *viva voce* voting instead of by ballots, received only the vote of the mover, Mr. Howard.

Mr. Bridgers' motion that no law should be passed except by a majority of all the members of each house, received thirty-seven votes, but there were forty-four against it.

Mr. Woodfin's motion to make Federal population, instead of taxation, the basis of the Senate obtained nineteen votes—sixty-two against it.

The ordinance to elect judges by the people was voted down.

CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES.

Some amendments to the Constitution were adopted from time to time.

1. The definition and punishment of treason, following the Federal Constitution.

2. Taxation of slaves according to value.

3. Poll tax on free males, between the ages of twenty-one and forty-five, and that to be the same as the tax on \$300 value of land.

4. Jews were allowed to hold office. The prohibition was confined to those denying the divine authority of both the Old and New Testament.

5. One-fifth of members of Conventions and General Assemblies required to call for a vote by yeas and nays. Two members could do this under prior constitutions.

6. Six months' residence in counties required of voters for Senators.

Besides there were others to end with the war. First. To allow soldiers of the State to vote wherever they might be. Secondly. Also refugees to vote in any county. Thirdly. Requirement of election for Governor on first Thursday in August, 1863, was of course only for one occasion, the first election of Governor Vance.

ABORTIVE EFFORTS TO REVISE THE CONSTITUTION.

A considerable number of the delegates endeavored to secure important amendments to the Constitution. To that end they procured the appointment of strong committees to report the changes that should be made. The final adjournment of the Convention prevented the consideration of their

reports, but they are interesting as showing the views of able lawyers and men of business. The Committee on the Declaration of Rights, Mr. W. J. Ellison, Chairman, and Badger, Holmes, Ruffin, of Alamance, and Dick, made a few recommendations, "on account of the reverence and veneration due to it." They opposed any alterations in regard to the free negroes. They added what many supposed was already a part of it, "nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb."

Also, "Nor shall right or justice be sold, denied or delayed to any one, nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation."

They recommended the striking out of the section relating to the boundary of the State, as it was inaccurate; moreover such description is out of place in a declaration of principles.

On the Legislative Department were Messrs Graham, Chairman; Rayner, Smith, of Halifax; Strong, Meares, Brown, Foster, of Randolph; Caldwell, of Rowan, McDowell, of Bladen; Woodfin.

Among their recommendations were the following:

The General Assembly may disfranchise for bribery.

No high officer of a corporation, in which the State is a stockholder to be member of the General Assembly. Nor shall anyone not entitled to vote be a member.

A majority of all members of each house necessary to appropriate as much as \$500.

The public debt limited to \$20,000,000, unless in war or insurrection.

Jews may hold office (already adopted).

Treason against the State defined.

The Committee on the Executive Department consisted of Messrs. Howard, Chairman; Dillard (Richard), Green, Leak, of Richmond; Arrington, Gilmer, Headen, Miller, Galloway, Greenlee. They reported that the Governor should own at least \$5,000, of which \$2,000, should be realty. The term of office to be three years, not to be eligible to a second

consecutive term. To have veto power over revenue and appropriation bills, two-thirds required to pass over veto. The office of Lieutenant-Governor to be created.

The Committee on the Judicial Department were Messrs. Ruffin, of Alamance; Biggs, Battle, of Edgecombe; Sanders, Strange, Bridgers, Kittrell, Johnston, Mitchell, McDowell, of Madison. They recommended that the Supreme Court be a Chief Justice and three Associate Justices; two terms at Raleigh; the General Assembly may provide for more than two terms of the Superior Courts in a county, and if so they may increase the terms of Courts of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, their name to be changed to County Courts. Three Justices of the Peace for one thousand inhabitants, to be elected by the County Courts, to own in the county a freehold assessed for taxes for \$100. Justices to be removed for conviction of infamous crime, corruption or misdemeanor in office. The General Assembly may establish Courts in cities and towns with civil jurisdiction.

The Committee on Taxation, Revenue and Public Debt were Messrs. Ruffin, of Alamance; Smith, of Halifax; Pettigrew, Thomas, of Jackson; Bridgers, Biggs, Mitchell, McDowell, of Madison. They recommended taxation of slaves, the same as land, the limitation of the public debt to be \$20,000,000, except in war, etc. No public debt without taxation to pay interest and create a sinking fund.

Finding that the Convention would not consider a general revision of the Constitution, ex-Governor Graham proposed a Special Convention for the purpose, but he obtained only twenty-four votes.

ORATORY AND BEHAVIOR.

According to my recollection, ex-Governor Graham's speech on the Test-oath was the ablest delivered in the Convention. A short attack by Mr. Saterthwaite against Soldiers' Suffrage, and one by Mr. C. R. Thomas, on his resolution discountenancing Party Spirit had the clearest ring of elo-

quence. Other strong and frequent speakers were Messrs. G. E. Badger, D. A. Barnes, Asa Biggs, R. P. Dick, D. D. Ferebee, George Green, George Howard, William Lander, J. W. Osborne, W. S. Pettigrew, K. Rayner, Ruffin, of Alamance; D. Schenck, F. B. Saterthwaite, R. H. Smith, R. K. Speed, S. B. Spruill, E. A. Thompson, E. J. Warren, N. W. Woodfin.

The following spoke occasionally, some of them ably, all interestingly and to the point. Messrs. K. P. Battle, B. Brown, B. Craige, W. J. Ellison, J. A. Gilmer, R. Gorrell, T. R. Hargrove, J. H. Headen, H. C. Jones, W. F. Leak, W. J. Long, T. S. D. McDowell, R. S. Donnell, J. Manning, G. Mebane, W. J. F. Miller, W. M. Shipp, W. A. Smith, R. Strange, G. V. Strong, C. R. Thomas, J. W. Tracy, A. W. Venable, J. D. Whitford.

It must be admitted that too much time was consumed in debates. Quite a number of members were so much experienced in public business, with such reputation in the State that, without working for any personal object, they felt bound to express their views on almost every question coming up. This very great supply of oratorical power led to lengthened debates, the speakers feeling bound to maintain their reputations.

The discussions were generally in good temper. One clash however created amusement to all but the participants. Two venerable men, ex-Judge Ruffin and ex-Senator Bedford Brown, had a short interchange of angry sarcasm. They had adjoining seats and when their passage at arms was over, they sat back to back, irritation being apparent on their countenances. Their friends during the recess made explanations and friendship was renewed.

At another time a prominent delegate used to an eminent elderly member loud and hectoring language, in fact, irritated by interruption, ordered him to take his seat. The latter indignantly, but without threatening a blow, strode towards his adversary. There was a general shudder at the

possibility of two distinguished men disgracefully coming to blows. Judge W. M. Shipp quickly, but firmly, stepped between the two and gave the needed moment for reflection. I feel sure that the offended delegate did not intend a blow but only resentment against the improper language which had been addressed to him. The offender afterwards tendered an earnest apology, explaining that a sick headache caused intense nervousness.

The usual temper of the members was of a serious nature. The members were impressed with the magnitude of the task the State had assumed, and the uncertainties of the future. On one occasion, however, there was an outburst of merriment. A delegate, a preacher, made a speech with the mournfulness of utterance and excited gesticulation usual at old-fashioned camp meetings. Another delegate, an amiable and able man, who had recently more than usual interviews with old John Barleycorn, at the close of the war sermon, stepped forward and shouted, "Mr. Speaker: I move that the front benches be set apart for the mourners!" There was a universal roar, and for several minutes the responsibilities of legislation were forgotten.

There were two occasions when the general excitement caused a cessation of business for several minutes. This first was General D. H. Hill's dispatch to the Governor announcing the victory of Big Bethel, with the loss of one killed and six wounded on the Confederate side, while the enemy stated their loss at 150. Men who went wild over this skirmish, as if its success would bring the Union authorities to terms, learned to be comparatively cool over the great victories of Manasses and Chancellorsville. The report was made to Governor Ellis because the troops had not been transferred to the Confederacy. General Hill piously adds: "Our Heavenly Father has wonderfully interposed to shield our heads in the day of battle." Governor Ellis in transmitting the victory asked and obtained the privilege of thanking the gallant commander and the brave officers and men. On

motion of Colonel Spruill a committee was appointed to illuminate the capitol and grounds in honor of the "brilliant victory," which project was not carried out. Long afterwards the patriotic ardor of the ladies caused a bronze statue of the slain private to be erected in the Capitol Square. Countless orators have paid tribute to North Carolina as "First at Bethel and last at Appomattox."

The second occasion when the members lost their heads was when Roanoke Island was captured. There was a mild panic for a few minutes. Some advocated an immediate adjournment. Some looked as if there was imminent danger of Burnside's cavalry making a dash on Raleigh. But the cooler-headed members soon brought the rattleheads to respectable order. Colonel R. R. Bridgers was the first to show coolness.

It is surprising to note the ignorance of even intelligent Southerners of the power and resources of the United States. The Convention requested of Governor Ellis information as to the alleged "landing of foreign troops on the coast of North Carolina." On June 10, 1861, he answered that the rumor was untrue and then added, "If our batteries are properly served, a fact of which I could entertain no doubt, the power of the United States Navy is not sufficient to effect an entrance into anyone of the harbors of the State."

"In the following December the Convention expressed their undiminished confidence in the officers and soldiers, who, after a long and severe bombardment, were compelled to surrender to an overwhelming force, the inadequate defenses of Hatteras." The Convention thought that the batteries were well served, but the defences were not adequate. The truth is that the batteries were well constructed under the supervision of Colonel Elwood Morris, a very able civil engineer, but could not resist the tremendous artillery of the great fleets of the United States.

SESSIONS AND DISSOLUTION.

The large majority of the more distinguished members had the public confidence. The legislation was conservative and wise. And yet evidently the people had come to the conclusion that they ought to give way to the General Assembly, the regular constitutional law-making body. The ultra-secessionists favored dissolution, partly because they had lost control of the Convention, and partly because they thought that the majority were somewhat disposed to criticise too severely the action of the Confederate authorities. The argument that the majority of the people desired dissolution was fatal to longer continuance.

There were four sessions of the Convention. First. May 20 to June 28, 1861; second, November 18, 1861 to December 13, 1861; third, January 20 to February 26, 1862; fourth, April 21 to May 13, 1862. There was no adjournment *sine die* on this latter date, but a resolution was passed allowing President Edwards, and in event of his death, Messrs. Graham, Howard, Badger, Smith, of Halifax; and Rayner, or a majority of them, to call the Convention together at any time prior to November 1, 1862, and that, if not so called prior to that date, it should stand adjourned *sine die*. It was known that the President was opposed to another meeting, and that, if he should not die, May 13, 1862, was practically the day of final adjournment, but legally the Convention did not expire until the first day of November, 1862.

ROLL OF DELEGATES ELECTED TO THE CONVENTION OF 1861
AND OF THOSE WHO FILLED VACANCIES.

Alamance—Thomas Ruffin, Giles Mebane.

Alexander—Azariah C. Stewart (died), Alexander M. Bogle.

Ashe and Alleghany—Joel E. Foster.

Anson—Albert Myers, M. D., James A. Leak.

Beaufort—William J. Ellison (died), Edward J. Warren, Richard Spaight Donnell.

Bertie—Samuel B. Spruill, James Bond.

Bladen—Thomas S. D. McDowell (resigned), Neill Kelly.

Brunswick—Thomas D. Meares.

Buncombe—Nicholas W. Woodfin.

Burke—John C. McDowell.

Cabarrus—Caleb Phifer.

Caldwell—Edmund W. Jones.

Camden—Dennis D. Ferebee.

Carteret—Charles R. Thomas.

Caswell—Bedford Brown, John A. Graves (resigned, James E. Williamson.

Catawba—Rev. Polycarp C. Henkel, D. D., George Sitzler.

Chatham—John Manning, Leonidas J. Merritt (resigned), James H. Headen.

Chowan—Richard Dillard, M. D.

Cherokee—Allen T. Davidson (resigned), James H. Bryson.

Cleveland—William J. T. Miller, M. D., James W. Tracy, M. D.

Columbus—Richard Wooten.

Craven—George Green, John D. Whitford.

Cumberland—David McNeill, Warren Winslow (resigned), Malcolm J. McDuffie, Archibald S. McNeill.

Currituck—Henry M. Shaw, M. D. (resigned), John B. Jones (resigned), Daniel McD. Lindsay.

Davidson—Benton C. Douthitt, Benjamin A. Kittrell.

Davie—Robert Sprouse.

Duplin—William J. Houston (resigned), James Dickson, James T. Rhodes.

Edgecombe—William S. Battle, George Howard.

Forsyth—Rufus L. Patterson (resigned), Thomas J. Wilson, Darius J. Starbuck.

Gaston—Sidney X. Johnston, M. D.

Franklin—Archibald D. Williams.

Gates—Andrew J. Walton.

Granville—Tazewell L. Hargrove (resigned), Stephen S. Royster, Abram W. Venable (resigned), Thomas B. Lyon.

Greene—William A. Darden.

Guilford—Robert P. Dick, John A. Gilmer, Ralph Gorrell.

Halifax—Richard H. Smith, Charles J. Gee, M. D. (resigned), Littleberry W. Batchelor, M. D.

Harnett—Archibald S. McNeill.

Haywood—Rev. William Hicks.

Henderson—William M. Shipp.

Hertford—Kenneth Rayner.

Hyde—Edward L. Mann.

Iredell—Andrew Mitchell, Thomas A. Allison.

Jackson—William H. Thomas.

Johnston—Claudius B. Sanders, William A. Smith.

Jones—William Foy.

Lenoir—John C. Washington.

Lincoln—William Lander (resigned), David Schenck.

Macon—Rev. Conrad D. Smith.

Madison—Joseph A. McDowell, M. D.

Martin—Asa Biggs (resigned), Doctor Warren Bagley.

Mecklenburg—William Johnston (resigned), James W. Osborne, Pinckney C. Caldwell.

Montgomery—Samuel H. Christian.

Moore—Hector Turner, M. D.

Nash—Archibald H. Arrington (resigned), Lucien N. B. Battle.

New Hanover—William S. Ashe (resigned), Robert H. Cowan (resigned), Robert Strange, John L. Holmes.

Northampton—David A. Barnes, John M. Moody.

Onslow—Edward W. Ward, M. D. (resigned), Andrew J. Murrill.

Orange—William A. Graham, John Berry.

Pasquotank—Rufus K. Speed.

Perquimans—Joseph S. Cannon.

Person—John W. Cunningham.

Pitt—Bryan Grimes (resigned), Fenner B. Saterthwaite, Peyton A. Atkinson.

Randolph—William J. Long, Alfred G. Foster.

Richmond—Walter F. Leak.

Robeson—John P. Fuller, John C. Sutherland.

Rockingham—David S. Reid, Edward T. Brodnax.

Rowan—Burton Craige (resigned), Hamilton C. Jones,
Richard A. Caldwell.

Rutherford—Jason H. Carson (died), Micajah Durham,
George W. Michal.

Sampson—Thomas Bunting, Robert A. Moseley.

Stanley—Eben Hearne.

Stokes—John Hill (died), Alexander H. Joyce.

Surry—Thomas V. Hamlin.

Tyrrell—Eli Spruill.

Union—Hugh M. Houston.

Wake—George E. Badger, Kemp P. Battle, William W.
Holden.

Warren—Weldon N. Edwards, Frances A. Thornton.

Washington—William S. Pettigrew.

Watauga—James W. Council.

Wayne—George V. Strong, Ervin A. Thompson.

Wilkes—James Galloway, Peter Eller.

Yadkin—Robert F. Armfield (resigned).

Yancey—Milton P. Penland.

ROLL OF OFFICERS OF THE CONVENTION OF 1861.

Weldon N. Edwards—President.

Principal Secretary—Walter L. Steele, Rockingham
County.

Assistant Secretary—Leonidas C. Edwards, Granville
County.

Principal Doorkeeper—James Page, Randolph County.

Assistant Doorkeeper—Filliam R. Lovill, Surry County.

Second Assistant Doorkeeper—John C. Moore, Wake
County.

Third Assistant—Drury King.

Printer to the Convention—John W. Syme, Wake County.

The Cupola House and Its Associations

By MACK CHAPPELL.

In the town of Edenton, North Carolina, there are three distinct types of old buildings that were completed about the same time. They are the Court House, St. Paul's Church, and the Cupola House. These are monuments of wealth, taste and architecture. They are still efficient, symmetrical and pleasing in their surroundings. The subject of this essay is the last named house; and first something should be said of its history.

On September 17, 1744, Francis Corbin(*a*), builder of the Cupola House was appointed land agent by John, Earl Granville, the only one of the Lords Proprietors who retained his interests in North Carolina. A few days later, Corbin left England for the Carolinas on a man-of-war; and arriving in Chowan County, took charge of the Earl's affairs—having as an associate agent, Edward Moseley, appointed in 1743(*b*).

Corbin was very unjust in his dealings, and thus became unpopular. Twice he was seized by a mob(*c*), but always escaped with a light loss, in most instances his deputy agents being the ones who suffered. Once he endeavored to bring suit against the rioters(*d*), but being warned by Thomas Child, Granville's attorney, that he would be the loser, he withdrew his suit. Notwithstanding his harshness he had great power. Edward Moseley, Colonel James Innes, Benjamin Wheatley and Joshua Bodley were each in their turn

(a) Francis Corbin appointed land agent Sept. 17, 1744 (N. C. Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. III, No. 2, page 239).

(b) Edward Moseley, agent in 1743, associated with Corbin (same reference).

(c) Corbin and his fellow agents oppressors, assailed by mob (Vol. VIII, Pref. notes, page IX, Colonial Records).

(d) Corbin endeavored to punish rioters (Col. Records, Vol. V, page LIX).

fellow agents of Corbin(e); yet, while each was dismissed, he remained in office. A probable aid to his power was his influence in the church. At a vestry meeting in Edenton, the vestry and church wardens appointed Corbin to agree with some one to have the church finished(f). Therefore he must have been a member of the Episcopal Church and a man of business ability.

Francis Corbin built the Cupola House in 1758, and as is indicated by the interior of the house was probably several years in completing it. Most statements err concerning Corbin's marriage and death, but it is a fact that in 1761 he married Colonel James Innes' widow, Jean(g). No one knows the date of his death. That he was living on August 2, 1766(h) is certain, for on that date he was recommended for the Governor's Council. That he was dead by December 11, 1767(i), we know, for on that day his administrators were allowed £80 for a negro that had been executed. Francis Corbin left no will, but made a deed on October 28, 1761, "subjecting the Cupola House on Lot No. 1, to himself and his heirs until the solemnization of the then intended marriage between himself and Jean Innes, after this to Jean Innes for her lifetime, and then to his heirs." Jean Corbin died in 1775(j), and then the property descended to Edmund Corbin(k), brother of Francis Corbin.

(e) Fellow agents of Corbin:

Edward Moseley (Col. Records, Vol. IV, page 924);

Col. James Innes (Col. Records, Vol. V, page 778);

Benj. Wheatley (Col. Records, Vol. V, page 779);

Joshua Bodley (Col. Records, Vol. V, page 779);

Thomas Child (Col. Records, Vol. VI, page 293);

(f) Vestry St. Paul's Church appointed Corbin to have church finished. (N. C. Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. 1, No. 4, October, 1900, pages 605 and 606.)

(g) Corbin married Jean Innes (Col. Records, Vol. V, page XIX).

(h) Corbin living August 2, 1766 (Col. Records, Vol. VII, page 247).

(i) Corbin dead by December 11, 1767 (Col. Records, Vol. XXII, page 850).

(j) Jean Corbin died 1775 (Abstract of N. C. Wills by Grimes, page 82).

(k) Descent of Cupola House to Edmund Corbin (Record or Deeds Chowan County, Vol. R, page 41).

Dr. Samuel Dickinson(*l*), the next owner of the house, was born in Connecticut in 1743, and died in 1802. He graduated in some foreign school, probably Edinburg, as that was then the medical center of the world. He located at Edenton.

On February 7, 1777, he bought the Cupola House(*m*) from Edmund Corbin for £400. Dr. Dickinson's office was on the corner of the same lot. He had associated with him a young doctor, Beasley by name. Dr. Dickinson was a man of wealth and had a wide practice. He met his death from exposure in crossing the Albermarle Sound to see some member of the Armistead family.

Dr. Dickinson willed the property to his daughter, Penelope Barker Bond(*n*) in 1802.

In 1858, Mrs. Penelope Barker Bond willed the Cupola House to her daughters, Elizabeth, Sarah, Anne and Margaret Bond(*o*).

Miss Margaret Bond, who survived her three sisters, left no will, but her niece, Miss Tillie Bond now possesses the property by right of inheritance.

The Cupola House is situated about the middle of Lot No. 1, of West Broad Street; and, like several other houses of that period, faces the water on the south. It is said that there was a heavy wall around the lot, and it is known that there was a very high hedge of Euonymus, probably inside the wall. If there was a wall the gate must have been on the southern side, for there are indications of an old walk to the house from that part of the lot. On each side of this path there are old fashioned flowers; Deutzia, Weigela, White Spirea, Toad-flax or Butter-and-Eggs, and some Jon-

(*l*) Life of Dr. Dickinson (N. C. Booklet, or "Great Events in History of N. C.," Vol. XI, July, 1911, No. 1, page 24).

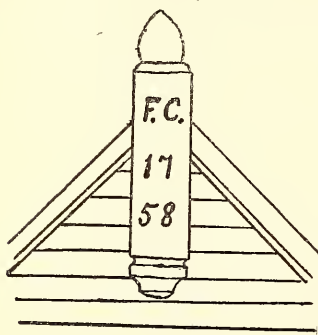
(*m*) Dr. Dickinson bought Cupola House for 400£ (Record Deeds Chowan County, Vol. R, page 41).

(*n*) Property descended to Penelope Barker Bond (Record of Wills, Book "B," page 277).

(*o*) Descent of property to Miss Margaret Bond and sisters (Record of Wills, Book "D," page 43).

quils, said to have been set out by Dr. Dickinson's wife over one hundred and thirty-five years ago.

Strictly speaking, the house has three stories for there is a large attic. In front, the second story projects twelve inches over the first story, and the projection is decorated with brackets. This was not done with a view to more space, but to break the perpendicular surface and thus ornament the house. There are two large chimneys on the western side and one on the eastern. The house has thirty large windows, showing that light and ventilation were much desired, even in Colonial days. All the windows of the first story have solid shutters and fasten with a large-headed bolt and slotted stick. The windows of the second and third stories are lower boarded and fasten with hooks. The house was painted white with green shutters and trimmings. The roof, which is nearly square pitched and has ornaments in the



gables, has been covered several times, and is said to have been originally covered with shingles cut round at the ends. There is a gable at the front, and on the gable ornament there are in raised letters: F. C.—1758.

There is no doubt that the whole house, with few exceptions, is built from native white and yellow pine (*p*), especially since that wood was most abund-

ant here and most used (*q*). It is certain that the timber was not cut in England and imported, for we had water-power sawmills in America as early as 1634(*r*). Indeed we had

(p) White and yellow pine in N. C. (Lawson's History of N. C., page 56).

(q) Pine most used at that time (same reference).

(r) Sawmills in America before in England (Encyclopedia Americana, Vol. XIV).

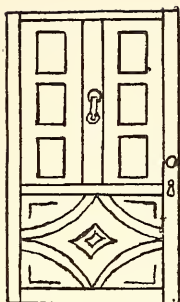
sawmills here capable of cutting two thousand feet per day before there were any in England. The bricks were also native made, for Lawson in his history, mentions that bricks and tiles were made here in 1714, and that in building with bricks, the people used lime made from oyster shells(s). The nails are hand wrought and were probably made here. Even the glass was probably made in America, for there were glass works in Virginia in 1608, and in Pennsylvania in 1683(t).

The house has eight by ten inch heart sills, resting on brick piers eight inches thick and twenty inches high; three by ten inch joists in first story and two by ten inch joists in second story—all joists being spaced twenty-four inches apart. The principal rafters are six by eight inches, and the ordinary ones are two by four and three by four inches. The plates and purlins are six by eight inches, and the corner posts are six by six inches. The window and door studs are three by four inches and all other studs are three by four and two by four inches. All the flooring of the house is six inches wide and one and one-half inches thick. The house is weather-boarded with six-inch bevel edged siding. The corner boards, window and door casings are of heart pine, one and one-eighth inches thick and five inches wide. The entire outside of the house was designed in the Colonial style.

The only external addition to the house is the front. It is a little portico or porch about seven feet wide and ten feet long. The approach to the porch is three stone steps. The porch has four posts or columns. The two front posts are seven and one-half inches square at the bottom, and taper to five inches square at the top. The rear posts are set in the weather-boarding and are eight inches square. The vaulted ceiling of the porch is plastered.

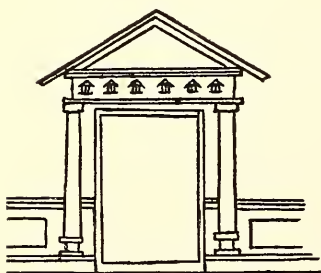
(s) Brick made in N. C. in 1714; lime from oyster shells (Lawson's History, page 46). Carpenters, joiners and brick masons in N. C. in 1714 (Lawson's History, page 98).

(t) Glass works in America in 1608-'83 (Encyclopedia Americana, Vol. VIII).



The front door is very heavy, being one and three-fourths inches thick, three and one-half feet wide and seven feet high. It has six panels with parquetry in curious shapes beneath. The heavy English hinges are nailed with wrought iron spikes. The door is fastened by a large iron lock—over ten inches long—with a peculiarly shaped key. All the fixings of the lock are brass. There is a heavy brass knocker, one of the several of the same pattern now in the community. The threshold is twelve inches wide, and there is a stationary transom of four panes above the door frame.

The lower hall is nine feet high and has six exits, but only two of the exits—the back and front doors—to the outside. The wash-boarding is six inches wide. Above this there is wainscot of one row of horizontal panels upon the stiles of which quirk molding is placed, surmounted by a five-inch chair-rail or stool cap. The remainder of the wall is plastered to the ceiling. The crown molding is large and has bands of ogee and cymatium molding. The back door and

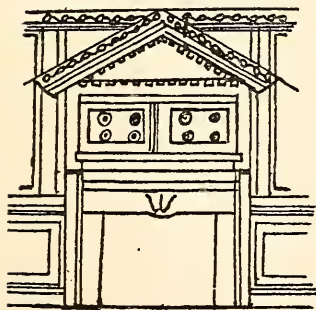


the doors to the two back rooms are plain with six panels and set in molded frames. The doors to the two front rooms are alike and have frontals placed over and about the frames. These frontals have a sub-base upon the wash-boarding, then two needed columns with molded base. The columns have molded capitals upon which

rests an entablature with a plain architrave and a frieze ornamented with small carved colonnades. The cornice is molded and the pediment above it has a gable made of the

crown molding. The ceiling is plastered and in it are two hand-carved rosettes to receive hanging lamps. Only one of the lamps is now there. It has an oval globe, brass band and chains, and is raised and lowered by means of two pulleys.

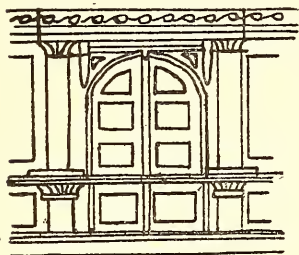
The dining-room, or the first room to the right as we enter the hall is the most handsomely finished part of the house. The door frontal on the inside has two quilled and reeded columns with their bases upon the molded wash-board. Upon the capitals of the columns there is an entablature with plain molded architrave, frieze and cornice. Above the cornice is an arch, which has corbels and square billet molding beneath it, made of heavy band and foliated molding. The door has a brass lock and hanging handles. Around the wall there is a row of horizontal panels upon which is molding, and a five-inch chair-rail. This supports the upper row of panels, set vertically. The panels are certainly of soft wood and are probably of white pine, with stiles of yellow pine. The crown molding is very heavy, about eight by eight inches, and is nearly similar to the molding of the arch above the



door. The room has four windows with egg-and-anchor molding set in broken lines, to give a Roman appearance. On one of the panes of a window in this room there is scratched the name "Samuel Dickenson." The fire-place is of hand-carved Italian marble, and it is said that the hearth was of the same material, but has been destroyed. The mantel-piece, not

in harmony with the door frontal, is surmounted by a pediment without columns. The lower part of this pediment has two panels with roses carved upon them. The cornice has brackets below it and the low gable is made of the crown molding. The mantle-piece, as well as the door frontal, is

made of white pine, for no hard wood could have been carved so regularly. Both were too high for the room, and the ceiling was cut away for their tops. On each side of the back of the room there is a small door opening into a separate butler's pantry. Between the doors there is a china closet built in the wall. The lower compartment is the same height as the chair-rail, and has two doors. On each side of this compartment stands a pedestal or sub-base. The chair-rail supports two quilled and reeded columns with Corinthian capitals, holding up a projection of the crown molding. Be-



neath this molding and between the columns there is an arch with carved keystone and spandrels. Under the arch is the main part of the china closet, which has two paneled doors and three oddly carved shelves.

In the china closet there is almost a complete set of gilt and pink flowered china for twelve

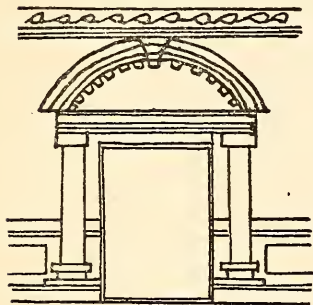
persons. It is interesting to note that the china is probably of the period of 1800(u), and at that time cost about fifteen dollars. There is one china candle-stick with two pairs of snuffers and a tray. A complete set of jelly glasses and wine glasses, one ale mug with the initials S. D., and a cut glass decanter or "bitters bottle" are on the shelves. There is also a large milk jug and an earthenware pitcher with the signs of the zodiac upon it. In a closet stands a lamp, said to be the first in Edenton. It is a small cut glass whale-oil lamp of the period of 1760. There is a Sheriton side-board that has six lion-clawed feet, four compartments, nine drawers and two serving trays. It is a massive piece of furniture made of mahogany, veneered, and is said to have been in the home one hundred and thirty-two years(v). There are upon

(u) China wares made in America in 1830 and cost of same (Encyclopedia Americana, Vol. XII).

(v) Furniture (Schedule of the Margaret E. Bond furniture for sale by her Executor, W. D. Pruden, Edenton, N. C.).

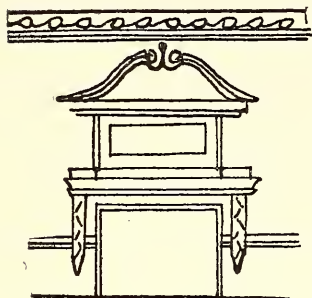
this side-board two very large cut glass candle shades or stands, one cut glass finger bowl and tray, made in water-lily pattern, a berry bowl and a celery stand. In the room there stands a piano made by E. N. Scherr, of Philadelphia, about 1810. There is a Colonial dining table in three pieces, the center piece being drop-leafed and the end pieces rounded. The table when put together is nine feet long. A duck-foot tea-table, drop-leafed and made of solid mahogany once stood in this room. There was here a serving tray made of mahogany about 1700, a butler's stand and two enameled serving trays, and possibly six Chippendale chairs, made about 1710 to 1750. The fire utensils are brass-handled and have brass

holders. On one side of the room a Colonial mirror with a picture of George Washington painted on the top, is fastened to the wall. The portraits of several noted people hang upon the walls, among them Thomas Barker, a lawyer, and his wife, Penelope Barker, the president of the Edenton Tea-Party in 1774.



The lower front room to the left as we enter the hall was used as a drawing room. The door frontal is similar to the one in the dining room except that the arch has a carved wooden keystone. The door frame is plainly molded and the door has a brass lock like the one across the hall. The wash-boarding is six inches high, upon which there is no wainscot, only plastered walls. Three feet from the floor there is a five-inch chair-rail with quirk and ogee molding beneath it. The crown molding is set on a beaded board, and is composed of bands of ogee, square-billet, band and cymatium. The walls and ceiling are plastered and have recently been murescoed green. The two front windows have eighteen panes and two shutters each

and set in egg-and-anchor molding. The two end windows have twelve panes and one shutter each. The hearth is of unpolished marble. Below the mantle shelf there is heavy molding on each side of which there are two long tapering brackets or corbels, hand-carved in beautiful foliations. There is a long panel above the mantel, and on each side of



it inverted brackets support a pediment with a cornice like the crown molding. The tympanum is scalloped, and instead of a gable or arch, on each side there is a molded "Line of Beauty" with rosettes on the end of the volutes.

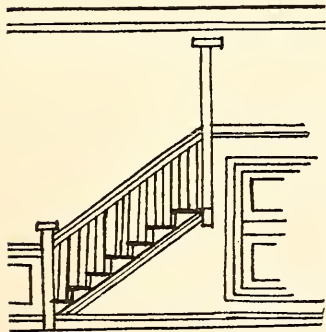
In this room there is a Calendar Grand Father Clock, made in London by William Foote, and about one hundred and

fifty years old. The clock is veneered and very beautifully carved at the top. It has a brass face and silvered dial with an engraving of Father Time upon it. There were also two Chippendale corner chairs, 1750-1775, and seven Chippendale side chairs of the same period. A Chippendale tea-table with a raised rim and made about 1750 is said to have been in the drawing room. On the walls there is a small painting of Miss Penelope Dickinson, a certificate that Nathaniel Bond had received the degree of Master Mason, and the Master Mason's apron of the same man. The fire utensils are brass-handled and there are two very old hand-painted china vases, and one of the two old candle-sticks. Over the mantel-piece there is an interesting cartoon of the Boston Tea-Party, in which the men are nearly as large as the Continents, and certainly larger than the tea ships, and in which England and America are drawn with their natural positions interchanged. Above this cartoon the Dickinson coat-of-arms hangs.

The rear room to the right on the lower floor was merely used as a butler's pantry. It has several rows of shelves, and here may be seen the back of the china closet.

The rear room on the left was used as a bed room. It is the only room of the house that had curtains over the door. It is about eleven feet wide and has a six-inch wash-board, a chair-rail thirty-seven inches from the floor, and a large crown molding. There are two windows and two six-paneled doors, one of them opening into the drawing room. Over the fire-place is a large plain mantel-piece, and above this there was a long mirror in three sections. Nothing definite is known about this furniture.

A beautiful Chippendale stair winds from the first floor, through the second and to the third story. The treads are of heart pine, and some of them are worn to the risers(*w*). Under the projections of the steps there are brackets ornamented with rosettes and foils. The newel or end posts with caps and pendants, and the balusters which are placed three



to a step, are turned out of solid mahogany. The material probably came from the West Indies. The hand-rail on the lower flight of stairs, because of the right turn of three steps, drops to the floor of the landing above and to the middle of the newel post. The hand-rails are of some soft wood. The reason for this is simple; the lathe is a very old machine, and the harder the wood the better can

the work be done, but in Colonial days all the carving had to be done by hand, and the softest possible wood was selected(*x*). The wainscoting of the staircase, like the wain-

(*w*) White pine formerly most extensively used soft wood in America (Encyclopedia Americana, Vol. XVI).

(*x*) Carving on large scale was with white pine, fir, etc. (Encyclopedia Americana, Vol. XVI).

scot of the hall, is stained dark to match the balusters. At the first turn the panel is larger than the others, and here it may be seen that they are made of white pine. The stair makes one and three-fourth turns, and when ascending we may see the heavy wall plates, at least twelve inches thick, between the floors. These plates, like the rest of the frame, are pinned together with wooden pegs.

The hall on the second floor is seven feet nine inches high. It has four exits to rooms. The door to the room above the back right room of the first room is only twenty-three inches wide, the three other doors are thirty inches wide. This hall has a six-inch wash-boarding, no wainscoting, and a plain molded chair-rail. The crown molding is smaller and less elaborate than in the hall below. Of the two windows of the hall, the front one is average size, but the rear window has twenty-eight panes and is very large that it may light the halls of the second and third stories. In the plastering of the ceiling there is one rosette for a hanging lamp, but the lamp is missing.

In this hall there stands a Chippendale clothes press, built about 1750. It is made of solid mahogany and the top is carved in the shape of a shell. There is also a Colonial secretary of solid mahogany.

The door to the room above the dining room is set in a plainly molded frame, is one and one-half inches thick, hangs on heavy English hinges and has a brass lock and fixings. Above the six-inch wash-boarding are horizontal panels, on the stiles of which is placed a molded chair-rail. An upper row of panels, set vertically, reaches the ceiling. A six by six-inch cornice of ogee, ovolo, band and quirk molding rests upon the wainscoting. There are four large windows, each set in plainly molded frames. The fire-place has a marble hearth and is set in heavy molding. Above the mantel-shelf is one long panel between two inverted brackets or consoles. These brackets support a pediment with a plain cornice and a low gable made of the crown molding. This mantel-piece,

like the one in the other room below, was too high for the ceiling.

This room was probably for guests, and in it there was a Sheriton bed, made about 1775. It was built of solid mahogany, was possibly a four-post bed and carved in the pine-apple and acanthus-leaf design. The feet of the bed had brass tips, and it had a rail at the top for a canopy. The other articles of furniture were; a Colonial chest of drawers, veneered, and built about 1800, and a Colonial wash-stand made about the same date.

The large bedroom above the drawing room has no paneled wainscot, but a plain wash-board, chair-rail and crown molding. There are two large windows at the front and two smaller ones at the side. The hearth is cut from marble and the mantel-piece is plainly molded. Over the mantel-piece there is a molded cornice and gable supported by two brackets, foliated and curling over at the top.

There are only a few known articles of furniture that have been in this room for any length of time, namely: A bed, a chest of drawers, and a beautifully carved secretary and work-table.

The room back of the one just mentioned is very small and plainly finished. It has only one window and a plain mantel-piece and fire-place. There is a door opening into the room in front.

The room above the butler's pantry is similar. Nothing definite is known about the furniture in either room.

Since the entrance or passage on the third floor is near the roof of the house, it has no regular shape and can hardly be called a hall. There are three exits to rooms and one to the Cupola. It has a plain wash-board, but no chair-rail or crown molding. Here may be seen the great plates, rafters, purlins and other timbers in the frame of the house.

On both left and right of the third floor there is a small well finished room. Each is plastered and has only one win-

dow. In each room there are two small recesses or closets for linen.

There is a small unfinished room under the gable over the front part of the house. Its only window is the oval or elliptical window in the gable. This room was probably used for storage purposes.

The staircase to the cupola is enclosed in a circular frame. The eighteen steps in the stairway wind around an octagon-shaped newel post. The small trap-door at the top is fastened below with a padlock.

The Cupola, whence the house derived its name, is octagon shaped and has four windows. There is a four-inch washboarding, a chair-rail and a four by five-inch crown molding. The walls and ceiling were plastered, but much of the plaster has fallen. This gives us a good opportunity to view the hand-split laths fastened by hand-wrought nails, the thick plaster and the hair in it. The hair is very short, fine and brown and must have been obtained from the deer. It is said that there was a veranda around the Cupola, but since this cannot be proved, no correct statement can be made concerning it. The southeastern side of the Cupola has never been plastered, and it is said that this was the door to the veranda, but the place could have been left plain with only the intention of putting a veranda around the cupola at some future time. The roof of this cupola, unlike the roof of other cupolas, is in the shape of an ellipse cut through the longer diameter.

There is in the cupola a spy-glass with the body, made of mahogany and brass ends. The glass is forty-eight inches long, two inches thick, and is octagon-shaped.

In the above description the following articles of furniture are left unplaced in the house: Five mahogany lyre back chairs, seven plain chairs and one arm chair to match, one ball-and-claw foot arm-chair made of mahogany, one mahogany hand-carved rocking chair, one Colonial tilt-table about one hundred and forty years old, one small writing table of

cherry, two Colonial candle-stands, one candle-stand of Chinese pattern and made of foreign wood, two marble-top and one plain wash-stands, three towel racks, a Colonial chest of drawers and a Colonial mahogany secretary. In the home may be seen the medicine scales of Dr. Dickinson and a large medicine chest. This chest was made solid to endure the voyage over the ocean. There are in the house some of the medicine bottles and china labels for those bottles.

It is a very interesting and absorbing study to walk through the building, thinking of the noble persons who have graced its spacious halls in olden times, noticing the elaborate and varying styles of architecture, and the valuable old furniture. Surely such a wonderful landmark should be perpetuated by the town and county, if not by the State.

Greek, Roman, and Arabian Survivals on the North Carolina Coast—A Preliminary Sketch

By COLLIER COBB.

During an acquaintance with our coast dunes and our coast people, extending over more than two score years, I have been impressed by the seeming familiarity of our "Bankers," with Greek and Roman mythology, and with what I early took to be Bible stories with a local setting. I always regarded them, however, as tales that were the common property of our race, that had suffered a sea-change when handed down among isolated and unlearned people whose English ancestors in Elizabeth's time had been very much such people as the best of us today.

In 1902 there came to the University of North Carolina from one of our coast counties, two youths, speaking a singularly pure and idiomatic English, in which one sometimes detected words and expressions not uncommon in the writings of Shakespeare.

One of these youngsters offered to our *University Magazine* a story of the coast, entitled, "Old Nepkin," which was promptly rejected; but I have never seen in any of our college publications freshman work comparable to this. I reproduce the story.

OLD NEPKIN.

In the spring of 1894 my father, who was a member of the life saving crew at one of the stations of the government along the coast of North Carolina, moved his family, consisting of my mother, baby brother and me, over to the beach at Oregon Inlet Station. At that time this branch of the government service was more confining than it is today, there being no liberties granted during the stormy season. And it was for this reason that a number of the crew moved their families to the station to be with them for the few rough months. In several instances two families lived in one house, as comfortable buildings were scarce. This was the case with us,

and to my great delight our family took up quarters with a family in which there were two boys about my age.

The entire beach was ours, and every day when it was not too cold or rainy, we roamed over the great stretch of sand at our pleasure, each day going farther and farther from home, until we had become familiar with almost every acre of ground for several miles around. Probably it was a fear on the part of our parents and others that we might venture too far or get into the ocean that prompted them to tell us tales of various forms of animals that might capture us and never let us return, a dragon that ate little boys, and a sea monster that caught and ate a little girl for breakfast every morning.

The most interesting to us of all the beings they warned us against was one creature, "Nepkin," as they called him, or by some referred to as "Old Nep." We were told in answer to our numerous questions, that he was the god of the sea, and that he objected most seriously to any intrusion upon his rights or territory; that we must not dare step into the waters of the sea, else we would be taken by him and carried down to his watery home. We were told that he had a house in the ocean, and often times various objects along the coast were pointed out to us as his home. Our young minds could not see anything but truth in the story, and for a short while our explorations and wanderings from home ceased. But the spirit of venture was strong within us, and as the days grew into weeks and no animal of unusual proportions or of frightful appearance visited us, and the tales of such creatures ceased, we resumed our wanderings. It was just after one of our longest trips that the following thing happened:

A nor'wester was blowing, and the wind was "Irish," in the language of the fishermen, who had come to sit a while with us, gathered around the fire on this particular night in March. The shrill whistle of the wind around the corner of the wooden house made us hover closer to the stove as the night hours wore on. Just for the moment conversation had waned, and the crackling of the fire and the noise of the wind was all that disturbed the silence.

"It's a great night for Nepkin," said one of the men. "He is allus aloose sich a night as this. The cold, high wind attracts him from his ocean house to the land for a while to see what's going on."

"Yessir, and I jes' feel like he's comin' here, too," said another of the fishermen. "How'd ye like to see Old Nep tonight, boys?" This he said to us three little fellows, hovered close together near the fire.

"I'm not afraid," I said; but my face, already anxious with fear, belied my words, and while I was making the boast a blast of wind blew the shutters on the window against the house with great force, and I turned ghastly pale as I jumped in fright. Lance, the younger of my friends, said nothing, but was apparently as scared as I, for he jumped when I did.

But Jim, about ten, the oldest of the three, and, naturally the bravest, held his nerve. He had often told Lance and me, when we were discussing among ourselves the tales that we had heard, that he did not believe in such a thing as Old Nepkin, and bragged that he would never run from him. And now, even though afraid, we felt an approaching pleasure in that we hoped to see Jim take back his boast.

"I'll not run," said Jim, to the questions of the fishermen. "And what's more, if he comes here tonight I'll punch his eyes out."

"Never mind, young feller, ye'll be sorry ye said that afore this midnight," said an older man, whose serious attitude foretold no joke. 'Old Nep's a-comin' shure this time.'"

"Now don't scare the children," said our mothers in almost the same breath, seeing that two of us, at least, were scared almost out of our wits. "Neptune isn't coming here a night like this."

"Jes' the kind o' night he wants," replied the persistent old fisherman. "And, by the gods, it's the 13th, too. 'Pears like I've hearn the old folks say he allus crawls out on the 13th. If it's cold and blust'ry, with a forty er fifty knot gale like tonight, he roams about a while. My 'pinion is that this's the kind o' night he's lookin' fer."

By this time I was almost helplessly frightened. The movement of a chair or of a foot on the floor drove my heart almost out of my mouth. And my playmate, Lance, was suffering the same feelings. But Jim still maintained that he was not frightened, and stuck to his boast that he would not run. The fishermen seemed to get much delight from our evident terror, and attempts on the part of our mothers to change the subject failed several times.

A spell of quiet had fallen over the entire crowd. The wind sounded louder and more shrill than it had for an hour. Not a word had been spoken for several moments, and it seemed that every one waited in expectant quiet for the enactment of something unusual. And in the midst of this strained silence, when even the nerves of the hardy fishermen seemed tense with excitement—rap! rap! rap! sounded loudly on the door, and a coarse cough was heard from without. Enough for me. I jumped and ran to my mother. Lance ran to his. Both of us, I believe, were too scared to scream. I could not have made a noise had I tried.

"That's Old Nep now," said one of the men. "I said he was a-comin', and he's here shure as day. Open the door, Bill."

The door flew open in answer to three more raps, louder than the first, and in rushed a gust of the northwester. But I felt it not. The only sense which I had at the time was that of sight, and what I saw in the doorway would have any child of my age out of his senses. There stood what looked to be a man, dressed in heavy, black oilclothes. He was wearing boots, and water was dripping from him as if he had just come out of the sea. His face was very

hairy and dark, the features almost hidden by the beard. Two ghastly looking eyes viewed the room over, and the large, black mouth opened in speech, saying: "Ah, there's the three little boys who have been wandering at large on this beach, which borders on my sea. I want one of them, and as I was ashore, thought I would stop in for him."

Quiet was supreme and intense. Except for the pounding of my heart, I heard nothing. The beating breakers on the beach, the roaring wind around the chimney, the sound of the sand, blown by the wind, striking the window panes, touched not my ear. I saw only this horrid monster, as he looked from one to another of us boys, apparently deciding which one to take. I did not question, in my mind, his power to take any one of us he wanted. I felt sure no hand would be raised in opposition to this god of the sea. My only hope was a selfish one, that he might take one of the other boys.

Neptune advanced toward the center of the room, and in following his movement, my gaze fell upon the place where I last saw Jim. It was vacant. Anxious lest he should get away and make my chance of selection one to two, instead of one to three, I turned for the first time, since Old Nep's arrival, and looked around. What I saw almost chilled the blood in my veins. Jim, whom I had termed a braggart, Jim, the boastful, had now become Jim, the daredevil, and was advancing toward Old Neptune with a stick of wood. The fishermen warned him; his mother told him to sit down, but Jim advanced in a warlike attitude. I just knew he was doomed.

Old Nep viewed his bravery with seeming satisfaction. "Aha, youngster, you're pretty brave. I think I'll take you to live with me in my home under the sea. Come along," he said, and reached forward. But Jim was not to be taken without a fight, and interest in the oncoming battle got keen.

"I'll gouge your eyes out," said Jim, and made a lunge at the intruder that was not to be scorned. Neptune jumped to one side to avoid the lick, and at the same time made a grab for my young friend. Jim was too quick. Jumping to one side, he began to wage an offensive battle, striking so rapidly with the stick that Old Nep necessarily took a defensive stand, trying only to get hold of the would-be giant killer. Several passes failed, but the spirit of youth was afire, and he gained grit as he fought. But he was too small against his larger and more powerful adversary, and was gradually forced to a defense. Chances looked slim for Jim, as he was pressed into a corner striking now wildly as he dropped back. Realizing that he could not hit effectively from a side angle or from above, Jim changed his war tactics, and before Old Nep knew what had happened, a straight-out thrust of the stick caught him in the face. His attempt to brush it aside only aided the little fighter. Developments were rapid. The thrust, the attempt to foil it, the

result in an instant. Before us stood a somewhat abashed and well known member of the life saving crew, his mask hanging from the end of the stick. And Jim, triumphant, said: "I told you there weren't no Nepkin, and now I know there ain't."

No explanation of how that was just a make-up, but that the real Neptune did exist, had any future effect upon us, and after that we roamed at large, led by our hero and comrade, Jim.

The boy left his story with me and has recently given me permission to publish it. He remained at the University only two years, taught school for sometime, and is now on the staff of a Virginia newspaper. It is to be hoped that he will retain and strengthen the simple, straightforward style of his youth.

For many years I have written down the tales and songs of our coast, and I soon satisfied myself that most of them were of old world origin. Neptune and Vulcan were both there, but both frequently under other names. Perseus and Andromeda were there, but usually as St. George and the King's Daughter. Lamia was there, but as a sweet young girl who had been turned into a wicked old witch by a jealous woman.

I have also heard such songs as "The Three Fishes," "The Fruit of the Apple Tree," "The Black-Eyed Maid," "Dimos and the Turkish Girl," "The Wounded Deer," "The Death of Marko Botsaris," and Greek folk songs of the past three centuries.

There is also heard on Hatteras a "Frog's Concert," that may be a survival from Aristophanes; but, if from Aristophanes, it has undergone great change.

Then there are stories of "The Healing Balm," The Fountain of Youth," or "The Water of Life," such as one finds in Oriental folk-tales generally, whether of Christian or of Moslem origin.

A distich or two will illustrate a type of verse not uncommon:

"Thy lips are coral red, thy neck is crystal white,
The mole that's on thy rosy cheek is made of diamond bright."

And this:

"Before thy doorway as I pass, thy footprint there I know;
I bend and fill your track with tears, that as I kiss it flow."

The Harvard student who wrote:

"Whenever she comes I am ready to kiss the mud from her rubbers,"
did not show greater devotion.

This bashful lover is found on Shackleford Bank:

"What a simple fool I be,
To let you slip away from me!
I found you all alone I wot;
With kisses sweet I fed you not;
I gazed on you unsatisfied,
And thus I sat by love tongue-tied.
Your mother mild, where then was she?
Your father stern, where then was he?
Your mother at the church did pray,
Your dad at Ocrocock did stay,
And by you sat this idiot meek,
Whose downcast eyes the earth did seek."

The man who gave me this was named Physioc, and told me that his forebears had been Greek slaves in New Smyrna, Florida, having been brought to Florida in 1767 with a number (about 1,500) of Greek, Italian, and Minorcan laborers, to work on an indigo plantation owned and controlled by Dr. Trumbull, of Charleston, who reduced them to slavery and treated them cruelly. This slavery lasted nine years, or until 1776, when a new governor of Florida, just arrived, heard their complaints and released them from the tyranny of Trumbull. Hardly a third of their number survived, and most of these made their way to St. Augustine, where some of their descendants live to this day, and some moved northward along the coast as far as Cape Hatteras. Among names he gave me, as belonging to these people, were Joseph Gurganus, Theophilus Man, Nicholas Blackman, Moses Baros, Matthew Adomes, and told me that Metrah was a very com-

mon Christian name among them, being a diminutive of Demetrius. I myself know three men named Metrah, but the name of one of them is traced to a dream his mother had, and not to any Greek origin.

But all the names he gave me are found in abstracts of wills made in North Carolina before 1767 and 1776. They are found in every census we have ever had, and are on the voting lists of several of our eastern countries. It is thus very evident that if Greeks came from New Smyrna to our Banks they found here many men like themselves in name and probably also in origin.

I have several stories that are clearly Oriental in origin, that I have also traced to a possible source:

A STORY OF JOB AND THE ORIGIN OF SILKWORMS.

The good God had permitted Satan to tempt Job; and the Evil One sent a swam of flies against him, so that the holy man was smitten with sore boils from the crown of his head to the sole of his feet. When the good God saw the wretchedness of his servant Job, he sent his messenger, Gabriel, to comfort him; and Gabriel, swooping down suddenly, scooped out the sand with his wing. Soon the hollow in the sand filled with the water of life, and the angel Gabriel told Job to go dip himself seven times in this. Job did so, and his flesh came to him again as the fish of a little child. Out of each boil came a grub; and the grubs were sore afraid, and climbed the mulberry trees and spun for themselves cocoons that they might hide from the wrath of God. You may know that this story is true, for you have all heard of Job, and you may see the lake and the mulberry trees on Ocrocoke to this day.

Another Oriental story with a local setting is, "How Mack Williams Pulled the Moon Out of the Lake"; and still another is, "How Dr. Closs (the Methodist minister whose circuit was "Islands and Banks") divided the fish."

The most elaborate story, however, is about

KING SOLOMON AND THE WATER OF LIFE.

King Solomon had heard that a lake of living water lay in the center of Africa, a year's journey across the burning desert, and he sent a trusted lieutenant to look into the truth of the story and mark out a way to this water of life.

After two years the messenger returned with the report of a successful trip. He had found the great sea of living water whose boundaries were out of sight. The borders of this sea were inhabited by a swarthy race, vigorous men and fruitful women, none of them above middle age.

The king inquired of his servant if he himself had tested the virtue of the waters. "No, my Lord and King," he answered, "I would not think of bathing in the lake before my master; but the efficacy of the waters is proven by the inhabitants of the region." Solomon forthwith began preparation for the journey. He ordered to be got ready sheep and oxen, and he-asses and men-servants, and maid-servants and she-asses and camels, with ample supplies of corn, wine and water for the pilgrimage.

The day before the time for his departure, his favorite wife, Number 999, said to him, "My Lord, are you willing to go bathe in the Fountain of Youth to remain young forever, and see me grow old and wrinkled by your side?"

"Surely not, for you are going with me," her lord replied.

"Indeed, I cannot," said the favorite; "I could never stand the journey across the desert."

"Then I'll not go," the king announced; and that is why we do not know to this day where the fountain of youth may be.

Again we have to turn to local tradition to account for these survivals, if such they are. We are told that some years before our Revolutionary War, a party of Protestant Mohammedans—Warhabi, they were called—going as missionaries to the West Indies, were blown far out of their course by a storm and wrecked on Diamond Shoals, just south of Cape Hatteras. Most of them escaped drowning and found refuge on Hatteras and on Ocracoke Island. John Hawks, a Moor of Malta, who had been educated in England, was passing on a ship bound from New York to New Bern, and rescued from this wreck a lady who afterwards became his wife. Hawks was the architect of Tryon's Palace at New Bern, and his descendants have been and are today, people of great ability, usefulness and prominence.

The Wahabis were a strict sect who opposed all practices not sanctioned by the Koran, and denounced all commentaries, and all such modern innovations as the worship of relics. By some writers they have been styled Mohammedan Puri-

tans, and others have called them Mohammedan Methodists. We soon find the Wahabis of North Carolina affiliating with the Methodists, who were so active in all good works about this time, and our Wahabs have for a hundred and fifty years been useful and highly valued citizens.

Another family name whose presence in the Carolinas dates back to the shipwreck of these Arabian Wahabis, is Dargan, which like Wahab at that time was a group name. The Dargan was a priest, a saint, a man of singularly pure character, and this family has numbered among its members many Christian ministers true to the ancestral type.

This paper cannot be called a study; it is hardly more than a hurried sketch; but the writer hopes that it may lead to a careful study of many features of our anthropogeography.

Appeal for Clothing for Destitute Belgians and Northern French Meets Nationwide Response

There are in the occupied areas of Belgium and Northern France about nine millions of people. More than one-third are either totally or partially destitute, and nearly all are urgently in need of clothing. In behalf of these unfortunate civilian victims of the war the Commission for Relief in Belgium has issued an urgent appeal to the people of the United States for new clothes, for the material to make them, for shoes, or for money to purchase either of these necessities. If they are not forthcoming there will be intense suffering.

We are going to put the American people to the test by asking for cloth, and for brand new clothes and shoes.

"Any kind of cloth, any kind of yarn, any kind of blankets, so they are new. All of these clothes will go straight to human beings.

"All the cloth will be made up into garments by Belgian women, who will be paid decent wages in food to take home with them. And while they work they will be able to sit in warm rooms, where there is some small comfort, which they are not likely otherwise to have.

"And yet, and yet, where are all of the pieces of cloth to come from? Three million people! It takes a lot of cloth."

IMPORTANT.

All persons wishing to contribute wearing apparel or cloth, or funds to be used in the purchase of cloth, for the destitute WOMEN AND CHILDREN of Belgium and Northern France are asked to communicate with Dr. S. Westray Battle, Chairman, or E. Alexis Taylor, Field Secretary, North Carolina Commission for Relief in Belgium, 23 Haywood Street, Asheville, North Carolina.

The *North Carolina Booklet* will receive funds or clothing for the destitute in Belgium and Northern France. Send to the Editor of the North Carolina Booklet, "Midway Plantation," Raleigh, North Carolina, and every contribution will be forwarded to the North Carolina Commission for Relief in Belgium, Asheville, North Carolina, and acknowledged in these columns.

Historical Book Reviews

LITERATURE IN THE ALBEMARLE.

BY NINA HOLLAND COVINGTON.

The watchman on the watch-towers of North Carolina literature has every reason to rejoice at the many signs of promise for a greater State Literature. The recent announcement that the State Legislature has voted a goodly sum of money for the writing of an accurate history of North Carolina's part in the Civil War is surely one of these signs; and other indications of literary activity are the numerous recently published books by North Carolinians.

The latest of these books is the "Literature of the Albemarle," which is just from the press, and which is by Miss Bettie Freshwater Pool, of Elizabeth City. Miss Pool is one of the well known writers of the State, being the author of various volumes of prose and poetry. The book consists of brief sketches of the chief writers of the Albemarle section, and several selections from the writings of each one of these are given. Frankly, there are perhaps few people in the State who knew, or realized, that Albemarle could lay claim to so many of the talented men and women of North Carolina; but, considering how many famous names are in the index of the volume, Albemarle deserves to be called our literary "hub."

Those included in the book are the following: Dr. Richard Dillard, Catherine Albertson, Frank Vaughn, Dr. Stephen B. Weeks, Col. R. B. Creecy, William Temple, Walter Pool, Charles Carroll Pool, Bettie Freshwater Pool, Ralph Pool, Lilla Pool Price, Cecil Pool, Dollie Freeman Beeler, Hon. C. L. Cobb, John M. Matthews, Rev. Solomon Pool, Theodore A. Pool, Senator John Pool, Lila Sessford, Dr. William G. Pool, William E. Dunstan, William M. Hinton, Judge Francis D. Winston, and Judge William A. Moore.

The first writer given in the volume is Dr. Richard Dillard, who is so well known in State literary and historical circles. The selections given from Dr. Dillard's writings consist of prose poems, historical sketches, and two poems. Dr. Dillard's style is graceful, and he uses to great advantage and with most excellent taste a wealth of allusion to literary and historical subjects, while his thorough knowledge of the history of his section of the State make his historical sketches very valuable and important.

The work of Catherine Albertson, who has recently gained fame as the writer of the historical book, "In Ancient Albemarle," is represented by several poems, which show that her poetical talent is of a very high order. Indeed, it is the opinion of the writer of this review that Miss Albertson's poem, "The Perquimans River," which is given among these poems, contains lines that are among the most beautiful in our Southern Literature:

"The wild swan floats upon my breast;
The sea-gulls to my waters sink;
And stealing to my low green shores,
The timid deer oft stoops to drink.
The yellow jessamine's golden bells
Ring on my banks their fairy chime
And tall flag lilies bow and bend,
To the low music, keeping time.

Between my narrow, winding banks,
Full many a mile I dream along
'Mid silence deep, unbroken save
By rustling reed, or wild bird's song;
Or murmuring of my shadowed waves
Beneath the feathery cypress trees,
Or Pines, responsive to the breath
Of winds that breathe sea memories."

Dr. Stephen B. Weeks, whom North Carolina has lost as a resident, since he is now with the United States Bureau of Education in Washington, is another famous Albemarian. Dr. Weeks is perhaps as well known outside the State as he

is in it, for he has written so much on historical subjects, his writings showing such accuracy and giving evidence of such painstaking research, that he is looked upon as an authority on the subjects upon which he has written. The selections from Dr. Weeks' writings given in this book are good examples of the terse, clear, straightforward style which makes his books not only attractive to the casual reader, but also the delight of the student of historical facts and the literary critics.

Still another well known North Carolinian who is included among the Albemarle writers is Judge Francis D. Winston, the witty and distinguished jurist from Bertie County. The selection given from Judge Winston's writings is the poem on Masonry, which is characterized by dignity of tone and a deep reverence, and is justly considered one of the most beautiful and stately poems even written on the subject. Judge Winston's ability as a speaker is noticed in the sketch of his life, and it seems a pity that selections from one or more of his speeches are not included in the book.

The biographical sketch of Bettie Freshwater Pool is written by W. M. Hinton. The selections from her writings include the well known and justly famous "Carolina," and quite a number of other poems, the most beautiful, perhaps, of these being the "Angel of My Gethsemane." Among the prose selections from her pen is given "The Nag's Head icture of Theodosia Burr," which is a well written article on a curious and little known bit of history.

The other writers of the volume include orators, essayists and poets all of the selections given showing literary merit.

The warm welcome which has met the volume since its publication is most encouraging to writers of the present generation, while the matter contained in the book will, no doubt, be an inspiration to future State authors.

Miss Pool's poem, "Harp of the South," is a very beautiful and fitting introduction to the book:

"Harp of the South, too long hast thou been
Thrill with new life! Awake! Mute,
Let thy rich notes, as sweet as Rizzio's flute,
Fill every heart with fire.
Rouse valor, honor, truth, divine desire
For higher things. Harp of the South, awake!

Harp of the South, too long this land of ours,—
Home of the free, the brave—
So rich in story, bright with honor's flowers,
Behold thy strings unstrung.
Her noblest deeds no golden cords hath rung,
Sound glorious praise! Harp of the South, awake!"

Biographical Sketches of Contributors

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

KEMP PLUMMER BATTLE, LL.D.

A Biographical Sketch of Dr. Battle appeared in the *Booklet*, Vol. VII, No. 2. To this issue he contributes the valuable article entitled "The Secession Convention of 1861." He is now eighty-four years of age, sound in mind and body, and is the last survivor of that notable Convention.

DR. COLLIER COBB.

Dr. Cobb has contributed many interesting papers to the *Booklet*. A sketch of him appeared in the *Booklet*, Vol. XI, No. 3.

MR. MACK CHAPPELL.

Mr. Chappell has never before contributed to this publication. His article on "The Cupola House and Its Associations" is of such value, showing such painstaking research, that members of the Advisory Board decided that it should be published. Mr. Chappel is a young man whose ambition urges him to make his life a success by his own efforts. He graduated at the Edenton Academy, May, 1915, and is now at Mars Hill, North Carolina. This paper was one of a number written and presented in the contest for the Colonel John Hinton medal at the Edenton Academy in May, 1915. This medal is given in memory of this Revolutionary hero, who was a native of Chowan Precinct for the finest essay on some given local historical subject and is one of the leading feautres of each commencement at the Academy. This, however, did not win the medal, which shows of what high order the essays are. It was considered worthy of recognition, so for the first time a second prize was given.

We shall watch with interest Mr. Chappell's progress and sincerely wish him all success.

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