

BOATING A SHAD SEINE, ALBEMARLE SOUND

*The*  
**NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET**

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

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DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION**

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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 Fisheries of Eastern Carolina

BY WILLIAM J. LEARY, SE.

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The eastern part of the territory lying north and north-east of the Albemarle Sound is hemmed in by the sand shore of the ocean, which is usually called the "Banks," which defends it from the violence of the mighty storms, and the great billows of the Atlantic. Think of the million of grains of sand which receives the shock of the storm-driven waves, whose force is gradually spent among them, without harm, or loss to the "Banks." The "Banks" form the eastern boundary to various and vast sounds, which receive the flowing waters of useful and navigable rivers, draining pleasant and fertile lands, filled with the most hospitable people. These sounds and rivers abound in the finest fish on earth, affording food for millions of people. From the earliest dawn of civilization the people of this earth have been feeding on the fishes of the waters, both small and great. We feel sure of this, because from the earliest times we find undisputed evidence of their existence; and that they were used as food. The methods employed in catching them seem to have been, in the start, of the crudest sort; but no doubt they were just as toothsome as they are now. We wish that the evidence of fish and the fisheries were not quite so meager as we now find it; so little value is generally placed upon present every-day affairs, that current events relating thereto pass without being recorded, or noticed in any substantial manner.

It seems that the earlier colonists found the Indians catching fish in weirs, as well as with hooks made from bones and other hard substance or material; and that they caught them

very rapidly. We suppose the earlier settlers brought with them from the old country the methods of fishing which they had been taught; and no doubt used them successfully in our waters, as we do now.

There have been serious contentions of late years as to who started, or introduced, the seine for shad and herring fisheries on the Albemarle and its tributaries. There are statements, on both sides of the question, from respectable authorities regarding the matter. We shall therefore endeavor to treat each side in a conservative manner, and do them justice as we see it. It seems that Richard Brownrigg, of Wingfield, on the Chowan River, an emigrant from Ireland, was the first man who fished with a seine for shad and herring on the Chowan River. "As early as 1769, and probably earlier, Richard Brownrigg was engaged in catching herring, packing them and shipping them salted to foreign parts." The following copy of a letter taken from "The Life and Correspondence of James Iredell," written by Thomas Iredell, of St. Dorothys, Jamaica, to his nephew, James Iredell, then the Collector of Customs for Edenton, N. C., would seem to sustain and support this statement:

"St. Dorothys, Jamaica, July 10, 1769.

"Dear Nephew: I have already wrote you by this conveyance. I have determined of a runaway negro I send to you. His name is Spencer. Dispose of him as you can, and by first opportunity remit net proceeds in red-oak hogshead staves, and *about twenty barrels of herrings*. . . . I am told the gentleman who carries on the herring fishing is a Mr. Brownrigg, a brother to Councillor Brownrigg, of this Island, with whom I am intimately acquainted. He is a gentleman greatly esteemed here, and married into a very genteel family—the widow of a man of fortune.

"Your Affectionate Uncle,

"THOMAS IREDELL."

Dr. Richard Dillard, a relative of the Brownriggs, states that Thomas Brownrigg succeeded his father, Richard Brownrigg, in this profitable business, and later on, established fisheries on the Albemarle Sound, at Belvidere, and perhaps at other places.

In the Episcopal Church, St. Paul's, at Edenton, N. C., there is a tablet to the memory of the Rev. Daniel Earle, its rector in 1759. He was the clergyman who established the first classical school for boys in the State, at his home near the Chowan River, called Bandon. About the time of the Revolution the church had become somewhat dilapidated, the worshippers few in number. Parson Earle was a faithful minister and also a successful herring fisherman. It is related that one Sunday when he arrived in Edenton by way of his one-horse gig to conduct services he found chalked upon the church door, the following doggerel, to-wit:

"A half built church,  
And a broken down steeple;  
A herring-catching parson  
And a dam set of people."

He was afterwards styled "The herring-catching parson." Parson Earle fished at his home place, Bandon, on the Chowan River and was a contemporary of Richard Brownrigg. During this period seine fishing was considered hazardous and impracticable in the broad and tempestuous waters of the Albemarle Sound. Col. R. B. Creecy stated, "Towards the close of the 18th century, about 1790 or 1795, it is thought a seine fishery was established by Lemuel Creecy just within the mouth of the Yeopim River, and in full view of the Albemarle Sound." Before the death of Lemuel Creecy a fishery was established at old Sandy Point Beach, on the Albemarle Sound by Joshua S. Creecy, Thomas Benbury and General Duncan McDonald, a connection by marriage. This we think was the first venture of seine fishing on the Albemarle Sound, and we think this was in 1814. It was followed, probably next year, by a fishery at Skinner's Point, about three miles from Edenton, established by Charles W.

Skinner and Josiah T. Granberry, both of Perquimans County. These ventures proving safe and profitable, were soon followed by the establishment of other fisheries on the Albemarle Sound and its tributaries.

Probably the next fishery established was at Eden House on the Chowan River by Joseph B. Skinner, Capt. Paine and William D. Lowther. There could not be found three men more unlike. Mr. Skinner was a cool-headed, clear-headed, intelligent, retired lawyer. Capt. Paine was a roarer, the embodiment of energy, and carried things by storm without calculation of cost or consequences. William D. Lowther was a quiet, modest, diffident, imperturbable gentleman, delicate as a girl and too unselfish and gentle for this rough world. Once when a storm was raging, the boats out and everything in peril, Capt. Paine was full of vim. He had several times passed Mr. Lowther, sitting on a log, whistling a soft monotone and gazing at the sky. Capt. Paine passed him at a run, stopped before him, slapped him on his bald head and squalled: "Mr. Lowther you are fit for nothing but the kingdom of heaven."

Other seines came quickly. The writer in the *Fisherman & Farmer* refers to the Greenfield fishery as established by R. B. Creecy half a century ago. It was established by him, but not a half century ago, as the writer unkindly insinuates. It was established in 1848. "Mr. Josiah Collins, the elder, also established, about the beginning of this century, a fishery on Edenton Bay, but it was comparatively small, and was probably located at Collins' Point, or what is now called Cherry's Point." Mr. Joseph B. Skinner was also a fisherman in his time; he was born January 18, 1781, and died December 22, 1851. He was a very remarkable man in a great many respects, and his business methods brought to him a considerable estate. He resided on his plantation just beyond the limits of the town of Edenton; the property now owned by Mr. R. E. Chappell. When Mr. Skinner lived there we believe it was called the Manor House. He was an able law-

yer, with excellent judgment and business foresight. Among the important things he did, it is stated, he first started the fishing of seines on the waters of the Albemarle Sound, and the first to perceive their great importance, and the first, by his energy and enterprise to bring this knowledge to the use and benefit of the community at large, and to develop this great natural industry. In the spring of 1807 he began a fishery at Eden House, on the Chowan River, and as he acquired knowledge and experience in seine fishing, his broad and active mind grasped the greater problem of fishing upon the broader and greater waters of the Albemarle Sound. The seines fished before this were much smaller, and did not compare with the seines attempted by Mr. Skinner on the Albemarle Sound. After he had thought the matter out and saw success ahead of him, he needed funds to carry out the projected scheme. He knew Mr. Josiah Collins well, for he had been a client of his for many years. Mr. Collins was, perhaps, the wealthiest man in the community, and to him he applied for such money as he desired. Mr. Collins was also a successful business man, and when Mr. Skinner approached him on the subject, he did not take much stock in the project, but expressed himself frankly, and said he thought the scheme visionary and impracticable. As stated above, Mr. Collins was wealthy and had some experience in seine fishing, as he had a fishery on Edenton Bay, a most beautiful sheet of water. However, Mr. Skinner had the courage of his convictions, and proceeded with his plans and the purpose to establish a fishery on the Albemarle Sound, which he finally did, and met with great success—such success that his example was followed by others. He created at that time a new source of wealth, and added annually hundreds of thousands of dollars to the industrial products of the country.

Before this time the herring and shad fisheries had been confined to the Chowan River, the Roanoke River and their tributaries, and it is said were few in number and of small extent. Mr. Skinner was a most deserving citizen of our

State. It is a pity that there are so few facts recorded of our largest interests and of the people who have given them impetus and promoted them by their great skill and ability. To sustain the statements relative to Mr. Joseph Blount Skinner stated above, we give very respectable authority, to-wit: In a letter to the Reverend Thomas H. Skinner, a brother of Mr. Joseph B. Skinner, Judge H. Nash, in writing of Mr. Skinner from Hillsborough, N. C., November 29, 1852, stated: "To your brother, I have always heard, the residents on the Chowan and the Albemarle section are, in a great measure, indebted for their fisheries. Not that he was the first to spread the seine in their waters, but that he was the first to perceive their great national importance, and the first, by his enterprise and energy, who brought that knowledge to the use and benefit of the community at large. To him the State is indebted for having led in developing this great national interest." In a brief obituary notice by Governor Iredell, written in January, 1852, on Mr. Joseph Blount Skinner, he stated: "Mr. Skinner also gave the first impulse to that valuable branch of industry in that section of the State, the herring and shad fisheries. The fisheries had been confined to the Roanoke and Chowan Rivers and their tributary streams, and were few in number, and of small extent. Mr. Skinner, with his characteristic energy, first ventured upon the experiment, then deemed visionary and impractical, and launched his seines upon the wide and oft-vexed Albemarle itself. His example has been followed until the northern shore of the sound is literally studded with fisheries, creating a new source of wealth, and adding annually hundreds of thousands of dollars to the industrial products of the country. Such a man may emphatically be styled a great public benefactor. Richly did Mr. Skinner earn the distinction. Deep should be the gratitude of the public, and ever should his tomb be encircled by a garland of merit, more precious than the warrior's laurel."

Governor Iredell certainly used strong words in setting forth the merits of Mr. Skinner in relation to his connection with the fishing interest. The Reverend Mr. Thomas H. Skinner, in referring to the statement of Judge Nash above set out, says: "The Judge is right in saying that 'he was not the first to spread the seine in their waters,' if he uses the plural form 'waters' by analogy, or continuity of the two waters which he mentions, but he was first, as Governor Iredell says in his obituary notice of him, to spread the seine on the Albemarle Sound. I know this well, for I was a member of his family when, in the spring of 1807, he began his fishery at Eden House."

The nearest approach to a fishery on the sound before this date was one the first Mr. Collins established on Edenton Bay; but this was comparatively very small; was not on the sound, and when my brother informed Mr. Collins of his project in which he was about to engage, and inquired if he would let him have a loan to facilitate its execution, the venerable man frowned on the undertaking as venturous, if not impracticable. Independently of all men, he proceeded; one of his friends, a man of much executive tact and force, he associated with himself in the management of operations, but he provided all the means and kept the chief superintendence of everything in his own hands. It was the writer's fortune to serve as a sort of subaltern clerk, being in his sixteenth year, in this the first of the fishing season on the shores on the Albemarle.

Some amusing things are told of Mr. Skinner even to this day. On one occasion the Episcopal church was repaired, and Mr. Skinner attended the auction sale, when the pews were to be let out to the highest bidder; he had assessed the pews at a rate which would secure at least enough to cover the expenses. But, except himself, there were no bidders at the price he set. All the most desirable pews were pronounced his by the auctioneer. One of the wealthy parishioners approached Mr. Skinner and asked him what he was going to do

with those pews. Among the pews he had rented was one this gentleman had been occupying with his family. Mr. Skinner replied: "God bless me, sir; I am going to bring my negroes to church." The gentleman said: "You are not going to put them in the best pews in the church where the *elite* sit, are you?" His prompt answer was: "Yes, sir." They soon got around him, and the pews were sold again, at the price he had assessed. It is unnecessary to state that he turned the amount received into the Parish treasury.

The following is from the pen of that versatile writer, Dr. Richard Dillard, of Edenton, N. C.: "The herring fishing seems to have been a very old industry even in Great Britain. Some authorities say it was going on during the time of the Spanish Armada, and Swinden, in his history of the Antiquities of Great Yarmouth, says that 'herring fishing' began there as early as 495. It is now one of the most important industries in the United Kingdom, and the herring fisheries of Scotland and Ireland are still world famed. Richard Brownrigg having emigrated from Wichlow on the coast of Ireland, it is very natural that he should have undertaken in his adopted home the pursuits of his native section. So, not long after reaching this country he cleared his first fishery at Winfield on the Chowan River, and I am quite sure he was the father of the fishing industry in the Albemarle section, at least he is the earliest of whom there is any authentic record. Colonel Creecy, in his criticism, has confounded him with his son, Thomas Brownrigg, who fished later at the same place, and also on the Albemarle Sound. The earliest mention of fisheries on the court house records here is in the wills of Richard Brownrigg and Rev. Daniel Earle. Richard Brownrigg's, dated October 7, 1775, recommends to his executors that "due attention be made in carrying on the mills and fisheries in all their branches," and a section from Parson Earle's, dated 1785, reads thus: "I give to my beloved wife, Charity Earle, the plantation on which I now live, for the period of her natural life, except the fisheries and the houses

built for the use of said fisheries." From 1774 to 1775, says Iredell in one of his notes, 6,325 barrels and two quintals of herring were exported from Edenton to Southern Europe, Africa and West Indies. In 1787 there is record of 5,328 barrels having been exported from here, to say nothing of home consumption. The catch must have been large, as the price was low. There seems to have been a premium paid to every one who exported fish from here, from the old records of the custom house. I extracted the following: "February, 1798, paid Stephen Carpenter \$3.96 for premium on 22 bbls. of fish exported by him," and "Feb. 28, 1798, paid John Little \$124.00 for premium on 694 bbls. fish exported by him." There are also a number of similar items.

In speaking of fish and the introduction of seines into our waters, Moore, our historian, says: "At that time (1815) two Northern men had introduced a long seine worked by windlass and horse power at Lawrence's Point on the Chowan, six miles below Colerain; soon others were put in, two thousand yards in length, requiring six horses and fifty men and women in their handling. Prior to this time the spring catch had always been by the means of short float nets and weirs." Major Moore further says: "The fishing business had received an enormous impetus since 1815." See the edition of 1880, page 17 of his history.

There has been considerable discussion as to who was the first man that introduced seine fishing in these waters, and it strikes me that the sworn statement of Mr. Joseph B. Skinner, which we shall quote in this paper, will settle the question, so far as he is concerned. We know that he was an honorable man, and would not claim anything but what was right. And then, again, it seems that there is no conflict in the contentions made by the several persons to the controversy; each statement may be true, without coming in conflict with the other. The evidence given by Mr. Skinner is clear and to the point and sustains his reputation for ability, learning and vigor of thought. His reputation as a lawyer at the bar was

most excellent. The fact that Mr. Josiah Collins employed him in a professional way, was strong evidence of this. We, therefore, believe that his statement, when conservatively considered and analyzed, will, beyond question, throw so much light on the question at issue, that we shall hear no more from anyone as to who did use first the large seines in use in the Albemarle Sound.

In Collins vs. Benbury, Iredell's Law, Volume V, page 118, which by chance we have just laid our hands on, we find a statement under oath from Mr. Skinner himself: "The plaintiff then called upon Joseph B. Skinner, who stated that in 1807 he, in connection with another gentleman, established the *first large fishery on the waters of the Albemarle Sound*; that at the place which the plaintiff fished, a small seine was employed in 1798, but was, after that time discontinued; that in 1817, a company of gentlemen employed a seine at the same place, about three hundred yards long, but it was small in comparison with the length of the seines now used in these waters of the Albemarle; that a seine about the same length was employed at this beach for several years in succession, but how many he could not state; \* \* \* \* \* Upon cross examination Mr. Skinner stated that according to the usage, by which the right of fishing was enjoyed on the Albemarle Sound, if the owner of any of the land on the sound wished to establish a fishery and he found it necessary to his interest to fish the waters opposite the lands of the next proprietor, he had a right to do so provided no fishery was then established and used by such proprietor. But if the owner of the adjacent lands afterwards established a fishery on his lands, then the owner of the land had the right to fish the water opposite his lands, though the water had been before occupied by the seine of another person; that in the case of two fisheries established near the line dividing two tracts of land, each one of them had the right to shoot his seine into and fish the water opposite the land of the other, whenever it became necessary to do so by reason of the current running

up or down; that in the case last mentioned, when the current was running down, the owner of the lower fishery would shoot his seine into, and fish the water opposite the land of the owner above; and so, when the current was running up, the owner of the upper fishery would shoot his seine into the waters opposite the land below; that until the owner of land lying on the Albemarle Sound established a fishery by building the necessary houses, clearing the water of stumps, logs, etc., and providing a seine, every citizen of the State had a right to fish the water opposite the land, and between the shore and the channel; and after a fishery had been established, whenever the owner ceased to fish it, the citizens of the State had the right to fish the waters which had been occupied by the seine. The witness was enquired of, if he knew any custom regulating the rights of fishing, where two fisheries were so situated upon an indented position of the shore of the sound that each would be obliged to occupy the same water in fishing the water opposite their respective shores. He said he did not know of any custom regulating the rights of fishermen whose fisheries were so situated, as he knew of no fisheries so situated. In such a case, he supposed they would have to come to some understanding."

Testimony of John H. Leary was about the same as Mr. J. B. Skinner's as to the establishment of Sandy Point Fishery, and he stated that in consequence of the facilities for shipping produce, all the lands on Albemarle Sound were more valuable than lands of the same fertility, at a distance from the sound.

Porte Crayon visited our fisheries in the early part of the year 1857, when the seines were placed out in the waters of the Albemarle Sound by the means of flats, called bateaux, propelled by oars, handled by men, and drawn in from the waters of the sound by means of windlasses drawn by mules or horses. Most of our people recall this means of bringing in and carrying out the seines. He gives this graphic description of the beach and the fishery, to-wit: "In the foreground

was the landward boat moored to the beach, while her swarthy crew were actively engaged in piling up the seine as it was drawn in by the exertions of four lively mules at the windlass hard by. In the centre, upon a bank a little elevated above the water, rose a group of sheds and buildings, alive with active preparation. Beyond these the seaward boat appeared, while upon the surface of the water, enclosing the whole beach in a grand semi-circle, swept the dotted cork line of the seine. To complete this scene of bustle and animation on land and water the air furnished its legions of fierce and eager participants. Numerous white gulls, fish-hawks, and eagles hovered over or sailed in rapid circles over the narrow cordon of the seine, at times uttering screams of hungry impatience, then darting like lightning to the water and bearing away a struggling prize in his beak or talons. It was wonderful to observe the brigand-like audacity with which these birds follow up the nets and snatch their share of the prey, sometimes almost within arm's length of their human fellow-fishermen and fellow-robbers. But we must not tarry too long at the table. The approaching cries of the mule-drivers at the windlasses warn us that the seine is gathering in, and on sallying forth we perceive that the dotted semi-circle of cork line is narrowed to the diameter of fifty paces. Both boats are at hand, their platforms piled high with enormous masses of netting, like great stacks of clover hay. The windlasses have done their part, and the mules discharged from their labors, as they are led away by the conductor, to celebrate the event with their cheerful braying. All hands now leave the boats, and, at a signal from the chief, dash into the water waist deep to man the rope. A train of women, armed with knives and bearing larger tubs, is seen hastening down the bank. Within the circuit of the net one may already see a thousand backs and fins swimming rapidly over the surface of the water. Every eye is lighted with excitement. 'Hard cork!' shouts the captain. 'Mind your lead, thar!' yells the lieutenant. 'Hard

cork, mind lead! ay, ay, Sir!' roar the fifty black dripping tritons as they heave the heavy net upon the beach. Behind the cork line where the seine bags the water now is churned to foam by the struggling prey, and the silvery sides of the fish may be seen flashing through the strong meshes. The eager gulls shriek at the sight, and sweep unheeded over the busy fishermen. One more hurrah, and the haul is landed, a line of wide planks is staked up behind, the net withdrawn, and the wriggling mass is rolled upon the beach—ten or fifteen thousand voiceless wretches, whose fluttering sounds like a strong rushing wind among leaves. 'To the boats! to the boats!' and away go the men; now the boys and women rush knee-deep into the gasping heap. The shad are picked out, counted, and carried away to the packing-house. The rock are also sorted, and then the half-savage viragos seat themselves in line, and begin their bloody work upon the herring. With such unmerciful celerity they work, that the unhappy fish has scarcely time to appreciate the new element into which he has been introduced ere he is beheaded, cleaned and salted away. If you now raise your eyes to look for the boats, you will see them already far on their way out in the sound, the voice of their captain mingled with the cries of the disappointed gulls. In the operations of the fisheries there are no delays. Success is in proportion to the promptitude and energy displayed in every department, and from the beginning of the season to the end they are driving night and day without intermission. The powers of endurance are as heavily taxed as in the life of a soldier campaigning in an enemy's country.

"About midnight Porte Crayon was aroused by the hand of the manager on his shoulder: "If you wish to see a night haul, now is your time, sir; we will land the seine in fifteen or twenty minutes." Mr. Crayon sprung to his feet, and hastily donning his vestments, repaired to the beach. Here was a scene similar to that which he had witnessed during the day, except that the picturesque effect was greatly

enhanced by the glare of the fires that illuminated the landing. The wild swarthy figures that hurried to and fro carrying pine torches, the red light flashing over the troubled waters, the yelling and halloing suggested the idea that these might be Pluto fishermen dragging nets from the Styx, or maybe a dance of the demons and warlocks on Walpurgis Night.

“The product of these fisheries constitutes a most important item in the wealth of this section, and during the fishing season (which begins about the middle of March, and lasts until the middle of May) their success is a bright subject of as general conversation and all-absorbing interest to the inhabitants as is the yearly overflow of the Nile to the Egyptians. To establish a first-class fishery requires from five to ten thousand dollars of outlay; and the management employs from sixty to eighty persons, all negroes except the managers. These are for the most part free negroes, who live about in Chowan and the adjoining counties, and who, as the season approaches, gather in to the finny harvest as to an annual festival.

“At Belvidere, the seine used was twenty-seven hundred yards long and twenty-seven feet deep, which is packed upon the platforms laid on the sterns of two heavy ten-oared (flat) boats (known by us as bateaux) which are rowed out together to a point opposite the landing beach, about a mile distant. Here the boats separate, moving in opposite directions, and the seine is played out from the platforms as they row slowly toward their destined points—the eastward boat following a course down the stream and parallel to the beach, the landward boat curving inward towards the shore at the upper end of the fishery, thus heading the shoal of fish as they journey upward to the spawning grounds. The top line of the seine is buoyed with numerous cork, while the bottom, which is attached to the lead line, sinks with its weight. When the seine is all played out, heavy ropes, made fast to the staves at the ends, are carried in to the great wind-

lasses at either end of the fishing ground, at this place about eight hundred yards apart. The aggregate length of the seine with these ropes is not less than two miles and a half, the process of winding being now continued by lines tied to the lead line of the seine, which, as they successively appear, are attached to consecutive windlasses nearing the centre. The boats follow to receive the net until they arrive at the innermost windlasses of one-mule power, which are not more than sixty or eighty yards apart. Here, as before described, the men handle the rope themselves, land the haul, take up the intervening net, and put out immediately to do it all over again. The whole process takes from five to seven hours, averaging four hauls per day of twenty-four hours. The shad and the herring are the staple crop for packing. The miscellaneous fish are sold on the beach, eaten by the fishermen and plantation negroes, or are carted with the offal to manure the adjoining lands. The refuse fish commonly taken are sturgeon, rock, cats, trout, perch, mullet, gar, gizzard-shad or ale-wife, hog-choke or flounder, lampreys, and common eels. The bug-fish is sometimes taken; in its mouth it carries a sort of parasitical bug."

The article from which we have so extensively quoted was published in Harper's Monthly Magazine, No. LXXXII, March, 1857, Vol. XIV. It is a most excellent article and will repay anyone for the time spent in reading it, and looking at the illustrations, which are good. We have given his description of the beach, because it covers the ground thoroughly; and we do not believe this paper would be complete without such a description—in fact it is a part of the history of the fishing interest. If Mr. Porte Crayon could visit us again, in our day, he would find a different state of affairs; new methods of taking fish, caring for them, manner of shipping, and the kind shipped—which embraces the most of them mentioned by him as refuse fish, the rock and sturgeon especially.

The idea of shipping fish in ice to the northern markets was first adopted by Mr. G. J. Cherry, who shipped shad and herring in barrels covered with bagging. Later on Col. R. G. Mitchell introduced fish boxes, which are extensively used by all classes of our fishermen, in making shipments of iced fish for the market.

In 1869 Captain Peter M. Warren, a resident of Chowan County, applied steam as a motive power to drive windlasses used at fisheries for drawing in seines—this was a great help to the fishermen, and a decided advance in such methods. In 1879 Captain Warren extended the application of steam as a motive power to the bateaux used by fishermen at their fisheries. No one but a fisherman could really appreciate the advantages thus afforded. Our recollection is that this scheme was tried out at Drummond's Point Fishery near the mouth of Yeopim River, now owned by John G. Wood, Jr., but then owned by J. L. G. Smith from Long Island, New York, a member of the Bull Smith family of that island. He stated his family got this name from a trade by a member of it, with some Indians for a tract of land. For a certain consideration he was to have all the land he could ride a bull around in a given time. By his ride he won a considerable tract of land, and his family the name and distinction of the Bull Smith family. It was currently reported at the time that Mr. Wiley Rea, a carpenter, was the man who first suggested to Captain Peter M. Warren the idea of applying steam as the motive power to windlasses and steam flats for hauling in seines. We know that it was currently reported at that time, during which Captain Warren and Mr. Pea were together a great deal. There cannot be any doubt of the fact that Captain Warren put the schemes or methods into operation. An idea stillborn is of no value at all, and as far as the world is concerned amounts to very little; it is the advance or progress made that tells; and judged by the practical results accomplished, Captain Warren deserved all the credit he ever got for the work he did.

In connection with the fishing done at Drummond's Point fishery, it is said that four hundred thousand herring were caught at a single haul. It was impossible to land so many fishes at one time, and the seine had to be anchored out and smaller seines used until the most of them were landed before the haul could be finally made. We have been at fisheries when between one and two hundred thousand herrings were caught, and at that time we do not think it was unusual. Some years ago at Greenfield fishery there was a haul of 75,000 herring; and it was said the several hauls before and after this haul were few in comparison with it. It was supposed the seine caught the entire shoal of herring, which shows fish must swim together in the water like birds flock together in the air. There are no seines fished on the shores of Chowan County at this time, having been supplanted by a cheaper method of fishing, which is known by the name of "Dutch Net." This net is called the "Dutch Net" because it was introduced into the water of the Albemarle Sound in 1869 by Captain John P. Hettrick and his brother, William Hettrick, Pennsylvania Dutchmen, who had been fishing with these nets in the Great Northern lakes for whitefish. During the Civil War Capt. John P. Hettrick came down here as a Federal soldier and seeing the sound, and inquiring about the fish which abounded in its waters, he concluded he would come down with his nets as soon as the war was over and he could do so. The first of these were fished at Sandy Point, about ten miles below Edenton, N. C., on the north side of the sound. They were cheap, as stated, and proved a great success, and were readily adopted by our people, with the result that the seine fisheries on our side of the sound are not fished any longer. Skinner's Point Fishery was considered the best shad fishery we had in Chowan; and Greenfield was considered the safest as the seasons run, and the best herring fishery on the sound.

Avoca has always been considered the best shad fishery on the Albemarle Sound and the largest rock-fish fishery. At a

single haul as many as forty-six thousand shad have been taken, and one hundred and eighty thousand herring, and thirty eight thousand pounds of striped bass, which are considered very large catches of these kinds of fish. In an article recently written by Mr. J. H. Etheridge, of Colerain, N. C., the statement is made that in 1878 a haul was landed at Colerain that counted out over a half million (of herring), and in 1882 one of two hundred and sixteen thousand. He also states there are a crowd of witnesses who can and will testify to these facts; and from 1878 to 1883 the average catch was fifteen million per season. The Dutch nets which have changed the method of catching shad and herring are thus described: The stakes are about three by six inches in size, separated by short intervals in a line; the stakes are driven some four or five feet into the bottom or bed of the sound, and the nets are stretched out and fastened to them with several pounds of inclosures in which the fish are arrested in their migratory movements up the waters, hunting for the spawning grounds, and seeking an outlet, enter the net and being unable to find their way out are taken up with dip nets. The line of nets may extend in the sound a thousand or more yards. The fish follow the leads and finally get into the hearts or pounds from which they are taken as stated. The boats used are flat bottomed, so that they can easily cross the line at the top of the heart, pound or pod. A great many herring are caught in these nets, but not so many shad in proportion to the numbers that come into our waters. We have advanced some in looking after the by-products, heretofore wasted or used for fertilizers. We have two canning factories for the roe from the herring that are cut for salting and packing down. And it is convenient for the house-keeper to have in her pantry; in fact we know of nothing more convenient or handy to have around. The roe makes a most delightful dish for breakfast or supper.

The fishing business for years back has been one of the largest (conducted) in this section of the State; millions of

shad, herring, rock, perch, and other fish are shipped from Edenton alone; and many other thousands and millions from Dare County, Hertford and Elizabeth City, N. C., during the annual spawning season of these fish. This business gives employment to hundreds of people, both male and female. The fishing season lasts about seventy-five days, beginning in March and ending about the middle of May in each and every year. It is an interesting sight to be at one of these fisheries and witness what is called a "haul." The seines extend out from one to two miles and then are pulled in as stated by Porte Crayon. The cutting and packing of these fish is most interesting, and it is wonderful to see how rapidly the men and women accustomed to this kind of work can cut and clean these fish—as many as two or three thousand an hour. We believe our seine fisheries when in full blast were the most extensive inland fisheries in the world, as well as the most profitable. The seine fisheries in Dare County, located at Croatan and elsewhere, were among the best, and were generally fished by the Davises, Palins and others of Elizabeth City. Sheriff W. T. Brinkley, a native of Chowan County, was the owner of one of these fisheries for years, during which period he was a resident of Dare, and lived in Manteo or nearby.

The fish-catching in the east of North Carolina in 1897 was 142,326,000, valued at \$1,583,600.00, and we are satisfied that earlier records will show a much larger catch. In 1873 under the direction of U. S. Fish Commissioner Baird, about 45,000 shad were hatched out at New Bern, and 100,000 striped bass at Weldon, N. C., and all of these were planted in local waters. In 1875 shad hatching was attempted at New Bern by Mr. Milner on behalf of the general Government but no noteworthy results were obtained. In 1877 the State of North Carolina began fish cultural operations on its own account. In May Mr. Frank M. Clarke, of Michigan, was engaged, through Professor Baird, to superintend shad hatching on the Neuse; little success was obtained owing to

unfavorable seasonal conditions. In the fall of 1877, a trout and salmon hatchery was constructed at Swannanoa Gap by Mr. W. F. Page, assisted by Mr. S. G. Worth, who enlarged and improved the hatchery, and the incubation of brook trout eggs and California salmon eggs was begun shortly thereafter. The shad hatching in 1878 was noteworthy. The site of the operations was Salmon Creek, at the head of the Albemarle Sound, and the season was most successful, a million of fry being produced. In 1879 a hatchery was built by the State at Morganton, at which salmon, trout and carp were hatched and distributed, but was abandoned in 1882. Shad hatching was continued by the Government at the mouth of Chowan River, the steamer Lookout being employed in this work. In 1880 the State had a fish hatchery at Avoca, and secured the eggs from the Sutton and Scotch Hall beaches; the operations proved successful, and the State continued to operate the hatchery at Avoca until 1884, and during the year 1882 of this period adopted the McDonald hatchery jar, being the first State to employ this most important device. In 1884 Mr. S. G. Worth, at a place on the Roanoke River, aided by the U. S. Commissioner of Fisheries, took over four millions of striped bass eggs, since which time a great many eggs have been hatched and distributed in the waters of this State and others. At Edenton there is a most successful fish hatchery, under the superintendency of Mr. W. E. Morgan. One hundred and forty millions of shad eggs have been incubated in one season; this was in the year 1913. One of our citizens said of Mr. Morgan, who is a cultured gentleman: "I wish to say something relative to the efficient management in which the shad eggs and fry have been handled. Never during my stay have things been kept in such perfect shape and neatness; all due to the skillful management of our worthy and esteemed friend, Superintendent W. E. Morgan, who was sent to Paris, France, by the U. S. Fish Commission, to look after our Government's interest, and to other expositions, thus giving him much and varied experience. He is always nice and

has pleasing manners, and is capable of handling help with great ease. The percentage of incubations have been much greater than any previous year; all due to Mr. Morgan's skillfulness and attention to the business in which he is untiring, and it leads to the greatest success." We know Mr. Morgan personally, and this gentleman has not said any more in commendation of him than he deserves. He is on the job at all times.

Sturgeon fishing was first introduced by Capt. A. T. Cann, in 1889; he came from the State of Delaware. The nets used for catching these fish are from 600 to 1,000 yards long, and are made of large cotton twine with meshes from 12 to 16 inches. Only one of them is usually fished to a boat carrying two men. They have no stakes, as they are not required, anchors being mostly used. One time the sturgeon were quite numerous, but they have so thinned out that it hardly pays to fish for them in our waters at this time. It is a great pity, and the State ought to take some action in the matter, so that their utter extinction will not be accomplished. A large sturgeon is worth about one hundred dollars. These fish are from five to nine feet in length, and weigh from one hundred and twenty-five to three hundred pounds. As many as three hundred of these fish have been taken during a season of about sixty days, from one net, but it is said one hundred and fifty a season was considered good. The roe is used for cavier, a great German dish, and is highly prized; as well as most valuable. The roe from four or six sturgeon will fill a keg. The offal has great fertilizing property and is said to be more valuable than shad or herring offal.

We have endeavored to secure data that could be considered accurate and reliable, and we have selected only such data as we have considered of historical value. We have just received a letter from Mr. E. H. Walke, who fished for many years at the famous Avoca fishery, a cut of which we hope will accompany this article. Mr. Walke states: "That on the 6th of May, 1876, we made two hauls of Rock fish; the first

was 38,000 lbs., the second was 13,000 lbs., both in one day. In 1877 we made a haul of herring of 188,000 by actual count, or 60 stands that held 3,000 herring to the stand. In 1901 I made three hauls of shad, to-wit: 45,000, 46,000 and 44,000 respectively; making 135,000 in the three hauls. This is the largest fishing we ever done. In 1886 I caught 105 sturgeon at three hauls." We are very glad that Mr. Walke let us have these figures, as they show the actual catch at the Avoca fishery during the years stated, and are, therefore, of historical value. The statement of the figures sustain the importance of legislation for the protection of the young fish, and for their propagation, as the catch of these fish of today is nothing like the hauls Mr. Walke writes of.

We feel greatly indebted to Dr. Joseph Pratt, State Geologist, and Dr. Hugh M. Smith for facts secured from their written works, and Dr. R. B. Drane, Dr. Richard Dillard, Mr. John G. Wood, Sr., Mr. W. H. Walke, and others, for the facts upon which we have based the statements in this article.

## Fiscal and Economic Conditions in North Carolina During the Civil War

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The hard task of war is not confined to the battlefield, nor its heroism to the soldier and sailor. Upon non-combatants rest the duties of repleting the ranks decimated by mortality, of providing supplies with a diminishing number of laborers, and of keeping open the channels of trade and commerce. War is therefore a test of economic resources as well as of military force and skill. In the light of this fact the contest between the Union and the Confederacy was an unequal one; for in the North during that conflict, agricultural productivity was but slightly impaired, manufactures prospered, the inventive genius flowered, and the crisis in the currency was met by the National Bank act. On the other hand, in the South, cotton, the staple crop, declined from  $4\frac{1}{2}$  million bales in 1860 to approximately  $\frac{1}{2}$  million bales in 1864, while the blockade so interfered with export trade that the price on the local markets declined with the decrease in production. Manufactures did not increase sufficiently to meet demands and there was no stroke of genius to prevent a collapse of the currency. Yet the supreme test of the Confederacy was not its inferiority in resources, but the ways and means by which the odds were met. Surely the temper of the Southern people from 1861 to 1865 cannot be fully comprehended without some acquaintance with the methods by which the non-combatants contributed to the "Lost Cause." The subject must be approached from two angles: one is that of the government of the Confederate States and its policies, the other the measures of the State governments. Of these the former has been more widely treated. In the future larger account must be taken of war legislation in the

several States and its effect on the people. It is therefore hoped that the present discussion of fiscal and economic conditions in North Carolina from 1861 to 1865 may not be untimely.

#### A.—THE STATE FINANCES.

There were three financial problems in North Carolina in 1861. One was the inequalities in the system of raising revenue. Land, personal property, income from professional services, dividends and profits were taxed according to value at different rates, while slaves were taxed as polls, and slaves below the age of twelve and above fifty were exempt. Thus land valued at \$97,672,975 in 1860 yielded \$195,124, while slaves valued at \$162,866,763 (valuation of 1863) through the poll tax paid only \$122,148. In the gubernatorial campaign of 1860 the issue of ad valorem taxation of all property, including slaves, had been raised by the Whig party and its defeat was due very largely to the excitement of national issues. How far a war in defense of the slave system would affect the question of taxing slave property at its real value, remained to be seen. The second problem was that of the State debt. From 1848 to May, 1861, \$9,749,500 of bonds had been issued. These were mainly for aid to railroads and other works of internal improvement. During the war \$1,370,000 previously authorized were issued. For the redemption of the bonds a Sinking Fund had been established in 1856, consisting of the State stock in the Raleigh and Gaston and the North Carolina railroads. Whether the fund would be preserved for its original purpose or used in supporting the new debt created by the war was a matter of importance. The Literary Fund, from which the public schools were supported, consisting of approximately \$3,000,000 worth of securities in 1860, was likewise threatened. Finally there was the problem of finding ways and means for the equipment and support of the State troops, and of meeting other expenditures incurred by the war. The magnitude of this task may be realized by contrasting the public fund,

which met the regular expenses of the government, in 1861 and the years immediately following. For the fiscal year ending October 31, 1861, it was \$3,523,981.25. By the same day in 1862 it was \$13,297,973.60, a year later it was \$16,208,440.88, while in 1864 it declined to \$6,936,672.08. This expansion of income was the paramount fiscal problem of the war. Its solution also shaped the policy toward taxation, the Sinking Fund, and the Literary Fund. It therefore demands careful consideration.

#### A. I.—REVENUE.

The principal measure by which the increase in the State's income was accomplished was the issue of treasury notes. These were authorized by two bodies, the legislature and the Secession Convention which, after four sessions, finally adjourned in May, 1862. The first extra session of the legislature authorized the alternate issue of treasury notes and six per cent. bonds to the amount of \$5,000,000, of which \$2,750,000 were to be treasury notes.<sup>1</sup> At the second extra session \$1,800,000 of notes were authorized.<sup>2</sup> The first session of 1862 authorized \$1,500,000 more, fundable in six per cent. twenty year bonds, and the treasurer was given liberty to increase the issue by \$3,000,000.<sup>3</sup> At the adjourned session of 1863, \$400,000 were also authorized.<sup>4</sup> Likewise the regular session of 1864 authorized \$3,000,000, and the adjourned session of the same year, \$3,000,000.<sup>5</sup>

Thus \$15,450,000 of treasury notes were authorized by the legislature. The convention was also liberal in the matter. At its first session it authorized \$200,000 of notes.<sup>6</sup> This was followed at the second session by \$3,000,000 six per cents exchangeable for six per cent. bonds.<sup>7</sup> At the third

<sup>1</sup> Laws, 1860, I Extra Session, ch. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Laws, 1860, II Extra Session, ch. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Laws, 1862-3, ch. 29.

<sup>4</sup> Laws, Adjourned Session, ch. 35.

<sup>5</sup> Laws, 1864, ch. 23; Adjourned Session, ch. 18.

<sup>6</sup> Ordinance, I Session, 34.

<sup>7</sup> Ordinance, II Session, 16.

session \$1,500,000 were authorized which, as well as the notes of the former session, were fundable in eight per cent. bonds.<sup>8</sup> At the fourth session \$2,000,000 more was authorized, also fundable in bonds.<sup>9</sup> Thus \$6,700,000 in notes were authorized by the convention, making, with those authorized by the legislature, \$22,150,000. Moreover the convention assumed the State's quota of the Confederate tax, to be funded in seven per cent. notes.

The total amount of notes issued was left to the discretion of the Treasurer and the Governor. They were guided by the legislative appropriations and the amount formerly in the treasury. According to the Treasurer's report at the end of the war \$8,507,847.50 had been issued and \$3,261,511.25 had been retired, leaving in circulation \$5,246,336.25. To insure the circulation of the notes the Treasurer was directed not to accept in payment of obligations to the State the notes of those banks that would not honor the treasury notes.<sup>10</sup>

A second method by which the vast increase in revenue was attained was the issue of bonds. The legislature at the first extra session authorized the issue of \$2,250,000, and the convention also authorized \$3,000,000.<sup>11</sup> Banks purchasing the bonds were relieved of the obligation of specie payment so long as any portion of the bonds remained unredeemed and were allowed to issue their notes of less denomination than one dollar to the extent of five per cent. of their capital stock paid in, provided such action did not infringe upon their charters. In 1862 \$5,000,000 additional were authorized, and in 1863, \$2,000,000.<sup>12</sup> Moreover the State assumed its proportion of the Confederate war tax; to meet it notes were to be issued, convertible in seven per cent. bonds, the amount of bonds actually issued being \$1,384,500, the as-

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<sup>8</sup> Ordinance, III Session, 35.

<sup>9</sup> Ordinance, IV Session, 39.

<sup>10</sup> Laws, II Extra Session, ch. 18.

<sup>11</sup> Laws, I Extra Session, ch. 4; Ordinance, I Session, 34.

<sup>12</sup> Laws, 1862-63, ch. 29; Adjourned Session, ch. 26.

sumption expiring after 1862.<sup>13</sup> Finally aid in the construction of the Chatham Railroad was given to the extent of \$249,000 in bonds.<sup>14</sup> Thus the total bond issues for war and allied purposes were \$13,120,500. There were also issued \$1,370,000 of bonds authorized prior to 1861, making a bonded debt at the close of the conflict of \$24,240,000.

The market value of bonds and notes is one of the interesting phases of war finance. The notes depreciated, and in 1865 the following scale of depreciation was adopted:<sup>15</sup>

MONTH.	1861.	1862.	1863.	1864.	
January -----	----	\$1.20	\$3.00	\$21.00	\$50.00
February -----	----	1.30	3.00	21.00	50.00
March -----	----	1.50	4.00	23.00	60.00
April -----	----	1.50	5.00	20.00	100.00
May -----	----	1.50	5.50	19.00	----
June -----	----	1.50	6.50	18.00	----
July -----	----	1.50	9.00	21.00	----
August -----	----	1.50	14.00	23.00	----
September -----	----	2.00	14.00	25.00	----
October -----	----	2.00	14.00	26.00	----
November -----	1.10	2.50	15.00	30.00	----
December -----	1.15	2.50	20.00	----	----
December 1-10 -----	----	----	----	35.00	----
December 10-20 -----	----	----	----	42.00	----
December 20-30 -----	----	----	----	49.00	----

Depreciation was naturally accompanied by speculation in the securities, which was especially notable during the first two years of the war. Notes were purchased by the speculators and exchanged for bonds, yet in 1862 the price of six per cent bonds ranged from 112 to 120, and actual depreciation of bonds does not seem to have set in until the latter part of 1864, when a \$1,000 bond was worth \$1,850 in Confederate treasury notes, or \$74 in specie.<sup>16</sup> Several influences checked the depreciation of notes from influencing to any great extent the value of bonds; one was that the treasurer in 1862 adopted the policy of issuing bonds in certificate rather than the coupon form, thus requiring the holder to

13 Ordinance, III Session, 21.

14 Private Laws, 1860-61, ch. 131; Ordinance, III Session, 7.

15 Laws, 1866, ch. 39.

16 Treasurer's Report, 1864.

travel to the treasurer's office to secure his interest.<sup>17</sup> Another was the custom of paying the expenses as far as possible in Confederate, rather than North Carolina notes.<sup>18</sup> Also the State went into the market for its own bonds, and also bought from itself. For this purpose the Sinking Fund was used. Thus in 1863, it was reported that the Sinking Fund had transferred to the treasury, \$719,000 for bonds whose face value was \$602,000, and the next year it was reported that the Sinking Fund had bought in the market \$131,050 of bonds at a premium of \$171,495.26.<sup>19</sup> It is also interesting to notice that the State bonds issued prior to 1861, and held by the Fund were transferred to the treasury. Some Confederate bonds were also purchased by the Fund and some were paid in as dividends of the North Carolina Railroad. Consequently at the close of the war the securities of the Sinking Fund, with the exception of the railroad stock, were Confederate and State war bonds. The antebellum debt, for which the fund has been created, remained an obligation of the State, and by 1866, \$364,000 were due and unpaid.<sup>20</sup>

A similar use was made of the Literary Fund. Since this fund was used for educational purposes and was therefore of vast social importance, its history during the war justifies a more extended notice than the Sinking Fund. I therefore quote from a study of the Literary Fund elsewhere published.<sup>21</sup> "In order to meet the increase in expenditures made necessary by military affairs, there was a feeling that the fund should be used. This peril was averted by the efforts of Dr. Calvin H. Wiley, who had been elected Superintendent of Common Schools in 1852. He persuaded the Governor and the Council of State to oppose such a measure, secured the support of the North Carolina Educational Associa-

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<sup>17</sup> *Standard*, June 25, 1862.

<sup>18</sup> Ordinance, I Session, 35.

<sup>19</sup> Comptroller's Report, 1863, 1864.

<sup>20</sup> Treasurer's Report, January, 1866.

<sup>21</sup> Finances of the North Carolina Literary Fund, *South Atlantic Quarterly*, July and October, 1914.

tion, which had been organized in 1857, and of many of the county boards of education. Consequently a bill to use the Literary Fund for other than educational purposes was defeated in the Legislature. However, the counties were relieved from the duty of levying local taxes for education, with the result that some counties used the educational tax for military purposes, and others suspended collection of school taxes until the war should end. Also no distribution from the Fund was made in the fall of 1861, nor in the spring of 1862, and from evidence of a later date it seems that the income of the Fund was temporarily used to meet the financial crisis brought about by the war. Yet the school system did not collapse during the war; in the spring of 1865 the Superintendent was receiving reports from every section of the State.

“As the resources of the Fund were not diverted and as the expenditure for school purposes diminished, the deficit of \$22,137.17 at the close of 1861 was wiped out by the end of 1862. Also in the latter year the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad redeemed \$50,000 of its bonds held by the Fund. In 1863 a State loan of \$96,086 was repaid, the dividend of the Wilmington and Weldon quadrupled, and that of the Wilmington and Manchester Railway—for stock in which 2,000 shares of the Wilmington and Weldon stock had been exchanged in 1852—also yielded a dividend of twenty-five per cent. Consequently in spite of increased appropriations for the deaf, dumb, and blind, at the close of the fiscal year 1863, there was a balance of \$250,974 to the credit of the Fund, and the matter of investments again became of importance.

“In 1862 the new trustees of the Literary Fund were appointed by Governor Vance. These were William E. Pell, Professor Richard Sterling, and William Sloan. Carelessness and inefficiency on the part of their predecessors were soon disclosed. No stock certificate for the 5,404 shares of the Bank of Cape Fear could be found; notes for loans to in-

dividuals had been allowed to run until worthless; bonds of the State had not been endorsed, and a payment on the bond of the Clinton Female Institute had not been credited. In 1863 a new office, Treasurer of the Literary Fund, was created by the Legislature, and Mr. Richard H. Battle was appointed to fill it. This activity of the trustees was not long lived. It proved difficult to get the members to meet as often as seemed necessary, and for this reason in 1863 the matter of investments was referred to a committee of Governor Vance and Mr. Pell, with power to act. They made no written account of their work, but from the reports of the Comptroller it is evident that they invested \$651,575.59. Of this, \$476,675.59 was invested in State bonds, as follows: In six per cents, \$112,500 in April, 1863; \$31,000 in November and December, 1863, and January, 1864, at a premium of \$49,490 and accrued interest of \$705.75, and \$110,250 in March, 1864, with accrued interest of \$437.50; in eight per cents, \$15,000 in November, 1863, at \$24,000 premium and \$279.29 interest; in December, \$9,000 at \$15,070 premium and \$203.74 accrued interest; in January, 1864, \$3,000 at \$5,610 premium; in February, \$36,000 at \$62,925 premium and \$1,027.31 interest. Moreover, in November, 1863, \$175,000 was invested in Confederate bonds.

“These investments are among the most interesting ever made by the trustees. The purchases were made in paper currency while the bonds were redeemable in gold; hence the high premiums. But from this standpoint the investments were unwise, for in November, 1864, the Treasurer reported that a North Carolina State bond of \$1,000 brought \$1,850 in Confederate currency, and only \$74 in specie. An inventory of the securities of the Literary Fund late in 1865 showed a shrinkage of \$153,583.06, compared with the amount held in 1860.”

No consideration of the value and depreciation of the State bonds and treasury notes would be complete without reference to the attitude of North Carolina toward the funding

policy of the Confederate Government. In March, 1863, Congress provides for the funding of outstanding Confederate notes; those above the denomination of \$5 to be accepted at their face value for bonds, until April, 1864, after which they were to be taxed one-third; notes less than \$5 were fundable in bonds until July, after which they were to be taxed likewise; and those of \$100 or above, if not funded by April, were to be no longer receivable by the government, and were to be taxed one-third of their face value.<sup>22</sup> Now the North Carolina convention had made Confederate notes receivable for taxes and obligations to the State. Two problems therefore arose. One was for the State to outlaw or continue to receive the notes in question; the other was to fund the notes in the treasury. The legislature of Virginia set an example by repudiating the notes for the payment of taxes, while the Richmond banks refused to accept them in the discharge of debts. A similar policy was recommended by the treasurer of North Carolina.<sup>23</sup> However, it met the opposition of Governor Vance. "If one issue of Confederate notes is good," said he, "then all are good, since the same honor is pledged for their ultimate redemption." He also held that the policy of repudiation would bring endless confusion if adopted by the State. The legislature followed the advice of the Governor.<sup>24</sup> It condemned repudiation, either direct or indirect, and provided for an earlier collection of the taxes, so that the treasurer could exchange as many notes as possible for bonds and new notes.<sup>25</sup> However, in 1864, the policy of repudiation was adopted, following the Confederate law of February 17, of that year.<sup>26</sup> Undoubtedly the rapid depreciation of the North Carolina notes in 1863 and 1864

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<sup>22</sup> Schwab, *The Confederate States*, p. 52.

<sup>23</sup> Treasurer's Report, June 29, 1863.

<sup>24</sup> Governor's Message, Extra Session of 1863.

<sup>25</sup> Report of Committee on Currency; Laws, 1863, called session, ch. 13.

<sup>26</sup> Laws, 1864, Adjourned Session of 1863, ch. 15.

was caused to a large degree by the repudiation and depreciation of the Confederate notes, with which they were exchangeable.

The final means of meeting the increase in the expenditures was taxation. The first tax policy was to adopt the principle of ad valorem taxation, which had been rejected in the campaign of 1860. The first step to this end was made by an act of September, 1861, but its thorough application was in the law of 1863. According to the statute of that year an ad valorem tax of two-fifths of one per cent was levied on all real estate, slaves, money and solvent credits, investments, manufacturing establishments, household and kitchen furniture, plate and carriages; two per cent on dividends from manufactures, steamboats and railways; ten per cent on the receipts of non-resident insurance companies and brokers, also all manufacturers were required to pay into the treasury net profits above seventy-five per cent over the cost of production.<sup>27</sup> The interesting feature of this legislation was the taxation of slaves at their value. The first official valuation of slave property was therefore made, amounting to \$162,866,763; the income yielded, \$642,973.83; whereas the value and income from land were \$131,513,732 and \$513,799.82. In 1864 the ad valorem rates were changed, respectively, to one-fifth of one per cent, two and one-half per cent and five per cent. Another method of increasing the revenue was to raise the rates on the poll and licenses, the poll being raised from eighty cents in 1860, to one dollar and twenty in 1863, and three dollars in 1864.<sup>28</sup> The result of the new tax laws was to increase the revenue from taxes from \$696,763 in 1860 to \$1,873,004 in 1863.

#### A. II.—EXPENDITURES.

Expenditures as well as revenue vastly increased, leaping from \$3,536,687.67 in 1860 to \$3,750,039.74 in 1861, to

<sup>27</sup> Laws, 1862-3, ch. 57.

<sup>28</sup> Laws, *passim*.

\$12,167,734.72 in 1862, to \$15,078,922.97 in 1863, and declining to \$6,368,573.57 in 1864. By far the largest item in these expenditures was that for military purposes, being \$2,198,038.02 in 1861, \$6,751,920.30 in 1862, \$8,942,724 in 1863, and \$3,865,272.92 in 1864. These expenditures were divided among three departments as follows.

First was the Quartermaster's. Its duty was to purchase, manufacture and transport supplies, and also to pay the troops. It was not organized until late in 1861, the expectation at the opening of the war being that the Confederate Government would equip the troops. As the task proved too great, it was assumed by the State, with the provision that there should be reimbursement for expenditures. Soon there was conflict between the operations of the Department and that of the Confederacy, well stated by Governor Vance in 1862: "During the administration of my predecessor an arrangement was entered into, according to a resolution of the General Assembly, with the Quarter Master's Department of the Confederate Army by which North Carolina was to receive commutation for clothing her troops and clothe and shoe them herself. And in our agreeing to sell to the Confederate States all the surplus supplies that could be procured in the State, they agreed to withdraw their agents from our markets and leave the State the whole field without competition. This would have enabled the State to clothe and shoe her troops comfortably, and it could have furnished to the Confederate States all that was to be had at reasonable rates; but it was immediately violated. The country was soon and is still swarming with agents of the Confederate States, stripping bare our markets and putting enormous prices upon our agents. This is especially the case in regard to shoes and leather. The consequence has been our troops could not get half supplies from home, and nothing at all from the Confederate Government, because of our agreement to furnish them ourselves."<sup>29</sup> The commutation plan was

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<sup>29</sup> Message, November, 1862.

abandoned in 1862; thereafter the State sent supplies directly to its troops.

Undoubtedly the most interesting enterprise of the State in securing supplies was the direct trade between Wilmington and Liverpool, carried on by vessels purchased by the State, in the face of the Federal blockade. This enterprise was conceived by Adjutant-General Martin, who made the suggestion to Governor Vance soon after Vance's inauguration in 1862. Vance took the matter under advisement. Vance, a few days later, held a lengthy conference on the matter. "The Hon. B. F. Moore took very strong grounds against the State entering into the blockade business, and finally told Vance and General Martin that if they engaged in the business they would both be liable to impeachment. General Martin took the ground that the laws of the State made it his duty to supply clothing to the troops then in the field; that a large sum of money was appropriated for the purpose without any restriction as to where purchases were to be made; that the supplies of the State were not adequate; that the Confederate States were paying the State large sums of money for clothing; that the Confederate notes could be turned into cotton and with cotton bonds buy the ship and clothing without any additional expense to the State, the cotton bonds and cotton itself to be used simply as bills of exchange, where neither the State notes nor Confederate currency would be available. As to the purchase of a ship, General Martin took the ground that he had as much right to do that as to purchase many other articles not mentioned in the law, it being well known that transport ships are a part of the equipment of all modern armies. The Governor reserved his decision, but next morning, when called for it, decided to support General Martin in his effort to sustain the army."<sup>30</sup> When the Legislature met it approved the Governor's action by appropriating \$2,000,000 for the pur-

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<sup>30</sup> Gordon, in *History of the Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina in the Great War, 1861-1865*, I, 28-29.

chase of a vessel and clothing.<sup>31</sup> Accordingly the British steamer Lord Clyde was purchased for \$175,000, and its name was changed to the Advance. In 1863 one-half interest in the vessel was sold, and one-fourth interest was purchased in four other vessels, the Don, the Hansa, and two others in course of construction, one of which, the Annie, was completed. Hon. John White was sent to England as State agent. He made a contract with Alexander Collie & Co., of Liverpool. According to this the State issued cotton and rosin bonds, which were promises to deliver cotton and naval stores within thirty days after the end of the war. These bonds were given a ready market value by redemption in cotton and naval stores, which were shipped through the blockade, and by the deposit of \$1,500,000 of State bonds. The actual amount of cotton and rosin bonds sold is unknown. In 1863 Governor Vance reported that 2,010 bales of cotton had been sent to Liverpool, and in 1864, that 228,000 barrels of rosin were pledged by warrants.<sup>32</sup> The sale of the bonds was so successful that the \$1,500,000 of State bonds had not been used in 1864.

The imports from the blockade were extensive and varied. Blankets, cloth, shoes, socks, flax, thread, sheet iron, paper, leather, wool, cards, bluestone, copperas, belting, flannels, needles, buttons, trousers, bleaching powder, awls, envelopes, and caps were brought in. The amount sold was estimated in 1864 at \$2,672,990, the amount forwarded to the Ordnance Department at \$488,870.45, and the value of goods on hand at \$3,274,691.<sup>33</sup>

But the blockade operations were destined to failure. In their very nature there was a large element of chance, well defined by Treasurer Worth: "We raise money in Europe under the disadvantages always attaching to a borrower of doubtful credit—buy with gold thus obtained and sell what

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<sup>31</sup> Resolution of November 27, 1862.

<sup>32</sup> Message, 1863 and 1864; Treasurer's Report, 1864.

<sup>33</sup> Blockade Statements, Documents of 1864.

costs a dollar in gold for four dollars in Confederate currency, the four dollars being worth about twenty cents in the currency we pay. This is speculation with a vengeance and exhibits about as much common sense as has been usual for three years past.”<sup>34</sup> Moreover, during the last year of the war adversity overtook the blockade runners. The cordon of Federal ships guarding the coast became tighter, and as early as July, 1863, the captain of the *Advance* advised White, the State Agent, to sell the vessel to the Confederate Government.<sup>35</sup> The policy of the Confederate Government was also restrictive. It required that one-third the space in all outbound vessels be reserved for its own trade. Vance appealed to President Davis in behalf of the vessels in which the State had an interest, without result. Congress was then addressed and an act repealing the law was passed, but it was vetoed by the President. A new act exempting vessels owned by states was passed; it also met a veto. However the *Advance* was excepted from the operation of the law by executive action. The other vessels had to submit. The law was fatal to them, for by contract the State had only one-fourth of the outbound cargo and when the law was applied this was reduced to one-sixth.<sup>36</sup> Finally, the *Advance* was captured by the Federal blockading squadron in the summer of 1864.

This misfortune was due to the seizure of the supply of foreign coal reserved for it on the dock at Wilmington by the Confederate authorities for use of the cruiser *Tallahassee*. The *Advance* put to sea with North Carolina coal, which raised such a dark column of smoke from the furnaces that the vessel was easily located by the Federals.

By these influences the blockade operations were so restricted that they were no longer profitable. The accounts were handled exclusively by the executive, without auditing

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<sup>34</sup> Correspondence of Jonathan Worth, I, 275-276.

<sup>35</sup> Andrea to Vance, July 30, 1863 (Vance Mss.).

<sup>36</sup> Vance to Davis, March 77, '64; March 26; Vance to Collie, Aug. 5, '64; Seddon to Vance, Jan. 14, '64 (Vance Mss.).

by the treasurer or comptroller. In 1864 Governor Vance estimated the profits at \$2,495,187.57, but Treasurer Worth doubted the accuracy of this statement.<sup>37</sup> Early in 1865 Vance ordered White to settle up the accounts with Collie & Co., but the Confederacy collapsed before this could be done. Collie & Co. were deeply interested in the fortunes of North Carolina, and at one time sent \$20,000 for use among the unfortunate non-combatants. In August, 1865, W. Collie suggested to Vance that a cotton contract be made between his company and the State similar to that in force during hostilities.<sup>38</sup>

The total expenditures of the Quartermaster's Department reported were \$16,212,853, of which \$4,000,217 were for pay and bounties of soldiers, \$2,150,998 for cotton, and the remainder for supplies of various.<sup>39</sup>

The second department of military expenditures was that of Ordnance. Its activities were not so full of interest as the Quartermaster's, but they were of equal importance. In 1861 the manufacture of arms was undertaken. The arsenal at Fayetteville, which had belonged to the United States, became an arsenal of construction, for which \$200,000 was appropriated. Contracts were also made with private companies. A Wilmington corporation manufactured swords and bayonets, another in Guilford County filled one contract for 300 rifles per month, and supplied approximately 10,000 rifles. The Governor was authorized to subscribe to the stock of companies manufacturing gunpowder. He thereupon subscribed \$10,000 to a mill at Raleigh, and when it was burned, \$20,000 towards rebuilding. The investment was successful, for \$500,000 worth of powder was sold to the Confederate Government, in addition to that supplied to the State. The total expenditures of the Ordnance Department were \$1,673,308.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Message, 1864; Worth Correspondence, *passim*.

<sup>38</sup> W. Collie to Vance, August, 1865 (Vance Mss.).

<sup>39</sup> Comptroller's Reports, *passim*; Regimental History, I, p. ----.

<sup>40</sup> Regimental History, I, 43; Laws, 1860, First Extra Session, ch. 1; Second Extra Session, ch. 2; Comptroller's Reports.

The third department of military expenditures was that of Subsistence, which furnished food supplies. Its operations were very effective. In the first months of the war a large amount of foodstuffs were purchased in Kentucky before embargoes were established by the railroads. In the latter part of 1862 the counties in the northeastern part of the State, which were soon about to be overrun by the Federals, were stripped of cattle, vegetables and forage in cooperation with the Subsistence Department of the Confederate States. Also a corps of agents were employed who were always ready to purchase supplies from the civilians. Wrote the Chief Commissary, "I made up my mind that if the people would part with their commissary stores and take paper money for payment, General Martin should have what he called for. The consequence was that my supplies grew during the whole war, and at the close of it I was feeding about half of Lee's army." However, in March, 1865, Governor Vance reported that the Subsistence Department had broken down, and urged that as many people as possible contribute to the support of one soldier for six months with a ration of eighty pounds of bacon and 180 pounds of flour. The total expenditures of the Subsistence Department were \$1,667,725.<sup>41</sup>

The military expenditures thus far outlined extended approximately to May, 1864, and amounted to \$19,553,886. By November, 1864, the total amount was estimated at \$21,923,407.73<sup>42</sup>. According to agreement the State was to be reimbursed by the Confederate Government. By November, 1864, \$8,091,892.23 had been received, leaving a balance due of \$13,831,515.50.<sup>43</sup>

The financial burdens of the war were not confined to military expenditures. Suffering among the people and demoralization of economic resources made necessary State aid

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<sup>41</sup> Regimental History, I, 37; Northup to Vance, Nov. 2, 1862; Vance to Northup, Nov. 8, 12; Vance, Proclamation, March 1, 1865.

<sup>42</sup> Treasurer's Report.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

to the unfortunate and large appropriations for general necessities of life. Most prominent of these expenditures were those for the manufacture of salt. The Convention authorized the expenditure of \$100,000 for this purpose, and the appointment of a State Salt Commissioner. Works were erected at Morehead City, and after the capture of that place by the Federals the works were transferred to Wilmington. There they were suspended when yellow fever broke out in 1862, but were later reopened. In 1864 their productivity was diminished by the policy of the Confederate authorities which impressed some of the laborers for the defense of the city. An attack by the Federals did some injury. Another source of salt was the mines of Saltville, Virginia. Governor Vance made a contract with Stuart Buchanan & Co., of that place, by which the State of North Carolina could mine salt for a consideration of \$30,000. His action was unauthorized, but was approved by the legislature when it convened. The salt manufactured or mined under State supervision was apportioned among the counties and sold for less than market prices; for example, in 1864, the State price was \$7.50 per bushel, while the market price was \$19. The total appropriation for salt was \$38,258.93.<sup>44</sup>

The total number of men in the Confederate armies from North Carolina has been estimated at 125,000, while the census of 1860 gave the State a male population between the ages of 20 and 60, of 128,889. The support of the wives and children at home became a problem and a public duty. For this purpose large appropriations were made in 1862, '63 and '64, totalling \$5,000,000, but only \$1,947,141.59 were reported spent. This sum was apportioned among the counties according to white population, and the distribution within each county was left to the county courts.<sup>45</sup> For hospital purposes \$600,000 were appropriated, but only \$25,000 was re-

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<sup>44</sup> Ordinance II, Session No. 6; IV, Session No. 18; Laws, 1862-3, ch. 22; Governor's Message, *passim*; Report of Salt Commissioner; Worth Correspondence, Vol. I, *passim*.

<sup>45</sup> Comptroller's Reports, *passim*.

ported as spent. For vaccination, \$7,628 were spent. For the relief of the people of Washington \$50,000 were appropriated and \$30,000 were spent.<sup>46</sup>

The expenditures for salt, the support of soldiers' families, medical and relief work, were \$2,048,028.52. If this sum be added to the military expenditures, a total of \$23,971,436.25 is derived, which may be considered the financial burden of the war in North Carolina.

By the end of 1864, although the expenditures for the year ending October 31, were less than for 1863 or 1862, the condition of the treasury was serious. There were outstanding obligations amounting to \$5,100,780.34, consisting of \$2,668,365 of coupons unpaid, \$94,000 of principal, temporary loans amounting to \$508,473,\$682,685.72 for the support of soldiers' families, \$908,006.62 for military purposes, \$24,300 for the Surgeon General, \$185,000 for sick and wounded soldiers, and \$20,000 for the people of Washington. To meet these obligations there were in the treasury \$1,526,412.86, leaving a deficit to be supplied of \$3,576,367.48. Treasurer Worth recommended turning the entire support of the army over to the Confederate Government and an increase of taxation rather than the further issue of treasury notes. The measure adopted by the legislature was the authorization of \$3,000,000 of treasury notes and a reduction in the ad valorem schedules. The finances of the next few months remain a closed page, for in the spring the Confederacy collapsed, and the Convention of 1865 repudiated the notes and bonds issued during the war.

#### B.—GENERAL ECONOMIC CONDITIONS.

The strain of the war upon the life of the people increased year by year. During the first year the chief economic evils were those rising from speculation and the lack of sufficient manufactures. The suspension of specie pay-

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<sup>46</sup> Treasurer's Report; Laws, 1864, ch. 23.

ments by the banks in December, 1860, and the issue of a vast amount of treasury notes naturally inflated prices. The demand of supplies for the armies and the withdrawal of men from civil to military life had a similar effect, by diminishing production. Speculation, therefore, became rife at an early date. Said an editorial in the *Raleigh Standard*, "We have repeatedly said, that the extortion and speculation now practised in the South are doing more to hasten our subjugation than anything else beside. Every thoughtful person in the country not involved in the high crime of beggaring the people and the government must see it. Look at the deadening, chilling effect of this speculation mania upon the large masses of the people whose sons and brothers are in the army. Everyone is melancholy and dejected, not at the ill success of our arms, but at the certain disaster which is being brought upon the country by the speculators. The worst enemies of the Confederacy are those who speculate upon salt, flour, bacon, corn, leather, cotton and wollen goods. Many have become suddenly rich, both Jews and Gentiles, and they have no concern except to keep the war raging that they may make money."<sup>47</sup>

A number of measures were taken to minimise the evil of speculation. The convention made engrossing, forestalling, or conspiracy to control prices a misdemeanor.<sup>48</sup> The Governor issued a proclamation prohibiting the exportation for thirty days of salt, bacon, pork, beef, corn, meal, flour, potatoes, shoes, leather, hides, cotton, cloth, yarn and wollen cloth, except for military or public purposes. It was renewed from time to time.<sup>49</sup> To the same end were an ordinance of the convention and laws of legislature prohibiting the distillation of spirituous liquors from grain, sugar cane, molasses, rice, dried fruit or potatoes.<sup>50</sup> The Governor was

<sup>47</sup> *Standard*, November 5, 1862.

<sup>48</sup> Ordinance, II Session, 19.

<sup>49</sup> Such a proclamation was issued by Governor Clarke; also by Vance, which was renewed from time to time, the last renewal that I have noted being in July, 1863.

<sup>50</sup> Ordinance, III Session, 24; Laws, 1862, ch. 10.

authorized to appoint agents to purchase provisions and store them for sale to the people. Governor Vance reported in 1863 that 50,000 bushels of corn, 250,000 pounds of bacon, and a quantity of rice were thus secured in the fall of 1862.<sup>51</sup> The Confederate Government also attempted to check speculation by exempting from military service the employees of these factories whose owners would agree to sell their products at not more than seventy-five per cent above the cost of production. In North Carolina only a few corporations responded. Vance wrote as follows to one manufacturer:

“If the standard of patriotism was no higher in the great mass of the people, we might treat with the enemy tomorrow and consent to be slaves at once and forever. Poor men, with large and often helpless families, go forth to suffer at \$11 per month, supporting their wives and children God knows how, with flour at \$20, shoes and cotton goods at fabulous prices, and yet men who stay at home in protected ease reap a harvest of wealth, which might be truly called a harvest of blood from the necessities of the country, and can not afford to take seventy-five per cent above the cost for the garments for which their protectors stand guard and do battle for their liberties.”

The Confederate Government proposed that the government take over the mills, but Vance would not consent.<sup>52</sup>

Futile but interesting was the action of a convention of appraisers representing all States of the Confederacy which met in Augusta, Georgia, in 1863. It recommended that the legislature of each State levy a tax on all articles sold over the price fixed by the appraisers of the State, equal to the difference between the price fixed and the actual price.<sup>53</sup>

How deep was the feeling among the people on the matter of speculation is shown by many letters written to Governor Vance. One from a soldier's wife reads as follows:

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<sup>51</sup> Laws, 1862-63, ch. 15; Vance, Message, Nov., 1863.

<sup>52</sup> Vance to Fries, Oct. 10, 1862.

<sup>53</sup> Document 13, 1864-5.

“I have four little children and myself. The government allows me \$19 per month. I have to pay from \$28 to \$30 per barrel for corn, \$1 per pound for bacon and I cannot live at such rates. I have had to pay fifty cents per pound for salt all this year and the very highest prices for everything until I have paid out. My husband has been in the army 16 months. He has toiled and undergone hardships not only for me and my children but for those poor timid chicken-hearted speculators who are afraid to go themselves; then when I get out of something to eat and want to buy they would take the last cent for breadstuff enough to last me one week.”<sup>54</sup>

The following prices, based on the Raleigh market, illustrate the high cost of foodstuffs during the war:

	1862.	1863.	1864.	1865.
Bacon, lb. -----	\$ .33	\$1.00	\$5.50	\$7.50
Beef, lb. -----	.12	.50	2.50	3.00
Pork, lb. -----	--	1.60	4.00	5.50
Sugar, lb. -----	.75	1.00	12.00	30.00
Corn, bu. -----	1.10	5.50	20.00	30.00
Meal, bu. -----	1.25	5.50	20.00	30.00
Potatoes, bu. -----	1.00	4.00	7.00	30.00
Sweet Potatoes, bu. -----	1.50	5.00	6.00	35.00
Wheat, bu. -----	3.00	8.00	25.00	50.00
Flour, bbl. -----	18.00	35.00	125.00	500.00

The second economic problem was to procure manufactured goods. According to the census of 1860 there were in North Carolina 3,689 manufacturing establishments. They were mostly small ones, for the employees numbered 14,217. Thirty-nine of the factories were cotton mills, seven were woollen mills, while turpentine, flour, meal, and lumber formed by far the largest number of industries. Evidently much of the manufactured products used in the State came from the North and the West, and interference with trade by the war was seriously felt. The deficiency was supplied, to some extent, in three ways. One was that of State activity through the blockade and the

<sup>54</sup> Sally A. Long to Vance, August 20, 1863.

manufacture of salt, already received; second, was the establishment of new factories. In February, 1861, nearly three months before the ordinance of secession, twenty-two manufacturing and mining companies were incorporated—evidence that the prospect of war stimulated industry; and after the opening of hostilities until the end of the war thirty-five other mining and manufacturing companies were chartered.<sup>55</sup> Especially notable was the development of the coal and iron industry in the Deep River section, whose resources had been made known prior to the war. To afford transportation facilities for that section the Chatham Railroad was incorporated with State aid to the extent of \$249,000.<sup>56</sup> The inventive genius of the people was also awakened by the necessities of the war. Soap was made from turpentine, rabbit fur and cotton were used in place of wool in the manufacture of blankets. Drugs and chemicals were also manufactured vitriol in Chatham County, blue mass at Chapel Hill; potash at Fayetteville. Finally home manufactures, which had been carried on extensively prior to the war, were relied on to supply the deficiency of factory-made products. The memory of the heroic efforts in the mansion and the cottage are a part of the Southern traditions of the war, and need no elaboration. In 1863 Governor Vance reported that “the resources of our State and the Confederacy have developed to such a degree that we have every assurance of being able to clothe our troops with our own goods.”<sup>57</sup> Eighteen months later, however, the supply of manufactured goods was exhausted. Says the author of the *Last Ninety Days of the War*, “Children went barefoot through the winter, and ladies made their own shoes over and wore their own homespuns; carpets were cut into blankets and window curtains and sheets were torn up for hospital use.”

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<sup>55</sup> Private Laws, *passim*; Ordinances of the Convention, *passim*.

<sup>56</sup> Vance to White, July 10, 1863.

<sup>57</sup> Vance to Seddon.

The difficulties above outlined were the inevitable result of the resources too slender to support a prolonged war. They were intensified by the policies of the Confederate Government. Food supplies were diminished by the impressment law, which allowed military authorities to seize staple products and pay for them at prices fixed by the government. There were frequent complaints that the prices were too low, that the officials engaged in speculation, and mistreated the civilians. "If God Almighty," wrote Governor Vance, "had yet in store another plague for the Egyptians, worse than all others, I am sure it must have been a regiment or so of half-starved, armed, half-disciplined Confederate cavalry."<sup>58</sup> The Confederate tax in kind also bore heavily on the people, while the amount of Confederate tax in currency yielded in North Carolina is estimated at \$10,000,000. In the fall of 1863, a large number of worn-out cavalry horses were sent to the western counties to recuperate, and owing to the lack of fences they injured the crops. Slaves were also impressed by the Confederate Government for work on the railroads from Charlotte to Danville and from Petersburg to Weldon. The Confederate authorities also impressed railroad iron of the Wilmington, Charlotte and Rutherford road for use in ship building and equipping other lines.<sup>59</sup> The conscript law was also demoralizing those counties where there were few slaves; enforced military service left the farms in the hands of women, boys and old men.<sup>60</sup> Much suffering ensued. Desertion showed a marked increase during 1863 and 1864. In some of the central and western counties the deserters lived in camps and became outlaws, rendering travel dangerous and property insecure.<sup>61</sup>

It is difficult to form an estimate of the effect of the war on commerce and business within the State. Specie payments were suspended by the banks late in 1860, but the

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<sup>58</sup> Vance to Seddon, Dec. 1, 1863.

<sup>59</sup> Vance to Seddon, Feb. 21, 1864.

<sup>60</sup> Letter of Pearson, Fayetteville *Observer*, Jan. 12, 1863.

<sup>61</sup> Worth Correspondence I, *passim*.

issue of bank notes was not excessive, the amount of notes in circulation in 1864 being approximately \$1,000,000 more than in 1860. However, counties, towns, and corporations issued scrip, the amount of which cannot be estimated. In 1861 a stay law was enacted preventing execution for debts excepting official debts, and those of non-residents.<sup>62</sup> It was declared unconstitutional because it prevented any interference by the courts. The statute of limitations was also suspended.<sup>63</sup> Under these conditions the amount of business enterprise seems to have steadily increased, for the number of manufacturing establishments chartered in 1864 was larger than in the preceding years.

### CONCLUSION.

How thorough was the support of the war by the non-combatants? How wise were the measures by which money and supplies were raised? What were the real burdens of those who did not enter the battlefield? The evidence concerning these questions is somewhat conflicting, but the following conclusions are in the main correct.

In financial policies there were radicalism and conservatism. The authorization of a large amount of treasury notes was radical to the extreme; that less were issued than authorized is evidence of conservatism on the part of the Treasury and the Governor. Likewise the large part played by the Executive in financial measures is impossible in days of peace. How efficient were the executive measures cannot be determined, for the accounts were not audited nor were all of them published. In fact it is not possible to make a detailed statement of all expenditures during the first two years of the war, while the expenditures during the last few months were never made public. Lack of wisdom and inefficiency are certainly clear in the management of the Literary Fund and the Sinking Fund.

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<sup>62</sup> Laws, 1860, 1 Extra Sess., ch. 16.

<sup>63</sup> Laws, 1862-63, ch. 50.

An interesting feature of war finance was the conflict between the State and Confederate authorities in the matter of repudiation and procuring supplies. This parallels the conflict in military and constitutional questions.

Economic conditions among the people illustrate heroic sacrifice and unheroic profits. The collapse of the Confederacy did much to bring to a common level the pauper and the speculator.

Finally the military conquest came soon after the crisis in finances and economic exhaustion. The final crisis in finances came in the latter part of 1864, exhaustion of resources is evident in March, 1865, and the surrender of Johnston occurred in the following April.

## Was Esther Wake a Myth?

BY R. D. W. CONNOR.

In his "Defense of North Carolina" Jo Seawell Jones attributes the passage of the bill to erect the Governor's Palace at New Bern in 1766 to the influence with the members of the Colonial Assembly of the beautiful and charming Esther Wake, sister-in-law of Governor Tryon; and also states that Wake County was named in her honor. But later historians have repudiated Jones' statement and insist that Esther Wake is a creature of his fertile imagination. No reference, they say, is found to any such person among the contemporary letters and papers of the period in which she is alleged to have lived either in North Carolina or New York, and inquiries among the members of the Tryon and Wake families in England reveal the fact that neither family has any record of her existence. Mr. Haywood, in his "Governor Tryon of North Carolina," who thoroughly investigated the subject, says:

"But after all said and done, no one has been able to find any trace in the old records of this 'rare and radiant maiden' whom the Tar Heels call Esther. None of the letters of the colonial period mention her. No known documents of any sort in either North Carolina or New York have a word to say of her. When the Governor's House in Fort George, New York, was burned, her name is not given among those of its inmates, though the members of Tryon's household are enumerated. Nor is she mentioned in the will of Mrs. Tryon, who left no children on whom to settle her fortune, and therefore divided it among her friends.

"So all this about settles the fact that Esther Wake—that vision of loveliness which for so many years has been the idol of North Carolina romancers—was none other than a creature of fancy, brought forth from the realms of Fairyland by the pen of a sentimental writer. Many historians, otherwise

accurate, have been firm believers in her existence, and no one can regret more than the author of this biography that our beautiful and fascinating heroine has failed to materialize. Queen of Love and Beauty, farewell!—and peace to your ashes, if you left any.”

But may there not have been letters in existence when Jones wrote his book that have since been lost? This question becomes interesting and pertinent, in view of the finding among the papers of the North Carolina Historical Commission, in Jones' own handwriting, of an account, hitherto unpublished, of Esther Wake in which he quotes references to her found in letters of the period said to be in his possession. The account was found enclosed in a letter from Jones to William A. Graham, dated “New Berne, February 28, 1836,” and is as follows:

“Miss Esther Wake, by Jo. Seawell Jones.

“The city of Raleigh is the capital of the county of Wake, as well [as] of the State of North Carolina. In the year 1788 the people of the State in convention assembled, ordained that the beautiful eminence, now crowned with the ruins of Canova's Washington and the new Capitol, should be in all future time the headquarters of the State government. It is a spot consecrated to the genius of Raleigh and was appropriately chosen in a county founded in honor of a beautiful woman.

“Miss Esther Wake was the sister of Lady Tryon, and came with Governor Tryon to North Carolina in the year 1764. She was, I have been told, at the early age of fifteen on her arrival, and during the six years of her residence in the State, she was truly and emphatically adored by all who had the distinction of her acquaintance. Even the people in their assembled majesty, bowed to the supremacy of her charms and the Assembly of 1770 erected the county of Wake to commemorate her name. Such was the influence of beauty, virtue and wit, among a chivalrous and hospitable people.

“The secret history of our country is as little known as are the secret motives of the human heart. The legislator often acts from a more ignoble impulse than the pleasure of a lovely woman, and then continues to hide even this fair reason under specious considerations of State policy. In the years 1767, 8 and 9 the Assembly voted sixty thousand dollars, to build a Palace for the Governor and the historian of the State will pause an age for any higher inducement for this profligacy of expenditure, than the gratification of this celebrated lady. She was ambitious enough to desire magnificent parlours and bourdoirs, wherein to receive the homage of her numerous admirers, for the Governor previous to the building of the Palace, was compelled to provide his own establishment, which was usually rented from some of the gentlemen of the borough. The heavy taxes levied to complete the edifice contributed to inflame the rebellion of the Regulators, and was more than any other cause the immediate inducement of the famous battle of Allernance on the 16th of May, 1771. But what were the horrors of war to the youthful members of the Assembly, when compared with those of a lady’s displeasure? The Palace was built, the Regulators were conquered and Miss Esther Wake was gratified.

“‘The proverbial influence of the fair sex in matters of State was well sustained by Lady Tryon and her lovely sister and the enthusiastic spirit of a warm-hearted people estimated even the character of their Governor by the grace, beauty and accomplishment that adorned the domestic circles of his Palace.’ The story of Miss Esther will serve for a beautiful episode in the history of North Carolina. Amidst the petty caucuses of a Province under the government of a subordinate military officer, it is gratifying to discover the secret source of power, even in the volition of a virtuous woman. It is better than an irresponsible cabal of intriguing politicians and when properly watched, will but subserve the interest and honor of a people.

“I have a number of private letters illustrative of the power of Miss Esther, which are almost too romantic for sober reality of historical detail. According to their authority she ruled without an effort or design, though it [is] easy to imagine that the cunning of the Governor could continue to use it for the advancement of his own interest. The younger members unquestionably yielded more easily to her known or expressed wishes from an ambitious hope of gaining her in marriage, but says Colonel John Harvey in a letter of date the 20th of January, 1771, ‘what can be said in defense of those Gentlemen of age and experience who to gratify a Governor’s wife and to be sure [of] her pretty sister should vote fifteen or twenty thousand pounds to build a palace, when the people were not able to pay even their most ordinary taxes, and what is still worse, then go to war with their countrymen, to enforce the unjust law.’ Isaac Edwards, the private Secretary of Tryon, in a letter to Judge Williams of date the 6th of November, 1770, says, ‘the Palace is finished, and we are in it. The Governor is much pleased with it and the ladies are now ready to give entertainments in a stile suitable to their rank and deserts. Miss Wake is in fine humour and is every day planning her party. She has a complete set of new and splendid robes just from home, and when she gets them on, and gets the young assembly-men in the big parlor, she can get a grant of money to build another house for herself.’

“Among those who paid court to the beauty of Miss Esther was Sir William Draper, the conqueror of Manilla and the antagonist of the celebrated Junius. He was the guest of Governor Tryon in the Palace, a circumstance to which the Governor often alluded with evident satisfaction and pride. The Palace itself was dedicated to Sir William, whose name was inscribed on the vestibule, at the head of a few Latin verses of his own composition. It should have been dedicated to Miss Esther Wake, for I learn such was the original

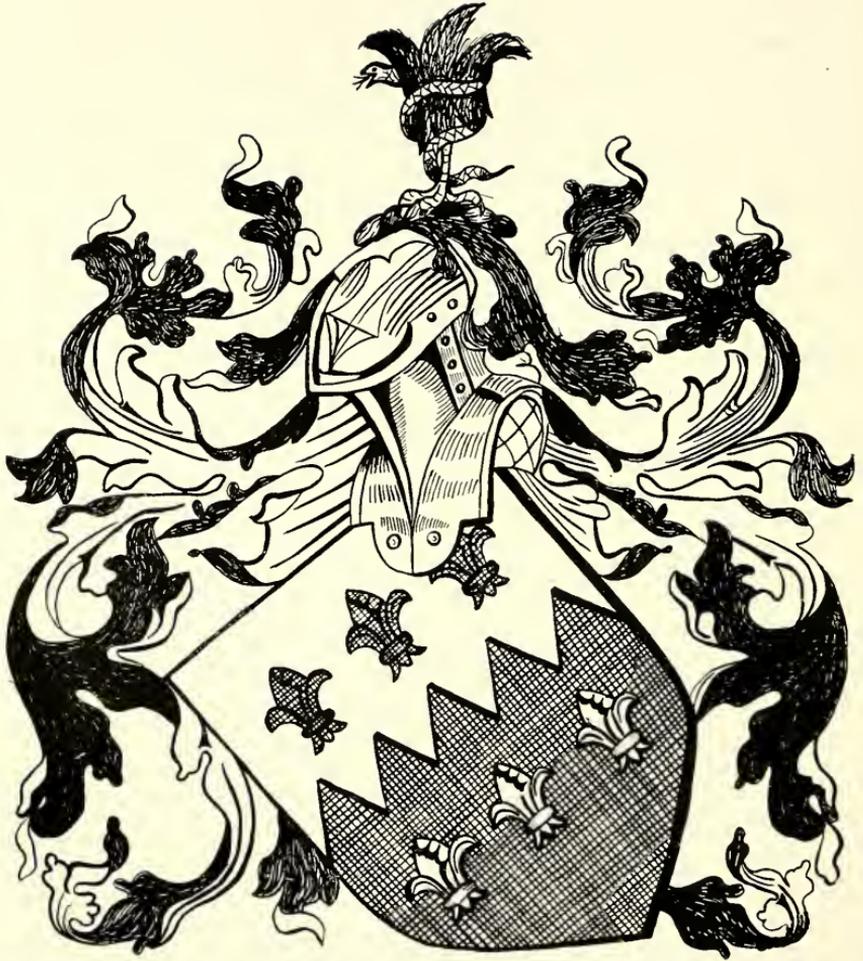
and higher destiny. Here is a letter of Sir William Draper to Sir Nathaniel Duckinfield, of North Carolina:

“Dear Sir Nathaniel—I send one of the Governor’s servants all the way to your house to bear this apology for not coming myself, agreeable to your very polite invitation and my own promise. I might appeal to my ingenuity and frame you a hundred excuses, which you could but accept, but the generosity of the lover, if not of the soldier, must forbid all such subterfuges. So then My Dear Sir Nathaniel take the truth as a great secret, I am in love, and Miss Esther Wake has graciously—”

Here the MS. abruptly ends; the rest is lost.

Unless our modern historians are prepared to charge Jones with inventing the letters of Harvey, Edwards and Draper, from which he quotes with so much circumstantiality, as he is said to have done the character of Esther Wake, they will have to revise their histories and do the lady the justice of restoring her to her place of pre-eminence among the heroines of North Carolina history.





HINTON COAT OF ARMS

## Colonel John Hinton\*

BY MARY HILLIARD HINTON.

The subject of this sketch was an American: so is the writer, dwelling in the "land of the free"—a land so free that we are not even burdened with the custom of cherishing the records of our ancestors, as are our cousins over the sea. When called upon to write of some person who flourished in the Colonial period or at the time of the Revolution, an American does not appear to advantage unless her subject is an eminent one. Yet many excuses may she rightly claim, for, though people have now awakened to an appreciation of our noble Revolutionary history, and we are striving to collect and preserve the same, in many cases we are helpless. The following is some account of an early pioneer who lived not many miles from the present capital of North Carolina.

Colonel John Hinton, of the parish of St. Margaret, County of Wake, province of North Carolina, was a Revolutionary soldier and statesman, whose military career began in the internal troubles of North Carolina, 1768-1771. Many years of his life were devoted to the service of his country and State. Frequently his name appears in the public archives and high praise is there accorded him. He was the son of John Hinton, of Chowan precinct, who died about the year 1732.† The part of Chowan in which he lived is now Gates County. Tradition claims that John Hinton, the younger, was born in London, though it is now believed that he was a native of Chowan precinct, born at the Hinton homestead.

Much light has been thrown on the Hinton genealogy in the

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\*A paper read before the North Carolina Society Daughters of the Revolution, being one of the "Ancestral Papers" prepared by the members of that organization and preserved by the Society. It was published in *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, Vol. I, No. 2, and is reproduced in THE BOOKLET with the permission of the editor. Since it has been impossible to supply orders for copies of the magazine containing this article, because all the early numbers were destroyed by fire, it has been considered advisable to reprint the paper in THE BOOKLET, adding certain data that has been obtained since the publication.

†The will of John Hinton, of Chowan precinct, dated 21 June, 1730, probated 25 April, 1732, is filed in the office of the Secretary of State in the Capitol, at Raleigh, North Carolina.

last decade and a half. Mr. Wharton Dickinson, of New York, one of the finest authorities on English genealogy in this country, has authentically traced the line back to the Norman Conquest. "Earlscott" and "Chilton Foliot" were seats of this family in the County Wilts, England. One of the first of this name to appear in American records was that of Sir Thomas Hinton, knight; it is claimed that he visited the colony of Virginia, which is quite probable, as he was a member of the London Company. He was the first Gentleman of the Bedchamber to James I. of England and Privy Councillor to Charles I. The father of Sir Thomas was Anthony Hinton, Gentleman, born 1532, died 7 May, 1598, who married Martha, daughter of Sir Giles and Lady Estcourt.\* His monument, erected by his grandson, Sir Anthony Hinton, son of Sir Thomas Hinton, is in the south aisle of St. John's Church, Wanborough, County Wilts, and bears this inscription:

"Anthony Hinton Esqr.  
OB May 7, 1598, aged 66,  
grandfather to Mr Hinton  
Privy Councillor to Charles I."

Sir Thomas Hinton was born 1574, died 1 February, 1635. By his first wife, Catherine Palmer, he had five sons and two daughters, four of whom married and left issue, viz.: Sir Anthony married Mary Gresham; Sir William married Mary Popham; Sir John (born July 10, 1603, died October 10, 1682) married Catrina Vander Ruckle; Mary married Captain Samuel Mathews† afterwards governor of Virginia,

\*The Coat of Arms borne by the Estcourts was: "Erm. on a chief indented gu. three estoiles, or. Crest-Out of a mural coronet az. a demi eagle, wings expanded or".

†Fiske, in "Old Virginia and Her Neighbors," gives this picture of the home of the "worthy Capt. Mathews": "He hath a fine house, and all things answerable to it; he sows yearly store of hemp & flax, & causes it to be spun; he keeps weavers, & hath a tan house, causes leather to be dressed, hath 8 shoemakers employed in their trade, hath 40 negro servants, brings them up to trades in his house, he yearly sows abundance of wheat, barley, &c., the wheat he sellth at 4 shillings the bushel, kills store of beeves, & sells them to victual the ships when they come thither; hath abundance of kine, a brave dairy, swine great store, & poultry; he married the daughter of Sir Thomas Hinton, &, in a word, keeps a good house, lives bravely, & a true lover of Virginia, he is worthy of much honour."

and is the ancestress of the Witherspoons of Kentucky. Sir John Hinton came to Virginia with his brother-in-law, Captain Mathews, in 1622, remaining two years; his brothers, Thomas and Sir William Hinton, came to the colony in 1634, but returned to England in 1637.

In 1666 there came to Maryland the first, fifth and sixth sons of Sir John Hinton (son of Sir Thomas Hinton, of "Earlscott," and "Chilton Foliot")—Thomas, Clement and Richard Hinton. From Thomas descend the Hintons of New York and Philadelphia; Clement died unmarried and Richard, it is claimed, was the progenitor of the Hintons of Virginia and North Carolina.

In Burke's *General Armory of Great Britain* are described the Coats of Arms of no less than twelve families of Hinton. The name was sometimes written Hynton. The Arms of the Hintons of "Earlscott" and "Chilton Foliot" are, "Per fesse indented argent and sable, six fleur-de-lis counterchanged. Crest—An eagle's leg erased, entwined by a serpent." These armorial bearings correspond with those used by the Chowan branch of the family, the founder of which was John Hinton, father of Colonel John Hinton of Wake County.

This John Hinton, the elder, of Chowan precinct, was "a man of prominence, wealth and widely spread connection" and was traditionally called "Colonel." Just how he won this military title is not known. On April 4, 1722, he was granted 350 acres of land on Bennet's Creek in Chowan. He married Mary \_\_\_\_\_, who survived him, and, two years after his death, married Thomas Holliday, also of Chowan precinct, but a member of the family of that name in Nansemond and Isle of Wight Counties, Virginia. To John and Mary Hinton were born four sons and seven daughters, as follows: John, Hardy, William, Malachi, Rachel, Mary, Sarah, Nancy, Charity, Rose and Judith. Of this large family few records have been preserved and efforts to trace the genealogy seems at this late date quite a hopeless task. Of the eleven only five have been traced beyond youth,

viz: John, the subject of this sketch; Malachi, who served in the Revolution with the rank of lieutenant; he married an English lady whose name is unknown; among his numerous descendants are the Slocumbs and Pous of Johnston County; Nancy, or Ann as she is called by genealogists of today, married Solomon Alston and is the ancestress of the Hon. James Alston Cabell, of Richmond, Virginia, a member of the North Carolina Society of the Cincinnati, and of Mrs. William Ruffin Cox, for twelve years President of the National Society of Colonial Dames of America; Mary married Wiley Jones and Sarah married Benjamin Blanchard, all of whom, with the exception of Ann, have descendants living in Wake County. There is a tradition that all the seven daughters of John Hinton, the elder, of Chowan, married Alstons, but this needs to be verified.

During the first half of the eighteenth century, John Hinton, the younger, removed to what was then Johnston County. Later, when Wake was erected, his lands fell within the boundaries of the new county. In 1768, when Governor Tryon held a consultation at Hillsborough to consider what steps should be taken to circumvent the movements of the Regulators, John Hinton, then a major of provincial troops in the County of Johnston, was one of the gentlemen who attended the conference. When Wake County was erected by act of Assembly in 1770 (act not to take effect till 1771), Major Hinton became colonel of the colonial forces of the new county. When Tryon raised the forces of the province in 1771 to march against the Regulators, there was much disaffection in Colonel Hinton's county, yet the Colonel himself was a firm friend of the government and finally succeeded in raising his quota. Tryon's military journal shows that Colonel Hinton and his men participated in all of the duties incident to the campaign, the Colonel on one or more occasions acting as president of courts martial for the trial of delinquent soldiers in the army of which his detachment formed a part. He personally participated in the battle of Alamance, May

16, 1771, and his bravery on the occasion was afterwards referred to by Governor Caswell in a message to the legislature during the Revolution.

Colonel Hinton selected as a site for his new home in the wilderness a piece of land six miles east of the present town of Raleigh. Here, near the banks of the Neuse, he built a log cabin. The entrance was in the upper portion of the dwelling, and was reached by means of a ladder, as was the case in many of the habitations of the early settlers. He had Indians for neighbors and wild beasts for nocturnal visitors. Of robust constitution and possessing great bravery, he was capable of wielding the axe and paving the way for the more timid and indolent. Stories of his encounters with ferocious animals are still related. Upon one occasion he sauntered forth with his gun and two dogs for a hunt. Weary and footsore he sat down by a tree to rest and soon fell asleep. In the meanwhile his dogs had a desperate struggle for their lives, and for the protection of their master, with a panther. He was awakened by the fray and escaped uninjured. On one occasion he discovered a panther's lair among some large rocks. Two cunning little cubs were snoozing peacefully away, ignorant of the close proximity of an intruder. Struck with their beauty, he resolved to carry them home for domestication. Taking both in his arms he proceeded but a short distance, when their mother, finding her babies gone, started after him with great fury. Seeing her in pursuit, Hinton put down one of the cubs, which she carried back to its den and then returned to renew the chase. Just as the hunter regained the top of his ladder the mother of his captive again came in sight, but too late. She was shot, and the cub he succeeded in taming.

Colonel Hinton took up many thousands of acres of land by grant from Earl Granville. Grants were given for various tracts at different times. They followed the course of Neuse River, beginning some distance above Milburnie and extending far into Johnston County, a distance of many

miles. In some places the property ran four miles both to the east and west of the river. One tract which is known as "The River Plantation," taken in grant by him, is yet owned by a descendant of the name. There is no deed in existence for this parcel of land, the direct line of descent being sufficient. The Hintons, Hunters and Lanes originally owned most of the County of Wake. The two families last named were allied with the Hintons by marriage.

As civilization advanced, Colonel Hinton erected a residence, considered handsome in those primitive days—a type of colonial architecture—near his old log cabin. It was a frame building, and the bricks used in the foundation and chimneys were of a curious design—perfectly square. This house long since

"Has gone to decay,  
And a quiet now reigns all around."

Only a heap of brick remains to mark the spot where it stood. Many old homes built by Colonel Hinton's sons and their children in Wake County are still in a fairly good state of preservation. Conspicuous among these are "The Oaks" and "Clay-Hill-on-the-Neuse." The latter, the home of Major John Hinton, Jr. (son of Colonel Hinton), was broken into both by the Tories during the Revolution and the Federal troops during the War between the States. A secret drawer in a desk was found and robbed of treasure in each case.

Colonel Hinton was among the first to offer his services to his country when the British yoke could no longer be borne. He was a delegate from Wake County when the Provincial Congress of North Carolina met at Hillsborough in August, 1775. There preparations began for the conflict which was brewing. On the 9th of September, the assembly appointed officers for the minute men in the various counties. For Wake County the following officers were selected: John Hinton, colonel; Theophilus Hunter, lieutenant-colonel; John Hinton, major; Thomas Hines, second major. Colonel Hinton also represented Wake County in the Provincial Congress

at Halifax in April, 1776, and was elected a member of the Committee of Safety for the Hillsborough district, of which Wake County was a part.

On the 27th of February, 1776, was fought the Battle of Moore's Creek Ridge, after a brilliant campaign of about one month's duration. This fight saved the Southern colonies. Some two or three thousand loyalists, under the leadership of General McDonald, were that day completely defeated, and many taken prisoners on their way to join the British fleet at the mouth of the Cape Fear River. Colonel Hinton took an active part in this engagement, and his body-servant, old Uncle Brisco, accompanied him through the campaign. This ancient family favorite lived as late as the middle of the nineteenth century. Nothing pleased the old darkey so much as for others to listen to his stories of the time when "me and marster wuz in de war." His description of this particular battle was both graphic and amusing. After Colonel Hinton's death, this old servant came into the possession of his youngest son, David Hinton. He had the honor of driving the first carriage brought into Wake County, as well as of hitching a horse to the last "gig" driven within its boundaries. The first time he drove this carriage to the front door, his "mistis," a stately dame, was greatly shocked to find the interior of the vehicle filled with fodder! "Where do you expect me to sit, Brisco?" she exclaimed. "Up here wid me, mistis," was the confident reply.

Colonel Hinton lived but a short while to enjoy the liberty he had fought for and aided in winning for the States. He passed away in the spring of 1784. His remains were interred near his home in the family burying-ground.\* He married Grizelle Kimbrough, who was born about 1720,

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\*The grave of Colonel Hinton is unmarked, neither can it be located exactly; for this reason a descendant, wishing to mark his last resting place, was prevented from perfecting the intention. However, instead, as a memorial to him, a gold medal is offered annually in the Academy at Edenton, in his native county of Chowan, to the pupil writing the best essay on some given historical (local) subject. This will be presented each commencement during the life of the donor.

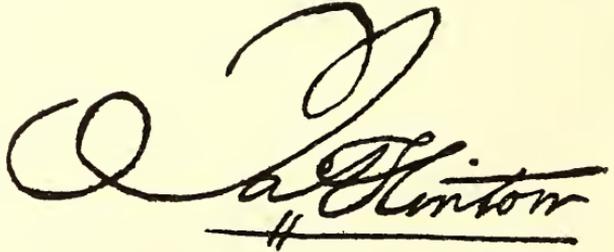
daughter of Buckley and sister of Nathaniel Kimbrough. Eight children survived him, viz.:

1. John Hinton, Jr., a major in the Revolution and a representative from Wake County in the legislature both during



and after the war. He married Ferebee Smith, daughter of the founder of Smithfield in Johnston County, and lived at "Clay-Hill-on-the-Neuse." Some of his descendants, bearing the name, removed to Georgia. Both Major Hinton and his wife are buried at "Clay Hill."

2. James Hinton, also a Revolutionary officer in active service, who married Delilah Hunter, daughter of Colonel



Theophilus Hunter, of "Hunter's Lodge," in Wake County.

3. Sarah Hinton, who married Needham Bryan, Jr., of Johnston County.

4. Mary Hinton, who married Colonel Joel Lane, of "Bloomsbury," in Wake County, on whose old plantation stands the present city of Raleigh.

5. Alice Hinton, who married Captain John James, an officer in the North Carolina Continental Line. One of the children of this marriage was Hinton James, the first graduate of the University of North Carolina. The Bakers of Jacksonville, Florida, trace descent from them.

6. Elizabeth Hinton, who married Thomas James.

7. Kimbrough Hinton, who was married, but the name of

whose wife is not known. His home was called "The Red House." Most of his descendants removed west. The only ones of whom anything is now known are the Yates family of Illinois.

8. David Hinton, of "The Oaks," who married Jane Lewis, daughter of Howell and Isabella (Willis) Lewis, of Granville County. The only son of this marriage was Major Charles Lewis Hinton, for eleven years State Treasurer of North Carolina.

All of the above children are mentioned in Colonel Hinton's will, though his two youngest sons were minors at the time he made it. From this large family have sprung many descendants, but few of whom bear the name of their brave ancestor. His will, recorded in the courthouse at Raleigh, is here given in full:

In the name of God Amen, I John Hinton, Senr. of Wake County and State of North Carolina, being of a sound mind and disposing memory, tho in low state of Health, and knowing that it is appointed for all men once to die, do make constitute & ordain this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following:

IMPRIMIS, It is my earnest will & desire that my Wife Grizeal Hinton shall after my death have the sole use and occupation of all my Estate Real and personal that I shall be possessed of at that time, during her natural life and no longer; and after her decease to be disposed of in the following manner, and that no Legacies be paid in money unless by the consent of my Wife, till her Death—

ITEM, I give and bequeath to my son John Hinton all the lands lying above Farmer's Creek that I am possessed of, to him, and his Heirs and assigns forever—And that my said Son John Hinton may enter upon, and take possession of said Land whenever he pleases—

ITEM, I give and bequeath to my Son James Hinton Ten pounds current money of the State of North Carolina—

ITEM, I give and bequeath to my Daughter Sarah Bryant Wife of Needham Bryant a Negro fellow called Abraham or to her heirs and assigns forever—To receive him at my Death.

ITEM, I give and bequeath to my Daughter Mary Lane Wife of Joel Lane ten pounds current money of the State of North Carolina.

ITEM, I give and Bequeath to my Daughter Alice James wife of John James ten pounds current money of the State of North Carolina—

ITEM, I give and bequeath to my Daughter Elizabeth James wife of Thomas James ten pounds current money of the State of North Carolina.

ITEM, The land that I have in Johnston County I leave to be sold by my Executors, to discharge the aforesaid Legacies of ten pounds, that is to say not to be sold without my Wife's consent—

ITEM, I give and Bequeath all the remainder of my Estate Real & personal to my two Sons Kimbro and David Hinton; the Land equally to be divided between them by a dividing line; no regard being had to the quality of the Land, but to the number of acres, An East and West Course to be the dividing line—The lower part to my son Kimbro with the Manor Plantation—The upper part to my son David Hinton—To them and to their heirs & Assigns forever—Also my Personal Estate to be equally divided between the said David and Kimbro after their mother's death as before mentioned—But in case one or both of my two last mentioned sons should die without issue (viz Kimbro and David), that the Lands that I have devised to them to be equally divided among all my surviving sons in fee simple—And the personal Estate of the aforesaid Kimbro & David Hinton should one or both die without issue to be divided in equal proportion among all my Daughters then living—of him that died—

ITEM, I constitute and appoint my Son John Hinton and James Hinton sole executors to this my last Will and Testa-

ment Revoking by this will all my former Wills and Testaments whatever—

LASTLY, it is my Will and desire that should my wife die before my two sons Kimbro and David Hinton arrive at the years of discretion to manage for themselves, that the lands not to be rented and negroes hired out, but to remain upon the plantation and work the Land for the Benefit of my said two Sons viz Kimbro and David Hinton—In witness whereof I have hereunto subscribed my name and affixed my seal this 9th of January A. D. 1784.

*John Hinton*

(Seal.)

In presence of:

JOHN BOUTIN.

THOMAS GAY (JURAT)

her

MARY X POWELL (JURAT)

mark

Note, before signing we observed the interlineations of—  
all of him that died—David & Kimbro—

JNO. BOUTIN,

THOMAS GAY,

her

MARY X POWELL,

mark.

Though a striking figure in Wake County's early history, and the commander of her military forces in the first part of the War for Independence, little is known of Colonel Hinton at the present time among the generality of people, even in the section which he aided in building up. To preserve in

some measure, the record of his services is the object of this sketch; for, as has been said by a worthy North Carolinian: "If history immortalizes those who, with the cannon and the bayonet, through blood and carnage, establish a dynasty or found a State, surely something more than mere oblivion is due those who, forsaking all that is attractive to the civilized mind, lead a colony and plant it successfully, in harmony and peace, amid the dangers of the wilderness and under the war-whoop of the savage."

## Biographical and Genealogical Memoranda

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Compiled and Edited by MRS. E. E. MOFFITT.

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### WILLIAM J. LEARY, SR.

William James Leary, Sr., the author of the article in this number of *THE BOOKLET* on "The Fisheries of North Carolina," was born on the 2nd day of January, 1854, at the Mount Auburn plantation in Chowan County, about five miles from Edenton, North Carolina. The son of William J. Leary, M. D., and his wife, Elizabeth K., daughter of General Peter Ihrle and wife, Camilla Ross, of Easton, Pennsylvania, and grandson of Thomas Haughton Leary and wife, Parthenia Standing, of Chowan County, N. C. His ancestors were early settlers, and came to Eastern Carolina about 1700. In 1718 Thomas Swann executed a bond for one thousand pounds to William Leary, recorded in Book B., page 577, in the office of the Register Deeds. His father, Dr. William J. Leary, was a man of influence and highly respected for his ability in his profession, integrity, real worth and kindness to people. He died February 12, 1890, leaving children as follows: John L., Walter Ihrle, William James, Mrs. W. H. Skinner, Mrs. James D. Bateman, Ross Ihrle, and Thomas Haughton Leary, and since his death John L., Walter I., and Thomas H. Leary have died.

William James, the subject of this article, received his early education at the primary schools of Edenton, N. C., and from a private school teacher, employed by his father, when he resided on his plantation. Afterwards at his request his father permitted him to attend Calvert College, Maryland, and there he carried off first honors in his Latin classes, and was prepared for Lehigh University, Pennsylvania; and here he ran for the presidency of his class, only losing it by one

vote. After leaving the University he farmed and fished a large seine on the Albemarle Sound for several years, and later took up the study of the law, receiving his license from the Supreme Court January Term, 1878; and later settled in Edenton, N. C., where he began the practice of his profession. In 1894 was elected Solicitor of the First Judicial District, and successfully discharged the duties of that office. He was also Mayor Pro Tem, and a member of the Board of Councilmen for some years. He was chairman of the finance and street committee for a good portion of eight years. He established the method of sending in a written report covering work, with all vouchers attached thereto. These reports were filed as matters of record. There was a committee appointed to investigate the work of the old board, when it went out. The chairman of that committee requested him to write the report of the investigation, and how matters stood, which he did in a fair and honorable manner. In 1880 Mr. Leary married Miss Emma Woodard, the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. James A. Woodard, of Edenton. They have at this date (April, 1915) six children, one daughter and five sons, two of whom are married and each has a little girl. Their home is on the shore of the beautiful bay of Edenton, with its sparkling waters stretched out before them—a sheet of water surpassingly beautiful. Mr. Leary is also a member of the Improved Order of Red Men, and other fraternal organizations, and in 1911 was Great Sachem of the Reservation of North Carolina, and a Great Representative to the Great Council of the Improved Order of Red Men of the United States. He writes occasionally for his town papers, and contributes to other publications.

#### DR. WILLIAM K. BOYD.

For a biographical sketch of Dr. Wm. K. Boyd, see BOOKLET, January, 1908, p. 237. Since that was written he has contributed the following articles to periodicals and books:

"Intellectual Aspects of the Thirteenth Century" (*South Atlantic Quarterly*, July, 1908).

"Battle of King's Mountain" (*Booklet*, April, 1909).

"North Carolina, 1775-1861" (*South in the Building of the Nation*, Vol. I., 1909).

"Interstate Controversies in the South" (*Ibid.*, Vol. 4).

"Two Studies in Southern Biography" (*South Atlantic Quarterly*, July, 1909).

"Antecedents of the North Carolina Convention of 1835" (*Ibid.*, January and April, 1910).

"Three Studies in Southern Problems" (*Ibid.*, October, 1910).

"North Carolina on the Eve of Secession" (*Report of the American Historical Association*, 1910).

"Gideon Welles on War, Politics and Reconstruction" (*South Atlantic Quarterly*, April, 1912).

"Neglected Aspects of North Carolina History" (*Minutes of the North Carolina State Lit. and Hist. Soc.*, 1912.)

"Military Criticisms, by Gen. W. R. Boggs" (*South Atlantic Quarterly*, April, 1912).

"Finances of the North Carolina Literary Fund" (*South Atlantic Quarterly*, July and October, 1914).

"Early Currency and Banking in North Carolina" (*Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society*, 1914).

"Some Phases of Educational Progress in the South Since 1865" (*Essays in Southern History and Biography Inscribed to William A. Dunning*, 1914).

Dr. Boyd has also edited *The Historical Papers* of the Trinity College Historical Society and the *John Lawson Monographs* of the same organization, which include "Autobiography of Brantley York" (1910); "Memoirs of W. W. Holden" (1911), and "Military Reminiscences of Wm. R. Boggs" (1913). In 1910 and 1912 he was Lecturer in History in the Summer School of New York University. For the years 1913 and 1915 he was appointed a member of the General Committee of the American Historical Association,

and in 1912, 1913 and 1914 he was a member of the Executive Committee of the State Literary and Historical Society of North Carolina.

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R. D. W. CONNOR.

Biographical sketches of Mr. R. D. W. Connor appeared in THE BOOKLET in January, 1907, and April, 1912.