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The North Carolina Booklet

GREAT EVENTS
IN
NORTH CAROLINA
HISTORY

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY
BY
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

CONTENTS

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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.

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3. Finances of the North Carolina Colonists, *Dr. Charles Lee Raper*
4. Fayetteville Independent Light Infantry, *Judge James C. MacRae*
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8. The Resolution of April 12, 1776, . *Prof. R. D. W. Connor*
9. Our First State Constitution . . . . *Dr. E. W. Sikes*
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MISS MARY HILLIARD HINTON,
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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.

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THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET.

Vol. VII OCTOBER, 1907 No. 2

ODE TO NORTH CAROLINA.

BY PATTIE WILLIAMS GEE.

I.

By Honor called
To stay the rocks from heralding the shame
Long gathering of oblivion to blame;
Of silent tongue
While one beloved is still untrumpeted, unsung;
A daughter of the pines would climb Old Bald,
And from his heaven-ascending brim,
Down the long slopes which greet the sea's low rim,
Would gonfalons of song unfold
(As when Vulcanus rolled
His rugged gold;
Demeter swung her surging plumes,
All her arms held of primal blooms,
Of subtle beauty and of wild perfumes)
Far o'er the fruited, fern-robed Wold,
(A bride the burning Sun
Doth feast his amorous lips upon);
And over orioled mountain peaks
Whose sweeping eagles' piercing shrieks
Die in blue beds of cloud-blown deeps;
Till e'en the bitterest wrong
Which through the sad years yearns and weeps
Shall from its stream of tears up-leap to strife-dissolving song!

II.

O, Carolinians, lift your eyes!
(God-gladdened eyes!)
And know this well:—
That 'tis your happy lot to dwell
Where Nature walks
In affluence.
Beneath a low-hung sky forever slipping
Warm kisses on her lips and dewy nectar dripping
Upon her flowered petticoat
Oft caught by wandering mists afloat;
Whose tunic, jewel-broidered, gleams;
Whose train is sun-lit, shimmering streams,
And talks
With him who owns her influence!

III.

Yours the consecrated sod
Which first the Anglo-Saxon trod
Of all our hard-won soil!
And sanctifying home and toil,
Yours the Mother on whose breast,
Smiling in confiding rest,
Lay the first American!
O, Carolinians, know this well,
And to your children's children tell
That here our civil rights began!
That here a woman stricken sore
Scorned to spare the sons she bore!
That here our proto-martyrs bled!
Say no stately rites were said
O'er these first for freedom dead,—
These first red drops for freedom shed,
But tell them, Carolinians, how
From wounds and bruise of sword and lance,

From purple pools of Alamance,
There sprang the flower of Mecklenburg,
The laurel flower sprang, and how
Its spreading leaves of liberty
Wreathed first their Mother's brow!

IV.

O, blood-blown Leaves of Liberty,
So doubly dear, so fair,
O, blood-blown Leaves of Liberty
Which stained her glorious hair
When foes unnumbered sacked her shores
And left a leprous reptile at her doors,
A leprous reptile that a woman may not name,—
O, blood-blown Leaves of Liberty, men blush at your great name!
Since Nero burned imperial Rome,
His torches flashed beneath her dome,
Was never scourge like this,—
This crucifix which weak lips needs must kiss!

V.

But who could bear to stir a woman's pain
When guns, corosive, cold,
Lie dumb and still?
When o'er a wind-swept hill
Where sleep her valiant slain
A flawless moon unfolds in sympathy to rise in glory and in glory wane?
When o'er a silvered plain
The stars flood melody to light the reign
Of Love wherein young Hope was born?—
Born of the Awakening of unused resources
Wedded to Vigor of swift water courses

From towering summits scurrying cold
Through miles of cotton blossoms, miles of corn,
A Naiad robed in gold?—

VI.

Oh that a living lyre might tell
This patient Mother's virtues! Dwell
Upon each deed chivalric of her sons!
Oh that an Orpheus might sing
Of that chill morn whereon there fell
Such courage courting death
As merged Purpose into Promise; flowered incipient life to breath
When Victory's voice o'er Moore's lonely dell
Shook the gray boughs; forced every woodland bell![1]
Oh that resounding hymns might ring
Of Ramseur's Mill and the four hundred under Locke
Who stilled the booming of a thousand guns!
Of Joseph Graham whose twenty score
Repulsed the madness of four thousand more
Flung powerless upon a human rock!
Of that immortal field in Memory's raptured fabric woven[2]
Whereon no foe was lost, no foe uncaptured or uncloven!
Of her who won a warrior's crest
And blazoned Charlotte with The Hornet's Nest—
The proud escutcheon of the Hornet's Nest!
And of Penelope of old,
Leading (as chronicles relate)
The women of quaint Edenton to hold
High council and protest
Against coercion by an alien state
In mad exaction of an alien tax!
Of New Bern, Hillsboro, and of Halifax!

[1]The Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge, February 27, 1776.
[2]The Battle of King's Mountain.

VII.

Oh that a living lyre might tell
Her virtues! Dwell
Upon each deed chivalric of her sons,
Till from a million throats
Upon the rushing currents of the years,
(In tiger-breeding wars through tears)
There floats
This shibboleth—The spirit of the Spartan breathes and burns!
Ah yes, what though her iron days are past
And though the adamant wherein her fate was cast
No longer binds,—
The spirit of the Spartan breathes and burns
And on the shifting winds
Of Duty seaward turns,—

VIII.

Seaward where torn flags are trailing over crushed and crumbled walls,
Men are sighing, struggling, dying, to be freed from ancient thralls,
And again a righteous Mother,
Instant to relieve another,
Instant at her country's call,
Sends one with this spirit in him
"To return with Valour's guerdon"—
(List the Spartan Mother's burden!)
"Or beneath a soldier's pall!"
(Oh the pity and the heartache
And the anguish of it all!)
For Alamance and Bethel's story
Rings again amid the glory,
Rings again when at the daybreak,

With the Southern fire within him,
With his father's sword without him,
With the old flag wrapped about him,
(Oh the triumph and the glory,
And the rapture of it all!)
For his country's vindication,
For a friend's amelioration,
For the healing of his nation
Gallant Bagley bleeds and falls!

IX.

Yes, Alamance and Bethel's story
Heard again amid the glory
Challenges a nation's praise,
Challenges the world's amaze!

X.

Oh, with this spirit, Carolinians,
Onward to those pure dominions
Overspread by angels' pinions,
By the strong Thought angels' pinions!
Through all dreaming with its leaning toward the infinite,
Through all seeming to God's meaning clear and definite,
Onward to those pure dominions
Overspread by angels' pinions,
Where divine, effulgent light is!
Turn not backward where the night is,
For the broad-orbed sun is risen;
Holy Progress calls you: Listen.

XI.

Onward, patriot souls, unfettered,
Lifting standards, golden-lettered,
"Esse Quam Viderie" graven,
Words no coward hands nor craven

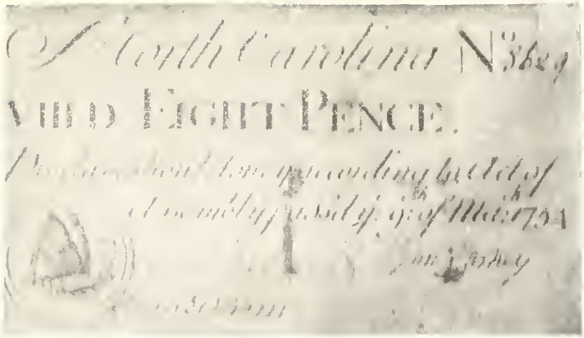
Dare upraise! The Future calls you;
All her luminous doors uncloses,
Pelts you with her dew-drenched roses;
Subtle Art and Music greet you;
Clear-voiced Learning low entreats you;
All the intellects and sages
Of the lost and buried ages
Echoing their sublime acclaim:
Brothers, she who bore you, calls you;
Answer her with deathless fame.

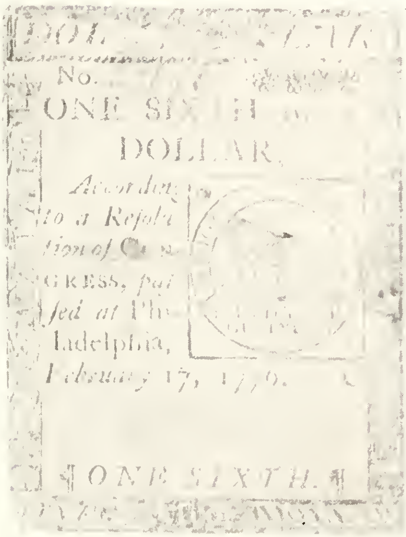
THE FINANCES OF THE NORTH CAROLINA COLONISTS.

BY CHARLES LEE RAPER, PH.D.,
PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA.

At the mere mention of finance, unless it be in a suggestion of a gift to us in the shape of money, most of us at once declare our lack of interest, if not indeed our complete indifference. We have become so accustomed to the idea that the monetary phase of life is so dry and uninteresting, that the consideration of this phase of our life belongs exclusively to the economist, the expert historian, or the statesman, that most of us, if not indeed all of us, are ignorant of some of the most vital and fundamental aspects and problems of our common everyday life.

But, notwithstanding this apparent popular indifference, the monetary phase of our common life is really vital to all of us—to every man, woman and child among us. We can never, even for a single moment, escape the question of finance, however much we would like to do so. The sentimentalist, who according to his own conceited belief lives solely in the realm of the beautiful and the true,—even he is most fundamentally dependent upon its forces. Finance is not, as many of us have so oftentimes fancied, a subject foreign to our real everyday selves. It is indeed a most vital and universal phase of our normal life, of our life as individuals and as collective bodies of individuals. It is ever present and vital in our consumption of wealth, and in our production and distribution of wealth. It is ever a problem, and a most serious one, for the state, which of necessity must consume wealth for the satiation of all its myriad wants and for the performance of all its protective and developmental functions. The state must not only satiate all its manifold


EIGHT PENCE.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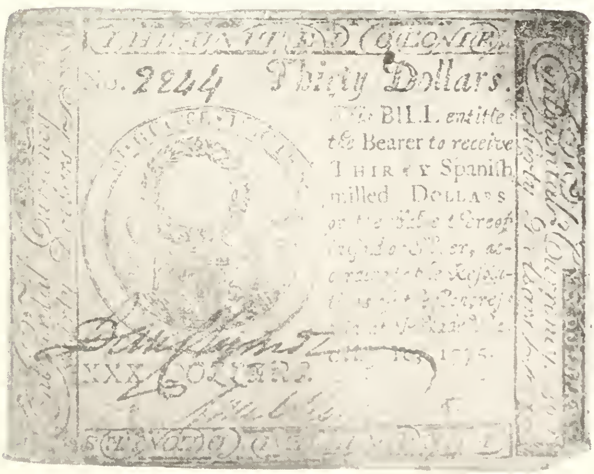
DOLLAR.
ONE SIXTH.


No. 2244
Thirty Dollars.
BILL entitles
the Bearer to receive
Spanish
milled DOLLARS

wants, but also perform its part in the production of wealth or the conditions of wealth production. It must do its part in creating and maintaining efficient and equitable conditions, in which the individual citizen may produce the maximum of wealth and the maximum of enjoyment from its production or consumption.

Indeed, the individual must needs have money as a standard of his values and a medium of their exchange before it is at all possible for him to play an important role in life. In fact, money, an efficient and just system, is one of the really great achievements of civilized man. For all men who live in a stage above that of the most primitive type, who are above the exceedingly crude phase of the savage hunter, fisherman, and root-grubber, money is both a necessity and an efficient instrument of individual and social weath and welfare. Whenever man has products which he desires to exchange with another man, wherever he may be, and the higher his civilization and culture the greater number of such products does he possess, then must he have money; then must he possess a standard of the values of these products and a medium of their exchange.

And the state, as well as the individual, has vital need of money. It, like the individual, must needs have money as a standard of values and a medium of their exchange. So numerous and varied are the State's wants and functions that we can not here give them in detail. It must perform all the functions of living, all the functions of protecting itself and all its citizens, and all the functions of developing itself and the conditions of peace, order, prosperity, and welfare, for all its citizens.

In all these phases of life, whether of the individual or of the state, money plays the ever vital part of transmitting economic forces and values, just as the blood carries to all parts of the body the physical forces. It also plays the part of supplying a common expression of these forces and values,

just as language gives to us a common medium of the expression of our thoughts and feelings.

With these convictions ever present in our minds, let us now trace and analyze the finances of our ancestors—the monetary system, and its forces and problems, of the North Carolina colonists. And we shall treat this vital phase of our colonial life under the following heads: Coin, Barter, and Paper.[1]

COIN.

The first colonists, in North Carolina as well as elsewhere in the American provinces, possessed little, if any, money in the shape of coin. They were for the most part poor, and the small amount of wealth which they possessed was in other forms than metallic money. Their wealth was in their weapons, tools, implements, seeds, cattle, and horses, and in this form it was only very slight. People of much wealth were now comparatively few anywhere in Europe, and life in a far-distant and savage land, where at best it was very severe, could offer little attraction to the wealthy and the contented. It was indeed the economic force, or prospect rather, that brought men and women from old and comparatively prosperous countries—it was the hope of economic betterment that brought our ancestors to this wild and unknown land. The provincial government, either in North Carolina or elsewhere, was forbidden to coin money in any form or denomination, and consequently the colonists could obtain only that coin which came to them as a result of their trade with Englishmen, in the motherland, or with foreigners. During the

[1]Since every fact upon which this paper is based can be found in our great collection, *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, and in the acts of the provincial assembly—in the first four *Revisals of North Carolina Statutes* or in manuscript now in the office of the Secretary of State—we do not deem it necessary to make detailed references to these collections. For full details we would, with the reader's permission, refer to our *North Carolina Study in English Colonial Government* (Macmillan's, N. Y.), pp. 125-147. And we shall, in referring to this work, use this abbreviated title: *Raper's North Carolina.*

colonial days English coins occasionally came to our ancestors, and these were of the denominations of pound, shilling, and pence. And at times came Spanish silver coins, called Spanish dollars, and Brazilian gold coins. To the North Carolina colonists the Spanish coins came rarely. Our colonial ancestors for many years lived in almost complete isolation. They carried on little direct trade with the colonists of the Spanish islands; their exchanges with foreigners, even with their friends in England, were largely carried on through the New England traders. Ships from New England came to our shores, exchanged finished products for our surplus of raw materials and finished goods, and then transported them to the Spanish islands or Europe. The Carolina colonists sold for foreign or English consumption the surplus products of their streams, forests, and farms, but for the most part they received in exchange finished goods, not coin.

BARTER.

The early colonists of North Carolina, coming into the possession of little coin by means of their commerce, and being forbidden by the government in England to mint such money, must needs resort to the use of barter or paper currency. And they used barter currency extensively, if not indeed exclusively, until 1712, when paper money came into existence; and the use of barter continued for many years after this time. This currency was, to be sure, no new creation by the Carolina colonists. Its use has been universal in certain stages of economic development. Whenever people have surplus products to exchange with each other and do not possess a common standard of the values of these products or common media of their exchange, they always resort to barter currency. They, by common consent or by legislative enactment, declare that a certain one of their products shall serve as a standard of all values, and that a number of their commodities shall serve as media of exchange; and to these commodities

they assign certain legal tender values, in terms of which all their exchanges must take place. The Carolina colonists already possessed a standard of values—the English pound, sterling. In terms of this standard all their barter commodities were given a legal exchange value.

Exactly when the Carolina colonists resorted to the use of barter currency and gave it definite form we are unable to find out, though we have many reasons for thinking that it was early in their provincial life. In 1715-1716 the lords proprietors allowed, though unwillingly, an act of the assembly to go into operation, in which seventeen commodities were enumerated and assigned full legal tender values as barter currency; and this act was only a revisal of a former one. This act, changed a few years later so as to incorporate a few more commodities, was in operation until the middle of the eighteenth century, notwithstanding much opposition on the part of the lords proprietors or the crown officials (after 1731). The following is the table of commodities and their legal tender exchange ratios in terms of the standard, sterling, as declared by the act of 1715-1716:

	Pound.	Shilling.	Pence.
[1]Tobacco, per hundred		10	
Indian corn, per bushel		1	8
Wheat, per bushel		3	6
Cheese, per pound			4
Row buck and doe skins, per pound			9
Dressed buck and doe skins, per pound		2	6
Tallow, per pound			5
Leather, per pound			8
Beaver and otter skins, per pound		2	6
Wildcat skins, per piece		1	
Butter, per pound			6
Feathers, per pound		1	4
Tar, per barrel		10	
Pitch, per barrel	1		
Whale oil, per barrel	1	10	
Beef, per barrel	1	10	
Pork, per barrel	2	5	

This act was changed in 1723. Indian corn was now given the legal tender ratio of 2 shillings per bushel, in the place of 1 shilling and 8 pence, as by the act of 1715-1716, and wheat

[1]Colonial Records, IV., pp. 291-92.

was given the value of 4 shillings, in the place of 3 shillings and 6 pence. Hemp, at 8 pence per pound, rice, at 1 pound and 5 shillings per hundred, and turpentine, at 1 pound and 5 shillings per barrel, were now added to the table of barter commodities.[1]

As was to be expected, these legal ratios of the barter commodities did not long remain the same as their market ratios. Each commodity became more abundant or less abundant as compared with the demand for it, and consequently its market price must needs vary. Its market price must be either higher than the legal price or lower than this price. For instance, the market price of deer skins was in 1731 practically the same as that fixed by the law of 1715-1716, while the prices of tar and pitch in 1731 were from one-third to one-fourth of their legal value as fixed in 1716. Since the assembly for the most part took the maximum market value of the barter commodities and declared this to be the legal tender value, not only for that time but also for many years afterward, it was most natural that in the case of many of the commodities their market value should be much lower than their legal value. Exactly what the exchange ratio of these barter commodities in terms of the standard, sterling, was for the whole period of their use we can not say. It is, however, a well established fact that barter was for practically the whole period of its existence a depreciated currency. We have specific evidence that the average market ratio of these barter commodities in terms of sterling was in 1709, 1731, and 1733, three to one. So great was the depreciation of this currency, so much was the market value of many of these commodities below that assigned to them by law, that the lords proprietors at times refused to receive this currency in payment of their quit-rents,[2] unless this money should be offered at a fair market rate.[3]

[1]Colonial Record, IV., pp. 292-93.

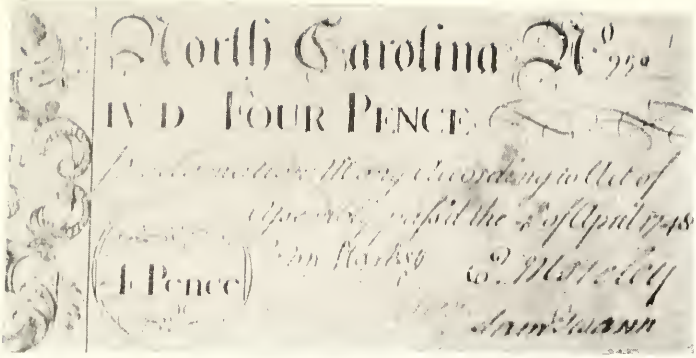
[2]Quit-rents were the land rents due from the colonists to the lords proprietors.

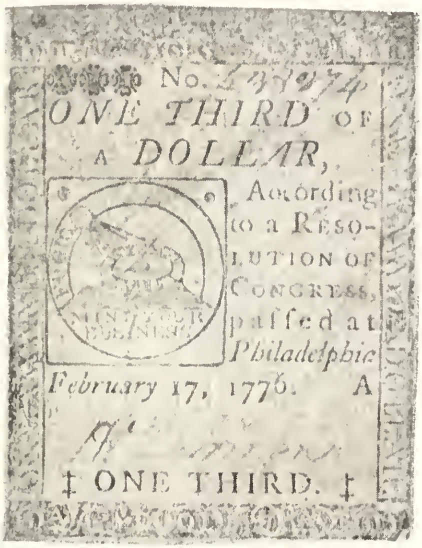
[3]Raper's North Carolina, pp. 129-30; Colonial Records, III., p. 185.

Such a currency, with its many fluctuations and its great depreciations, was, to say the least, very inadequate, if not indeed disadvantageous. It caused fluctuations in prices and wages. It was certainly a most inconvenient medium of exchange, both to the buyer and the seller, to the payer and the payee. It was also a dishonest form of the payment of fees to the provincial officers and of quit-rents to the proprietors, to say nothing of its great inconvenience. These fees and quit-rents were fixed in amount upon the basis of barter being equal to sterling, and were therefore only in part paid when barter money was actually worth from one-third to one-fourth sterling. Little wonder is it that we have so many and so frequent complaints of such a currency, on the part of the provincial officers, the lords proprietors, and the crown. And the defects of such a currency became more and more grievous as time went on and the economic life of the colonists became more extensive. There would be fluctuations and depreciations in this currency, even though the assembly at each session established new rates of the exchange of these commodities in terms of the standard, sterling; and this they most certainly did not do. Such a currency must be set aside entirely or the colonists must, at least, have some other form of money to supplement it. They could not, because of an order from England, mint coin money. They therefore resorted to the issue of paper currency, to supplement or take the place of barter. And the history of this paper money is full of disaster and broken faith, if not indeed of dishonor.

PAPER.

That a demand for this form of currency came early from the Carolina colonists, we are most certain. But the lords proprietors did not grant such a demand until 1712, and it was the pressing need of a financial emergency, that of war, which now caused them to yield. The provincial government was now burdened with a debt which the Tuscarora war had brought upon it. And, though this debt amounted to only


North Carolina
IV D FOUR PENCE
4 Pence


ONE THIRD OF
A DOLLAR,
According
to a RESO-
LUTION OF
CONGRESS,
passed at
Philadelphia
February 17, 1776. A
ONE THIRD.


FOUR DOLLARS.

about 4,000 pounds, a really small sum, so inadequate was the province's machinery of taxation, and so great and fundamental was the colonists' opposition to paying a tax, that it was decided by the assembly to borrow this amount by forcing into circulation 4,000 pounds of bills of credit. These bills were given the same legal exchange ratio as barter currency; they were based upon the common standard of values, a pound sterling. They were also made full legal tender money—that is, they were forced into circulation by the provision that the refusal to accept them in payment of a debt caused the debt to become null. While theoretically they were to be redeemed, they were in actual fact irredeemable, at least for a time. To be sure, the legislature levied a tax for the purpose of their redemption, but this tax was only in slight part collected, and very slowly at that. But, notwithstanding its inconvertibility, this form of money passed for a time at its par value; its volume was small and the demand of the colonists for money was comparatively great.[1]

A new form of currency had now been issued by the provincial assembly, and its use had now been allowed, though very unwillingly, by the lords proprietors. When once the precedent of issuing irredeemable paper money was established, it was certainly a most difficult thing to resist the demand of the colonists for a further use of this kind of money. In 1713 this demand was again granted, and 8,000 pounds of bills of credit were emitted. To these bills, as to those of the issue of 1712, full legal tender powers were given, and they were forced into circulation among the colonists. They, like the bills of the first issue, were theoretically redeemable. For this purpose a tax upon land and polls was levied, but this tax, like the one levied in 1712, was only in slight part collected, and the bills were in actual fact not redeemed. They, as a matter of course, did not long pass on

[1]Raper's North Carolina, pp. 130-1.

the market at their par value; there were now in circulation 12,000 pounds ($40,000) of practically irredeemable paper money, a supply very large for a population of not more than 10,000. Soon they had depreciated within the province to the extent of forty per cent of their legal value, and outside of North Carolina they were all the time practically worthless.[1]

As we have already said, these issues of irredeemable and depreciating currency were very unwillingly allowed by the lords proprietors. But their opposition came not because of their conviction that such a currency would bring disturbances to provincial prices, but because they were keenly aware that this money would be an unfair form of payment of fees to their officers in the province and of quit-rents due to themselves from their land. Their opposition to the issue of such a currency was, however, of no avail. The lords proprietors lived in England, then an exceedingly great distance—a many-days' journey—from North Carolina, and their control over the provincial government was at best only slight.

This kind of currency once being established, and the policy of practical independence on the part of the provincial assembly once being allowed by the lords proprietors, paper money continued to be the chief currency of our ancestors for many years, in fact until the English parliament in 1764 forbade the issue, by any of the provincial assemblies, of bills of credit, and in 1773 of treasury notes. In 1714-1715, though the Indian wars were over, and, as time has proved, forever, though there was no pressing need for public revenue to the provincial government, the assembly again ordered, in spite of the opposition of the lords proprietors, an emission of bills of credit—24,000 pounds. This issue was for the purpose of retiring the bills which had been emitted in 1712 and 1713, now much worn and defaced, and of paying the other debts of the provincial government. The taxes which had been

[1]Raper's North Carolina, p. 131.

levied for the redemption of the first two issues had either not been collected or the funds accruing from these taxes had been expended for other uses than their legal ones—in either case a most remarkable comment upon the province's fiscal fairness and honesty. And for the redemption of this issue, that of 1715, no limit of time was fixed, though theoretically a tax was levied for its redemption some time or other. These bills were given a legal exchange ratio equal to that of the barter currency, which was now 1.5 to 1 sterling. To prevent their depreciation, the assembly resorted to a most extraordinary and foolish plan. The assembly not only gave to these bills full legal tender powers, but also established a severe penalty for refusal to accept them in payment of debt. For refusing to accept them meant, so the law declared, the forfeiture of twice the amount of the bills offered. But, notwithstanding such a provision, this paper currency did not pass on the market at its legal ratio of exchange. Irredeemable paper money rarely, if ever, passes at par value; the conditions of its redemption are too uncertain and vague. The very fact that the assembly provided such a penalty for refusal to accept clearly enough indicates the weakness of such money. The public credit of the provincial government was too weak for these bills to pass on the market at their par value, regardless of such an extraordinary penalty. By 1721 they were passing at 2.5 to 1 sterling, though by the law of their issue they must be accepted at 1.5 to 1 sterling. And now even the lords proprietors refused to accept such depreciated currency in payment of lands or quit-rents, though they were at this time accepting in payment of such claims that inconvenient and depreciated currency known as barter.[1]

So inefficiently was the tax which was levied upon land and polls for the redemption of these bills of credit of 1715, that one-half of the issue—12,000 pounds—was still outstanding in 1722, seven years after their emission. And,

[1]Raper's North Carolina, pp. 128, 132-3.

too, it was most evident that the colonists did not seriously intend to redeem them, for in 1720 the assembly enacted a provision which diminished the rate of the tax, and this in spite of a clause in the act of 1714-1715 to the effect that the rate should never be diminished as long as any of this paper money was in circulation. These bills which were in 1722 still unredeemed were worn and defaced, and during this year the assembly ordered that they be replaced by new bills. This act, together with the fact that one-half of the issue of 1715 had been redeemed, it was hoped, would bring greater value to the province's paper money. But such a desirable result did not come. Bills of credit for practically the whole of the next seven years, from 1722 to 1729, passed on the market at about 5 to 1 sterling, while by the act of their issue they were given a legal exchange ratio of 1.5 to 1 sterling. And little wonder is it that their depreciation was so great. The faith of the provincial government had too many times been broken, and during these seven years very little was done to bring back public credit to a condition of fairness and honesty.[1]

And this was by no means the last of irredeemable and depreciating paper money. The colonists were for many years yet to be cursed by the excessive use of this kind of currency—a curse which came to them while they were expecting a blessing. In 1729, just before the crown assumed administrative control of the province, though after the transfer of ownership of the soil had been made from the lords proprietors to the English king, 40,000 pounds of this very kind of currency, bills of exchange, were by the provincial assembly ordered to be emitted. The lords proprietors had all the time opposed the issue of inflated and inadequate, unfair and dishonest money, and the English crown was soon to advise, specifically and in strong terms, against its continued use. But now in the interim, as it really was,

[1]Raper's North Carolina, pp. 133-4.

in the period between the administration of the lords proprietors and that of the king, the colonists fairly satiated their inordinate desire for such inflated money. They increased the paper currency of the province to the extent of 30,000 pounds of bills of credit. They now, through an order from their assembly, issued 40,000 pounds of such paper money; 10,000 pounds of this to be used for sinking the old bills, which were now defaced and which had really come down from 1712 and 1713, and 30,000 pounds to be loaned. For the redemption of this total issue, 40,000 pounds, a provision was made for the loaning of 30,000 at six per cent. interest for a period of fifteen years; the interest accruing from this loan would, they thought, bring in sufficient funds with which to redeem the whole issue—40,000 pounds—and leave a balance to the credit of the provincial government of 5,000 pounds. But this plan, if it was not indeed foolish, came to a disastrous failure. The security upon which the loans were made was, at least in many cases, the most inadequate. To these new bills was given the legal exchange ratio of 5.17 to 1 sterling, which was approximately the market ratio of the old bills. But these bills, like all the others, did not long pass at their par value. The banking scheme of the assembly, by which these bills were to be redeemed, was so inefficiently executed, the securities upon which the 30,000 pounds were loaned were so unsound, so long had the faith of the provincial government been broken, that irredeemable paper money could not possibly pass at par. By 1731 the bills of 1729 were circulating at about 8 to 1 sterling, though by the act of their emission they were given full legal tender powers to pass on the market at 5.7 to 1 sterling.[1]

Such was the monetary condition when the English crown actually assumed control of the provincial government, such was the province's depreciated currency in 1731. And the

[1]Raper's North Carolina, pp. 134-5.

first royal Governor, George Burrington, came with full and specific instructions from the officials in England not to accept such depreciated money in payment of fees and quit-rents. But such instructions could not possibly be carried out. Only in theory could Burrington and the other crown officials in the province refuse to accept such currency in payment of fees and quit-rents; the colonists refused to pay these obligations unless they were allowed to pay them in their own money. And the royal governor was also instructed not to allow any further emission of such depreciating and dishonest currency. But the conditions which prevailed throughout the province, the great powers which the provincial assembly had gradually acquired through all the years of the proprietary period, and the extreme weakness of the English control over the Colonists,—all these circumstances stood face to face with the royal instructions, and the instructions were ignored or set aside. By 1735 not one tenth of the money due from the loan of 1729 had been collected, and the small amount which had been collected had been used for other than the legal purpose of redeeming the bills of credit; the whole issue of 1729 was still in circulation. Quit-rents to the King and fees to the crown's officers in the province were greatly in arrears. All this created a most favorable atmosphere for the advocates of inflated currency, and they now demanded a further issue of irredeemable paper money. And Governor Johnston, notwithstanding his royal instructions to the contrary, saw fit to accept an act of the assembly by which 40,000 pounds of new bills of credit were emitted. These new bills were to sink the issue of 1729; and it was enacted that the loan of 1729 should be continued and that the funds which accrued from it should be reloaned until 1744. The colonists again, as in 1729, made a frank and open declaration in favor of a permanent use of irredeemable and fluctuating paper money. In all their early issues

they made theoretical provision for their speedy redemption. But now, as in 1729, they provided for a large volume of paper money for a period of at least ten years. In the past, the use of paper money had been practically permanent, though in theory only temporary. Now it is made permanent both theoretically and practically.[1]

And this is not all of the monetary legislation of the year 1735. In order to pay certain claims against the provincial government, presumably salaries to the members of the legislature, the assembly made a grant to the crown of 14,150 pounds. In return for this grant of revenue to the crown, the assembly violated the royal instructions which forbade a further issue of bills of credit. They ordered to be issued 12,500 pounds of new bills, in addition to the 40,000 pounds already mentioned, and levied a tax upon polls and liquors for a period of five years.[2]

With 52,500 pounds of paper money in circulation for a population of only 35,000 whites, with very inefficient provisions for its redemption, and with a continuous record of broken public faith since 1712, it is not at all strange that the new bills of 1735 should depreciate. Soon they were passing at 10 to 1 sterling, while by the act of their issue they were given the full legal tender powers of 5.17 to 1 sterling—in reality the total volume of the province's actual media of exchange was only about 5,000 pounds sterling. All these bills should have been fully redeemed by 1745, but in actual fact none of them had been redeemed by this time. The loans of 1729 and 1735 had proved to be disastrous failures and the taxes levied in 1735 had either not been collected at all or had been illegally used for other purposes than that of redeeming a part of the issue of 1735.[3]

The monetary situation from 1745 to 1748, to say the

[1] Raper's N. C., pp. 135-6.
[2] Ibid., pp. 135-6.
[3] Ibid., pp. 136-38.

least, was very unsatisfactory. To relieve the depreciated currency and to pay fees, quit-rents, and legislators' salaries, many attempts were made to emit more bills of credit. In the minds of many of the colonists the one panacea for all financial ills was the issue by the assembly of bills of credit—to inflate and inflate a currency which was already absurdly swollen. These attempts were, however, unsuccessful until 1748, when Governor Johnston, in spite of his royal instructions to the contrary, yielded. The province must make defence against the French and the Spanish. The crown officials must have their salaries, which were now greatly in arrears. Under the pressure of such conditions, Governor Johnston accepted a bill which provided for the issue of 21,350 pounds of bills of credit, and the whole amount was voted to the crown. These new bills were given full legal tender powers at the exchange ratio of 4 to 3 sterling and 1 to 7.5 old bills. They were called "new proclamation" money, in distinction to the old bills and barter currency, which were called "old proclamation." For their redemption a poll tax was levied, to be collected until all of the bills should be redeemed—redemption at an indefinite time, perhaps never. These bills were to be used for the following purposes: 7,000 pounds to sink the whole outstanding paper currency, nominally 52,500 pounds, but in terms of sterling only 7,000 pounds; 6,000 pounds for coast defence, and the remainder for salaries. 21,350 pounds of paper money was not an excessively large amount of currency for a rapidly growing population and agricultural development; $71,093 should not have been an excessive amount of money for a population of about 85,000. But still these new bills, this "new proclamation" money, depreciated. Its redemption was too uncertain. It was based upon a tax which, according to the experiences of the past, would not be at all efficiently collected.[1]

[1]Raper's N. C., pp. 138-39.

For six years the demands for further inflation of the currency were resisted. The next issue was in 1754. The fourth intercolonial war, popularly known as the French and Indian war, was now fast coming on. The province must needs defend itself; it must have forts, soldiers, and provisions of war. Matthew Rowan, who as president of the council was now the crown's chief officer in the province, in the interim of Governor Johnston, now dead, and Governor Dobbs, who had not yet arrived, gave his assent to a bill of the assembly by which 40,000 pounds of bills of credit were emitted. These bills, like those of 1748, were "new proclamation" money and were given legal tender powers of exchange at the ratio of 4 to 3 sterling. Provision was, in theory at least, made for their redemption. A tax was levied upon polls and imported liquors for this purpose, but this, like former taxes, was very inefficiently collected, and the bills, like all former ones, depreciated.[1]

War continued and the province's burdens increased. Governor Dobbs, though desirous of complying with his royal instructions which forbade the issue of bills of credit, was really forced to assent to a further emission of paper money. He gave his assent to an issue, not of bills of credit, but of treasury notes; in 1756, 3,400 pounds, in 1757 and 1758, 25,806 pounds, in all 29,206 pounds of treasury notes. These notes were essentially different from the bills of credit which had so long and with such disastrous results been issued. Unlike these bills, the notes bore interest. They were also redeemable within a short time; a poll and liquor tax was levied for their redemption. The bills, as we have seen, had been practically irredeemable, though in theory some provision had always been made for their redemption. And in this instance, that of the treasury notes, the provincial officers largely kept the public faith. By 1764 they had paid,

[1]Raper's N. C., pp. 139-40.

in interest and principal, 23,807 pounds on these notes—the first really faithful fiscal performance since 1712, when the colonists started upon their policy of unsound and wasteful paper money. Though these issues and their comparatively speedy redemption brought much relief to a bad monetary situation, still it was expecting too much to hope that they would bring in a sound condition of public credit. Public faith broken constantly for more than forty years—this was a great difficulty to overcome.[1]

While these treasury notes were redeemed, almost according to promise, the bills of credit issued in 1748 and 1754 were not redeemed, at least rapidly. They were, therefore, depreciating. By 1759 they were passing on the market at only 1.9 to 1 sterling, while by the act of their issue they had the legal tender ratio of 1.33 to 1 sterling. And this depreciation came in the face of a rapidly growing population and consequently an increasing demand for money.[2]

And still the province must provide the expenses of war. Governor Dobbs, in spite of royal instructions to the contrary, accepted in 1760 a bill of the assembly by which 12,000 pounds of bills of credit were ordered to be emitted; and again in 1761, 20,000 pounds. These bills, like those of former issues, were given full legal tender powers. They were also really irredeemable, though in theory at least a tax was levied for their redemption. The volume of this kind of currency had now become large. The acts of 1748, 1754, 1760, and 1761 had put into circulation 93,350 pounds of legal tender, non-interest bearing, paper money. By 1764 only 25,286 pounds of this currency had been redeemed. But this was really a remarkable showing, since during the first forty years of the issue of such bills practically none had been redeemed. There were, then, still in circulation 68,064 pounds of bills of credit and 6,769 pounds of treasury notes—a total of

[1] Raper's N. C., pp. 140-1.
[2] Ibid., p. 141.

74,833 pounds of paper money. This was an amount of currency not apparently excessive for a population of at least 200,000. But we must remember that barter was still, to an extent, used in the western portions of the province.[1]

We have now come to the end of the issue of bills of credit; the issue of 1761 was the last. The emission of this kind of currency had long been contrary to the king's instructions, but, as we have seen, these instructions were not infrequently set aside. Now, in 1764, the English parliament enacted a law which forbade its use, and from this time until the downfall of the royal government the demands of the colonists for this inflated currency were never granted. But still the bills which were outstanding, those of 1748, 1754, 1760, and 1761, did not pass on the market at their par value. In 1767 they were exchanging at the ratio of 1.82 to 1 sterling, and in 1771 at 1.60 to 1, though legally they were to pass at the ratio of 1.33 to 1 sterling.[2]

Why this continued depreciation? The population was rapidly increasing. Business was prosperous. And these bills were being redeemed. But now, in 1768, the assembly, perhaps for the specific purpose of putting an end to a decrease in the paper currency, ordered that the taxes which were levied in 1760 and 1761 for sinking the bills of these years, should no longer be collected. In the same year 20,000 pounds of debenture notes were issued. Bills of credit had been forbidden by parliament. Governor Tryon, who needed money to pay the expenses of his first campaign against the "regulators," and to finish his magnificent palace at Newbern, gave his assent to such an issue. Though these notes swelled the paper currency, they were not made legal tender —were not forced into circulation by law,—and provision was made for their speedy redemption. The issue of these notes did not, however, permanently improve the fiscal situa-

[1] Raper's N. C., pp. 141-2.
[2] Ibid., pp. 143, 145.

tion. By the close of 1771 the provincial government, mainly because of a second campaign against the "regulators," was under a floating debt of 60,000 pounds. There were also outstanding 42,800 pounds of bills of credit. To provide for the floating debt, the assembly passed a bill and Governor Martin gave his assent to it, whereby 60,000 pounds of new debenture notes were issued. This issue of debenture notes made the paper currency at about 100,000 pounds, a volume of money not too great for a population of about 250,000. But still these bills and notes did not circulate at their par value. They were given the legal ratio of 1.33 to 1 sterling, but were passing on the market at 1.6 to 1. Too long had the provincial government broken its promise.[1]

We come now to the end of the issue of paper money by the provincial government of North Carolina. The colonists still asked for more inflated paper currency, but from 1771 to the downfall of the royal government, in 1775, their demands were not granted.

And this is the record of the finances of the Carolina colonists, though presented in its barest outlines and told with all too little clearness and interest. Though a record of failure and even of unfairness, still many excuses should be offered for it. Lack of an understanding of the deep forces and problems of money, primitive conditions, and hard circumstances—these in part furnish an apology for such public conduct on the part of our colonial ancestors. And the monetary record of the other twelve American provinces is no less dark. They each have left a record of inefficiency and unfairness in their administration of that most difficult problem, money. And, too, the monetary record of the American people since they have become an independent and sovereign people is far from being all bright, honorable and glorious.

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[1]Raper's N. C., pp. 144-5.

JOSEPH GALES, EDITOR OF RALEIGH'S FIRST NEWSPAPER.

BY WILLIS G. BRIGGS.

Joseph Gales, martyr to freedom of the press in England, editor of *The Raleigh Register* for thirty-four years, champion of popular education, advocate of every measure for moral and industrial development of the people; his political creed combined the liberty upheld by Jefferson with the progressive national policies sustained by Adams, Webster and Clay and placed him ever in advance of his time.

This brief statement of fact is enough to justify our interest in the career of one who left an indelible impress for good upon this community and State. Joseph Gales was born February 4, 1761, in the village of Eckington, Derbyshire, England. His great grandfather and his grandfather had successively taught the village school and were men of the model immortalized in Goldsmith's "Deserted Village." The father, Thomas Gales, who lived to an advanced age, was likewise described as "an Israelite in whom there was no guile."

Joseph Gales was the eldest son, an unenviable position in a crowded humble household. As a child he attended school and was proud to occupy a place at his father's side in the village choir. He never lost his fondness for music and in his latter years was wont to credit this early passion as one of the most salutary influences in his life. When a lad of thirteen he was bound to a man in Manchester for seven years to learn bookbinding and printing. This was a common practice even at a much later period until it was superseded by the apprentice system of today. The youth was grossly abused in the Manchester household and finally determined to make his escape. With only half a crown in his pocket he trudged fifty miles back to his native village. Many

years later, touching upon this experience, Gales wrote "In a solitary spot on the mountain moors over which I wended my way, I bent my knees in prayer to my God, thanking Him for my release from a heavy bondage and praying for His future guidance and protection." Relatives then appealed successfully to the law in his behalf. Later he was apprenticed to an excellent man in Newark and shared the refinements of his home. The youth made the most of his opportunities and soon became a master printer and binder.

While employed at this trade, the young man won the favor of Winifred Marshall, youngest daughter of John Marshall, of Newark-upon-Trent. Now developing into a strong, courageous man, his habits frugal and his character irreproachable, his clear intellect and sympathetic heart fired with a passion for peace and justice, he added to these traits the inestimable blessing of centering his temporal affections in the heart of a worthy and excellent woman. Winifred Marshall was related to Lord Melbourne and came from a family of distinction but no longer wealthy. She was her father's pet and constant companion; together they studied Shakespeare, Milton, and the political essays of the day on the governmental side, for John Marshall was a staunch Tory. Her literary talent was recognized and several of her stories and verses published. "Lady Julia Seaton" was the title of a romance written when she was seventeen; thirty years later in America she had a granddaughter who bore this very name,—a strange coincidence indeed.

The marriage was solemnized May 4, 1784, in the Episcopal church at Newark by the bride's brother, a clergyman. After a visit to the Gales family in Eckington, the young couple went to Sheffield in Yorkshire, where the groom had recently established himself as a printer. The first work from his presses was a folio illustrated Bible with annotations by his gifted wife.

The Dissenters from the established church were numerous in Sheffield and they were practically all Liberals in politics. Gales' studious mind had led him to accept Unitarianism as his religious faith. In 1782, at the dawn of the political revolution eminent in England, he threw himself, then a youth of twenty, full hearted on the side of the great unenfranchised class. Reform became his passion but it never dimmed his sense of justice. His cultured wife, reared in far different surroundings, embraced with zeal the religious and political convictions of her husband. In 1787 Gales began the publication of The Sheffield Register, a weekly newspaper, and ardently championed reform. He warmly welcomed the French revolution. The English ministry, under leadership of Pitt, soon resorted to severe measures to repress the liberal wave, fearing that it would bring calamity to the monarchy.

The advocates of reform had formed various Constitutional Societies and Gales was secretary of the organization in his town. Some of these associations may have aimed to employ force in correcting existing injustice, but such was certainly not the purpose of the Sheffield society. The government was nevertheless alarmed. Holt, a printer in Gales' office, was sentenced to four years imprisonment for publishing a letter by the Duke of Richmond advocating reform. The flame was further fanned by the prosecution of Dr. Priestly, a Unitarian divine beloved by the Gales family, as the alleged author of a circular asking friends of liberty to celebrate the fall of the Bastile. Rumors of riots at Birmingham and other points increased the excitement at Sheffield.

The arrival of Tom Paine with his "Rights of Man" further frightened the English ministry. Booksellers were vigorously prosecuted for handling the book. In his shop Gales found a big demand for "The Rights of Man." While Gales was in London on a businss trip a timely warning giv-

en by Thomas Diggs, an American visiting in Sheffield, enabled Mrs. Gales to dispose of every copy just before the King's officers arrived and instituted a vain search for "those dangerous books," "those wicked, seditious works," which George III had condemned and forbidden to his subjects. From personal acquaintance Joseph Gales entertained regard for Paine, and Mrs. Gales paid him tribute in later years by writing of "the simplicity and sweetness of his nature and his sprightly wit that charmed the social circle." Paine's flight and the King's proclamation would have produced a riot at Sheffield had not Joseph Gales, "who led the poor man's cause, advocated equal representation and treated all men as brothers," persuaded the mob to go peaceably to their homes.

A study of the file of The Sheffield Register of 1794 reveals no policy which the enlightened twentieth century would not applaud. Joseph Gales' clear convictions gleam in his brief editorials. His sympathy was openly expressed for the two hundred wretched debtors confined in Lancaster Castle, with accommodation for only eighty persons, two sleeping in a bed. When a fifteen-year-old girl was hung for the murder of her grandfather the editor grieved because the child had been given no chance and was so ignorant and wretched as not to know right from wrong. Again he remonstrates on the severity of the law when a farmer in March, 1794, was sentenced to die for shooting a neighbor's foal. The Sheffield editor applauded "the glorious example" of the jury, which refused five times to obey the mandates of the court and persisted in a verdict of "not guilty" in the case of Robert Erpe, charged with speaking libel in that he criticised the Pitt ministry. "Twelve gold medals" ought to be presented to those jurors, declared Gales.

Twice at least was the Sheffield editor provoked to sarcasm. When Pitt entertained certain church dignitaries at

a Sunday dinner Gales observed "The conversation of this pious company, we are informed, turned upon the profaneness of the French atheists and many holy toasts were given for success to throat cutting in defence of our religion." When a company for the "Conversion of the Negroes in the West Indies to Christianity" was incorporated, he wrote, "If we add to these advantages the practical comment we, as a Christian nation, are displaying in our continuance of a trade in which we annually murder or enslave fifty thousand wretched Africans, their brethren in the West Indies will no doubt most readily embrace the Christian religion." When a minister, a lawyer and three other advocates of reform in representation were tried at Edinburg and sentenced to fourteen years exile, Gales echoed the sentiment of Charles Fox who exclaimed, "God help the people who have such judges."

Monday, April 7, 1794, was a field day for the "friends of justice, of liberty and of humanity" in Sheffield. Henry Redhead Yorke, a young man of great promise, a graduate of Cambridge, a protege of Edmund Burke, had announced his allegiance to the Liberal cause after a visit to Paris, where he met leaders of the Jacobin clubs. He was hailed as an invaluable ally, and the Constitutional Society and the Society of the Friends of the People at Sheffield endorsed the young man for parliament. Twelve thousand reformers on this April day assembled on Castle Hill, listened to a stirring speech by Yorke and adopted an address. This address, briefly stated, asserted: (1) The people were the true source of government; (2) freedom of speech is a right which cannot be denied; (3) condemnation without trials is incompatible with free government; (4) where the people have no share in the government taxation is tyrrany; (5) a government is free in proportion as the people are equally represented. The address "demanded as a right," and no longer asked as a favor, "universal representation." It concluded

with a lengthy petiton not only for "abolition of the slave trade" but for "emancipation of negro slaves" in the British West Indies. The mechanics of Sheffield were wrought to a pitch of highest enthusiasm. Horses were unhitched and the carriage, containing Yorke, the candidate, and Joseph Gales, secretary of the meeting and probably author of the address adopted, was drawn in triumph through the town by the multitude.

The principles which Gales enunciated on that occasion finally triumphed in England, but the triumph came many years later. The Duke of Wellington in 1828 wiped out the test oaths; William Cobbett in 1832 made uniform the system of representation; Wilberforce in 1833 at last saw the slaves emancipated; Disraeli and Arch in our own day expanded and equalized suffrage rights. When these reforms were accomplished then were vindicated the convictions for which Joseph Gales had bravely fought and suffered in the preceding century.

The Committee of Secrecy, appointed by parliament to investigate rumored conspiracies, made a report May 23, 1794, of such a character that the Pitt ministry immediately suspended the habeas corpus act, a course almost without precedent in time of peace. The committee found that there existed "The Society for Constitutional Information" and "The London Corresponding Society" and that these societies had by resolution "applauded the publication of a cheap edition of 'The Rights of Man,'" and voted addresses to the Jacobins at Paris and to the National Convention of France. Continuing the report said "The circumstance which first came under the observation of your committee containing a distinct trace of measures of this description, was a letter from a person at Sheffield, by profession a printer (who has since absconded), which was thus addressed 'Citizen Hardy, Secretary of the London Corresponding Society', which was

found in the possession of Hardy on the twelfth of May, last, when he was taken into custody." The letter was dated from Sheffield April 20, 1794, on paper from "Gales' printing office" and the objectionable portion of the communication was as follows: "Fellow Citizens: The barefaced aristocracy of the present administration has made it necessary that we must be prepared to act on the defensive against any attack they may command their newly armed minions to make upon us. A plan has been hit upon, and, if encouraged sufficiently, will, no doubt, have the effect of furnishing a quantity of pikes to the Patriots, great enough to make them formidable." This was the only reference to resistance or force in the letter. With Hardy's paper was also found an account of a meeting at Sheffield where a full chorus sang a hymn written by James Montgomery.

When the news that the right of habeas corpus had been suspended reached Sheffield Gales exclaimed in his paper "every wretch who has either through malice or envy a dislike to his neighbor will have now an opportunity of gratifying his malicious intentions." Warrants were issued for Yorke, Gales and others, charged with treasonable and seditious practices, and the Sheffield editor knew that the time had come when he must either seek safety elsewhere or be delivered to his enemies.

The Sheffield Register of June 26, 1794, contains the editor's farewell. In this address he wrote: "The disagreeable predicament in which I stand, from the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, precludes me the Happiness of staying among you, My Friends, unless I would expose myself to the Malice, Enmity and Power of an unjust Aristocracy. It is in these persecuting days, a sufficient Crime to have printed a newspaper which has boldly dared to doubt the infallibility of ministers, and to investigate the justice and policy of their measures. Could my imprisonment, or even

death, serve the cause which I have espoused—the cause of Peace, Liberty and Justice—it would be cowardice to fly from it; but, convinced that ruining my family and distressing my friends, by risking either, would only gratify the ignorant and the malignant, I shall seek that livelihood in another state which I can not peaceably attain in this." He reviews his course: "I was a member of the Constitutional Society," he admits, "and shall never, I am persuaded, whatever may be the final result, regret it, knowing that the real as well as ostensible object of this society, was a rational and peaceable reform in the representation of the people in parliament. * * * The Secret Committee has imputed to the Society intentions of which they had no conceptions and crimes which they abhor. * * * It has been insinuated, and, I believe, pretty generally believed, that I wrote the letter which is referred to by the Secret Committee, concerning the pikes. This charge, in the most unequivocal manner, I deny. I neither wrote, dictated or was privy to it. * * * It will always be my pride, that I have printed an impartial and truly independent newspaper, and that I have done my endeavors to rescue my countrymen from the darkness of Ignorance and to awaken them to a just sense of their privileges as human beings, and, as such, of their importance in the grand scale of creation."

Ten years later in America, when a rival accused Gales of having been indicted in England, he replied in his paper, "If it be deemed a crime to have opposed by means of a free press, governmental usurpation on the rights of the people, I plead guilty."

After he reached the continent the Sheffield Society adopted an address wishing "Health, peace and happiness" to "Our ever dear friend and brother," and added "Though we regret your sufferings, yet, viewed in connection with their cause, we behold you dignified with the unfading crown of a martyr in the illustrious cause of God and man."

The Sheffield Register and printing plant were left in charge of Joseph Gales' competent wife and his assistant editor James Montgomery, the poet, who had entered the employ of Gales when a lad. The political disturbances had given rise to frequent riots and the Gales' possessions were under constant guard. The mechanics of Sheffield marched in a body and volunteered their services to Mrs. Gales, but she begged them to go peaceably to their homes. The King's messengers came, made a vain search for the absent editor and left without molesting the family or injuring the property.

The Sheffield Register in 1794 had attained a circulation of 2,500 in the Yorkshire, Derbyshire and Nottingham districts and the ministry coveted a paper of such influence. Mrs. Gales, however, rejected with spirit a flattering offer made by an agent for the government and sold the property to their devoted friend James Montgomery. He changed the name to The Iris. A file of The Iris for several years is in our State library. Montgomery remained true to the liberal cause, was constantly persecuted and twice imprisoned. Although separated by the Atlantic, the brotherly affection between these two men was never severed. Thirty years later, when Montgomery retired from the editorship, a banquet was given in his honor and he embraced the occasion to pay glowing tribute to Joseph Gales, whom he denominated "the true friend of freedom and humanity" and characterized as "generous, upright, disinterested and noble minded."

In a letter instructing his wife to join him in Denmark, Gales wrote: "Bring nothing with you, my dear Winifred, but what the strictest justice warrants. Let us meet in peace, with a clear conscience, and my trust is in God, that He will help us. We are young, healthy, and able to struggle for a support for our dear children; and, leaving no one behind us who can with truth say that we have wronged him,

fear not but that He Who feeds the young ravens will feed us."

Mrs. Gales crossed the channel with the two children,—Joseph, born April 10, 1786, and Sarah, born May 12, 1789,—and the family was soon reunited at Altona. In September, 1794, they set sail for America. However, the harbor was scarcely cleared before the vessel encountered a storm, the craft appeared far from sea-worthy, and the captain had no control over the crew. Gales forfeited his passage and returned with his family to shore on a passing pilot boat. The winter was then spent in Altona and proved most profitable for Raleigh's future editor. Several years before an itinerant short-hand teacher had visited Sheffield and implored Gales' aid. He had assisted the man in organizing a shorthand class and himself became one of the students. The months spent in Altona gave him an opportunity to perfect himself in this art, rare indeed in that day, and leisure to acquire French and Spanish in addition to his Latin. He and his family also formed intimate friendships with numerous influential French refugees then quartered in that city. During the winter a daughter was born and named Altona Holstein Gales, in honor of their city of refuge.

Not until August, 1795, did the Gales family land in Philadelphia after an eventful voyage. When the vessel was a few hundred miles from the American coast it was captured by the notorious privateers, Hutchins and Bethel. Incredible as the story appears, the pirates were overcome by the wit and charm of Mrs. Gales and relinquished their prize.

The English printer was introduced by a friend to Dunlop and Claypole, owners and editors of The American Daily Advertiser, and was given employment on that paper as a compositor. His worth was recognized and he was soon promoted to bookkeeper. Congress was in session in Philadelphia and The Advertiser's reporter gave dissatisfaction by

his inaccurate reports of the debates. By mere accident the editor discovered that his bookkeeper knew the art of shorthand, so Gales was immediately transferred to the position of congressional reporter. The young Englishman was not a little embarrassed when the editor escorted him to the old court house, corner of Sixth and Chestnut streets, and introduced him to the Speaker of the House, who received him with great kindness and arranged a table for his convenience in reporting the proceedings for Philadelphia's daily newspaper. A few days later Thomas Pinckney arose and made a short but important speech on the then absorbing topic of our foreign affairs. Pinckney spoke without notes; it was not a set speech; hence Congressmen and the public were astounded next morning when they read in The Advertiser a verbatim report of his remarks. From that day the reputation of Joseph Gales as a reporter was made.

The uncertainty of our relations with France, the unpopularity of the Jay treaty with England, the wide difference of opinion in interpreting the Constitution of the United States, all served to draw a sharp distinction between the Federalists,—a school which embraced Washington, Hamilton, and Adams, and claimed the support of Hooper, Hawkins, Iredell, Johnston, Martin and Davie in North Carolina,—and the Republicans, led by Jefferson and championed in this State by Nathaniel Macon, leader of the congressional delegation, Jesse Franklin, Willie Jones, Bloodworth, Stokes and others. The sympathies of Joseph Gales were with France rather than with the Pitt ministry in England and his convictions were strongly Democratic. Aside from these motives, the passage of the Alien and Sedition laws under the Adams administration,—measures which savored strongly of the tyrrannical laws from which he had so recently escaped,—made Gales of necessity an ardent Republican. He had succeeded in business and was now owner and editor of The Independent Gazetteer, which he had purchased from the

widow of the Revolutionary soldier, Col. John Oswold. He enjoyed the acquaintance of the public men of the day. Nathaniel Macon soon perceived the worth of this industrious, high minded man and made him his friend. Hence when Macon and his co-workers recognized the political expediency of a Jeffersonian-Republican newspaper, an organ if you choose, at the newly established capital of this State, Macon no doubt quickly decided that Gales was the man for this task.

This was in the summer of 1799 and Mrs. Gales was convalescing after an attack of yellow fever. The state of her health was a factor in the decision to leave Philadelphia. Otherwise life in that city had been pleasant for the English family. Here they had renewed acquaintance with Dr. Priestly, the persecuted Unitarian divine, and were among the thirteen persons who composed the Unitarian church organized in Philadelphia. Jospeh Gales was the first lay reader. Gales sold The Independent Gazetteer to Samuel Harrison Smith, who followed the national capital to Washington and changed the name of the paper to The National Intelligence.

The trip to Raleigh was broken by a sojourn at Halifax, where the Gales visited Willie Jones, a graduate of Oxford, father-in-law of John Eppes, an ardent disciple of Jefferson and leader in the Halifax convention of 1780 when the federal constitution was rejected. The stay at Halifax no doubt gave the prospective editor a clearer conception of the political situation in this State.

North Carolina, with her 344,807 free white persons, at the dawn of the nineteenth century ranked among the four most populous States in the Union. This State was then an important political factor and Thomas Jefferson proposed to leave no stone unturned to gain the support of this commonwealth. Nathaniel Macon, close ally of the aspiring Virginian, was determined to rout Federalism in North Carolina

and perceived the need of the press in this work. The population was scattered, there were no cities and few important towns, public schools were lacking and printing presses were rare. The few newspapers were in the hands of the Federalists and wielded a powerful influence, because any newspaper was indeed precious in those days. Abraham Hodge, publisher, a native of New York, a personal friend of Washington and a strong Federalist, had come to North Carolina in 1785. The legislature chose him State printer and this position he still held. Hodge had followed Washington's army with his press and, during the dark winter at Valley Forge, his paper cheered the drooping spirits of the soldiers with words of encouragement. He now had printing presses at Edenton, Halifax, Fayetteville and New Bern and had established three newspapers. In editing the North Carolina Minerva at Fayetteville he was ably assisted by his nephew William Boylan. While the Federal party was thus supported in North Carolina, the "mobocrats," "red Republicans" and "Jacobins," as they were repeatedly styled, recognized that they must have a newspaper.

Raleigh had been laid out for the State capital, and, at the sagacious Macon's solicitation, Joseph Gales was making his way to the village capital to launch a newspaper to do battle for Republican principles. His task did not appear easy. The Federalists had made decided gains in the North Carolina election of 1798 and had partially recovered the ground they lost in 1796. Instead of one, the Federalists now had four of the ten congressmen from this State. The State senate had passed a resolution by a vote of five to one approving the Alien and Sedition laws but the resolution failed in the house of commons, in which the Republicans had a slender majority. However, these Adams measures were not popular with many North Carolina Federalists, who otherwise approved the Adams national administration,

and Jesse Franklin was elected United States senator to succeed Alexander Martin, who had voted for the Alien and Sedition laws. The mixed situation in North Carolina puzzled the politicians, for, in the summer of 1800, Jefferson wrote that the condition of the public mind in North Carolina was mysterious to him.

Under these political conditions Joseph Gales issued the first copy of *The Raleigh Register,* October 22, 1799. The paper was indeed *The Sheffield Register* resurrected, without a single change in principles for which the editor stood. *The Raleigh Register* had for its heading a budding staff, surmounted by the cap of liberty, with a scroll bearing the word "Libertas" and the motto:

> "Our's are the plans of fair, delightful Peace,
> "Unwarped by Party Rage to live like Brothers."

The Register began immediately to arouse public sentiment against the Adams administration by printing the prosecutions under the Sedition law, characterized the encampment of the Sixth United States Regiment here as a threat, and published, without editorial approval, however, Jefferson's famous Kentucky resolutions, which met inglorious defeat in North Carolina. The paper soon became a power and copies were being sent by Gales to every county in the State.

The Register held the Raleigh field undisputed only a few months before William Boylan moved his *Minerva* from Fayetteville to Raleigh and sought to combat *The Register.* Electors in this State were then chosen by districts, and in the 1800 election the Republicans captured six and the Federalists four of North Carolina's districts. The legislature was Republican, and Joseph Gales succeeded Hodge as State printer, a position which ten years later paid only $1,400 gross per annum, and *The Register's* rival then offered to take the job for $900. *The Register* was paid less than $80 a year for publishing acts of congress.

The Minerva was backed by the ablest Federalists, and in 1802 such men as Duncan Cameron, General Davie, Archibald Henderson, Colonel Ashe of Wilmington, and others were striving to extend *The Minerva's* circulation by something on the order of the club plan.

The Minerva denounced Jefferson as a demagogue, who cheats his neighbors and blasphemes his Saviour. *The Register* championed the President and his administration. It is not surprising that such irreconcilable opinions led to a personal clash. Both papers, be it said to their credit, denounced the then prevalent practice of the duel. The two editors met one morning on Hillsboro street and fought out their differences. Gales claimed that Boylan assaulted him and he brought a civil suit for damages. The trial was moved to Hillsboro, where a jury awarded the plaintiff 100 pounds. Gales paid his attorneys' fees out of this sum and donated the remainder to the Raleigh Academy. He was one of the first trustees of the academy and felt the keenest interest in the school.

Indeed Joseph Gales threw himself with enthusiasm into the life of this community. Dr. Stephen Weeks, in his little pamphlet on the press in North Carolina, says of him: "He was a man of untiring energy; besides editing *The Register*, he kept all his accounts, made out his bills, gave receipts, conducted a bookstore, managed a book printing establishment. He was director in a bank and secretary of nearly every benevolent society in the city. He was never idle. *The Register* was always on the side of law, order and good morals. It did not teem with editorials, but when it spoke it was with such fullness, discretion and power that the whole country was moved and impressed".

Gales and Macon were in thorough accord in their opposition to the Federalists' Alien and Sedition laws; both believed in full suffrage and fair representation, but, aside from these

issues, the union of their political convictions apparently ended, though their mutual regard was never severed. The Macon school believed that people least governed were best governed, that taxes should be endured in merely sufficient amount to operate the simplest possible government machinery; an army and navy, internal improvements or the development of industries or resources by governmental encouragement were extremely objectionable; that the States were sovereign and the Union but a weak confederacy with little power save for defense from invasion. Gales believed just as devoutly in the fullest liberty for the citizen, but he did not conceive that men must remain primitive or rustics in order to retain their freedom. He believed that a republican form of government was devised not simply to prevent men from cutting each other's throats, but to uplift and improve the condition of society; that the Union of States should not be a mere badge of defense but a force for righteousness and growth.

The files of *The Register* from 1800 to 1810 show that Joseph Gales during that decade advocated a State bank, after calling attention repeatedly to the fact that North Carolina was then the only one of the original States without such an institution; he urged a government banking system which would bring about specie payments; he sought to encourage home industries by offering prizes for the best cloth made in North Carolina, and recommended that the people wear no imported goods; the embargo he upheld; he urged in vain that the citizens subscribe $20,000 to build a cotton factory in Raleigh, and presented arguments that the enterprise would pay; he pointed out the benefit of organizing the proposed North Carolina Insurance Company with three hundred thousand dollars capital, and was its most persistent champion; and at this early date favored public improvements. He was strong in his contention that dueling should

be prohibited, imprisonment for debt abolished, the existing harsh penal code modified, and above all a State penitentiary should be established. The slave trade, which South Carolina still fostered, should be ended immediately, for on this question, Gales wrote, in 1806: "We tremble when we reflect that this cloud (slavery) may one day burst and bury so many thousands in irretrievable ruin."

These convictions, enunciated prior to 1810, he expanded and perfected but never violated. Gales had warmly supported Madison's administration in the War of 1812, and viewed with pity and concern the disaffection then prevalent in New England. Before 1820 *The Register* was known as a defender of both a State and a National bank. When the enemies of the State bank were preparing for an attack on that infant institution in 1813 Gales, on the eve of the session of that Legislature, wrote: "We presume that it will be a difficult matter to persuade the citizens of this State, who before the State Bank went into operation, were in the habit of losing 5 to 10 per cent on New Bern and Cape Fear notes, to return to a similar state of things, by again putting afloat our ragged currency." He applauded in 1810 the first sympathetic expression, voiced by Henry Clay, for every people struggling to attain liberty and free government.

Perhaps Nathaniel Macon represented the prevalent opinion in this agricultural State when he declared: "Whilst the present Constitution remains to the United States it is utterly impossible for the United States to become a manufacturing nation," still Joseph Gales was no less positive in his declaration, "We are in favor of supporting American industries," and again "Protect the great staples of our country and articles fabricated from them." Later, when the North Carolina Legislature of 1820, by resolution, instructed our senators and requested our representatives in Congress "to use their best efforts to prevent any increase in the tariff to

protect manufactures," the editor of the *Register,* then State Printer, defied the sentiment of the Legislature and wished that "our people would use a little common sense" on the subject. In this editorial Gales regretted the passage of the resolution and added: "We are of the opinion that this country will never get clear of its embarrassment until a stand is made in favor of Home Manufactures; until the amount of our imports shall not exceed that of our exports." Indeed he had set the example by locating a paper mill here and, beginning with the issue of September 29, 1808, *The Register* was printed on paper manufactured at Raleigh.

As editor and as a member of the State Board of Internal Improvements he labored for the upbuilding of the State, the improvement of highways and navigable streams, welcomed Fulton on his visit to Raleigh and encouraged the establishment of steamboats on our waters. He was anxious for the government to maintain a great highway from Washington through Raleigh to New Orleans. Nearly a century ago he urged that the nation connect the Atlantic and Pacific by canal. Before 1830 many leaders of the dominant political party here, in their extreme adherence to State rights, denied the power of the nation to make river and harbor and kindred improvements. In the face of such contention, *The Raleigh Register* boldly asserted, "If the Union is dismembered it will be by the States trenching upon the rights of the general government."

While *The Register* contended for principles which have since prevailed and have been thoroughly vindicated, yet the editor did not represent the popular view in North Carolina at that time. He was not a statesman to side with every faction, or a politician whose supreme aim was to be on the winning side; Joseph Gales disdained not to stand with a small minority in city, county and State. At the close of Monroe's second term, *The Register* supported William L.

Crawford of Georgia, then Secretary of the Treasury, as logical successor to the presidency. However, when the election, for the second time in the history of the government, was thrown into the national House of Representatives and the choice lay between Jackson and Adams, Gales declared in his paper: "We assuredly prefer Mr. John Quincy Adams to General Jackson." He took this position notwithstanding the fact that Jackson in the recent election had swept North Carolina, carried Wake County by an almost unprecedented majority, and won in the City of Raleigh by a vote of more than two to one. Old-line Federalists, like William Boylan and Colonel Polk, who had carried Wake County over Gales' strenuous opposition in 1812, were now supporters of Andrew Jackson and remained in the majority.

Though Gales' policies were not accepted at home, still he had the full confidence of his neighbors. From 1813 to 1833, with one exception, he appears to have been annually elected by the people as Intendant of Police of the City of Raleigh. The one exception was in 1826, when Col. John Bell, editor of *The Star*, was chosen Intendant, but the next year the office was restored to Joseph Gales. A ten-dollar fine was, in those days, imposed upon the citizen who declined a municipal office here. Gales served on the city patrol, organized the first fire company here, and brought a fire engine to Raleigh prior to 1820. He retained the position of State printer until the Jackson party in the legislature gave the printing to his rival, *The Star*.

The Register strongly approved the Adams administration (1825-'29), and, when the presidential election of 1828 came, Gales was urging the re-election of President Adams, an attitude not popular in the South. A convention or caucus was held in Raleigh to name an Adams electoral ticket; Gales was secretary of that meeting and was made chairman of the Adams Vigilance Committee for the campaign. The

Adams ticket made a pitiful showing in the election; Jackson swept the State. Gales was too strong a man to be deterred in his policies by lack of popular support. However, he was not alone. During the decade ending 1830 his advocacy of policies which would uplift and improve conditions had brought him into more or less distinct political accord with the rising young Willie P. Mangum, Judge Gaston, a former Federalist, Wm. A. Graham and others, who became leaders of the Whig party in the thirties. In 1825 *The Register* had supported Mangum for congress from this district; he was elected by only 58 majority; his opponent, Rev. Josiah Crudup, a Baptist preacher,—who was denied a seat in the State Senate from Wake the previous year under the constitutional provision debarring ministers from the legislature,—carried Wake by the then almost unprecedented majority of 961 out of a total vote of less than 1,200.

While Gales in 1830 was consistently opposing a reduction of tariff duties, he at least had the satisfaction of seeing the legislature of North Carolina, almost unanimously and without regard to party, emphatically repudiate South Carolina's nullification doctrine,—a course more timid slave States had hesitated to take. In 1832 Gales was again bitterly opposed to Jackson, but for a third time the General easily carried North Carolina.

The time was now at hand for Joseph Gales to lay aside editorial work, and his mantle was to fall upon the worthy shoulders of his son, Weston R. Gales. William W. Seaton, a brilliant young editor, came from Halifax to Raleigh and formed a business partnership with Joseph Gales in January, 1809. March 31, 1809, he married Sarah Gales. Joseph Gales, after coming to Raleigh, had purchased an interest in *The National Intelligencer* at Washington for his son Joseph Gales, Jr., and in 1807 the young man, who had been carefully trained by his father and was an expert at shorthand,

went to Washington as congressional reporter on that paper. He became sole owner in 1810. Two years later William W. Seaton moved to Washington and joined his brother-in-law in owning and editing *The National Intelligencer* under the name of Gales and Seaton. Joseph Gales, Jr., married in December, 1813, Julia Lee, of Mestmoreland, Va., and this cultured woman often acted as reporter for her husband and posterity is indebted to her for preserving the famous debate between Webster and Hayne. Altona Holstein Gales, the second daughter, married Rev. Anthony Foster, a Presbyterian divine who afterwards became a Unitarian. He lived only a few years later, and his widow died here November 16, 1827. Anna Eliza Gales died here September 22, 1822, aged 25 years, in an epidemic of fever which was accompanied by great fatality in Raleigh. Caroline Matilda, the youngest daughter, married Major Thomas L. West, of Bertie, on March 25, 1818. There were two other sons: Thomas Gales, who studied law, located in Louisiana, served on the staff of General Jackson in the War of 1812 and with his own hand hauled down the Union Jack at Pensacola, Fla.

Weston Raleigh Gales was born April 20, 1802, and died July 23, 1848. In January, 1822, he became associated with his father in publishing *The Register* under the firm name of Joseph Gales & Son. From 1823 to 1830 the paper was issued as a semi-weekly. In the fall of 1833 Joseph Gales announced that he would retire from business, leaving *The Register* in the hands of his son, Weston R. Gales, and spend his remaining years with his children in Washington City. This was just as his political party was at last coming into power in North Carolina; Mangum was now in the United States Senate, and in 1834 a revolution in sentiment gave the opponents of Van Buren, Jackson's candidate, the State Senate, while Wm. H. Haywood, of Wake, a Jackson man, was elected Speaker of the House by only four majority.

The retirement of Joseph Gales called forth universal regret in Raleigh. The citizens gave a public dinner in his honor; Governor Swain presided; Chief Justice John Marshall, Judge Gaston and other distinguished men attended. The beloved Rev. William McPheeters, who came to Raleigh in 1810 as "Principal of the Raleigh Academy and Pastor of the City," paid tribute to his devoted friend and the resolutions he offered thanked Joseph Gales for his "long-continued, efficient and faithful services as corresponding and recording secretary of the North Carolina Bible Society."

Joseph Gales lagged in no worthy cause. For years he was secretary of the Peace Society, which sought to end dueling and promote peace between individuals and nations. His untiring efforts he devoted to the Colonization Society, which purposed to gradually end slavery by transporting to Africa negroes, as they were freed. The last few years of his life spent in Washington were occupied with work as secretary of this society. Slavery he abhorred but recognized that the institution was thrust upon the South. *The Register* in 1825 made the prophetic statement that slavery was "a great evil but we can not believe it irremediable, hopeless and perpetual." When the legislature passed a very pro-slavery act in 1831, *The Register* boldly declared: "A string may be stretched till it breaks. It is admitted that slavery is a curse to the Southern States. Would it not be better to think of some means of getting rid of it, rather than fly in the face of humanity and the Constitution."

With Nathaniel Macon he considered the custom of treating at elections one of the worst evils of the day, but more than a decade passed after he directed public attention to the curse before it was prohibited by law. Gales advocated in 1805 "guardians for drunkards, lunatics and idiots." When whiskey was being sold freely in almost every store at 40 cents a gallon and temperance societies had not been formed

here, *The Register,* in 1820, declared: "We heartily wish there were no grog shops in this country." Ten years later the same paper repeated that "to lessen the drink evil no experiment should be left untried."

Dr. McPheeters had a zealous worker for Sunday schools in Joseph Gales. *The Register* in 1820 hoped ere long to see "a good Sunday school in every neighborhood." An editorial in 1829 gave this information: "It is gratifying to find that the governors of our State are lending the influence of their example to the cause of good morals. Our late governor (Iredell), the successor of the venerable Macon in the United States Senate, would not permit card parties in the governor's palace. * * * Our present governor (Owen) has accepted an invitation to visit the Sabbath school in the Presbyterian church, which is chiefly composed of children of Baptist and Presbyterian parents." In 1829 he called attention to the fact that a canvas in Wake County showed 49 out of 114 families without a copy of the Scriptures, and he urged support for the Bible Society to enable it to place a Bible in every home. One of the few controversies into which *The Register* was drawn was when the honored and beloved Bishop Ravenscroft, a highchurchman, in a special sermon here in 1824 expressed misgivings about the free dissemination of the Bible among the people, without interpretation and church rites, and feared that the Bible Society would do harm rather than good. Joseph Gales was so deeply interested in the Bible Society, of which he was secretary, that he wrote an editorial in reply, in which he said:

> "We have always believed that the Scriptures contained many things hard to understand, yet there is sufficient in them, which is plain and intelligent to the meanest capacity, to produce the best effects on the life and character: and sufficient even without a guide to teach men their duty to God and to their fellow-men. Nor do we conceive the diversity of opinion among men on the subject of religion as an evil to be lamented. All that is necessary to produce happiness under such circumstances is that men should think charitably of each other, and agree to differ,

> believing that every one who professes himself to be guided by the principles of the Gospel, and leads a good life, is sincere in his profession and will hereafter be approved by his Maker."

Bishop English, of the Roman Catholic Church, came to Raleigh about this time and delivered a series of religious lectures in the Presbyterian church. Gales formed a high opinion of the Bishop and they became fast friends.

No victory gave Editor Gales keener joy than when the legislature of North Carolina in 1820 declared against imprisonment for debt, and thus set "a glorious example" to the other States and to the nation. If Gales could have seen a penitentiary established while he was in the editorial chair and the severity of the penal code mitigated, his cup of joy would have been almost full. As foreman of the grand jury in Wake County he aroused public attention to the fact that the jails were then hot-houses of filth and disease, with no sanitation, heating or proper ventilation, and at his insistence a sewerage system was planned for the jail here. There were only two crimes, he believed, for which the death penalty should be inflicted, although the list in North Carolina was then much longer and included horse stealing and bigamy. Executions were always public, multitudes, including women, attended; drunkenness was prevalent. *The Register* ever protested and declared that when the State took human life it should be done in private. He expressed agreement with the first movement, in 1825, which finally culminated in the Constitutional Convention of 1835, when the clause disfranchising Jews and Catholics,—a clause not enforced, however, (which *The Register* declared in 1826 "it will be expunged whenever an opportunity occurs for so doing")—was expunged and our constitution vastly improved.

An earnest champion of good schools, he repeatedly asserted that education should be the primary matter before the legislature. "The framers of our constitution," he wrote when the legislature met in 1825, "directed such schools to be

established, and it is time that direction was being obeyed." At a non-political public dinner given John C. Calhoun here in 1825, Joseph Gales gave this characteristic toast: "Industry, frugal habits and a good system of general education, the surest means of promoting and securing individual and national prosperity and happiness." As a publisher, "Matilda Berkley," probably the first novel published in the State, came from his presses; also numerous publications on agriculture and law, besides annually Gales' Almanac with weather prognostications by the famous Beasley of Wake. A study of the census of 1820 led Gales to begin advocating a school for the deaf and a hospital for the insane. In 1827 Gales, Dr. McPheeters and Dr. Caldwell led in a convention held here to urge the legislature to establish a school for the deaf.

After spending six years in Washington with his children, the old man returned to Raleigh. Nearly fifty years ago one who had known him well thus wrote: "In Raleigh there was no figure that, as it passed, was greeted so much by the signs of a peculiar veneration as that great, stalwart one of his, with a sort of nobleness in its very simplicity, an inborn goodness and courtesy in all its roughness of frame,—a countenance mild, commanding yet pleasant, betokening a bosom no low thought had ever entered. You had in him, indeed, the highest image of that staunch old order from which he was sprung."

Two years after the death of his dear companion, who had indeed been his comfort and helpmeet and charmed the social circle here, he died of paralysis in this city. In the City Cemetery a granite stone bears this simple inscription:

TO THE MEMORY OF

JOSEPH GALES,

an Englishman by birth, but for a period of nearly forty years
a citizen of Raleigh.
Born February 4, 1761,
Died August 24, 1841.

Authorities consulted.—Files of Sheffield Register, Raleigh Register, Minerva and Star; Dr. Dodd's invaluable Life of Macon, Dr. Weeks on the press in N. C., Dr. Bassett on suffrage in N. C., addresses by Dr. K. P. Battle and Gov. Swain; lives of Pitt, Jefferson, Adams and Jackson; I am specially indebted to Mr. Charles Root, a descendant of Joseph Gales, for Life of Wm. W. Seaton and extracts from memoirs of Mrs. Gales.—W. G. B.

OUR FIRST CONSTITUTION, 1776.

E. W. SIKES.

The last representative of the English government in North Carolina was not driven from the colony, but on April 24, 1775, he deemed it wise to leave New Bern and go to Fort Johnston on the Cape Fear River. This flight of Governor Martin marks the failure of the English government in this province. Martin little thought when he spent the night with his good Scotch friend, Farquard Campbell, on his flight, that it was his last night as governor of this province.

Martin had seen the danger threatening in the two provincial congresses that had met in August and April under the very shadow of his palace at New Bern, but when he saw from his palace window the citizens removing the cannons from the palace lawn, he thought it high time to seek safety in flight.

Samuel Johnston soon called the provincial congress to meet for the third time in August at Hillsboro. This body declared that whereas the governor had "abdicated," it was now necessary to establish some temporary form of government. With this brief declaration the English government was dismissed. The temporary government consisted of a provincial council of thirteen members. Six district committees of safety of twelve members each, and the county and town committees.

These vigorous committees were able to meet the Scotch Highlanders and defeat them at Moore's Creek in February, 1776. The sceptre that fell from the nerveless grasp of Governor Martin was picked up by vigorous committees. In April the provincial congress met at Halifax. Public sentiment in the State, or at least among the revolutionists, was

now crystalized. The victory at Moore's Creek in February made them feel that independence was in easy grasp. A few days after the meeting the congress instructed its delegates in the Continental Congress to vote for independence. Samuel Johnston wrote Iredell that "they are all up for independence." On April 12 these instructions were given to the delegates; on the next day a committee was appointed to prepare a temporary civil constitution.

This was no easy task. These men could declaim about political rights; they knew how to justify their rebellion, but to construct a form of government was a new and untried task. They had no models before them save the old English charters. These were of very little service. After much labor, on April 25th, the committee reported the outline of a form of a government. Briefly the plan was that the executive should consist of a president and six councillors always in session; the legislature was to consist of an upper house composed of one member from each county and a lower house chosen from among the people. Justices of the county courts were to be elected by popular vote. For the upper house only freeholders might vote; for the lower house a household qualification was necessary. All officials were to be elected annually. Thomas Jones wrote that the executive council was to be always in session for "receiving foreign ambassadors" and other such purposes.

These outlines were reported to the congress on the 27th, and were discussed with much division of judgment. On May 2d, Samuel Johnston wrote that "affairs have taken a turn within a few days past. All ideas of forming a permanent constitution are at this time laid aside."

Whatever may have been the cause of this turn of affairs—whether the threatened invasion of the British or the divergence of opinion—the matter was postponed and a temporary government by committees constituted.

The question of a constitution, a form of government, had now arisen. Men began to think on the matter and to work out their plans. The discussion had gone just far enough to show that the revolutionary party, though united on the question of independence, was divided as to the form of government that should be adopted.

On August 9, 1776, the State Council of Safety issued a call to elect delegates to a new provincial congress, whose chief duty it would be to form a civil government. In the call emphasis was placed on the great importance of the meeting.

The campaign that followed this announcement was very bitter. The danger of an invasion had passed, so the pent-up feelings broke forth in this campaign. It was conservative against radical. The conservatives had little fault to find with the principles of the English government. They were in revolt because these principles had been transgressed. On the other hand, the radicals had little love for anything English. They wished to change things "root and branch." Samuel Johnston was the outspoken leader of the conservatives. He had not hesitated to condemn openly the outline that had been proposed. Patriot that he was, he despised the tempest and turmoil of a popular democracy. The leader of the radicals was probably Willie Jones. He was well educated, a large slave owner, but in politics an extreme radical for that day. Johnston was defeated. His opponents rejoiced greatly and burned him in effigy. Jones was elected.

The congress assembled at Halifax on November 12, 1776. On the next day a committee was appointed to lay before the body a bill of rights and a form of government. Among the members of this committee were Richard Caswell, who had come into great popularity since the battle of Moore's Creek; General Pearson, the wealthy landowner of Regulator fame; Willie Jones, the radical "who could draw a bill in better

language than any other man of his day," and Thomas Jones, an astute lawyer and friend of Samuel Johnston. The credit of authorship of the constitution rests probably among these men. Judge Toomer reported a tradition that Caswell was its author. Samuel Johnston called it (Thomas) "Jones' Constitution," and others divide the honor between Thomas and Willie Jones.

The political theory of this time is found in the Bill of Rights. The years of quarrels with Colonial governors and their experience in local self-government separated them from English political theory. In this Bill of Rights they declare that all governments originate from the consent of the people and that all representative power vests in them. These men had gotten a great deal from England, but they had also outgrown much that they had received. These brief statements of the Bill of Rights are commonplaces with us now, but they were revolutionary in 1776. Taxation without representation was the practice in England. The colonists raised the question and claimed it as a constitutional right. In this they were clearly wrong. In the end they fell back not on constitutional rights but on inalienable rights—rights not found in parchments but in nature and given man by the Creator of nature.

But it was possible for men to agree on the fundamental principles of liberty and yet disagree as to what form of government best secures that liberty to the individual citizen.

It is surprising to one of the twentieth century to find so many restrictions as are found in the Constitution of 1776. Despite all the democratic maxims of the Bill of Rights, the constitution proper contains many aristocratic principles. True, hereditary succession, hereditary privileges and entails were forbidden, but political power was vested in a few only. The "Fathers" found no inconsistency in proclaiming that "all government rests on the consent of the governed" and then restricting political privileges to a few.

The prevalent belief in America in 1776 was that the man without property ought not to vote. Franklin said that "allowing them to vote for legislators is an impropriety." Landholding, or at least some property qualification, was required in all of these first constitutions. In the Constitution of 1776 only those owning fifty acres of land could vote for State senator, while the payment of public taxes was a requirement of an elector for the House of Commons.

Office-holding was also limited to the property holding class. The governor was required to own a freehold valued at one thousand pounds. This was not peculiar to North Carolina. Maryland required five thousand and South Carolina ten thousand. A State senator was required to own three hundred acres and a commoner one hundred.

The result of this legislation was the disfranchisement in some cases of one-half of the adult males, while the office holding class was composed of a much smaller per cent of the people.

The "Fathers" were jealous of any kind of government. They feared tyranny. They were willing to sacrifice efficiency of administration to escape the danger of oppression or a hereditary ruling class. Consequently the term of office was short. The governor was elected annually, as was the General Assembly. In this way the officeholder was directly answerable to the people. Every year he had to give an account of his stewardship. John Adams declared that "where annual elections end, there slavery begins." Macon quoted this with approval. This clause pleased conservative Samuel Johnston, who said that in this way the people could repudiate the designing demagogue who had won their vote.

The governor was still further restricted by the clause that he could serve only three years out of six. Many of them served the three years limit. In practice it was the policy to re-elect the governors. Only the judges and the secretary of state were elected for a longer term than one year.

These "Fathers" feared the executive power and hemmed it about on every side, but the legislative power they trusted. All the State officers were elected by the General Assembly and for one year only, save the secretary, who was elected triennially, and the judges, who were elected for life. Practically no power was given to the governor. William Hooper declared that he was given just enough power to receipt for his salary, and even his salary was left in the hands of the General Assembly. While the judges were elected for life, still their salaries were determined by the assembly.

The constitution did not establish any judicial system. This was left to the legislature. Though the Bill of Rights declared in favor of the separation of the three departments of government, the idea was not carried out in making the form of government.

Freedom of religious worship was recognized; all sects were tolerated; no church was established. Nevertheless, a belief in these principles did not deter these men from requiring a religious test of officeholders. All officeholders were required to be Protestants. Thus were both Jews and Catholics and disbelievers disqualified. This law was not strictly enforced against the Catholics, for the third governor—Burke—was a Catholic, as was also the distinguished judge, William Gaston. This requirement was not peculiar to North Carolina. New Hampshire, New Jersey, South Carolina, Georgia, Maryland and Massachusetts had similar restrictions, while Pennsylvania and Delaware required belief in God, in future rewards and punishments, and in inspiration of Scriptures.

Another restriction was that no clergyman while he continued active "in the exercise of the pastoral function should be senator, commoner, or councillor of State." In this way it was hoped that both the State and religion would be helped. Such men were not precluded from executive or judicial

offices, but it was deemed unwise to entrust them with the making of laws. This law was enforced, and John Culpepper and Josiah Crudup were unseated from the General Assembly on this ground.

There were various other clauses that excited much comment. It was at one time proposed to elect the justices of the county courts by a popular vote. Samuel Johnston thought that this was a most dangerous feature, and prevailed upon them to change, so that the governor commissioned them for life upon the recommendation of the General Assembly. Even the assembly was forbidden to remove them save for misbehaviour, absence, or inability.

Debtors could not be imprisoned after the delivery of his estate; schools were to be established; county officers were to be chosen, and there were other matters of minor importance.

Popular democracy had not yet come; in fact, representative democracy was not well understood. In the composition of the General Assembly the people were not represented, but the counties were. In the Senate every county had one representative, and in the House of Commons two. It mattered not whether the county was large or small, rich or poor, populous or not, the political power was the same.

Altogether, the first constitution of North Carolina was typical of the times. It differs not much from those of other States. It is probable that copies of the constitutions of other States were before the body. There were certain political ideas that had become common property in the colonies, and these find expression with some modifications in these early forms of government. This constitution was destined to withstand every effort to change till 1835, when it underwent a general revision.

NORTH CAROLINA'S HISTORICAL EXHIBIT AT JAMESTOWN EXPOSITION.

BY MARY HILLIARD HINTON,
(Member of Jamestown Historical Commission.)

It is indeed gratifying to know that the Old North State is creditably represented at this most interesting Exposition of the century, where history is given a place that never before has been accorded in the annals of America. Each of the thirteen colonies, realizing the importance of encouraging a thirst for research and knowledge in this essential branch of learning, has assisted in rendering the exhibition in the History Building a success. Connecticut proves the sole exception. This splendid edifice cost $130,000 and months of careful labor. It is perfectly fire-proof and burglar-proof. Upon the collecting and installing of the exhibits thousands of dollars were expended in addition to the arduous work, wearing anxiety and ceaseless responsibility given by the learned, patriotic men and women from the various sections of this broad land. The results are a compensation to all. From the outset it was intended to be the center of attraction among all the other departments in the numerous buildings. Its work is to be educational. Here the slumbering talent of the ignorant is to be awakened and he is to learn what America has done, can and will do, while the student is to grow wise and the scholar can refresh his treasured acquisitions.

As fashion and history repeat themselves, so again the daughters of Carolina have taken the lead and done their duty in placing her historically where she justly belongs—in the front rank. Too much praise can not be given Mrs. Lindsay Patterson, Vice-President General of the Daughters

of the American Revolution, who first planned and arranged this exhibit. As chairman of the Jamestown Historical Commission she proved herself a genuine leader. The Jamestown Commission for North Carolina appropriated as much money as could be spared for this purpose, which was not a large sum. Mrs. Patterson was assisted by Miss Rebecca Schenck, of Greensboro, and Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton, of Raleigh, who have given months of arduous toil to this patriotic cause. North Carolina is the only State in which women have sole charge of the historical exhibit.

The relics are chronologically arranged save whenever the artistic can not be sacrificed. With a desire to start with the beginning of our State history, instead of an ambition to antedate the first permanent settlement at Jamestown by twenty-two years, the story of the "Lost Colony" is given by paintings and photographs. First on the post hangs the coat-of-arms of Sir Walter Raleigh; next, forming a frieze running along the top of the two partitions, which are the side walls of our space, are placed the White pictures—18 in number. In 1587 Queen Elizabeth sent John White to Roanoke Island to make paintings of the aboriginals. White remained a year minus five days and made a number of sketches from life. They represent the Indian features: their modes of prayer, dancing, fishing, cooking and eating; the styles of dress adopted by their chiefs, religious men, warriors, their women and children; views of their villages and tombs. The originals are in the British Museum. Colonel Bennehan Cameron gave an order for these paintings to be executed for exhibition, permission having been granted by the government, in the North Carolina space in the History Building. Afterwards they are to hang in the Hall of History at Raleigh. A more generous gift from a more patriotic citizen can not be found here.

Next are arranged the thirteen fine oil paintings of different scenes on the Roanoke Island of to-day, by Mr. Jaques Busbee, who was appointed by the State Historical Commission to undertake this task. Ballast Point, where Raleigh's colony first landed; Fort Raleigh, with its intrenchments plainly visible; the monument to Virginia Dare and the views of water, woods, sand dunes and sky, make one feel he is gazing in reality upon this sacred spot where was enacted the saddest tragedy of American history.

King Charles II. and his lords proprietors hang in the order of their rank: Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon; George Monck, Duke of Albemarle; William, Earl of Craven; John, Lord Berkely; Anthony, Lord Ashley; Sir George Carteret, Sir William Berkely. These photographs—symphonies in brown—are taken from the oil portraits in possession of Mr. James Sprunt, British vice-consul at Wilmington, the only collection of the kind in existence. John Locke, who drafted the fundamental constitution under their rule, has not been forgotten, but an engraving of him looks calmly down from an elevated position on the passing throng. As the beautiful Theodosia Burr, daughter of Aaron Burr, and wife of Governor Alston of South Carolina, met a horrible fate at the hands of pirates on the coast of Carolina, her portrait hangs with this collection. This was washed ashore at Nag's Head in the winter of 1812-13, and was picked up by a banker. It is loaned by Mrs. Overman, of Elizabeth City.

The group of oil portraits, while not large, represents our leading statesmen whose lives were spent in the service of the State and some assisted in making our country great. The three signers—William Hooper, Joseph Hewes and John Penn—are placed side by side. Mrs. Beale's picturesque painting of Charles I. is given a prominent position. Historians

can not agree as to the origin of the name of the Carolinas, claiming it is named in honor of either Charles I., Charles II. of England, or Charles IX. of France. It is most probable it was called for the Martyr King. Chief Justices Iredell and Alfred Moore hang on each side of the excellent portrait of the brilliant Judge Gaston. The portraits of Dr. James Norcom, skilled surgeon in the War of 1812, recommended by Dr. Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia and appointed by Nathaniel Macon of North Carolina, and that of Mrs. Winifred Hoskins, secretary of the "Edenton Tea Party," are masterpieces—among the gems of the hall. These are the property of Miss Penelope Norcom, of Hertford. The Secretary of the Fourth Provincial Congress, George Green, and Martha Cogsdell, his wife, are loaned by Mrs. George Green, of New Bern. The splendid likeness of Governor William A. Graham, one of the greatest men our State has produced, adorns the middle column, also that of General Joseph Graham, his father. Many photographs, etchings and watercolors of our great men and women, notable events and historic places cover the walls—but lack of space forbids even a cursory mention here.

Of the twelve cases, that devoted to the silver is the handsomest and most showy. It tells of the aristocracy of the colony and offers an opportunity for the study of the armorial bearings of some of our early prominent families. The Colonial service of the Cameron family, bearing the arms of that Clan, loaned by Col. Benehan Cameron, is beautiful in its simplicity and a fine specimen of the style of silver of that period. The elegant service, also Colonial, but not so old and a trifle more ornamented, once in possession of Governor Samuel Johnston of "Hayes," is loaned by members of the Wood family. A portion—four pieces—of the silver presented by Prince Charles Edward Stuart to the dauntless Flora McDonald can be seen. Spoons owned by William

Hooper, the signer, George Green, secretary of the Fourth Provincial Congress, the DuBrutz family, and a ladle of John Harvey, bearing the respective crests, are arranged to advantage. The paten and chalice presented by "Col. Edward Mosely" to St. Paul's church, Edenton, in 1725, has been loaned by the vestry and rector of that historic old parish. This disproves the exaggerated statements of Colonel Byrd concerning the religious condition of that borough in 1728. The silver coffee pot and cream pitcher, with the Eden crest, and cruets with the Paget arms engraved thereon, have been secured through the courtesy of Mrs. and Miss Drane, of Edenton. The communion set of pewter, used by the First German Reform church, comes from Alamance. Another relic of interest is the green and gold plate, with festive scene in center, in a red velvet frame, which was one of a set of thirty pieces made to order for a coronation gift for Napoleon to present to Joseph Bonaparte when the Emperor created the latter King of Spain. This was brought to Bordentown and sold to General Patterson, from whom it was inherited by Mrs. Patterson. The plate owned by George Durant, whose treaty with the Indians deserves the reputation of that of William Penn, but is little known beyond our borders, comes from a descendant.

The quaint styles of the dress of long ago are revealed by a display of clothing that fills a case and a half.

The MSS. occupy another case and a half, while others are scattered here and there as chronological order demands. There are documents with the signatures of Generals William R. Davie, LaFayette, Anthony Wayne, Greene, Joseph Graham, Governors Caswell and Samuel Johnston, William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, John Penn, Colonel John Hinton, Major John Hinton, and many other distinguished Carolinians, subscribed. The gem of the collection is the court martial made out in the handwriting of John Paul Jones, from the library at "Hayes."

The treasures handed down in the Blount and Harvey families were tastefully arranged and loaned by Miss Lida Rodman, of Washington, filling a case and a half. They comprise many valuable historic heirlooms.

Army officers and martial spirits pause indefinitely before the battle case, studying the curious old guns and swords stored there. Relics that did service at Alamance, Moore's Creek Bridge, Guilford Court-House and King's Mountain are grouped effectively. The bell that was rung, in lieu of beating the drum, to gather together the bands of Regulators on that fatal day in May, 1771, is one of the chief objects—as is also Cornwallis' pistol. The shaving case—indeed, a handsome one when presented by General Nathaniel Greene to the famous Peter Francisco for courage—is loaned by his descendants, the Pescuds of Raleigh. The velvet-lined tray contained originally a razor for each day of the week, with the name engraved thereon. On the top is an inscription in the handwriting of General Greene, scratched with a sharp-pointed instrument.

The "Edenton Tea Party," so dear to the hearts of the Daughters of the Revolution, who have labored long and patiently to raise funds, by publishing the North Carolina Booklet, to erect a suitable memorial to those fifty-one patriotic women, is well told in relics. The most unique of our treasures is the dainty little model, an exact reproduction of the "Tea Party House," the residence of Mrs. Elizabeth King, in which the resolutions were signed October 25, 1774. This is a gift from that versatile writer and historian, Dr. Richard Dillard, of Edenton. Above hangs the painting of that historic gathering, also presented by the same patriotic gentleman to the State Library. Another of his gracious acts has been placing in the exhibit for distribution a number of pamphlets, containing his article, revised, which appeared in the Booklet, August, 1901. It is well illustrated. A

photograph of the stately Penelope Barker, president of the Tea Party, the portrait of Winifred Hoskins, already mentioned, the cut-glass dish, rare china plate and Prayer Book of Elizabeth Horniblower, the china plate of Mrs. Hoskins and the candlestand that came down from the Valentine family—all bring those fascinating dames of the Revolutionary days very close to us and we can *feel* their very presence, hear their voices in a conglomeration of discussion, and are inspired by their patriotism and zeal. They were true, noble, refined women, who fulfilled the duty of the home yet forgot not their country. Can the daughters of to-day act unwisely in following such examples?

The exhibit of the Wachovia Historical Society reveals the life of the people—their industries, household utensils and implements. The Moravians have an excellent display in the Pennsylvania exhibit and this completes theirs. The entire history of these thrifty, peace-abiding citizens—that have ever remained a distinct colony—affords unusual opportunity for the student. Never before has the Society allowed the whole collection to leave Salem. On this occasion consent was not obtained for the removal until a custodian was permitted to accompany and install it. The maps, covering a goodly portion of the wall, are considered of great worth. A century of lights shows a remarkable series of candlesticks (with quaint methods of manufacturing candles), lanterns, lard and oil lamps. A century of music presents instruments of equal interest, such as a harpsichord played when Washington visited Salem and a horn also used on that notable occasion, with the music, "God save great Washington," by its side. Here can be seen the first printing press in the State, which was seized by Lord Cornwallis at Hillsboro and used by him for printing his proclamations. The fire engine, one of the first in this country, is indeed curious. It could be of service should anything so impossible as a fire occur in this abso-

lutely fire-proof structure. Four cases are crowded with all kinds of curios. Wachovia has done well for her State at the Exposition. To Mr. J. A. Lineback, who installed this splendid exhibit, many thanks are due.

Numerous pieces of furniture were offered, but could not be taken for lack of room. The following, however, were accepted: A chair owned by Washington; a chair from "Buncombe Hall"; one that Cornwallis sat in; two loaned by Colonel Cameron—one came from "Sweet Hall" and has an interesting history attached, the other was the property of Richard Bennehan of "Stagville," and has held some of North Carolina's most notable sons; the card table, a beautiful bit of mahogany that belonged to President Jackson. North Carolina gave three Presidents to the Union—Jackson, Polk and Johnson—and one "first lady in the land"—Dolly Madison. Pictures of these statesmen and their homes with possessions of the last named (loaned by Mrs. E. E. Moffitt) enlighten many who did not heretofore know these incidents in our history.

A limited space forbids a fuller account of this engrossing work, which it is hoped will greatly aid in developing the historical awakening that now exists within our borders. More visitors seek the North Carolina exhibit than any other in the History Building, while numbers come just for a glimpse at that alone. No description can convey a correct idea of its worth or artistic effect—one must see to understand—then enjoy. To the generous men and women of Carolina who have made this exhibition a possibility by the loan of their priceless heirlooms and untiring assistance, to the custodians of other States who by their courtesy and encouragement rendered the installation an easier task—there are obligations existing which can never be repaid. Again, North Carolina has done right nobly.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF CONTRIBUTORS.

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

KEMP PLUMMER BATTLE, LL. D.

To Kemp Plummer Battle, the erudite scholar and assiduous student of North Carolina history, the BOOKLET owes a debt of gratitude. In no better way can it show its appreciation than by recounting the headings of the monographs which he has contributed from time to time and which has enriched its columns.

(1) In Vol. I, January, 1902, he wrote: "A North Carolina Naval Hero and His Daughter," showing the career of Captain Johnston Blakeley, the brilliant Commander of the American sloop, *Wasp,* and captor of the English brig-sloop, *Reindeer,* during the War of 1812.

(2) Vol. II, November, 1902: "Raleigh and the Old Town of Bloomsbury," the name given by Tryon to Wake Court House, the site of the city of Raleigh.

(3) Vol. III, May, 1903: "Trial of James Glasgow and the Supreme Court," showing how our higher Court was evolved from the special tribunal organized for the investigation of the frauds committed by Secretary of State Glasgow and others.

(4) Vol. IV, May, 1904: "The Lords Proprietors of the Province of North Carolina," giving a succinct history of each of the eight Lords Proprietors and their successors, including their service to the Stuarts, which earned the grant of the imperial territory of Carolina.

(5) Vol. VI, July, 1906: "Glimpses of History in Names of Counties in North Carolina," showing how these counties derived their names: some named in honor of favored Eng-

DR. KEMP PLUMMER BATTLE, LL.D.

lish lords, of statesmen officially connected with the colonies, of champions of civil liberty, and of Indian tribes; and of educators, governors, and navigators who have lived within the limits of North Carolina.

The following sketch of Dr. Battle by Edward L. Stewart, of the University, and which appeared in a recent issue of the *News and Observer,* is herewith reproduced by permission of the editor of that paper:

"Kemp Plummer Battle was born in Franklin County, North Carolina, December 19, 1831. His father, William Horn Battle, of the class of 1820, a great grandson of Elisha Battle, of the Constitutional Convention of 1776, was for years a Supreme Court Judge of the State. His mother, Lucy Martin Plummer, a granddaughter of Colonel Nicholas Long, of Revolutionary fame, was a daughter of Kemp Plummer, State Senator from Warren County, who was known as the 'honest lawyer.'

"He entered the University in 1845 and graduated four years later at the age of seventeen. The prize oration, the valedictory address, was drawn for by the three first honor men of the class, and Dr. Battle was the successful one of those who drew for the prize.

"In his senior year, as President of the Dialectic Society, he, in company with Hon. James Mebane, First President of the society and ex-Speaker of the House of Commons, presided at the dedicatory services of the then new Dialectic Hall, which is now known as the History Room, in the Old West Building.

"After graduation he was elected tutor of mathematics, in which capacity he served for four years, during which time he studied law under his father, receiving his license in 1854, and at once began a remunerative practice in copartnership with Quentin Busbee, of the Raleigh Bar.

"In 1855 he married Miss Martha A. Battle, a distant rela-

tive, who is still living, the joy of his life. They have been blessed with seven children, five of whom reached maturity. His daughter, Nellie, wife of Dr. Richard H. Lewis, of Raleigh, N. C., died in 1889. His four living children are Dr. Kemp P. Battle, Jr., of Raleigh, N. C.; Thomas H. Battle, of Rocky Mount, N. C.; Herbert B. Battle, Ph.D., of Montgomery, Ala., and W. J. Battle, Ph.D., Professor of Greek of the University of Texas.

"In 1860, he was one of the Whig candidates for the House of Commons in Wake County, and, although himself defeated, he aided in changing a Democratic majority of over five hundred to a Whig majority of two hundred. In this campaign he prepared a pamphlet on "Ad Valorem Taxation Explained by Questions and Answers," which was so highly valued by his party that one hundred thousand copies were printed and distributed among the people of the State. During the Presidential campaign of 1860 he was President of the Wake County Union Club and actively opposed both Lincoln and Breckenridge, but when the great Civil War broke out he embraced the cause of the South with equal zeal and enthusiasm, and was elected a member of the Secession Convention, in which he, foreseeing that the Confederacy would need fuel for its navy and for its factories, successfully advocated the building of a railroad to the coal fields of Chatham, which later became a part of the Raleigh and Augusta Air Line of the present Seaboard Air Line system. At the request of Governor Worth, he was a successful candidate before the Legislature for State Treasurer in 1865, and in 1867 was re-elected practically unanimously, to be turned out of office by the operation of the Reconstruction Acts in 1868.

"In 1862 he was made a Trustee of the University, and soon thereafter he was placed on the Executive Committee, in which position his love for his alma mater at once began to assert itself constructively.

"In 1867 the University entered the darkest period of its history, its funds were running low, and its professors were fast resigning. Dr. Battle, as Chairman of a Committee of Trustees, of which Solicitor-General Samuel F. Phillips and ex-Governor William A. Graham were of the other members, wrote an elaborate report recommending a reorganization along the lines of the present system. The report was adopted almost unanimously, but our dear old University in a short time passed into hands that failed to keep its doors open to the youth of the State.

"In 1874 the University, which had for eight years been but a pathetic reminder of better days in North Carolina, was reached after by the strong arm of the State and, by Constitutional Amendment, was given back into the glad hands of its old-time friends. Dr. Battle, one of the new Trustees, was elected Secretary and Treasurer, and, on his recommendation, successful application was made to the General Assembly for $7,500 a year, interest on the Land Grant. With this amount as a beginning and, relying on the University sentiment in North Carolina, he began a movement to reopen the doors of our ancient seat of learning. But, its buildings were decaying, its beautiful campus was growing up in weeds, wreck and ruin were on every hand, and money must be had to put glass in the windows, stop the many leaks in the various roofs, and cut down the weeds in the campus. Confident that the generous heart of North Carolina still beat with love for the University, Dr. Battle appealed to its friends, who gladly answered his call for help, and gave him $18,000 with which to make the needed repairs.

"In September, 1875, the doors of the institution were once more thrown open; sixty-nine students were enrolled; and the University, with face uplifted toward the coming of better days, began its present career of service to the State.

"After the first year it was seen that a President was needed

and Dr. Battle, upon urgent solicitation, abandoned a lucrative practice and reluctantly but loyally accepted the responsible post of labor and honor. His Presidency was most successful. Under his wise direction and co-operation the number of students steadily increased, the instruction in all the departments was widened and deepened, the departments of law, medicine, natural history and electrical engineering were added, the number of laboratories was increased from three to five, a gymnasium and memorial hall were built, several literary and scientific societies were organized, the University Railroad was completed, and many other needed improvements were made from time to time. From 1877 to 1885 he conducted the first Summer Normal School in connection with a university or college, which gave a strong impetus to the establishment of graded schools. He also procured from the General Assembly the first annual appropriation ever granted the University, largely increased since.

"In 1891 he resigned as President and was at once unanimously elected Alumni Professor of History, which position he has ever since most acceptably filled. His efficiency as President and Professor has been due not merely to his scholarly instincts and vast fund of knowledge, but also to his large and varied experience in the business world, where, in addition to the offices already referred to, he held the following: Director of the Insane Asylum, President of a successful life insurance company, President of the State Agricultural Society, one of the three founders of the Oakwood Cemetery in Raleigh, N. C., Director and one of the founders of the Citizens National Bank, Raleigh, N. C., Alderman of the city of Raleigh, and Chairman of the Committee of Aldermen which put the city finances in order after the confusion of 1868-'9, and President of the Chatham Railroad during the Civil War, which, as has been mentioned, was built for the purpose of getting coal for the Confederacy.

"As an author Dr. Battle has written many valuable historical papers, pamphlets, and addresses, among which may be mentioned the following: History of the Supreme Court of North Carolina, Trials and Judicial Proceedings of the New Testament, Life of General Jethro Sumner, Old Schools and Teachers of North Carolina, Otway Burns—Privateer and Legislator, etc.

"Every friend of the University and especially those students who have matriculated since the reorganization in 1875, will read with interest this short sketch of Dr. Battle's long and successful service for North Carolina. As a Trustee he has been ever faithful to the University; as President he successfully rescued it from ruin and decay, and brought it back to a life of wider usefulness and deeper scholarship than it had ever known before; and now in the seventy-fifth year of his age, buoyant as a youth, both mentally and physically, with a heart beating proudly with love for his native State, and an indomitable energy ever bent towards finding out the truth of history and exploiting the achievements of the fathers in State and Nation, studious, painstaking, and indefatigable, year after year he has enthusiastically led the flower of our youth to the most authentic sources of historic lore where opinions may be formed without the bias of sentiment or the blindness of prejudice. May many more years of honorable, useful and sympathetic service to his State and people be spared to him."

(Dr. Battle has recently resigned as active Professor of History in the University of North Carolina and has been chosen Emeritus Professor. He is one of the few college professors in the South who have been placed on the list of the Carnegie Pension Endowment. Dr. Battle is now busy reading the proof of his new book, the "History of the University of North Carolina, 1789-1868," and as soon as that comes from the press and Vol. 2, 1868, to the present, is finished, he will

begin the Social and Political History of North Carolina from 1830, for which he has gathered material during his long and busy life. Nothing ever comes from his pen that is not wholesome, reliable and good.)

CHARLES LEE RAPER.

The sketch in this number of the NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET, on the "Finances of North Carolina Colonists," by Charles Lee Raper, will be read by historians and financiers of the State, especially by the latter, with genuine interest. The author has taken great care in the collection of facts relating to the financial and commercial system as used by the colonists, and he has brought into small compass this history during a hundred years.

Professor Raper was born in High Point, N. C., March 10, 1870. He was graduated from Trinity College, N. C., in 1902, with the degree of A.B. At this institution he won the prize for three successive years for highest standing in scholarship.

He received the degree of Ph.D. from Columbia University in 1901-'02, was elected instructor of Greek and Latin in Trinity College, 1902-'03; was elected Professor of Latin in Greensboro Female College, N. C., 1893-'98; received the Columbia University scholarship, 1898-'99; was Fellow in Columbia University, 1899-1900; was lecturer in European and American history in the Barnard College of Columbia University, 1900-'01.

Professor Raper has been head of the Department of Economics in the University of North Carolina since 1901; has created and developed the department, which now offers five courses (10 hours per week) running through the year, and has 175 Juniors and Seniors electing them; has collected for

the University a good working library in economics, a branch of education so necessary to success.

Professor Raper was Associate Professor of History in the University of North Carolina, 1901-06. He has been the chief instrument in collecting the great "Ethel Carr Peacock Collection of North Carolina History." He takes great interest in the history of his native State, and has been an important member of the State Historical Commission since 1905.

He has received two small grants from the Carnegie Institution for research in the economic history of North Carolina.

The following is a list of his published works:

(a) The Church and Private Schools for North Carolina.

(b) North Carolina, a Royal Province: pp. 71. 1901; N. C. University Press.

(c) North Carolina, a study in English Government; pp. 260, 1904; Macmillan. This study was received with great favor in this country and in Europe.

(d) The Principles of Wealth and Welfare; pp. 336, 1906; Macmillan. This is being introduced as a text by the high schools, normals, and smaller colleges, in many places.

(e) The South and the Manufacture of Cotton, 1905; a paper in the South Atlantic Quarterly.

(f) Why North Carolina at first Refused to Ratify the Federal Constitution, 1906; a paper in the American Historical Association Reports.

(g) The economic Future of the Negro, 1906; a discussion, in the American Economic Association Publications.

Professor Raper is a versatile writer and has contributed a number of short papers to the local newspapers; has written a number of book reviews; has frequently been asked for lists of books and for opinions on economic questions, by students in the schools and colleges and by men of affairs in many of

the Southern States; has given a number of popular lectures on economic problems before the Southern schools and colleges.

Professor Raper's travels in Europe and in the eastern part of the United States have so enlarged his observations on economic and social conditions that he is considered an excellent authority in this line of education.

The article written by him for the North Carolina Booklet (September, 1903), on "Social Life in Colonial North Carolina" throws much light on that period of our history, laying a foundation for a fuller account for the future historian who may rescue from old documents and other sources not yet attainable but which, through the North Carolina Historical Commission, will doubtless be found in the private letters and records of the old families of the State. The possessors of such documents should co-operate with the Commission in its efforts to preserve and render available such material.

Professor Raper's literary and historical work so far is an augury to his future usefulness and reputation.

WILLIS GRANDY BRIGGS.

Willis Grandy Briggs, writer of the article on "Joseph Gales, Raleigh's First Editor," in this issue of The Booklet, is the postmaster at Raleigh, N. C.

Mr. Briggs was born October 9, 1875, and comes from the family of Hunters and Norwoods, pioneer settlers in Wake county. His great grandfather, John Joyner Briggs, helped clear the forest for this fair city, built some of the first houses in Raleigh and died here at the advanced age of ninety-six years. He was one of the founders of the Baptist church here, an officer in the first local temperance society and a man of great piety. Together he and Joseph Gales served on the

city patrol,—for the white males were then divided into squads of five for this duty.

His younger son, Thomas Henry Briggs, a building contractor and merchant, was successful in business and left a name the synonym of honesty. When his death occurred, August 4, 1886, the citizens held a mass meeting in the city hall and paid tribute to his memory. Though a modest quiet man, he was loved as has been given to few men to be loved here. His eldest son, Thomas Henry Briggs, second, father of the contributor to The Booklet, is one of Raleigh's best citizens, successful in business and a leader in Christian work.

Mr. Briggs' mother was formerly Miss Sarah Grandy, daughter of the late Willis Sawyer Grandy, who served in the Confederate army. She is a descendant of Caleb Grandy, Revolutionary soldier and first representative from Camden County; Colonel Peter Dauge, who was granted a large tract of land in 1794 "pursuant to an act of the General Assembly entitled an act for the relief of the officers and soldiers of the Continental line and in consideration of the signal bravery and personal zeal of Peter Dauge, a lieutenant colonel in said line;" William Ferebee, (1722-1783) of Currituck; Colonel Samuel Ferebee (1761-1845), of the War of 1812, last survivor of Fayetteville convention, 1789, which ratified for North Carolina the Constitution of the United States, and Dr. Enoch D. Ferebee, who lived in the old brick home on Lynhaven Bay. Dr. Ferebee (1797-1876) offered his negroes their freedom, which they declined, many years before the Civil War. His sons were in the Confederate army.

Mr. Briggs graduated with honors in a class of thirty-one at Wake Forest College in 1896. He was awarded the senior oratorical medal given by Thomas Dixon, the author. In that year, before he was of age, he aligned himself with the Republican party because of his opposition to "free silver." When a newspaper was established here in January, 1897, to aid in the re-election of Senator J. C. Pritchard, he ac-

cepted the position of city editor and retired from the business in which he had begun. The same year he was made United States Jury Commissioner, the youngest man, it is said, appointed to this position. He was connected with Raleigh papers and correspondent at the State capital for outside dailies until appointed postmaster by President Roosevelt Sept. 1, 1906.

He has made a number of contributions to the press on historical subjects. His sketch of Joseph Gales is written with appreciation of this great editor's work and cannot fail to be read with interest.

One among the many contributions to the press, published in The Raleigh Times of July 27, 1901, entitled "The Guardians of the Peace," was a comprehensive review of the early government of the city of Raleigh from 1792 to 1901, with biographical sketches of many who helped to frame the laws for the peace, security, prosperity and happiness of this community. This paper was of unusual local interest and great historical value.

When Postmaster C. T. Bailey retired from office, in 1906, Mr. Briggs was tendered the place by the President, which position he has filled with credit to himself and to the satisfaction of the public; and more than this, he is the youngest man that has risen in this city to this most responsible position. Mr. Briggs is now in the prime of vigorous manhood, and with such character and qualifications as to command the regard and respect of the citizenship of his native city.

PATTIE WILLIAMS GEE.

Miss Pattie Williams Gee, the author of the "Ode to North Carolina," which enriches this number of The Booklet, is a native of North Carolina, born in Halifax County March 10, 1867. On the death of her mother and grandmother, at the age of five years she was transferred to the home of her ma-

ternal aunt, Mrs. Richard C. Badger, of Raleigh, N. C., under whose care she grew to womanhood. She was educated in a private school and at St. Mary's School in Raleigh. Early in life, feeling the necessity of earning her own living, she went to New York and studied at Packard's Business College, receiving a diploma in a partial course. Thereafter she was employed in various lines of clerical work. She reported the proceedings of a three days' session of the North Carolina Senate Committee with reference to a railroad commission. She worked for the Winston-Salem Land Improvement Co.; was employed by the Democratic State Executive Committee of North Carolina; worked for the Mercantile Association of the Carolinas at Wilmington, N. C.; for Samuel J. Tilden (nephew of the late Governor Tilden, of New York) in connection with his pharmaceutical factory at New Lebanon, N. Y.; for Orlando M. Harper, a commission merchant of New York; for the United States Book Company, and many affiliated companies then in the hands of a common receiver; for the law firm of Armoux, Ritch & Woodford, of 18 Wall Street; for Bowers & Sands (one of the oldest and best known law firms in New York City), and finally was private secretary for Mr. B. Aymar Sands, a member of the above firm. In 1905 she resigned this position and is now living at a cottage at Harsbrouck Heights, New Jersey. Having run the gamut of lucrative endeavor she has found her work, she has struck the keynote in unison with a poetic nature, and here in her own little cottage she is enjoying a well earned competency, pursuing the vocation of student, poetess and genealogist.

Her pen is ever busy "still pursuing, still achieving" thus giving the exceptionable promise of even more exquisite achievement.

In 1905 she issued a small volume of forty poems entitled "The Palace of the Heart," which attracted the attention of

lovers of genuine poetry. It was critically noticed by many papers. Below is the appraisement of two which are worthy of reproduction. The Boston Transcript said: "The verses in this volume are largely of spiritual import reflecting a hopeful look upon life and revealing a depth of thought and a command of literary technique not usually found in collections of modern poetry."

The New York Times Saturday Review of Books, said: "The Palace of the Heart" is conspicuous chiefly for the strong, religious feeling, simple and fervent in its expression, that inspires the greater number of poems. An air of devotion suggesting Fra Angelica, or even Cimabue gives the archaic forms of such songs as these, 'The Sinner and the Violets,' 'Orate pro Me,' and 'Mother Love in After Years,' a grace of spirit altogether lovely." A Newark paper has this to say of another of her poems: "Unquestionably the finest poem in the volume is 'Mater Mea Carolina,' wherein the part played by North Carolina men in the Civil War is commemorated. Miss Gee is a native of that State and her poem is evidently inspired by a deep and abiding love for it. Her father fought in the Confederate army and her uncle, Major Sterling Gee, lost his life before Richmond. It is natural that she should write with feeling. She sings of the 'hundred thousand men and twenty thousand beardless boys' that Carolina sent forth to the fray, and her verse rings with exultant pride to be followed by a note of mourning. 'Mater Mea Carolina' is true poetry and whenever Miss Gee's subject inspires her as in this, her verse rises to real excellence. Elsewhere she needs the diligent practice in the technicalities of her art. But the thought is always sweet, and wholesome and winning."

Since she has given up clerical work she will overcome the slight faults in her verse and no doubt will win laurels fitting for a victor's crown.

Miss Gee is secretary to the Genealogical Mss. Company, 150 West Forty-sixth Street, New York, and is the inventor of the Medallion Genealogical Register which has been patented both in America and Europe.

GENEALOGY OF GEE FAMILY.

Pattie Williams Gee is the daughter of Dr. Charles James Gee and Tempie Williams (Austin) Gee his wife, of Halifax County, N. C. Dr. Gee was educated at the University of Virginia, was a graduate of Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, and member of the Secession Convention of 1861. Served as surgeon in the Army of Northern Virginia of First North Carolina State troops.

Miss Gee is a granddaughter of Sterling Harwell Gee and Mary Temperance (Williams) his wife. She is a great granddaughter of Nevil Gee and wife Elizabeth (Harwell) Gee, and she is great-great-granddaughter of Charles Gee, of Virginia, who was a descendant of Thomas Gee, of Boston, Mass.

Miss Gee is ninth in descent from Richard Warren of the Mayflower; eighth in descent from Richard Warren II.; seventh in descent from Anne Warren and Dr. Thomas Little; sixth in descent from Bethia Little (sister of William Little, Colonial Chief Justice of North Carolina) and Thomas Barker. (The Barkers and Littles were old families from Massachusetts. They came to North Carolina in 1713. The Barker family have been traced back to the year 1200.) Fifth in descent from Thomas Barker II., who married first Ferebee (Savage) Pugh, widow of Colonel Francis Pugh, of the Revolution, and second the distinguished Mrs. Penelope (Pagett) Craven, president of the famous "Edenton Tea Party of 1774." There were no children by this second marriage. Mr. Barker was a lawyer of considerable distinction, was one of the committee appointed to revise the laws in force in the colony for adoption by the newly formed State.

Miss Gee's descent from Thomas Barker and his first wife Ferebe (Savage) Pugh is interesting as she is connected by marriage to Penelope Barker the second wife of Thomas and the lady so famous as head of the Anti-Tea Drinking Society of Edenton, to which reference is made in this article. It may be of interest to the readers of The Booklet to know that Miss Susan Barker Willard, a descendant of the Barkers, lives at Hingham, Massachusetts. This lady has in her possession many letters from Penelope Barker dated July 22, 1788, Edenton, N. C. Pertinent to the above is the intention of the North Carolina Society Daughters of the Revolution to place a tablet at the capitol of North Carolina at an early day, in honor of those patriotic women. When all facts relating to that event will be fully brought forth and these valuable letters may be loaned for the occasion.

GENEALOGY OF WILLIAMS ANCESTRY.

Miss Gee is sixth in descent from Samuel Williams and Elizabeth (Alston) his wife (see will of W. W., first, dated 1704, Secretary of State's office, Raleigh, N. C.) married about 1725 to 1728. Fifth descent from Colonel William Williams and Mrs. Elizabeth (Whitmel) Blount his wife; married 1746. Fourth descent from General William Williams and Elizabeth Williams (second wife), daughter of Capt. Solomon and Tempie (Boddie) Williams. Third descent from Tempie Williams and Colonel Andrew Joyner, Lieutenant Colonel First Regiment of North Carolina, organized August, 1814. Second descent from Martha Williams Joyner who married first Archibald Alexander Austin, and second to Colonel Frank P. Haywood. First in descent from Tempie Williams (Austin) and Dr. Charles James Gee. Miss Gee is also descended from John Haywood Colonial Treasurer, etc. (—1757) and his wife Mary Lovat.

She is also descended from Rev. Thomas Burges, a clergyman and a pioneer of the Church of England in the colony.

She is also descended from Archibald Alexander Austin and Martha Williams (Joyner) his wife.

A rather interesting descent is that from Robert Alexander who belonged to the clan of McAlexander or McAlister, which is the same. He was a graduate of the University of Dublin and taught the first classical school west of the mountains of Virginia of which the present Washington and Lee University is the lineal descendant. Dr. Archibald Alexander, the first professor of theology at Princeton and the author of many religious works, was a descendant of his brother. This family has been noted for its scholarly attainments for many generations.

The North Carolina Booklet

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