

The
NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

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

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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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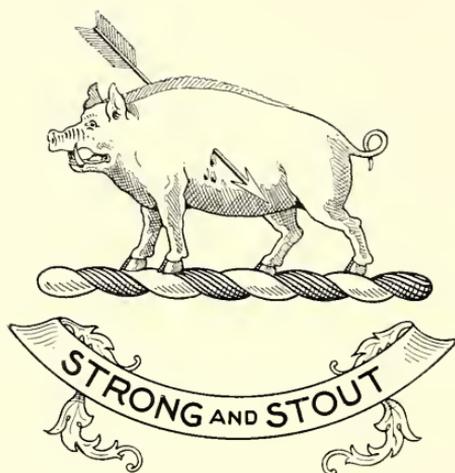
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THE POLLOK CREST

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GOVERNOR THOMAS POLLOK.

BY MRS. JOHN W. HINSDALE.

The crest of a Stricken Boar, with the motto: "Strong and Stout," were conferred by James IV. of Scotland upon Pollok of Balgra, who saved the life of his sovereign, when he was attacked while hunting, by a furious wild boar. These arms have been honorably borne by his descendants since that time.

Thomas Pollok was born on the 6th day of March, 1864. He was the son of Thomas Pollok of Balgra, near Glasco, in County Renfrew, Scotland. His grandfather was Thomas, his great-grandfather was David Pollok, of Balgra, who married Margaret, a daughter of the Rev. Zachery Boyd, an eminent Scotch divine, who was born before 1590 and died in 1653, one year before the birth of his great-grandson.

Zachery Boyd was a professor in the University of Saumur, in France, until the persecutions of the Protestants in that country in 1621 forced him to return to Scotland. He was the author of many religious works, and in his will he bequeathed the sum of 20,000 pounds Scots to the University of Glasco, on the condition that his rhymical version of the Old Testament should be published by the faculty. The bequest was accepted and one volume of the work was printed. This book is now preserved in a glass case in the university, his stone bust surmounts the court gateway, while his portrait is in the Divinity Hall of this seat of learning.

The following is an example of the rude versification employed by Dr. Boyd:

*North Carolina
Booklet
1664*

Pharaoh was a great rascal,
Because he would not let
The children of Israel
With their flocks and herds,
Wives and little ones,
Go three days' journey
Into the wilderness,
To keep the Paschal.

The writer is obliged to use modern spelling, as this couplet has been handed down by word of mouth, and was never seen in print.

Of the childhood of Thomas Pollok we know nothing, and but little of his early life. His elder brother James died when past middle age. His sister Margaret married her kinsman George Pollok, minister of Erskin, and his sister Helen married the Rev. David Robe, minister at Ballantree, who, after the accession of King William, moved with his family to Ireland.

Thomas Pollok landed in North Carolina on June 27, 1683. He came in the capacity of Deputy to Lord Carteret, one of the seven Lords Proprietors, to whom was granted by Charles II. on May 23, 1663, "all territory extending from the north of Luke Island, which lieth in the southern Virginian seas, southward as far as the river to St. Matthias, which bordereth upon the coast of Florida." (Col. Rec., vol. 1, p. 21.)

At this time the colony contained about five thousand inhabitants and was composed of a few settlements fringing the shores of Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds, and extending for a short distance on each side of the streams, which empty into these bodies of water.

At this time the fisheries were undeveloped, and with the exception of one grist mill, the inhabitants were without mechanical appliances. Many of the settlers pounded their grain in stone mortars, others were the happy possessors of hand-mills, which were so highly prized as to be bequeathed

along with other personal property. Many of the houses were built of hewn logs and roofed with slabs, and as hardware was almost unattainable they were put together with wooden pins and the doors were hung on hinges of the same material; the chimneys were built of rough stone, which was brought as ballast in the ships from Barbadoes.

We know neither the size of Mr. Pollok's house, nor the material of which it was made, but from his letters we find that he was surrounded with many of the comforts of life and by some of its elegancies; a silver ladle which belonged to him, and a great arm chair, made of walnut wood, in which he used to sit, are now the property of Mrs. John Devereux, of Raleigh.

About this time Boston plank was first imported, and the first brick were burned. In his will, Mr. Pollok left directions in regard to a house with brick chimneys and cellar, which was then in process of building for his son Cullen.

Great droves of hogs and cattle, which constituted the chief source of the wealth of the planters, roamed through the forests on the higher ground or "second lands," where they found abundant food in the wild fruits and mast, and in the natural herbage, which were produced in such quantities that no further supplies were needed. The winters were then, as now, so mild that no shelter was needed. The only care necessary was that they should be marked by cutting the ears. This was done at stated intervals, each planter having his own device; that adopted by Mr. Pollok was a "swallow fork and keel" (a notch and a crescent), and this mark was used by his descendants until after the Civil War. To change or to deface these marks was an offense severely punished by law. The soil was wonderfully productive, great crops of corn being raised in the river bottoms, or "low grounds."

As transportation with wheeled vehicles was impossible, each plantation had its water front, with wharves and landings, and each planter was the owner of many canoes, besides

one or more vessels; some of these were small and only used locally, while others were of sufficient size to make the voyage to Boston and to the West Indies, and even sometimes to cross the ocean.

As there were no towns of sufficient size to serve as depots for the products of the colony, the mercantile transactions were principally in the hands of New England traders, who would visit the plantations, bringing their cargoes almost to the doors of the planters. As coin was scarce, they had recourse to a system of barter, exchanging their imported wares for skins, salt beef and pork, tallow, staves and tar, the Assembly having fixed a money value upon each of these rated commodities. These New Englanders also sold both negro and Indian slaves, Mr. Pollok's heirs owning many descendants of Narraganset Indians bought from these traders.

Many of the colonists were men of refinement and culture, as is shown by the chirography and diction of their letters, wills, etc. Some of them had left their homes for political reasons, and others were younger sons whom a spirit of adventure had prompted to seek their fortunes in a new land. As the plantations embraced great bodies of land, communication between their owners was often difficult, yet a pleasant social intercourse was kept up. Many were the gatherings beneath the hospitable roofs, and around the cheerful fire-sides, where the gentlemen enjoyed their "bumbo," or rum punch, and the ladies sipped their milder cups of tea and chocolate. Into this charmed circle Mr. Pollok was welcomed, and soon became prominent, both socially and in the government of the colony.

Being a strong churchman, he was one of the organizers of St. Paul's Parish, Edenton (then called Queen Anne's Creek). The first vestry met at the house of Mr. Thomas Gilliam, December 12, 1701, when Mr. Pollok was made a vestryman, and steps were at once taken to build the first

church ever erected in North Carolina. It was a wooden building, "twenty-five feet long, posts in the ground and held to the cellar beams." (Col. Rec., vol. 1, p. 543.) It stood upon an acre of land given by Mr. Edward Smithwick, near the present site of Hays, once the historic home of the Johnston family. The first service was held in this church in January, 1703, yet the building was not completed until 1705. The delay was caused by the difficulty in procuring competent workmen, and also by the want of hinges, nails, screws, etc., needed for the interior finishing, which articles had to be brought from England. Mr. Pollok was also made church warden, but declined the position, preferring to pay the tax imposed for so doing, rather than perform the duties of the office.

"At a vestry meet of 29th day of September, 1705," Mr. Henry Gerrard was chosen minister to Chowan district, the church wardens agreeing to pay him 30 pounds sterling per annum besides voluntary contributions. The following amounts were given:

	L.	S.	D.
Col. Thomas Pollok.....	5	0	0
Wm. Duckingfield, Esq	4	0	0
John Arden, Esq.....	3	0	0
Mr. Edward Mosley.....	5	0	0
Capt. Thomas Luten.....	1	0	0
Mr. Nicholas Crisp.....	1	5	0
Mr. Edward Smithwick.....	1	0	0
Mr. John Blount.....	1	0	0
Mr. William Banbery	0	8	0
Mr. Matt. Chevin.....	1	0	0
John Wheatley.....	0	10	0
Richard Rose.....	0	10	0
John Linnington.....	0	15	0
Capt. David Henderson.....	0	20	0
Henry Bonner.....	0	10	0

As Mr. Gerrard proved unworthy to fill this sacred office, he was removed, to be succeeded by the Rev. Mr. Gordon. Mr. Pollok wrote to the Lords Proprietors thanking them

for the appointment of this good man to be minister to the colony.

Before 1690, when Mr. Pollok returned to Scotland for a brief period, he had acquired great bodies of land lying along the Roanoke, Chowan and Trent Rivers. He resided sometimes on his plantation Balgra, near Queen Anne's Creek, and sometimes on another plantation called Salmon Creek. This year he was married to Mistress Martha West, widow of Robert West, Esq., and "daughter of Thomas Cullen, Esq., at Dover." She was the mother of his four children and died in 1701. Late in life he married Mistress Esther Wilkinson, whom he survived; there were no children by this marriage. He was a tender and a judicious father, sending his children to England that they might be educated as became their birth and station, thus fitting them for the high positions which they were to fill in after life. His eldest son, Thomas, succeeded his father as deputy to two of the Lords Proprietors. He was also surveyor-general to the colony and afterwards its Chief Justice. His second son, Cullen, entered the English army and served in the Low Countries under the Duke of Cumberland, holding the rank of Major at the battle of Fontenoy. Late in life he returned to Carolina and married, but left no sons.

George, the third son, married Sarah Swann. They left no children.

His daughter Martha married the Rev. Thomas Bray, who was sent to the colony as a missionary by the Rt. Rev. Dr. Compton, Bishop of London. Dr. Bray was a man of much learning and was the first to found a public library in North Carolina. He is also entitled to the honor of having originated the first systematic movement of the Church of England in the work of missions. (Hawks Hist. of N. C., vol. 2, page 339.)

Mrs. Bray died in 1719 without children.

After Culpepper's rebellion, Seth Stothel was appointed

Governor of North Carolina. On the voyage from England his ship was taken by pirates and he was held a prisoner for some months. Perhaps it was from his Algerian captors that he acquired a thorough contempt for justice and virtue, for during the six years in which he misruled North Carolina his character showed not a single redeeming trait; no one was safe from his rapacity and cruelty. He unjustly imprisoned Mr. Pollok without permitting him to see the cause of his "mittimus." For this and for still more heinous crimes he was severely reprimanded by the Lords Proprietors, yet was allowed to remain in office. Finally the patience of the people was exhausted and they seized upon him in order to send him to England, but he prayed that he might be tried by the next Assembly. This was accordingly done, and his judges decreed that he should immediately resign his government and depart the country in twelve months. (Williamson's Hist. of N. C., vol. 1, page 141.)

He was succeeded by Sir Philip Ludwell, who held office for four years. At the end of this time, 1694, Thomas Harvey was appointed Governor, and he at once made Mr. Pollok one of his council. For the next thirty years Mr. Pollok held office in the colony, both civil and military, being for a long period Major-General of its forces. It is true these were but a handful of men, ununiformed, undisciplined, and often unpaid, yet under the valiant leadership of their commander they saved the colony from destruction.

The period from 1708 to 1711, known as the "Cary Rebellion," was a time of chaos in North Carolina. The trouble arose from the negligence on Cary's part to render an account to the Lords Proprietors of the quit-rents accruing while he held the office of collector, as well as that of governor; he was superseded by William Glover, to whose authority he at first submitted, but soon after listened to bad advice and attempted to resume the government with an armed force. The citizens in general not caring to commit themselves to either

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party, "for two years and upwards there was no law, no justice, assembly or judicature, so that people did and said as they list." (Prefatory notes to C. R., vol. 1, page 28.) Mr. Pollok strongly opposed the Cary faction, but as he was unable to resist its power, he sought refuge in Virginia for the six months in which it held sway, returning to North Carolina upon the arrival of Governor Hyde in August, 1711.

Both sides now resorted to arms, and Cary attacked Queen Anne's Creek in hopes of carrying off the Governor in his brigantine, then lying in the Sound, but was repulsed without loss of life, and Governor Spottswood sending troops from Virginia, the rebels soon dispersed.

Mr. Pollok administered the oath of office to Governor Hyde "Friday ye ninth day of May, Ano. Di. 1712," being the same day confirmed in his office as deputy to John, Lord Carteret, son to Sir George Carteret, one of the original Lords Proprietors (C. R., vol. 1, p. 811).

On the ninth of September of the same year, Governor Hyde died of yellow fever, and on the twelfth Maj.-Gen. Pollok was unanimously chosen Governor pro tem. The position of Governor had already been tendered to him several times. An extract from a letter to the Lords Proprietors, dated September 20, 1712, says: "The real desire to serve her majesty, your lordships, and the poor people here, with the importunity of the council, has forced me to accept of the administration at this time when the country seems to labor under insuperable difficulties when in more peaceable times I have refused it. And I assure your lordships that I will faithfully and truly serve you to the uttermost of my power and knowledge until you are pleased to appoint some other. In the meantime, I think it is my duty, as briefly as I can, to lay before you the true state of the country." (Pollok's letter book, Hawks' Hist. of N. C., vol. 2, p. 407.)

At this time the condition of the colony was most precarious; not only was it torn by internal dissensions, distressed

by a succession of bad crops, and crippled by an insufficient currency, but it was constantly threatened by a repetition of the Indian invasion, which had begun the previous year on the 11th of September with the massacre of all the white settlers south of Albemarle Sound. This day was long observed, by order of the Assembly, as a day of fasting and prayer.

Through the courage, firmness and moderation of Governor Pollok, the distressed colony was safely steered through these perils; with a cool head and a steady hand he put down the machinations of the Quakers, who refused to bear arms for the general defense, yet sedulously stirred up strife among their neighbors, thus adding to the already troubled state of affairs. Governor Pollok wrote to Lord Carteret on September 20th, 1712: "Governor Hyde has labored under great difficulties by the divisions and differences amongst the inhabitants, and by the Indian War, all of which, I believe, I may truly declare hath been directly occasioned by . . . and some few evil-disposed persons, with the whole body of Quakers, who joined them, and were their instruments to stir up Col. Cary to act as he did; and albeit these Quakers were very active in persuading and assisting the people to rise for Col. Cary, against Governor Hyde, yet now in this Indian war wherein Neuse and Pamlico are in great danger to be greatly deserted, yet they will neither assist themselves nor suffer others and will not so much as send their arms to those who are willing to go, and, as I am credibly informed, hide them for fear of their being pressed. So that now we labor under these difficulties following . . . chiefly by these Quakers, and some few evil-disposed persons, who have been a plague to this government these four or five years past and who may be easily known by Governor Hyde's reiterated complaints against them to your lordships." (Pollok Mss. Hawks' Hist. of N. C., vol. 2, p. 411.)

Every resource was now called into action, and the Quakers were temporarily frightened into a state of quiescence, while

the manhood of the colony gathered around their intrepid leader. Assisted by an armed force from South Carolina under Colonel Barnwell, the Carolinians defeated the Indians in battle and captured their forts, thus rendering them comparatively harmless.

On November 25, 1712, a treaty of peace was signed between Governor Pollok, on the one side, and Tom Blount, Chief of the Tuscaroras, and five of his braves, on the other, by which the whites bound themselves to allow certain privileges to this tribe, to protect them from the inroads of the Cores and Mattamuskeets, their enemies; and also that their chief should henceforth be called "King Blount." While the red men promised to abstain from all acts of hostility, to give warning of any threatened invasion, to remain on their own lands and never to cross Contechney Creek, without blowing a horn, to attract the attention of the near settlers, and so obtain their permission to cross this boundary. This agreement was honorably respected by both parties, and thus was the colony saved from years of bloodshed and disaster. The original of this treaty with the signature of Governor Pollok and the tokens and marks of the Indians is now owned by Mrs. John Devereux, and can be seen in the Hall of History, Raleigh, N. C.

Soon after this an Indian belonging to the Five Nations was captured along with a hunting party from another tribe, who were strongly suspected of being on the war-path. Under the law which then existed the captive became the slave of the captor. As the evil intentions of this band could not be proved, and as the colony was at this time at peace with the Five Nations, Governor Pollok purchased the Indian at his private expense and sent him by sea, with a letter to Governor Schuyler of New York, asking that he be restored to his people.

During the winter of 1712-'13, when the forces under Colonel Barnwell wintered in North Carolina, so great was

the scarcity of food in parts of the settlement, and so poor were the means of transportation, that it was impossible to collect at any one point a sufficient amount of provisions with which to feed the troops, and they were therefore divided into small parties, which were quartered in different localities wherever supplies were most abundant. To such straits was the colony reduced, before it readjusted itself under the leadership of this executive man.

In 1710, Christopher Baron DeGraffenreid, assisted by Colonel Mitchell, a Swiss gentleman, brought into the colony a number of Swiss and Palatins, six hundred souls all told, whom he settled near New Bern, promising to give to each family 250 acres of land, to furnish their farming implements, and for two years to supply them with necessary food and clothing. These immigrants were a simple and an industrious people, who, had they prospered, would have made for themselves comfortable and happy homes on the rich lands of Carolina, where the forests were full of game, the swamps and water-courses teemed with wild fowl and fish, and where a grain of corn dropped into the earth returned an hundred fold. No doubt De Graffenreid and his associate were honest in their intentions towards these unfortunate people, but disaster had marked them for her own. Internal dissensions, sickness, poverty and attacks from blood-thirsty Indians proved their ruin, and although large sums of money were advanced by Governor Pollok from his private purse and other material aid given by him, the settlement was broken up, and its members scattered amongst neighboring plantations. Many of the names of these people can still be found in Craven and the adjacent counties. Among the Pollok papers are many notes of hand and renewals, bearing the signature of Christopher De Graffenreid. An account of these transactions will be found in the Pollok letter book (C. R., vol. 2, p. 166).

Charles Eden was appointed Governor, on May 4, 1714, on which day Governor Pollok retired from office, and for the ensuing eight years lived on his plantations, devoting himself to his private interests, to those of the Lords Carteret and Beaufort, to whom he held the part of deputy for forty years, and in assisting the administration in every way in his power.

Upon the death of Governor Eden in 1722, the Assembly for the second time called upon Mr. Pollok to fill the executive chair. He was the first governor to hold two terms of office.

At this time he was sixty-eight years of age, not an old man, but no doubt enfeebled by the harassing cares and anxieties of his arduous life, yet he did not shrink from this renewed responsibility and entered at once upon the duties of his position. Six months later he was attacked by fever, which is said to have been aggravated by fresh annoyance from the Quakers, who had never ceased to cause him trouble. He died in office on August 30, 1722, having given the best years of his life to his adopted country. He was buried by the side of Martha, his wife, on his plantation Balgra, near the Roanoke River. Here they rested until about 1891, when the river had changed its course to such an extent as to undermine its banks and thus endanger the graves; the remains were therefore removed to St. Paul's churchyard, Edenton, as that was thought to be the fittest resting place for one of its founders.

Mr. Pollok's will shows that he bequeathed to his three sons, Thomas, Cullen and George, fifty-five thousand acres of land, including that on which the city of New Bern now stands, besides a large amount of personal property.

The eldest son, Thomas, married Elizabeth Sanderson, daughter of Col. Richard Sanderson, of Pasquotank, at whose house the first Colonial Assembly was held.

Cullen married, but left no sons.

George married Sarah Swan, and died childless.

Thomas Pollok and Elizabeth Sanderson left three sons—Thomas, Cullen and George. The last-named died an infant. Cullen married Anne Boothe, of Bath, England; there were many children by this marriage, all of whom died in infancy.

Thomas married Eunice Edwards, daughter of the Rev. Jonathan Edwards, of Connecticut. They had four children—Elizabeth, Thomas, Frances, and George.

Elizabeth married and died childless.

Thomas died in Italy in 1803. He was never married.

George will be hereafter mentioned.

Frances married John Devereux, Esq. They had three children, the Hon. Thomas Pollok Devereux, who was the father of the late Maj. John Devereux, Frances who married the Rt. Rev. Leonidas Polk, and George Devereux, Esq., who married Miss Johnson of Connecticut.

George Pollok, son of Eunice Edwards and Thomas Pollok, and great-grandson of Governor Pollok, was killed by a fall from his horse in June, 1836. He was the last descendant to bear the name of Pollok.

This genealogy is taken from the family Bible, and also from an affidavit of Mrs. Eunice Pollok, made in 1820, in a suit involving the title to a tract of land which was decided in her favor.

The writer, who is in the seventh generation from Governor Pollok, has retained the original spelling of the name as found in the family Bible and in the private papers and letter-book of Governor Pollok.

Thanks are due to Mr. Marshall DeLancey Haywood for valuable references.

DeLancey Haywood

THE BATTLE OF COWAN'S FORD—THE PASSAGE OF
THE CATAWBA RIVER BY LORD CORNWALLIS,
FEBRUARY 1, 1781.

BY MAJOR WILLIAM A. GRAHAM.

When General Greene succeeded General Gates in the command of the Southern Army at Charlotte, December, 1780, he, with the main portion of the army, took position near Cheraw, S. C., to antagonize any movement of the enemy from Charleston or from Winnsboro into North Carolina. General Morgan, with whom was Colonel Washington and some of the North Carolina militia under Maj. Joseph McDowell, of Burke County, was placed between Cornwallis and the "loyalist" settlements of Tryon County and contiguous Tory territory in South Carolina. It was expected that McDowell, if necessity required, could be reinforced by other "over-the-mountain men." These men seem to have been almost unanimously true to the American cause, and promptly responded to all calls for service. When they left home there were none left behind to annoy their families or pillage their property.. Morgan was about equidistant from Cornwallis at Winnsboro and the British post at Ninety-Six (so called from its distance from Charleston), and could move to annoy either as occasion required. For a central army connecting with these two wings, General Greene relied upon the militia of Rowan and Mecklenburg, reinforced by that portion of Tryon County men who were true to the cause of liberty. These men, although not as numerous as could have been desired, were as patriotic as any in the colonies, and answered every call to service, notwithstanding that in doing so they left their property and families exposed to the depredations of their Tory neighbors.

The militia of these counties were divided into "details" or assignments; one of which was called into service as occasion

demand, for generally terms of three months and not to serve again until each of the other assignments had served a term. But when the enemy appeared in the adjacent territory the militia was called out "en masse" and they generally responded without claiming exemptions due for other service either as militia or in the "Line."

History of the Revolution does not show any people equal to the inhabitants of these counties in service in the struggle for independence—they were in fact soldiers cantoned upon their own families, ready to immediately respond to a call to service and to provide their own findings; in clothes, arms and ammunition. When notice was received, while the horse "ate a bite" the man cleaned his gun, "ran" some bullets and greased his patching; while the wife or mother cooked some rations, which no doubt included a few pies—a ration very popular with the citizens of that time and still much enjoyed by their descendants of the third and fourth generations. They would not remain in camp unless a fight was immediately on hand, but returned home, with or without leave, as soon as the enemy disappeared from the front or a battle had been fought. The reinforcements going to Ramsaur's Mill met participants in the fight returning home within an hour after the close of the action, two miles from the scene. Colonel Davie could never keep over a third of his numbers available unless he could assure them that there would be a fight in a day or two.

General Greene immediately ordered General Davidson to call a detail of the militia into service for three months. General Davidson commanded the militia of the district (Salisbury), and assumed direct command of the detachments in service. General Davie had heretofore recruited and commanded the cavalry deemed necessary to act with the militia; he had accepted the position of Commissary-General; the term of service of his last command had expired in November.

General Davidson, in January, when it became evident that Cornwallis was about to begin his campaign, proposed to Adjutant Joseph Graham to raise the necessary cavalry command; promising him such rank as commanding officer as the number of men recruited would justify. In a short time he had enlisted from among the young men, most of whom had served one or more terms of service, fifty-six; only five of whom were married. These men were to furnish their own horses, arms and accoutrements, and upon serving six weeks were to be credited with a three-months' tour. The swords and scabbards were made principally by the smiths and shoemakers of the vicinity in which the men lived. They no doubt when formed in line presented an appearance similar to that of some of their descendants in the commencement of hostilities in 1861. Most of them had rifles, and they were prepared for action either mounted or on foot. The first move of Cornwallis was to destroy Morgan's force, or to push it before him out of South Carolina so as to prevent him, if further reinforced by the "over-the-mountain men," from capturing the post of Ninety-Six and subduing the Tories in that section. For this purpose he dispatched Colonel Tarleton.

In the battle of Cowpens, January 17th, Morgan defeated Tarleton, killing ten officers and ninety men and capturing twenty-three officers and five hundred men—the casualties being about two-thirds of Tarleton's force. In his "Campaigns," Tarleton attributes his defeat to Lord Cornwallis not moving his army up Broad River, as he had requested and expected him to do, so as to be in supporting distance. The place was called Cowpens, being a point where "the range" cattle were annually gathered that the calves might be marked with the ear-mark of the owner of the mother. Cornwallis, being nearer the fords of the Catawba than Morgan, now endeavored to anticipate him in reaching that

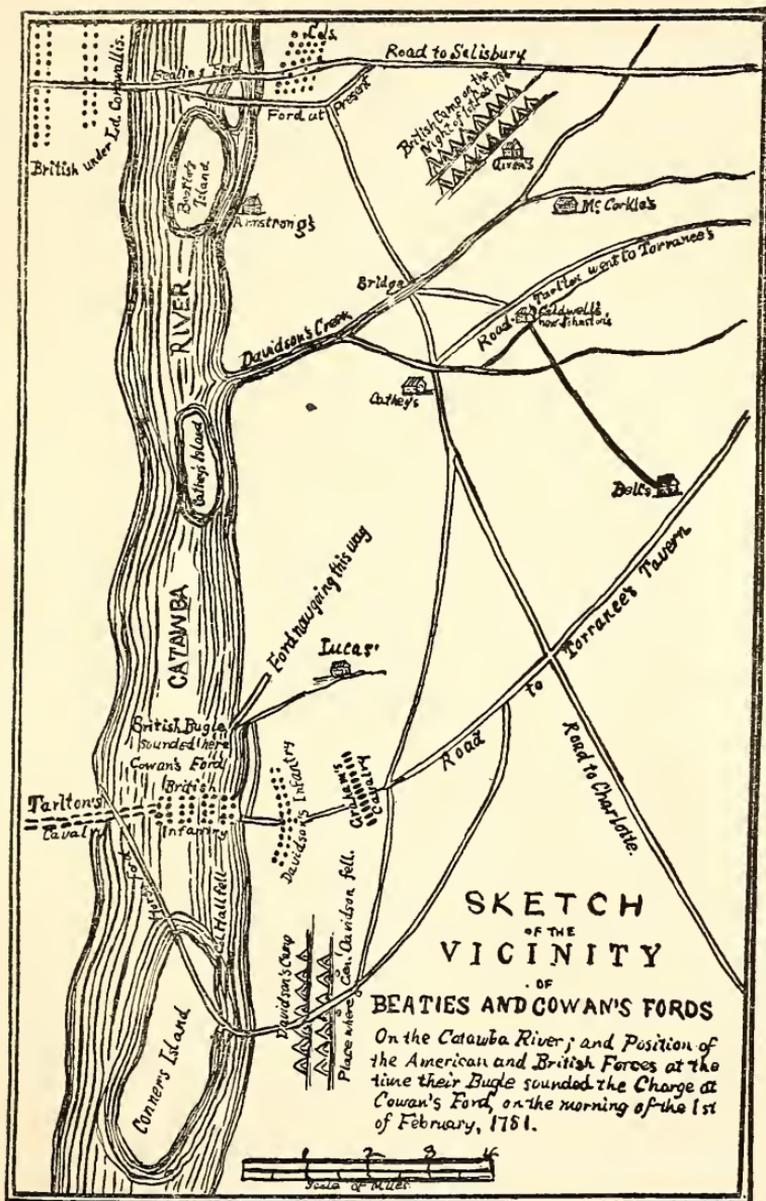
river—but being uncertain as to the route Morgan would pursue, delayed by swollen streams, and thinking he would pursue one of the most direct routes, moved so as to change his course as information he might receive would require. He reached Ramsaur's Mill (Lincolnton) on the afternoon of the 24th and, having about abandoned the idea of overtaking Morgan, remained there, collecting a supply of breadstuffs and grain, three days. Before leaving this point he reduced his wagon train to the lowest amount that could accommodate his army, and destroyed all surplus baggage and wagons. The loss of the six hundred men at Cowpens, which was equal to at least a sixth of his available force,—aided in the reduction of transportation necessary for his command.

Tarleton gives this account of the transaction: "Earl Cornwallis reduced the size and quantity of his own baggage and his laudable example was followed by general and other officers under his command." The surplus baggage and wagons were burned. After the battle of Cowpens, Morgan, perhaps to avoid delays which might be incurred on account of swollen streams, passed around the mountains that divide the headwaters of the South Fork from those of the main Catawba, and through the present site of Morganton and arrived at the present location of Maiden, only ten miles from Cornwallis, on the 25th. After this he was not over twenty miles distant from him until he crossed the Catawba. Upon learning of Cornwallis' position he committed the prisoners to Colonel Washington and the militia, who turned to the left, and crossed the Catawba at Island Ford.

Morgan, with his immediate command, taking the Sherrill's Ford road, which placed him between Washington and Cornwallis, crossed the Catawba at Sherrill's Ford on the afternoon of the 30th of January. After crossing the river Washington turned down the stream and united with Morgan's forces. The militia with the prisoners passed on, by way of Statesville and probably to Salem by Shallow Ford, and

thence to Virginia. I have never seen a statement as to the route pursued. Morgan and Washington's troops followed the Sherrill's Ford road to Salisbury. Cornwallis reached the Catawba at Beattie's Ford on the afternoon of the 28th, and says he found the river too swollen to cross and retired about four miles to the plantation of Jacob Forney, a wealthy farmer and prominent Whig, (the place is now owned by Mrs. Sallie Hall—near it stands the rock, about six feet long, three wide and two high, which Cornwallis used as a table, and which has since been known as "Cornwallis' table"), where he had been directed by a Tory (Deck) of the vicinity as a place that provisions could be had. When Cornwallis left the country, Forney sought for Deck and informed him that he would kill him, but upon Deck's entreaty and promise to leave the State, he permitted him to emigrate. As to the swollen condition of the river, General Graham says: "It was not more flush than usual at this season and that it was fordable from a week before until two days after this; that General Davidson's cavalry frequently crossed it during these days." Some historians have Cornwallis pursuing Morgan and arriving at Sherrill's Ford a very short time (a few hours) after Morgan had crossed, and finding the river had suddenly risen and enabled him to escape. The Yadkin on account of the rain on the 1st rose on the 2d and 3d of February so that, although Morgan's forces and some other troops had crossed that day, General O'Hara found some militia unable to cross, with whom there was an engagement that afternoon. It is confusion of these two points that causes error as to the condition of the Catawba.

Beattie's Ford, while the best Ford on the river, has always had a deep current near each bank, which a very slight rise causes to be too deep for wagons to cross without getting their contents wet. The road at this time went above the island



SKETCH OF THE VICINITY OF

BEATIES AND GOWAN'S FORDS

On the Catawba River; and Position of the American and British Forces at the time their Bugle sounded the Charge at Cowan's Ford, on the morning of the 1st of February, 1781.

and was probably deeper than now at the east bank (see map). Cornwallis' train had a large quantity of flour which had just been procured at Ramsaur's Mill; it was probably in order to preserve this that he delayed his crossing, or perhaps finding the public fords guarded, delayed to find passage by a private one. Cornwallis informed Tarleton before the campaign opened that he would cross "at some public ford above Tuckasegee." Toole's was the only one between Tuckasegee and Beattie's, and when Cornwallis learned that Morgan had escaped, he naturally turned to Beattie's for the passage of his artillery and provision train. It was the most suitable for this purpose. General Davidson, upon the approach of Cornwallis, made disposition of his forces to oppose his crossing. He placed at Tuckasegee two hundred militia under Col. John Williams, of Surrey County; at Toole's seventy men under Captain Potts, of Mecklenburg; at Cowan's, twenty-five under Lieut. Thomas Davidson, of Mecklenburg. Trees were felled and fortifications erected at Toole's and Tuckasegee. At Beattie's he assembled the Mecklenburg infantry under Col. William Polk; the Orange militia under Colonel Farmer; and the Rowan militia, also Graham's company of cavalry. Orange County seems to have been the only troops from a distance who had promptly responded; the others under Butler and Eaton not joining General Greene until a day or two before the battle of Guilford Court-house. Graham's cavalry crossed at Beattie's Ford on January 30th, and ascertained that the enemy were at Forney's. Their cavalry was at Colonel Black's, within two miles of the ford.

General Greene, learning of the movements of Cornwallis, ordered the forces at Cheraw to immediately proceed to Beattie's Ford. He went in advance, directing General Davidson to notify General Morgan and Colonel Washington that he wished to meet them at Beattie's Ford on the afternoon of January 31st, perhaps naming the hour. They arrived at

the appointed place at two o'clock, and in ten minutes General Greene and his aide, Major Pierce, rode up. These, with General Davidson, retired out of camp, took a seat on a log, and after twenty minutes' conference, Morgan and Washington departed by a route that led to their command under General Howard. General Greene went direct to Salisbury. Why General Greene did not order these troops to Beattie's Ford I have never seen suggested by any one. The five hundred men under Howard and Washington were a more efficient force than all Davidson's command. He writes at Beattie's Ford a most earnest appeal to Col. Francis Locke to assemble the Rowan militia en masse; chides the militia for slow response to General Davidson's call, and tells him that the "Continental army is marching with all possible dispatch from the Pee Dee (Cheraw) to this place." Then why not bring Morgan and Washington, one or both, as reinforcements? Colonel Locke did not get his men organized in time to meet Cornwallis at Beattie's Ford, but we find him in his front when he leaves Salisbury on February 4th. There was no more meritorious officer than Francis Locke in the war. The cause of the slow response was probably the aversion of the men to camp life and the uncertainty as to when there would be an engagement. Wheeler states that Morgan was dissatisfied with the route General Greene insisted he should take on his retreat, and when the forces were all united at Guilford Court-house Morgan retired from service before the battle and went to his farm in Virginia. He either wished to join the prisoners via Salem or to come to Beattie's Ford, as he followed the only remaining route via Salisbury; to connect with which Howard was moving when he came to meet Greene. While the American officers were in consultation, a detachment of some four or five hundred British appeared on the hills on the west side of the river, and the officers

seemed to be viewing the American position through spy-glasses. This was thought to be Cornwallis and his staff. Shortly after General Greene left, General Davidson ordered the Mecklenburg militia, under Colonel Polk, and Graham's cavalry to move to Cowan's Ford, leaving Colonel Farmer in command of the forces at Beattie's Ford. General Greene told General Davidson that he thought that "the enemy intended to cross the river; that the cavalry would probably be passed by some private ford that night, and in the morning when the infantry attempted a passage, would attack the forces at the point in the rear." He ordered that patrols of those best acquainted with the country should be maintained all night between Beattie's and Tuckasegee fords, and any discovery of the enemy be reported immediately to headquarters. The troops arrived at Cowan's Ford after dark and too late to examine positions.

"The river here is supposed to be about four hundred yards wide, of different depths and rocky bottom. That called the wagon ford went directly across and was at that time generally used for the passage of vehicles. At the eastern shore the road turns down the river and winds up the point of the ridge in order to graduate the ascent. Above the coming out place a flat piece of ground not much higher than the water; overgrown with haw and persimmon bushes and bambo briars; five or six yards wide extends up the river about thirty-one poles to the mouth of a small branch and a deep ravine. Outside of this the bank rises thirty or forty feet at an angle of thirty degrees of elevation; then the ascent is more gradual."

The "horse ford" (which is now more generally used, in fact almost universally for both horses and vehicles) "comes in on the west at the same place as the 'wagon'; goes obliquely to the right down the river about two thirds of the way across, to the upper point of a large island, thence through the island and across the other third of the river to the end of a rocky

hill. This way is longer but much shallower and smoother, and reaches the bank about a fourth of a mile below the wagon route." General Davidson thought that if the enemy attempted to cross here it would be by way of the horse ford, and placed Colonel Polk with the Mecklenburg militia and Graham's cavalry upon the hill which overlooks it. Lieutenant Davidson, with his picket, remained at his station about forty steps above the wagon ford. Cornwallis, by patrols finding that all the principal fords were occupied by Americans, used Tory guides and spies to ascertain the condition of the private fords; and determined to cross his first force at Cowan's (McCowan's, he and Tarleton call it) while making a demonstration with his other force at Beattie's. It will be recollected that up to dark of the night before only Lieutenant Davidson and twenty-five men were here and they were at the wagon ford. This was probably the last information he received before reaching the river. He says: "I approached the river by short marches so as to give the enemy equal apprehension for several fords, and after having procured the best information in my power, I resolved to attempt the passage at a private ford then slightly guarded near McCowan's Ford."

This would indicate that his intention was to have crossed by the wagon ford where there was no opposing force at his last report; not having learned of the moving of General Davidson with the Mecklenburg troops from Beattie's to Cowan's Ford, as they did not reach position until after dark. Upon reaching the river he says: "It was evident from the number of fires on the other side that there would be greater opposition than I had expected." He probably, as the fires upon the hill at the horse ford were so much more numerous than at the wagon, concluded at once to travel the latter route, and did not do so, as Steadman says, because the "guide fled in the middle of the stream," and he determined to go directly

across. This would have landed him about half way between the out-go of the fords and where there was no road up the bank of the river. The fords separated as soon as the river was entered and the guide took him by the wagon ford from bank to bank (see map).

Having ordered Colonel Webster to move with his command and the wagon train, so as to be at Beattie's Ford, six miles above Cowan's, by daylight, and "to make every possible demonstration" of intention to force a passage, as soon as he heard firing at Cowan's, Cornwallis, at 1 o'clock a. m., February 1st, took up line of march for Cowan's with following force, viz., brigade of guards, regiment of Bose, 23d Regiment, two hundred cavalry under Tarleton, and two three-pounders. Part of the way a new road was cut, and on account of darkness one cannon was overturned and part of the troops losing the line of march were delayed. The head of the column reached the river as "day began to break." Cornwallis determined to move on immediately without waiting for arrival of the delayed troops. He committed the immediate command to General O'Hara. This has caused the error of General Graham and others that Cornwallis personally did not cross here, but at Beattie's. Orders were not to fire until they gained the opposite bank. Fred Hager, a Tory who lived in the neighborhood, was guide. General O'Hara formed his command in column of fours, muskets with fixed bayonets carried upon the left shoulder and cartridge boxes upon the same shoulder; each footman had a staff about eight feet long, which he used when necessary to support himself against the rapidity of the current, the water being waist deep and sometimes deeper. The infantry was in front, the Brigade Guards leading and Tarleton's cavalry bringing up the rear. On account of the fog Lieutenant Davidson's picket did not perceive the enemy until they were one hundred yards in the water. The picket immediately

opened fire. General Davidson formed at the horse ford and ordered Graham to move rapidly to reinforce Lieutenant Davidson; by the time they reached the point, tied their horses and went into action the enemy were within fifty yards of the bank. The effect of their fire was visible and the front ranks looked thin. They halted; Colonel Hall, the first man to appear mounted, was about one hundred yards from the bank and came pressing forward, giving orders. The column again moved forward. Thomas Barnett, one of Graham's men, by a well-aimed shot, unhorsed Colonel Hall and at the same time a shot from some one else threw his horse; several soldiers went to his aid and brought him to land. Notwithstanding the fire was steadily continued the enemy pressed on. As each section reached the shore the men dropped their poles and brought their muskets and cartridge boxes to proper position; faced to the left and moved up the narrow strip of low ground, so that the others as they landed could form on their right. They immediately began to load and fire up the bank. The Americans gave back, and upon loading would advance to the summit of the hill, thirty steps from the enemy and fire. General Davidson, arriving upon the scene and finding Graham's Cavalry in the position he wished the infantry to occupy, also impressed with General Greene's opinion that the enemy's cavalry would attack him in the rear, ordered Graham to retire, mount his men and form on the ridge two hundred yards in his rear, in order to meet any attack in that quarter.

As the cavalry moved off the infantry took their places, and the fire became brisk upon both sides. The enemy moved steadily forward, their fire increasing until their left reached the mouth of the branch; thirty poles from the ford. The ravine was too steep to be passed. The rear of their infantry and front of their cavalry was about the middle of the river; when the bugle sounded on their left, their fire slackened and

nearly ceased; they were loading their pieces. In about a minute it sounded again, when their whole line from the ford to the branch advanced up the bank with their arms at a trail. The hill was so steep in many places that they had to pull up by the bushes. General Davidson, finding them advancing with loaded arms, ordered a retreat down the river for one hundred yards—the fire being so severe he continued his retreat fifty yards further, and ordered his men to renew the battle taking position behind the trees—the enemy was advancing slowly and firing scatteringly when General Davidson was pierced by a ball and fell dead from his horse..

The militia immediately broke and fled through the thickets to avoid the enemy's cavalry: Graham's cavalry retired in good order and preserved their formation. General Davidson was shot by a small rifle ball, and supposed to be by the Tory guide Fred Hager, as he owned a gun of that description, and the British had none of this kind. Cornwallis' horse was shot and fell dead as he emerged from the river. On February 2nd Cornwallis, in general orders returns his thanks to the "Brigade of Guards for their cool and determined bravery in the passage of the Catawba while rushing through that long and difficult ford under a galling fire." The American loss beside General Davidson was Robert Beatty, of Graham's Cavalry, James Scott, of Lieutenant Davidson's picket, and one of the militia. The British admit a loss of Colonel Hall and three privates killed and thirty-six privates wounded. General Graham says an official statement in the Charleston Gazette two months afterwards, states the killed to have been Colonel Hall and another officer and twenty-nine privates, total, thirty-one; and thirty-five wounded. The number of dead in this account may be too large, and it is hardly probable that any officer beside Colonel Hall was killed, as he was buried by himself, unless he was among several dead who were found on fish traps just below

the ford and on rocks and brush along the banks, and whom Cornwallis may not have counted. The dead of both armies were buried on the hill, near the field of battle, except General Davidson whose body was not discovered by the enemy. Upon effecting his crossing Cornwallis directed Tarleton to go immediately to Webster's assistance by attacking Farmer in the rear—but learning that the Americans had retired from Beattie's Ford he dispatched him to gain information of their movements.

A tree marking the place where General Davidson fell is still shown. He was buried that night by torchlight at Hope-well Church. For many years the grave of Colonel Hall was marked by the rocks at the head and feet, but the river has covered it with sand in its overflows and the knowledge of the exact location has been lost.

The changing of position of Graham's Cavalry before the infantry had occupied their position and become actively engaged seems to be the mistake of the action and the advantage thus gained by the enemy could not be overcome. It would also seem that if the approach of the enemy could have been discerned in time to have placed the militia at the wagon ford, they would have been seriously crippled if not defeated, but Cornwallis did not change the route he intended to cross and of which Davidson had been apprised, until he discerned by the fires that the horse ford was well protected.

Webster was on time at Beattie's Ford, and as soon as he heard firing at Cowan's opened with his artillery and sent a company into the river who fired several rounds. The Americans suffered no loss as they were masked by the point of the hill—the ford then coming out on the eastern bank some distance above present place. (See map.) The firing of the cannon and platoons of musketry at Beattie's Ford reverberated down the river and across the country—it could be heard for a distance of twenty-five miles by the families and

North Carolina
State Library

friends of the Americans in the engagement. Colonel Farmer being notified by an aide of General Davidson that the enemy had crossed, retired toward Salisbury. The pickets at other points on the river were notified and retired to Jno. McKitt Alexander's that afternoon, eight miles from Charlotte, and by noon on the 2d of February all who still remained for service were collected at Harris' Mill on Rocky River.

Cornwallis thus without serious loss had overcome one of the most formidable obstacles in his route. That night he united his forces at Given's farm, two miles from Beattie's Ford, and again assumed command. He had been in pursuit of Morgan since the battle of Cowpens—but never struck his trail until February 3rd, about sixteen miles from Salisbury, where the road from Sherrill's intersects that from Beattie's Ford.

I deem it unnecessary to refer in this connection to the "Henry pamphlet" concerning this battle. Reference is made to it in Gen. Jos. Graham and his Revolutionary Papers, the quotations in this paper from the British commanders corroborate General Graham's statements even more fully.

Authorities:

Gen. Joseph Graham and his Revolutionary Papers.

Tarleton's Campaign, 1780 and 1781, in the Southern Provinces of North America.

Hunter's Sketches of Western North Carolina.

Wheeler's History of North Carolina.

Colonial Records.

FIRST SETTLERS IN NORTH CAROLINA NOT RELIGIOUS REFUGEES.

A STUDY IN ORIGINS.

BY RT. REV. JOSEPH BLOUNT CHESHIRE, D.D.
(Bishop of North Carolina.)

All the local histories of North Carolina, and such of the general histories of the United States as have treated particularly of our affairs, agree in the statement that the first settlers on the north side of Albemarle Sound were Quakers and other religious refugees, fleeing from the intolerance of Churchmen in Virginia and of the Puritans in New England. Williamson, Martin, Wheeler, Hawks, Moore, are at one with Bancroft thus far, that the first settlers sought in North Carolina a haven of rest from religious persecution. It is not hard to understand how such a theory originated, and obtained popular acceptance, in times long subsequent to the settlement. It is not easy, however, to understand how such an account should have been accepted, and solemnly repeated from mouth to mouth, by men who have professed to give us history from the original documents and authorities.

It fell to the lot of the present writer, in a brief pamphlet published early in 1886, to challenge this accepted theory, and to point out how contemporary witnesses and records show it to be utterly false. Convinced by this slight performance, the late Col. Wm. L. Saunders, in his prefatory note to the first volume of the North Carolina Colonial Records, rejected the tradition of our former historians, and gave the first true and rational account of the inducements which led the first immigrants to Albemarle.¹ A few years later Mr. Stephen B.

¹I had it from Col. Saunders himself that my pamphlet of 1886 had convinced him. "You have not only proved, you have demonstrated your case," were his words.

Weeks published a more extended study on the same subject, which however was little more than an elaboration of the argument of the pamphlet of 1886, illustrated by more copious citations of the authorities referred to. The importance of the subject and the very limited circulation of the publications referred to, seem to justify this attempt to set forth the truth as to this question: whether our first settlers were religious refugees.

In the absence of explicit accounts of the religious opinions of the settlers along the Albemarle Sound in the latter half of the seventeenth century, our historians have indulged their imagination in helping them to conclusions. Because Drummond was a Scotchman, Bancroft, without the least shadow of evidence, assumes that he was a Presbyterian; and George Durant must needs be a Puritan, because in 1649 (when, as we now know, George Durant was a lad of seventeen), Governor Berkley had banished from Virginia one Mr. Durand, "the elder of a Puritan very orthodox congregation." Leaving such discreditable guess-work, let us examine the scanty records of those days, and follow whither they lead.

In the spring of 1672, ten years after Durant's settlement and nine years after the first charter and the appointment of Drummond as Governor, William Edmundson, a Quaker preacher and a companion of George Fox, left Fox in Maryland and came by way of Virginia into the settlements on the north side of the Albemarle. Two of his brethren accompanied him, and after a painful and dangerous journey through the woods and swamps, they arrived on a Sunday morning at the house of Henry Phillips on Perquimans River. This man and his wife had been converted to Quakerism in New England, and had removed to Carolina in 1665; "and not having seen a Friend" [i. e. a Quaker] "in seven years before, they wept for joy to see us," writes Edmundson in his journal. Though wearied and wet to the skin from traveling

all night in the rain, Edmundson desired that notice should be sent through the neighborhood for a meeting at midday, and in the meantime he lay down to rest. "About the time appointed," he writes, "many people came, but they had little or no religion, for they came and sat down in the meeting smoking their pipes. In a short time the Lord's testimony arose in the authority of His power, and their hearts being reached by it, several of them were tendered and received the testimony. After meeting they desired me to stay with them, and let them have more meetings.

"One Tems, a justice of the peace, and his wife, were at the meeting, who received the truth with gladness, and desired to have the next meeting at their house, about three miles off on the other side of the water; so we had a meeting there the next day, and a blessed time it was, for several were tendered with a sense of the power of God, and received the truth, and abode in it." The next morning Edmundson left them and journeyed back to Virginia.

It is plain from the foregoing narrative that Henry Phillips and his family were the only Quakers in that part of the settlement. It is not an unfair inference that they were the only Quakers then in Albemarle. Having taken so long and painful a journey into Carolina to visit this family, who do not seem to have been personally known to him before, it is not probable that Edmundson would have departed without visiting any others who might have been in the Albemarle country; it being a comparatively easy journey by water to almost any part of the settlements.

In November of this same year 1772,² George Fox made his first visit to Carolina. He gives in his journal very few names of places, and those which he gives do not correspond

² Dr. Hawks says that this visit of Fox was in September. Fox says "the ninth month." At that time the year began with "Lady Day"—March 25th—so that November was the ninth month, hence its name.

with any other writing of that day, or with any known map of the regions he traversed. But the physical features of the country enable us to follow his steps fairly well. He came from Nansemond in Virginia, and having traveled several days through woods and swamps, he spent a night at "Summertown." This place is well known, and from this point his journal proceeds:

"Next day, the twenty-first of the ninth month, having travelled hard through the woods, and over many bogs and swamps, we reached Bonner's Creek³; there we lay that night by the fire side, the woman lending us a mat to lie on.

"This was the first house we came to in Carolina; here we left our horses, over-wearied with travel. From hence we went down the creek in a canoe to Macocomocock river, and came to Hugh Smith's, where people of other professions came to see us (no Friends inhabiting that part of the country), and many of them received us gladly. Amongst others came Nathaniel Batts, who had been governor of Roan-oak. He went by the name of Captain Batts, and had been a rude, desperate man. He asked me about a woman in Cumberland, who, he said, he was told, had been healed by our prayers and laying on of hands, after she had been long sick and given over by the physicians: he desired to know the certainty of it. I told him we did not glory in such things, but many such things had been done by the power of Christ.

"Not far from hence we had a meeting among the people, and they were taken with the truth; blessed be the Lord! Then passing down the river Maratic in a canoe, we went down the bay Connie-oak, to a captain's, who was loving unto us, and lent us his boat, for we were much wetted in the canoe, the water flashing in on us. With this boat we went

³ This is plainly meant for "Bennett's Creek," by a mistake either of Fox or his printer. It is a mistake very readily made by those not familiar with the peculiarities of *manuscript* of that date.

to the governor's, but the water in some places was so shallow that the boat being loaded, could not swim; so that we put off our shoes and stockings, and waded through the water a pretty way. The governor and his wife received us lovingly; but a doctor there would needs dispute with us. And truly his opposing us was of good service, giving occasion for the opening of many things to the people concerning the Light and Spirit of God, which he denied to be in every one; and affirmed it was not in the Indians. Whereupon I called an Indian to us, and asked him, 'Whether or no, when he did lie, or do wrong to any one, there was not something in him that did reprove him for it.' He said 'There was such a thing in him that did so reprove him; and he was ashamed when he had done wrong, or spoken wrong.' So we shamed the doctor before the governor and people, insomuch that the poor man ran out so far, that at length he would not own the Scriptures. We tarried at the governor's that night; and next morning he very courteously walked with us himself about two miles through the woods, to a place whither he had sent our boat about to meet us. Taking leave of him we entered our boat and went about thirty miles to Joseph Scot's, one of the representatives of the country. There we had a sound, precious meeting; the people were tender, and much desired after meetings. Wherefore at a house about four miles further, we had another meeting; to which the governor's secretary came, who was the chief secretary of the province, and had been formerly convinced.

"I went from this place among the Indians, and spoke to them by an interpreter, showing them, 'That God made all things in six days, and made but one woman for one man; and that God did drown the old world because of their wickedness. Afterwards I spoke to them concerning Christ, showing them that he died for all men, for their sins, as well as for others,' and had enlightened them as well as others, and

that if they did that which was evil he would burn them, but if they did well they should not be burned.' There was among them their young king and others of their chief men, who seemed to receive kindly what I said to them.

"Having visited the north part of Carolina, and made a little entrance for truth among the people there, we began to return again towards Virginia, having several meetings on our way, wherein we had good service for the Lord, the people being generally tender and open; blessed be the Lord! We lay one night at the secretary's, to which we had much ado to get; for the water being shallow, we could not bring our boat to shore. But the secretary's wife, seeing our strait, came herself in a canoe, her husband being from home, and brought us to land. By next morning our boat was sunk and full of water, but we got her up and mended her, and went in her that day about twenty-four miles, the water being rough and the winds high; but the great power of God was seen, in carrying us safe in that rotten boat. In our return we had a very precious meeting at Hugh Smith's; praised be the Lord forever! There was at this meeting an Indian Captain, who was very loving, and acknowledged it to be the truth that was spoken. There was also one of the Indian priests, whom they call a Pauwaw, who sat soberly among the people. The ninth of the tenth month we got back to Bonner's-Creek, having spent about eighteen days in North Carolina."

Fox seems to have been accompanied by a number of his brethren, whose names he does not give. William Edmundson was not one of them, as Dr. Hawks asserts, for Edmundson's Journal shows that before this time he had left Fox and had sailed for Ireland.

Notwithstanding the singularity of some of Fox's names, one point settles the route by which he entered Carolina. He

spent a night at Somerton, and the next day's journey brought him to "Bonner's Creek," where he says, "was the first house we came to in Carolina."

Now whether the conjecture that "Bonner's" is Fox's or his printer's mistake for "Bennett's" be correct or not, one thing is plain—that this creek was within one day's ride, on jaded horses, of Somerton, and that it was just within the Carolina border. The creek, therefore, whatever its name, was an affluent of the Chowan river, which Fox calls by the strange name of "Macocomocock." A glance at a map of this region makes this quite evident. Dr. Hawk's contention that this "Macocomocock" river was the Roanoke is not only baseless, it is impossible. Fox's route, as detailed by him, cannot be made to bring him at this point to any river, but the Chowan. And at Hugh Smith's on this river he says that "people of other professions came to see us (no friends inhabiting that part of the country)." "Then passing down the river Maratic in a canoe we went down the bay Connie-oak." Thence he goes to "the governor's," and then the next day thirty miles in his boat brings him apparently into contact with those who had heard Edmundson's preaching, and been "formerly convinced." Plainly then Fox came in by way of Chowan river, and the bay called by him "Connie-oak," must have been Edenton bay. The waters between the mouth of the river and this bay he calls "Maratic"—probably from Moratoc—the Indian name of the river Roanoke. From "Connie-oak" to the residence of the governor, and then thirty miles eastward, as he traversed the waterways of the colony, probably brought him to the eastern limits of the settlements. Thus he practically covered the whole colony in his visit of eighteen days. He tells us expressly that no Friends inhabited the country along the Chowan, from the Virginia line down toward Edenton, and his narrative distinctly reveals the fact that there were none in the other sections which he

visited, except one or two scattered individuals. At the same time it is apparent that his influence was felt by the people, and that he had some effect in introducing his peculiar form of religion into the colony. He may have done more in the way of organizing congregations than his narrative discloses; but certainly his journal and Edmundson's prove beyond question that the country had not been settled by their co-religionists. They nowhere speak of meeting any number of their brethren, or of any evidence that their peculiar form of worship was known to the people. Fox's words when, having reached the eastern limits of his journey, he turns back towards Virginia, are a sufficient proof that no considerable number of his followers had preceded him into these regions: "Having visited the north parts of Carolina and made a little entrance for the truth among the people there, we began to return again towards Virginia."

Edmundson and Fox were the first Quaker preachers who visited Albemarle and they give us the first accounts we have of the religious condition of the country. From them it seems dear that there had been up to that time no public religious worship regularly established or used, and that the people had no special sectarian prejudices but were ready to accept any simple form of Christian teaching and worship which might be presented to them. Edmundson's services, if they may be so called, were the first exercises of public worship ever held in the colony, so far as we know. If there had been any number of Quakers scattered among the people, is it possible to believe that, with their strong religious feelings and their simple methods of worship, requiring no minister, and expressing itself in no sacrament or formal ordinance, they would not have gathered themselves into "meetings," and made their unconventional mode of worship familiar to the people, as they began to do immediately after these visits of Fox and Edmundson? The direct testimony of

these first preachers is really not necessary, though it is on record, to show that the first settlers were not Quakers.

It is also to be noted that in the first act of the Assembly of Albemarle which has come down to us, ratified by the Proprietors in January, 1670, and certainly adopted by the Assembly before there had been the least interference on the part of the Proprietors in the matter of religion, no provision is made for recognizing the form of marriage practised among the "Friends," which would have been quite as valid upon the principles of the Common Law as the marriage by a magistrate; and if the Quaker influence had at that time prevailed in the Colony there seems to be no good reason why they might not have made provision for validating their peculiar form of marriage. As early as 1667 Fox had delivered himself on this subject for the guidance of his followers: "I was moved to open the state of our marriages, declaring 'How the people of God took one another in the assembly of the elders; and that it was God who joined man and woman together before the fall. And though men had taken upon them to join in the fall, yet in the restoration it is God's joining that is right and honorable marriage; but never any priest did marry any, that we read of in the Scriptures, from Genesis to Revelations.' " This was a point on which the Quakers laid great stress, and which they consistently carried out in practice, even when it must have been at the risk of great scandal and inconvenience. Here in Albemarle where there were no ministers, and therefore none of those religious rites to which they objected; and where the Assembly framed the law for their peculiar local necessities, they would surely have provided for legalizing their own customs had they formed any influential element in the population. So far from this act concerning marriages showing any trace of Quaker influence, there is a distinct note of feeling in the way in which it mentions "the rites and customs of our native country, the

Kingdom of England ;” the rites and customs here alluded to being those that were consistently repudiated and reviled by the Quakers.

It should further be remembered that at this very time the Proprietors were careful, both in their Fundamental Constitutions and in their instructions to Governor Stevens, to respect the principles and feelings of the Quakers both in regard to this very matter of marriage and in regard to the taking of oaths. So we have the curious spectacle of the Lords Proprietors showing more solicitude to avoid wounding the sensibilities of the Quakers than is exhibited by the Assembly of Albemarle. This can only mean that the former were aware of the trouble already arising in England and in some of her colonies from the peculiar customs of this new sect, while in the remote settlements of Carolina Quakers were too few to have attracted any public attention.

Edmundson made a second visit to Albemarle in 1675 or 1676, probably the latter year. He says little about it in his journal, and he remained only a few days, but the seed before planted seem to have been bearing fruit. After mentioning “several precious meetings” he thus concludes: “People were tender and loving, and there was no room for the priests, for Friends were finely settled, and I left things well among them.”

But may not these first settlers have been Presbyterians or Congregationalists fleeing from the rigor of the religious establishment in Virginia, or Baptists, driven out of the same colony, or escaping from the still more rigid Calvinistic establishments in New England? This question has in effect been answered already. If these settlers had been men fleeing from religious persecution, or even from religious intolerance, they would have been of distinct religious convictions and of fixed religious habits. The careless and indifferent do not go out into the wilderness to escape religious persecution.

Laws of religious conformity require only such outward acts of compliance with established institutions as create no special grievance, and work no intolerable hardship, to him who is equally unconcerned about all religion. It is not claimed that the mere burden of the tax for the support of the religious establishment in Virginia, or in New England, made men exchange the comforts of civilization for the hardships of the wilderness. It is only the man of real religious feeling and of firm religious convictions, to whom an insincere compliance even in the most trifling act is intolerable, who refuses to conform. It was not the tithe in England to which the Quakers objected, as a matter of pecuniary loss; it was to the principle which they imagined to be involved in the payment of it. And so it will be found that religious refugees and persistent non-conformists have ever been men of distinct and positive convictions and of rigid religious habits. The Covenanters upon the mountains of Scotland, and the Non-jurors in the back alleys of Edinburgh and of Aberdeen,—such men were unwilling to conform to the established religion because they had the most intense religious feelings and convictions, which forbade them to conform. And strong religious feelings and convictions, shared by considerable numbers of people in the same community, always find expression, in face of every danger and difficulty, in common religious worship. In Albemarle when the first Quaker preachers visited the country there seems to have been among the people no custom of public religious worship. Dr. Hawks and Mr. Bancroft may see, under the rude guise of Edmundson's gaping congregations, natural reverence and unconventional piety; and the smoke of their pipes may seem to those amiable historians a sort of extemporized incense; but the honest Quaker saw in their conduct the expression of simple ignorance and indifference.

That there were no zealous Presbyterians or Baptists among the colonists at this period is further indicated by the absence of any opposition to these Quaker preachers. Fox's journal shows that these were not less earnest than Churchmen in resisting the Quaker doctrine. The only note of opposition which we hear is from the doctor at the house of Governor Stevens, and he seems to have been a free-thinker, since he denied the authority of the Scriptures.

The truth seems to be that like most pioneers in new settlements, the first white inhabitants of Carolina were restless and enterprising spirits, pushing out from the older settlements of Virginia, to find new homes, and to secure rich lands, in the unoccupied regions beyond the bounds of civilization, with no thoughts of religion, so far as this movement is concerned, and, from the circumstances of their new situation, apt to forget such religious habits as they had before formed. In a letter to Sir John Colleton, one of the Proprietors, of date June 2nd, 1665, Thos. Woodward, the "Surveyor General of Albemarle," writes:

"But for the present to think that any men will remove from Virginia upon harder condition than they can live there, will prove (I fear) a vain imagination, it being land only that they come for." He therefore urges the Proprietors to make their terms easier. Neither he nor any other contemporary authority gives the least intimation of a religious element entering into the problem of immigration. The references in the Charters, the Fundamental Constitutions, and the several "Proposals," etc., of the Proprietors, to the religious liberty allowed in the Colony, are the only allusions to be found to the subject.

This movement onward from civilization to the wilderness has been, and is, one of the marked characteristics of our race in America. After the first stage of exploration and discovery in Albemarle, a few Quakers may have been

brought thither by the prospect of religious freedom, but no such movement can be observed. On the contrary, at this very time when Fox found we may say almost none of his brethren in Albemarle, there were a considerable number of Quakers in Virginia, with several organized and flourishing "Meetings" among them.

Along with the vanishing myth of the "Religious Refugee" settler, disappears also all necessity for the ingenious and wholly unfounded guesses of Bancroft and Hawks as to the religious opinions of Governor Drummond and of George Durant. These conjectures arose wholly from the supposed necessity of adapting their characters to suit their supposed positions as the Governor and the pioneer of a colony of religious refugees. It must indeed have been felt to be a dire necessity which enabled any man to believe that Governor Berkley would have appointed a Presbyterian as his deputy. Drummond, like most Scotch politicians of that time, probably professed to be a churchman—and the same may be said of George Durant. There never was the least ground for supposing that Durant was a Quaker. During Culpepper's Rebellion he acted as Attorney-General when Miller was indicted and prosecuted *for speaking disrespectfully of the King, the Cavaliers and the doctrines of the Church!* This is hardly a sufficient guarantee of Durant's piety, but it certainly puts him out of the role of a Quaker.*

In support of the foregoing conclusions as to the religious character of the original settlers of Albemarle, drawn wholly from contemporary evidence, some later witnesses may not improperly be examined. Henderson Walker was, during the closing years of the seventeenth century and the opening years of the eighteenth, one of the most prominent and thor-

* Geo. Durant's immediate descendants are found associated and identified with the Church in the Province of North Carolina, and the certificate of his marriage by a clergyman in Virginia has lately been found.

oughly admirable characters in the Colony. He filled a number of the most important offices, having been for years a member of the Council, and at the time of his death acting as Governor. He had also been Attorney-General. As early as 1679 he was Clerk of the Council, and had enjoyed every opportunity of becoming fully acquainted with the affairs of the Colony from the very first. As a member of the Council sitting as a Court of Equity in 1697 he had assisted in the trial of a cause involving the title of George Durant, and the right of his heirs, to the land bought by Durant from the Indian "King of Yeopim" in 1662. Among the witnesses examined were several who spoke from personal knowledge of the circumstances of Durant's settlement. One had signed as a witness Durant's deed from the Indian. The deposition of this particular witness appears to have been taken before Walker himself. We can hardly imagine any witness better qualified than Walker to speak of the character and condition of the people of Albemarle from 1662 down to his own day. In a letter to Bishop Compton, of London, dated October 21st, 1703, he says that for twenty-one years (he seems to mean for twenty-one years before 1700) he can testify of his own knowledge that they had been without priest or altar, and from all that he could learn it had been much worse before that. This may refer to the rise of the Quaker worship, for he adds: "George Fox, some years ago, came into these parts, and by strange infatuations did infuse the Quakers' principles into some small number of the people; which did and hath continued to grow ever since very numerous, by reason of their yearly sending in men to encourage and exhort them to their wicked principles." Here we have a plain, direct statement, by a man in a position to know the truth, and with no motive whatever for perverting it, that Quakerism in Albemarle had been the result of Fox's missionary labors. And this statement is in exact accord with

Fox's own account, and the testimony of every contemporary authority.

The Rev. William Gordon, a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and minister in Chowan in 1708, in a report to the Society dated May 13, 1709, says: "There are few or no Dissenters in the government but Quakers." In the same report he says: "And now, sir, I shall examine a little the Quakers' pretences, who plead that they were the first settlers in that country; but this (according to the best accounts I could get) seems false in fact that religion being scarce heard of there till some years after the settlement; it is true some of the most ancient inhabitants, after George Fox went over, did turn Quakers."

Here we have another testimony from a man in a position to have learned the truth, and it corresponds accurately with that of other witnesses. In this connection it is interesting to observe that in an address signed by a number of Quakers in 1679, intended as a vindication of themselves and other Quakers, inhabitants of Albemarle, against charges of being implicated in the disorders and seditions of the preceding years, the subscribers state that most of them had been inhabitants of Carolina since 1663 or 1664. Now we have seen that Fox and Edmundson found no Quakers to speak of in 1672. The above document therefore affords incidental proof of the correctness of Mr. Gordon's statement that "some of the most ancient inhabitants, after George Fox went over, did turn Quakers."

Quakerism was the only organized form of religion in the Colony, with no rival worship among the people, for the rest of the seventeenth century, having been thus introduced and nurtured. It drew to itself a number of the intelligent and well-disposed inhabitants, especially of Perquimans and Pasquotank, though it seems not to have made any progress in the other precincts or counties. Those zealous and self-sacrificing

men deserve to be held in honorable memory, who at the expense of so much time, labor and bodily suffering, cultivated the spiritual harvest in that distant and unattractive field. Quakerism did not begin the work of settlement, and of re-claiming the wilderness for civilization, but it has the greater honor of having first brought some organized form of Christianity to the infant colony, and of having cared for those wandering sheep whom others neglected.

Ergo omnibus debita; quibus honor, honorem.

NOTE.

That our historians, both general and local, have examined the evidence on this subject carelessly, and that they have read into the simple narratives of Edmundson and Fox their own preconceptions, is manifest.

Martin says that when Edmundson made his visit in the spring of 1672 to the family of Henry Phillips (whom he calls *Phelps*), "they were greatly rejoiced at their interview, not having seen any leader of this society for years." Whereas Edmundson says nothing about any "leader of this society." He says plainly that they had not seen "a Friend," i. e., a Quaker, *in seven years*. This was in 1672. The Phillips family had come to Carolina from New England in 1665, as we learn from Bowden's history of the Quakers. Edmundson therefore, in effect, says that they had not seen a Quaker since they had come into Carolina!

Martin further says of this same visit of Edmundson that before leaving Albemarle "meetings were held in other parts of the precinct of Berkley and in that of Carteret, and a quarterly meeting of discipline was established in Berkley," whereas Edmundson's journal records a visit of less than two full days, and two meetings in the same neighborhood. The morning of the third day he set out on his return to Virginia.

Dr. Hawks makes Fox go from Nansemond, in Virginia, to the settlements on the Albemarle *by way of Roanoke river*; and makes him accomplish the journey from Somerton to some imaginary creek emptying into the Roanoke in one day: the first absurd; the second impossible! And all this wonderful detour for the sole purpose of getting rid of Fox's plain statement that in the region which he traversed there were no Quakers. Both Martin and Hawks have it so solidly fixed in their minds that the settlers were Quakers, that when Fox and Edmundson assert the contrary, their testimony must be corrected, and their plainest statements misquoted and perverted in order that they may not contradict the groundless opinions of later times.

Bancroft, in the thirteenth chapter of his History of the United States, speaking of this same visit of Fox, says that, "Carolina had ever been the refuge of Quakers and renegades from ecclesiastical oppression," and cites as his authority for this statement Lord Culpepper in Chalmers, 356. At the place referred to Chalmers gives a letter from Lord Culpepper dated in 1681, in which he says that Carolina was "the refuge of our renegades," but not a word about "ecclesiastical oppression," that being Mr. Bancroft's own addition for which there is no pretence of contemporary authority.



