Vol. VII. JANUARY, 1908 No. 3

The North Carolina Booklet

GREAT EVENTS
IN
NORTH CAROLINA
HISTORY

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY
BY
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

CONTENTS

SINGLE NUMBERS 35 CENTS $1.00 THE YEAR

ENTERED IN THE POST-OFFICE AT RALEIGH, N. C., AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER.

The North Carolina Booklet.

Great Events in North Carolina History.

The BOOKLET will be issued QUARTERLY by the NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY OF THE DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION, beginning July, 1907. Each BOOKLET will contain three articles and will be published in July, October, January and April. Price, $1.00 per year, 35 cents for single copy.

EDITORS:

MISS MARY HILLIARD HINTON. MRS. E. E. MOFFITT.

VOLUME VII.

1. North Carolina in the French and Indian War, *Colonel Alfred Moore Waddell*
2. Colonial Newspapers, ... *Dr. Charles Lee Smith*
3. Finances of the North Carolina Colonists, *Dr. Charles Lee Raper*
4. Fayetteville Independent Light Infantry, *Judge James C. MacRae*
5. Schools and Education in Colonial Times, . *Mr. Charles L. Coon*
6. Joseph Gales, ... *Mr. Willis G. Briggs*
7. General Robert Howe, ... *Hon. John D. Bellamy*
8. The Resolution of April 12, 1776, . *Prof. R. D. W. Connor*
9. Our First State Constitution . . . . *Dr. E. W. Sikes*
10. Permanent Settlement of the Lower Cape Fear, (1725-1735) *Mr. W. B. McKoy*
11. Colonial Edenton, . . *Rev. Robert Brent Drane, D.D.*
12. The Quakers of Perquimans, . . *Miss Rebecca Albertson*

The BOOKLET will contain short biographical sketches of the writers who have contributed to this publication, by Mrs. E. E. Moffitt.

The BOOKLET will print abstracts of wills prior to 1760, as sources of biography, history and genealogy, by Mrs. Helen DeB. Wills.

Parties who wish to renew their subscription to the BOOKLET for Vol. VII, are requested to give notice at once.

Address

MISS MARY HILLIARD HINTON,
"MIDWAY PLANTATION,"
Raleigh, N. C.

Vol. VII. JANUARY, 1908. No. 3

The NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

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

Published by
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

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

ADVISORY BOARD OF THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET.

Mrs. Spier Whitaker.
Professor D. H. Hill.
Mr. W. J. Peele.
Professor E. P. Moses.
Dr. Kemp P. Battle.
Mr. Marshall DeLancey Haywood.
Mrs. T. K. Bruner.
Mr. R. D. W. Connor.
Dr. E. W. Sikes.
Dr. Richard Dillard.
Mr. James Sprunt.
Judge Walter Clark.

EDITORS:

Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton, Mrs. E E. Moffitt.

OFFICERS OF THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION, 1906–1908.

REGENT:
Mrs. E. E. MOFFITT.

VICE-REGENT:
Mrs. WALTER CLARK.

HONORARY REGENT:
Mrs. SPIER WHITAKER.

RECORDING SECRETARY:
Miss LOUISE PITTINGER.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY:
Mrs. W. H. PACE.

TREASURER:
Mrs. FRANK SHERWOOD.

REGISTRAR:
Miss MARY HILLIARD HINTON.

GENEALOGIST:
Mrs. HELEN De BERNIERE WILLS.

Founder of the North Carolina Society and Regent 1896-1902:
Mrs. SPIER WHITAKER.

REGENT 1902:
Mrs. D. H. HILL, Sr.*

REGENT 1902-1906:
Mrs. THOMAS K. BRUNER.

---

*Died December 12, 1904.

THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET.

Vol. VII JANUARY, 1908 No. 3

GENERAL ROBERT HOWE*

BY HON. JOHN D. BELLAMY.

Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House of Representatives:—During the present session of this Congress I introduced a bill (H. R. 17356) for the erection of an equestrian statue at Wilmington, N. C., to the memory of Maj. Gen. Robert Howe, of the American Revolution. I can not expect, in the closing hours of this session, when the congested state of the Calendar will preclude the consideration of many important measures, which are entitled to precedence, to secure the adoption of this resolution, but I do hope to bring to the attention of the country many of the incidents of the life and character of this remarkable man, in the hope that the next Congress will be possessed of sufficient patriotism to pass it.

In this centennial era, when we are commemorating the important events which have made this Government a great and powerful nation and enabled it to attain a century's growth, we should not alone seek to celebrate its material advancement, but should at least endeavor to perpetuate in some enduring form the memories of the great men whose wisdom and valor contributed so powerfully toward making the American Revolution successful, and thereby establishing the first great representative government that has ever been vouchsafed to mankind.

*This Address was delivered by Mr. Bellamy before the 57th Congress.

Carlyle has truly said that hero worship exists forever and everywhere; not loyalty alone; it extends from divine admiration to the lowest practical regions of life, and yet hero worship has never been a salient feature in the character of the average American citizen. A government whose basic principles are liberty and equality, and whose powers are not derived by divine inheritance and centered in a single individual, but emanate from the free consent of the people governed, has in it dogmas which tend to lessen reverence, yet it can never suppress the natural and spontaneous feeling of veneration for that which is truly great, for the true hero, be he philosopher, poet, priest, man of letters, warrior, or ruler.

There has always existed among all people and in all ages a special admiration for the warrior whose deeds of daring have worked good for his people, and the American people form no exception to this universal rule. The fame of Washington, the general, embalmed forever in the hearts of his countrymen, has been further perpetuated in statues of bronze and marble, that future generations may emulate his virtues and be inspired by his patriotic example. But few indeed of the great generals who aided Washington by their counsel, who shared his confidence, and who won glory and renown on many of the fields of battle which secured our independence, have been honored by their countrymen. Major-Generals Howe, Baron Steuben, Lincoln, Schuyler, and others performed their part in the great struggle equally with Washington, and achieved renown and fame excelled only by their leader. Some of them were leaders in the movement originating and precipitating the Revolution, and all prominent in consummating it with their sword and their talent. The Government, then an experiment, has become a Government respected and honored as the equal of the oldest and most permanent and stable governments of the world.

It is but just and proper then that these great generals should at least be remembered by a posterity which has reaped untold blessings from their patriotic efforts. It is with the view of rescuing from the oblivion into which it has fallen the life and services of one who possessed more eminently, if possible, the confidence of General Washington than any of his compeers that your speaker has offered this resolution to have Congress erect a monument to his memory in the city of Wilmington, near which he was born and lies buried.

Among the brilliant men of the Revolutionary period who have not been awarded the praise to which their patriotic services entitle them stands Maj. Gen. Robert Howe, of Brunswick, N. C. Of his early history little is preserved save that which is handed down by tradition in the vicinity of his birth. He was born in the precinct of Clarendon in the year 1732 in the present limits of Brunswick County, N. C. He was the son of Job Howe, a well-educated, influential, and wealthy rice planter, who resided at his palatial home on the Cape Fear River and spent his summers on the coast near the city of Wilmington. Like the Southern gentleman of that day, and for generations afterwards, this home was the seat of hospitality and refinement, and in this atmosphere of culture Robert Howe was partially reared. His grandfather had come over to America with the Yeamans colony in 1665, which was planted first on Old Town Creek, but afterwards moved to Charleston, S. C. His father, Job Howe, came to the Cape Fear region from Charleston with Col. Maurice Moore, his kinsman, who assumed charge of the lands of Sir John Yeamans abandoned in 1690.

Robert Howe was connected by blood and marriage with the best families in North and South Carolina. He was the lineal descendant of Sir John Yeamans, and was the grandson of Mary Moore, the daughter of James Moore, the gov-

ernor of the two Carolinas in 1670. At an early age, as was the custom in those days among gentlemen of wealth, Robert was sent by his father to England, and there had the advantage of the social life of the best London circles, and received the benefits of a solid and refined English education. He spent a good number of years in Europe, and did not return until a short time previous to his father's death, which occurred at his summer home on the coast in the year 1748. It appears from the will of his father, recorded in New Hanover County, that Robert had two brothers and two sisters, and although they lived in that vicinity, on fine plantations devised to each, yet in the early part of this century the name of Howe became entirely extinct, and is no longer found except occasionally among a few old family servants, negroes, who to-day alone retain the name.

In 1763 we find Robert Howe settled on his rice plantation at the mouth of Old Town Creek, the site of the first English settlement under Sir John Yeamans. He lived, like his father, in affluence, with his broad acres around him, his slaves, his library well stored with the best books of the day, which was always an indispensable requisite to the well-furnished home of the southern country gentleman. At that day the English Government had a well-fortified fort at the mouth of the Cape Fear River, known then and ever afterwards as Fort Johnston. Robert had an ambition to lead a military life. The royal Governor Tryon had partaken of his hospitality and had formed an attachment for him. A vacancy occurring in the position of commandant of the fort, he was appointed to it by the governor. In a letter dated July 29, 1766, at Old Brunswick, addressed to the Right Hon. Lord Burrington, secretary of war, Governor Tryon says:

"Capt. John Dalrymple, commandant of Fort Johnston, in this province, died the 13th instant in said fort. As the

above command was from His Majesty, I have issued a new one to Robert Howe, a gentleman of this province, to succeed him." * * *

This is the first act of a public nature recorded of Robert Howe, and it was doubtless this appointment and the exercise of its duties that gave him a taste for the military life he was afterwards to lead. He held the position for a few years and was succeeded by John Abraham Collett. It was about this time that Robert met, wooed, and won the heart and hand of Sarah Grange, the daughter of Thomas Grange, a respectable planter on the Upper Cape Fear River, and they were afterwards married; and although they lived happily together for a number of years, they became, for some reason, eventually estranged and were afterwards peaceably separated, as appears from a deed providing for her support, recorded in the year 1772. They were never reunited.

In January, 1772, Robert Howe entered political life. He offered himself as a candidate from Brunswick County for the general assembly of the province, which was to meet that year in November, and was duly elected by the people. Josiah Martin was then governor of the province, having about two years previously succeeded Governor Tryon. Governor Martin was not so suave as Tryon, and was not generally popular. He was a man of a firm and obstinate disposition, and by his indomitable will doubtless widened the breach and precipitated the conflict which was soon to follow between the people and the Crown. The royal governors in colonial times were invested with the most absolute and arbitrary powers. They had entire control over nearly all appointments to office and almost as much power in the regulation of the elections themselves, and had also the right to convene, prorogue, and dissolve the assemblies at pleasure. Soon after the assembly met and organized Robert Howe introduced a resolution to regu-

late the elections and to have triennial meetings of the legislature. This bill was aimed at the curtailment of the governor's prerogatives, and was defeated through the instrumentality of the governor and his council, and a short time afterwards the governor dissolved the assembly. But by the resolution itself was exhibited a bold and fearless spirit in its author, which characterized him through life and was a faculty so necessary to fit him for the important part he was soon to play in the history of that momentous period.

A like spirit of opposition to the encroachments of the Crown and its officers had begun to prevail in the other colonies. Josiah Quincy, of Massachusetts, was prominent as a leader in the movement. He set out for a voyage through the Southern colonies for the purpose of having a conference with the Whig leaders. While on this expedition, on the 29th of March, 1773, Quincy paid a visit to Cornelius Harnett at Hilton, in the old mansion formerly standing there. Of this visit tradition informs us with some details. It is said that Mr. Quincy had no previous acquaintance with Harnett. On arriving at Harnett's residence he asked to be accommodated with a night's lodging, which was cordially granted him by his hospitable host. After supper, thinking Harnett might be a Tory, and it would be unsafe to advert to any political topic, Quincy specially avoided it, but in the course of the conversation, Harnett ascertaining in some way the cause of Quincy's appearance in the South, immediately began to express his views very positively and boldly concerning the tyrranical and oppressive course of the King toward his colonies. It is said that Quincy was so greatly surprised at finding Harnett so much in accord with his own views that he could not withstand embracing him upon discovering such a kindred spirit.

The whole night was spent in conversation, and the next

morning, upon Harnett saying to Quincy—which Quincy already knew—that in the immdeiate vicinity was a bold, intelligent, and determined man in full sympathy with their own views, Robert Howe, he was sent for and repaired thither without delay; and then and there, at Hilton, on the Cape Fear River, these three men, closeted together in the deepest of deliberation, concocted and agreed upon the scheme for the American Revolution. While on this journey Mr. Quincy kept a diary of the events of the day, and it is quite interesting to note the estimate of Howe by this sagacious and discerning patriot and of the incidents of this visit. In Quincy's Memoirs he records:

"*March* 26, 1773.—Spent most of the day in public and private conversation with Col. Robert Howe, a leader and active member of the general assembly. Fine natural parts, great feeling, pure and elegant diction, with much persuasive eloquence, a Crown officer with a lucrative post, a staunch Whig and colonist. I received much information in provincial politics and great pleasure from his relation. Zealous in the cause of America, he relished the proposed Continental correspondence, promised to promote it, and write to me by the first opportunity.

"*March* 28.—Yesterday was a most delightful day. Fort Johnston is as delightful a situation. The commander, Col. Robert Howe, is a happy compound of the man of sense and sentiment with the man of the world, the sword, and the senate.

"*March* 30.—Spent the night at Mr. Harnett's. Robert Howe, Harnett, and myself made the social triumvirate of the evening. The plan of Continental correspondence highly relished, much wished for, and resolved upon as proper to be pursued."

Well might Hilton be termed the birthplace and cradle of

American liberty, as it was so termed by Vice-President Henry Wilson, in a speech from the portico of this building, delivered in 1872. On departing from the Cape Fear region, Quincy bade his friend Howe adieu, each hoping to meet again and pledging each other to urge on the cause of independence, Captain Howe giving to Mr. Quincy a letter of introduction to Governor Tryon, who had then become governor of New York.

The legistlature of 1772 was dissolved by Governor Martin in the early spring, as he desired to have members elected who would support his administration. But, notwithstanding the opposition fomented by the governor against him, Robert Howe was again returned to the assembly, which met the same year at New Bern on December 4th. At this session the speaker of the House of Commons laid before that body letters from several provinces requesting the appointment of a committee to inquire into the encroachments of England upon the liberties of the American people. The house passed a resolution—

"That such example was worthy of imitation by which means communication and concert would be established among the colonies, and that they will at all times be ready to exert their efforts to preserve and defend their rights."

The committee was appointed, and after the Speaker's name, as chairman, stands next in order the names of Robert Howe and Cornelius Harnett. It was chiefly through the influence and exertion of these two men that this committee was chosen, and thus was recorded the first act of a legislative character that led to the revolution.

During this session the House had passed an act prohibiting the sheriffs from collecting that portion of the poll tax devoted to the payment of the public debt. The governor commanded the sheriffs to enforce the collection, and a direct

clash arose between the legislative and executive branches of the Government. The judicial branch was silent, as the courts were closed. The governor forbade the further meeting of the assembly. Whereupon among the Whig leaders it was decided to call a general congress to meet at New Bern August 20, 1774.

The governor called upon the council to concert measures to prevent the election of members as delegates to this meeting of the congress, but the people were thoroughly excited, and in spite of the governor's strenuous efforts to the contrary the congress assembled at New Bern on the 25th of August, pursuant to the call. Among the delegates sent was Robert Howe, of Brunswick County, and his learning and eloquence were felt in this body. Among the many important resolutions passed were those claiming the right of a citizen to trial by a jury of his vicinage, and denounced the sending of Americans to England for trial in criminal cases, and that no subject should be taxed without representation. They approved of the conduct of the people of Massachusetts, and resolved not to import tea or any British manufacture, or export their own products to Great Britain unless their grievances were redressed. On the 11th of February, 1775, Colonel Harvey called another congress to meet at New Bern on the 3d of April. As a delegate to this congress and also to the general assembly, which was to meet at the same time, Robert Howe was again elected from Brunswick County.

Governor Martin issued his proclamation against the assembling of this congress, and finding his voice unheeded, on the morning of the meeting of the assembly he issued another proclamation commanding them to desist from the proposed convention. But men determined on the attainment of the liberty for which they were striving would brook no opposition, and the convention was held in the very face of the gov-

ernor. Governor Martin still persevered in his course. On the meeting of the assembly he went before that body and addressed them at length. He told them that he looked with horror on the proceedings of some of the colonies; that the meetings and committees had injured the rights of the Crown and insulted its officers; that they were in duty bound to prevent the meeting of the congress; that it should be the care of the assembly to lead back the people to their allegiance; that Parliament was at that very time deliberating for the good of America, and they should await the result.

The assembly did not like the tone of the governor's address and immediately proceeded to the appointment of a committee to reply to it. Robert Howe, for his peculiar fitness, was selected as its chairman. On the 7th of April Robert Howe wrote and reported an address which, as a justification for the action of his people, as well as a refutation of the charges of the governor, stamps him as a clear, forcible and logical writer, than whom the colonies had no superior. Captain Howe said:

That they contemplated with horror the condition of America, involved in difficulties and distressed by invasions of ancient rights and immunities. In this way the colonies had been driven to measures which, however extraordinary, were still warranted by necessity. The appointment of committees in counties and towns had been adopted to resist unconstitutional encroachments, and the assembly was convinced that no step had been taken in that direction which was not salutary and proper. It was not to be controverted that all British subjects had the right of assembling and petitioning for a redress of grievances, and any attempt to deny or abridge this privilege was in direct conflict with the constitution. It was the least of their desires to prevent the objects and session of the provincial congress, then in session, or to join his excellency in his injurious epithets in its disparagement.

They further stated:

That they would gladly aid in the establishment of a proper court system, but declined any provisions for Fort Johnston.

This reply was so very distasteful to the governor that the next day he dissolved the assembly, and this was the last held under royal auspices in North Carolina.

Captain Howe returned to his home, and as the clouds of war were gathering thick and lowering over his country he immediately began to prepare for action. Having no trained soldiers he employed himself drilling the people and training them to arms. While thus engaged the governor issued a violent proclamation at Fort Johnston on the 16th June, 1775, against the people of the colony. A meeting of the district committee of safety was held at the court-house in Wilmington on the 20th June, with delegates present from Brunswick, Bladen, Onslow, Duplin, and New Hanover counties. Robert Howe appeared as a member from Brunswick.

Immediately a committee was appointed, with Robert Howe as chairman, to answer the proclamation which was ordered to be published. Captain Howe prepared the address, which, like his former addresses, was a masterly production. He said among other things:

"In order to prevent the pernicious influence of the said proclamation, we do unanimously resolve, that in our opinion his excellency Josiah Martin, Esq., hath by the said proclamation, and by the whole tenor of his conduct since these unhappy disputes between Great Britain and the colonies, discovered himself to be an enemy to the happiness of this colony in particular, and to the freedom, rights, and privileges of America in general. And in reply to Lord North's resolution, introduced into Parliament, concerning America, which his excellency alluded to, '*Resolved,* That this was a low, base, flagitious, and wicked attempt to entrap America into slavery.

and which they ought to reject with contempt which it deserves.' "

News of the battle of Lexington and Bunker Hill had now reached the Cape Fear, and the people began to prepare with increased exertions for the emergency. It became apparent that as Fort Johnston was the key to the entire Cape Fear country it must be held by the colonies, and on the 18th of May, after due preparation, Col. John Ashe, in command of a body of troops, among whom was Captain Howe, attacked, set fire to, and partially burned Fort Johnston, right under the English fleet then in the harbor.

About this time, also, another meeting of congress was called for August 21, 1775, at Hillsboro. Thither Robert Howe again went as the chosen delegate from Brunswick County. The meeting of this congress was alike denounced by Governor Martin from his place of refuge on a British man-of-war. But the congress, to his denunciation, voted to bear their part of the expense of a Continental army, and organized one of their own by providing for the immediate formation of two regiments of 500 men each, and appointed James Moore as colonel of the first and Robert Howe as colonel of the second regiment. By this same congress, on September 8, Colonel Howe was also appointed one of a committee, with William Hooper as chairman, to prepare an address to the people of the British Empire, declaring the views of the body as to the existing state of affairs. This was the last act of a civil nature in which Colonel Howe was engaged until the close of that great struggle which was to terminate in the establishment of the greatest constitutional republic the world has ever seen.

Colonel Howe, as we have seen, was prominent in every step which led to the Revolution. He was ever ready, with his broad and liberal views, to advance the cause of his country. He had with his pen, by his persuasive eloquence on the hust-

ings, and his debates in the legislative halls, as well as his votes, shown himself a true statesman, born as it were for the occasion. But it is not for us to regard him alone as a statesman, for he was great as a soldier. No sooner had the Hillsboro congress adjourned than Colonel Howe began to form his regiment, and continued training his soldiers. In this he was engaged when he was informed of the efforts of Lord Dunmore to raise an army at Norfolk, and of his emissaries to incite an insurrection among the slaves in the Albemarle region of North Carolina. He immediately, in December, 1775, proceeded with his regiment to Norfolk to engage the British and to rescue his people from the threatened insurrection. He arrived at Norfolk on the 11th of December, two days after the skirmish between Lord Dunmore and the Virginia troops at Great Bridge, but found that Lord Dunmore had only withdrawn to Norfolk and was then in possession of the town. Colonel Howe, being the officer of highest rank, assumed command of the American troops, and, an engagement ensuing, drove Lord Dunmore and his entire force from the country, and on the 14th of December took possession of the city.

Lord Dunmore on retreating betook himself to the British fleet, and on January 1, 1776, attempted to recapture the city. He opened a severe bombardment on the town from the fleet, and with such terrible results that nine-tenths of all the houses were reduced to ashes, and the fire raged for several weeks. But Colonel Howe successfully repelled the assault, and Lord Dunmore retired from the country.

At this point Colonel Howe remained until after the 1st of March, when, for his gallantry and good conduct, he was promoted by the Continental Congress to the rank of brigadier-general in the Continental Army and ordered to the Southern Department, under Major-General Charles Lee.

On May 4, 1776, the State Congress, through its president, addressed General Howe, and returned to him a vote of thanks "for his manly, generous, and war-like conduct in these unhappy times, and more especially for the reputation our troops acquired under his command." General Howe thus endeared himself to his own countrymen, but had become exceedingly obnoxious to the British.

So great was this aversion that on the 5th day of May, 1776, Sir Henry Clinton, then in command, issued a proclamation against committees and congresses, and invited the people to return to the royal standard, and offered and promised pardon to all the people of North Carolina who would submit, "except Robert Howe and Cornelius Harnett." On the 12th of the same month Cornwallis, sent by Sir Henry Clinton, with 900 men ravaged and burned General Howe's plantation at Old Town Creek and took away a few bullocks and a number of slaves. Major-General Charles Lee was now on his way to take charge of the military affairs in the South. While in North Carolina he was joined by General Howe and the two North Carolina regiments under Col. James Moore and Alex. Martin, the latter appointed to succeed General Howe, promoted.

These two regiments arrived at Charleston on June 11, 1776, and these, under the command of General Howe, participated in the brilliant victories of Forts Sullivan and Moultrie, which occurred on the 28th of June. At this battle the Americans had only one-tenth as many guns as were brought to bear on them, and yet they won the day. Of the soldiers General Lee said: "No men ever behaved better or ever could behave better." Here the North Carolina troops fought with conspicuous bravery and added new laurels to their own fame and that of their commander.

General Lee, in a report of the battle made to Edmond Pendleton, of the Virginia convention, said:

"I know not which troops I have the greatest reason to be pleased with, Muhlenberg's Virginians, or the North Carolina troops. They are both equally alert, zealous, and spirited."

During the month of July, General Lee, with General Howe and Colonel Moultrie, left Charleston for an expedition against Florida, but when they arrived at Savannah General Lee was recalled by General Washington, and in October following Howe was placed in command of the southern department, with headquarters at Charleston. In retaliation for incursions from Florida, General Howe, at the head of 2,000 Americans, militia from North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, attempted the capture of St. Augustine. He met with little opposition before he reached the St. Mary's River, where the British had erected a fort called Tonyn, in compliment to the governor of the province. On the approach of Howe they destroyed the fort and, after some slight skirmishing, retreated toward St. Augustine. But the Americans were driven back from Florida by a plague of fever which swept away nearly one-fourth of their number and rendered their retreat absolutely necessary.

It was while at Charleston that occurred the dispute between Colonel Gadsden and General Howe, which led to the duel between them on the 20th of August, 1778. As the duel was an episode in his life of so remarkable a character and our historians have been so inaccurate in their references to it, I deem it of so much interest as to here give a detailed statement of it, taken from an account of the duel in *The South Carolinian and American Gazette,* dated September 3, 1778, three or four days after its occurrence:

The dispute arose out of a conflict of authority between the States and the Continental Congress—a question of conflict of authority which agitated and seriously affected the Con-

federacy in the late civil war, and which was never clearly and permanently settled in the United States between the States and the General Government until the adoption of the Constitution:

"On the 29th October, 1776, General Howe published in his orders the promotion of Colonels Gadsden and Moultrie, and assigned them to their respective commands.

"On the 23d of August, 1777, General Gadsden resigned his command into the hands of General Howe. General Howe sent the resignation to Congress with a letter explaining it, and Congress, accepting it without comment, wounded Colonel Gadsden's feelings. To this letter Colonel Gadsden replied in an open letter to Congress. This letter was the cause of the duel. General Howe says that about four months before the date of his letter, that is, about the 1st of May, after he had been about six months in undisputed command of the post, General Gadsden desired to know by what right he commanded, and claimed that he himself was the natural commander in South Carolina. General Howe explained to him his right, and showed the error into which General Gadsden had fallen respecting claims of right. General Howe replied that as he had no doubt respecting his own right he would express none, but if the other desired it he would communicate those doubts to Congress as his, and this was assented to.

"At a subsequent interview a few days afterwards General Howe was led to believe that General Gadsden was now satisfied as to his right, and the letter was not written. One day in August they met at the house of President Lowndes, and General Gadsden inquired whether the letter had been written as agreed, and on General Howe replying in the negative, and giving his reasons for not having done so, General Gadsden said the matter should be brought before the South Caro-

lina assembly. Shortly afterwards a motion was made by William Henry Drayton inquiring into the nature of General Howe's command in that State. This motion was promptly rejected, and General Gadsden immediately resigned his commission into General Howe's hands. General Gadsden gave an explanation of the matter and says:

" 'On the 11th of August I received by the General's aid-de camp a long expostulatory letter, with a demand for satisfaction at the close unless I made him reparation for the expressions I had made use of relative to him in my letter of the 4th of July. I wrote for an answer next morning that I was ready to give him any satisfaction he thought proper, when and where he pleased; that I thought him the aggressor in having wrote such an unnecessary detail of that matter in it, omitting my principal objection, and especially for not letting me, whom it so nearly concerned, have a copy of it; and that he had nobody to blame but himself; that I never saw his detail, which had such immediate effect, for ten months after the date of it.

" 'Three letters from him and two from me passed before the matter came to a point. In his he gave me assurance that he did not mean in anything he said to reflect upon or injure me, and as to the breach of promise I accused him of he declared he really understood me as he had set forth; so that if there was a fault, his understanding and not his integrity was to blame; and had he imagined I wished to see his letter he should most cheerfully have sent it to me; that he had not the least wish to conceal it from me. My friends, Colonels Elliott and Horry, who were the only ones who had the least hint of the affair from me, seemed to think this a great occasion, and required some notice or apology on my side, and our friend, Colonel Pinckney, who was the General's second, appeared to be of the same opinion. But I, looking upon it

only as personal and private to me, and whereas the expressions of me he particularly referred to related to the manner of a public act, I determined to make no concessions, but to meet him in any manner he pleased.'

"Accordingly on the 30th of August the hostile meeting took place, and the following account given of it: 'After the generals met and ourteously saluted eah other, General Howe desired his second to acquaint his friends, in case he should fall, that it was his earnest request that they should not prosecute General Gadsden beyond the formality of a trial, and General Gadsden desired both the seconds to acquaint his friend in case he should fall, that he entirely forgave General Howe and earnestly begged them not to prosecute him, and he particularly enjoined Colonel Pinckney to charge his son not to intermeddle in the affair at all. General Howe's second then stepped off the distance then fixed upon by him and Colonel Elliott—18 short paces—and the generals being placed, Colonel Elliott said:

" 'Gentlemen, we have marked out your distance, leaving you to act as you please, not doubting but that, as this is an affair of honor, you will act consequently with the strictest rules of honor.' General Howe then said to General Gadsden, 'Fire, sir.' General Gadsden said, 'Do you fire first?' General Howe replied, 'We will both fire together.' General Gadsden made no answer, but both presented. There was a pause for a few seconds, and General Howe said with a smile, 'Why will not you fire, General Gadsden?' General Gadsden replied, 'You brought me out, General Howe, to this ball play and ought to begin the entertainment.' General Howe fired and missed. General Gadsden after a short interval fired his pistol over his left arm, about at right angles from General Howe, and then called out to General Howe to fire again. General Howe smiled, and at the same time dropping his

hands with his pistol in it said, 'No, General Gadsden, I can not after this.'

"General Gadsden's second said he was glad to see so much honor in the generals; that he did not think General Gadsden could have made a handsomer apology or General Howe have shown a higher sense of honor than in acting as he had done. Then General Gadsden went up to him and said, 'Now, General Howe, I will mention to you what I could not before, as my letter was a public one, and the words contained in it seemed to me proper, and as yours was a private one, the parts in it which, in the opinion of my friends, left an opening for an apology I could not take notice of; but I told my friends in the carriage before I came on the ground that I intended to receive your fire, and though I may, perhaps, talk this matter over again, I assure you I shall never in future make use of any harsh expressions concerning you.' General Howe said that it was very agreeable to him that the matter terminated in this way, and that he was happy that he had missed him. General Gadsden's second said he hoped that the difference that had caused this duel might now subside and be left on that spot. The generals, then, in token of this reconciliation shook hands and parted."

We rarely see such chivalry displayed in the duel; and although it is intended for the healing of wounded honor among gentlemen, yet as a practice to be condemned, if it must be resorted to, no finer example could be given of what ought to be observed as the rules of the code. General Gadsden was wrong in this matter, but, as it is said, "he was gloriously wrong," and General Howe was completely vindicated.

The unfortunate, but gifted Major André, of the British army, who was afterwards executed as a spy, wrote a humorous account of this duel in eighteen stanzas, set to the tune of Yankee Doodle, which was published as one of the humors of that day. It is thus given:

"ON THE AFFAIR BETWEEN THE REBEL GENERALS HOWE AND GADSDEN.

"Charleston, S. C., September 1, 1778.

"We are favored with the following authentic account of the affair of honor which happened on the 13th of August, 1778. Eleven o'clock was the hour appointed for Generals H. and G. to meet. Accordingly, about ten minutes before eleven—but hold! It is too good a story to be told in simple prose.

It was on Mr. Percy's land,
At Squire Rugeley's corner,
Great H. and G. met, sword in hand,
Upon a point of honor.

Chorus: Yankee doodle, doodle doo, etc.

G. went before with Colonel E.,
Together in a carriage;
On horseback followed H. and P.
As if to steal a marriage.

On chosen ground they now alight,
For battle duly harnessed;
A shady place, and out of sight,
It shew'd they were in earnest.

They met, and in the usual way
With hat in hand saluted;
Which was, no doubt, to show how they
Like gentlemen disputed.

And then they both together made
This honest declaration,
That they came there, by honor led,
And not by inclination.

That if they fought, 'twas not because
Of rancour, spite, or passion;
But only to obey the laws
Of custom and the fashion.

The pistols then, before their eyes
Were fairly primed and loaded;
H. wished, and so did G. likewise,
The customs were exploded.

But as they now had gone so far
In such a bloody business,
For action straight they both prepare
With mutual forgiveness.

But lest their courage should exceed
The bounds of moderation,
Between the seconds 'twas agreed
To fix them each a station.

The distance stepp'd by Colonel P.
Was only eight short spaces;
"Now, gentlemen," says Colonel E.,
"Be sure to keep your places."

Quoth H. to G., "Sir, please to fire";
Quoth G., "No, pray begin, sir";
And truly we must needs admire
The temper they were in, sir.

"We'll fire both at once," said H.;
And so they both presented;
No answer was returned by G.,
But silence, sir, consented.

They paused awhile, these gallant foes,
By turns politely grinning:
'Till, after many cons and pros,
H. made a brisk beginning.

H. missed his mark, but not his aim;
The shot was well directed.
It saved them both from hurt and shame;
What more could be expected?

Then G., to show he meant no harm,
But hated jars and jangles,
His pistol fired across his arm
From H., almost at angles.

H. now was called upon by G.
To fire another shot, sir;
He smiled and, "After that," quoth he,
"No, truly I can not, sir."

Such honor did they both display
They highly were commended;
And thus, in short, this gallant fray
Without mischance was ended.

No fresh dispute, we may suppose,
Will e'er by them be started;
And now the chiefs, no longer foes,
Shook hands, and so they parted.

Chorus: Yankee doodle, doodle doo, etc.

After this encounter and toward the close of December, 1778, we find General Howe at Savannah, Ga., sent by General Washington to command the defenses around that town,

to prevent the threatened attack of the British. On arriving he immediately bestowed as much labor on the fortification as he could command men and means to give. But Governor Houston, of Georgia, denied his right to command at that post, as the governor himself claimed to be commander-in-chief and entitled to precedence of rank on Georgia soil. But General Howe as commander of the continental forces under Washington could not concede this to the State authorities. He deemed it his duty to point out to the legislature of Georgia and to the governor, in the strongest expressions of which he was master, the want of proper defenses, and asked for men to throw up the fortifications.

But owing to this friction between Governor Houston and General Howe over the precedence to command the legislature refused to take any action whatever. Governor Houston still continued to dispute his right to command; and when the British forces sailed in the river Savannah was without means of defense. General Howe, having under him only about 900 men, without fortifications, was unable to prevent the landing of the British force, nearly four times as large, with heavy guns and ammunition, and consisting of thirty-five hundred men, under Colonel Campbell, from New York, and a like number under General Prevost, from St. Augustine, among whom was the regiment of royalists, chiefly from North Carolina, under the command of Col. John Hamilton, of Halifax.

The North Carolina Continentals here fought face to face against their brothers, the Loyalists. A battle took place, with great loss of life, the Continental troops being attacked both in the flank and front by so great an excess in numbers that, notwithstanding the bravery and gallantry with which the Continentals fought, they were driven from their position, and the British carried the day. The valor and patriotism of the Americans could not prevail over the immense number of

the British. General Howe incurred here the resentment of Governor Houston over this dispute as to whether the State or Continental authorities had the right to control and direct the management of the affairs of war, but this disaster showed how necessary it was to concede this power to the Continental Congress, as it was through the want of the cooperation of Governor Houston, or, rather, his opposition, coupled with the paucity of numbers of the Americans, that led to the defeat at Savannah. But the whole conduct of the battle showed in General Howe the highest marks of generalship.

After this, at the instance of Governor Houston, a court-martial, presided over by Maj. Gen. Baron Steuben as president, with Brigadier-Generals Knox and others, to investigate the conduct of General Howe on the charges of having sacrificed the Georgia troops and leaving the country exposed, but the court held him not guilty, and, in the language of the Court, "We do acquit him of both charges with the highest honor." In the early part of the year 1779, General Howe was transferred to the North, and on the 15th of July was ordered against Verplanck's Point, subsequently to Ridgefield. He also cooperated with General Wayne in his attack on Stony Point on the Hudson.

About this time the city of New York was evacuated by the Americans, and the British under Sir Henry Clinton took possession. The American Army withdrew into the interior of the State. The position of West Point, on the Hudson, was considered by General Washington as the key to the Army's position. And so great was Washington's confidence in the military ability and courage of General Howe that to him was intrusted the command of that department, and on the 15th of May, 1780, he was instructed by Washington to increase his rank and file to 2,500 men, if not now that large, from General Clinton's New York Militia. Gen-

eral Clinton was then Governor of that State and commander-in-chief of the militia. Howe was soon joined by part of Clinton's brigade and latterly by a division of the Connecticut troops, when he was ordered by General Washington to dismiss the militia, having then 2,500 Continental troops.

General Clinton doubtless took offense at the dismissal of his State's militia, and immediately began with Benedict Arnold and others to plot for the removal of General Howe. General Arnold made immediate application for the position, whether then with a treasonable design we can only conjecture, but he alleged "that his wound would not allow him to remain in the field," and that was his ostensible reason for seeking the appointment. Arnold secured the influence of Mr. Robert R. Livingston, then a member of Congress from New York, to assist him. Mr. Livingston wrote to General Washington on the 22d day of June, 1780, and stated that General Howe (probably on account of his dismissal of the New York militia), would not inspire the confidence in them essential for engaging their efficient service, and said: "If I might presume so far, I should beg leave to submit to Your Excellency whether this post might not be safely confided to General Arnold, who is the favorite of the militia, and who will agree perfectly with our governor."

On the 30th of June, General Arnold visited the camp at West Point. General Howe wrote that day to General Washington, "I have taken General Arnold round our works, and he has my opinion of them and of many other matters. I have long wished to give it to you, but I could not convey it by letter." General Howe had always, to a most extraordinary degree, enjoyed General Washington's esteem and confidence, and upon the solicitation for the appointment of Arnold he refused to make it, except that General Howe might prefer to resume his position in the line of the army. Gen-

eral Howe signifying his preference, General Washington acceded to the importunities of Arnold's friends, and on the third day of August, 1780, Major General Arnold was ordered to take command of West Point and its dependencies. And scarcely a month passed before Arnold was guilty of his base treachery and Major André was captured. The result is well known. He was tried by a court-martial, of which General Howe was a conspicuous member, and was convicted and hung.

General Howe was then placed in command of a division on the east side of the Hudson, where he remained until January 10, 1781. At this time a mutiny broke out among the Pennsylvania troops, and by order of General Washington he was sent with five battalions to quell the disturbance. A similar occurrence took place in the New Jersey line on the 22d, and General Washington dispatched General Howe to Ringwood, in that State, to quell the mutiny there. Both of these missions were performed with great promptness, and a few of the leaders having been so speedily and fairly tried, condemned, and executed that a vote of thanks was returned by General Washington, in behalf of the country, to General Howe and his troops, and Congress likewise passed resolutions thanking him for these services.

On the 21st of July, 1781, while still in New York, he was ordered to reconnoiter the enemy's position at King's Bridge, which task was performed entirely to the satisfaction of General Washington. The long struggle of America for freedom was now drawing to a close. Lord Cornwallis, finding it impossible longer to withstand the aggressive movement of the Americans, surrendered his sword to Washington on the 19th of October, 1781, at Yorktown. And on the 18th of the following month, Major Craig and his forces left the Cape Fear, and with him disappeared the last vestige of

British dominion in North Carolina. General Howe still remained in the service of the Government. The Continental Congress was in session in Philadelphia in June, 1783. Owing to the failure of Congress to levy revenue, which was due to the want of power, a defect in the Articles of Confederation, the Congress, while in session, was attacked by a clamorous mob and compelled to disperse.

For their protection, General Howe was sent with five battalions to suppress the mob. This was successfully accomplished, and was the last act performed by him of importance while in the Army. Soon afterwards he was mustered out of the service, holding then the rank of major-general of the Continental Army. On September 23, 1783, Congress passed a resolution of thanks to General Howe and the officers and soldiers of his command. Before retiring from the Army he took an active interest in forming the Order of the Cincinnati, and was one of the general officers designated at the Cantonment of the American Army June 19, 1783, to establish that society, and he was the first officer of the North Carolina Chapter which he afterward formed.

He had given six years' continued service to his country, and during all that time he never asked or accepted one moment's recess. To use his own language: "For this service I have sacrificed all other considerations, however interesting, endearing, or heartfelt they might have been." In the spring of 1785, he returned to his home on the Cape Fear, ripe with honors and the gratitude of his country. At Fayetteville he was received with public ovation, and the popular homage extended him was unparalleled in that day, except in the single instance of that given to George Washington. He immediately applied himself to his former occupation of tilling the soil, but was not long allowed to remain quiet at his home. During the summer of the year 1785 he

was elected by his people to represent them in the legislature, where he took his seat at New Bern on the 19th of November.

On the 17th of March, 1786, he was sent to select a site for a lighthouse on the Cape Fear River, and, with Mr. Benjamin Smith and the commissioners of pilotage, fixed the location at Baldhead. Again during this year he was a candidate for the legislature from Brunswick. At this time in North Carolina the judiciary was in great disrepute. At Wilmington a court was being held by Judges Spencer, Ashe, and Williams. In the words of Mr. Archibald McLean, a brilliant lawyer of that day "the most shameful partiality disgraced the bench." The question of the extent of pardon which should be granted to the Loyalists, who had lately been in arms against the Continentals, or adhering to the British, giving them aid and comfort, was greatly agitated among the people, especially in reference to the confiscation acts. General Howe, being a man of broad and liberal culture, favored magnanimity and advocated the restoration of the Loyalists to their property rights and granting general amnesty. He warred against proscription, which filled the air. He met with violent opposition at the polls from the narrow-minded and illiberal.

In a letter written by Archibald McLean to James Iredell on the 3d August, 1786, he says:

"General Howe will, I believe, be returned from Brunswick, though opposed with great assiduity. He openly avows the most liberal principles and execrates the judges and other officers."

Notwithstanding the opposition he was triumphantly elected, thus establishing the fact that the conservative spirit existed and was in the ascendancy among the people of North Carolina even in that day, and for which they have ever been and are still justly renowned.

The legislature was to convene at Fayetteville on the 18th

November, 1786. General Howe set out for the capital, and on his way was taken sick. He stopped at the residence of General Thomas Clark, his old friend and comrade in arms, on the Cape Fear River. He became ill, and there continued in declining health until he died. On the 14th December, 1786, Judge Alfred Moore, one of the associate justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, wrote to James Iredell that "General Howe is at the very verge of the grave; it is supposed that he will die in a few days; he has only got as far as General Clark's." A few days afterwards he expired, at the age of 56 years, and was buried on Grange Farm, now a portion of Columbus County, N. C.

Not even a stone marks his last resting place, and nothing but a small hillock exists to show that even a grave was ever there. What a commentary upon the gratitude of his countrymen!

Thus ended the career of one who did more to bring about the crisis which caused the Revolution than any one man in North Carolina.

He was possessed of versatile talents. He was the life of social gatherings. On these occasions it is said of him that his imagination fascinated, his repartee overpowered, and his conversation was enlivened by strains of exquisite raillery.

He was of noble impulses and liberal views. He was an eloquent speaker and logical debater. He was a power in politics and was great as a soldier, and having attained the highest rank in the American army, he is easily distinguished as the greatest man North Carolina furnished to the American Revolution, and one of the most aggressive leaders for liberty and independence in all the colonies, in the preservation of whose fame every American citizen should take a just pride, and the American Congress should cheerfully erect a monument to make the name of Robert Howe immortal, that his example may be emulated by all future generations.

Grange Farm belonged to his wife's family.†

EARLY RELATION OF NORTH CAROLINA AND THE WEST.

BY WILLIAM K. BOYD, PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN TRINITY COLLEGE.

There are two well defined types of political and social development in our colonial history. In one the predominant influences were European; the thirteen colonies were founded by Europeans, the institutions and customs of the seventeenth century were, to a large extent, those of the old world, and even the physical features of their populations reminded careful observers of their kinsmen across the seas. In the eighteenth century, however, a new type appeared; the founders of twelve colonies had passed away and their places were taken by men of native birth; untrammeled by recollections of Europe, a new generation faced and solved the problems of life on this continent in ways distinctively its own, and thus created an American heritage for modern Americans. The place of North Carolina in the first of these types has been made familiar by many incidents, some of which have been described in the Booklet. Its relation to the second is not so often emphasized; but no movement in all the colonies better illustrates the nascent Americanism of the eighteenth century than the migration of groups of men and women from North Carolina to the country beyond the Alleghany mountains, and the political experiments and social conditions established there. In this movement are revealed all the features of that continuous American expansion by which new country has been converted into territories and States, and of that spirit of democracy which, in the Jacksonian era, revolutionized American politics.

Toward the middle of the eighteenth century the colonies

of the Atlantic seaboard were well advanced. While there were some strips of unoccupied territory between the various settlements, the land itself had become almost completely disposed of in numerous grants to individuals or corporations. The next wave of colonization must therefore cross the Alleghanies and possess the country between the mountains and the Mississippi. The British authorities were well aware of this problem. In 1748, the Board of Trade reported "that the settlement of the country lying to the westward of the great mountains would be for His Majesty's interest and the advantage and security of Virginia and the neighboring colonies;" in 1756, Sir Thomas Pownall wrote that "the English settlements as they are at present circumstances, are absolutely at a standstill; they are settled up to the mountains and in the mountains there is nowhere together land sufficient for a settlement large enough to subsist by itself and to defend itself and preserve a communication with the present settlements;" consequently in the negotiations which resulted in the Treaty of Paris of 1763, England took the western country as spoils of the war with France in preference to Guadaloupe and Canada, the alternative choice offered by the French.

But how should the new territory be colonized? There are two very suggestive answers. In the same year that the treaty was signed, the British authorities forbade the colonial governments to make any new settlements beyond the western frontiers of the colonies, and by a series of treaties with the Indians south of the Ohio prepared the way for a peaceable occupation of the new country. Evidently the occupation was to be made by the initiative of British rather than colonial authorities. This is confirmed by some interesting evidence. Several applications for land grants in the new country were filed. Most significant of these was that of the Vandalia

Company, whose agent was Benjamin Franklin. It asked for 400,000 acres of land which would include all of present West Virginia and Eastern Kentucky. This vast territory was to have a proprietary government, with some features similar to the government of Massachusetts. In 1775, a charter corresponding to these terms was drawn up and passed through the preliminary legal processes and was ready for the royal seal, but the events which preceded the Revolution prevented its completion. Evidently it was the purpose of the British government to colonize through proprietary grants and had Franklin applied a few years earlier, fourteen instead of thirteen colonies might have participated in the Revolution.

In the meantime the Americans, especially those in the western part of the Southern colonies, had taken into their own hands the problem of expansion. Without the permission of either British or colonial authorities they began to cross the mountains by individuals, families, and groups of families. The movement was spontaneous and seems to have been the result of discontent with the political and social conditions in the colonies as well as the land hunger common to all Americans of the eighteenth century. Since the days of Bacon's Rebellion the people in Western Virginia had shown discontent with the tidewater region, and this was re-enforced by the advent of the Scotch-Irish toward the middle of the eighteenth century; in upper South Carolina there was similar discontent which found expression in local associations for the enforcement of order and justice independent of the colonial authorities; and in Western North Carolina the War of the Regulators was the culmination of social and political discontent. In contrast to the ills at home were the rude plenty, the freedom, and the charms of adventure in an un-

known land; by hundreds the choice was quickly made and the migration resulted in the States of Tennessee and Kentucky.

The territory first settled was the broad valley between the Cumberland Mountains on the west and the Great Smoky and Unaka ranges on the east. Through it flow the Holston, the Watauga, the Nolachucky, the Clinch and the French Broad rivers, which finally combine to form the Tennessee. The earliest settlements were made by Virginians at Wolf Hills, on the Holston River, the present site of Abingdon, Va. Gradually the settlers extended southward into the valley of the Watauga, but here they were gradually outnumbered by emigrants from the Carolinas, especially from North Carolina.

The beginnings of the North Carolina migration to Watauga are veiled in obscurity. The first recorded expedition was late in 1768 or early in 1769; one of its leaders was Daniel Boone, who was then living on the Yadkin River, but his aim was to reach the farther western country and his relation to Watauga does not extend beyond this exploration; shortly after a company of Virginians and North Carolinians crossed the mountains and brought back good reports, and in 1770, the most important figure in the early history of Watauga appears. This was James Robertson, a native of Virginia, but a resident of Wake County, North Carolina. He was a man of unusual native ability; "he had a sound mind, a healthy constitution, a robust frame, a love of virtue, an intrepid soul and an emulous desire for honest fame." He was born in Brunswick County, Virginia, in 1742. Eight years later he removed to North Carolina. He seems to have had friends among Regulators, at least he was well acquainted with the conditions in the western counties and was probably seeking a refuge from them. His wife was a wo-

man of some education and from her Robertson learned his first lessons in books. His first journey to Watauga was made alone; there he met a settler named Honeycutt, made a crop, and then started back for his wife and child. On the journey he lost his way; he was forced to abandon his horse; his provisions were exhausted and he could not secure game because his powder was ruined by rain. Tradition says that he wandered fourteen days in this condition; at last on the point of starvation he was relieved by meeting two hunters. These adventures did not discourage him. Soon after his return he again went to the Watauga Valley, this time with his wife, family, and sixteen others, all of whom made homes there. This was in the spring of 1771, whether before or after the battle of Alamance is not certain. The following year the second prominent man in the early history appeared, John Sevier, of Virginia, who later was so prominent in forming the State of Franklin.

The rate of settlement and the population of Watauga in these early days are not known, but in 1776 one hundred and thirteen names were signed to the petition for annexation to North Carolina. The people were mostly of Scotch-Irish descent; except for the more reckless and daring individuals, the settlements were made in groups. A fort or stockade was erected with surrounding cabins; here all assembled in times of danger, while in times of peace the cabins or farm houses on the plantations were inhabited. The life was simple; each farmer made his own tools and harness; the neighborhood co-operated in corn husking, house building, and log rollings. Gradually the wilderness was reclaimed, homes were filled with rude plenty and settlements extended to the Nolachucky and Carter's Creek. The landmarks of these early Watauga settlements are chiefly in the vicinity of Elizabethton, Tennessee.

Two problems soon presented themselves that tested the good sense and character of the people. First of these was that of government. They went into the new country believing that it belonged to Virginia, but in 1771 a surveyor, Anthony Bledsoe, discovered that the Watauga region was south of the Virginia line and within the limits of North Carolina. As many of the people had come to Watauga seeking refuge from conditions in North Carolina, they did not care to appeal to the parent colony for protection, but decided to look to themselves for laws and organs of government. No contemporary records of their action have been preserved, but according to tradition and later accounts the people of Watauga and the neighboring communities met in a convention at the home of Robertson. They chose thirteen representatives, probably one for each of the groups of settlers. These representatives then chose a court of five commissioners to whom was entrusted the administration of affairs. These five men performed practically all the functions of government, they recorded wills, issued marriage licenses, made treaties with the Indians, decided cases at law according to the laws of Virginia, punished criminals, and even supervised the morals of the community. Justice, especially criminal justice, was speedy; once a horse thief was arrested on Monday, tried on Wednesday, and executed on Friday, and certainly some unruly citizens committed the unpardonable crime of fleeing to the Indians rather than submit to Watauga justice.

This Watauga Association, as it was called, was the first government established west of the Alleghanies; it was also the first organization for government created by native-born Americans. Its characteristics are therefore suggestive of the political ideals of the eighteenth century. Suffrage, which seems to have been universal, unrestricted by property quali-

fications, the absence of religious tests, the convention of the people, the representative body, and the powers delegated to the executive, all these seem to forecast the kind of government which became universal after independence from England was secured. This political activity, however, was not the result of any self-conscious political theory, but of political experience in the colonies, for the people of Western Virginia, Western North Carolina and upper South Carolina had been accustomed to taking the administration of law into their own hands; discontented with the inefficient colonial administration, they frequently formed associations for regulating their affairs, especially for the suppression of petty crimes and misdemeanors. From such associations the Regulator movement in North Carolina derived its name. So the people of Watauga were simply applying more extensively methods and principles that had been in use for some time. This habit of self-help, the solution of problems without reference to the legally constituted bodies, is of vast significance; it followed the expansion of the nation in its various stages from the borderland of the original colonies to the far west, and applied to national affairs, it gave rise to a political theory, the doctrine of squatter sovereignty, which had so important an influence in the slavery controversy.

The second immediate problem before the Watauga people was that of relations with the Indians. In 1772, a treaty was made between Virginia and the Cherokees by which the line 36° 30′ was made the dividing line between the western white settlements and the Indians. Alexander Cameron, the Indian agent, thereupon ordered the Watauga settlers to remove, as they were occupying country which the treaty reserved to the Indians; they promptly defied him, but conciliated the Indians by purchasing an eighty years' lease to all lands on the Watauga River. In this negotiation Robertson seems to have

been the leading spirit. In celebration of the contract a day of sports was set apart; whites and Indians engaged in races, wrestling matches, and games. But the good will of the occasion was broken in the evening by some lawless whites from the Holston settlements. Lurking on the outskirts of the festivities, they killed a straggling Indian and the Cherokees departed in wrath. Again Robertson came to the front. While Sevier superintended preparations for defense, Robertson, alone, took the trail to the Cherokee villages fifty miles away, and convinced the Indians that the Watauga people were not responsible for the murder and thus prevented war.

In the meantime the mother colonies had drifted into the Revolution. The policy of Watauga and the other settlements beyond the mountains was of vast importance; if they should espouse the British cause, they would not only threaten the seaboard settlements but they would save the country beyond the mountains for the English crown. As most of the settlers had left their former homes on account of grievances which they attributed to the British administration in the colonies, they cast in their lot with the Revolution. The method by which this choice was made is interesting, suggestive of the political ideals and methods of American democracy. "Alarmed by the reports of the present unhappy differences between Great Britain and America on which report (taking the now united colonies for our guide) we proceeded to choose a committee, which was done unanimously by consent of the people. This committee (willing to become a party to the present unhappy contest) resolved (which is now on our records) to adhere strictly to the rules and orders of the Continental Congress, and in open committee acknowledged themselves indebted to the united colonies their full proportion of the continental expense."

The first result of the Revolution was to bring Watauga

into closer relations with North Carolina. The exigencies of war made cooperation necessary and in 1776 the Watauga Association applied for annexation. This was granted by the Provincial Council and delegates from Washington District, Watauga Settlement, were admitted to the Provincial Congress at Halifax. The next year Washington District became Washington County, a land office was opened, and a system of land grants similar to that of North Carolina was instituted; yet there was no idea of a permanent union, for the North Carolina Declaration of Rights, in defining the limits of the State as extending from sea to sea, distinctly says that this shall not be so contrued as to prevent the establishment of one or more governments westward of this State, by consent of the legislature. The country developed so much in a few years that two new counties were erected from Washington, Sullivan in 1779 and Greene in 1783, and in 1779 Jonesboro was founded, named for Willie Jones, of North Carolina. It became the county seat of Washington County.

Here, as in the eastern colonies, the Revolution was also a civil war; but the nature of the opposition was a contrast to that in the seaboard settlements. There the royalists were recruited from the property holders, the conservative and educated classes, but in Watauga the royalists seem to have been more extensively members of the disorderly and undesirable class of citizens. Government was severe and drastic. As the newly established North Carolina administration was unable to preserve order, the old self-regulative system was resorted to. Committees were appointed and military companies were organized; these arrested all suspicious persons; the mere fact of arrest was considered proof of guilt; the prisoner who failed to give security was shot, hanged or whipped, branded or drowned. The forger was branded, the murderer was whipped, and the horse thief was hanged.

Sometimes the regularly constituted authorities tried the prisoner; one indictment is against the defendant for toryism, the sentence that he be kept prisoner during the war, and that one-half of his property be confiscated.

The first military problem of the Revolution in the western country was the Indian question. The British administration instructed the Indian agents to make alliances with the leading southern tribes, the Creeks, the Choctaws, Cherokees, and Chickasaws, and turn them against the whites. Such an alliance was only natural for the Americans were constantly encroaching on the homes and hunting grounds of the red men, while the aim of the Indian agent was usually peace and trade. But the British policy was fatal; it aroused great hatred for England among the pioneers and led many to adopt the patriot cause who would otherwise have remained faithful to the king. In 1776 the Cherokees along the Carolina and Georgia frontier were persuaded to make war; they attacked the Americans in two simultaneous movements, one against the Holston, the other against the Watauga settlement. In both they were repulsed by the mountaineers while retaliatory operations against the Cherokees by troops from North Carolina under General Rutherford has already been told in this series.

The most noted service of the Watauga people to the Revolution, however, was their victory over the British and Tories at Kings Mountain. That, also, has been planned for a future article; a service equally important, often obscured by the more dramatic military events, was their part in furthering the westward expansion of the American people, in the conquest of the wilderness which lay beyond. In this work the interests of North Carolinians were closely concerned. Richard Henderson was, like many of his contemporaries, affected with the fever for western lands. Probably as early as

1763, he interested Daniel Boone in the exploration of the west, but not until 1774 were his plans matured. Then he organized at Hillsborough the Louisa Company, later called the Transylvania Company, and in 1775, at Sycamore Shoals on the Watauga River, he bought from the Cherokee Indians a vast tract of land now included in western Tennessee and Kentucky. Neither the British nor the colonial authorities would recognize that the treaty gave rights to the soil, and indeed the claim of the Cherokees to convey title were not so strong as usual, for the country in question was really a battle ground between rival hostile tribes. But migration at once began, from which the first settlements in western Tennessee and Kentucky have their origin. Among the first immigrants was James Robertson, of Watauga. In 1779, he crossed the hills through the Cumberland Gap and established a small colony on the Cumberland River at French Lick, an old Indian trading station. The next year he was joined by John Donelson, of Virginia. They built a block-house on a high bluff, which they named Nashborough, in honor of Abner Nash, who was made Governor of North Carolina in 1780. Four years later Nashborough became Nashville.

The early history of the Cumberland settlements resembles that of Watauga. The first year's crop was a failure, the Indians became hostile and the supply of ammunition ran low. Many wished to abandon the settlement and return to their former homes, but Robertson rallied their courage and alone made a dangerous journey to settlements in Kentucky for ammunition, and on the evening of his return, January 15, 1781, through his natural vigilance, saved the fort from surprise by the Indians. Government also suggests conditions on the Watauga. On May 1, 1780, representatives from various communities met and framed a constitution similar to the Watauga Association. The administration of justice

was vested in a court of "Judges, Triers, or General Arbitrators," elected by the votes of all men who were twenty-one years of age, and "as often as the people in general are dissatisfied with the doings of the Judges andTriers—they may call a newe election at any of the said stations, and elect others in their stead." These articles were not only an expression of the popular will, they were also a contract between Henderson and the people, for it was written that "the said Richard Henderson on his part does hereby agree." It was not intended, however, that the Cumberland Association should be a permanent, independent government but a temporary arrangement until a county under North Carolina could be organized. This was done in 1783, when the Cumberland Association became Davidson County, North Carolina, and James Robertson, chosen as delegate to negotiate the formal union with the State, became the county's first representative in the General Assembly. Two years later the General Assembly authorized Rev. Thomas Craighead and others to organize Davidson Academy, which survives today as the University of Nashville.

No review of the causes and character of the early westward migration and of its relation to North Carolina would be complete without some account of the separation of the parent colony and the frontier communities, of how the State lost its sovereignty over the vast region that it had helped to colonize. For this there are a number of reasons. First of all, the remoteness of the new settlements from the State prevented the growth of sympathy and understanding between them. The westerners claimed that North Carolina would not pay the Indians for the lands they vacated, that the administration of justice by the North Carolina courts in the western counties was inefficient, and that the tax rate for lands on the frontier should not be the same as that for lands

in more thickly settled regions. On the other hand there was a feeling in North Carolina that the problem of the western country was too large for the State, and also a social cleavage which often exists between frontier communities and older settled regions. Above all was the interest of the nation, the necessity of ceding the western lands as a prelude to that more lasting union about to be established under the Federal Constitution. Therefore, in 1784 North Carolina ceded her claims to the lands beyond the mountains; the members in the Assembly from the western country voted for the cession and one of the representatives from the older counties of the State remarked that "the inhabitants of the western country are the offscourings of the earth, fugitives from justice, and we will be rid of them at any rate."

The act of cession provided that Congress should not take possession for two years and that in the meantime the western settlements should remain under the jurisdiction of North Carolina. But the people felt that something should be done for the better preservation of order and in preparation for Statehood in the new Union soon to be formed also, while the mountaineers had no great love for North Carolina, they were offended at being separated without their advice and consent. Committees from the captains companies of Washington, Sullivan and Greene Counties therefore called a meeting of delegates from the counties at Jonesboro in August, 1784. This body decided to form an independent government, to petition Congress to accept the cession by North Carolina, and called a constitutional convention. The convention met in November of that year but accomplished nothing, for those who favored immediate separation from North Carolina were divided as to methods of procedure while the opposition found strength in two acts of the North Carolina Assembly, one repealing the cession of the western lands, the other estab-

lishing a special Supreme Court and a brigadier generalship of militia for the western counties. Several influential men who had been in favor of the Statehood movement now opposed separation; among these was John Sevier himself. But its advocates seem to have gained strength by the action of North Carolina; they secured a majority in a third convention which met in December, 1784, and accomplished their purpose. A constitution was framed whose principal features were taken from that of North Carolina, the name Frankland was given to the new State, soon changed to Franklin, and the first legislature met early in 1785, and in November, a convention of the people approved the work of the constitutional convention, probably with a few alterations in its Constitution. Thus "the new society or State called Frankland has already put off its infant habit. Here the genuine Republican; here the real Whig will find a safe asylum, a comfortable retreat among those modern Franks, the hardy mountain men."

There were three questions on which the future of the State of Franklin depended—its relation to the national movement, to other frontier communities, and to North Carolina.

The western country favored the establishment of a strong national government because of the protection it might afford against the Indians and the Spanish in the southwest. Among the acts of the State of Franklin was the reservation of lands surrendered by the Indians as a contribution toward the national debt; and delegates were also sent to a convention of western settlers to provide for the opening of the Mississippi to navigation. One of the first acts was to appoint William Cocke a delegate to the Federal Congress to lay before that body the interests of the State of Franklin. But his mission was without result; no official recognition could be secured and Benjamin Franklin, for whom the common-

wealth had been named, advised that separation from North Carolina should not be pressed.

But the co-operation of other frontier communities and the enlargement of territory might prove a means of securing recognition in national affairs and permanent independence. This seemed possible in two directions: first, in western Virginia there was discontent with the State government similar to that in the western counties of North Carolina. Colonel Arthur Campbell, an officer of Washington County, Virginia, declared that the people would take up arms rather than submit to continued unjust taxation and two petitions were sent to the Virginia Legislature asking that a new State be created in the west, whose boundaries should include the State of Franklin. But the Legislature had no sympathy with the movement; in 1785 it declared any attempt to form an independent government within the limits of the State without the consent of the Virginia government to be high treason. In the meantime expansion southward was prepared for by negotiations with the Indians. Treaties were made with some of the Cherokee chiefs which were ineffective, as all the chiefs would not agree and their lands had been guaranteed to them by North Carolina; an expedition was then sent to the bend of the Tennessee River, at Mussel Shoals, to make occupation under titles from Georgia and negotiations were opened with that State to begin war on the Creeks. All of these measures failed, for the Indians became hostile and also the Federal Government appointed three commissioners, one from each of the States of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia to settle Indian affairs on the frontier.

So the State of Franklin was left to face the North Carolina authorities alone. The Constitution of 1776 had looked forward to the establishment of two or more governments west of the mountains; both Governor Martin and Governor Cas-

well were willing for a legal separation but the people of Franklin had acted independently, without the consent of the North Carolina authorities. Moreover, in 1784 the Assembly, dissatisfied with the negotiations for a federal union, repealed the cession of western lands. Governor Martin thereupon issued a manifesto, in which threats were made against the new government if the people did not return to their allegiance to North Carolina. Governor Caswell, his successor, was more conciliatory, but there was no hope for recognition, for the Assembly in 1786 decided to reassert its sovereignty over the country. North Carolina officials were sent into the western counties and pardon was offered to all who would return to allegiance. Conflict of jurisdiction between two sets of officials followed and the political issue threatened to widen into civil war, for John Sevier, after at first opposing separation from North Carolina, had been drawn into the movement and became Governor of the State of Franklin, while John Tipton, his personal rival, adopted the North Carolina cause. The extent of disorder is unknown; in one conflict twelve men were killed. But the danger of war was averted by the conciliatory policy of Governor Caswell. In 1787 he sent Evan Shelby to Franklin to open negotiations for a return to allegiance. Sevier was persuaded to sign articles of agreement in March, which promised a reference of all matters to the North Carolina Assembly. The following month he repudiated the agreement and declared that he would maintain the independence of the State of Franklin. This seems to have been due to distrust of the Assembly. War between the parent State and the colony seemed imminent, for Shelby urged sending troops to force submission; but Governor Caswell, in a broad-minded address, urged all parties to submit and unite against possible Indian hostilities and promised eventual separation. This

seems to have won the day. The Franklin Legislature authorized the election of representatives to the North Carolina Assembly; Sevier's term as Governor expired in 1788 and no successor was chosen; after his retirement he promised to do all he could for an amicable readjustment. Thus the State of Franklin collapsed. North Carolina's sovereignty was recognised until her claims to the western country were ceded to the Federal Government in 1789.

Bibliography: Roosevelt, *Winning of the West;* Haywood, *Civil and Political History of Tennessee,* written by John Haywood, of North Carolina, who went to Tennessee in 1810; he collected many traditions and facts from the pioneers. Ramsay, *Annals of Tennessee,* has many documents; Phelan, *History of Tennessee,* the standard State history; Turner, *Western State Making During the Revolution,* in American Historical Review, Vol. I., is very suggestive. Alden, *The State of Franklin,* Amer. Ibid. Vol. VIII.; *State Records of North Carolina,* Vol. XXII., has interesting documents relating to the State of Franklin.

INCIDENTS OF THE EARLY AND PERMANENT SETTLEMENT OF THE CAPE FEAR.

BY W. B. McKOY

The study of history turns up many obscure and buried facts, but with them grow up the tares and weeds of fancy and imagination, and all must be reaped and winnowed to separate the true grain. Therefore, it is well to continue the good work, and the results that follow may be of use.

It is not generally admitted that the first explorers of the Cape Fear were the French. In 1624, however, Giovanni da Verrazano[1], a Florentine, left Dieppe in France under direction of Francis I of France to find a passage to Cathay. On January 24 he sailed westward from Madeira with one ship, the Dolphin, and says: "On the 10th of March we reached a new country that has never before been seen by any one within ancient or modern times." He described the shores as "covered with fine sand about fifteen feet thick, rising in the form of little hills about fifty paces broad, several arms of the sea which made through inlets washing the shores on both sides as the coast runs. An outstretched country appeared at a little distance, rising somewhat above the sandy shore in beautiful fields and broad plains covered with immense forests of trees more or less dense, too varied in color and too delightful and charming to be described. They are adorned with palms, laurels, cypresses and other varieties unknown to Europe, that send forth the sweetest fragrance to a great distance." He entered the Cape Fear and sailed up as far as the present site of Wilmington. Although Cabot had, in 1497, found the continent, he only sailed south as far as 38 degrees north latitude, and though Sir Humphrey

Gilbert came near being wrecked off Cape Fear, he did not enter the harbor, and all the five attempts of Raleigh to colonize Virginia were north of this place. In the grant of this country to Sir Robert Heath by Charles I, October 30, 1629, he called the country "this our New Carolina." Notwithstanding that this grant was forfeited by their failure to settle the country, still a number of New Englanders settled on the point now called Federal Point, in 1660, to raise cattle, but soon abandoned the place, and only a post with a notice on it warning adventurers against the country, marked the occupancy.

In the first charter of King Charles II to the Lords Proprietors, March 20, 1663, and which, by the way, was the most princely gift ever conferred on subjects by a monarch, the name Carolina was retained as the name of a conquered province, named for Charles IX of France. The proprietors divided the province into North and South Carolina, making the Cape Fear River the boundary line. They gave to the counties north of the Cape Fear their own names of Albemarle, Bath and Clarendon to South Carolina. Settlers had already come into Albemarle from Virginia, but the first venture of the Proprietors was to form a colony at Cape Fear in Clarendon. The New Englanders had abandoned the point of land on the Cape, but still claimed the right to settle and maintain a colony there. On August 25, 1663, the Proprietors made a proposal[2] to settle the first colony on the Clarendon or Charles River near Cape Fear, and John Vassal and others, in behalf of the New Englanders and the people of London, petitioned for the privilege and set up their previous occupancy and right of possession. At the same time Col. Madyford, with several people of the Barbadoes, petitioned for the privilege of settling there.

In a letter to Sir William Berkley[3], the Proprietors, in September, 1663, mention the proposal of the New Englanders but hope to find "more fassell[3] people who may settle upon better terms for us," yet he was not to deter the planting of the colony there. On Monday, Oct. 12, 1663, the Barbadoes Commissioners came to anchor in Cape Fear Roads to spy out the land, took the meridian, altitude of the sun, and were in latitude 33 degrees 43 minutes. Their description and report reads as if it were a fairy land, and indeed it must have appeared so to them. The "scandalous[4] writing" left by the New Englanders appears to us now in a new light, it apparently having been their intention to keep others off. Capt. Hilton and Long found the cattle still there, and the Indians brought them very good fat beef, also fat and very large swine. Yet, in November, 1764, John Vassal, who, by the way, claimed the country through Samuel Vassal as assignee of the Robert Heath[5] Patent, obtained the appointment for his cousin Henry[6] Vassal as agent, and he was made Surveyor General[7] of the Cape Fear in the county of Clarendon. They carried a colony there, and settled[8] at Charles Town at the upper side of the mouth of Town Creek on the Charles River, under license from Governor Berkley of Virginia.

In January, 1665, the Proprietors entered into the articles of agreement with the Barbadoes explorers and appointed Sir John Yeamans governor. These colonists arrived at Cape Fear November, 1665, and found there a colony "newly begun[9] to be peopled," and Captain Edward[10] Stanyon with a vessel on his way to Barbadoes. The New Englanders craved the use of the sloop to visit the Northern settlements, which was refused. Yeamans returned to Barbadoes and left the colonists under Robert Sanford; they planted the lands along Town Creek, and it has not yet become a notable fact that they were the first to cultivate cotton in North America.[11]

In June, 1666, Robert Sanford, with Capt. Stanyon's frigate, which had returned from Barbadoes, set out to find a more favorable place for settlement, as the New Englanders and the Barbadians did not live together in harmony, and later Sanford removed with part of the colony to Port Royal.[12] Clarendon at that time consisted of eight hundred[13] souls. Later that year, Henry[14] Vassal, who signed himself sole agent at Cape Fear, complained that one Sir John Yeamans had been preferred to him, yet hopes to retain the colonists at Cape Fear.

October, 1667, John[15] Vassal bewails the breaking up of the colony, though they had two years provision of corn on hand. After the abandonment of the settlement by Vassal and the New Englanders, the river was infested with pirates who became a menace to the other settlements.

Lawson, Surveyor General of both Carolinas, traveled through this country in 1700, and found whites all along the route trading with the Indians. He tells us that Sapona is the Indian name of the Northwest Cape Fear. Thomas Smith, one of the Landgraves[16] of Carolina, received from the Proprietors a grant of land on the Cape Fear including the Cape Island at the mouth of the river. In his will, proved 30th of August, 1738, he wrote, "I give my four sons my Cedar Island (which is called now Smith's Island), at the mouth of the Cape Fear River, containing 800 acres, also the remainder of the Cape Fear lands." Other grants were issued for land along the south side of the Cape Fear River by South Carolina. In the fall of 1711, John Lawson, Surveyor General, was burned to death in a most horrible manner by the Tuscarora Indians, and then followed a bloody massacre of whites. Col. John Barnwell crossed the Cape Fear at the point where the town of Brunswick was afterwards established, quelled the insurrection and returned the same

way in July, 1712. In the fall of 1712, James Moore, Jr.,[17] with a party crossed the Cape Fear and defeated the Indians at Taw River with great slaughter. The notorious pirates, Steed Bonnett and Richard Whorley, blockaded the port of Charleston and broke up their commerce, and in September, 1718, Col. Wm. Rhett sailed for Cape Fear, entered the harbor, boarded the pirate and captured the sloop; carried Steed Bonnett, with his crew, to Charleston, where he and thirty others were hanged. We may observe from the above that the ever drifting sand dunes on the restless shores of the main are permanent memorials of our first explorers' report; that the name Carolina is handed down through Charles I who claimed to be by the Grace of God, King of England, France, etc., and we yet cling to it instead of our English name Virginia. We find the names of the counties which the Proprietors attached still with us as a proof of our lineage; though Clarendon and Charleston drifted southward with the Barbadians, Cape Fear and Old Town are here memorials of the New England settlers. The cotton-wool[18] here first cultivated was a distinct species. This was the beginning of the Sea Island, Barbadoesian, or black-seeded cotton, bearing a pure yellow blossom with a reddish purple spot in the base, and is the longest staple in the world, called "Gossypium barbadenses" by Linnaeus. We observe in the settlement of this country two classes of people who preceded the cultivators of the soil or permanent settlers, traders or adventurers and cattlemen who chose the wild, uncultivated life with the natives, traded and raised their stock on chosen spots far from the settlements. Those who accompanied Barnwell, Moore and Rhett on their several expeditions sounded the praises of the fertile lands of the Cape Fear and particularly their adaptability for the cultivation of rice on the lowlands of the river.

In 1720, the Proprietors, who felt the heavy loss by reason of the Indian war, became more exacting and imposed a heavy tax for the increased expense of the government, which was resented[19] by the people. A revolution had taken place in South Carolina and the people had declared their independence from the proprietory government, and attempted to set up a royal government under the Crown, and the Proprietors' tenure became a matter of serious concern. North Carolina had had no regular appointed governor for several years but was under the rule of the Presidents of the Council, when, in 1724, George Burrington, Esq.,[20] of the county of Devon,[21] who had been appointed Governor, opened his commission on Jan. 15. He immediately set about developing new settlements; he observed the approach of settlers on the Cape Fear from the South. Maurice Moore, a deputy of one of the Lords Proprietors, who had come from the southern colony in 1719 and had settled in Chowan, knowing the advantages of the Cape Fear, had induced his brothers and friends to make a settlement there as early as 1722,[22] and from the South came Roger and Nathaniel Moore, William Dry, Eliezer Allen, Thomas Clifford, Job Howe, Henry and Edward Hyrne,[23] John Moore's widow[24] and many others, bringing their families[25], slaves and cattle, and means to cultivate the land, and became permanently settled there. Burrington seeing the advantage of having the Cape Fear within the[22] northern colony[26] undertook to develop this section; he purchased an old grant issued in 1711, for a tract in Onslow County[26] at New River, and formed a colony of about 100 poor people upon the land, and offered as inducements large grants of land to settlers on the Cape Fear. In 1725, the town of Brunswick was laid out by Maurice Moore. John Porter[27] was granted, July 14, 1725, a tract of 640 acres adjoining Maurice Moore below Brunswick, and in 1726 con-

veyed it to Geo. Burrington. This is called Sturgeon Point or Governor's[28] Point on the old charts. Burrington,[29] in 1733, in speaking of his labors to develop the Cape Fear section said: "It cost me a great sum of money and infinite trouble." The first winter he went there he endured all the hardships that could happen to a man destitute of a house to live in, above a hundred miles from a neighbor, obliged to have all provisions brought by sea at great charges to support the number of men he carried there, whom he paid and maintained at his own expense; he sounded the inlets, bars and rivers, discovered and made known the channels of the Cape Fear River, Port Beaufort and Topsail Inlet. However, in 1725, Burrington was succeeded by Sir Richard Everard as Governor, and retired to the Cape Fear to improve his estates. He returned[30] to England about 1730. We have many grants from Everard for lands on both sides of the Cape Fear, even as far south as Waccamaw River and Lockwood's Folly[31] and the impetus to build up this section was in no way impeded. On October 22, 1728, Pleasant Oaks was granted to Justina Moore,[32] widow of John Moore.

In July 1729, the Governor and Council made a new precinct of Bath County, which they named New Hanover,[33] but the representatives were not admitted to sit, nor was the Act creating the county ever legally passed.

In 1729, the Act of Surrender[34] enabled[35] the Proprietors[36] to transfer to the Crown seven-eights of Carolina on September 29th,[37] for 17,500 pounds and the colony became a Royal Province.[34] This change of government became of great benefit to the colonists. The reform of the tariff system, the removal of export duties on manufactured goods and import duties on raw material encouraged an extensive traffic.[38] After 1730, rice was exported to southern Europe; a bounty was allowed on naval stores, tar, pitch and turpentine, and the

duty on lumber, staves and shingles was removed. The colonists were even permitted to ship other goods and products to England, place them in bond and pay the tax when sold or to re-ship without tax; rice, cotton and indigo culture was greatly developed; saw mills were on every tributary stream, and the forests of pine appeared inexhaustible. The live oak was found to be far superior for ship-building to the English oak; ship-building being one of the early enterprises on the river. Just below Newton, Michael Dyer had, near the Oaks, a ship-yard and a grist mill, and at the foot of Church Street[39] in Wilmington, Joshua Grainger, Jr.'s ship-yard is still used. Grainger did an extensive business and brought out from Philadelphia Ebenezer Bunting, John Hands, Richard Hands and others. Archibald Corbett built a vessel here for Beard & Walker,[30] of Glasgow. James Wimble, Master of the brigantine Penelope also was a ship-builder and surveyor.

Governor Johnston[41] informed us that during the year ending December 12, 1734, forty-two ships went out of the Cape Fear loaded, and in 1754, Governor Dobbs said: "Above one hundred[42] vessels annually enter this river and their number is increasing; there were sixteen in the river when I went down." Small craft came into the Sound at Cabbage Inlet, near the head of Topsail Sound from the northward, and conveyed the goods over the narrow strip of land opposite the town of Brunswick called the upper and lower haul-over. This land in 1736, was owned by Col. Thomas Merrick,[43] who bought it of Landgrave Thomas Smith. Topsail derived its name from the fact that the Spanish Privateers sailing along the coast would observe the masts of the small craft over the banks and would land to pillage them. The trade of the colonies extended to Spain, Portugal and New England, as well as England. Before this, Virginia imposed an import

tax on North Carolina tobacco. Trade later, was extended to Jamaica, St. Thomas, Barbadoes, Leeward Islands and Madeira, but was more frequent with the northern colonies. Labor[44] was high, carpenters demanded twenty to thirty shillings, and ordinary laborers twelve to fifteen shillings.

In 1733, a large colony[45] of Irish were settled in the upper part of South Carolina and spread along the coast northward towards Cape Fear.

Burrington, in 1732, said: "A multitude of people have come into this county to settle last winter. Some have very great American fortunes. I now think there are men here to make up a creditable council." In Burrington's instructions, he is recommended to encourage the purchase of negro slaves.

George Burrington, who had been Governor under the Proprietors, was appointed by George II, first Royal Governor 29th of April, 1730, and sent over on February 25th, 1731. He was a man very violent in his temper, true and loyal to his cause. He was by no means popular, in fact historians have given him a very bad character, but when we read what has been said of the men of those times in the colony, we must either take them all as a sad lot, if we accept the severe charges made about them in our records, or treat their writings as villifications of men who were fighting in opposing factions. Can we believe all that has been said about Governor Eden and Everard, Moseley and Porter, Harnett, Maurice, James, and Roger Moore? They all had their share of abuse in letters of opponents. In a dispatch to the Colonial office in 1731, Burrington said: "About twenty[46] men are settled on the Cape Fear from South Carolina, among them are three brothers of a noted family whose name is Moore. These people were always troublesome where they came from and will doubtless be so here." We ob-

serve that immediately upon entering into office Burrington again became interested in the Cape Fear settlement, and determined to make it a part of the northern colony and devoted his personal attention to this project. He and his associates prevailed[46] upon the settlers[47] from the south to see the advantage of his claim. He directed Edward Moseley to make a survey[48] and map of the coast, the Cape Fear and Waccamaw River, and agreed not[48] to disturb grants already made by the Southern province. He demonstrated that it was to their private interest to be near the seat of government. Moseley made a chart and hydrographic survey of the Cape Fear and gave the depth of water on the main bar as eighteen feet, and James Wimble's map in 1738, makes it twenty-one feet. What was called New Inlet later, was opened by a storm in 1761. Early maps show that a small inlet had previously opened there and closed again. In several of Burrington's letters, we observe that there was little money in the country, and that the people barter and trade; he stated that fresh pork was one and one-half pence to one shilling per pound. Less than twenty shillings of goods bought in England sold for fourteen pounds fourteen shillings. A bushel of wheat sold for six pence worth of English goods. Burrington[49] appeared before the Board of Trade with Sir Robert Johnston in the matter of the boundary line and secured the boundary at a distance of thirty miles south of Cape Fear, and exhibited to them Moseley's map. Adherents of the once powerful Puritan party in England in 1625, had come to America to avoid persecutions under the reign of Charles I, and planted seeds of discord that have yielded a vast harvest in America. The attempt of Charles I, through Sir Fernando Gorges and Mason, to counteract their influence and power in New England fanned the flames of rivalry between Separatists and Churchmen. The prejudices of a persecuted peo-

ple become in their offspring, race distinctions that in later generations have become more pronounced.

This province was peculiarly independent and difficult to restrain; here the people revolted against ancient laws and customs if they conflicted with their ideas of liberty of conscience or freedom of action. Here occurred the first revolution in 1719, against the government of the Proprietors, and here in 1765, on the Cape Fear, was the first armed resistance to the Stamp Act. Neither Churchmen, Separatists nor Quakers could prevail or enforce their views upon a people who chose to reason for themselves. Here force met resistance, persecution engendered hatred, which gave them advanced ideas of their constitutional rights in the revolution against England.

The most thickly settled part of Clarendon County was along Old Town Creek, and we find settled there William and Joseph Watters, John Dalrymple, John and Nathaniel Rice, John Lewis, William Lewis, Thomas Hill, Thomas Asope, Patrick Doran, Jerry Bigford, John Jean, in 1744 Collector of His Majesty's Customs. Between 1722 and 1730, there came quite a number of persons from the Albemarle section, Robert Halton, Provost Marshal of Bath County;[50] Col. James Innes, Martin Holt and wife, Mary Holt,[51] of Beaufort County; Cornelius Harnett, Sr., who had been bred a merchant in Dublin, Ireland,[52] and had married Mary, daughter of Martin Holt; his second wife was an Adams, of Bladen County; William Smith, Chief Justice; John Baptista Ashe, John and Nathaniel Rice, John Porter, John Maultsby, Edward Moseley, Surveyor General, and others, and received grants for large tracts of land from Governors Everard and Burrington. We have a tradition that bad blood was aroused between these new comers and the southern settlers in their eagerness to settle the most desirable locations. Burrington

entered Stag Park and Hawfields; C. Harnett, Sr., settled near Hilton and established a ferry there but later kept the ferry at Brunswick. In the neighborhood of Wilmington settled also Robert Halton and John Maultsby on the Northeast River. William Smith, Chief Justice, back of the present site of Wilmington. Martin Holt went to Brunswick, where he kept the ferry and a tavern; Maurice Moore and Roger at Orton; Nathaniel Moore at York, just below Brunswick; Allen at Lilliput, and Ashe on Town Creek.

In Burrington's instructions, we observe that public schools were provided for, but they direct that no schoolmaster[54] be permitted without license from the Bishop of London, and teachers in the province to be licensed by the Governor. William Wright was teacher in Brunswick. Education in the South[55] was of a higher type[56] than in the more northern settlements. The planters' sons were trained in the English schools and universities; were admitted to the English bar and were gentlemen in retirement, and imparted their manners and bearing to those about them. We find as early as 1712, a school teacher named Mashburn was in Albemarle. In 1750 George Vaughan,[57] an Irishman, writes from Lisburn, in Ireland, and offers to establish in the province at his own expense a seminary of learning. In 1756, the Assembly appropriated six thousand pounds for public schools but this fund was used in the French War[58] though refunded in 1760. In 1764, the public school committee appointed by the Assembly were Starkey, McGuire, Johnston and Harnett.

Burrington[59] remained in North Carolina until the arrival of his successor, Governor Gabriel Johnston,[60] at Cape Fear, October 27, 1734.[59] Governor Johnston was sworn in November 2, 1734, at the court-house in Brunswick. He was a Scotchman, a graduate of the University of St. Andrews and formerly professor there of Oriental languages, later a physi-

cian, and had received his appointment as Governor through Spencer Compton, Earl, of Wilmington, the Speaker of the House of Commons, with whom he lived while in London on intimate terms. He was received with delight by the people and great inducements were offered to have him make his residence in the northern part of the colony, which he at first acceded to. He married and settled at Salmon Creek, but subsequently returned to Cape Fear, where most of the Council resided, and attempted to make Wilmington the seat of government.

September 22, 1736, Governor[62] Johnston, in a speech before the legislature, both houses, called attention to the lack of Divine worship in many parts of the province; he deemed it essential that all rational creatures should pay due homage to the Supreme Author of their being[63] and that it is always regarded as a matter of the greatest consequence to peace and happiness to polish the minds of our young people with some degree of learning, and to early instill in them the principles of virtue and religion; that the legislature had not taken care to erect schools that deserve the name in this country was a misfortune. He proposed the use of the powder money[61] for the purpose but this was opposed. In Johnston's administration, this settlement rapidly developed, enterprising settlers came from many parts with retainers and slaves; they acquired extensive tracts of land and such as were best adapted to agriculture; and with fertile soils, abundant slave labor, they were easy and comfortable, with leisure to cultivate their mental faculties. They were eager students of history, literature, and the science of government, many were educated in England and broadened by foreign travel. They acquired a refinement of manners, which induced them to gather libraries and other comforts of home life; ease and abundance invited hospitality and social pleasures. Their daughters,

gentle in their manners, shone with natural graces which developed docility with independence. The restlessness of the face, the hurried gait, the quick voice and business air were wanting in their manners. It was not their part to fight in the holy cause of temperance of mankind, reformation of religion, labor or suffrage rights of women, but on the contrary their lot was that of devoted, honoring wives and mothers, filled with the spirit of the Lord, devoting their highest thoughts to the moral upbuilding of their offspring. Men yielded to them with pride and delight their prerogatives and privileges, but their rights were never considered or dreamed of; and though human nature through all ages has been stamped with vices, sin and passion, these people maintained a high ideal of woman which permeated through all classes, and with jealous care they guarded their wives and daughters until the restraint under which they were held from public intercourse became the palladium of their virtue and engendered a respect and honor from men which became a benison to the race. The wives of the wealthy planters, as well as the poorer classes had ample cares to occupy both their time and their thoughts; not only the household duties but the providing for their slaves in sickness and in health, and the preparing of their clothing and the distribution of food fell upon them.

As early as 1734, there were fine brick houses at Orton, Kendall, Blue Banks and Brunswick. The dwellings of the planters were not large but commodious, and had a remarkable capacity for having room to spare for the passing stranger and in them they entertained on occasions many friends and visitors. Many houses had the overhanging Dutch roof and were shingled both on roof and sides; ample open fire places extended across the end of the rooms, large enough to sit within, fire dogs holding the logs of wood. The fire filled

the room with warmth, and a glow of light more cheerful and comfortable than our modern method of lighting a house. Massive mahogany furniture, waxed and polished, but innocent of varnish, pewter and brass, chests of drawers, tables and chairs were imported from England. Their kitchen chimneys were hung with spits and chains for hangers, trammels and pot hooks, spiders and ovens where bread was baked for each meal; a modern cook might marvel how the savory meats and sweet breads were made. The dusky blacks toiling in the fields were dressed in bright dyed cotton clothes, women with red bandanas served about the houses, and at night they assembled about their cabin fires chanting weird and plaintive songs that called to the mind the pathetic lays of the daughters of Israel. Slaves were made mechanics, and there was little room for free labor.

Among early merchants we note Richard Quince & Sons, of Ramsgate, England, who owned several large ships; John Ancrum, from Hill House, near Frome in Somerset, England, secretary of the council, who purchased Old Town Plantation of Maurice Moore and resided there; Richard Morecraft and Thomas Merrick, from the Isle of St. Michael; William Dry, of Goose Creek, South Carolina; Rush Watts, of Lisbon, Portugal; Thomas Clark, a Captain of a Regiment of Foot in 1749.

Here in Brunswick, lived Matthew Higginbotham, the surveyor; Dr. Fergus, surgeon from a British Man of War, whose lot adjoined the town; Andrew Stewart, printer, who moved to Wilmington; Dr. Samuel Green, educated at Edinburg University, and Jonathan Ogden, the cordwainer. We note in deeds, the chair-maker, the block-maker, the baker, the tailor, carpenters and brick-makers, ship carpenters, tavern keepers, vintners, weavers, and periwig makers. There were settled on the river many whose names are hardly re-

membered; they came from many parts and were active in developing the settlement. Isaac Kilpatrick, of Londonerry; Thomas Carson and Michael Sampson, of Lisburn, and Waddell, of County Down, Ireland; Robert Walker, of New York; Joshua Gabourell, of the Isle of Jersey; James Murray, of London; Jehu, John and William Davis and William Hill, from Massachusetts; Dunbibin, Monk, Hogg and DuBois, of New York; John Watson, whose father had early established a botanic garden in Charleston; Mills, LeGeere, James Smallwood and Laspeyre, of South Carolina; DeRosset, from Lyme, England; William Bartram, the botanist; Dr. Roger Rolfe and wife, Ann, who owned the Rock Spring lot and St. James Square in Newton; Lord George Anson, for whom Anson County was named, the friend of Governor Johnston, who circumnavigated the world and was stationed a long while here in the man of war Scarborough. Here came James Hasell with his wife and son, a Yorkshire gentleman, who first settled in Philadelphia and came here in 1735, bringing into the colony thirty-five persons and for these he received grants for 1,750 acres. He purchased a tract on Town Creek and one of his grants was a tract on the coast at Cabbage Inlet about opposite the town of Brunswick. He was for forty years in public office in the colony, justice of the inferior court, chief justice, member of the council, president of the council, and several times acted as governor. "All these were there, and many others more, whose names and nations were too long to tell."

Before the arrival of Johnston the raftsmen on the Cape Fear refused to carry their tar, timber and naval stores down to the town of Brunswick, because of the open and exposed waters in front of that town, and as early as 1729, stopped at a place called the Dram Tree, where the merchants came up to trade; and many plantations up the river had their own

wharves where vessels were loaded. Finally a settlement was made and a tavern erected for their accommodation and a town laid out by James Wimble, John Watson, Joshua Grainger, Michael Dyer and others. This place was known by several names: New Town, Newton, Carthage, New Liverpool and finally through the influence of Governor Johnston incorporated under the name of Wilmington, in honor of his patron. We find the names of many forgotten streets on record of this old town, Nancy Street, King Street, Middle Market Street, Middle Street, Hannah Street, Coney Street. Finally by the removal of the Custom House, Court-house and Jail the town of Brunswick saw its downfall impending, and a hard fight was made at each move. The Governor called a council meeting there, and on May 18, 1735, organized the first Court of Exchequer[65] in the province, which he directed to be held at Newton, October 2, 1736, an act was passed making the town of Newton a township[66] to be called Wilmington, and the Assembly met there in 1741. Wilmington can not be called an offspring of Brunswick, but a rival settlement which finally absorbed the old town. The fight continued until February 25, 1740, when in the council, Allen, Nathaniel Rice, Edward Moseley and Roger Moore opposed[67] the Wilmington bill claiming that by the Act of 1729 Brunswick was made a township and empowered to build a court-house, jail and church; good houses had been built there by several people before Newton was established; that the custom house was too far up the river; while Robert Halton, Matthew Rowan and James Murray and William Smith contended that Brunswick was unhealthy, surrounded by ponds, and the people would not live there. The tie was broken by Chief Justice Smith[68] casting the second vote as chairman. December 17th, of that year, the Governor wrote that he hoped to get all public business done there. However, it is to Brunswick that our earlier traditions cling though it was never destined

to be a large town and only contained about forty families and in 1754, twenty families, while Wilmington then had seventy families.

The town of Brunswick was laid out on a tract of 320 acres granted to Maurice Moore and incorporated in 1729, and was divided into blocks with lots 86 feet front of a half acre each, about sixty lots fronting the river. The first street near the river with wharves in front was called Bay Street, the next in the rear Second Street, transverse streets were referred to as the streets where some person lived. In the town, the courts were held, merchants had their store houses and places of business, but they resided on plantations. The first minister[69] of the established church who resided in Brunswick was Rev. John LaPierre;[69] he came from Charleston in 1729, and remained nearly four years. His plaintive appeal to the Bishop of London, October 9, 1733, tells us of the sad plight of a missionary minister. He had no church, no provision made for salary, neither glebe nor house but was maintained by the contributions of a few. He speaks of a Mr. Chubb's[70] writings which leads his flock astray. He was succeeded by Rev. Richard Marsden,[71] both minister and merchant, who supported himself by trade, made voyages to Lisbon and England, owned a vessel and preached without pay. He was there till July 7, 1735, having been there in the colony[72] near seven years. Rev. James Moir came next in 1742, and March 26, 1745, tells us he lodges in a garret a little house which serves as a chapel Sundays and a school house during the week. He eats at the tavern among a rough set and his slave cooks his own food out of doors in all weather. Mr. Moir left Brunswick[73] in 1746. Rev. Mr. Bevis arrived in 1746, and was there two years; preached at the court-house; had much to suffer, neither a home provided nor parish laws observed. Then came Rev. Mr. Cramp

and Rev. John McDowell. The latter, in his will, directs[73] that he be buried[74] at the east end of the church near the grave of his wife, Sarah, and leaves his infant son to the care of the Governor and his uncle, John Grange, and requests that he be brought up under Mr. Richard Quince and his sons as a merchant.

The church at Brunswick was erected in 1751, and its walls still remain in very good condition. Cedar trees have sprung up within with spreading boughs which call to mind the arches of some gothic temple over which is spread a leafy canopy. Standing within the walls, one can well exclaim with the prophet: "Yea, the sparrow hath found an house, and the swallow a nest for herself, where she may lay her young, even thine altars, O Lord of hosts, my King and my God," for here it is verily true.

The church appears to have been built due north and south by an accurate astronomical observation. The building is seventy-six feet long by fifty-four feet and three inches wide, windows fifteen feet high by seven feet wide, walls two feet and nine inches thick, and the height thereof is twenty-four feet and four inches. There are eleven windows and three doors, and the floor was a tesselated pavement made of square Dutch tiles. Notwithstanding that there is a graveyard around the church, most of the dead are buried at the plantations, for the Act of 1741 required the owners of every plantation to set apart a piece of land for burial of dead Christians, free and bond.

In 1760, an Act called the Lottery Act was passed to raise funds to furnish the churches at Brunswick and Wilmington, and appropriated the proceeds of the sale of the pirates into slavery, and their personal effects captured in 1748, for the same purpose.

The minister and his family now resided in the town. On Sundays, court days, or holidays, the planters and their wives

and families came to town either for religious service or social pleasures, business or friendly intercourse with neighbors. Sunday laws were read in the churches twice a year by the minister, clerk or reader, under a penalty for neglect of twenty shillings for the benefit of the parish. Among the tombs near old St. Philip's we still find some worthy of notice for they will eventually crumble into dust like their inmates. The Hon. William Dry, Jr., who moved here from Goose Creek, South Carolina, in 1736, was collector of the port and a member of the council, died June 3, 1795. Rebecca McGuire, daughter of William Dry, Jr., and wife of Thomas McGuire, Attorney-General. Jane Quince, wife of John Quince, died in 1765. John Lord, a native of the town of Brunswick, died August 28, 1831, aged 66 years. William Hill died August 23, 1783, and his wife, Margaret, died November 3, 1788. John Guerard,[75] "for many years an inhabitant of Cape Fear, snatched by a sudden stroke of fate from life April 25, 1789." Elizabeth Guerard died June 30, 1775, aged 18 years. Elizabeth Eagen died June, 1785, aged 60 years. Benjamin Smith, "of Belvidere, once Governor of North Carolina, died January 10, 1826." Mary Jane Dry, wife of William Dry, Jr., born January 21, 1729, died April 3, 1795. Mary Quince, wife of Richard Quince, died 1762. Elizabeth Lord died February 26, 1847. Mary Bacot died August 29, 1838, aged 75 years. Peter Maxwell, of Glasgow, died at Wilmington September 23, 1812, aged 59 years, and wife, Rebecca Maxwell, died February 12, 1810.

In 1736 and 1746, vessels with Scotch Highlanders came but were advised to move to the up country where land was cheaper and better. It is said that their queer costumes, braw manners and shrill pipes unsettled the nerves of our Wilmington people.

In 1740, war was formally declared between England and Spain. Governor Johnston was active in raising troops to

invade the Spanish colonies. Even as early as June, 1739, letters of mark and reprisal were issued to privateers. November 5, 1740, transports left Brunswick with four companies of troops for Florida, and early the following year they arrived at Jamaica, joined Admiral Vernon and sailed for Carthagena, but we have scant reports of their fate. We know that Col. James Innes, Robert Halton and Lieut. Benjamin Heron were on the expedition and that the latter returned home by way of England. We also find numerous deeds of assignment of prize money during the following years, among them Isaac Lewis, Owen Jones, James Small, Robert Page, George Chapman, Gideon Stubbs, James Hardy, John Brown, William Purdie and other mariners.

In 1743, South Carolina asked the assistance of troops to meet the Spanish invasion from Cuba, and a thousand men were promised on condition that they should be commanded by an officer of this province, and Colonel Maurice Moore was chosen to command.

October, 1745, a squadron[76] from Havana entered the Cape Fear and burned the town of Brunswick.

In July, 1747, the Council directed[77] a fort to be built, and the Island[78] north of Oak Island was selected, and in September South Carolina offered[79] them ten pieces of ordnance, nine and twelve pounders and ammunition.

In 1745, an Act was passed to encourage the rebuilding of the town of Brunswick, also an Act which recites[80] that in view of the well known depth of water of the Cape Fear and its defenceless condition, a fort was ordered to be built to be called Fort Johnston to contain at least twenty-four cannon, and Governor Johnston, Nathaniel Rice, Robert Halton, Eliezer Allen, Matthew Rowan, Major John Swann and George Moore were appointed commissioners to erect the same.

September 17, 1747, John Ellis[81] in an affidavit at Brunswick stated that he sailed in June on the brigantine John

Williams, Thomas Corbett Master, and that they were captured by the Spanish privateer, St. Gabriel the Conqueror, and sent to Hispaniola but retaken and sent to St. Simons; that the brigantine belonged to Rev. Richard Marsden.

November 8, 1748,[82] two pirate ships came up the Cape Fear, trained their guns upon the town of Brunswick and threatened to sack the town unless a ransom was paid. The inhabitants, without means of defense, were demoralized and fled to the woods, but the town was saved by the explosion of the magazine in one of the vessels, and the people taking courage boarded[83] the other vessel and captured it. The prisoners were sold into slavery and with the proceeds of the sale of their personal property there was realized a fund which by an Act was afterwards applied to finish the churches of St. Philip and of St. James. An "Ecce Homo"[84] still hangs in the vestry room of St. James Church, at Wilmington, taken from this pirate ship, supposed to have been from the plunder of some Spanish church.

From stray leaves of records of the old Court of Common Pleas of the town of Brunswick, 1738, we observe that the court was presided over by Nathaniel Rice, Matthew Rowan, Eliezer Allen, Robert Halton, James Innes and Cornelius Harnett and others. Deeds were proved before the court and among them a power of attorney from George Burrington to his wife, Mary. Nicholas Fox produced a license to practice as attorney in the province from the governor. Complaint is made of citizens obstructing public docks and landings with lumber in front of the town; beef brought to market without exhibiting ear marks and brands complained of; keeping hogs and swine in town was forbidden. Several persons warned against selling liquor in the town and county at exorbitant price to the great damage of artificers and laboring men. Tax levied to build court-house and jail. C. Harnett made sheriff. Rev. Mr. Marsden ordered to appear before

the court for building his cellar in the street, and erecting an oven in the street, fails to appear and sends certificate from Dr. Roger Rolfe, of Wilmington, that he is ill.

Governor Johnston died July 17, 1752. Nathaniel Rice, the president of the council, succeeded but died January 25, 1753, and Matthew Rowan succeeded till the appointment of Governor Arthur Dobbs, who was sworn in at New Bern, October 15, 1754. He was an Irishman and formerly a member of the Irish Parliment and a man of education. He fitted out a galley[85] sent to discover the northwest passage. He was a correspondent of the Geographical Society and of Rev. William Wetstein,[86] chaplain of his R. H., the Prince of Wales, and wrote several letters upon the course of the Gulf stream.

"O, what an endless work I have in hand," as well count the sea's abundant progeny as continue longer on this theme. More could be told of John Dalrymple, commander of Fort Johnston, Governor Dobbs and Governor Tryon, the Stamp Act, Governor Martin, formerly Lieutenant Colonel 86th[87] Regiment of Foot; the proclamation of George II, as King at Brunswick, of Cornwallis and Clinton, Harnett and Ancrum, of Howe, Ashe, Waddell and Moore, of the remains of the old houses, ruins of St. Philip's Church, the tombs and marble slabs with inscriptions that not only bespeak the memory of the dead but their intelligence and refinement, and may the inscription on the grave of young Rebecca McGuire "quisquis hoc marmor sustulerit ultimus suorum moriatur" adjure us to guard these ancient ruins and the traditions and memories of all who lived there as monuments of our race.

AUTHORITIES CITED IN THE FOREGOING ARTICLE.

[1] World's Discoverers, by Wm. H. Johnson, with Verrazano's map, p. 185.

[2] Col. Rec., N. C., Vol. I, p. 43. Proposal of Lords Proprietors.

[3] Col. Rec., I, p. 53.

[4] Term used by Barbadoes Explorers, 1663.

[5] Col. Rec., I, p. 35. Samuel Vassal, Assignee.

[6] Col. Rec., I, p. 161.

[7] Col. Rec., I, p. 73. John Vassal, Surveyor-Gen. Cape Fear.

[8] Col. Rec., I, p. 56. Landed at Old Town (Charlestown) 29th May, 1664.

[9] Col. Rec., I, pp. 119 and 116. Sanford, etc.

[10] Col. Rec., I, p. 120.

[11] Col. Rec., I, p. 154. Cotton, etc.

[12] Professor Rivers some time ago earnestly denied this, but we have not agreed with him.

[13] Col. Rec., I, p. 165. Souls.

[14] Col. Rec., I, p. 145.

[15] Thomas Wentworth Higginson, in allusion to the monument of a Madam Ann Vassal, widow of John Vassal, at Cambridge, says:

"At her feet and at her head
Lies a slave to attend the dead."

Another of these adventurers has left a record. In Suffolk, Mass., Probate Records, Vol. I, p. 536, is a will of George Davis, dated December 7, 1664, proved September, 1667; says he is bound for Cape Fear, mentioned his sons Benjamin and Joseph, his five daughters, when they come of age, his wife and brother, Wm. Clark of Linn. Probate records give inventory of goods of George Davis, lately deceased at Cape Fear.

[16] New Hanover Co. Records, C, p. 74. Smith grant mentioned.

[17] This family of Moores are said to be descended from Roger Moore, leader of the Irish Rebellion in 1641. James Moore came to America, settled in Charleston, and was Governor of South Carolina in 1700.

[18] Col. Rec., I, p. 154. Also mentioned by Lawson, p. 269, who said: "We have clothes of our own manufacture of cotton, wool, hemp and flax of our own growth." Hon W. B. Seabrook, in an address before the South Carolina Agricultural Society, December, 1843, mentions this as the first recorded evidence of its cultivation in America. We also find that M. Le Page Du Pratz, 1758, in his History of Louisiana, p. 323, refers to the cotton raised in that country as the Siam or Turkey cotton, which is a green-seeded cotton, and this also was attempted in Virginia, but with indifferent success.

[19] Acts 1711 and 1715, to raise money by duties on liquors and other goods.

[20] Col. Rec., II, pp. 480 and 481.

[21] Col. Rec., II, p. 596.

[22] Col. Rec., XI, p. 128. Gents. Magazine, 1756.

[23] Col. Rec., ... Records A, p. 102, New Hanover County.

[24] Rec. New Hanover Co., A, p. 93.

[25] Col. Rec., XI, p. 128.

[26] Col. Rec., II, p. 596.

[27] Records New Hanover Co., D, pp. 512 and 403; Col. Rec., III, p. 63.

[28] See Wimble's Map.
[29] Col. Rec., III, p. 436.
[30] Col. Rec., III, pp. 63 and 30.
[31] Everard to John Bell, N. H. Co., p. 172; Lockwood's Folly and A, p. 93.
[32] I am of the opinion that she was the Widow Moore for which Moore's Creek was named. She was Justina Moore, sixth child of Landgrave Thomas Smith 2nd, and who married John Moore, seventh son of the first Governor Jas. Moore.
[33] Col. Rec., III, p. 575, Acts Assembly 1736, chapter 8.
[34] Revised Stats. N. C., Vol. II, p. 21.
[35] Rev. Stats. N. C., II, p. 466.
[36] Gentleman's Magazine, 1756.
[37] Acts 1729, 34 Geo. II.
[38] A valuable table of exports and imports of Carolina from 1663 to 1773 will be found in the American Museum, Nov. 1789, pp. 400, 401.
[39] New Hanover Co., A, p. 342.
[40] New Hanover Co., D, p. 403.
[41] Col. Rec., IV, p. 6.
[42] Col. Rec., V, p. 158.
[43] New Hanover Co., A, p. 313, and Col. Rec., XI, p. .....
[44] Gents. Magazine, 1756.
[45] Col. Rec., XI, p. .....
[46] Col. Rec., XI, pp. 128 and 148.
[47] Col. Rec., XI, p. 18, and Col. Rec., III, p. 137 and 147.
[48] See 47.
[49] From two deeds of lease and release in New Hanover Co., dated 10th and 11th April, 1754, "Geo. Burrington, late Governor, etc., now residing in the Parish of St. Margaret Westminster, in the County of Middlesex," conveyed to Samuel Strudwick his lands on Northeast Cape Fear, called "Stag Park," of 10,000 acres, and lands on the Northwest Cape Fear called "Hawol Fields" (Hawfields) of 30,000 acres. This deed mentions that by letters patent dated 29th April, 1730, he had been appointed Governor with a salary of 700 pounds per annum, to be paid quarterly by John Hammerton, Esq., Receiver-General; that he was still in arrearage 3,325 pounds, and in consideration of advancement by Edw. Strudwick, the father of Samuel Strudwick, of Mortimer street, in the Parish of St. Mary Le Bow, in said County of Middlesex, he makes that conveyance. It is acknowledged before the Lord Mayor in the Mansion House, April 11, 1754. His wife was Mary Burrington, and proved a deed in Brunswick County. Moseley speaks well of Burrington. Col. Rec., III, p. 137.
[50] Since March 25, 1739, called Sheriff. Acts 1738, chap. 3.
[51] Her will (New Hanover Co., C, p. 328,) mentions her grandson, C. Harnett, Jr.
[52] J. H. Wheeler in South Atlantic, 1879.
[53] .....
[54] Col. Rec., V, p. 1137.
[55] Encyc. Brit., 9th Ed., under United States, p. 177.
[56] Other references as to Education may be found in Col. Rec., V, pp. 288, 289, 298, 280, 281, 1160, 1225, and Col. Rec., VI, p. 477.
[57] Col. Rec., V, pp. 144b and 306.
[58] Col. Rec., VI, p. 477.
[59] Col. Rec., III, pp. 642, 633 and 626.
[60] Gents. Mag., 1733, and Col. Rec., III, p. 630.

[61] Col. Rec., IV, p. 375—Thomas Clifford, receiver of powder money at Brunswick.
[62] Col. Rec., IV, pp. 226 and 271.
[63] First Masonic Lodge at Brunswick, 1733, No. 113, called "King Solomon Lodge."
[64] Col. Rec., IV, p. 338.
[65] Col. Rec., IV, p. 44, Wilmington.
[66] Col. Rec., IV, p. 235. See Acts 1736.
[67] Col. Rec., IV, p. 456.
[68] Col. Rec., IV, pp. 424 and 415.
[69] Col. Rec., III, pp. 350 and 391.
[70] At that time a prominent deist in England.
[71] Col. Rec., III, pp. 350 and 391; New Hanover Co., C, p. 62.
[72] Col. Rec., IV, p. 10.
[73] Col. Rec., IV, p. 875, and Vol. III, pp. 391 and 350; New Hanover, C, p. 62.
[74] Col. Rec., IV, pp. 755, 605, 606, 608.
[75] Col. Rec., I, p. 242; a Normandy family.
[76] Moore's Hist. N. C., Vol. I, p. 41, Vol. 4. p. 1306.
[77] Col. Rec., IV, p. 700.
[78] Col. Rec., IV, p. 702.
[79] Col. Rec., V, p. 38.
[80] Acts 1745, chap. 6.
[81] New Hanover Co., C, p. 133.
[82] Col. Rec., V, pp. 38 and 72.
[82] Col. Rec., V, pp. 38 and 72. Also Gents. Mag., 1749, in an account of this attack says one vessel escaped, and that 60 were blown up, 20 killed, 37 taken prisoners. One American—a pilot—missing.
[83] Col. Rec., IV, pp. 991, 1284, 922, 1300, 1306.
[84] See History of St. James Church.
[85] Gents. Mag., 1749, June.
[86] Gents. Mag., Dec., 1749.
[87] London Mag., 1764.

BIOGRAPHICAL AND GENEOLOGICAL MEMORANDA.

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

JOHN DILLARD BELLAMY.

Born in Wilmington, March 24, 1854; graduated at Davidson College, N. C., 1873; B.L.; University of Virginia, 1875; married December 6, 1876, Emma M. Hargrove. He served as City Attorney of Wilmington, 1881; was a member of the State Senate, 1891; delegate to National Convention of the Democratic party, 1892; member of Congress, 1879-1903, Sixth North Carolina District.

Mr. Bellamy's painstaking elaboration of the life and services of Gen. Robert Howe will be read with interest, as the life and sacrifices of the distinguished man have not received heretofore the just amount of notice that should have been accorded him. Since the great revival in historic interest and research, many important facts have been secured from musty documents, old letters, and other data. North Carolina is awaking to her duty. The ignorance that has prevailed as to the facts of our colonial settlements is being dispelled by our educators. A North Carolina Day has been established by act of General Assembly, and for the last six years an appropriate program has been arranged, treating of some especial section; its settlement, and brief histories of the distinguished men of the period. This pamphlet was compiled with great care by the Superintendent of Public Instruction and sent out to the public schools with the hope of inspiring the children with a new pride in their State and a new enthusiasm for the study of her history. The subjects treated followed the chronological order of the State's history. The North Carolina Booklet, from its first inception in

1901 has had in view the emphasizing and putting into convenient form great events in the State's history. It is acknowledged that this publication is doing as much for the education of the public in a historical way as any magazine in the State. The financial support of the public is solicited.

In addition to the above, and in this connection, I must not fail to mention the activities of the State Literary and Historical Association, which is doing such steady and efficient work collecting and preserving our State literature and history. Its object is the encouragement of public and school libraries; the establishment of a historical museum; the inculcation of a literary spirit among our people; the correction of printed misrepresentations concerning North Carolina; and the engendering of an intelligent, healthy State pride in the rising generation. Under the control of an active, intelligent, painstaking Board of Managers, this Association is advocating the establishment of a State Archives and Hall of Records.

WILLIAM KENNETH BOYD.

William Kenneth Boyd, author of "Early Relations of North Carolina and the West," was born in the State of Missouri in 1879, the son of Rev. H. M. Boyd (Presbyterian) and Mary Black Boyd. In 1888 his family removed to Western North Carolina, in search of a better climate, and located at Weaverville. His preparatory education was secured at Weaverville College, and in 1897 he graduated from Trinity College with the degree of A.B., and received his A.M. degree in 1898. He was then Master in History and Latin in the Trinity Park High School for the first two years of its existence (1898-1900). In 1900 he entered Columbia University as Scholar in History; in 1902-'03 he was Fellow in European History, in 1903-'04 Fellow by

Courtesy, and in 1906 received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. In 1904-'05 Mr. Boyd was a member of the editorial staff of the Encyclopedia Britannica (Tenth Edition), in 1905-'06 he was Instructor in History in Dartmouth College, and in 1906 he accepted the Chair of History in Trinity College, where he had formerly, for one year (1901-1902), been Adjunct Professor of History.

Besides the present article, Mr. Boyd has contributed the following studies in North Carolina history and biography: "John S. Cairns, Ornithologist," "Dennis Heartt," "William W. Holden," "Nathaniel Macon in National Legislation," "Advalorem Slave Taxation," "Letters of Bedford Brown."

All of these have appeared in the Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society (Series I-VI). He will also contribute the sketch of William Gaston to the forthcoming Library of Southern Literature, with which Prof. C. Alphonso Smith is connected as associate editor. He has promised a study of the Battle of Kings Mountain for a future number of THE BOOKLET.

Besides these North Carolina studies, Mr. Boyd has published a monograph, "Ecclesiastical Edicts of the Theodosian Code," (Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, 1906), and has contributed the following articles to *The South Atlantic Quarterly:* "Alfred the Great as Legislator," Vol. I, No. 1; "Southern History in American Universities," Vol. I, No. 2; "Christian Persecutions and Roman Jurisprudence," Vol. II, No. 1; "Theodore Mommsen: His Place in Modern Scholarship," Vol. III, No. 3; "Dunning's History of Reconstruction," Vol. VI, No. 4.

Mr. Boyd, though not a native of North Carolina, has imbibed that spirit of research which is now pervading this section of the South. The day has passed when men are more ready to handle the sword than to wield the pen; con-

ditions have changed, the hand of the educator has grappled the pen, old dusty manuscripts are being brought to light, the many stories of traditional lore of her unparalleled record are being corroborated by documentary evidence, and simple truth will be thus enthroned, which is the highest ambition of patriotic North Carolinians.

WILLIAM B. McKOY.

Author of the article, "Incidents in the Early Settlement of the Cape Fear."

Wm. B. McKoy was born in Wilmington, N. C., December 24, 1852; went to school in Wilmington; graduated at the College of New Jersey (Princeton) in 1876; studied law under Hon. Geo. V. Strong in Raleigh, N. C.; licensed to practice law in 1879; sworn in as a member of the bar at Rockingham, Richmond County, N. C., same year; since practiced law in Wilmington. He is from a long line of ancestors loyal and patriotic. His paternal ancestor in America was John McKay (now McKoy), who was sent out of Scotland after 1746 as an active adherent of Prince Charlie; settled in Bladen County; moved thence to Iredell County. On his maternal side his earliest ancestor in America was Col. Wm. Rhett, of Charleston, S. C. He is also a descendant of James Hasell and Charles Berry, two Chief Justices of the Province of North Carolina.

District Attorney Thirteenth Democratic Party

Mr. McKoy is Senior Grand Warden of the Grand Lodge of Free Masons, a place he fills with great ability.

Mr. McKoy having been a life-long resident of Wilmington, the chief town of the Cape Fear, he is familiar with its history and traditions. No more patriotic people ever lived than those of this section, and this patriotism has descended from generation to generation, dating from the first permanent settlements made in 1663. Mr. McKoy, like many

others of this present day of educational awakening, is discharging a conscientious and patriotic duty to his State by publishing an article additional to what has heretofore been published concerning the history of this section.

The long struggle of this American colony on the shores of North Carolina, dating from 1554 to 1775, is hardly equaled by any other; but those days were not without their good results. It was the formative period in moulding the character of the people, and to-day there is no State that can boast of a purer Anglo-Saxon race (having the smallest percentage of foreign born citizens of any State in the Union), and a people more devoted to their State and its history. Though long in asserting her rightful place as one of the leaders in colonization and in achieving independence, her great citizenship is now awake to the importance of writing her history. This great renewal of interest in North Carolina history may be attributed to the publication of the Colonial Records, that admirable work ordered by the State and undertaken by Col. William L. Saunders.

Colonel Saunders, as Secretary of State, saw too plainly the necessity of collecting and preserving full and complete records of North Carolina, therefore he took upon himself this self-imposed task from love for his native State.

At a period somewhat prior to his death in 1891, these Records, reaching from the beginnings of the Province, 1662, down to and inclusive of the year 1776, filling ten large folio volumes, were suspended. In 1893 the Trustees of the State Library invited Judge Walter Clark to assume the continuation of the work. This he has done, beginning from the year 1776, completing the period to 1781, as authorized by The Code, and continuing under the title of State Records, filling sixteen large folio volumes, including the laws of the the Province and State from 1663 to 1791, and also an index.

To Colonel Saunders and Judge Clark the State owes a debt of gratitude beyond estimation. These Records are of immeasurable value to the student of history and a capital source of stimulation to the young. THE BOOKLET has a promise of an article on this gigantic work.

Even the women of this Commonwealth, through their historical organizations, are awaking to the duty of impressing upon the youth of our land the part they must perform in order to perpetuate our history. It was a noble work of the Colonial Dames of North Carolina in erecting, in 1907, on a public square in Wilmington, a monument to "Cornelius Harnett and the Colonial Heroes of the Cape Fear." In Vol. V, No. 3, of THE BOOKLET, may be found an interesting sketch of Cornelius Harnett, the pride of the Cape Fear, who was styled "the Samuel Adams of North Carolina," written by R. W. D. Connor. It is well to mention here that THE BOOKLET contains other articles of great historical value relating to this part of North Carolina, Colonial and Revolutionary, as follows: Vol. I, No. 3, "Stamp Act on the Cape Fear," by Hon. A. M. Waddell; Vol. II, No. 10, "County of Clarendon," by John Spencer Bassett; Vol. III, No. 11, "Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge," by Prof. M. C. S. Noble; Vol. VI, No. 1, "A Colonial Admiral of the Cape Fear," by James Sprunt. All of which can be obtained from the publishers except No. 3, of Vol. I, which is out of print.

The North Carolina Booklet

A QUARTERLY PUBLICATION ISSUED UNDER
THE AUSPICES OF THE

"NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION"

THIS PUBLICATION treats of important events in North Carolina History, such as may throw light upon the political, social or religious life of the people of this State during the Colonial and Revolutionary periods, in the form of monographs written and contributed by as reliable and painstaking historians as our State can produce. The Sixth Volume began in July, 1906.

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION:

One Year, One Dollar; Single Copies, Thirty-five Cents.

Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton, Mrs. E. E. Moffitt, Editors, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Registered at Raleigh Post-office as second class matter.

Notice should be given if the subscription is to be discontinued. Otherwise it is assumed that a continuance of the subscription is desired.

All communications relating to subscriptions should be sent to

Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton,
Midway Plantation, Raleigh, N. C.