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The North Carolina Booklet

GREAT EVENTS IN NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY

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THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION
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CONTENTS

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The North Carolina Booklet

Great Events in North Carolina History

Volume X of THE BOOKLET will be issued quarterly by the North Carolina Society, Daughters of the Revolution, beginning July, 1910, Each BOOKLET will contain three articles, and will be published in July, October, January and April. Price $1.00 per year, 35 cents for single copy.

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HATTERAS — "GOLGOTHA OF THE SEA"

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

Published by
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

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

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THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET.

Vol. IX APRIL, 1910 No 4

DER NORTH CAROLINA LAND UND COLONIE ETABLISSEMENT.

BY ADELAIDE L. FRIES.

How could the Moravian Church, small in numbers, and at a time of great financial stress, purchase 98,985 acres of land in North Carolina, and successfully colonize and develop it?

American historians of the present day are searching European archives for information concerning more or less obscure events in American history, and it was natural to expect that the collection of papers in Herrnhut, Germany, would contain much of interest relating to the Moravian settlement in North Carolina, since Herrnhut was the center from which Moravian activity in the Eighteenth Century radiated. A visit of some weeks last summer enabled the writer to spend many an hour in the little Arbeit Zimmer, set apart for the convenience of those making researches in the Herrnhut "Archiv Haus," and the following sketch presents such part of the information gained as relates to the "Etablissement."

Perhaps the simplest way to begin is with Jonas Paulus Weiss's account of the circumstances surrounding Der North Carolina Land und Colonie Etablissement—that is, "The North Carolina Land and Colony Enterprise" (commonly called Wachovia),—in the days when the purchase and development of the property were made possible by the formation of the "North Carolina Societaet," or Society. Weiss was a merchant of Nuremberg, who had joined the Moravian Brethren,

had contributed most generously to their various undertakings, and at this time was one of their financial leaders. He was the man of all others to whom the success of the North Carolina Societaet was due, and the account of it which he wrote in the spring of 1758 is full of interest.

On March 25, 1752, Count Zinzendorf signed a contract with Earl Granville, in which, as "Lord Advocate, Chancellor and Agent of the Unitas Fratrum," he agreed to purchase from Granville 100,000 acres of land in North Carolina, "in behalf of the Unitas Fratrum." The land was to be selected by Zinzendorf's agents in that section of the State which had been retained by Earl Granville when the seven other "Lords Proprietors" sold their shares to the Crown in 1744; and in the fall of 1752, August Gottlieb Spangenberg and several companions, including one of Granville's surveyors, made a long and at times dangerous tour of Northern Carolina, seeking land suited to the Moravian purpose. Ten tracts here and there were selected and plotted, and at last the party reached "Gargales Creek," where they first surveyed fourteen tracts, which, with the ten already chosen, would make up the desired 100,000 acres, and then surveyed five more, adjoining the fourteen, so that if it proved desirable, the Brethren could have all their purchase in one block. With the maps and all the information he had gathered, Spangenberg returned to England and made full report to Zinzendorf and other leading Brethren there. It was, however, a time of great financial stress in the German and English Moravian Church, and it appeared simply impossible to raise the money for the purchase, and for necessary expenses in developing the land. Moreover, the pieces of good land lay widely scattered, and it was estimated that the large tract was "one-third poor land." The Brethren, therefore, decided to abandon the project, and asked Granville to release them from the contract. Granville refused, but made the conditions easier, and a new contract was prepared, and signed by the

Earl, and James Hutton, "Secretary of the Unitas Fratrum," in the presence of Arthur Dobbs, next Governor of North Carolina, and of Benjamin Wheatley. It was decided that the Brethren should take the contiguous tracts of land (Nos. I to XIX on accompanying map), as it was thought best to have the property all together, even if some of it was not fertile. On account of the expense of having nineteen deeds prepared, the Brethren suggested that it be all included in one deed, but their attorney advised against this, for if at any time they failed in their payment of quitrents, and Lord Granville was forced to take back part of the land, it could be more easily arranged if there were a number of smaller tracts, of which some could be surrendered without disturbing the rest. To-day this seems a useless precaution, but it looked otherwise to men who were facing a financial crisis in their affairs, and now in addition must arrange to pay £193 Sterling for having the deeds prepared, £223 more for expenses of the survey, £500 purchase-money, and £148:9:2½ annual quitrent, plus all that might be needed for establishing a settlement on the frontier of civilization.

Several plans were suggested for raising the necessary funds, and that proposed by Weiss was adopted. It was neither more nor less than a land company, in which each shareholder was to pay a definite proportion of these initial expenses and the annual quitrent, and was to receive 2,000 acres of land in the "Etablissement" in return. A temporary loan was obtained from a Swiss gentleman, Rudolph Oehs by name, to cover immediate needs, and then plans for the land company were energetically pushed. Spangenberg and Cornelius van Laer were elected directors of the Society, the former as corresponding secretary and the latter as treasurer. Formal instructions were drawn up, and full powers of attorney for both were signed in London, December 18, 1753, by Count Zinzendorf, Count Henry 28th Reuss, James

Hutton, and Weiss. Spangenberg wished to have Weiss also as a director, but he declined "for good reasons, and because he could serve the cause and the shareholders better" in other ways. An office was opened in Zeist, Holland, with Weiss in charge, and members and friends of the Unitas Fratrum were asked to subscribe.

The first response came from Johann Christoph Sack, of Koenigsberg, who, with hearty approval of the plans, took the first share, and sent his £68. Others followed, until twenty-six shares had been sold, and by the end of 1757 the purchase-price and other initial expenses had all been paid, and certain sums advanced by the Unity or borrowed in 1754 had been covered by gifts from generous members of the Unity.

As each share was taken two papers were issued—a "Contract" and a "Certificate." The wording was not always identical, but so similar that a translation of No. 1 of each will serve to represent all.

CONTRACT No. 1.

"I, the undersigned, request that a lot of 2,000 acres may be granted to me in the settlement which the Unity of Brethren has undertaken in North Carolina. I promise to pay my yearly contingent thereto. I will moreover comply with any regulations which may at any time be made regarding it. To this end I have hereunto set my hand and seal, and have also sent ____ Sterling to be entered to my credit. Koenigsberg, Nov. 13, 1753.

"JOHANN CHRISTOPH SACK."

CERTIFICATE No. 1.

"Herr Johann Christoph Sack, in Koenigsberg. Whereas, he, in due form, has taken a share of one lot in the Brethren's settlement in North Carolina in America, and has paid his promised quota—

For purchase-money	£18:
For the expenses of selecting and surveying the tracts, and preparing the general deeds	15:
For first expenses in developing	30:
For quitrent for the first year to Michaelmas, 1754	5:

a total of Sixty-eight Pounds Sterling, to Herr Cornelius van Laer in Amsterdam, authorized agent of the Society; therefore, to him above mentioned, in consideration of this and future regular payments, in order that he may be entitled to one lot of Two Thousand Acres belonging to the Brethren in North Carolina, this Certificate is issued and delivered in the name of the Society.

London and Amsterdam,

J. Spangenberg,* mpp. Kornelis van Laer."

Registered Book A, page 13.

Jonas Paulus Weiss.

In 1755 each shareholder's proportion of expense for development was £30; in 1756, £25; in 1757, £25. In addition, there was an annual payment of £5 toward the quitrent for Lord Granville, but as this was more than the actual amount due from each 2,000 acres, it was, in 1765, reduced to £3 per annum for each lot.

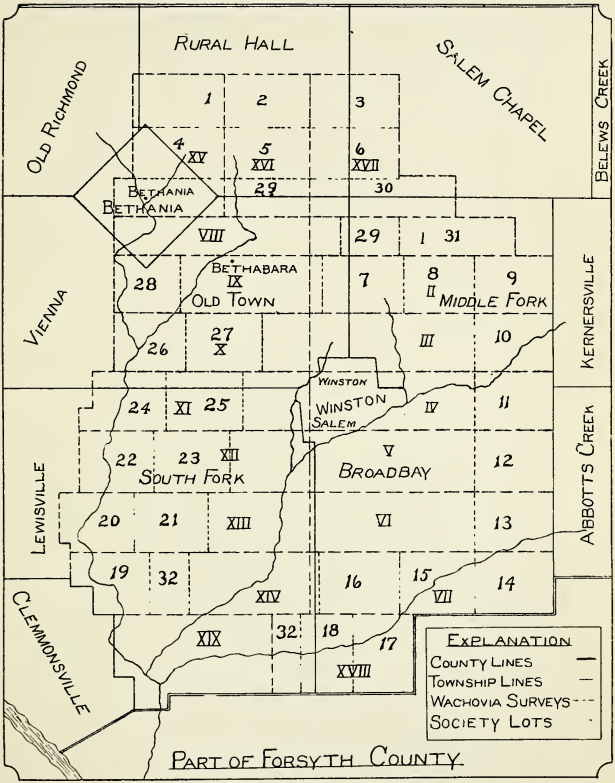
Strangely enough, almost all the contracts and certificates issued by the Society are preserved in the Herrnhut Archives, and after the lapse of more than a century it is possible to compile a complete list of the original shareholders, to note their places of residence, and the order in which they subscribed:

1. 1753. Johann Christoph Sack, Koenigsberg, Germany.

*August Gottlieb Spangenberg frequently used the name "Joseph"—why, is uncertain.

2. 1753. Reinhold Gerhard Georgi, Koenigsberg, Germany.
*3/1. 1754. Georg Gottfried Gambs, Strassburg, France.
3/2. 1754. Johann Leonard Roederer, Strassburg. France.
4. 1754. Hans Ernst von Zezschwiz, Herrnhut, Saxony.
5. 1754. Johann Steinhauer, Riga, Russia.
6/1. 1754. Traugott Bagge, Gottenberg, Sweden.
6/2. 1754. Benjamin Bagge, Gottenberg, Sweden.
7. 1754. Cornelius van Laer, Zeist, Holland.
8. 1754. Abraham Duerninger & Co., Herrnhut, Saxony.
9. 1754. Johanna Sophia von Schweinitz, Herrnhut, Saxony.
10. 1754. Johann Caspar Rosenbaum, Dantzig, Prussia.
11. 1754. Heinrich Giller, Herrnhut, Saxony.
12. 1754. Madtz Jensen Klein, Drammen, Norway.
13. 1754. Johann Steinhauer, Riga, Russia.
14. 1754. C. F. Martens (for Single Brethren's Diaconies), Herrnhut, Saxony.
15. 1754. Johann Hartmann, Hirschberg, Silesia.
16. 1754. Jean Jacque de Schwarz, Coire, Switzerland.
17. 1754. Christian Schmidt, Stettin, Prussia.
18. 1754. Jean Henri de Planta de Wildenberg, Coire, Switzerland.
19/1. 1754. Michael Zellich, Riga, Russia.
19/2. 1754. Johannes Andreas Schmutz, Strassburg, France.
20. 1754. Friedrich von Wiedebach, Herrnhut, Saxony.
21. 1754. Gottfried Clemens, Barby, Saxony.
22. 1754. Johann Christoph Sack, Koenigsberg, Germany.
23. 1754. Johann Erhardt Dehio, Herrnhut, Saxony.

* 1,000 acres—½ lot.


RURAL HALL
SALEM CHAPEL
OLD RICHMOND
BELEWS CREEK
VIENNA
KERNERSVILLE
LEWISVILLE
ABBOTTS CREEK
CLEMMONSVILLE
BETHANIA
BETHANIA
BETHABARA
OLD TOWN
MIDDLE FORK
WINSTON
SALEM
SOUTH FORK
BROADBAY
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4
XV
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XVI
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XVII
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VIII
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VII
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XIX
32
18
17
XVIII
EXPLANATION
COUNTY LINES
TOWNSHIP LINES
WACHOVIA SURVEYS
SOCIETY LOTS
PART OF FORSYTH COUNTY

24. 1754. Friedrich Justin von Bruiningk, Livonia, Russia.

25/1. 1754. Hans Hermann von Damnitz, Guettau, Saxony.

25/2. 1755. Johann Gustav Frey, Errestfer, Russia.

26. 1759. Fredrich Heinrich von Bibra, Modlau, Silesia.

A map of Der North Carolina Land und Colonie Etablissement, dated 1754, shows the Wachovia Tract as divided into "Societaets Land" and "Unitaets Land." The former consists of thirty-two long, narrow lots, running east and west, arranged in three sections, six across the north end of the tract, fifteen on the east side, and eleven on the west. A strip across the south, up the middle, and out to the west border was reserved for the Unity, and included the sites of Bethabara ("Old Town"), Bethania, and Salem. That this Unity land was reserved with a definite purpose appears from a letter written by Peter Boehler in March, 1752, before Spangenberg started on his surveying tour: "In picking out a 100,000 acres of land they should lay it out four square; * * * in the center also, the town or Ort Gemein could be built. And so the inhabitants of the farthest limits of that land would not be above two hours' moderate walk, and one hour's moderate ride from the Ort Gemein." For the time being it was considered that each certificate carried with it the lot bearing the corresponding number, though an actual award of the lots was not made until 1767, as will appear later.

Cornelius van Laer resigned his office as director of the Society in the fall of 1763, his formal release bearing date of October 3d; and Spangenberg, who had many other duties and responsibilities, felt that he could not properly attend to the matter alone, so tendered his resignation also as director. This caused a thorough discussion of Wachovia af-

fairs in the Directorial Conference, a board created by the Synod of 1756 to care for the temporal affairs of the entire Unitas Fratrum. It was decided, July, 1763, to drop the organization of the North Carolina Societaet, as such, and to let the management of the North Carolina settlement revert to the Directorial Conference. Jonas Paulus Weiss, who was a member of the Conference, was put in full charge of the office, being already familiar with its details through his service as bookkeeper. Weiss was directed to notify the shareholders of this change, and to inform them that Frederick William von Marshall had been appointed agent for the Unity in North Carolina, and that on arrival there he would look into the question of the proper plotting of the Society lots, with the intention of their being soon transferred into the possession of the shareholders. The map of 1754 had been pronounced unsatisfactory, on account of the odd shape of the lots, already described; a newer map, 1759, showed the lots more or less square, and seemed far better. After further deliberation it was noticed that the lines of the lots did not coincide with those of the nineteen surveys, and in view of the ever-present danger that failure to pay quitrents might work the forfeiture of part of the land, it was deemed wise to have another map drawn, with due attention to this point. This third map bears date of February 19, 1765, and was like the one finally accepted, except that there were only twenty-two lots, the numbering was different, and there were no lots on the west, but three additional ones on the east, which were later dropped to give more free ground for the central town, Salem, the site for which had been selected just five days before this map was drawn. The Conference minutes of 1765 state that the value of land in North Carolina at that time was £10 to £15 Proclamation money, or £5 to £7:10 Sterling per 100 acres; that is, from 25 cents to 37½ cents per acre. Further, that it was very difficult to lease or rent land, for industrious men wished to own their

farms, and had no trouble in getting them, and those who were content to rent were apt to be poor pay. In this year, also, it was decided to put the owners of the Societaet lots into actual possession, but the distribution was postponed until Marshall, who was then in America, could come to Europe and give them the benefit of his personal observations there. The Unity did not wish to run any risk of the lot owners letting their property pass into strange and possibly unfriendly hands, so it was resolved that in case any man wished to sell, the Unity should have the refusal of the lot, at such price as the owner might be able to secure from others.

By this time various changes had occurred in the ownership of the shares. Six had been given up entirely, for various reasons; Gambs (3/1) had died in 1756, and, according to his previously expressed desire, his share was returned to the Unity. This share was reissued to Peter Drews and Johann Nuescke, of Stettin, in 1758, but the latter died, and the former found it difficult to keep up the payments, so in 1763 it was for a second time returned. Zezschwiz (4) gave up his because of the death of the son for whose benefit he had subscribed. Van Laer seems to have dropped his lot (7) because his son was not interested. Rosenbaum (9) returned his in 1755, but after his death Johann Heinrich Koeber took it up again for the benefit of the family. Clemens (21) sold half to Johann Leonard Weinel, Herrnhut, but both found the payments too heavy, and surrendered the shares. Damnitz (25/1) became dissatisfied, and gave up his. Only in the last-named case was there any claim for the money already paid in, which had ranged from £21 to £193. Sack (1 and 22) arranged with the Conference that his lots should be held for the benefit of Mrs. Schiffert and her children, the shares thereafter being entered as "Sack and Schiffert." Georgi's share (2) had passed by will to his two sons-in-law, Bujak and Hojer. The former had died, but his widow

and son inherited his half. Zellich's lot (19/1) had passed to his widow, and Schwarz's (16) to his partner, Conradin von Perini. Mrs. von Schweinitz had also died, and one-half of her share (10) was held by her heirs, and one-quarter each by Rennekampf and Walther. Dehio (23) had sold one-half to George Kandler in 1761. Giller (11) had presented his share to Nathaniel and Anna Johanna Seidel, who had given it to the congregation of Bethlehem, Pa., which had sold it to John Leinbach, who took possession of his lot, built a house, and moved into it, June 27, 1765. In February, 1767, Benjamin Bagge and his wife transferred their half share (6/2) to Traugott Bagge, who was going to Salem to live.

At last, on June 30, 1767, the actual distribution of the lots took place, and July 17th, a circular letter was sent out to the shareholders. It explains that the somewhat lengthy delay had been caused by war, and by the death of Count Zinzendorf, and other circumstances affecting the Unity. Hearty thanks are expressed to the "Interessenten" for their aid in promoting this good work, and for their patience through all difficulties and delays. The establishment of the central town, Salem, and the erection of the first houses there, is noted with pleasure. The map of the Societaet lots (see cut, Nos. 1 to 32,) is explained in detail, and also the method by which the lots had been apportioned, so that no question of partiality could be raised. The annual quitrent for 2,000 acres is fixed at £3; and option reserved to the Unity, in case any lot owners wish to sell. The advantage of going in person to settle the lots, or inducing others to go, is set forth; but if any can not do this, the services of Frederick William von Marshall—who is about to return to America and settle in Wachovia as the representative of the Unity—are offered, and it is suggested that owners write direct to him, authorizing him to sell or rent their land as occasion may offer. The circular is dated from Herrnhut,

and signed by the Unitaets Vorsteher Collegium" (Board of Wardens), which had succeeded the Directorial Conference in the management of the Unity's financial affairs.

Marshall returned to Wachovia in 1769, and many of the lot owners authorized him to sell their land on the most favorable terms he could secure. At first this was no easy matter. From letters he sent home to the "Collegium" it appears that there was no great demand for land, and that prices were low. Nor could he do anything toward pushing one or another lot whose owners were pressing for sale, for newcomers wished to be near friends and acquaintances, or near a mill, or a schoolhouse, and he must of necessity sell what and where they wished to buy. Gradually the growth of population produced increased demand and increased value of land, and whereas £20, North Carolina currency, per 100 acres was deemed high in 1768, he was able to secure £32, North Carolina currency, per 100 acres in 1772. In the Salem archives there is a small, brown, leather-covered memorandum book, in which Marshall noted various things which he wished to have convenient for reference. There are plots of small tracts bought and sold; items concerning the water supply in Salem; the wages paid surveyors, etc., etc.; but especially pertinent to this sketch is the rate of exchange between the various kinds of currency then in use. This varied from time to time, but in 1772

£—: 15:1 Sterling = £1:6:9 Proclamation, or,
£11:5:6½ Sterling = £20:—:— Proclamation.

An elaborate table of comparative values is not dated, but other entries show that it was written in 1774. By that time Proclamation money, or North Carolina currency, had fallen off a little:

50 hard dollars or pieces of eight =
£18:15:—Pennsylvania currency =
£20:—:— North Carolina currency =
£11:5:— Sterling.

According to this table, the price of land had increased from $50 to $80 per hundred acres, in four years.

As opportunity offered, Marshall sold land belonging to the Unity or to the Societaet; while in Germany the U. V. C. bought lots from those Societaet members who did not care to hold for Marshall's disposal to actual settlers. As the books of the Societaet are not at hand, it is not always possible to tell whether land was sold *through* the Unity or *to* the Unity, but the following list gives the names of those who received lots in the distribution of 1767, the number of the corresponding stock certificates, and as accurate a statement of the final disposition of the lots as it has been possible to procure. For the sake of convenience the price, where known, is given in dollars. Not all the lots plotted were required for distribution, and numbers not assigned are here omitted.

Lot No.	Certificate Number.	Name.	
1	11	John Leinbach	Deeded to five of his sons, four parts in 1770, one in 1771.
2	26	Baron F. H. von Bibra	Purchased by "Unitaets-Vorsteher-Collegium."
3	6	Traugott Bagge	Deeded to Bagge in 1770.
5	18	Jean Henri Planta de Wildenberg.	Purchased by U. V. C. 1774, for $1022.22.
6	2	Mrs. Bujak and Son; Daniel Heinrich Hojer	The latter transferred his half interest to Mrs. Schiffert in May 1768. Entire lot sold to U. V. C. 1772, for $900.00.
8	16	Conradin von Perini	Sold to Jac. Ulr. Albertini, and by him to U. V. C. 1774, for $773.32.
9	1	Sack and Schiffert	Sold to U. V. C. 1772, for $900.00.
10	9	Von Schweinitz heirs ½; Mrs. Rennekampf, ¼; Walther ¼	Purchased by U. V. C.
12	13	Johann Steinhauer	Passed by will to his son Daniel. 411¼ acres sold to Frederick Miller, 1774; balance to Magdalene Rigelmann, of Riga, 1788. She sold to the U. V. C., 1789, for $1125.
13	15	Johann Hartmann	Given to the U. V. C. in 1768. In 1769 sold by Marshall for the Broadbay settlement.
14	20	Friedrich von Wiedebach	Passed to heirs. Sold to U. V. C. 1774.
15	5	Johann Steinhauer	More than half sold for his heirs. Remainder purchased by U. V. C., in 1789.
16	3½ 25½	Johann Roederer—½ John Gustav Frey, ½	Roederer sold his half interest to U. V. C. in 1773, for $430.92. Frey's half also bought by Unity.
18	17	Christian Schmidt	Passed to his heirs. Sold for them by Marshall, 1772, for $1600.00.
21	19½ 19½	Zellich's widow—½ Johann A. Schmutz ½	Both sold to U. V. C., the latter in 1773.
22	8	Abraham Duerninger & Co.	Sold to Traugott Bagge, Sept., 1774.
23	12	M. J. Klein	Purchased by U. V. C.
25	14	C. F. Martens (for single Brethren's Diaconies)	Part sold on their account; balance bought by U. V. C. in 1812.
26	22	Sack and Schiffert	Sold to U. V. C. 1772, for $900.00.
27	24	F. J. von Bruinmgk	Purchased by U. V. C.
30	23	Johann E. Dehio ½ George Kandler ½	Purchased by U. V. C.

It will be noted that Traugott Bagge was the only one of the original shareholders who took a deed to his lot, and himself conducted its sale. Having settled permanently in Salem, he became one of the leading citizens of that central town, and the competency which he gradually gained was doubtless founded on the 2,000-acre lot which he took in the Society, and the additional 2,000 acres he bought from Abraham Duerninger. John Leinbach was the only man in the 1767 list who built a house on his lot and actually settled there.

Marshall's memorandum book states that the money ex-

pended by each Societaet lot owner to Michaelmas, 1772, amounted to £244 Sterling—$1,085.50. It is, therefore, evident that few if any of the lot owners received the equivalent of the sum invested, and had the Societaet been organized as a speculative scheme the shareholders would have had good cause to feel disappointed. It is quite certain, however, that most of the men and women interested cared more for the cause than for their pocketbooks. And "Der North Carolina Land und Colonie Etablissement" was unquestionably a success. Made possible by the generous subscriptions of these friends, borne loyally on their shoulders through the early difficult years, liberally endowed with the lands which they allowed to slip back into its hands as it was able to receive them, the enterprise, at the beginning of the Revolutionary War, was becoming so prosperous as to awaken the jealousy of less successful neighbors.

Marshall was called to Europe in 1775 to attend a General Synod of the Moravian Church, and the war which broke out between England and the Colonies prevented his return for four years. Of the trials and difficulties of those years for the Moravian settlers in Wachovia no mention need here be made. Under all circumstances they were wonderfully preserved, and they emerged from those trying times but little the worse for their experiences. The most serious danger came at the close of the war, when, under the Confiscation Act, many claimed that the Moravian title to Wachovia had been forfeited because it was vested in James Hutton, an Englishman, and therefore an alien. By order of U. V. C., Hutton transferred his title, by deed of lease and release, to Marshall, October 28, 1778, but the validity of the transfer was questioned on account of the date, although Marshall had become a naturalized citizen of North Carolina during his residence in Salem.

Marshall returned to Wachovia in the fall of 1779, and

the matter was brought before the General Assembly of North Carolina in 1782. There it was argued that Hutton held title only "in trust for the Unitas Fratrum," that title had been transferred to Marshall subject to the same trust, and that peaceful Moravians who had been living in Wachovia since before the war ought to be protected in their property rights. To this view the General Assembly agreed, and an act was passed, bearing date of April 13th, which confirmed to Marshall the title to Wachovia and certain other lands in North Carolina "in trust as aforesaid."

The custom of vesting title in an individual for the benefit of the Church continued for many years, as the Church was not an incorporated body. Each "proprietor" was required to make a will, whereby at his death the estate would pass to another Moravian, selected by the U. V. C. Sometimes the estates were transferred by deed, when the ruling Board thought the best interests of Wachovia required it. There were eight Proprietors of Wachovia between August 7, 1753, and December 1, 1877: James Hutton, London; Frederick William von Marshall, Salem; Christian Lewis Benzien, Salem; John Gebhard Cunow, Bethlehem; Lewis David von Schweinitz, Bethlehem; William Henry Van Vleck, New York City; Charles F. Kluge, Salem; Emil A. de Schweinitz, Salem. On December 1, 1877, the last named deeded to "The Board of Provincial Elders of the Southern Province of the Moravian Church," all the property remaining unsold in his hands, this Board having been incorporated, and therefore being able to take over the title, the land having been bought by the Southern Province from the Unity at large. To-day scarcely fifty acres of all the tract remains unsold.

And how great the change in one hundred and fifty-seven years! From the "Etablissement" with its Unitaet and Societaet lots, its few scattered settlers and three small villages,

to Forsyth County, with its townships, the bustling Twin City of Winston-Salem, the railways, macadam roads, thriving villages, well-tilled farms, and comfortable country homes. Surely the fathers planned more wisely than they knew, for the old "Etablissement" has become one of the centers of prosperity in the Old North State.

GEORGE DURANT.

BY CAPTAIN S. A. ASHE.

The events of the distant past in the forests of Virginia and Carolina are largely veiled in obscurity. In June, 1635, a grant was issued to Richard Bennett for land in Nansemond County, "due for the importation of forty persons," among the names of whom was that of William Durant. The actual settlement may have preceded the grant some years.

In 1644 a new law was passed in Virginia, requiring all persons officiating in any church service to use the Book of Common Prayer, and this led to the removal of Bennett and many of his colony to Providence, near Annapolis, in Maryland. Apparently Durant was of the number, although the name was sometimes erroneously written Durand, and Duren. At Providence he was a landowner, an "elder" and a "leading man." About 1656 the settlement of Independents at Providence was broken up, and the use of the Book of Common Prayer in any church being at that time prohibited by law in Virginia, many of Bennett's followers returned to that province.

The entry in George Durant's Bible is that he was born October 1, 1632; and it is surmised that he was a son of William Durant, and born in Nansemond County, Virginia; and that his youth was passed there and in Maryland. On January 4, 1659, being then 26 years of age, he married Ann Marwood, in Northumberland County, where the Potomac comes into Chesapeake Bay. The service was performed by Reverend David Lindsey; but whether Parson Lindsey was of the Church of England or not is now unknown.

Just about the time of this marriage—1659—a number of adventurous spirits settled on the great Sound of Carolina, buying their lands from the Indians. Among these first set-

tlers were John Battle, Dr. Thomas Relfe, Roger Williams, Thomas Jarvis, Captain John Jenkins and Samuel Pricklove. George Durant accompanied them, but did not at once locate. He spent two years in exploring the country and examining locations, and then bought from the Indian king a tract at the mouth of the Perquimans River, that has since been known as Durant's Neck, his deed bearing date March 1, 1661. He then purchased an adjoining tract for George Catchmaid, Gent., of Ipswich, who brought into the colony thirty dependents. Others brought in nearly as many; John Harvey seventeen, Dr. Relfe fifteen, Captain Jarvis fourteen—and so on.

Within a year after Durant had located, Governor Berkley, of Virginia, went to England to pay his court to the restored monarch; and while there he received instructions to require the settlers on Carolina Sound, who had purchased their land from the Indians, to take out grants from Virginia, although that region was in the territory granted many years earlier to Sir Robert Heath, under the name of Carolina.

Catchmaid, being in Virginia, became aware of this order, and promised Durant, while getting a grant for himself, also to get one for him. Instead, however, he took out a single grant in his own name for the two adjoining tracts which Durant had bought from the Indian king, but agreed with Durant to make him title for his part at some convenient season.

In the meantime Durant had built a home for his family on his new possessions, and thither had come Mrs. Durant and her children, for on December 24, 1659, she had borne to her husband a son, George, and on February 15, 1661, a daughter, Elizabeth. These first children were certainly born in Virginia, but perhaps their third child, John, born December 26, 1662, and the subsequent children, were native Carolinians. And also a home was built on Durant's Neck for

Catchmaid, Gentleman, who lived there with his wife, the nearest neighbors of the Durants. Being a man of great consequence, Catchmaid was at once chosen Speaker of the Assembly, and he had much business on hand; so much that he never settled his matters with Durant, and they were unsettled when he died. However, as he was Speaker and a leader, he may have been suddenly killed in an Indian war that broke out in 1666. At any rate, at his death there were accounts to be settled between his estate and Durant, and title to Durant's home passed to the heirs of Catchmaid. There being no children, his widow took possession of Catchmaid's estate, but soon married Timothy Biggs, who made up the account, and agreed to make the title to Durant, but likewise died without doing so. Many years afterwards, when Durant himself was dead, Edward Catchmaid, of London, claimed the property as nephew and heir of Catchmaid, and Durant's sons brought a suit in chancery to enjoin him. The evidence in this suit is preserved; and from it some of the above facts have been gleaned.

The historian John Lawson, who was in Albemarle forty years after the settlement, says that "the first who came found the winters mild and the soil fertile beyond expectation; that everything came by nature, and the husbandman lived almost void of care and free from the fatigues of providing necessaries; that they were men of substance, each attended by a considerable retinue of servants." As Durant quickly built his own house and appears to have been a man of substance when his family moved to Carolina, they had such comforts as an abode in the forest could afford. And as the settlement grew, his residence became one of the houses where the courts were held, and where the inhabitants met on public occasions. Although in the wilderness of a new country, he was by no means isolated, but enjoyed the association of congenial neighbors.

From the first the settlers were prosperous, and made good crops of tobacco, which found a ready market in Virginia and New England, yielding in return cloths and household goods and ample domestic supplies. Indeed, there was both a business and social connection with New England, as well as Virginia, some of the settlers coming from Massachusetts; and there was much trade between the two colonies. But this trade was in contravention of the English navigation laws passed to promote the commercial interests of the mother country. One of these laws forbade the importation of any manufactures except through the merchants of London, and another laid a tax on tobacco imported into England, for the private purse of the king; and another, passed in 1672, levied a tax on tobacco shipped from one colony to another. The first effort to enforce these laws in Albemarle was made in 1675. It raised a great commotion among the planters, as it lessened the value of their tobacco and interfered with their obtaining the manufactured articles they were supplied with by the Massachusetts traders. Durant himself was largely interested in tobacco, and the people, aroused by him and other leaders, were ready to rebel against the enforcement of these laws. Just then also a war broke out with the Meherrin Indians; and Captain Zack Gilliam brought his vessel, "Carolina," into Albemarle, well supplied with ammunition and firearms, at the very moment when needed.

The people first marched against the Indians and subdued them, and then they forced the Governor to let up somewhat in the enforcement of the navigation laws. Being "in arms, they were persuaded by George Durant, Valentine Bird, the collector, and one White, with others, to force the Governor to remit to the New England men three farthings per lb. The said Durant having then a considerable quantity of tobacco to receive, which he was to ship to New England."

Later, the Assembly deposed the Governor, and established a government after "their own model," and Durant was one

of the leaders in the matter. The next year, Speaker Eastchurch, being in England, the Lords Proprietors appointed him Governor, but Durant was himself in London* later, and declared to some of the Proprietors that Eastchurch should not be Governor, and threatened to revolt. (C. R. I., 287-8.) Captain Gilliam was also in Londan, and Durant returned on his vessel, then well armed. Whatever were the objections to Eastchurch, Durant was as determined as he was bold. He knew his people and had confidence that they would follow where he led. His purpose to revolt soon became known in Albemarle. On the first day of December, 1677, the "Carolina" again came into port, with Durant on board. A "New England Ambassador" had also been among the people, stirring them up on this very matter of the tobacco tax and the restrictive trade legislation that bore so hard on the colonists.

Eastchurch not having arrived, acting Governor Miller, aware of Durant's purpose to revolt, went on board the "Carolina," and putting a pistol to Durant's head, arrested him; but the revolutionists did not dally. All of the officers who did not fall in with them were speedily taken, and confined in log houses, ten feet square, specially built for their accommodation. Durant, Culpeper and their associates, having found the great seal of the colony, now carried on government in Albemarle in a regular and orderly administration, electing assemblies and establishing courts and mak-

* It is said that George Durant had a brother, John Durant, living in London. In D'Israeli's Curiosities of Literature there is this statement: "There was a most bloody-minded 'maker of working balls,' as one John Durant is described, appointed a Lecturer by the House of Commons—the Long Parliament—who always left out of the Lord's Prayer, 'as we forgive them that trespass against us,' and substituted, 'Lord, since Thou has now drawn Thy sword, let it not be sheathed again till it be glutted in the blood of the malignants,' the malignants being the cavaliers." This person, or chaplain of the House of Commons, may have belonged to the same connection. As the name is found sometimes written "Duren," the emphasis would seem to have been on the first syllable.

ing laws as if they had the sanction of the Lords Proprietors. When at length Governor Eastchurch reached Virginia, a force was raised by Durant to oppose his entering into Albemarle, but the Governor unexpectedly died with fever, and the peace of the colony was not further disturbed.

In 1672, William Edmundson, a follower of George Fox, had visited Albemarle and found one Quaker there, Henry Phillips, but that faith then took root, and when these disturbances began there was quite a number of Friends, who refused to aid the revolutionists, and sympathized with Biggs, the tax collector, who was himself a Quaker. These complained bitterly of the treatment Durant gave them, and some of them fled to Virginia because of Durant's oppressions, as they alleged; and they sent a strong petition and remonstrance to the Proprietors against Durant's oppression and persecution.

In view of these facts, now well established by contemporaneous documents, it seems odd to read in some histories that Albemarle was originally settled by Quakers, and by others fleeing from Virginia to escape religious intolerance and oppression, and that Durant himself was a Quaker. The settlement, says Lawson, was by wealthy planters; but one Quaker was in Albemarle in 1672, and later Durant was regarded by the Friends as their persecutor and oppressor.

Eventually this revolt against Miller and Eastchurch was legalized by the Lords Proprietors, and Jenkins, who had cooperated with Durant and the other leaders, was appointed Governor, and Durant Attorney-General. But the Proprietors could not give immunity against the navigation laws, and the English government was too strong to be resisted; so it soon came about that the navigation laws and tobacco taxes were submitted to, although doubtless there were constant evasions. It was not until a century later, and then by a united continent, that the power of Parliament to tax America was definitely determined by force of arms. What was patriotism in 1776 would have been treason in 1676.

During the succeeding administrations, Durant doubtless exerted the influence that was inseparable from his character, talents and means. His residence was still a meeting place for the inhabitants, and there the court of "Berkeley Precinct" was held. By the commission of Governor Harvey, in 1679, "Georjius Durant vel Alexandrus, Lillington,"—justice, was to inquire into all offences, etc.; and Durant held the Court of Berkeley, afterwards Perquimans, precinct.

After some years, Seth Sothell, one of the Proprietors who had been appointed Governor, reached Albemarle, and soon began a course of oppression, seeking wealth at the expense of the people. Among other allegations made against Sothell was this: Richard Humphrey died, leaving a will in which Thomas Pollock was named executor. Sothell would not allow the will to be proved, but took Humphrey's property into his own hands. Pollock prepared to go to England to complain, and Sothell threw him into prison.

Another allegation was that he imprisoned George Durant upon pretense that Durant had said something reflecting on him, and then compelled him to give a bond while in durance, and afterwards, on pretense of the bond, seized on Durant's estate and converted it to his own use.

These high-handed outrages were more than the people would stand, and in the subsequent proceedings Durant certainly played a part with the spirit of his younger days. It was about the time of "the glorious revolution of 1688" in England, when the people modified their constitution, called in William to supplant James II, and limited the descent of the crown. In Albemarle, they were equally resolute. They seized the Governor, and, following the precedent of 1676, incarcerated him in a ten-foot log house, and proposed to send him to England for trial. Sothell, however, entreated them not to deport him to England, but, instead, to try him themselves, promising that he would submit to the judgment of the Assembly. The election was held, the Assembly met,

and on the trial he was found guilty on the above and other charges, and the Assembly gave judgment disqualifying him from ever holding the office of Governor, and banishing him from Albemarle for twelve months.

In this episode, as Durant was involved personally, he, as well as Pollock, doubtless was a chief actor, and the management and outcome of it are creditable not merely to his determined spirit, but to his wisdom and moderation. If there was an excess of turbulence ten years earlier, now the proceedings seem to have been conducted with decorum, as well as with energy and force. While the details have not been preserved, there must, first, have been an association, and a directory with power to manage, and an administration provided for. And it was this directory or administration that imprisoned the Governor and proposed to send him a prisoner to England; and it was this same body that entered into the agreement with Sothell to have the new General Assembly try him for his offenses. The preliminary steps, the conduct of the affair, the trial and the judgment, constitute an historical episode illustrative of the high capacity of the inhabitants of Albemarle to govern themselves, and with decorum and orderly administration to arrest oppression and maintain their liberties; and as Durant was necessarily a controlling spirit in the affair, the moderation of the proceedings reflect great credit on him for wisdom and prudence as well as for spirit and patriotism.

While Durant does not seem to have been employed by the Lords Proprietors in their government after this period, yet doubtless he continued to exert a personal influence during the remainder of his life. He died earlier than July, 1693, and his will was admitted to probate on February 6, 1694. He left descendants who have in every generation been among the most respectable and influential citizens of North Carolina.

HATORASK.

BY JAQUES BUSBEE.

As that mighty ocean river, the Gulf Stream, rushes hot from the straits of Florida around the corner of the continent, it meets full in the face the cold waters of the North Atlantic as they roll in an unbroken sweep from the frozen rim of the world.

With impact primordial the sands, swept along by the currents, shift, swirl and precipitate more slowly but not less surely than the vast cumulations of vapor forever hanging above the Diamond Shoals, and glorious as a vision of Walhallah. The three-mile stretch of flat beach forming the cape pushes twenty miles further to sea beneath the flood—a fringe of horror surrounding smiling, semi-tropical forests and sedges, like a necklace of scalps and skulls around some savage maiden. Yesterday, to-day and forever the quicksands of the Diamond demand their toll; human courage is unavailing, modern science is powerless to oppose it. A ragged end of the world in flux, to the cockle shells of commerce venturing within its dynamic circle, it is and ever will be "the graveyard of the American merchant marine."

In the year of grace, 1584, two barques, bearing the first English adventurers to set foot on the American continent, borne north on the current of the Gulf Stream, sighted land across the flashing breakers of the Diamond Shoals. A low-lying line of blue behind ramparts of sinuous golden sand hills, it seemed a strange and mysterious world to these English after two months of hardship and hope.

But no chance of landing presented itself. "The second of July we found shoal water, where we smelled so sweet and so strong a smell as if we had been in the midst of some delicate garden abounding with all kinds of odoriferous flowers,

by which we were assured that the land could not be far distant; and keeping good watch and by bearing slack sail, the fourth of the same month we arrived upon the coast, which we supposed to be a continent and firm land, and we sailed along the same a hundred and twenty English miles before we could find any entrance or river issuing into the sea." So writes Captain Barlowe. Six years later Hatorask is again the setting of the fifth and final act of Sir Walter Raleigh's tragedy of the first attempt to colonize America by Englishmen.

The story of Roanoke Island has been thrashed and rethrashed by historians till nothing remains to tell except the sphinx-like closing of the last chapter—the Lost Colony—and this remains an enigma to all, historian and poet alike. It is properly a part of Hatorask history also. Croatan, that mystic land and vanishing point of the Lost Colony is generally considered to be the mainland across Croatan Sound from Roanoke Island, but such is not the case—and John Lawson is responsible for the error. Let us see.

John White writes most vividly of his return to Roanoke and the desolation he found there. "* * * We let fall our grapnel near the shore and sounded with a trumpet call, and afterwards many familiar English tunes of songs, and called to them friendly, but we had no answer, * * * and as we entered up the sandy bank, upon a tree in the very brow thereof were curiously carved these fair Roman letters, C R O, which letters presently we knew to signify the place where I should find the planters seated, according to a secret token agreed upon between them and me at my last departure from them; * * * therefore at my departure from them in A. N. 1587, I willed them, that if they should happen to be distressed in any of those places, that then they should carve over the letters or name a cross X in this form; but we found no such sign of distress. And having well con-

sidered this we passed toward the place where they were left in sundry houses, but we found the houses taken down, and the place very strongly enclosed with a high palisado of great trees with curtains and flankers very fort like; and one of the chief trees or posts at the right side of the entrance had the bark taken off, and five feet from the ground in fair capital letters was graven C R O A T A N, without any cross or sign of distress."

Then he goes on to describe the dismantled and deserted wreck of the fort, with rusted iron fowlers and lockershot scattered and overgrown with grass; and at length he comes upon his chests, buried and dug up, and you see the man's selfishness: "* * * where we found five chests that had been carefully hidden by the planters, and of the same chests three were my own, and about the place many of my things spoiled and broken, and my books torn from the covers, the frames of some of my pictures and maps rotten and spoiled with rain, and my armor almost eaten through with rust; this could be no other than the deed of the savages, * * * but although it grieved me to see such spoil of my goods, yet on the other side I greatly joyed that I had safely found a certain token of their safe being at Croatan, which is the place where Manteo was born, and the savages of the *Island* our friends."

So with more rough weather and the loss of all but one anchor and some water casks, White suggests that they leave the colonists (his daughter and grandchild among them) to the savage friends at Croatan and winter in the West Indies, "with hope to make two rich voyages in one" and capture golden galleons.

So much for White—we have evidence of the colony at Croatan—but where was Croatan?

John Lawson was the first to set down as Croatan on his map the mainland across from Roanoke Island, and he no

doubt reasoned that as they had agreed to move fifty miles "into the main" before White departed for England, and as they left the word "Croatan" carved on a tree as their destination, that they had sought the nearest point on the continent, and that was of course Croatan.

But White did not so understand. To him the mainland across from Roanoke Island was Desamonquepenk and Secotan, the *Island* of Croatan lying some sixty odd miles to the south, for he had proposed to sail to it on the open sea. On White's own map, published by DeBry, he gives the name of Croatan to the banks from Cape Hatorask all the way down to Ocracoke Inlet (Wokoken next adjoining).

Hatorask was the home of Manteo's people, the friendly tribe to which he led the colony when supplies and help failed and treacherous Wanchese with his following pressed hard.

When White returned to England it was agreed that the colony was to move "fifty miles into the main," but when supplies ran short and no help came, what was the wisdom of going further away from possible aid? It would be madness!

The natural and sensible move would be to the banks, with the hope of sighting some English ship. Sir Francis Drake had sailed up the coast, and the first news of his arrival came to Ralph Lane from the man whom he had stationed seaward for the expected supply ships. To send a man to the Croatan of Lawson's map would be ridiculous, for the ocean can not be seen from there even with a modern field glass.

Drake had relieved and carried back to England the former colony under Lane when reduced to the last extremity. So the Lost Colony doubtless took their only chance, and let Manteo lead them to his own friendly people on Hatteras banks, where the opportunity of sighting some vessel was greatest. There lived the only friendly tribe, the only place of comparative safely in a wild and savage country. Furthermore, the inlets by which vessels entered the sounds lay on

either side of these banks. It was the point of vantage, the outlook where it would be impossible for a vessel to slip by without being seen. In Sir Richard Grenville's report of the diurnal of his voyage are these items: "The 26th we came to anchor at Wokoken. The 6th July * * * Captain Aubry and Captain Boniton, the same day were sent to Croatan where they found two of our men left there, with thirty others by Captain Raymond some twenty days before. The 8th, Captain Aubry and Captain Boniton returned with two of our men found by them to us at Wokoken. * * * The 21st, our fleet anchoring at Wokoken we weighed anchor for Hatorask (the present New Inlet), the 27th our fleet anchored at Hatorask and there we rested." Knowing the country, the time it would take sail or row-boats to make these trips, the dates given are most significant.

There is more land at Hatorask than at any other point along the banks, the forests covering some fifty square miles, to this day teeming with game. And it was undeniably here that the colony merged into the Indian tribe (the nursing mother of the Croatans), which afterwards, in accordance with Indian customs, moved farther south, and reaching the narrow and shallow waters of Core Sound, crossed over to the main land.

Hatorask is the vanishing point of the Lost Colony. They went there in 1587 or 1588, and a little more than a hundred years after, Lawson writes of them, in 1709: "A further confirmation of this we have from the Hatteras Indians (note that he calls them *Hatteras* Indians), who either then lived on Roanoke Island or much frequented it. These tell us that several of their ancestors were white people and could talk in a book as we do; the truth of which is confirmed by gray eyes being found frequently amongst these Indians and no others. They value themselves extremely for their affinity to the English, and are ready to do them all friendly offices.

It is probable that this settlement miscarried for want of timely supplies from England; or through the treachery of the natives, for we may reasonably suppose that the English were forced to cohabit with them for relief and conversation; and that in process of time they conformed themselves to the manners of their Indian relatives; and thus we see how apt human nature is to degenerate."

On Hatteras banks to-day are disconnected scraps of evidence to lend color to this belief. Traversing the sandy roads, hedged with youpon and holly, palm and pine, with houses flamboyantly painted and prosperous with lightning rods, people pass with swarthy skins, high cheek bones, straight black hair, and with that peculiar modeling of nose and mouth distinctly Indian.

And if one should stop to talk with these friendly, hospitable people, the use of many old obsolete words and phrases of Chaucer's time would be noted; quaint turns of expression, words used with a significance they had long ago, but now spoken with a modern meaning.

Most houses are set in a clearing sufficient for a yard, but little attempt at beautifying is made. A garden is a rarity. Fishing, hunting, oystering—and a man lives well.

There is little land on the banks with a clear title. The best titles are possession. At Trent where some families lived who were known as "Red Men," but who strenuously objected to being called Indians, are examples of the puncheon fence—simply an Indian stockade made by driving down stakes close together.

All this is but indirect evidence, yet it forces belief and is probable. Still you go back to the thought that here on Hatteras, though the evidence is slight and circumstantial, the Lost Colony merged and blended with the Indian tribe that saved them from slaughter.

In the hook of the cape, leaning desperately away from the wind, in an attitude of hopelessly arrested flight, stands a giant live oak, with a copper spike driven deep into its dead trunk some four feet from the ground.

It is Teach's Oak; and back in the forest, on the summit of a high sand hill, defended by well-nigh impenetrable jungles, are three deep pits where ever-credulous cupidity has dug for buried treasure. Legend says that it was found, but by whom is still a mystery. Teach, whose stamping ground was Hatteras, lurked in the calm hook of the cape for vessels distressed by a northeast gale and the current of the Gulf Stream, unable to double the cape till the wind should shift. Many are the tales and traditions he has left on the banks, and to this day, in wild weather, his phantom ship is seen sailing safely over the mad waters of the Diamond Shoals, to send to everlasting doom some crew in dire distress. Who knows how many corpses he has added to the multitudinous drowned of many lands and times, who shriek with the wind at the horror of that moving, shifting sand, that lies in wait beneath the waves but never shows its hydra head!

Teache was finally captured and killed further down the banks, at Ocracoke Inlet, and his head, nailed to the mast of Lieutenant Maynard's boat, was carried in triumph to Bath Town and presented to his reputed friend, Governor Eden. Yet a guilty thrill of admiration rises in the heart (since Teache is at the safe distance of two hundred years) for a man of such strong personality, strength and initiative, and this North Carolina pirate will always be mentioned with deprecatory pride.

From cape to inlet, Hatteras is ten miles long, a series of high sand hills, densely wooded and combed with parallel sedges, running from east to west the entire length of the island. The woods disappear at Trent and the western end

is low and wet, the marsh dividing almost equally with the beach, which encroaches year by year—fifty years ago trees waving two miles to sea where now porpoise play. Houses are perched on any dry ground that remains, nestling among scrubby, stunted live oaks and water bushes and alive with mocking birds. Where beach and marsh converge to a bare point of sand at the inlet, are traces of Forts Clark and Hatteras. They were sand redoubts held in place by turf from the adjoining marshes, and pitifully inadequate to the attacking squadron of Butler's thirteen men-of-war. The force in Fort Hatteras was 718 men; the action lasted three hours and twenty minutes. Over three thousand shells were fired by the bombarding fleet during that time, twenty-eight in a minute falling within the fort.

The Confederate guns, old style smooth-bore pieces, were entirely out of range, and after a futile attempt, ceased firing altogether. This action occurred on August 29, 1861, and was the first naval victory, or victory of any sort for that matter, won by the Federals (if the pounding into destruction of a well-nigh helpless fort could be called a victory). This caused great rejoicing at the North, for it put the entire eastern section of the State at the mercy of the Federals.

One beautiful October day, tropically warm, we drove a shaggy little sun-burned beach pony and two-wheeled cart up to Trent to see the sand hills fantastically piled up by the wind, and changing shape more slowly but not less surely than the clouds of heaven, smothering the woods steadily and stealthily as they blow inland. The sea before us was oil-slick—only an undulation of white on the beach showed its breathing. We strolled over the wind-swept wastes of Trent, looked at tombs overturned, and bones exposed by the moving sands, and I picked up two teeth filled with gold.

"I can remember when these people were buried," said my friend; "they have not been dead over forty years; but when

I was a boy a skeleton blew out at King's Point that was over six feet long, and it had strips of metal all over the upper part of the body. No—it was not a coffin. It must have been armor. We boys sold it for junk. It was copper."

And uprises a vision of the Lost Colony, blended with Manteo's people, living on these banks, hunting among these forests the deer and game that still abound; fishing in the shallow waters of Pamlico Sound; and the old free life of man, before civilization threw her restraining arms around him, surging back through his blood, blended with the Indian, that made the call of the wild irresistible. You behold the old people, crushed by hope abandoned of ever sighting some English ship, and nursing memories of home forever lost, as they see their children growing up more Indian than English; of the bitter tears that fall upon their comrades in adventure and misfortune as they lay them down in the armor so long and bravely worn, in a hole scraped in the sand.

THE TRUTH ABOUT JACKSON'S BIRTHPLACE.

BY BRUCE CRAVEN.

"Living, Homer begged for bread;
A dozen cities begged for Homer, dead."

This quaint and true saying is apt in connection with the dispute regarding the birthplace of Andrew Jackson. Living, the seventh President was not partial to, nor loved by, either of the Carolinas. He was the bitter enemy of South Carolina's greatest statesman, and as President defied the Carolinas and Georgia in the Cherokee Indian land troubles when, in answer to a Supreme Court decision in favor of the States, he said: "John Marshall has made his decision, now let him enforce it." These things account for the fact that there was no discussion or investigation of the location of the birthplace during Jackson's life, and consequently he died with the false belief that South Carolina was his "native State," as he often said.

That he believed he was born in South Carolina is without doubt, and there is no dispute in the whole story except as to one detail. In 1765, six sisters, with their husbands and families, landed in Charleston from the old world, and settled in the "Waxhaws," an undefined section between the present towns of Monroe, N. C., and Lancaster, S. C. These sisters, whose maiden name was Hutchison, were related to many others of their own name who had settled in the same section, and their husbands were Andrew Jackson, Sr., who settled near the site now known as the old Pleasant Grove camp-ground, nine miles inside North Carolina; James Crawford, who settled on Waxhaw Creek, about a mile inside South Carolina; George McKemey, near the Crawford home, but in North Carolina; John Leslie, Samuel Leslie, and James Crow.

In February of 1767, Andrew Jackson, Sr., died, leaving his widow and two children. His body was buried in the old Waxhaw cemetery, in Lancaster County, though there is nothing by which his grave can be identified, and no evidence to prove he was buried there except the settled traditions of the neighborhood, which seem to be specific and reliable. Soon after his death, his widow, with her two sons, left their North Carolina home to go to make their home with the Crawfords, who were the wealthiest of all the families mentioned. The road they traveled passed in sight of the McKemey home, where lived her sister Margaret.

To this point there is no dispute, but right here is the dividing line.

THE NORTH CAROLINA CLAIM.

Mrs. Jackson stopped to visit her sister Margaret, and there, in the night of March 15, 1767, Andrew Jackson was born. Three weeks later they located at the Crawford home in South Carolina, where Jackson lived until grown, then studied law in Salisbury, and located in the western part of North Carolina, which was later made into the new State of Tennessee.

This statement of the case rests upon three pieces of evidence: First is the settled traditions of the families above mentioned, some living in one State and some in the other. Colonel S. H. Walkup gathered their testimony and published it in the *Wadesboro Argus* of September 23, 1858. There were fourteen statements, representing all the families, and all agreeing that Jackson was born in the McKemey house, and that there were present in the house at the time Mrs. Elizabeth McWhorter, Mrs. Sarah Leslie, Mrs. Sarah Lathen, Mrs. Covsar, and Mr. and Mrs. McKemey. All of these people died before 1800, and their accounts of the incident were given by their children and grandchildren, who remembered well the oft-repeated story. There was no discrepancy in any of the many accounts.

There is no denial of the Walkup evidence, and all that is said in rebuttal is that Colonel Walkup led his witnesses by leading questions to say just what he wanted them to say. The character of the witnesses, however, is proven, and this, with the fact that some of them were South Carolinians, is sufficient reply to the charge. The original publication is in my possession, and was well and carefully prepared. At the time of the publication there was some doubt as to whether or not the McKemey home was in North Carolina, and this was not finally settled until recent years, when the land records in Register's books 11 and 14, in the Mecklenburg court-house were investigated and the records found proving completely that the McKemey tract of land was deeded to him in 1766, and deeded by him to Thomas Crawford in 1792, and in each case the residence of McKemey was given as Mecklenburg County, North Carolina.

The other point in the evidence is the statement of Jackson that he was born in the McKemey house, though believing at the time that the house was in South Carolina.

SOUTH CAROLINA'S CONTENTION.

For the South Carolina side of the case, there has never been but one solitary bit of evidence, and that is that Jackson himself thought he was born in South Carolina. Various biographers, etc., are cited to prove the claim, but in each case it is plain that they relied solely upon Jackson's erroneous belief, and nothing has ever been cited that was not founded on that error. Nothing could more conclusively show the utter worthlessness of the claim than the dependence put in a map of that section, made by J. Boykin in 1820. A cross mark on the map is made to designate the birthplace of Jackson, on the testimony, of course, of Jackson's own statement; but in the same map the Waxhaw Creek is made to rise in South Carolina, though, as any one can find out for himself, it

rises three miles inside of North Carolina. If J. Boykin was not accurate as to the location of a considerable creek, the location of which was a certainty, how could he locate the birthplace, about which he knew nothing?

So there is no evidence whatever except Jackson's. He believed he was "a native of South Carolina," but his testimony, without any proof, would be worthless when opposed to the real evidence above set forth. Jackson, himself, knew he was born in McKemey's cabin, and said so to James Faulkner, when both were spending the night in the cabin. (See Parton's Biography, volume 1, page 55.) This leaves his own testimony, which is all South Carolina has, as being his belief that he was born "in the McKemey cabin in South Carolina." He said one time that he was born "on the Crawford place," and the McKemey place was a part of the Crawford place and was naturally so considered, as Crawford was prosperous and McKemey was not; and the place was sold by McKemey to a Crawford, so at the time Jackson made the statement, it was the Crawford place. He never said he was born in the Crawford home, in which he was raised, and his only definite statement as to his birthplace was that he was born in the McKemey cabin. That specific declaration outweighs all his various statements that he was born in South Carolina, for he believed the McKemey cabin was in South Carolina.

CONCLUSION.

This is the plain statement of the whole dispute about the much-discussed question. The North Carolina claim is based on documentary facts. The South Carolina claim is based solely on the unsupported opinion of Jackson, whose opinion alone would leave the presumption in favor of North Carolina. All else that has been written or will be written on the subject is vain repetition and "words, words, words."

BIOGRAPHICAL, GENEALOGICAL AND HISTORICAL MEMORANDA.

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

ADELAIDE L. FRIES.

Miss Adelaide Fries, the author of "Der North Carolina Land und Colonie Etablissement," in this number of THE BOOKLET, was born in Salem, that quiet, quaint and charming old Moravian town in North Carolina, settled in 1765.

She is the daughter of John William Fries (1846) and Agnes S. de Schweinitz, daughter of Bishop Emil de Schweinitz, of the Moravian Church. She is the granddaughter of Francis Fries (1812-1863) and Lizzette (Vogler) Fries, daughter of John Vogler, Sr.

She is the great-granddaughter of William Fries (1775-), who emigrated from Germany to North Carolina in 1809 and here married Elizabeth Nissen. She is also a descendant on the maternal side of Count Zinzendorf, of Germany.

The Fries family is of German descent, and trace their lineage from the middle of the seventeenth century. They were distinguished types of the church of the "Unity of Brethren," the official name of which was "Unitas Fratrum," a body of earnest men who agreed to accept the Bible as their only standard of faith and practice, and established a strict discipline which should keep their lives in the simplicity, purity and brotherly love of the early apostolic church.

Miss Fries is a graduate of Salem Academy, is President of the Salem Alumnæ Association, and Chairman of the Literature Department. She has made extensive investigations in Moravian archives in America and Europe, and is well prepared to give with accuracy and fidelity the history of the Moravian Church in America, and the broader history

of our country, which it touches on every side. She has written extensively on the subject, and has published "History of Forsyth County"; "The Moravians in Georgia, 1735-1740"; "The Funeral Chorals of the Moravian Church"; "Salem Academy"; "Brief History of Moravian Church," and has been a faithful contributor to the Wachovia Historical Society. This cultivated and useful woman is a fine type of the German element that has been a blessing to every community in which it settled.

Miss Fries is a worthy descendant of a noble ancestry, and fully sustains the reputation won by them. She continues a close student of history and literature, and will fix her place securely among the historical writers of our time.

SAMUEL A'COURT ASHE.

The Booklet is indebted to Captain Ashe for the article on George Durant, which is given in his usual readable and charming style. It goes without saying that Captain Ashe, the subject of this sketch, is an historical genius and one in line with the foremost writers in North Carolina. He was born at Wrightsville Sound, eight miles from Wilmington, N. C., on the 13th of September, 1840. He was the son of William Shepperd Ashe, of the Rocky Point family of that name, and his wife Sarah Ann Green, who in the maternal line was a Grange.

Captain Ashe is connected lineally and collaterally with the old families who settled the Cape Fear country—the Porters, Swanns, Moseleys and Lillingtons. At the age of nine years, this young and promising boy was placed at school in Macon, Ga. Afterwards, until the age of fifteen, he attended schools at Georgetown, D. C.; Rugby Academy, Washington, D. C.; Oxford Academy, Maryland; where he received such education as to enable him to enter the Naval

Academy at Annapolis. Here he was called one of the "star" members of his class until he resigned and returned to his father's home, at Rocky Point, where he devoted himself to the study of history and literature bearing on the profession of law, reading "Reeve's History of the Common Law," Sharon Turner's "Anglo-Saxons," Robertson's "Charles V," "Hallam's Middle Ages," and "Constitutional History," and such other works. From such a course of reading he was well prepared to take up a careful study of the law under Mr. William Ruffin, a man well endowed with great faculties and of a superior legal mind. About this time the Civil War broke out, and Mr. Ashe, like the other spirited young men, the flower of the South, laid aside his law books and responded to the call of his country. His first service was under General Whiting, at Wilmington. He was appointed lieutenant and assigned to duty at Fort Caswell. This fort, at that time, was entirely defenseless, and entailed upon young Ashe an immense amount of responsibility; but under the direction of Captain F. L. Childs, he was largely instrumental in putting it in condition for defense. He filled several other positions, serving with fidelity and valor any place to which he was assigned. In June, 1861, he accepted the appointment as captain and adjutant-general on the staff of General Pender. Later he enlisted as a private in Co. I of the regiment then known as the Eighth, but later the Eighteenth North Carolina Troops. Captain Ashe served the whole term of the war, with credit to himself and an honor to the cause. His life as a soldier has been fully written by his comrades in arms; therefore this writer will dwell principally on his career as student, lawyer, legislator, editor, historian, and citizen.

It was at Rocky Point that Captain Ashe spent his early childhood. This was formerly the home of Edward Moseley, that man among men; a defender of the people's rights, and

"who espoused the cause of religious freedom against the bigotry and narrowness of his age and country." Might it not be said that here Captain Ashe imbibed the spirit of Edward Moseley? For it can not be doubted that material surroundings ofttimes impart influences that have their effect for good or bad, as the case may be.

It was here at Rocky Point, far from "the crowds of madding strife," that the foundation strong and sure was laid by Captain Ashe, fitting him for the exigencies of life. The knowledge of military tactics, acquired in four years of service as a soldier; his intimate knowledge of law, his experience as a public official; his monumental work as an editor, and his innate love for the history of his native State, have been, and are, of incalculable advantage to him whose services are so often called into requisition. As a public official, his acts are recorded in the archives of State. As an editor, his name will descend to generations as one whose forecast, ability, judgment and discretion were of the best. By his editorials he led the party of the people from victory to victory. During the critical period after the war he directed his best efforts to save the State from vicious and dangerous rule.

Captain Ashe has given much time to the study of North Carolina history, and is looked upon and appealed to as authority on any disputed point. He was a valuable aid to Colonel William L. Saunders in the preparation of that gigantic work, the Colonial Records; and to Judge Walter Clark in the preparation of the State Records. He has prepared a school history of the State, which has not yet been published. He has made many valuable public addresses bearing on State literature and history. His last most valuable contribution is his "History of North Carolina from 1584 to 1783." Only Volume I has been published. The first volume has been characterized thus by an acknowledged critic:

"The greatest event that North Carolina has known was the publication of Captain Ashe's history." Every library in the State should have a copy of this book. It contains about 725 pages, and is full of interest from cover to cover. He states in the preface that the work is based almost exclusively on the State publications; nearly every statement relating to North Carolina has for its support contemporaneous documents. It is dedicated to Thomas Jordan Jarvis and Colonel William Laurence Saunders, and closes with this paragraph:

"I dedicate this volume to you and to the memory of my departed friend, it being an early fruitage of his important State publications, the preparation of which was made possible by your own cordial concurrance: and I inscribe your name on this page in recognition of your great service to the people of North Carolina and in token of my friendship.

"S. A. Ashe."

Captain Ashe has contributed several articles of historic value to The North Carolina Booklet. In Vol. II his article on "Our Own Pirates" is a story of those desperate robbers who infested the coast of Carolina in the early Colonial period.

In Vol. IV "Rutherford's Expedition Against the Indians" is told in a most interesting way and treated more fully than is done by any other writer.

In addition to many historical and biographical essays which he has written, he has frequently made literary addresses of great merit and popularity. The address made on General Lee in 1906, under the auspices of the Johnston Pettigrew Chapter, Daughters of the Confederacy, received the highest commendations from those who heard it. This address was printed in pamphlet form and distributed by the Daughters as a means of enlightening the young generation and keeping fresh in their minds the greatness of Lee.

The ability and success with which Captain Ashe has wielded his pen proves the verity of the assertion that "the pen is mightier than the sword."

Captain Ashe married, in 1871, Miss Hannah Emerson Willard, of Raleigh, whom he survives, and has eight children.

NOTE.—Credit is due to Dr. T. B. Kingsbury for facts contained in the above sketch, the Biographical History of North Carolina, and other sources.—EDITOR.

BRUCE CRAVEN.

Mr. Bruce Craven, author of "The Truth About Jackson's Birthplace," has previously contributed to THE BOOKLET two articles on the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence; and a sketch of his life appeared in THE BOOKLET for January, 1909. Mr. Craven is Superintendent of the City Schools of Kinston, and besides his high standing in educational circles, is a lawyer and public speaker of ability, has had experience in newspaper work, and is a frequent contributor to leading newspapers and magazines. His writings are characterized by conciseness and precision.

RESOLUTIONS OF RESPECT TO THE MEMORY OF MRS. SUSAN GRAHAM CLARK, WHO DIED DECEMBER 10, 1909.

IN MEMORIAM.

Whereas, God in His infinite love and wisdom, has seen fit to remove from earth to heaven our loyal member, our beloved Vice-Regent, Mrs. Susan Graham Clark:

Therefore be it resolved, That the North Carolina Society, Daughters of the Revolution, deplore the great loss they have sustained in her death.

That they are thankful for the influence and inspiration of her noble life, and feel that they have lost a faithful and highly esteemed member, beloved of all other members, ever devoted to the work of the Society and ready to contribute to the success of all its undertakings.

That they mourn the absence of her personal charm, and will ever lament the loss of her wise counsel.

That we tender to the afflicted husband and family our heartfelt sympathy in this great bereavement.

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

Mrs. John E. Ray,
Mrs. Leigh Skinner,
Committee.

TRIBUTE FROM A FRIEND.

In Memoriam Mrs. Susan Graham Clark.

The North Carolina Society, Daughters of the Revolution, has sustained a loss in the removal to a higher, brighter life of one of her most prominent officers and loyal members, which will be felt not only in the present but through the coming years. Our beloved Vice-Regent was ever wise in counsel, true to the Society, just to her co-workers, and faithful to every duty that was hers, always anxious to assume even more than was her share. Those who were so fortunate as to have known her through this organization, feel that in knowing her they were amply compensated aside from other advantages.

Mrs. Susan Graham Clark was the only daughter of the late Honorable William Alexander Graham and Susan Washington, his wife. Her father was one of the greatest men of his time, and he lived in an age in which intellectual giants were not exceptions. Of noble lineage, reared amid an uplifting environment, where lofty ideals and brilliant intellects were guides to the moulding of a grand character, she maintained the standards established by her progenitors in this and other lands. She was ever the unconscious leader of every circle honored by her presence. To few it has been given the privilege to dwell under the influence of greatness which she keenly appreciated as well as inspired.

The gift of intellectuality is to be prized and admired, but nobility of heart is to be cherished even more. With both Mrs. Clark was richly endowed. Her sympathy and kindness to those in sorrow knew no bounds.

Another bright star has passed beyond our horizon, though the radiance will linger, a sweet reminder of the precious friend whose place will ever remain an empty void that can not be filled.

INFORMATION

Concerning *the* Patriotic Society

"Daughters *of the* Revolution"

The General Society was founded October 11, 1890,—and organized August 20, 1891,—under the name of "Daughters of the American Revolution"; was incorporated under the laws of the State of New York as an organization national in its work and purpose. Some of the members of this organization becoming dissatisfied with the terms of entrance, withdrew from it and, in 1891, formed under the slightly differing name "Daughters of the Revolution," eligibility to which from the moment of its existence has been *lineal* descent from an ancestor who rendered patriotic service during the War of Independence.

"*The* North Carolina Society"

a subdivision of the General Society, was organized in October, 1896, and has continued to promote the purposes of its institution and to observe the Constitution and By-Laws.

Membership and Qualifications

Any woman shall be eligible who is above the age of eighteen years, of good character, and a *lineal* descendant of an ancestor who (1) was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, a member of the Continental Congress, Legislature or General Court, of any of the Colonies or States; or (2) rendered civil, military or naval service under the authority of any of the thirteen Colonies, or of the Continental Congress; or (3) by service rendered during the War of the Revolution became liable to the penalty of treason against the government of Great Britain: *Provided*, that such ancestor always remained loyal to the cause of American Independence.

The chief work of the North Carolina Society for the past eight years has been the publication of the "North Carolina Booklet," a quarterly publication on great events in North Carolina history—Colonial and Revolutionary. $1.00 per year. It will continue to extend its work and to spread the knowledge of its History and Biography in other States.

This Society has its headquarters in Raleigh, N. C., Room 411, Carolina Trust Company Building, 232 Fayetteville Street.

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"Indian Massacre and Tuscarora War," Judge Walter Clark.

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"Highland Scotch Settlement in N. C.," Judge James C. McRae.

"The Scotch-Irish Settlement," Rev. A. J. McKelway.

"Battle of Guilford Court-house and German Palatines in North Carolina," Major J. M. Morehead, Judge O. H. Allen.

"Genesis of Wake County," Mr. Marshall DeLancey Haywood.

Vol. V.—(Quarterly.)

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"St. Paul's Church, Edenton, N. C., and its Associations," Richard Dillard, M.D.

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"North Carolina's Poets," Rev. Hight C. Moore.

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"Battle of Cowan's Ford," Major W. A. Graham.

"First Settlers in North Carolina Not Religious Refugees," Rt. Rev. Joseph Blount Cheshire, D.D.

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"The Indian Tribes of Eastern North Carolina," Richard Dillard, M.D.

"History Involved in the Names of Counties and Towns in North Carolina," Kemp P. Battle, LL.D.

"A Colonial Admiral of the Cape Fear" (Admiral Sir Thomas Frankland), Hon. James Sprunt.

"Biographical Sketches: Introduction; Maj. Graham Daves." By Mrs. E. E. Moffitt.

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"Governor Thomas Burke," J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, Ph.D.

"Colonial and Revolutionary Relics in the Hall of History," Col. Fred. A. Olds.

"The North Carolina Society Daughters of the Revolution and its Objects."

"Biographical Sketches: Dr. Richard Dillard, Mr. Francis Nash, Dr. J. G. de R. Hamilton and Col. Fred A. Olds," Mrs. E. E. Moffitt.

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"The Battle of Rockfish Creek, 1781," Mr. James Owen Carr.

"Governor Jesse Franklin," Prof. J. T. Alderman.

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"The White Pictures," Mr. W. J. Peele.

"North Carolina's Attitude Toward the Revolution," Mr. Robert Strong.

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Genealogical Sketches: Abstracts of Wills; Scolley, Sprott and Hunter, Mrs. Helen de B. Wells.

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" Industrial Life in Colonial Carolina," Mr. Thomas M. Pittman.

Address: "Our Dearest Neighbor—The Old North State," Hon. James Alston Cabell.

Biographical Sketches: Col. A. M. Waddell, Junius Davis, Thomas M. Pittman, by Mrs. E. E. Moffitt; Hon. Jas. Alston Cabell, by Mary Hilliard Hinton.

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" The Finances of the North Carolina Colonists," Dr. Charles Lee Raper.

" Joseph Gales, Editor," Mr. Willis G. Briggs.

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"North Carolina's Historical Exhibit at Jamestown Exposition," Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton.

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" Incidents of the Early and Permanent Settlement of the Cape Fear," Mr. W. B. McKoy.

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" Fayetteville Independent Light Infantry," Judge James C. MacRae.

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"Hatorask," Mr. Jaques Busbee.

"The Truth about Jackson's Birthplace," Prof. Bruce Craven.

Biographical and Genealogical Memoranda: Miss Fries, Captain Ashe, Professor Craven," Mrs. E. E. Moffitt.

Vols. I, II, III, IV, 25 cents each number.

Vols. V, VI, VI, VIII, IX, 35 cents each number.

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The North Carolina Booklet

A QUARTERLY PUBLICATION ISSUED UNDER
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