From Painting by Jaques Busbee.

THE SITE OF FORT RALEIGH

Vol. X APRIL, 1911 No. 4

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. Editor.

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THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

Vol. X APRIL, 1911 No. 4

BAPTISM OF VIRGINIA DARE*

Anniversary address, delivered on Roanoke Island by Rt. Rev. Joseph Blount Cheshire, D.D., August 18, 1910, under the auspices of the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association.

We have just sung our State song, "Carolina." We give to our native country a feminine designation. *"Carolina"* is derived from the masculine name Charles, in Latin *"Carolus"*; some say from the French King Charles IX. More probably it was so called in the first English charter, after Charles I of England, and then the name was repeated and permanently fixed by the two charters of Charles II. But whether from French or English Charleses, we find it always in the more beautiful feminine form, *"Carolina."* Grammatically it had to be feminine form, because it is an objective, and the noun with which it must agree is *"terra."* But I suppose that, after all, the reason why the old Latins, and the older Greeks before them, made the name of the earth to be of the feminine gender, was at bottom the same feeling which must always have made men in some sense recognize the earth as our common mother. Out of the dust of the earth did the power and the goodness of God form man; and so we speak of "Mother Earth," and we call our country, *"Patria,"* which, though it be from the Latin for father, yet it has a feminine form. The German may translate it "Fatherland," but we say our "Mother Country."

*This address was in fact delivered at Roanoke Island, August 18, 1910, the anniversary (the 323d) of the birth of Virginia Dare. But by a misapprehension of the writer it had been prepared under the impression that the day of delivery was to be the anniversary of the baptism. It was written at Nag's Head without books or memoranda of any kind for the verification of any fact or date.

We are met today to celebrate what we may in a very proper sense call the birthday of our country, not only of our mother State of North Carolina, but of the greater country of which North Carolina forms a part, because here on Roanoke Island began that chapter of history which has gone on and developed into the history of the United States. For nearly one hundred years white men of Europe had been visiting this new found western world. First Spaniards, in 1492, under the great Italian, Christopher Columbus, discovered the West Indian Islands, and Spaniards also discovered South America. Then Englishmen, in 1497, under Cabot, a merchant of Bristol, though also an Italian by birth, first landed upon and claimed the Continent of North America. Far to the south cities and colonies had been formed by Spaniards and had grown and prospered, and the treasures of Mexico and Peru in the hands of Spain had so extended and increased the immense power of that Country in Europe that nothing seemed able to withstand the tide of its conquests. But here, on Roanoke Island, in the summer of 1587, was planted a seed, and here began to spring into being a life and power which in time wrested the supremacy from Spain, and built up the power of our English-speaking people, which covered the world with English colonies, developed this great empire of the West, and has given to our race the position which it now holds in the world. Roanoke Island was the first stone laid in the great structure of English colonization and expansion.

And to this anniversary we give the name, not of a man, but of a girl, *Virginia Dare.* This is *"Virginia Dare Day."* Englishmen had before come to these shores, to this very spot whereon we stand. In the summer of 1584 came Amidas and Barlow, two of Raleigh's captains, and in 1585 the valiant Sir Richard Grenville brought Ralph Lane and his hundred and seven pioneers, who for a year sailed these

waters and traversed these forests, and wrote descriptions of the country and of its inhabitants, and drew for us those curious pictures of its people, their dress, dwellings and occupations, which adorn the narrative of Hariot. But a colony of men, however intelligent and hardy, can make no permanent settlement, and so Lane and his companions sailed away across the blue waters.

And then in the pleasant summer weather of the year 1587 came John White and his colony, sent out by the same wonderful man, Sir Walter Raleigh, and with White came not only men, but also men's wives and their little children, boys and girls. For on these shores Raleigh was determined that English colonies should be planted, because he saw that it was only by thus extending the bounds of their habitation that our people could reach that development and power necessary for their defense against the power of their European rivals and enemies, and for the accomplishment of their great destiny. And the birth of the first child of the English race in America was the prophecy and the earnest of that immense multiplication and expansion which now reckons its numbers by hundreds of millions of free, enlightened Christian people, sprung from the same sturdy stock who have established the institutions and the culture of the little island of Britain in every quarter of the habitable globe.

And you have well chosen as the day our celebration, not the anniversary of the birth, but the anniversary of the baptism of Virginia Dare.* It is not physical life which makes the greatness of a people. It is their spiritual life. It is not strength of body or of mind, it is strength of heart and of spirit. The England of the sixteenth century was weak in physical resources, and but a beginner in the arts and sciences. She had to bring her teachers of Greek and of the new learning from the Continent; her artists she im-

*See note at bottom of page 167.

ported from the low countries; her architecture she was learning from Italy. Her enemies were the mighty upon earth. The tramp of the Spanish infantry, the finest soldiers in Europe, had trodden down all resistance, except where they had been stopped by the cutting of the dykes in Holland, and by that silver thread of the Strait of Dover, and on the ocean how feeble seemed the little frigates and flyboats of the English seamen, beside the towering sea castles of the Spanish navy! But the Englishman of the sixteenth century was a free man, and of a free and aspiring spirit. He had not worked out his freedom into any consistent system either in church or in State. He had not learned that his own freedom could not be secure until he had learned to respect also the freedom of others. He was loyal to his ancient monarchy, and he loved his heroic queen, but as long as the queen and her government represented on the whole the interests, the aspirations and the efforts of the nation, they were free to exercise almost any degree of mediæval tyranny upon particular individuals or upon the reactionary elements of the poplation. At the reformation he had preserved in its integrity the ancient Church of England as no other Reformed or Protestant nation of Europe had done, and he loved its stately churches and cathedrals, and its dignified hierarchy, and its noble services, which had come down to him from his ancestors. But he was no longer a bondman to the church; he was Christ's free man in his Father's house. Baptism meant for him that he was "a member of Christ, a child of God, and an inheritor of the Kingdom of Heaven." And he gloried in this freedom. Nothing is a more striking feature in the character of the great Elizabethan soldiers and sailors than this confident profession of their Christian faith, their glorying in the Reformed religion of the ancient Catholic Church of England. And so we read, in the old chronicle of Roanoke

Island, that it was by the especial command of Sir Walter Raleigh that Manteo, the first Christian among the North American Indians, was baptized; not in England where he might have been baptized in a royal minster or in an archiepiscopal cathedral, with nobles and princes for his sponsors, but here under the spreading branches of the American forests, the work of founding the first English colony was inaugurated by the baptism of the first Indian convert. This fact of itself proves the presence of a priest of the English Church among the colonists. Raleigh's charter required that the public institutions of religion should be in accordance with the Church of England, and in providing for the administration of a sacrament, an authorized administrator must have been included.

And next, after the baptism of Manteo on Sunday, August 13, 1587, came the birth of Virginia Dare, August 18, and August 20 being the tenth Sunday after Trinity, she was baptized on this island, and the new life springing up in this strange and savage land was dedicated to God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost; and in that solemn and significant rite that whole company saw repeated, their own dedication and new birth as "Members of Christ, children of God, and inheritors of the Kingdom of Heaven."

We know little about that fair young child whose name is now so familiar among the many millions of her kinsfolk. And it is not as an individual that she is important, but she is representative of a great and heroic age and of a tremendous and world-embracing vital movement. What amazing memories are called up by these rude forest surroundings, and by the flash of the blue waters between the living colonnades of these whispering pines! The spirits of mighty men of old haunt us along this storied shore. Philip Amidas and Arthur Barlow seem to be anchored out across yonder bar, while through the inlet which then pierced the

sand banks, comes on to this wooded shore their little pinnace, flying the standard of St. George at its masthead, and a man in the prow hold out toward the new land the symbol of truth and light, the Cross.

And next after this we see that most valiant of all sixteenth century sailors, Sir Richard Grenville. "Admiral of Virginia" Raleigh named him, and with the stout captain, Ralph Lane, and learned Hariot, mathematician and historian, and John White, the pioneer artist of this expedition; and again in the offing rides the fleet of Drake. *Draco,* the Dragon, the frightened Spaniards called him, him who "singed the King of Spain's beard," sailing into the port of Cadiz, the strongest fortified harbor in Europe; and fighting both fleet and forts at the same time—as Lord Howard and Sir Walter Raleigh did again in 1596—burning the fleet and sacking the town. And back of all, though he never saw these shores, back of all these, the great figure of Sir Walter himself, the genius of English colonization, the hand that pointed out to England her path in the great future. All these seem to come to us here, and claim a part in the grateful memories of this hour. They were among real makers of England's greatness today, and the founders of Carolina and Virginia, and of all this great American nation.

It is the fashion with some to call these men free-booters and pirates. I repel the word and all that it implies. These men were the champions of the freedom of the sea and of commerce, and they claimed the world for those who could most worthily possess it. And if there was a taste of danger and a spice of romance and a golden profit now and then for their reward, it was all in the day's work. The King of Spain claimed all this western hemisphere as his own. And the Bishop of Rome had, by his pretended right as God's vice-gerent on earth, confirmed to the King of Spain all lands lying west of a north and south line drawn one

hundred leagues west of the Azores. West of that line he claimed all as his own, and undertook to exclude by fire and sword all intruders. And with the riches of this new world he prepared to support his schemes of subjugating those little corners of Europe, England and Holland, and a scrap here and there, where freedom still reared her head. Do you think the worse of our fathers that they dared to dispute this stupendous claim, and to strike for a part of that great West which they needed, and especially of that Continent of North America which Englishmen, and not Spaniards, had discovered? It was that claim and those schemes of unbridled ambition which stirred the blood of every son of England who could get a ship under him and a dozen good hearts to help him strike a blow. And if these expeditions took the form of marauding expeditions against the ships and the settlements of Spain, how was that to be avoided? How else could they attack that greed and cruelty, which had remorselessly plundered and enslaved and butchered the simple people of the new world to glut the maw of Spanish avarice and to extend the bounds of tyranny and of the Spanish Inquisition?

> "Venturous Fortunio his farm hath sold,
> And gads to Guianne land to search for gold;
> Meeting, perchance, if Orinoque deny,
> Some straggling pinnace of Polonian rye.
> Then comes home floating with a silken sail,
> The Severn shaketh with his cannon peal."

Thus did a contemporary English poet deride these bold seamen, as others have done since. But, as a matter of fact, it was those "Venturous Fortunios" who taught England where and how her true destiny and greatness were to be accomplished in the distant future, as it was by those same daring seamen that she was delivered from the deadly peril of Philip's "Invincible Armada" in the then immediate

present. And a poet of our own day has worthily sung the condensed Epic of those same Elizabethan seamen, and especially of our own Sir Richard Grenville—as we may call him since he was an American Admiral—our own Sir Richard Grenville, in that noble poem which stirs my blood as does no other poem by Tennyson or by any modern poet, *"The Last Fight of the Revenge."*

But I must make an end. And, in making an end, let me say a last word about Virginia Dare and that "Lost Colony." And that last word is this: Never let any one persuade you to believe for one moment that a colony of one hundred and eighteen Christian English people, men and women, husbands and wives, parents and children, an organized Christian community—your kinsmen and mine—were, within the short space of no more than twenty years, from 1587 to 1607 when the Jamestown settlement was made, swallowed up and amalgamated with half-naked heathen Indian savages, so that no remnant was left which could be recognized by their white brethren of Virginia. The Indians told the Jamestown settlers that the Roanoke Colony had been exterminated by the Indians, and so they were. The Indians knew what had become of them, and there was no reason for them to have made such a statement if it had been false. We can not degrade the memory of those early pioneers in the settlement of America by supposing that they at once forgot their Christian nature, and voluntarily and promptly sunk into heathen barbarism, within less than one generation. The descendants of those first Christian inhabitants of our land are not to be sought in the mongrel remnants, part Indian, part white, and part negro, of a decaying tribe of American savages. They, those early colonists, Ananias Dare, and Eleanor his wife, and their little girl Virginia, and their friends and companions, found a nobler fate. They perished in their heroic endeavor, buried in an eddy

and back current of the great stream of our race progress; but they have left their spiritual descendants and kindred in us who are here assembled, and in every worthy and patriotic son and daughter of Carolina, Virginia, and the United States.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF CRAVEN COUNTY

BY S. M. BRINSON.

Craven County derives its name from William, Earl of Craven. It was part of the land originally granted the Lords Proprietors. Its settlement is clearly traceable to the religious persecution which induced the Palatines to brave the dangers and uncertainties of an ocean voyage in quest of a land which offered freedom of conscience.

Protestantism at this time was making some headway in Baden and Bavaria and its increasing power alarmed the Roman church, which caused the expulsion of all Protestants from those kingdoms. Thousands of them fled to England and there, penniless and in want, they became a charge upon the people of England.

When Lewis Michel had secured from the Lords Proprietors in the name of the Swiss Cantons of Bern, the "grant of ten thousand acres of land on or betwixt the Neuse or Cape Fear or their branches in North Carolina," provision was made for including a goodly number of these Palatines in the expedition. The people of England were glad to get them out of their country and the Queen herself contributed 4,000 pounds to assist the movement.

Christopher DeGraffenreidt, a Swiss nobleman, was associated with Lewis Michel in this movement to settle Carolina. Good title had been secured from the Lords Proprietors, ten pounds purchase money being paid for every thousand acres and five shillings yearly as a quit rent for every thousand acres.

DeGraffenreidt and Michel on October 10, 1709, entered into formal contract with the Commissioners and Trustees (who were charged with the care of these German Palatines), "for the transportation and settlement of 650 of the poor

Palatines to North Carolina." A copy of this contract is filed in the office of the Secretary of State. The contract is between DeGraffenreidt and Michel, of the one part, and "seven of the Commissioners and Trustees nominated and appointed by her Majesty's late gracious letters patent under the great seal of Great Britain for the collecting, receiving and disposing of the money to be collected for the subsistence and settlement of the poor Palatines lately arrived in Great Britain," on the other part.

It is recited in the contract that DeGraffenreidt and Michel have purchased a large tract of land in America called "North Carolina," that this land lies waste and uncultivated for want of inhabitants and that they have applied to the Commissioner having in charge the poor Palatines that some of them may be settled in North Carolina (this as well for the benefit of DeGraffenreidt and Michel as for as the relief and support of the said poor Palatines); that whereas the said Commissioners have thought it well to dispose of for this purpose six hundred persons of the said Palatines (which may be ninety-two families more or less), and have given to each of said six hundred Palatines 20 shillings in clothes and have paid and secured to be paid to DeGraffenreidt and Lewis Michel the sum of 5 pounds 10 shillings for each of the said six hundred persons for their transportation to North Carolina and for their comfortable support there.

It is agreed in this contract that DeGraffenreidt and Michel, for the consideration aforesaid, shall at their own cost, within two days embark or cause to be embarked in two ships six hundred of such of said poor Palatines as designated by the Commissioners and cause them to be transported to North Carolina, providing them with food and other necessaries during their voyage. It is provided that upon their arrival in North Carolina DeGraffenreidt and Michel shall within three months survey and set out 250 acres of

the said tract of land for each of the families (ninety-two, more or less), and that these allotments "be as contiguous as may be for the mutual love and assistance of the said poor Palatines one to another, as well with respect to the exercise of religion, as to the management of their temporal affairs."

To avoid disputes this land was divided out to the families by lot. For the first five years no rent was to be paid, but after that period two pence per acre was to be paid annually. For the first year after their arrival DeGraffenreidt and Michel were to provide for the Palatines sufficient quantities of grain and other provisions for their support, but account of this was to be kept and at the end of three years payment for same was to be made.

It is further provided that within four months after their arrival, DeGraffenreidt and Michel at their own expense shall provide for each family "two cows and two calves, two sows with their several last litter or number of pigs, two ewe sheep and two lambs, with a male of each of the said kind of cattle, to propagate and increase." It is agreed that at the expiration of seven years after delivery thereof "the value of said cattle so delivered, with a moiety of the increase thereof remaining in their hands from the original stock shall be given DeGraffenreidt and Michel."

Further provision is made in this contract that immediately after the division of this land into the two hundred and fifty-acre parts each family is to be supplied by DeGraffenreidt and Michel free of cost with "plantation tools and utensils for felling of wood and clearing of ground and for building of houses for their own proper use and behoof."

It is finally provided that this contract shall be construed in the sense most favorable to the poor Palatines and that "in cases of difficulty relating to the premises it shall be referred to the Governor of the said county or province of North

Carolina for the time being, whose order and direction not contrary to the intention of these presents shall be binding and conclusive as well to the said Christopher DeGraffenreidt and Lewis Michel, their heirs, executors and administrators, as to the said poor Palatines."

This contract seems to have been entered into with a real disposition to safeguard the interests of the Palatines, however anxious the people of England were to rid themselves of an element of their population which was burdensome upon their treasury.

Six hundred and fifty of the strongest and healthiest of the Palatines were chosen by DeGraffenreidt for the expedition, and in vessels which had been inspected by a Committee of the Upper House of Parliament they made their start across the Atlantic with the Carolina coast as their objective. That these men were not an irresponsible band of adventurers, but a band of resolute men really zealous for noble achievement may be gathered from the preparation they made for a journey which was uncertain in its outcome and which held large possibility of disaster to them. The religious services held just prior to their embarkation show a degree of piety and seriousness not altogether common among explorers and early settlers.

Rigorous persecution had driven these people from homes that were once happy and contented to seek an asylum in other lands. No better class could be selected for a stern and perilous undertaking than those poor Palatines. No surer test of moral stability could be applied than the persecution to which these people were subjected. Their determined adherence to the principles approved by their conscience evidenced the heroic quality which was to stand them in need. They came from a land which had been desolated by cruel wars and where merciless persecution at the hands

of the popish Elector had been their portion and that of their Protestant friends.

DeGraffenreidt was moved by selfish interest and with no thought of affording aid and comfort to the Palatines except as incidental to the development of the large emigration schemes in which he was interested. He was much of an adventurer, interested wholly in money making. He came from noble ancestry and his handsome features and pleasant manners made him a general favorite. Queen Anne of England was attracted by him and made him a Baron of England and Landgrave of Carolina. His presence in England was due to his determined purpose to rehabilitate his shattered fortune in the New World, and England offered the avenue to that end. Possibly the Duke of Albemarle had inspired him with some of his own faith in the abounding wealth of this new land. It is certain that these two were closely associated for some time, and it is altogether probable that his purpose to promote an expedition to America was strengthened by this association.

DeGraffenreidt himself could not accompany this expedition, as his purpose was to sail with the colonists he expected from Bern, so he appointed three men to have general supervision of the enterprise and direct its movement. It seems that these men were prominent Carolinians, who at that time happened to be in England. One of the three was probably Lawson, the Surveyor-General.

Solemn services, at which Degraffenreidt was present, were held just prior to the sailing at Gravesend on the Thames. A sermon was preached to the departing colonists, songs were sung and prayers offered—all appropriate to the solemn occasion. The weather was mild when they set sail in January, 1710. For awhile they had pleasant sailing, but encountering severe storms they were much delayed, and after thirteen weeks they landed greatly depleted in number

and with vitality and enthusiasm considerably reduced. More than half their number died on this voyage. Much of their worldly store was taken from them by a plundering French navigator who ran across them in crippled condition in the Virginia waters, where they first entered.

Fear of pirates and uncertain information as to the perilous bars which run along the eastern coast of North Carolina determined them on the land expedition to North Carolina rather than the water, and so they moved southward from Virginia, coming by way of Colonel Pollock's place on the Chowan River. Crossing the sound they entered Bath County and continuing southward they finally reached the land lying between the Neuse and Trent rivers, called by the Indians "Chattawka."

Lawson's character seems to have been bad—very bad, as was developed early in the history of this colony. Thoroughly mercenary and unscrupulous, he seems only to have aimed at selfish aggrandizement. Without any right to it, he laid claim to the land between the Neuse and the Trent and sold it to his gullible fellow travelers at a high price, and upon the assurance that it was uninhabited. They soon found they had bought from this primitive land speculator the homes of Indians. King Taylor, the Indian chief, some time afterwards sold this land to DeGraffenreidt.

The condition of these colonists soon became desperate. These "poor Palatines," with perfect faith in him, had committed their money to DeGraffenreidt before leaving England. They were reduced to real want some time prior to the arrival of the Swiss and had disposed of most of their clothing and goods to obtain things necessary to life. The Swiss in the meantime had sailed to Newcastle in England, where they were joined by DeGraffenreidt and then had started on their voyage to America. This was early in the summer of 1710.

The movement of the Swiss this way was caused by an embarrassing situation in their country brought about by their own generous treatment of the persecuted Protestants during the Reformation. Switzerland during this period offered a refuge to them and in large numbers they fled there to escape persecution in England, France and the Netherlands. Knox and Calvin found an asylum here. Thousands found shelter from pitiless religious persecution in these friendly cantons. A powerful strain upon the generous accommodation of the Swiss resulted. By agreement Bern was to give succor to one-half of the refugees. The Protestant cantons opened wide their doors to the persecuted ones and soon found their ability to give aid considerably overtaxed.

In 1687 the Swiss confederation sent petitions to Brandenburg, Hesse and Holland, asking that aid be given Switzerland in taking care of the exiles of the Reformed church. In this year eight thousand Protestant refugees entered Geneva. Twenty-eight thousand had passed through in search of a place of safety. Dispite the aid received from the French Protestant Refugee Fund and amounts raised in various ways for their support, they became a heavy burden upon the Swiss. Religious wars added a most distressing feature.

Not only did the hospitable cantons begin to cast about for some place where these people might be settled to the advantage of the refugees as well as to their own comfort, but the unsatisfactory religious situation impelled many Swiss to leave their country and seek homes elsewhere. This offered then the field for the exercise of DeGraffenreidt's cunning, and afforded just the material he needed in the prosecution of his colonization scheme. We have seen how he had joined the band secured from Switzerland which came by way of Holland, and set sail with them in the sum-

mer of 1710 for the land across the sea. Probably the number was not large, as only one ship load is known to have come in this expedition. Their voyage was uneventful. Like the Palatines they landed in Virginia and following somewhat the same course as the former expedition, they came southward to Chattawka and found the colony in pitiful plight. Stricken with sickness and in dire need they had well nigh reached the point of desperation.

DeGraffenreidt says of them at that time: "I can not enough insist on the wretched and sorrowful state in which I found these poor people on my arrival—nearly all sick and at the last gasp, and the few who had kept their health despairing entirely." Sickness had not alone weakened their bodies, but had dispirited them.

One can well imagine the cheer and hope which repossessed them when DeGraffenreidt and his followers reached Chattawka. New life was infused into all. DeGraffenreidt assumed leadership and went vigorously to work to improve conditions. According to his statement they in eighteen months "managed to build homes and make themselves so comfortable that they made more progress in that length of time than the English inhabitants in several years."

Things were getting in fair condition for a reasonable degree of comfort for the colonists. The inventive genius of the colonists provided in somewhat crude fashion conveniences and establishments for the enjoyment of a fair degree of comfort and prosperity. Being a Landgrave, DeGraffenreidt had official distinction and influence in the colony, which he used to advantage in the laudable task which engaged him of building up a town with as many conveniences as those primitive times would afford. He named it New Bern.

During the early days affairs went smoothly enough.

Other settlers, mostly English, joined them, purchasing land and uniting with them in developing this land so fresh from the hands of savages.

It is not to be supposed that the Indians saw with entire complacency this beautiful land of theirs between the rivers taken over completely by the strangers. They waited an opportune time, and in September of the second year they fell upon the settlement with barbarous fury and nearly annihilated it. More than a hundred people of this New Bern district were tortured to death by the Indians. DeGraffenreidt and Lawson were not present at the massacre, but they did not escape its brutal influence.

In September of this year (1711) DeGraffenreidt and Lawson went up the Neuse River on a tour of exploration, carrying with them provisions to last them fifteen days. They had with them two negroes, who did the rowing, and two friendly Indians, one of whom spoke English. Information about the country was scant and it was to determine the navigability of the river, the distance of the mountains from them and the possibility of laying out a good road to Virginia that the expedition was undertaken.

No Indians lived along the banks of the river and no danger from them was anticipated. They were, however, captured by the Indians and taken to King Hencock, who was at Catechna, seated in state with his council about him. DeGraffenreidt's golden star, which he wore about his neck, on which was emblazoned his coat of arms, seems to have impressed the Indians with a superstitious dread, and making a friendly agreement with him, they sent him back to New Bern. Lawson had nothing with which to inspire their fears or induce their favor, and so after subjecting him to torture, he was put to death.

Lawson himself might have escaped death had he held his temper under control and avoided the quarrel with Cor Tom,

the king of the village. Unheeding DeGraffenreidt's remonstrance he persisted in the quarrel until at last some of the Indians, thoroughly incensed, threw themselves upon the whites and condemned them to death. We have seen how DeGraffenreidt's golden star saved him, but no mystic influence came to the rescue of Lawson, and after horrible torture he was put to death. DeGraffenreidt's journal gives a graphic recital of this adventure. He says:

"One day when the weather was fine and there was good appearance that it would last, Surveyor General Lawson proposed to me to go up Neuse River hunting, that there were plenty of wild grapes there which we could gather for replenishing ourselves. We could see likewise whether the Neuse River could be navigated in its higher course and could visit besides the upper country. I had long been anxious to find how far it is from here to the mountains.

"I accordingly resolved to take the trip, being assured that no savages lived on that branch of the river. But to feel safer we took two Indians to guide, which we knew well, with two negroes to row. So we went peacefully on our way. We had already gone a good two days journey and were near the village of Coram when we met Indians armed as for hunting, and we had hardly turned backwards when such a number came out from the bushes and they overtook us so suddenly that it was impossible to defend ourselves They accordingly took us prisoners and led us away.

"Such a rare capture made them proud; indeed they took me for the Governor of the Province himself and we were compelled to run with them all night across thickets and swamps until we came to Catechna or Hencocks-towne where the King called Hencock was sitting in state.

"The King stood up, approaching us and speaking to us very civilly, and they discussed at last whether we were to

be burned as criminals or not. They concluded negatively, inasmuch as we had not been heard as yet, and at midday the King himself brought us to eat a kind of bread called dumplings and venison.

"In the evening there came a great many Indians. The Assembly of the Great, as they called it (consisting of forty elders sitting on the ground around a fire, as is their custom) took place at ten o'clock in a beautiful open space.

"There was in the circle a place set apart with two mats for us, a mark of great deference and honor. We therefore sat upon them and on our left side our speaker, the Indian who had come with us. The speaker of the assembly made a long speech, and it was ordered that the youngest of the assembly should represent the Indian nation, the King putting the question. We were examined very strictly concerning our intentions and why we had come hither. Also they complained very much of the conduct of English colonists and particularly Mr. Lawson, charging him with being too severe and that he was the man who had their lands.

"After having discussed at length they concluded that we should be liberated, and the following day was appointed for our return home. The next morning we were again examined, but one, Cor Tom, being present, the King of Cor village, he reproached Mr. Lawson for something and they began to quarrel with great violence, which spoilt things entirely. Though I made every effort to get Lawson to quit quarreling, I did not succeed.

"All at once three or four Indians fell upon us in a furious manner. They took us violently by the arms and forced us to sit upon the ground before the whole of them there collected. No mats were spread for us. They took our hats and periwigs and threw them into the fire and a council of war being held we were immediately sentenced to death. On the day following we were taken to the place

of execution. Before us a large fire was kindled. Whilst some acted the part of conjurers others made a ring around us which they strewed with flowers.

"Behind us lay my innocent negro, and in this miserable situation we remained that day and the subsequent night. I was wholly resolved to die and accordingly offered up fervent prayers during the whole day and night and called to mind as I could remember them even the least sins. I tried and recalled all what I had read in Holy Scripture, in short I prepared myself the best I could to a good and salutary death.

"I found in the meanwhile a great consolation in considering the miracles which our Lord Jesus had made and I addressed forthwith my ardent prayers to my Divine Saviour, not doubting that He would grant them and perhaps change these savage hearts harder than rocks so that they would pardon me—what indeed happened by God's miraculous Providence.

"On the morning of the next day on which we were to die a great multitude was collected to see the execution. Thus began our long tragedy which I would like to tell if it were not too long and dreadful—but—since I begun I will go on. In the center of that great place, we were seated on the ground, the Surveyor-General and myself, bound, and undressed with bare heads, and in front of us a great fire; near it was the conjurer or High Priest (an old grizzled Indian—the priests are generally magicians and can even conjure up the devil), a little further was an Indian savage standing.

"He did not move from the spot with a knife in one hand and an axe in the other. It was apparently the executioner. Around us sat the chiefs in two rows; behind them were the common people, upwards of three hundred in number—men, women and children with faces painted red, white and black,

who were jumping and dancing like so many devils and cutting a variety of infernal capers.

"Behind us stood armed Indians as guards, who stimulated the dancers by stamping with their feet and firing their guns. Yes indeed, never was the devil represented with a more frightful appearance than these savages presented as they danced around the fire. I uncovered my soul to my Saviour Christ Jesus and my thoughts were wholly employed with death. At length, however, I recollected myself and turning to the council of chiefs made a short discourse, assuring them that the great Queen of England would avenge my death.

"I further stated whatever I thought fit to induce them to some mitigation. After I had done speaking I remarked that one of the notables (who was a relative of King Taylor, from whom I bought the land where New Bern now stands) that notable spoke earnestly, apparently in my favor, as it came out. Then it was forthwith resolved to send a few members to their neighbor, a certain King Tom Blunt of the Tuscaroras. The result was as will be seen that I was to live and that poor Surveyor-General Lawson was to be executed. Thus God in his mercy heard my prayers.

"I spent that whole night in great anguish awaiting my fate, in continuous prayers and sighs. Meanwhile I also examined my poor negro, exhorting him the best way I knew—and he gave me more satisfaction than I expected—but I left Surveyor-General Lawson to offer his own prayers as being a man of understanding and not over religious.

"Towards three or four o'clock in the morning the delegates came back from their mission and brought an answer, but very secretly. One or two of them came to unbind me; not knowing what this meant I submitted to the will of the Almighty, rose and followed him as a poor lamb to the

slaughter. Alas! I was much astonished when the Indians whispered in my ear that I had nothing to fear but that Lawson would die, what affected me much.

"They also liberated my negro, but I never saw him since. I was forbidden to speak the least word to Mr. Lawson. He took accordingly leave of me and told me to say farewell in his name to his friends. Alas! It grieved me much to leave him thus. I tried to show my compassion by a few signs.

"Some time after the man who had spoken in my favor led me to his cabin, where I was to be kept awaiting further orders. In the meantime they executed the unfortunate Lawson. As to his death I know nothing. Some said he was hung, some said he was burnt. The Indians kept that execution very quiet. May God have mercy on his Soul!

"The next day the notables came to tell me of their design to make war in North Carolina. They advised me that no harm would come to Chattawka (the old name of New Bern), but that the people of the colony ought to go into the town or they could not answer for the evil that could happen. Good words enough, but how was I to let the people know, since none would take a message for me? A few days later the savages came back with their booty. Alas! what a sight for me to see, men women and children prisoners. The very Indian with whom I lodged happened to bring with him the boy of one of my tenants and much clothing and furniture, which I well knew. Alas! what was my apprehension that my whole colony was ruined, especially when I had privately questioned the boy. He cried bitterly and told me how this same Indian had savagely killed his father, mother and brother, yes his whole family. I had to remain six weeks a prisoner in this hateful place Catechna. I was once much perplexed. All men had gone to that plundering expedition, the women some to gather wild cherries, others to dig some kind of roots called 'potatoes,' which are yellow, very good

and dainty. On that day I was alone by myself in that village. * * * I accordingly said my prayers and then examined the *pro* and *con* as to whether I should take flight or not, and found at last it was best to stay. Experience showed that I made a wise choice. * * * The barbarous expedition being ended, on the Sunday following their great Indian festival I having concluded a treaty of peace with these people, they brought me a horse. Two notables escorted me to Cor Village, gave me a piece of Indian bread and then left me.

"Thus have I escaped from the cruel hands of this barbarous nation, the Tuscaroras. Thence I had to foot it homeward. Quite lame, shivering with cold, nearly dead—my legs so stiff and swollen that I could not walk a step, but supported myself on two sticks, at last I arrived at my small home in New Bern.

"When my good people saw me coming from afar, tanned like an Indian, but on the other hand considered my blue jerkin and my figure—they knew not what to think—the men even took up their arms, but when I came nearer quite lame, walking with two sticks, they knew by my look that I was not a savage. When I saw them so puzzled I began to speak with them from afar. They hallowed to the others to come, that it was their Lord returned whom they thought to be dead. And so all came in crowds, men, women, and children, shouting and crying out, part of them weeping, others struck dumb with surprise. Thus I was at last at home and in my private room, gave ardent thanks to the Good God for my miraculous and gracious rescue."

DeGraffenreidt does not seem to have remained with the colony a great while after this. His experience in America saddened his life and this latest and most frightful adventure probably influenced his determination to return home. Whatever his personal shortcomings he seems to have labored

earnestly from his first landing at New Bern with the Bernese in 1710 to build up a happy and prosperous community.

The spirits of the colonists, from drooping, became elated as their crops began to mature in 1711. Hope repossessed them and their early visions of peace and plenty seemed in fair way of being realized. This, as we have seen, was short lived, for the merciless savages massacred eighty of their number and carried off as prisoners quite a number. During the rest of the period of warfare New Bern escaped further trouble of a serious nature. The treaty which DeGraffenreidt had made with his Indian captors was respected and, the settlement remaining neutral, it escaped further harm during the four years the war continued.

DeGraffenreidt, tired of his labors here and probably disheartened at the prospect, sold his large interests to Thomas Pollock for eight hundred pounds and returned to Switzerland. He never again set foot on this soil, but some of his descendants remained in this country. There are some in Georgia who trace their ancestry to Christopher DeGraffenreidt.

While the town of New Bern, through DeGraffenreidt's treaty with the Indians, remained unmolested, the surrounding country came in for its share of the brutal incidents of Indian warfare. Concerted action was necessary to put an end to the war. The colonists were thoroughly aroused. Governor Hyde called out the militia of North Carolina and the Legislature of South Carolina raised six hundred militia and three hundred and sixty Indians (Wheeler's History) who, under the command of Colonel Barnwell, came through the forest from South Carolina and joined the North Carolina militia on the Neuse. The Indians were fortified on the banks of the Neuse, eighteen miles west of New Bern (1712). The Indians were defeated, more than three hundred of them killed and one hundred taken prisoners. The

lines of the old fort can still be seen by the visitor to this spot, which is near the enterprising village which takes its name from the fort—Fort Barnwell.

When quiet came again and the colonists, relieved of the exacting requirements of Indian warfare, could turn their attention to the arts of peace prosperous times came and the spirit of real enterprise began to make itself felt. Emigration from the old world emptied frequently new comers into the town, ships found it a favorable harbor and it soon became a trade center of considerable importance. The town had been laid off in 1710 and grew up according to those lines. Settlements sprang up in the county adjacent to it.

A colony of Welsh Quakers, numbering among them some who afterwards attained prominence, settled below New Bern about midway between New Bern and what is now Morehead City. German immigrants came to New Bern in 1732, but moved up Trent River and established themselves in what is now Jones County, then a part of Craven.

Modern railroad development has made the crossing of Albemarle Sound a simple matter, but in those early days it offered a serious obstacle to the social, political and business intercourse between the different colonies, and in 1738 the General Assembly moved its place of meeting to New Bern, which was a change in the interest of convenience. With the increase of population and the mixture of nationalities the Palatines and Swiss became scattered (quite a number of them left the colony after the Indian massacre of 1711) and lost their distinctive organization.

In 1715 franchise was granted the town and in 1723 it was incorporated. It included then within its limits 250 acres. A provision of the law of incorporation, sec. 7th, reads:

"If any person or persons shall die possessed of any said lots without leaving heir or without making a will of the

said lot, then and in such case the absolute fee to the same shall come and revert to the said Cullen Pollock, his heirs and assigns forever."

Authentic record of the period up to the Revolutionary War is deplorably scant, but enough is available to gain a fair idea of the customs which prevailed and the spirit of the times. The minute book of the Court of Quarter Sessions is preserved in the vault of the Clerk of the Court and from its pages some interesting facts are gathered and here reproduced. Some of the writing is as clear and distinct as when put upon its pages nearly two centuries ago. That a generous and kindly spirit toward the weak and unprotected animated our fathers is clearly shown by a reading of some of the minutes of that court. A Christian spirit, too, at times shows itself and the language of the Bible is sometimes followed. The close union of church and state is evidenced in some of the minutes.

The minutes of March 20, 1740, has the following: "Mr. Philip Trapnell appears and delivers up an infant boy named Joseph Waters to this court. Ordered that the constable next in that neighborhood take the said boy into his custody and bring him to the vestry next Easter morning."

Again another minute the same month reads: "An infant about 9 years of age is brought into court. The court thought fit to bind her out to William Charlton till she come to the age of 16 years and the said Charlton gives securities for his good performance during the time she shall remain with him as follows: that he is to do his endeavor to teach her or cause her to be taught to read the Bible."

Their jealous oversight of the orphans is shown again in the minute, September, 1742, as follows: "Ordered that every master or mistress of orphans within this County bring a certificate from a neighboring justice to satisfy the court of their welfare."

The tender quality does not seem to be betrayed in the following entry made September 19, 1740: "Mary Magee appears in court. Ordered that she be stripped her clothes to her waste and receive 12 lashes on her bare back at the public whipping post." The records do not show what the charge against her was. In the light of our present civilization this action seems inexcusable, but the consciences of the judges of that day approved the punishment as doing the will of God.

Undoubtedly, too, the repressive measures exercised against those who dissented from the established church had their foundation in the firm conviction that all who refused to worship God according to the prescribed form of the English church were doing evil and would do violence to the civil as well as the church government. The following minute, taken from the record of June 20, 1740, shows how dissenters were dealt with:

"A motion and petition made by a sect of decenting people called Baptists that they may have the liberty to build a house of worship and being duly examined by the court acknowledged to, all the articles of the church of England except part of the 27 and 36 they desiring to preach among themselves. Referred."

Just before the last word two words are partially obscured by a line drawn through them. Enough, however, is seen to read the words, "but rejected."

Another record, September 22, 1740, reads: "The following dissenting Protestants appeared viz: John Brooks, John James, Robert Spring, Nicholas Purefoy and Thos. Fulcher came into court and took the oath of allegiance and supremacy and subscribed the test the 39 articles of Religion being distinctly read to them the following of which they dissented from to wit: the 36th, and the latter part of the 27th."

The fact that the English church today as well as the other Protestant churches thoroughly discountenance such infringement of the liberty of the citizen evidences marked evolution of religious thought which seems to have kept pace with the progress of democratic ideas everywhere.

Progress in every line continued to the time of the Revolution. During this period New Bern was properly regarded as the center of culture as well as political power. In 1749 James Davis set up in New Bern the first printing establishment in North Carolina, and three years later the first book printed in North Carolina came from his press. This contained the revised laws of the State, and from the color of the binding became known generally as the "Yellow Jacket."

The writer could not within the necessarily limited compass of this article deal very much with detail. Those things which concern the State are recorded too meagerly for an extended writing and those matters of purely local interest would fill a bulky volume if the task of their recital was attempted. I have sought faithfully to give in general outline the early history of Craven County and have called from the store of local incidents just enough to give some idea of the life and thought of a people who have through the years held tenaciously to the principle of liberty and developed a quality of citizenship unexcelled by any people of any time.

JACOB MARLING, AN EARLY NORTH CAROLINA ARTIST

BY MARSHALL DeLANCEY HAYWOOD.

In the Old Cemetery in the city of Raleigh, North Carolina, where so many of the "rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep," there is an upright stone on which is a brief inscription as follows:

IN
MEMORY OF
J. MARLING.
Died December 18th, 1833,
Aged 59 Years.

This marks the resting-place of an early citizen of Raleigh who enjoyed some local celebrity as a landscape and portrait painter at a period when North Carolina artists were even less numerous than now. Mr. Marling was born in the year 1774, but we are not informed as to the place of his birth. It is probable that the time of his coming to Raleigh was 1818; for, in August of that year, he announced (under the firm name of J. Marling & Co.) the opening of what he called "The North Carolina Museum." This institution stood on the northeastern corner of Fayetteville and Martin streets, about where the Citizens National Bank is now located. It was in reality a public library and reading room, as well as a museum, for his advertisement in the *Raleigh Register,* August 14, 1818, says:

"As the plan embraces a reading room, where most of the principal newspapers, literary works, reviews, etc., are regularly filed, it is confidently believed that it will afford an agreeable and useful place of resort. Natural and artificial curiosities, sketches, maps, drawings and paintings, rare coins and books, will be thankfully received and added to the collection, with the name of the liberal donor appended to them."

By way of a postscript to the above notice it is added: "General Calvin Jones has obligingly transferred the whole of his collection to this institution." This General Jones owned a plantation some miles north of Raleigh, on which Wake Forest College now stands, and he afterwards removed to Tennessee. He was a physician and scientist, a veteran of the War of 1812, and Grand Master of the Masonic Grand Lodge of North Carolina from December 8, 1817, till December 16, 1820. After the Museum in Raleigh had suspended operations, the collection of natural history specimens loaned to it by General Jones was donated by that gentleman to the University of North Carolina, of which institution he was a trustee for thirty years. In his *History of the University of North Carolina,* Doctor Battle refers to this collection, saying that some of the articles therein are probably still owned by the University, though they would be difficult to identify.

The price charged those who patronized Mr. Marling's museum and library was twenty-five cents for one admission, and five dollars for a season ticket. How long the institution remained in operation we are unable to ascertain, but it was abandoned prior to the year 1824, at which time Bishop Ravenscroft rented the hall for the congregation of Christ Church, which parish then had no house of worship of its own.

After settling in Raleigh, Mr. Marling became well known as an artist. Aside from his occupation as a painter, he seems also to have been an instructor in art at the old Raleigh Academy during a part of the time when that institution was presided over by the Reverend William McPheeters, D.D., an eminent Presbyterian divine, one of whose assistants then was George Washington Freeman, who later took orders in the Episcopal Church and eventually became Missionary Bishop of the Southwest.

The best known product of Mr. Marling's brush is a painting of the old State Capitol (a building burned in 1831), with the Bank of New Bern shown in the background. This painting is now in the North Carolina State Library, having been loaned by its present owner, Dr. Fabius J. Haywood, for whose grandfather (State Treasurer John Haywood) it was originally painted at some time prior to the year 1820. It may be that a copy of this painting, made in 1819 by one of the pupils of Mr. Marling, is still preserved somewhere in the State of Georgia, for the *Raleigh Star,* of June 18, 1819, in describing commencement exercises at the Raleigh Academy, said:

"Two views, one of the State House, Bank, and a part of Newbern Street in Raleigh, and one of a field, copse of wood, etc., in the neighborhood of this city, copied by Miss Lavinia Richardson, of Georgia, from the original paintings of Mr. Marling, are fine specimens of art which do equal credit to the genius and industry of the copyist. The other pupils are young artists who have not greatly improved their talents. However, two landscapes and a flower, by Jemima Powell, two landscapes and a sea piece by Mary Bell, one flower by Laura Wray, and three flowers by Catherine E. Clark, all painted, are favorable specimens of the skill of the respective artists. The dignity of landscape painting was probably assigned to superior attainments in this art."

One of the sins to which Mr. Marling was addicted was a fondness for playing cards when money was at stake; and an amusing anecdote has floated down the years, which have elapsed since that period, concerning a remark he made in excusing himself for leaving a game which was in progress. He and some of his friends had started playing early in the evening and sat at the table until after 4 o'clock the following morning, when Mr. Marling arose to leave just as day was breaking. Upon being urged to stay, he insisted that it was time for him to go home, remarking as he walked out: "Gentlemen, I must leave; *Mrs. Marling will be waiting tea.*"

Mr. Marling died in Raleigh on the 18th of December,

1833. An obituary in the *Raleigh Register,* of December 24th, was as follows:

"DIED: In this city on the 18th instant, after a long and painful illness, Mr. Jacob Marling, whose fine taste and skill as a portrait and landscape painter are extensively known, aged about 60 years, leaving a widow and numerous friends to lament his loss."

A similar notice appeared in the *Raleigh Star* of December 27th. Mrs. Marling survived her husband quite a number of years, and is still remembered by some of the oldest citizens of Raleigh. At the time of her death, or shortly before that, she was the owner of a large painting called "The May Queen," and possibly other works of art produced by her husband, but I am not advised what became of them. Indeed, Mrs. Marling herself was a woman of some artistic talent and had a class which she taught painting upon silk, velvet, and glass. This proving unprofitable, she later went into the millinery business, and probably was so engaged until old age necessitated her retirement. She died soon after the close of the War between the States.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN NORTH CAROLINA IN 1783

BY S. A. ASHE.

(Being the opening chapter of the second volume of the History of North Carolina.)

Social conditions in North Carolina in the year 1783, the year of peace and independence, were Acadian in their simplicity. The commonwealth, extending far into the wilderness, numbered some 350,000 souls, slave and free, widely scattered, nearly one-tenth beyond the distant mountains; with no city—and indeed only a few villages whose population reached a thousand; as yet commerce, so long interrupted, had not revived; there were no manufactures, save the work of the men and women in their homes; no currency; poor markets and only bad highways; no newspapers, and not a single printing press; but few schools, and religious instruction but scantily supplied;—in a word, with nought but freedom and farm products, manhood and energy.

Nor were the people entirely united in the bonds of amity and friendship. Probably a full third of the white population had not espoused the cause of separation and independence. Early in the struggle a considerable number, unwilling to take the test oath, had, under the stringent laws of the state, been forced from their homes and had sought shelter abroad. Later, when Hamilton, a Scotch merchant, and MacLeod, a Scotch minister, arranged for the formation of a loyal regiment, many repaired to the King's standard. From time to time others joined this regiment; but between the suppression of the Royalists at Moore's Creek, followed quickly by the defeat of the British fleet at Charleston, and the appearance of Fanning on the upper Cape Fear in 1780, there was a period of comparative repose, during which the disaffected adjusted themselves to the prevailing conditions. The

Assembly, session after session, postponed putting into full operation the confiscation acts, and, practicing tolerance and conciliation, allowed the Tories to remain unmolested, classing them, along with the Quakers, as "non-jurors," but imposing special taxes on them.

The bridge between a "non-juror" and a "good and true citizen" was opened and made easy to cross; and along with Rev. George Micklejohn, James Hunter, Dr. Pyle and many other conspicuous Tories who soon took the test oath, men of smaller consequence resumed association and fellowship with their Whig neighbors. But the harrowing events of 1781, when the malcontents under McNeil and Fanning, established a reign of terror in the Cape Fear region, put an end to toleration. The inhumanities and butcheries of the closing years of the long struggle left an indelible mark on the social conditions of the State. Fierce resentment and implacable hatred took possession of the contending factions; and when the British army withdrew many of the Tories departed, some going to Florida and some to Nova Scotia, where the negroes carried off by the British also were located, while others sought new homes in the distant west, even crossing the mountains and establishing themselves in the outskirts of the western settlements. It was in that period of rancorous animosity that the former policy of conciliation was abandoned and measures were taken to enforce the confiscation laws; and thus when blessed peace came there were mingled with the pæans of victory loud execrations of the hated Tories.

The waste of the war had not yet been overcome. Especially in the Cape Fear counties had the destruction been great; and so many families there were in dire need that by a general law they were to be exempt from the payment of taxes in the discretion of the county justices. Elsewhere the inhabitants were suffering because of the absence of markets

and of facilities to dispose of the products of their industry, but the people were measurably inured to their situation and had been so long accustomed to their privations that they scarcely realized the hardships. They had known nothing better.

Life offered no field for activity but on the farm and in the forests; and clearing new land and making forest products were the only openings for energy and enterprise.

During the war to supply the necessities of the people as well as the needs of the army, bounties had been freely offered to stimulate manufactures, but when the occasion had passed the bounties ceased. Yet the looms were still busy, skins were tanned, and furs secured from otters and beavers, and shoemakers and hatters plied their trades.

At that period factories had not been erected anywhere in America; there were no power looms, and only the spinning jenny and hand weaving were in use, and nails were still made by hand. But so industrious were the people in their homes that many districts not only clothed themselves, but had a surplus of cotton, linen and woolen cloths for sale.

In the tidewater regions where naval stores abounded, men found profitable employment in making tar, pitch, and turpentine, of which the mercantile world stood in great need, while lumber and staves were always in demand for the West Indies. In Colonial days trade with the British Islands in the Caribbean sea had brought in a liberal supply of specie; but when the State separated herself from the British empire the restrictive navigation laws obstructed that commerce. Yet England soon fostered shipments to her own ports, and the London merchants hastened to send their goods to markets that were bare of foreign manufactures.

The great forests of the State, so rich in products, were virtually unbroken. While near the coast and in the Albemarle region there were some large plantations, in the interior

the holdings were smaller, and the clearings were only such as were needed for cultivation. Generally every man owned his land, and, as there was no labor for hire, tilled his own fields. Back from the markets where there was a surplus of corn and grain, hogs and cattle were raised and driven on foot for sale. Also in some communities grain was converted into whiskey, and the fruits of the orchard into brandy.

Agriculture, the chief occupation of the inhabitants, had long received intelligent application, and despite adverse conditions presented examples of thrift and skill. At the east rice and indigo were grown, as well as flax and cotton; while along the water courses, lumber and staves and naval stores were produced. In the upper country where the soil and climate were suitable tobacco and the cereals were cultivated, and clover was not unknown. Mr. Hooper, a lawyer rather than a farmer, wrote to his merchant at Edenton, "Send me a barrel of clover seed."

But transportation facilities were sadly lacking; and back from the rivers the want of good roads was a serious drawback. Public highways had been laid out connecting the back country with the several market towns of the east, but they could not be maintained in good condition, and the Northwestern counties found it more convenient to trade with Virginia towns, and the Southwestern with Charleston. The exports were tobacco, tar, pitch, turpentine, potash, staves, lumber, rice, and provisions, all of these except alone tobacco being the products of the east. Indeed, transportation to market involved such an expense as to largely deprive the products of the distant interior of their value.

Necessarily all sales of products were made to merchants, who established themselves at convenient points in the interior, and setting their own prices, made great gains by their bargains.

Of money there was none; the State as well as the Continental currency had ceased to have value, and to express utter worthlessness the phrase was coined—"not worth a continental." Money is not only of value in itself, but it is the standard by which the value of other things is measured and the chief instrument of commerce by which exchanges are made, and the very foundation stone of credit. When the State and Continental paper fell, there was virtually no specie in circulation. Neither gold nor silver had been found in any of the colonies, and the entire country was dependent on such foreign coin as could be obtained for commodities, and there were but few commodities to send abroad. The people were indeed without a currency. In the extremity recourse was again had to an issue of State bills. At the April meeting of the Assembly a proposition to emit new bills, matured by William Blount, met with general concurrence. To give the issue a footing of substantial value a special tax was levied to redeem it, and its redemption was further secured by a pledge of all the confiscated property of the Tories held by the State. The currency of the Revolution had been dollars to distinguish it from Colonial issues; and now to emphasize that the new issue was on a distinct footing, it was in pounds and shillings, the pound being of the value of two and a half silver dollars. The shilling was the same as the Spanish "bit," later twelve and a half cents. The amount was conservatively limited to a hundred thousand pounds.

There were no buggies, but few coaches, and traveling was on horseback, men riding their own horses hundreds of miles, and the women seldom visiting out of their neighborhood. The assembly had established no mail facilities, but the post route opened at the beginning of the Revolution, along the coast, passing through Edenton and New Bern and Wilmington, had been continued by Congress and

was still in operation, but there were no post ridings to the interior. Letters were sent by hand. Without means of communication, the dissemination of intelligence among the people was slow and unreliable. Information about current affairs was acquired by conversations at casual meetings, at religious gatherings and the sessions of the county courts. Indeed, these quarterly courts had no inconsiderable educational value. More than any other instrumentality they kept the people in touch with civilization. In every district of each county there were two or more justices of the peace, and constables, and often a deputy sheriff. The justices were men of responsibility and approved character, and around them centered a strong personal influence. They met quarterly at the court-house and administered the public affairs of the county. They laid taxes, appointed officers, provided for the poor, looked after the orphans, and the settlement of estates of deceased persons. They laid off roads, appointed the overseers and directed the construction of bridges. In a word they exercised all the powers of government in matters of local interest in the several neighborhoods of the county. Also, they tried offenses against the law and civil suits between litigants. Necessarily they were attended by many jurors, witnesses and parties interested in their proceedings. Others with no particular business likewise attended from a desire of intercourse with fellow-men; and so those occasions thus drew great crowds together, and at such times private accounts were settled, trades were made, and ordinarily there was much swapping of horses, and occasional trials of speed, for the people dearly loved a horse race; also, there were more or less drinking and carousing, and contests, friendly and otherwise, of personal prowess. It was always a field day when court met. But apart from the social side of such meetings, in addition to these oppor-

tunities of social intercourse, there was a distinct value in training the people in respect for law, and in educating them in local administration, in legal processes and in matters of public concern. Many a man who could read no word in a book knew well the common law of the land, knew private rights and wrongs, knew nice distinctions and could weigh with unerring judgment the value of evidence. As deficient in schooling as the Barons of Runnymede, they had intelligence trained by experience into practical wisdom.

Religion, the traditional inheritance of the race, measurably entered into the lives of the people who, however, were generally neither warmly attached to doctrine nor very demonstrative in their zeal. Francis Asbury noted in his Journal in April, 1780, that he preached in Halifax County to about five hundred persons—and "the people were solemnly attentive." A few days later, he found "people were for the ordinances, though not heated." At the Tabernacle, about four hundred attended:—"The people very insensible. I think these people must be awakened by judgment, for it appears the gospel will not do it"; on Sunday at Green Hill, Franklin County, O'Kelly "raised high, and was very affecting, but to little purpose. There are evils here,—the meeting not solemn: the women appeared to be full of dress; the men full of news. The people are gospel slighters: I fear some heavy stroke will come on them." Somewhat later Rev. Henry Patillo, a learned and observant Presbyterian minister, a man of great liberality and thoroughly imbued with a spirit of Christianity, wrote—"As to our young people, and others not well settled in their principles, joining with other professions, and particularly the Methodists, I would just observe that this seems to be the versatile season with America; and a change of religious profession

has become almost as common and as little noted as the variations of the weather in this most changeable climate."

This zealous Presbyterian also mentioned having received warm, friendly letters from the Methodists—whose bias naturally was towards the church of England—"expressing their wishes to cultivate a nearer intercourse, and that bigotry might cease among Christians"; nor were the Baptists of a different mind, for he likewise pointed to "the friendly intercourse that subsists between the Baptists and us in all respects, except communion, known and acknowledged by all." Altogether, the picture he presents is free from the baneful spirit of religious intolerance. Indeed no zealous attachment to doctrine can be observed, but, rather, there was an expressed desire of Christian fellowship. Doubtless in those years when the denominations were unorganized and when there was an insuffcient number of ministers, there was a loosening of religious ties and an indisposition to adhere closely to doctrine; but the seeds of piety had been sown and were planted in a fruitful soil, even if they lay dormant for a season.

In colonial days the Church of England had in some measure been organized in the eastern counties, especially near the Virginia line, but, as constituted, upon the declaration of independence it was a solecism and out of place in the colonies. A portion of the National Church of England, with the rubric of the Book of Common Prayer requiring a prayer for the King, it did not fit the new conditions. Its members had been foremost in asserting their political rights, and under their leadership, chiefly, the Revolution had been begun and brought to a successful close. Notwithstanding the separation from England, by them it continued to be regarded as the Apostolic church, and they remained true to their faith and devotedly attached to the rites, ceremonies

and practices of "the church." While the position of the laymen was thus peculiar, that of the ministers, being under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London, was full of embarrassment. One of them, Rev. Mr. Wills, at Wilmington, withdrew from his charge in 1775, although he remained on the Cape Fear and performed the marriage service and perhaps other rites during the war. As the ordination of a new minister could be only by the Bishop of London, no other was then called, and twenty years elapsed before that pulpit was again filled.

At New Bern, Rev. Mr. Reed, although a loyalist, continued to officiate; while the Edenton congregation had the services of Rev. Charles Pettigrew, a warm patriot, in the place of the Rev. Mr. Earl, who, in 1775, retired to his farm in Bertie County, although his sympathies were with the people. Rev. George Micklejohn, the pastor at Hillsboro, who was taken at Moore's Creek, remained in the State and eventually took the test oath, and after peace was a minister in Virginia. The other incumbents are said to have been in sympathy with the Revolution and to have continued their services without interruption. But on the separation from their mother country, there being no method of procuring ordination, the power of the organization to perpetuate itself ceased. In addition to this drawback the association of the church with the English hierarchy and its theoretical connection with the British government were distinct influences adverse to its being regarded with favor by the struggling patriots. Its members were as sheep in a wilderness without a shepherd. The three orders of ministers were essential to its existence, and there was no bishop in America. Naturally it was engulfed in stagnant waters, and years elapsed before it revived. In 1783 in Maryland, it assumed the name of "The Protestant Episcopal Church in Maryland," and

that name was adopted by a General Convention held three years later. About the same time the consecration of Bishops was secured; and that deficiency was supplied. But so weak were its adherents in North Carolina that year after year passed without any effort at organization, and when efforts were made, about 1790, they failed of success.

Nor were the other denominations, in the eastern counties, in a much more vigorous condition. Although there were a few Presbyterian congregations on the waters of the Cape Fear, in 1783 there seems to have been no minister of that faith east of Granville. The Baptists, however, were better settled, and there were Baptist ministers, especially in the northern counties, each congregation being separate and independent. Farther west the Baptists were still more flourishing; and there also the Presbyterians were well established, having at the end of the Revolution about a dozen pastors actively at work—men of high repute, and teachers as well as preachers to their flocks. In 1770 Orange Presbytery had been organized, and in 1788 the Synod of the Carolinas was formed. It was in that year that Rev. Mr. Patillo, who was located in Granville, published at Wilmington, Delaware, his volumes of sermons. He also published an interesting volume on geography.

The first Methodist Societies organized in North Carolina looked to Rev. Mr. Wesley as their head, and recognized the authority of the ministers of the Church of England; and, indeed, they were regarded as being within the folds of that church. Dr. Coke was of that communion, and the first Methodist to preach in the State, James Pilmoor, afterwards became an Episcopal minister in New York. Like the Church of England, the Methodists suffered some detriment because of the conflict with the mother country, whence had emanated the influences that established and controlled the so-

cieties; but in 1784, at a Conference held at Baltimore, a new, distinct and separate organization was adopted. Yet notwithstanding the Methodists thus severed connection with the Protestant Episcopal Church, Christian fellowship was still maintained.

In 1780 Francis Asbury had traveled through the northern central counties, visiting the societies that had been established, and the year after the new organization he and Dr. Coke held at Green Hill, Franklin County, the first Conference. But despite the zeal and activity of the ministers, the growth of the Methodists, like that of the other denominations, was slow in the State. The people in many communities of the center and east had lived so long without regular ministrations that they had become somewhat indifferent to the formalisms and doctrines of church organizations. The Quakers and Moravians being men of peace, had not suffered much during the war, but rather had reaped the reward of their steady habits and productive industry.

Unhappily, conditions in general were promotive of illiteracy, for educational facilities were meager and insufficient. The proposition to establish a public school in every county, made during Governor Dobbs' administration, had come to naught because some English merchants objected to the issue of currency proposed for that purpose; and Governor Dobbs having omitted to inform the assembly of the particular objection, the obstacle was never removed.

The subject thus passed out of view, and no further effort was made for general education at public expense. There were some private schools, but they were inadequate for the general education of the people. Yet the condition was not so bad but that it could be worse; and apparently it became worse. In 1826 Governor Burton urged on the Assembly: "Many enlightened persons believe that it is more difficult

for an individual in ordinary circumstances to obtain for his child, at this time, the common rudiments of education than it was at the period when our constitution was adopted."

Although there was a constitutional provision requiring the establishment of public schools, and also of a university, yet the provision was long inoperative. No general system of public instruction had been introduced anywhere except alone in Massachusetts; and circumstances were adverse to its inauguration in North Carolina. Education by the State has been a development of a more recent period. It was not then demanded by the spirit of the times. The scarcity of money made it difficult to pay taxes, and there was a general reluctance to pay public dues; but more than all, the isolated lives of the separated farmers, residing in sparsely settled neighborhoods, led them to be indifferent to education. Indeed, as Dickson expressed it, "the genius of the people was not adapted to the study of learning and science. The objects they had in view were money and pleasure."

There were no magazines, no newspapers, or story books to stir the mind, to nourish the imagination, to exercise the mental faculties. Acquaintance with the art of reading and writing but little enlarged the horizon of life or added to the zest of living. In that primitive condition of existence, such education as could be obtained was of slight service in the daily routine of farm work, and was not felt to be indispensable, either for its usefulness or as contributing to recreation in the family circle. The labors of the day were not supplemented by intellectual pleasures. A considerable number of the poorer settlers probably had been without the rudiments of an education, and illiteracy was on the increase among that portion of the inhabitants. An essayist, writing of Caswell County, says: "Between 1775 and 1800 a common English education—to read, write and cypher, was ob-

tained by only one-half of the people of that county." Elsewhere it was largely the same. The absence of public schools bore heavily on the social condition of the interior. Yet there were individual efforts to maintain primary schools and even academies. At every session of the Assembly some new academy was incorporated, and trustees appointed to manage its affairs; but necessarily the influence of these was limited largely to the vicinity of the villages where they were situated and to those more prosperous families that had always enjoyed the advantages of education, for in every county and settlement there were then as now, some families of education who knew its value and fully appreciated its beneficial influences, and no sacrifice was accounted too great to obtain it for the children.

In that period of isolation when there was so little room for intellectual effort, the art of letter writing was practiced by few, and, other than the public records, the memorials of the time are scant and meager. Nor has the small stock of what survived the uses of the day been carefully guarded. Williamson, Martin, Murphey, Hooper, and others sought, in succeeding generations, to gather up the scattered fragments for historical purposes, but their collections have all disappeared. McRee later performed a grateful service in publishing the correspondence of Iredell, and, if we may judge from the elegant diction and refined sentiments of that correspondence, even in the darkest hours there were circles here and there throughout the State, of a high order of social culture and literary merit.

Nor were there lacking the beneficial influences attending the order of the Masonic fraternity, which, established early in colonial life, was revived after the war. On the death in 1776, of Grand Master Joseph Montfort, who held under authority of a British commission, the Grand Lodge ceased

for twenty years; but in 1787, representatives from ten lodges met at Tarborough, and, setting up an independent authority, elected Samuel Johnston Grand Master. Caswell, Davie and many of the other leading men of the day were members. Since then the Order has always been a factor in the life of the people.

The general tone of society was more democratic and less aristocratic than either in Virginia or in South Carolina. But the form of government, a representative republic, was somewhat calculated to foster a class distinction. The absence of great fortunes tended to suppress social pretensions based on wealth and not founded on personal worth, public service and popular applause; and there was a jealousy of other distinction. An indication of the prevailing sentiment may be gathered from the speedy dissolution of the patriotic order of the Cincinnati. This order was organized in the State by the Continental officers at Hillsborough in October, 1783, General Jethro Sumner being chosen President. In the Assembly, a year later, a petition was presented against the Order by General John Butler, who introduced a bill to render any member of it ineligible to a seat in the Assembly. His measure did not pass, but the opposition to the society was so strong as to control the action of the former Continental officers, to whom it was imputed that they designed to establish themselves as a peerage. On the death of General Sumner, he was succeeded by Colonel John B. Ashe; but after a few years the society informally dissolved. Notwithstanding this democratic tendency, the Assemblymen virtually formed a class of rulers. They were generally men of substance in their counties, who drew around themselves such strong influences that they were almost continuously reelected to their seats. They elected all the great officers, and determined the policy of the State. Doubtless they were

not inattentive to public opinion, which, however, they exercised a great power in forming; and although advocates of a democracy, they were measurably the ruling class in the State. It is much to their credit that legislation was sound, liberal and judicious, and the Assembly always responded to suggestions tending to the general welfare. In addition, it may be said that the Assembly generally recognized merit, and there was a liberality of sentiment illustrated in the election to high office of men but recently settled in the State and unsupported by great family influence.

The need of a printing press was keenly felt, and in the summer of 1783 Robert Keith set up one at New Bern, and in August he issued the first number of the *North Carolina Gazette*. There had been no newspapers published in the State in several years and the advent of this was hailed with interest and satisfaction. The office was "near the church, where the subscriptions, essays and articles of intelligence are gratefully received." It was on a demy sheet, with clear type, and was offered for three Spanish milled dollars per annum. One of the printer lads was Francis Xavier Martin, a French boy, who had been stranded at New Bern. Connected with his printing office, Keith opened a book store and offered to the public Edwards on Original Sin, Baker on the Divine Attributes, a choice collections of Hymns; and, for the use of schools, Testaments, spelling books, primers and writing paper. Quills alone were used for writing. The opening of a print shop speedily led to publications. No longer was it necessary for the pamphleteers to circulate their manuscripts by sending them from town to town by trusty messengers to secure safe delivery and preservation.

In the fall, Judge Spencer, over the signature of Atticus, printed an article on the Constitution, probably discussing the Loyalist, and John Hay, as Tiberius Gracchus, put out

in a six penny pamphlet an essay which in manuscript he had read to a coterie of admiring friends, ridiculing the Assembly and so violently assailing Judge Sitgreaves that Keith had to divulge the author's name, resulting in a personal altercation. Then Hay and the Bench drifted apart. There quickly followed a war in which Cusatti, Sully, The Citizen, and The True Citizen bore their parts; also Germanicus. The Citizen was imputed to Judge Williams and Richard Henderson, the polishing touches being given by Governor Martin.

But one printing office did not suffice, and in March, 1784, another weekly was begun at Halifax; and perhaps one, also, at Hillsboro;—and so disputants had several instruments of warfare. No one would have entered with greater zest and more caustic pen into these literary controversies than the brilliant Irishman, Dr. Burke; but his race was run. In December, 1784 that choice spirit passed away. His friend Hooper thus announced his melancholy fate: "Dr. Burke died about a fortnight since and fell, in some measure, a sacrifice to the obstinacy which marked his character through life. Laboring under a complication of disorders, oppressed with the most agonizing pains, which for months had deprived him of his natural rest; and to sum up his misery, no domestic prop to lean upon—no friend or companion at his home to soothe the anguish of his mind or mitigate the pain of his body—was not death to him a comforter, a friend and physician?"

At the peace, there were about a hundred thousand slaves in North Carolina and five thousand free negroes. The location of the colored element of population was an incident of settlement. The western counties were settled chiefly by immigrants coming overland from Pennsylvania. These were accompanied by no negroes; and so, few Africans, relatively, were to be found at the west. Near the northern

line as far as Surry, the settlement was largely from Virginia and the planters brought their negroes with them. Along the coast, including Brunswick and New Hanover, negroes were comparatively numerous; but farther in the interior, where immigrants direct from Europe located, there were not so many. The free negroes were found chiefly in the older counties, where indeed there were more blacks than elsewhere. In 1790 Halifax returned 6,506 slaves and 446 free negroes. Northampton and Bertie together, 9,650 slaves and 751 free negroes. In New Hanover and four adjacent counties there were 10,116 slaves and 215 free negroes. In Iredell, 846 slaves and 3 free negroes. In colonial times free negroes paid taxes like the whites, but could not vote. They lived apart and were not allowed free intercourse with the slaves.

Slaves descended as other property. The master's right to rule was complete; but while he could punish, he could not take the life of a slave. Slaves could have no right to any property—but no one could interfere with them except the owner. They were amenable to the law for offenses, but the masters often protected them from punishment when charged with minor offenses; when one was executed, the owner was allowed his value, but in 1786 this practice was discontinued. They lived on their master's premises; and he was required to provide for their necessities; to care for them in sickness and in age.

Slaves generally were not allowed to use firearms, but the county court, on application of the owner, licensed one slave on each plantation to carry a gun for the purpose of protecting the property from depredations. The conduct of the farm, the administration and system of work and of living, was under the regulation of the master. Some slaves were taught to be carpenters, wheelwrights, blacksmiths, coopers

and shoemakers, and the women to spin and weave. Often the farm raised its own wool and cotton, tanned its own leather, had its smithy and shop for wood work, and made its own shoes and clothing. In all this work, as well as in all farm work, some negroes were trained and skilled. Generally the farm or plantation was managed by the master, and in his absence one of the slaves, as "foreman," supervised the work with orderly precision.

There were but few great estates in North Carolina. In 1790, the largest slaveowner, Cullen Pollok, listed 204; the next largest was Willie Jones, with 120; then Mr. Collins, 113; Peter Mallet, 103; and Governor Samuel Johnson owned 96. Hardly two hundred persons had as many as 50. Largely more than half the people owned none at all, while hundreds possessed only one or two. On the larger plantations the negro families had their separate houses, with small gardens attached, some distance from the mansion; and had such pleasures and recreations as their masters chose to allow. When the number of slaves was small, they lived near the mansion, and were brought into very close association with the white family; and, in effect, all constituted a family. The men were "men of all work," and the women and children were employed about the domicile. This association had an educational advantage and tended distinctly to the elevation of the negro. Whatever there was of beneficence in the institution of African slavery thus had, perhaps, its best development in North Carolina, where the country negroes seem to have attained a somewhat more advanced condition than elsewhere.

Generally, slaves had such opportunities for religious instruction as the condition of the country afforded. Writing in 1788, Rev. Mr. Pattilo remarked that they composed a part of most congregations, and in those under his charge

there were 150 negro communicants. Very ignorant, they were at first taken on trial before admitted to baptism or the communion. "In the meantime the black members are very diligent with them, instructing them, and narrowly inspecting their conduct." Most masters indulged their slaves in liberty of conscience, whether religious or otherwise, while "pious masters have great disquiet and vexation from the untractable and incorrigible temper of their slaves." "Of the religious negroes in my congregation some are entrusted with a kind of eldership, so far as to keep a watchful eye over the black members." "The great matter of scandal among the negroes arises from their marriages or matches. Masters are so often selling their slaves, or removing to a distance, that as the creatures generally belong to different masters, they are often parted, or their places of residence become so distant that they can seldom see each other. Many masters, however, will rather exchange or sell, than part husband and wife." "A few can read a plain book, and many more would learn on Lord's Day and sleeping time if they had spelling books, catechisms, Testaments and Watts' hymns, as they are peculiarly fond of singing." At that period there was no legal inhibition against teaching slaves to read and write.

Property right in the person of the African slave was the law of the New World at the time North Carolina was settled. It was a part of the institutions of every community. Incident to it was the slave trade, a commerce that came to be reprobated in America earlier than elsewhere. In every colony, from the earliest times, there were some individuals who were opposed both to slavery and the slave trade. In August, 1774, the Freeholders of Rowan County resolved that: "The African slave trade is injurious to this colony, obstructs the population of it by freemen, pre-

vents manufacturers and other useful immigrants from Europe from settling among us, and occasions an annual increase in the balance of trade against the colony." This declaration was followed a few days later by a resolution of the first Provincial Convention, that "We will not import or purchase any slave brought into this province from any part of the world after the first day of November next." This resolve was observed by the people and enforced by the Committee of Safety. The next year Jefferson's declaration "that all men are created free——" received universal assent, but that evidently had reference to the right to modify governments, and had no bearing on the status of the African slaves in the colonies. Yet the thought was expressed and disseminated. Owners had the right of manumission, and apparently manumissions were multiplied, while the inconveniences of slavery became more pronounced when the struggle for independence began and the British sought to incite both the Indians and negroes to become their allies. At the very first session of the Assembly under the new constitution, "because of the evil and pernicious practice of freeing slaves, at this alarming and critical time, the personal right to manumit was taken away, a license from the County Court being made requisite, and the court was forbidden to grant the license except for 'meritorious services.'"

Notwithstanding the racial difference, the negroes were a part of the population, and could render service—both bond and free. During the war the latter were enrolled in the militia, and performed military service as other freemen. Slaves, like Indians, Hessian deserters and some others, were not to be accepted as substitutes for drafted men; but, with their master's consent, they could enlist; and some did enlist and rendered faithful service as soldiers in the Continental ranks as well as in the State troops. One slave, Ned Griffin,

of Edgecombe, having under a promise of freedom served faithfully for twelve months as a Continental, a special act of the Assembly was passed to enfranchise him and "discharge him from the yoke of slavery," and he was declared "a freeman in every respect." As with him, so was it with others; after the Revolution free negroes became freemen in every respect. And thus it came about that they obtained the privilege of suffrage, which they enjoyed until the Constitution was amended in 1835. But their legal status, as well as that of the slave, was anomalous, and the Congress of the United States at its second session excluded them from being enrolled in the militia. Negroes could not give evidence against a white man, and in some respects they were not regarded as citizens. But free negroes had property rights, and generally speaking had all the benefits of the law. Many became men of substance, and they sometimes owned slaves. James Lowry, apparently the progenitor of the outlaw Henry Berry Lowry, was in 1790 the owner of several slaves. Many other free negroes likewise were slave owners. One who had served in the Revolution, John Chavis, not only was a slaveholder but was a school teacher, having among his pupils some boys who afterwards became men of renown. He was also a Presbyterian minister.

After commerce was reopened, slaves were again imported, but in 1786 their importation was declared productive of evil consequences and highly impolitic, and in order to arrest it a tax of ten pounds was laid on the importation of the most able-bodied, with a smaller duty on others. Some of the Northern States had already taken measures to abolish slavery, and their slaves were being sold to Southern planters. North Carolina did not propose to allow this transfer to her territory of negroes who in their own States had the hope of freedom, and by act of assembly it was forbidden to bring

into North Carolina any slave from any State that had taken such a step, and should any be imported contrary to that act, they were to be immediately returned to the place from which they were brought. While the institution of negro slavery was thus perpetuated after the Revolution, yet the importation of slaves was regarded as injurious and North Carolina was not favorable to a continuance of the slave trade. The influence of the Quaker element of the population was distinctly against the institution of slavery, and perhaps the prevalence of such sentiments was a natural result of the war itself.

Indeed the Revolution not only called forth many virtues but developed much latent ability. When the war began, says Ramsay, the Americans were a mass of husbandmen, merchants, mechanics and fishermen; but the necessities of the country gave a spring to the active powers of the inhabitants, and set them thinking, speaking, and acting, in a line far beyond that to which they had been accustomed. It seemed as if the war not only required, but created talents. Men, whose minds were warmed with the love of liberty, and whose abilities were improved by daily exercise, and sharpened with a laudable ambition to serve their distressed country, spoke, wrote and acted with an energy far surpassing all expectation which could be reasonably founded on their previous acquirements.

The long years of the struggle had been a period of great intellectual activity, and the creation and administration of government had thoroughly awakened the people and vitalized their energies. Great writers were produced, great thoughts had penetrated the minds of the masses, and heart and soul, body and mind, alike, had been on the rack, and tens of thousands of men, bred in solitude, had moved over the face of the country, every faculty quickened

and stimulated and every passion brought often into play. Thus, as in all long and arduous contests, the people emerged from the war, uplifted by the struggle, developed in all their faculties, broader in thought, stronger in action, more resourceful, and with higher powers and nobler aims than before they had suffered the fearful experience; and, besides, they were inspired with a great hope, a great confidence in the future of their country.

ROWAN COUNTY WILLS

COLLECTED BY MRS. M. G. McCUBBINS.

Henry Barkley (Book F, page 18), June 13, 1798. Sons: Robert, James, John, Thomas. Daughters: Mary. Granddaughter: Polly Barkley (the daughter of Thomas). Grandsons: Henry Barkley (son of Robert), James Cowan (son of Thomas Cowan), and Henry Barkley (son of John). Executors: Sons, James and John. Witnesses: William Kilpatrick and Robert Kilpatrick.

ROWAN COUNTY MARRIAGE BONDS.

Adam Mitchell to Elizabeth McMachen. Sept. 12, 1769. Test: Robert Mitchell. (Jno. Frohock).

Benjamin Miller to Mary Hays. Dec. 16, 1769. Test: Joseph Hays. (John Frohock).

Joseph McCammon to Dorcas Holmes. May 9, 1791. Test: George (his X mark) homes.

Barton (his X mark) Miller to ——— Rindleman. Aug. 13, 1766. Test: Chris (his X mark) Rindleman. (Clerk: Thomas Frohock).

Michael McMahan to Patsey Rogers. Jan. 3, 1795. Test: James McMahan.

John Moore to Mary Kinley. Nov. 10, 1795. Test: Francis Gardner. (J. Troy).

Angus McIntosh to Jean McCoy. Oct. 22, 1781. Test: Alexander (his X mark) McCoy. (J. H. McCaule).

Thomas (his X mark) Mace to Mary Bird. Aug. 2, 1796. Test: James Garner. (Ad. Osborn).

John Misenhammer to Catereena Bushard. June 24, 1783. Test: Nicholas Bringle.

Wm. Maffit to Jaynet Tait. Aug. 24, 1788. Test: John Teais.

John Morrison to Francis Wilson. Jan. 12, 1784. Test: Alexander Wilson.

Jesse Aytcheson to Charity Dever. Oct. 27, 1818. Test: Eli Watkins. (R. Powell).

David Miller to Elizabeth Pitts. Nov. 26, 1789. Test: Christian Shroat.

Thomas Mullican to Casig Myers. Dec. 12, 1812. Test: Zadook Jarvis. (Jno. Mark, Sr.).

William Micarn to Mary Garn. Nov. 12, 1812. Test: Abraham Pippinger. (Signed 2 papers). (Geo. Dunn).

Charles McKinzey to Polly Savage. Nov. 9, 1802. Test: Francis Marshall. (A. L. Osborne).

Abner Merrell to Ritter Jones. Oct. 22, 1802. Test: Thomas Gadbury. (Osborne).

Theophilus Morgan, Jr., to Ruth Owens. Aug. 6, 1784. Test: Theophilus Morgan, Sr. (Hugh ———).

Henry McHenry to Martha Morrison. June 21, 1794. Test: David Morrison. (J. Troy).

Robert McFarson to Nelly McNeely. April 7, 1800. Test: Isaac McNeely. (Jno. Chaffins).

Andrew Morrison to Hetty Dickey. Nov. 7, 1809. Test: Robert Morrison. (Geo. Dunn).

Boyd (his X mark) McCreary to Annah Cooper. March 28, 1792. Test: Samuel (his X mark) Lusk.

Neal McGill to Barbara Walk. Feb. 4, 1813. Test: Applin (his X mark) Uslam. (Geo. Dunn).

Isaac Moye to Nancy Bryant. June 9, 1798. Test: James Messer. (M. Troy).

Hugh McCreary to Mary Sluder. Aug. 6, 1787. Test: Reuben Pew. (Jno. Macay).

Hector McIntosh to Mary McCoy. April 10, 1782. Test: William McLeod. (——— Cauley).

John Maffit to Sarah Whitiker. April 13, 1790. Test: John (his X mark) Whitiker. (Basil Gaither).

Thomas (his X mark) Welch to Jane Thomson. Oct. 28, 1772. Test: Jno. (his X mark) Thomson. (Ad. Osborn).

Abednego (his X mark) McAtee to Nancy Moore. Nov. 12, 1796. Test: Rich'd Leach. (——— Rogers).

Benjamin Merrill to Elizabeth Garrett. March 3, 1795. Test: John Wiseman. (I. Troy).

Edward Macan to Mille Cotton. Oct. 10, 1791. Test: Michael (his X mark) Heisler. (Chs. Caldwell).

Mathias Mastin to Sarah Standley. Nov. 6, 1794. Test: Reuben Standley. (Freidrick Miller).

Jacob Misenhammer to Elizabeth Gress. May 3, 1779. Test: John Misenhimer. (Ad. Osborn).

George McCulloch to Elizabeth. Sept. 26, 1799. Test: John Hamton and E. Jay. Osborne.

Fergus McLaughlin to Elizabeth Caruthers. Oct. 22, 1827. Test: Fergus Graham.

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

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