DURHAM COUNTY

A History of Durham County, North Carolina

Jean Bradley Anderson

SECOND EDITION

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—JAMES L. LELOUDIS,
Journal of Southern History

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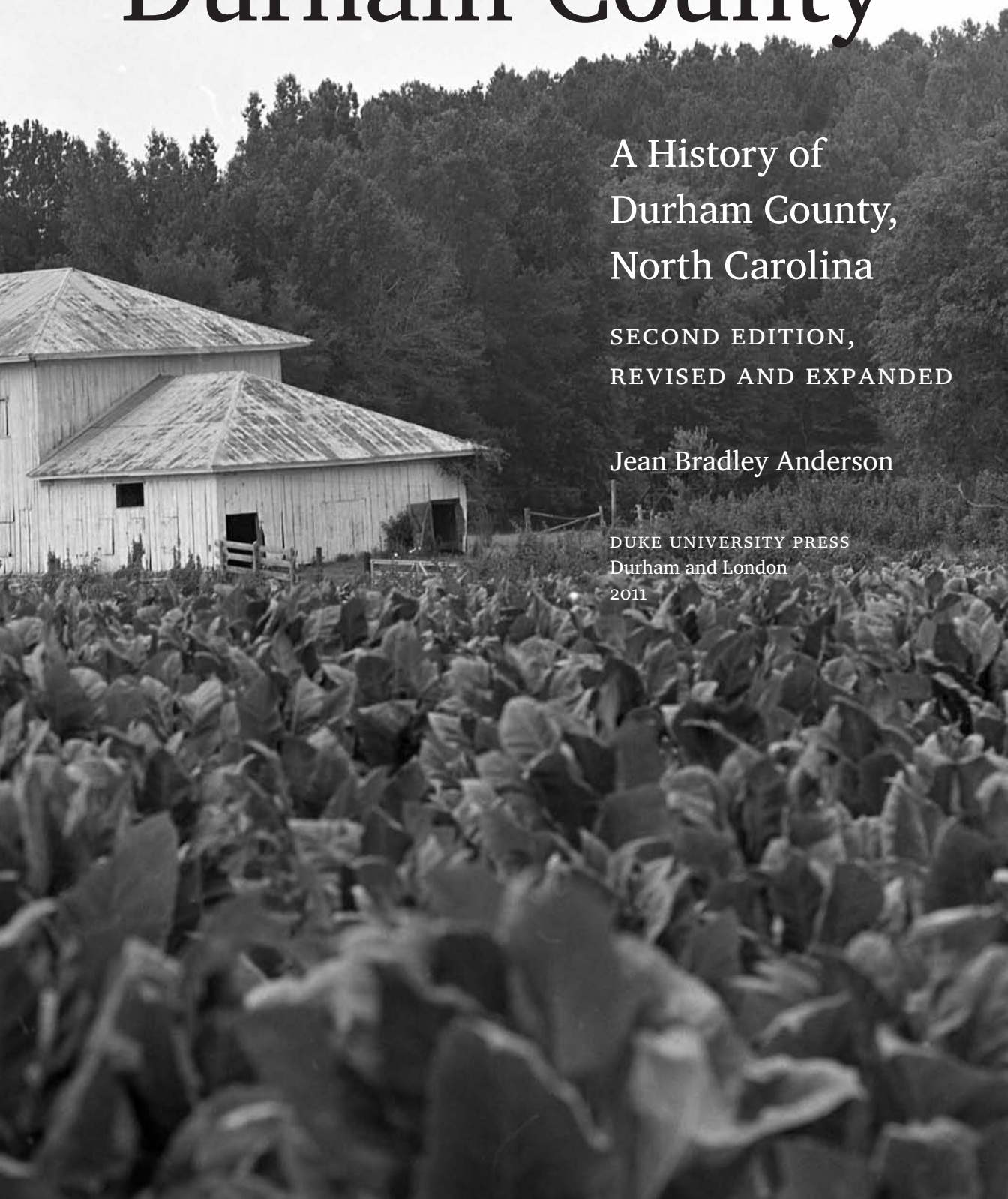
Durham County

Durham County



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Jean Bradley Anderson

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Frontispiece image: Barn at Horton Grove (1860), Stagville Plantation Historic Site. Photograph by Joann Sieburg-Baker; courtesy of NCOAH.

A people without history
Is like wind on the buffalo grass.

—TETON SIOUX PROVERB

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Preface to the Second Edition

When Duke University Press asked me to bring *Durham County: A History of Durham County, North Carolina* up to date for a second edition, I was hesitant; I was not sure that the 1980s and 1990s could supply sufficient material of interest; events of those decades were so recent as hardly to count as history. As I began to ponder them and compare life as it is today with that of 1980, however, I realized how much had happened to affect and change the way we live. Granted much of the change was not peculiar to Durham County, but there were aspects pertaining to this locale that warranted recording.

The fundamental economic shift from industry based on tobacco and cotton to medical and technological research—from a blue-collar to a white-coated workforce—was a complete break with the past. Equally dramatic has been our whole culture's growing dependence on computer technology and its almost endlessly innovative applications. This has produced a sea change, a break from pre-computer life as sharp as that of the automobile age from the horse-and-buggy era. The more I thought about changes the more I discovered topics that made the last two decades different and interesting.

Sources for research of recent times are somewhat different from those of the more remote past. There are far fewer books or studies that have analyzed and digested the raw materials of daily events. Collections of important primary documents have not yet been deposited in local repositories. Therefore I had to depend almost entirely on contemporary chroniclers and observers—newspapers, newsletters, and personal interviews—and with some reluctance, I was forced to consult the internet. Too recent to have undergone the usual winnowing that time performs, the last two decades have not yet been stripped of evanescent chaff; nor have their truly significant events, ideas, and persons become unmistakably identifiable.

Because of Durham's growth, it is now impossible to be in any way comprehensive in examining and recounting the myriad organizations and countless individuals who have recently played important roles in Durham's complex culture. The top-

ics I have written about and the examples chosen to illustrate them must therefore be understood as representative. In gathering material from a variety of sources, I have had the help of many knowledgeable and generous friends, colleagues, and professionals of all sorts, including especially librarians and archivists. I have many reasons to thank Lynn Richardson of the North Carolina Collection of the Durham Public Library, and also Linda McCurdy of Duke University Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library. They have been more than generous with their time and expertise. Sylvia Kerckhoff lent me her extensive collection of clippings covering her years on the city council and as mayor. She also kindly reviewed my summary of those years. Tom Gallie gave me his firsthand experience of the history of computer technology in the Triangle and closely reviewed my retelling of it. To both I owe many thanks. From start to finish I have benefited from the advice, encouragement, and careful attention of Valerie Millholland, Miriam Angress, and Fred Kameny, editors of Duke University Press. It is a pleasure to acknowledge the assistance of a host of others as well:

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Preface to the First Edition

Among North Carolina's one hundred counties, Durham is a Johnny-come-lately. Established in 1881, it takes its name from the City of Durham, which became the county seat. Over the century since the county's birth, during which the town repeatedly outgrew its original boundaries and asserted a robust and headstrong individuality, the young county has taken on its own character and almost obliterated the memory of its long minority as a part of the large and venerable old Orange County.

From its own establishment in the mid-eighteenth century, the County of Orange played an important role in the shaping and working out of the state's destiny. A forcing ground for such leaders as Archibald D. Murphey, Willie P. Mangum, William A. Graham, Josiah Turner, Jr., and Thomas Ruffin in its political heyday, the county produced a different kind of talent in the New South era. The new leaders—Robert F. Morris, John Ruffin Green, William T. Blackwell, Julian S. Carr, Washington Duke and his sons James, Benjamin, and Brodie, Richard H. Wright, George Watts, and Eugene Morehead—created in the eastern half of the almost entirely agricultural county a hustling tobacco industry with all its satellite trades. Soon secure in its own wealth and identity, with peculiar needs and aspirations, eastern Orange wrested autonomy from the legislature and in 1881 began an independent life under its own name—Durham County.

A very long chronicle of events preceded that independence, however, and belongs to the full story of Durham County. The history recounted in this volume begins, therefore, with the land and its first inhabitants, the Native Americans, and runs through the decades of early exploration and settlement into the vigorous antebellum period. It records the ending of that civilization in the Civil War and the evolution of a way of life based on a new economy that precipitated the change of a rural and agricultural society into an urban and industrial one. The history ends with the celebration of the county centennial in 1981. Two earlier

histories—Hiram Paul's *History of Durham* (1883) and William K. Boyd's *Story of Durham* (1925)—centered on the town of Durham. *Durham County* is the first history of the whole county. It therefore offers much new material, based heavily on primary sources. Besides Paul's and Boyd's histories and many recent monographs on aspects of the county's social and political history, it also draws upon the work of dozens of Durhamites who have taken the trouble to gather and record historical facts about their families, churches, schools, organizations, and communities. Newspapers from 1820 to the present have provided contemporary windows through which to view the everyday life of the county. For recent times, personal memoirs, interviews, and oral histories have augmented the chronicle of facts. Details of all these source materials may be found in the notes and bibliography.

The aim of this history is comprehensive, but a single volume cannot possibly record every person, event, date, and name found in a county's annals. Despite its length, therefore, the present volume comprises only a selection from a much larger array of facts. Responsibility for what has been included must rest in part with the author, but frequently the availability or lack of materials rather than actual choice has determined the contents. Few families saved their papers and donated them to a public repository; few early churches documented their origins in written histories; few civic and social organizations left formal archives. Much of the county's earliest history is to be found only in public records: wills and estates, deeds, marriage bonds, tax lists, census records, and court and legislative papers. Even the public records are not complete. The surviving Durham Council minutes lack some early years and certain municipal records either did not survive or were never generated in the first place. Early Orange County deeds and county court minutes are also missing. This history is shaped, therefore, by the public documents that chanced to survive and by private papers in public repositories.

The general contours of one county history are much like another's; only in their particularities do they differ. What distinguishes one from another is the unique and fortuitous conjunction of time, place, and persons. Not every North Carolina town has had its Southern Conservatory or Trinity College, and though many have had tobacco and cotton mills, only one had simultaneously the Dukes and Julian Carr. Thus in tracing the development of Durham County, even while outlining the common pattern and placing it in a larger context, I have tried to highlight the exceptional detail, the departure from the typical that is the essence of the place. In treating the most recent decades, many of whose players are still alive, I have omitted much civic history because distance has not yet supplied the proper perspective from which to view it; time has not yet sifted the lasting from the ephemeral, the important from the trivial.

The impetus for this county history came entirely from the Historic Preservation Society of Durham. Without the society's commitment to the project, propelled in the undertaking by Margaret Haywood, Durham County would still lack a written history. Once the project was under way, both the city and county of Durham also contributed generous support.

NOW SOME PERSONAL NOTES. In writing the history I have benefited from the resources of several local institutions and the expert and gracious assistance of their staffs: the North Carolina Archives in Raleigh; the North Carolina Collection and the Southern Historical Collection of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; the Manuscript, Reference, and Newspaper Departments as well as the general collection of the William R. Perkins Library of Duke University; and the North Carolina Room of the Durham County Library. Without them the project would have been impossible. I have also had the help of dozens of generous and patient individuals. Holding them all blameless for whatever errors this history may contain, I must express my thanks to all on whom I called for help. A few consistently encouraged me by their interest and voluntary involvement; they suggested sources of information, supplied new materials, obtained elusive facts, and generally repaired my ignorance. I am especially indebted to the late Mattie Russell, who strongly supported the project and blindly affirmed her faith in my attempting it; to the late Mildred Mangum Harris for her intimate knowledge of northern Durham County and identification of its material past; to Curtis Booker, who generously shared his encyclopedic knowledge and family papers concerning southern Durham County; to Rudolph and Edna Baker, who educated me in the families and communities of Oak Grove Township; to Mayme Harris Perry for the many oral histories she collected on my behalf and for acquainting me with Hayti's landmarks; to George and Mary Pyne, sources of all kinds of wisdom about the city and its past; to Dorothy Newsom Rankin for valuable information of many sorts; to Duncan Heron for sharing his geological expertise; to Marian O'Keefe for her help in rounding up photographs; to Anne Berkley of Durham County Library for all kinds of favors; to William E. King, who fostered this undertaking as both Duke University Archivist and head of the publications committee of the Historic Preservation Society; to William R. Erwin, Jr., who kept an eagle eye out for relevant new source materials and anything I might have overlooked in the extensive Duke University Manuscript Department collections; to Robert F. Durden and Carl L. Anderson, whose painstaking reading of the entire manuscript added immeasurably to its accuracy and readability. All of them have my profound gratitude.

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In accepting the task of writing a county history I had rather special motivation. When I first lived in Durham, I longed to know the past of the place I was discovering. Those I questioned assured me that Durham had no history before the Civil War. Graveyards on vacant lots, not completely overgrown, and here and there an antebellum farmhouse in the landscape told me otherwise. Paul's and Boyd's histories only whetted my appetite. My compelling desire to know the history of Durham, city and county, must be my excuse for saying "yes" when asked to do the job.

I offer the result diffidently, for I am keenly aware of its deficiencies and my own audacity as a native of neither Durham nor the South. Perhaps the love I have for both will excuse my presumption. If further justification be needed, let it be the conviction I share with Shirley Abbott, who so eloquently voiced it in *Womenfolks,* that "the past matters, that history weighs on us and refuses to be forgotten by us, and that the worst poverty women—or men—can suffer is to be bereft of their past."

Abbreviations

DCDB	Durham County Deed Books, Durham County Courthouse, Durham, N.C.
DMH	*Durham Morning Herald*
D.U. Archives	Duke University Archives, William R. Perkins Library, Durham, N.C.
DUMD	Duke University Manuscript Department, William R. Perkins Library, Duke University, Durham, N.C.
DU-RBMSCL	Duke University Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library
Herald	Durham *Morning Herald*
H-S	*Herald-Sun*
N&O	Raleigh *News & Observer*
NCC	North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill
NCCU	North Carolina Central University, Durham
NCOAH	North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh
OCCM	Orange County Court Minutes: Minutes of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh
OCDB	Orange County Deed Books, Register of Deeds, Hillsborough, N.C.
OCR	Orange County Records, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh
OCW	Orange County Wills, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh; Orange County Will Books, Orange County Courthouse, Hillsborough, N.C.
SHC	Southern Historical Collection, Louis Round Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
SOHP	Southern Oral History Program, Louis Round Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
UNC	University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

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Land for the Taking: Prehistory–1740s

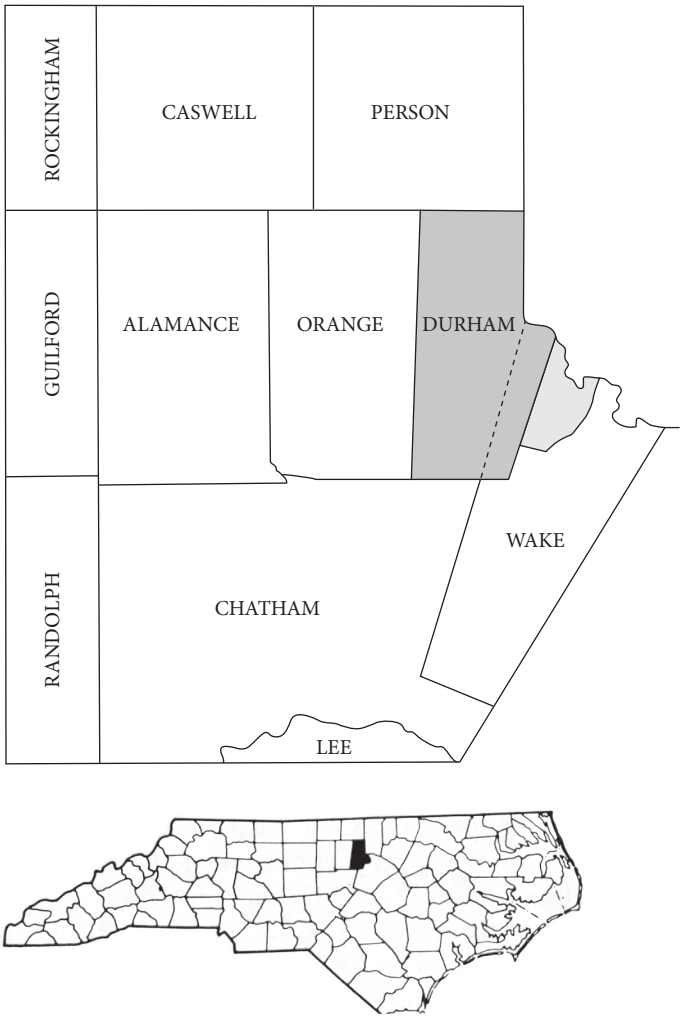
Durham County, North Carolina, was created on 28 February 1881 by a legislative act that was ratified by a referendum of its inhabitants on 10 April following.[1] Durham County, like counties in general, exists for the convenience of its inhabitants and at their expense. It supplies the services of local government in a central location. County boundaries, like Durham's, are usually arbitrary, with little reference to geographical or historical considerations. Boundary lines exist only on paper until some legal question requires their surveying.[2] Thus a county has only a political and fiscal reality when first created, and, like a newborn child, comes into the world with no formulated character or individuality. Only over time do these develop in the interaction of the people and the place so as to give the land its own peculiar stamp and the people a sense of unity and identity.

Long before the County of Durham existed, however, the people were there, working, improving, exploiting the land to eke a livelihood from it, pitting their ingenuity against its potential to build a better life for themselves. The history of that relationship of land and people is the history of Durham County.

Geography

In its present configuration, Durham County is roughly a rectangle with an eastern bulge, its east and west long sides lying roughly on a northeast to southwest axis like its rock foundation. Its area of 296 square miles, or 188,928 acres, ranks it among the smaller counties in North Carolina while its location close to the state's center at north latitude 36 degrees and west longitude 79 degrees places it in an advantageous crosscurrent of trade and travel.[3]

For farmers, which is what the early settlers were, two factors are crucial: weather and soil. Durham's climate is always described by the bland adjective "moderate," but "moderate" is a relative term and describes only the results of Durham's averaged-out statistics compared to those of the world at large. It fails to



Map 1. An outline map of Old Orange County as it was established in 1752, showing portions taken from it to form other counties. The dotted line represents the original boundary between Orange and Wake (1770) counties. The darker gray area shows Durham County's boundaries at its establishment in 1881. The lighter gray area represents Carr Township, the portion of Wake County added to Durham County in 1911.

convey the intemperate swings of hot to cold and drought to rain the native knows. Winters, it is true, are short and summers hot and long, the temperature only occasionally falling below 20 degrees in winter and rising above 90 degrees Fahrenheit an average of fifty times a summer. Six to seven inches of snow a year is average based on a variation of from a foot and a half of snow one year to a trace the next; and rainfall is so locally and seasonally variable that averaging becomes meaningless. A range of anywhere from twenty-eight to fifty-one inches a year indicates no shortage.[4]

The frost-free season is over two hundred days a year, from mid-April to late October, but freaks of weather destroy expectations, and fruit trees blandished into bloom by early springlike days are often blighted by late frost. This frequent occurrence was noted over two hundred years ago by a Revolutionary War soldier from Pennsylvania sent down to join General Nathanael Greene's forces in South Carolina.[5] Lt. Enos Reeves spent two nights at Mount Tirzah in Caswell County

(now Person County), just over the Durham County border in March 1782. The day he arrived the fruit trees were in bloom, but he awoke next morning to a whitened world.

> The peach trees were in full blossom, and covered with snow; you could see a blush of red through it, which to me was a lively resemblance of beauty in distress, and in distress they truly were, for a like accident happened [to] them about a week before I marched and killed the most of them. It is a mere accident in this Country to have a good fruit year, on account of the changeable weather, which is some days like Summer and the next perhaps as cold as winter.

Reeves had precisely the right word to describe Durham's climate: changeable.

Though probably few of the early settlers had ever lived in so southern a latitude before, with the advantages it promised for farming, they saw another promise in the soils lying beneath the forest wilderness. Compared to the mostly worn-out and often stony or chalky soils they had known in their native countries of England, Scotland, or Ireland, what they found was a richness beyond belief, virgin land millions of years old with topsoil many inches deep. Although they must have found the prolonged summer heat trying, they could only have been delighted by the frequent and unfamiliar warm, sunny days, free of the dampness of northern Europe, and with the gently to steeply rolling, well-watered land described by an early explorer as "the Flower of Carolina."[6]

Soils vary with the rocks from which they are formed. An analysis of Durham's geology presents a somewhat different view from that of the explorer or early settler and sets it apart from most other Piedmont counties in the state.[7] Two-thirds of Durham County lies within the morphological phenomenon known as the Durham Triassic Basin. Created over 200 million years ago by volcanic action in the Late Triassic period, many geologists believe, the basin forms a narrow trough, part of a series along the eastern seaboard, trending northeast to southwest and varying in width from five to twenty miles. The east-central and southern parts of the county lie within this basin and differ perceptibly from the northern and west-central third, which is underlain by the Carolina Slate Belt formed likewise by volcanic action six hundred million years ago. At that time the southeastern part of the North American continent is thought to have been a sea with largely single-celled organisms—algae. Evidence of multicelled organisms, however, was discovered in 1975 in fossils in the northern part of Durham County on Little River in the South Lowell area. The fossils, the oldest yet found in the western hemisphere, represent annelid worms. Their imprints, some almost a foot long, were discovered by Lynn Glover III, a professor at Virginia Polytechnic Institute. The marine worms lived on the shores of the volcanic islands that are supposed to have existed here in precambrian times. The section of rock in which they were found, metamorphosed volcanic rock of the Slate Belt, was removed for permanent custody to the Smithsonian Institution.[8]

This general description of Durham's geology, however, must be modified to suggest its actual complexity. Dikes and sills, igneous formations, largely of feldspar

and pyroxene, have intruded the basin sediments, and chemical weathering has resulted in a wide variety of rock components and conglomerates, while the rocks of the Slate Belt have their own pyroclastic debris with intrusive quartz veins. The result of this geological pudding is a like mixture of soils with varying agricultural capabilities. Into the basin's trough over the millennia have washed the soils weathered from rocks on either side of the basin to be mixed with the soils of the Triassic rocks. Mostly sedimentary in origin and strongly weathered because of the warm, humid climate, the basin soils are acidic, leached out, and lacking in natural fertility.[9]

Innocent of rock and soil analysis, the settlers saw only the agriculturally desirable terrain, never rising above 730 feet (the highest point just southwest of Mount Lebanon Church) in the northwestern part of the county or falling below 230 feet above sea level (the lowest point lying just half a mile east of Barbee's Chapel) in the southwestern part of the county.[10] They found ample rivers and streams flowing through sometimes steep gorges and sometimes flat marsh and meadowland. But the overwhelming presence was the forest—endless, dark, filled with bird and beast and deep soil and huge timber. The aboriginal forest up to early historic times when the first settlers knew it provided a richer, more varied forest cover with far more edible fruits and nuts and more species of game animals than are found in the Piedmont today. Here were all the raw materials to sustain life and to provide the surplus for progress. Hardwoods and some conifers were the original tree cover of Durham County, the hardwoods along the streams and the conifers on the ridges. Longleaf pines originally grew in the county and were still to be found in the southeastern section in 1915. While a mixture of hardwoods and pines still covers 67 percent of the county, none of it is first growth; and because of subsequent changes through long years of man's intervention, much of it is scrub growth lacking the luxuriousness of the primeval forest the settlers found.

CAROLINA'S BEGINNINGS

Abortive or short-lived attempts to colonize the land now known as North Carolina started with Raleigh's expedition in 1584 and continued sporadically through most of the seventeenth century. Only in 1663, with King Charles II's gift to eight nobles and supporters of a grant in the New World from the 31st to the 36th parallel and from the Atlantic Ocean west to the South Seas, did settlement begin in North Carolina that was to prove permanent and finally lead to a single, consistent, and comprehensive government under the British monarchy. The Lords Proprietors, as those who received this land were called, had broad powers to develop a colony as they wished, powers equivalent to those exercised by the Bishop of Durham in England but with a few important limitations. They had to guarantee to settlers the same rights that Englishmen enjoyed at home, representation by freemen in lawmaking and liberty of conscience in religious matters.[11]

A restrictive economic policy imposed by the mother country and the Lords Proprietors' attempts to impose a medieval political and social order, however, resulted in resistance, even rebellion, by the early settlers and chaotic government

for many years. Lack of a unified land policy created discord and discouraged large-scale immigration. For some years even before the 1663 gift to the Lords Proprietors, individual Virginians had been moving south into the Albemarle area of Carolina, buying land from the Indians, viewing the unexplored territory as merely an extension of the Virginia colony. Thus it was the Albemarle Sound area and the valleys of the rivers that emptied into it that were settled first, while only slowly did the tidal rivers south along the coast attract new settlers. But government for private ends did not encourage public prosperity. Disillusioned in their hopes for the gigantic land company they had started, the Proprietors' efforts languished, and their interest eventually narrowed to a small portion of their holdings, the development of the coast of what became South Carolina in 1710 when North Carolina was separated from it and assigned its own governor. In 1729 the heirs or assigns of all but one of the Lords Proprietors were willing to sell back their land to the then king, George II.[12]

THE GRANVILLE DISTRICT

The unwilling heir was John Carteret, more familiar under his later title, Earl Granville.[13] His refusal to relinquish his title to the land led to the necessity of laying off his one-eighth of the original land grant from the rest of the colony which the king now owned. In 1743 Earl Granville was awarded the entire upper half of North Carolina, an area of twenty-six thousand square miles from the Virginia line sixty miles to the south and from the Atlantic Ocean to an indefinite western boundary that was continually extended as the surveyors worked their way westward. As it happened, this was by far the most populated and prospering section of the colony, with much of the finest land. Land now in Durham County fell within this Granville District, so that it was from Granville's agents that settlers in this area acquired their land grants. Since immigration into North Carolina was primarily from the north and northeast, it was the northern sections of North Carolina that were taken up first; thus it was Earl Granville who reaped the first profits and not the royal colonial government. This situation put a strain on the fiscal operations of the colony, for the royal governor was responsible for administering the entire colony; Lord Granville's rights extended only to the land and its revenues, not to its governance. With the revenues collected from only the sparsely settled lower half, the governor was hard put to pay the costs of government. For the settlers, too, the Granville District caused problems. They had to deal with Lord Granville's often unscrupulous agents, who were eager to exploit the perquisites of their office for private gain. The settlers frequently brought charges of corruption and extortion against the agents (Francis Corbin particularly aroused their wrath), and on more than one occasion took action against them when their grievances went unheeded. The land office was not only corrupt; it was inefficient and kept few records of the entries and grants the inhabitants had paid for.[14]

The land grant situation was further complicated by large royal grants to Henry McCulloh, the Scots speculator and sometime colonial official under the British Board of Trade, which had responsibility for affairs in Carolina. One such grant for

1.2 million acres in 1737 was surveyed in twelve square tracts, of which five were located within the Granville District. One of the five included land that would become part of Durham County. It covered the headwaters of the Neuse River as far south as Ellerbee Creek and east into parts of present Wake and Granville counties. The confusion and contention over the respective land grants of Granville and McCulloh as well as the abuses of the Granville land grant office created financial and legal hardships for the first settlers.[15]

EXPLORATION OF THE BACKCOUNTRY

While eastern North Carolina was in the throes of uncoordinated, private colonization, the Piedmont, usually referred to then as the "backcountry," was being explored and exploited from Virginia. A few accounts of explorers and traders reveal the land and its native peoples as they were at the end of their long period of undisturbed possession. Already the ravages of disease and alcohol introduced by the Europeans had taken their toll, and the traditional tribal enmities and consequent warfare had been exacerbated by the pressures of advancing European settlement all along the eastern seaboard of America. Movement of Indians from the northeast and south exerted pressure, too, on the tribes in the Carolina Piedmont, causing them to relocate in turn. Originally large and mighty tribes had been reduced and demoralized through these causes, and remnants had regrouped for protection, risking a merging of traditions and loss of cultural integrity. The landscape, on the other hand, was almost unchanged since before even the Indians' arrival, though minor modifications had occurred. Animals seeking salt licks, water holes, and fording places, and Indians following their prey or traversing their blazed paths on the ridges had threaded the forest with trails which the explorers and traders made use of.

Primary among the trails was an ancient route known to the Europeans as the Indian Trading Path or the Occoneechi Trail. It led from present Augusta, Georgia, to the Catawba Indians near the North Carolina border, northeast across North Carolina (passing through what would become Durham County) to Fort Henry, an important trading post in Virginia now known as Petersburg, on up to Bermuda Hundred on the James River.[16] Its five hundred miles, roughly paralleling the route of Interstate 85 today, served many backcountry tribes in their intertribal traffic and their trade with the newcomers. Settlement near the Trading Path was a convenience for the Indians who served as guides to the Europeans or participated in the trading; consequently their villages were often to be found close to the Trading Path.

The first European account of the land that is now Durham County is in the travel record of a German physician, John Lederer. Perhaps acting as an agent for Virginia's Governor Berkeley, he came down the Trading Path in 1670 seeking out the Eno Indians. This was the tribe described in 1654 by another Virginia governor, Francis Yardley, as a "great nation" that had resisted most valiantly the advances of the Spanish.[17] Like the Shakori and Adshusheer Indians with whom they were later found allied, the Eno have been tentatively identified as members of the Eastern

Sioux.[18] It was in present Durham County that the Eno Indians lived in their village called Eno Town.

Lederer's description of the Oenochs, as he called them, begins with their land:

> The Country here, by the industry of these Indians, is very open, and clear of wood. Their Town is built round a field, where in their Sports they exercise with so much labour and violence, and in so great numbers, that I have seen the ground wet with the sweat that dropped from their bodies: their chief Recreation is Slinging of Stones. They are of mean stature and courage, covetous and thievish, industrious to earn a peny; and therefore hire themselves to their neighbours, who employ them as Carryers or Porters. They plant abundance of Grain, reap three Crops in a Summer, and out of their Granary supply all the adjacent parts. These and the Mountain-Indians build not their houses of Bark, but of Watling and Plaister. In Summer, the heat of the weather makes them chuse to lie abroad in the night under thin arbours of wilde palm. Some houses they have of Reed and Bark; they build them generally round: to each house belongs a little hovel made like an oven, where they lay up their Corn and Mast, and keep it dry. They parch their Nuts and Acorns over the fire, to take away their rank Oyliness; which afterwards pressed, yeeld a milky liquor, and the Acorns an Amber-colour'd Oyl. In these, mingled together they dip their Cakes at great Entertainments, and so serve them up to their guests as an extraordinary dainty. Their Government is Democratick; and the Sentences of their old men are received as Laws, or rather Oracles, by them.[19]

The significant details to note here are their cleared fields for agricultural use and their reputation as porters and suppliers of grain for their neighbors. The statement that they reaped three crops in a year has been thought exaggeration or even fabrication to make a wonderful tale more wonderful. Actually it is confirmed by a John White drawing of the Indian town of Secoton at the end of the sixteenth century. The caption he wrote for his drawing explains the depicted plantings as "their rype corne," "their greene corne," and "corne newly sprong."[20] In other words they staggered their harvest to get fresh provisions over a longer period. He noted too that they built storage structures beside their wattle and daub houses to keep their corn and mast dry.

At the time of Lederer's meeting with the Eno Indians, the Occoneechi Indians were located on the Roanoke River approximately where the trading path crossed the Carolina-Virginia border.[21] The Occoneechi later moved southwest to the Eno River near present Hillsborough as a result of the Susquehanna Indians' incursions and the treachery of the Occoneechi's English allies after their joint victory over the intruders. A cursory mention of the Eno Indians, substantiating Lederer's location of their town, occurs in a letter of Abraham Wood to a friend in London in 1673.[22] Wood, an important trader at Fort Henry, sent out small parties to buy Indian trade goods. One of his agents, James Needham, was killed by an Occoneechi guide, Indian John, in 1673, but another in the party continued the expedition and returned safely with the furs and skins they had purchased. This party stopped at Eno Town both going and returning.

The fullest account of the Eno Indians and their confederates and neighbors is that of John Lawson, surveyor general of the Carolina colony. Lawson made himself acquainted with the land and natives of the backcountry more intimately than any other explorer. He had an eye, too, for the flora and fauna, for the climate and geography, and their implications for settlement. In 1709 he published in London the first history of North Carolina and a travel account of his exploration of the backcountry of North and South Carolina in 1701. The book includes as comprehensive a listing of animals, birds, reptiles, fish, trees, shrubs, and flowers as he could discover for himself or from informants; and his descriptions of the native tribes, particularly those of the Indians he knew best around Pamlico Sound where he lived at Bath—their customs, beliefs, even some vocabulary lists—make up an invaluable record of the whole colony as it existed at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Of primary interest here is his passage through the area of present Orange and Durham counties. The excerpt that follows begins with Lawson and his party starting out on a winter day from the Haw River, where they had spent the night, for Occoneechi Town on the Eno River:

> *As soon as it was day, we set out for Achonechy-Town*, it being, by Estimation, 20 Miles off, which, I believe, is pretty exact. We were got about half way, (meeting great Gangs of Turkies) when we saw, at a Distance, 30 loaded Horses, coming on the Road, with four or five Men, on other Jades, driving them. We charg'd our Piece, and went up to them: Enquiring, whence they came from? They told us, from *Virginia.* The leading Man's name was *Massey*, who was born about *Leeds* in *Yorkshire.* He ask'd, from whence we came? We told him. Then he ask'd again, Whether we wanted any thing that he had? telling us, we should be welcome to it. We accepted of Two Wheaten Biskets, and a little Ammunition. He advised us, by all means, to strike down the Country for *Ronoach*, and not think of *Virginia*, because of the *Sinnagers*, of whom they were afraid, tho' so well arm'd, and numerous. They persuaded us also, to call upon one *Enoe-Will*, as we went to *Adshusheer*, for that he would conduct us safe among the *English*, giving him the Character of a very faithful *Indian*, which we afterwards found true by Experience. The *Virginia*-Men asking our Opinion of the Country we were then in? we told them, it was a very pleasant one. They were all of the same Opinion, and affirm'd, That they had never seen 20 Miles of such extraordinary rich Land, lying all together, like that betwixt *Hau*-River and the *Achonechy* Town. Having taken our Leaves of each other, we set forward; and the Country, thro' which we pass'd, was so delightful, that it gave us a great deal of Satisfaction. About Three a Clock, we reach'd the Town, and the *Indians* presently brought us good fat Bear, and Venison, which was very acceptable at that time. Their Cabins were hung with a good sort of Tapestry, as fat Bear, and barbakued or dried Venison; no *Indians* having greater Plenty of Provisions than these. The Savages do, indeed, still possess the Flower of *Carolina*, the *English* enjoying only the Fag-End of that fine Country. We had not been in the Town 2 Hours, when *Enoe-*

Will came into the King's Cabin; which was our Quarters. We ask'd him, if he would conduct us to the *English*, and what he would have for his Pains; he answer'd, he would go along with us, and for what he was to have, he left that to our Discretion.

The next Morning, we set out, with Enoe-Will, towards Adshusheer, leaving the *Virginia* Path, and striking more to the Eastward, for *Ronoach.* Several *Indians* were in our Company belonging to *Will's* Nation, who are the *Shoccories*, mixt with the *Enoe-Indians*, and those of the Nation of *Adshusheer*. *Enoe-Will* is their chief Man, and rules as far as the Banks of *Reatkin.* It was a sad stony Way to *Adshusheer.* We went over a small River by *Achonechy*, and in this 14 Miles, through several other Streams, which empty themselves into the Branches of *Cape-Fair.* The stony Way made me quite lame; so that I was an Hour or two behind the rest; but honest *Will* would not leave me, but bid me welcome when we came to his House, feasting us with hot Bread, and Bear's-Oil; which is wholesome Food for Travellers. There runs a pretty Rivulet by this Town. Near the Plantation, I saw a prodigious overgrown Pine-Tree, having not seen any of that Sort of Timber for above 125 Miles. . . .

Our Guide and Landlord *Enoe-Will* was of the best and most agreeable Temper that I ever met with in an *Indian*, being always ready to serve the *English*, not out of Gain, but real Affection; which makes him apprehensive of being poison'd by some wicked *Indians*, and was therefore very earnest with me, to promise him to revenge his Death, if it should so happen. He brought some of his chief Men into his Cabin, and 2 of them having a Drum, and a Rattle, sung by us, as we lay in Bed, and struck up their Musick to serenade and welcome us to their Town. And tho' at last, we fell asleep, yet they continu'd their Consort till Morning. These *Indians* are fortify'd in, as the former, and are much addicted to a Sport they call *Chenco*, which is carry'd on with a Staff and a Bowl made of Stone, which they trundle upon a smooth Place, like a Bowling-Green, made for that Purpose, as I have mention'd before.[23]

The as yet undiscovered location of Adshusheer, fourteen miles from Achonechy (Occoneechi), within the bounds of present Durham County, is the most tantalizing fact in this narrative, which teems with significant information about the natural surroundings: the prevalence of wild turkey, bear, and venison; the beauty and bounty of the Hawfields; and the shift in terrain and tree cover just slightly to the east. Indian culture, too, is richly described: their food, music, beliefs, manner of living, and intertribal relations: the alliance of the Shakori, Adshusheer, and Eno, and their close cooperation with the Occoneechi. The character of Enoe-Will and his willingness to serve the English is an important portrait, for he is the first inhabitant of Durham County known by name. Will's estimate of Lawson as "very well affected to the Indians" adds a note of historical irony to the passage, for within a decade Lawson was to die at the hands of the Tuscarora Indians.

The Eno Indians represented only one of the numerous backcountry tribes whom Lawson met on his journey; and Lawson's is almost the last record of these tribes before their amalgamation with other groups north and south and their ultimate

disappearance as distinct tribes from the historical record. The Occoneechi and Eno Indians were among the groups long thought to have been resettled for their protection and that of the host colony at Fort Christanna on the Meherrin River in Virginia in 1715 by the Virginia governor Spotswood, where they remained until the Indian school closed in 1723. Sometime after that, it was claimed, some of the Occoneechi took refuge with the Cayuga Indians in upstate New York. Others possibly went west or south.[24] The decline and dispersal of the Piedmont tribes in their final years was so complete that they faded out of historical records entirely. The Eno Indians are mentioned finally with other tribes in 1743 as having joined the Catawba Indians in South Carolina.[25] A detail in Lawson's account (their guide's errand to buy rum from the English) foreshadows the last glimpse of Will in the historical record. He is Shacco Will in William Byrd's "A Journey to the Land of Eden." There he is seventy-eight years old and trying to interest Byrd in a silver mine on the Eno River, with whose environs he seems intimately acquainted. Byrd paints a sad picture, perhaps an embellishment of his own, but consonant enough with the facts of the Indians' decline after their contact with the white man's culture. Byrd ended his interview with Will by giving him a bottle of rum with which "he made himself very happy and all the Familey very miserable by the horrible Noise he made all Night."[26]

ARCHAEOLOGY

Sketchy as the historical record is of the Indians who once frequented or inhabited Piedmont North Carolina, it has provided archaeologists with clues and facts of time and place around which to construct a more comprehensive understanding of the vanished peoples. Archaeological excavation throughout the Piedmont during the last fifty years has provided a chronology for the cultural sequence of Indian occupation.[27] It has identified Paleo-Indian (12,000–8,000 B.C.) Archaic Indian (8,000–500 B.C.), and Woodland Indian (500 B.C.–A.D. 1700) cultures, and within these broad time spans has differentiated even more finely early, middle, and late periods of both the Archaic and Woodland cultures.[28]

THE PALEO-INDIANS REMAIN LEAST-DEFINED because their population was small, dispersed, and simply organized; and the soils of the Southeast are not conducive to the preservation of floral and faunal remains. Few sites have been excavated and in those sites few remains discovered. That their economy was based on hunting and gathering is clear. Long-held suppositions that Paleo-Indians in the Piedmont hunted now-extinct Pleistocene mammals such as bison, mammoth, and mastodon and changed their habitation seasonally to follow their food supply have been brought into question recently. The same doubt exists in regard to the Archaic Indians. The absence of differentiation in their recovered tools suggests that their prey did not vary much in size from Paleo- to Archaic Indian times or within each of the periods; tools required for hunting megafauna might be supposed to differ from those used for other prey. Observation of the present Piedmont terrain and

knowledge of its flora and fauna in prehistoric times have made evident that the rich alluvial floodplains have always supplied all the ingredients of the known Indian diet. Seasonal migration would have been therefore unnecessary.[29]

More detailed information is known about the Archaic Indians; they have left evidence of themselves everywhere. Expanding population and a more settled lifestyle, particularly in the Late Archaic period (2000–500 B.C.), are reflected in the number of sites and the length of their occupation. Though great diversity of culture and more complexity of social structure are evident, the economy of the Archaic Indians continued to be based on hunting and gathering.[30]

Only with the Woodland Indians (500 B.C. up to the beginning of European contact, about A.D. 1500) are significant changes observable: the introduction of pottery, of the bow for hunting, of agriculture to supplement hunting and gathering, and indications of more permanent villages. Signs of social differentiation are found in burial practices and patterns.[31]

Though still largely uninvestigated, Durham County's Indian heritage is exceedingly rich. Two factors are responsible: the Indian Trading Path or Occoneechi Trail, which completely bisected the county, attracting all manner of Indians over its course into the mid-eighteenth century, and the extensive system of watercourses in all parts of the county that provided the native peoples with hospitable terrain for their subsistence. The historical records make it clear that two Indian towns, Adshusheer and Eno Town, and the tribes they represent were located in the county; and concentrations of archaeological remains in many locations speak of other nameless Indians before them.

THE EURO-AMERICAN IMAGINATION has always been haunted by the alien Indian culture; it has prompted surface collecting of Indian relics probably since the first settlements and has found putative burials and shrines in every large collection of rocks. Local tradition dies hard; one such rock formation to the north of Mason Road in Durham County still retains its Indian status in the popular imagination despite its relegation to folklore by experts.[32] Authentic sites, however, have been identified all along the principal rivers and creeks, particularly where joined by lesser streams, through clusters of lithic and pottery remains found by both amateurs and experts.

Many sites along the Eno and Flat rivers within the bounds of the Falls of the Neuse Reservoir area, several along New Hope Creek, and still others on the Eno River east of Roxboro Road are among the most promising as yet unexcavated locations.[33] A number of surface and subsurface archaeological surveys have been done at specific sites in conjunction with road, bridge, or dam building. Unfortunately, examinations of this kind are necessarily limited in extent and time. Neither does this kind of survey usually produce sufficient evidence on which to build a detailed reconstruction of the particular Indian culture represented.[34]

Only one site in Durham County has been sufficiently tested to permit more than cursory description, and as yet that site possesses only potential value. It lies on Flat River within the Falls reservoir bounds and has been examined more than

once within the last fifteen years. The first testing (1970) and consequent examination (1974) suggested to the archaeologists that it was the Adshusheer of Lawson's account.[35] The third examination (1975–76) led to its identification with Lederer's Eno Town.[36] A cluster of five related tracts where the old Oxford highway formerly crossed Flat River, the site has suffered by road- and bridge-building and long agricultural use.

Despite these disturbances, the cumulative work has found there evidence of intact subsurface deposits: middens, hearths, burials, structures, pits with "floral and faunal remains, carbonized wood for radiocarbon dating, ceramics, lithic artifacts and débitage, and trade items from European contact."[37] The stone remains show use of this site from Early Archaic through Late Historic times. The questions the site raises—the length of occupation by specific cultures, the variety of cultures represented, the role of the Eno Indians in the early historic period and their relation to the other Piedmont tribes, the nature of their architecture, food, tools, trade, and religious beliefs—archaeological digs may someday answer. The location of this site on the once heavily traveled Trading Path at the forefront of the cultural clash and exchange in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries suggests the richness of its value as a key to the past. Additionally, and quite by chance, its present inclusion in the Stagville Historic District, where the state maintains a site for the teaching of plantation history, particularly its slave culture, gives it a unique significance and role to play in Durham County's future.[38]

What full-scale excavation of Eno Town would mean to the understanding of Durham County's own Indian cultures may be imagined from the results of a current excavation on the Eno River just outside Hillsborough, the site of Lawson's Occoneechi and the Eno Indians' nearest neighbor. Archaeology is a comparatively young discipline and its application in Piedmont North Carolina is younger still. The Archaeological Society of North Carolina was formed as recently as 1933; and the first extensive excavation of a Piedmont site only began in 1935. Professor Joffre L. Coe of the University of North Carolina was the trailblazer. He first located the site near Hillsborough and excavated it over the years 1938–41.[39]

This early work revealed a palisaded village of round houses, 22–25 feet in diameter, with shallow pits for fireplaces. One burial was found beneath the dirt floor of a house, the body in a flexed position, typical of the historic period, accompanied by a pot and pipe. Most of the projectile points were from the Late Woodland period, small and triangular, but a few older ones, stemmed and larger, were also found there. Tools such as bone awls, knives with stems, and shell beads were rare. The clay of the pottery was mixed with sand and some mica, and showed a stamped, cord-marked, or net-impressed decoration. One large amphora with a pointed bottom was the most striking object uncovered.[40]

What was not found there—English trade goods—posed a serious objection to the site's identification with Lawson's Occoneechi village. The current excavation has supplied an answer to the problem. It has uncovered, only a few hundred yards from the original excavation site, another site of rich promise.[41] Already several burials have yielded a variety of trade goods: scissors, bottles, metal and glass but-

tons, lead shot, a pewter porringer and pipe, and glass beads, among other things. Remains in the middens, hearth, and storage pits have revealed the diet of the inhabitants.[42] It consisted of white-tailed deer, box turtle, wild turkey, and miscellaneous birds. There was evidence that Indians of the site had consumed one bear and one pig. Corn had become an important staple in their diet, and grapes were their most common fruit. Work on this site has contributed immeasurably to the knowledge of proto- and prehistoric Piedmont cultures.

Between Lawson's 1701 journey and the arrival of the first settlers in the 1740s, Piedmont Carolina's history is a blank. Two documents bear on the subject, however: William Byrd's account of the North Carolina-Virginia boundary survey in 1728 and Edward Moseley's 1738 map of the Carolinas. Both reflect a terrain that until then had undergone only the slow modifications of nature's work, before it was to be changed swiftly, utterly, and irrevocably by a swelling flood of foreign intruders with a culture that had little or no respect for nature or Native Americans except as exploitable benefactions.

A land dispute between the colonies of North Carolina and Virginia had been occasioned by Charles II's second charter to the Lords Proprietors in 1665, which extended Carolina's northern boundary northward, well overlapping Virginia's original grant. Thereafter each colony claimed the land in the extension, and each granted land to settlers within the disputed area. Sporadic attempts throughout almost seven decades to resolve the difference had come to nothing. Finally a survey by a joint commission made up of North Carolinians and Virginians (including Byrd), an Indian guide, surveyors, and support staff undertook the project in 1728.[43] After reaching Hyco Creek in present Person County, the North Carolinians refused to go farther, claiming that they were fifty miles west of any settlement and that the survey could be continued when the need arose. In other words, no land had then been taken up west of present Warren County. Moseley's map confirms that situation geographically. It shows only one trail cutting across the backcountry, the Indian Trading Path, and in the vast interior no white habitation. To be sure, Byrd's purchase of 20,000 acres on the Dan River which he had coveted and bought at the time of the survey, and Governor George Burrington's 30,000-acre grant in the Hawfields are duly indicated. Of the coastal settlements, the Cape Fear area shows the farthest penetration inland, possibly one hundred to one hundred fifty miles, where Moseley indicates Welsh and Palatine settlements.[44]

Moseley estimated the Indian population in terms of its fighting men. The Cherokees were the most numerous with four thousand fighting men, but that number included two groups in South Carolina. The North Carolina Cherokees were deep in their mountain fastness. Others were negligible: the hostile Tuscaroras had begun an exodus after their defeat in 1712, and the friendly Tuscaroras had made peace with the government of North Carolina and been given a reservation in present Bertie County to which they had retired. Moseley estimated these Indians and the hostile Meherrin Indians to number three hundred fighting men in all and fast declining.

In his office as surveyor general of the colony, Moseley was in a position to know

precisely where lands had been taken up and where settled. As a commissioner of the dividing line survey, he saw firsthand that the Indians were all but gone from the backcountry, having either retreated to the mountains or joined with larger groups to the north or south. The Europeans had what they wanted at last—the backcountry for the taking.

2

Moving In, 1740s–1771

FIRST LANDOWNERS

Aside from Lord Granville, who was in a class by himself, speculators with good connections, surveyors, and crown officials were the first owners of land in Carolina's backcountry. They took advantage of their positions to obtain grants as investments. Henry McCulloh had well over a million acres; Governor Burrington had a smaller grant in the Hawfields; Governor Gabriel Johnston had tracts on the Little and Eno rivers; William Churton, Lord Granville's surveyor, obtained land for himself in Orange County and obligingly allowed Francis Corbin, Granville's agent in the land office, to obtain land in his, Churton's, name as well, probably to cover up Corbin's crassness.[1] Churton, however, was different from the others in that he actually lived on his land in Orange County, held various town and county offices, and made his home in Hillsborough, the county seat he had laid out (in the time-honored tradition of surveyors) on his own land.[2]

Within present Durham County's bounds Henry McCulloh stood alone in this class. Aside from his hundred thousand acres at the headwaters of the Neuse, straddling present Person, Granville, Wake, and Durham counties, the rest of the area was available to the rank and file of settlers who wanted land to farm and live on. Between 1729, when all the Lords Proprietors but Granville had relinquished their rights to the Carolinas, and 1746, when the Granville land office opened in Edenton, grants to land in what became the Granville District were issued in the king's name; but the westering tide of settlers had not yet reached as far as present Durham County, and few crown grants have come to light for land in what is Durham County today.

While the first speculators were anticipating the rush to settle the backcountry, settlement from the east of North Carolina was proceeding slowly until the 1740s, when the pace quickened. As a result of the increase the legislature added new counties: Edgecombe and Northampton in 1741, Granville and Johnston in 1746,

and Anson and Duplin in 1750. By 1751 Governor William Tryon reported to the British Board of Trade that "inhabitants flock in here daily, mostly from Pennsylvania and other parts of America, and some directly from Europe. They commonly seat themselves toward the West and have got near the mountains."[3]

As counties were added, their western boundaries were understood to extend to the western boundary of the colony. Thus land grants in present Durham County might have been made and registered in a variety of counties to the east depending on the date. The earliest known grants date from the late 1740s and comprised land primarily in the northwestern part of the county. The key factor in population growth seems to have been roads, important then as they are now to population distribution and commercial success.

Newcomers to the backcountry came by four routes. First was the small but continuous drift from the more eastern North Carolina counties. These settlers were generally English in origin, though there were Irish and Scotch-Irish among them. Not directly off any boat but descendants of earlier settlers in North Carolina or other English colonies, they moved short distances, looking always for fresh land within reach of the established limits, merely extending the ragged edge of the frontier by hacking out homesteads farther to the west. The Indian Trading Path brought a similar group of newcomers, usually from Virginia, but also from the middle colonies. Throughout the seventeenth century, a tide of Highland Scots in succeeding waves moved up the Cape Fear River, eventually populating ten counties of present North Carolina at the headwaters of that navigable stream. If any of these immigrants drifted as far north as present Durham County, theirs was a negligible and unnoticed influx.

In the 1740s and following, immigrants of two other origins began to arrive in the backcountry by the fourth route in such numbers that they seemed the overwhelming majority—Germans and Scotch-Irish. They had been arriving by boatloads for decades in the middle colonies of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Maryland, so that newcomers in the 1740s found these colonies so filled up that available land was either too expensive or situated on the western frontiers where hostile Indians were a menace to white settlers. Many chose instead to follow the Great Philadelphia Wagon Road, which ran from the city west through Lancaster and York counties, and then they turned southward into the Valley of Virginia where sometimes they established settlements on the Virginia frontier in Augusta and Rockbridge counties; but these, too, were well populated by the 1740s. Another consideration for those who had risked their lives to escape imposed religious conformity at home was that Virginia had an established church, the Church of England, which maintained a tighter hold over the lives of the Virginia settlers than did the same church in North Carolina, where land was abundant and cheap, liberty of conscience guaranteed, and the Indians were isolated in their mountain fastness. Many chose to push on to this new Eden. They turned eastward through the Staunton Gap and crossed the Dan River into North Carolina. At that point they dispersed, fanning out throughout the headwaters and valleys of the Yadkin, Catawba, and Haw rivers. A few even found their way to the headwaters of the Eno River in Orange County.[4]

Religious persecution had been the primary cause of the German Protestants' migration to America, but allied to this had been economic and political discrimination as well. The Scotch-Irish were people of Lowland Scottish or, less frequently, northern English origin, who had been encouraged to resettle in England's northern Ireland province of Ulster in the late 1600s. There they had been too successful for their own good, developing cattle and sheep production and linen and woolen manufacture. The English government and absentee English landlords had responded with economic restrictions and rack rents. Severe religious and civil proscriptions in the Test Act of 1704 further curtailed their rights. Ripe for the attractions of promotional literature and propaganda of ships' captains engaged in the profitable transportation of emigrants to the New World, the Scotch-Irish were easily persuaded to seek refuge and a better life in America.

Durham County's geographical location in relation to these migration routes determined who would settle there. Too far north to receive the Highland Scots who entered at Wilmington, and on the easternmost rim of the great sweep of backcountry available to the Scotch-Irish and Germans arriving by the Great Wagon Road, Durham County received almost entirely those moving west from the older North Carolina counties or traveling down the Indian Trading Path from Virginia—a predominantly English mix. Among the first to take up land in present Durham County were William Reeves, who received 400 acres where Ellerbee Creek runs into Neuse River (1746), Hugh Wood, who received 400 acres on Little River (1747), Patrick Boggan, 650 acres, and James Ray, 350 acres, on opposite sides of Little River (1749), William Strahorn [*sic*] 320 acres on the southwest side of Flat River (1749), and William Boggan 419 acres on Little River. John Patterson was established on New Hope Creek in the 1740s.[5] It is clear from a grant to Michael Synnott in 1752 that he had already taken up residence some time before that, for his grant is described as "including his mills."[6] All these grants were issued by either McCulloh or Granville and were located in then Granville County. Bladen County, too, was the designated site of some early grants of land actually in Durham County today—for example, grants to Joseph and William Barbee.[7] John Ellerby (Allaby), who received grants in Bladen County in an area that was later Anson County, may have first taken up land in present Durham, for Ellerbee Creek must take its name from the family.[8]

Almost nothing is known of these first settlers. The Pattersons are traditionally said to have come from Maryland.[9] If William Strahorn was a relative of the Gilbert Strayhorn (Strain) who took up land first in the Hawfields and then on New Hope Creek in the 1750s, he must have come from Northern Ireland via Pennsylvania.[10] The Rays and Woods were probably English. Neither Patrick nor William Boggan remained here long. A William Boggan from Chester, Pennsylvania, who took up land in Rowan County in the late 1750s, is probably the same William Boggan who was earlier in Orange. Patrick Boggan of Orange died in 1757. Possibly the Patrick Boggan of Anson County, the brother-in-law of Thomas Wade, founder of Wadesboro, was William's son, for the Boggans of Orange are also found closely associated with Wades in deeds and tax lists.[11]

Michael Synnott was an Englishman who first appears in records of Bertie

County in 1748. He was well established by 1752 on eastern Orange County land as the owner not only of mills on the Eno River but of a large tract, his homeplace, on the Trading Path, where he "kept tavern" and took in travelers. It was there that the Moravian Bishop Spangenberg and his party found accommodation on their way to survey the land that eventually became known as Wachovia. When one of the "brothers" in the group fell ill and could not continue, he and another "brother," who was left behind as nurse, remained at "Captain Sennet's" [*sic*] while Synnott himself proceeded west with the Moravians and the surveyor, William Churton. A few years later another party of Moravians coming to join the settlement at Wachovia camped by Tar River and were visited by Synnott's son "who lives here on Tar River; he recalled that some years ago Br. Horsefield stayed for some time with his father."[12]

Though these are the names in the surviving grants, undoubtedly many others of whom no record survives took up land about the same time. Evidence of this may be gathered from the names of chain carriers or adjacent landowners mentioned on surveys made in connection with grants. For example, William Boggan's survey of 1751 shows Benjamin Cole and John Dunagan [*sic*] as chain bearers.[13] Dunnagan is also named as an adjacent landowner. It is clear that these families, too, were already settled here. The 1750 Granville County tax list adds to the list of those known to have been established in the area at that early date. It names, for example, Thomas, Charles, and George Gibson, Henry Webb, junior and senior, John and Hugh Wood, William Bowling, Thomas and John Dunagan, Benjamin Cate, Francis Day, William Daniell, James Bowie, and William Forrester, all found a few years later in Orange County records.[14] The process of obtaining a land grant—first to record an entry for land, then to receive a warrant to survey it, next to have the survey made, and finally to get it issued and recorded in Granville's land office and in the county in which the grant lay at the time of issue—was lengthy and uncertain. Careless if not dishonest land agents often bungled the process or failed to record the results.

ORANGE COUNTY ESTABLISHED

With such large additions to the population of the backcountry in the late 1740s, governmental machinery was necessary both for the settlers' convenience and the colonial government's better control. In the spring of 1752 a bill to establish a new county formed from parts of Granville, Johnston, and Bladen counties was introduced in the legislature.[15] The county was to be named Orange and its congruent parish, Saint Matthew's—a vast area that included the present counties of Orange, Person, Caswell, Alamance, Chatham, and Durham, and parts of present Guilford, Randolph, Rockingham, and Wake. Its northern boundary was the Virginia line, its southern the same as that of the Granville District, and its western, still undetermined, extended as far as the colony's until 1753 when Rowan County was established to its west. The eastern boundary, described in the legislative act, ran from the Virginia line at Hyco Creek south to the Eno River, thence the south side of Eno downstream to where Horse Creek runs into the Neuse River, thence south to the

southern boundary of the Granville District.[16] Orange County's June Court of 1752 made provision for surveying the eastern boundary.[17] As neither of the adjacent counties, Johnston and Granville, participated in the running of the line, it was not strictly a legal boundary. In any case it was soon altered. In 1761 the legislature reannexed a slice of Orange to Johnston County; the new line ran south from the southwest corner of Granville County.[18] Just nine years later Orange lost territory on three sides when Wake, Chatham, and Guilford counties were formed. By that act Orange's eastern boundary was established as what is now approximately the western boundary of Durham County's Oak Grove township.[19] From that time on, Orange County was whittled down periodically, but its eastern border remained unchanged for a hundred years. During that century the families whose names and fortunes were to become identified with the area that is now Durham County took possession of their lands and established religious, economic, and family ties with their neighbors. The county in which they had their homes and the local government that controlled their lives, to which they paid taxes, gave their labor for building and maintaining roads, served their time in militia and on juries, and looked to for justice, order, and protection, was Orange County. Based largely on laws promulgated in 1715 and only slightly modified from time to time, the county government as first established was to prevail almost unchanged up to the end of the Civil War.

Power was in the hands of the justices of the peace, who were nominated by the county representatives to the General Assembly (usually justices themselves) and appointed by the governor, at first colonial and later state. The justices were men of property, the most prosperous and respected in the county, and traditionally appended "esquire" to their names as a token of their office. Because they were appointed for life and were a self-perpetuating body, and because they appointed or nominated candidates for all local offices—sheriff, constables, overseers of the roads, and many others—they could run things very much to their own liking. The court they presided over had administrative and judicial functions touching every phase of settlers' lives.[20]

Sixteen men were appointed justices in the newly formed Orange County, and as far as can be determined not a single one was from the eastern section, now Durham County. Not until June 1757, when Robert Abercrombie was appointed to the court, was this area represented. Abercrombie was joined by Tyree Harris in 1763 and by Joseph Barbee in May 1764.[21] The reason for this lack of representation may have been the sparsely settled character of the area or simply the lack of political influence because of its distance from the county seat. Justices of the peace made up the commission responsible for initiating and building roads in the county. In the June and September courts of 1759, new roads were ordered to be built leading northeast and southeast from Hillsborough to Halifax County and Kinston, respectively, through eastern Orange County.[22] Until then the Indian Trading Path alone served traffic in eastern Orange. Maintenance of the roads, though ordered by the courts, was never sufficient to overcome the effects of the weather, and most were almost impassable in wet weather. There were of course farm paths used very locally, but these had no official status and were not under the court's jurisdiction.

The lack of roads was a serious drawback to development; farmers who wished to market surplus crops needed roads on which to transport them to markets in Virginia and Cross Creek (later Fayetteville).

The justices wielded power in the selection of important county officers. Foremost of these was the sheriff, whose job brought prestige and sufficient emolument to be coveted. He was responsible for elections and the collection of taxes. As his pay was a cut of the taxes, there was some expectation that he would perform his duty assiduously. He was also at the head of county law enforcement and the management of prisoners and the jail. Serving under him, besides a deputy or two, were the constables. Tyree Harris, appointed in 1766, was the only sheriff chosen from the eastern part of the county until the end of the century. Constables, who actually collected the taxes and did the police work, were chosen from every section of the county. Eastern Orange was assigned two constables in 1754: Thomas King for the Flat and Little River areas, and William Barbee "in the lower part of Enoe and parts adjacent."[23]

The register of deeds and the clerk of the court were equally desirable posts, for their incumbents, too, collected their salaries from the business they transacted: the recording of deeds, wills, marriages, estates, lawsuits, court minutes, and all the business of the court which the minutes detailed. The courthouse gang grew rich. Neither of these powerful offices was ever filled by a representative of eastern Orange, undoubtedly because it required constant attendance at the courthouse and thus residence in Hillsborough. The lawyers battened noticeably on this legal commerce. An early traveler in the backcountry remarked that the practice of law was "peculiarly lucrative and extremely oppressive."[24] Thus every courthouse town early attracted its bevy of lawyers to reap the profits.

Though the lucrative or influential jobs did not fall to eastern Orange inhabitants, the justices did appoint overseers for the existing roads in every part of the county. At the September 1753 term of court, John Dunnagan was appointed to oversee the Indian Trading Path from the Granville County line to Michael Synnott's. Mark Morgan, John Patterson, and William Rhodes oversaw different lengths of the Cape Fear Road in the same year.

At their first court in September 1752, the justices of Orange County laid the basis for carrying out their duties by levying a tax of one shilling on every taxable person. Age, infirmity, and indigence naturally excluded a portion of the population, though only a very small percentage of these made up the first settlers anywhere. White women, children, and Indians also were untaxed. Slaves of working age and free blacks of both sexes were taxed. At the October 1754 term of court, "Alexander Mebane, Esq. late Sheriff of this County came into Court and exhibited a list of Eleven hundred and thirteen Tythables on oath; which he had received and collected while he was Sheriff in the years 1752 and 1753."[25] This list was probably not very different from (if it is not indeed the same as) the first surviving tax list, customarily dated 1755, which contains the same number of taxables and supplies evidence of the settlers then in Orange County.[26] It substantiates Matthew Rowan's statement to the British Board of Trade in 1752: "In the year 1746 I was up in the Country that is now Anson, Orange and Rowan Countys, there was not then above

one hundred fighting men; there is now at least three thousand for the most part Irish Protestants and Germans and dayley increasing."[27]

Naturally only a small number of the 1,113 "tythables" lived in what is now Durham County, but of families long associated with this county the Barbees, Beasleys, Bohannons, Bumpasses, Canadys, Cardens, Dennys, Dunnagans, Fowlers, Lawses, Morgans, Parkers, Pattersons, Rhodeses, Rogerses, Staggs, Wilkersons, and Woods were already here. The list records 130 blacks, of whom four families were free mulattoes: Gideon and Micager Bunch; Thomas Colens (senior and junior), John Colins, Samuel Colens and son, Charles; George, Majer, and Thomas Gibson; and Moses and Mary Ridley. The list included 724 separate households, of which only 9 percent owned slaves. Of the 64 slave-owning families none had more than ten slaves. In eastern Orange Mark Morgan had the most, six; Joseph Barbee had five; Duncan Bohannon and Henry Webb had four each; James Forester, Nathaniel Kimbrough, and Joseph Wade had three.[28]

As soon as Orange County court was established in one place, a county seat was laid out. Referred to as Orange Court House until it received its first name of Corbinton in 1754, the town was later called Childsburg (1759) and finally Hillsborough (1766), which it has remained.[29] The town grew from the first, attracting the people who needed court services and the lawyers to serve them; the inns and taverns to supply food, drink, and lodging; blacksmiths and saddlers (the service stations of that day); carpenters and brickmasons; merchants and mantuamakers; doctors and ministers—all interdependent for goods and services. On a frontier there was work for all. Those with skills or capital could prosper.

Among the administrative duties of the justices was the licensing of ferries, mills, and taverns. To run a tavern or inn required only a few spare rooms for use as a bar and bedrooms where travelers might sleep luxuriously alone or share the rooms and beds with as many as could be crowded into them. The earliest recorded taverns (as well as inns) in Orange County were on the Indian Trading Path. Michael Synnott and Patrick Boggan were granted licenses at the September court 1753, though both had probably been providing accommodations before the county was formed. Two travelers besides the Moravians recorded stopping at Boggan's: the Reverend Hugh McAden, who traveled from group to group of Presbyterians living in the backcountry, and John Saunders, an agent of a merchant in Suffolk, Virginia. Two miles after crossing Flat River with difficulty on 6 September 1754, the latter arrived at Boggan's "w[h]ere we put upp for the Night, and both ourselves and horses fared well, having good beds and clean sheets. . . . Got good tea and toast and butter in the morning for breakfast and the horses got good Corn and Oats." Then he continued on his way ten miles to Synnott's. When Patrick Boggan died in 1757, Henry Webb, whose eleven hundred acres adjoined the west bank of Flat River, supplied the hospitality on that leg of the Trading Path. At Webb's death in 1759 Thomas Stagg filled the breach at his dwelling—a site that soon came to be called Stagville. Judith Stagg continued the business a while after her husband's death.[30]

Besides licensing inns and taverns, the justices issued the prices that they could charge. For example, a hot meal with small beer cost eight pence, lodging for the

night with a good bed and clean sheets cost four pence. A horse's stabling also cost four pence and his oats and corn one shilling per peck. His pasturage cost four pence for twenty-four hours. Various kinds of rum and rum mixtures were the most common drinks sold, but wines such as claret and Madeira were also served.[31] Not everyone with a tavern license had room to put up travelers. But hospitality was the rule in frontier America. Almost anywhere a traveler arrived at nightfall he could count on being sheltered and fed. What he received was as chancy for him as what he gave in return was for his hosts. If he had to lie on the floor next to the fire or share a bed with the children, it was as much as he could expect. The settlers were glad of any extra cash that came their way and of the contact a traveler brought them with the world outside their acreage. "In Pioneer countries," Isak Dinesen wrote, "hospitality is a necessity of life not to the travellers alone but to the settlers. A visitor is a friend, he brings news, good or bad, which is bread to the hungry minds in lonely places."[32]

FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

The news that travelers would have brought in the 1750s would have been of rising fear on the frontiers of all the colonies. The conflict between England and France for possession of the new continent was reaching serious proportions. The main battles of the French and Indian War (1754–63) took place in Canada and the northern colonies, but a source of the conflict was the possession of the Ohio valley, and as the owner of that vast area of the fur trade, Virginia was brought into the fighting. Possession of all the colonies, however, hinged on the result.[33]

The Indians were enticed to attack by both sides, and the settlers on the frontiers of each English colony were victims of the strategy and suffered from the Indians' frustrations and changing sympathies. Colonial militia in the South were poorly trained and equipped; most of the fighting, therefore, was done by British regulars and some "provincials" hired for short terms of service and for particular objectives. The Orange County militia, however, was called out several times, and North Carolinians from all counties served in the provincial troops. Indians, too, Catawba and Cherokee, were enlisted, for if they had been successfully recruited by the French, the backcountry would have become a battlefield. Fortunately, the Catawbas remained loyal to their traditional friends, but the Cherokees caused the colonies grave concern and eventually warfare. At first they performed their role as mercenaries faithfully, but twice on returning to their homes from service in Virginia they plundered frontier settlements. Later in the war, when the conflict in the South had evolved into what was regionally known as the Cherokee War, the Overhills Cherokee Indians and some from the Middle settlements attacked the English. Settlers on the edge of the North Carolina frontier were repeatedly forced to flee to the palisaded Moravian town of Bethabara or Salisbury in Rowan County to escape scalping parties. Troops from England aided by colonial troops and some Indian scouts finally defeated the Cherokees and brought an end to the Cherokee War. The defeat of the French on the Saint Lawrence by the fall of Montreal in 1760 assured victory to the English and paved the way for possession of the continent.[34]

The impact of this on Orange Countians, aside from those who either served in the militia on the frontier or as provincials who served out of the colony, was the reappearance among them of the long-gone Indians. They needed no reminders that these others had lived there before them, but most settlers had probably never seen them. Blazed trails and cleared fields, occasional stone artifacts or European trade goods in the soil of their gardens, and the ubiquitous projectile points lying exposed and alien in their newly plowed fields made their daily presence felt. Now once again there was Indian traffic on the Trading Path as the Indians journeyed to and from Virginia as mercenaries.

Tension and uncertainty between colonists and Indians in their uneasy alliance during these years are reflected in the colonial records. At a provincial council meeting in May 1757, commissioners were appointed in Granville, Orange, Rowan, and Anson counties "to Provide necessaries for the Indians in Alliance with us on their March in the Service of the Public from their Several Nations to and from Virginia or any part of this Province." The commissioners were allowed "eight pence per Diem for each Indian that shall be found with necessaries."[35] The Orange County court had already in March 1757 made provision to reimburse citizens who found themselves entertaining Indians. Hospitality was not really a choice when a whole band suddenly turned up in the front yard. In June 1757 William Reed as deputy clerk of court reported claims amounting to two pounds one shilling for "dyating" fifty-six Catawba Indians and corn for eleven horses. In March 1758 he reported a claim for one hog delivered to Captain Bull and his company of Cherokee Indians on their journey to Virginia.

Not all relations with the Indians were harmonious. In the March 1757 court, Captain Snow, a friendly Catawba Indian, accused Michael Synnott of harboring a horse stolen from him a few years previously. The court heard the testimony and decided in the Indian's favor.[36] With the end of hostilities, however, the Catawba and Cherokee Indians retired to their respective lands, on the border of North and South Carolina or across the Appalachian mountains, and no longer troubled the Orange County settlers.

Instances occurred of isolated Indians, not part of tribal groups, living among the white settlers either as slaves or servants or even independent farmers. The will of John Alston, proved in 1760, contains evidence of such a case. John Alston, a member of the eastern Carolina Alston family, early settled in Orange, bringing his immediate family with him. To his son James he left a tract of land on Ellerbee Creek with the proviso that Indian Ben, who was living on it, "shall have the use of the place for four years paying an equal part of the expenses and dividing the profits equally with my son James Alston."[37] After leaving this single footprint in the historical trail of Durham County, Indian Ben, like the other natives of the land, is found no more.

WAR OF THE REGULATION

The French and Indian War was not the only disturbing event in the early years following Orange County's formation. While population increased steadily from

the continued influx of new settlers, abuses of government caused growing unrest among them. In the 1760s a groundswell of discontent and frustration took form in the Sandy Creek Association, a leading faction of the Regulator Movement centered in what is now northeast Randolph County but was then in Orange. While not the only county involved in the movement, Orange County was the home of the most vehement protest and the center of violence.[38]

Historians have painted the Regulators in different hues all the way from dark, radical, ruffian malcontents to shining challengers of colonial exploitation. They have been portrayed as forerunners of the Revolutionary patriots; as participants in an east-west controversy in which the richer east wielded power unjustly over the more populous west; as alien immigrants, Scotch-Irish, Welsh, and German, against the English establishment; as the underdogs in a class struggle between the entrenched elite and the oppressed rank and file of farmers. In Orange County the Regulators' eleven broadsides and a petition to the governor exactly defined their grievances: inefficient, irresponsible, unjust, and dishonest local government and government representatives. They wanted the courthouse gang to be accountable to the people for the taxes they collected and the fees they charged; they wanted "regulation"—legally fixed, known charges and reins on corruption. High taxes (instituted to pay for the French and Indian War but never removed); a new tax to pay for the sumptuous governor's palace; the requirement that taxes and fees be paid in specie; exorbitant quitrents, contested land titles, and inaccurate surveys in the Granville District; extortion in fees by the local courthouse gang; and inequitably applied laws imposing militia, jury, road-building, and road-repair duties made up the litany of their complaints. Herman (Harmon) Husband, a pamphleteer, leader, and spokesman for the Regulators in Orange County, estimated that as much as one-twelfth of a man's yearly labor was consumed by these last duties. If they had been exacted evenly, fairly, and without regard to persons, no one would have had cause for complaint. The law specified that white males sixteen to sixty years of age were to perform these obligations, but those exempt became an ever larger group: political officeholders, men of wealth or social position, petty officials such as constables or road commissioners, schoolmasters, clergymen, attorneys, physicians, and operators of mills and ferries. This left a pool of mostly young, landless, uneducated, poor, or uninfluential farmers who could ill afford the expense of traveling to court, spending days there as witnesses or jurymen, or neglecting farmwork to drill at a muster or labor on the roads.[39]

Orange Countians were not alone in organizing against abuses in local government; Granville and Halifax county factions had already led the way, and Mecklenburg, Johnston, Cumberland, Rowan, and Anson counties also contained strong groups of agitators. Orange County's protest began in August 1766 when the Regulators called a meeting at Maddock's (later Hart's) mill near Hillsborough to discuss their grievances with local officials. Thomas Lloyd, an assemblyman for Orange, approved the meeting as reasonable. Edmund Fanning, the most hated of the courthouse gang, called the meeting an insurrection. The officials failed to appear. After a futile attempt to appeal to the legislature, the Regulators prepared a petition

to Governor Tryon and his council in May 1768, signed by 474 inhabitants of the county, outlining the abuses they wanted corrected.[40]

That their charges were justified is clear. Tryon admitted in a private letter that sheriffs had embezzled more than half the money they had collected and were unable to account for their collections; he warned officials and lawyers against overcharges and ordered that the list of fees allowed by law be published. Increases in the Regulators' numbers and incidents of violence prompted Tryon to attend the September 1768 term of superior court in Hillsborough accompanied by militia. Edmund Fanning was tried and convicted for taking excessive fees but was fined only a paltry sum. Thirty-seven hundred Regulators were present at that term of court, for besides Fanning a few of their number were tried for riot, inciting to rebellion, and like charges growing out of disorders that had occurred earlier in Hillsborough. Although Tryon pardoned most of the accused, tensions continued to rise, for nothing had really changed. Fanning, prime target of the Regulators' hostility by virtue of his multiple offices—assemblyman, register of deeds, judge of the court, colonel in the militia—resigned as register of deeds as a result of his conviction, but was elected assemblyman from the borough of Hillsborough in the 1769 elections, the first representative of the newly established pocket borough.[41]

In any controversy, once factions have been polarized, distrust and suspicion grow, communication stops, rumors thrive, divisions widen, and reason flies away. Thus even the cool reasonableness of Ralph McNair, acting as intermediary for the Regulators in the initial stages of the protest, failed. He wrote to Herman Husband:

> I assure you my Dear Sir you will [find] Coll: Fanning quite different from what he has been represented and I'm certain he would find you very different from the accounts he has heard of you. The storys that have been told backwards and forwards are really amazing and I am now convinced that nothing but downright mistake has been the cause of all the late disturbances.[42]

When the hotheads of the movement carried it beyond the reach of reasonable men, McNair became a witness against them.

The spreading of Regulator support into new areas and the Hillsborough riots during the September 1770 term of superior court precipitated the final drama. The Regulators had entered the town in huge numbers and disrupted the court proceedings by attacking Fanning and hounding the judge, Richard Henderson, from the scene. Fanning's house was cut from its sills and its contents dragged into the street and destroyed. When the assembly met in New Bern in December and January 1770/71, the assemblymen worked to correct the laws, calm the protestors, and put down the insurrection. Tryon's council urged him to resort to military means to stop the disorder. The assembly passed the Johnston Riot Act, which allowed the trial of rioters in any county regardless of where the riot had taken place, and declared anyone an outlaw who had not responded to a court summons within sixty days. The Regulators' reaction was increased definace, refusal to pay their taxes, and threats of violence against lawyers and judges who attempted to convene court.[43]

In May 1771 Tryon and an army of militia troops marched from New Bern to confront the insurgents and force compliance with the laws. As Tryon's army neared the large number of Regulators that had massed beyond Great Alamance Creek, the Regulators asked for another hearing. Attempts at negotiation failed, and Tryon resorted to force. In short order the colonial troops overwhelmed the Regulators, superior in number but inferior in discipline and arms. Colonel Fanning, leading a detachment of Orange County militia comprising 137 men and a number of officers and drummers, must have felt a measure of satisfaction. Casualties on both sides were light: nine killed and sixty wounded on Tryon's side, nine killed and an unknown number wounded on the Regulators'. One prisoner, James Few, was summarily hanged in accordance with the new Riot Act, for Few had not answered a court charge within the prescribed time limit. The other prisoners were sent to Hillsborough while Governor Tryon and his army marched west to stamp out any remaining resistance, destroying the homes and farms of many Regulators as they went. Over six thousand Regulators accepted Tryon's offer of pardon in return for surrender of arms and submission to the laws of the land. Hundreds of others, disheartened or their property destroyed, eventually moved over the mountains to Tennessee.[44]

On his return to Hillsborough Tryon had the prisoners tried. Twelve were convicted of treason; Tryon pardoned six and hanged six. During the trials the army was encamped by the Few plantation just east of the town; adding to the woes of that family, the army horses and cattle were allowed into the planted fields to destroy the crops as retribution for James Few's involvement with the Regulators. The family shortly afterward moved to Georgia, where their fortunes improved, and in time the North Carolina legislature voted them compensation for damages.[45]

The effect of all this on eastern Orange was probably no more than a general anxiety and unrest. A letter from William Johnston, a merchant of Hillsborough and plantation- and store-owner in the Flat River area, to Richard Bennehan, his partner, suggests that a few inhabitants of the Flat River area were Regulator sympathizers, but there is no evidence of any group that might have rendered aid to the cause. Of the hundreds of signatures on the Regulator petition to Governor Tryon, not one can be clearly identified with the families of eastern Orange.[46] Several factors may explain the absence of Regulator support there. Predominantly English in origin and correspondingly Church of England in religious affiliation, they must have felt no inherent affinity with the Scotch-Irish, Welsh, and German dissenters who made up a large segment of the Regulators. Even if they shared the Regulators' indignation at abuses of power, they probably found civil disobedience both alarming and repugnant. In addition, distance from the centers of Regulator enthusiasm and leadership, compounded by poor roads, aggravated their separation. Lack of communication and access may have left the settlers in eastern Orange poorly informed of the course of events and powerless to participate in them.

A single event during the controversy brought the action within the present borders of Durham County: Tryon's march to Hillsborough. His army traversed a portion of southern Durham County, and—some historians believe—built a road as they went. The road has been identified by some with present Cornwallis Road.[47]

> Arriving in Wake county with his troops, Tryon found that at a point about four miles south of the present city of Raleigh the existing road ended, and there was only a bridle path into Orange County. By his order an extension was cut directly over hill and dale to Hillsboro. It ran about four miles south of the city of Durham, and remains of it can still be seen. This road was called by Tryon the Ramsgate road. Tradition has identified it with a road taken by Lord Cornwallis, British general in the War of the Revolution, in his retreat after the battle of Guilford Court House; but the maps of the time show that Cornwallis did not march through the region now included in Durham county.[48]

Tryon's journal, order book, and correspondence supply ample documentation of his activities and those of his troops day by day, but little in them substantiates the building of a road through Durham County. Although one unit of his army was made up of "pioneers," a corps of engineers for building bridges or roads on a march, they undoubtedly had enough to do to repair an existing road, possibly the route from Hillsborough to the Johnston County line ordered to be laid out by the court justices in 1760. Unquestionably they had heavy work cutting trees to allow the bulky wagons and artillery pieces that Tryon brought with him to pass along the ill-maintained trails of the backcountry; his progress, however, was too rapid to accord with the supposition that he was actually building a road as he went. Tryon's records of his expedition give the details of camping sites, passwords, and events on the march. His army left Theophilus Hunter's lodge on 7 May 1771, and marched twelve miles to Jones's on Crabtree Creek in today's Morrisville area. Next day, 8 May, the army marched to John Booth's on New Hope Creek near the mouth of Third Fork Creek.[49] On that march Tryon stopped at Charles Abercrombie's store where he bought ribbon, writing paper, and twelve broad axes "for the pioneers."[50] Charles Abercrombie (John Booth's son-in-law), his father, and his brother Robert owned large tracts of land in eastern Orange County. Two of Charles's were located where the city of Durham now lies; on one of them, it has been assumed, his muster ground lay.[51] It does not seem possible, however, that his store was in this location as well, for Tryon's route across the county was farther south, possibly a route that more closely approximates the old stage road from Raleigh to Chapel Hill if not Cornwallis Road. Somewhere on this established artery must have stood Abercrombie's store.

Abercrombie's was not the only store in eastern Orange. William Johnston, the Scots merchant mentioned above, had come to America in 1760 and to Orange County no later than 1763, when he received a land grant from Lord Granville. Also in that year he petitioned the court for a slight alteration of the road that ran through his plantation on Little River—the Indian Trading Path. After first establishing a store in Hillsborough in partnership with James Thackston, he branched out in 1767 with another store on his plantation. This did well enough to justify its continuance. He negotiated with Richard Bennehan, a young man who worked in the Petersburg store of Edward Stabler, and persuaded him to assume the management of the Little River store and to take a one-third share of the business.[52] This

store thrived under Bennehan's care and continued in that advantageous location until Johnston's death in 1785. If other stores existed in eastern Orange by 1771, they have not left any traces in the records.

One other effect of the Regulator movement on Orange County was its reduction by dismemberment. At the 1770/71 meeting of the legislature, bills were passed to create new counties out of the sections where Regulator strength was greatest as a way of dividing the disaffected citizenry into separate areas under tighter governmental control. Thus Guilford was created out of Orange's western side, Wake out of the eastern (to separate the Regulator forces in Johnston from those in Orange), and Chatham out of the southern.[53] Petitions from the inhabitants of these areas for the creation of new counties in order to relieve them of long and expensive journeys to courts or musters gave the lawmakers sufficient excuse for an action that well suited their own ulterior purposes.[54] The creation of these counties also resulted in greater representation of the backcountry in the legislative body, another political gesture toward conciliation. Though the Regulator movement itself was quashed, some of its principles became permanently incorporated in the government of North Carolina and, more important, in the minds of the inhabitants.

3

The American Revolution

Hot on the heels of the regulator movement came the American Revolution, actually a civil war. Many of those who had opposed the Regulators now found themselves in the position of fomenting opposition to official governmental policy, supporting resistance, and advocating rebellion. The shoe was on the other foot. Again economic stringencies were at the root of the problem, but this time it was planters, merchants, and professional men who were feeling the pinch. For all, there was as well a sense of personal injury that comes from restraints externally imposed and from abridgment of freedom which reflective men saw as abuse of power.

American colonial history discloses a tendency from the earliest times toward separation from the mother country. The makeup of the population—with so large a proportion of religious and political dissenters who strongly objected to church or state interference with their lives—made it inevitable.[1] Since economic issues had also been primary among the propelling forces for their emigration, they could certainly be counted on to resist threats to their economic independence and well-being. The Sons of Liberty, who forced the repeal of the Stamp Act, and the Regulators, who achieved a measure of governmental reform, had demonstrated this sensitivity to infringement of their liberty. It was in character, therefore, for the colonial leaders to react with indignation and resistance when, after decades of neglect during which the colonies had gone their own way, developing their own policies and procedures, the British government began to enforce trade regulations and to use taxation of the colonies to remedy ills at home. The Tea Act of 1773 (which gave a monopoly on the tea trade in the colonies to the East India Company) was only one of a series of restrictive measures imposed on the colonies. The Stamp Act of 1765 and the Townshend Act of 1767, which imposed revenue taxes on certain items, had already raised colonial ire to the boiling point so that cumulatively they spurred colonial cooperation and alienation from England.[2] Once embarked on a course of concerted resistance, the colonies were quickly carried on the tide to full

rebellion. First committees of correspondence were set up to establish intercolonial communication, and then provincial congresses were called to deliberate action. These extra-legal meetings were the first serious step to open defiance, for they replaced the colonial assemblies that the royal governors failed to call or dismissed.

But there was no unanimity of opinion in any colony, and lines were never clearly or permanently drawn between the political partisans, Whig or Tory, or the warring factions, patriot or loyalist.[3] Complex factors governed preference: attachment or animosity to England; prudence or impetuosity of character; familial, religious, and social affiliations; economic expedience; and political ideology; and these were often conflicting. North Carolina was composed of many different groups whose position in the confrontation could not be predicted: the inhabitants of the backcountry with a traditional distrust of the eastern elite's influence in the colonial government; the ex-Regulators, who had paid a price already for civil disobedience; the German and Scotch-Irish enclaves, whose religion and culture separated them from the coastal English; Moravians and Quakers, whose pacifistic tenets prevented their participation in armed confrontation; Highlanders, who kept to themselves and had, like the Regulators, taken an oath of allegiance to the Crown; blacks and Indians, who had no stake in either outcome and might easily be recruited by the British.[4] The leaders of the provincial congress must have eyed this conglomeration of peoples with some dismay. How would they rally sufficient support from so varied a population to offer resistance on the vast scale required?

Because of the wide spectrum of political beliefs, the leaders in every colony had to grope their way toward consensus. But practice in self-government in the colonies had strengthened independence of mind and action. The French and Indian War had already given the colonies a taste of continental cooperation and a sense of common purpose.[5] In the Carolinas the Regulator controversies had made the inhabitants aware of political issues; the leaders of the opposing factions had been forced to articulate beliefs and principles concerning government and the governed. The colonial assembly had begun to reflect more accurately the people it represented, and its leadership was learning how to channel factional loyalties into support of general objectives. In a word, Americans were becoming politically savvy. This was the situation at the beginning of the American Revolution before any shots had been fired.

It was England's actions that provided the mortar to bind the disparate groups. To retaliate for the Boston Tea Party, Parliament imposed the Coercive Acts—a collection of laws that strengthened parliamentary control over the government of Massachusetts—and by substituting General Gage as governor of the colony as well as commander-in-chief of British forces in America, imposed actual military rule.[6] When British troops finally attacked the very citizens they were there to protect, and more troops from England were sent to control the citizens of other British colonies, the bond was complete. In North Carolina anti-British sentiment was further spread by the Privy Council's disallowance of the establishment of Queen's Museum, a Presbyterian college in Mecklenburg County, and of the bill allowing court attachment of property of defaulting debtors living in England.[7] Despite their differences, colonists found there were common causes around which all could

rally. The opening shots at Lexington and Concord were only the sparks applied to a continental tinderbox. War quickly followed.

Although no major battles were fought on Orange County soil, the inhabitants suffered the usual ills of war: shortages of money, manpower, food, and supplies of all kinds, and the immeasurable toll of worry and heartache. The Loyalists, in addition, suffered confiscation of their property and became refugees in their own country or fled to foreign lands. The soldiers on both sides endured physical hardship, disease, disability, or death. Though spared the carnage of major battles, Orange Countians experienced a series of events that swept them very much into the current of the conflict, for Hillsborough became both a military and political center. The first event that brought Orange County directly into the action was the meeting in Hillsborough of the Third Provincial Congress in 1775. There, too, the General Assembly met in 1778, 1780, and 1782. There Baron DeKalb and his army camped and foraged in 1780, soon followed by General Gates both before and after the disastrous defeat at Camden. There came General Greene to relieve Gates, and there Governor John Rutledge of South Carolina carried on his government in exile. In 1781 General Charles Cornwallis and his army occupied the town for five days, the soldiers paving the intersection of Churton and King streets by day but pillaging by night in the surrounding countryside. Smallpox visited the town that year, no doubt brought by the soldiers. That year and the next brought Colonel David Fanning's raids, including his daring capture of Governor Burke with some of his council. Hart's mill, having been taken over by Cornwallis's forces, was raided by Captain Joseph Graham. This skirmish, another with Tarleton's forces at Clapp's mill on Alamance Creek, the Battle of Lindley's Mill, and Pyle's Hacking Match brought actual fighting into the county. None of it took place in eastern Orange, but the inhabitants could not have known from day to day when a battle might occur in their area. From 1782 to 1784 Hillsborough was the capital of the infant state, at the heart of all the frenetic activity of a government at war. There met the Committee of Safety, and later the Board of War, and late in the war industries were set up there for shoe, paper, and arms manufacture to supply critical needs.[8]

When the delegates to the Third Provincial Congress trooped into the little town of Hillsborough in 1775, they were actively setting out to win the support of the backcountry to the Whig cause. Congress's meeting there emphasized the importance of the region's participation to the Whig cause. Delegations were appointed to meet with the Moravians, former Regulators, and Highlanders with the hope of winning their support, or at the very least, nonintervention. With the first two groups they reported success, though with the Regulators it was only partial, but, as the aftermath showed, they failed completely with the Highlanders. Another result of this Congress was the decision to raise and equip two regiments of provincial troops and six battalions of Minutemen, a kind of home guard, and, to finance this, to print 50,000 pounds in bills of credit. A provincial council was created to carry on the government when the Congress was not in session.[9]

The prelude to the final break with England came at the Provincial Congress in Halifax in April 1776. The representatives instructed the North Carolina delegates to the Continental Congress to concur in a vote for independence, and a committee

was asked to draft a temporary constitution for an independent state. No agreement was reached on a document until the following Provincial Congress in November, again at Halifax. The election of delegates to this meeting became a near riot in Orange County because of the crowds who turned out to vote and their impassioned opinions about the constitution to be written. The first slate of delegates elected was rejected because of irregularities in the election, and a new election was held. The second group of delegates missed all the debate on the state constitution, but they did arrive in time to vote for the adoption of the Bill of Rights and the constitution the following day. Of the five Orange County delegates, one man was elected both times: John Cabe, who owned large tracts of land now in Durham County.[10] Orange County's delegates were instructed to attempt to incorporate certain principles in the document, some of them radical for the time: that power was entirely derived from the people, that there should be no established church and complete freedom of religion, and that no officeholder should be permitted to hold a position in more than one branch of the government. These they achieved, but a final provision, that the new constitution be ratified by the people, failed. The constitution that the delegates adopted tended toward democracy in theory, but in actuality established a landed oligarchy. Throughout, however, it reflected the lessons North Carolina had learned under the royal governors. For all its defects it was to serve the state for sixty years.[11]

The comings and goings of armies and government officials disrupted the accustomed isolation of Orange County during the next six years. At first the traffic on the two or three roads leading to Hillsborough through the eastern section must have been a welcome novelty, but it soon came to herald a most unwelcome and increasing burden. With many men away in the army, keeping the farm going at home and producing enough food to feed the family became a daily task for each inhabitant. When in addition came the burden of feeding masses of troops and the swollen population of Hillsborough, many families must have found themselves frequently close to the sharp edge of hunger. One historian has written of the militia's marches and countermarches that they "had stripped the land as clean as would a plague of locusts."[12] Thomas Burke, a victim of the practice, wrote to General Gates in July 1780, "[I] find it absolutely necessary to stay some time to prevent what remains of my property from falling prey to the wasteful ravages of the Troops in and about this neighborhood. No provision has been made for their reception, and they arrived in circumstances of great distress for want of every species of provision and forrage."[13] It is not surprising, therefore, that Cornwallis, when he returned there later the next year after the Battle of Guilford Courthouse, could not remain long, for the countryside had been stripped bare of supplies. He was forced to move on to a less thoroughly plundered place. His orders, always gentlemanly and gracious in tone, clearly convey what must have been the common behavior of visiting troops whether royal or patriot: "Lord Cornwallis is very sorry to be again obliged to call the attention of the officers of the Army to the repeated orders against plundering."[14] From his headquarters in Hillsborough on 22 February came a similar order: "It is with great concern that Lord Cornwallis hears every day reports of the soldiers being taken by the enemy, in consequence of

their straggling out of camp in search of whiskey."[15] Another fragment of evidence comes from the son of a Revolutionary soldier, Thomas Ross, who related that his father remembered how Cornwallis's soldiers stole the horses from the millboys at the Abercrombie mill on the Eno.[16]

Besides this drain on their supplies, the residents of Orange County felt the war's effects in other ways. New laws, new duties, and new taxes affected them. The preparations for war involved the raising of provincial troops, minutemen, and militia; training of troops with men of all ages made constant use of the muster grounds. Until 1774 tax collection districts corresponded to militia districts and were known by the captains' names. In that year, however, General Butler of the Hillsborough Military District divided the county into sixteen newly drawn districts with their own names. The land now in Durham County became Saint Mary's and Saint Mark's districts, corresponding roughly to the northern and southern sections of the present county.[17] In 1778 Charles Abercrombie was appointed to list the property for taxation in the districts of Saint Mary and Saint Mark.[18] In 1777 the new state levied a property tax of one-half penny on a pound evaluation or twenty-one cents on a hundred dollars evaluation. This tax increased steadily through the war years until by 1781 it had reached twenty dollars on every one hundred dollars evaluation, reflecting the runaway inflation and the devalued currency. The phrase "not worth a continental" was coined at that time, "continental" referring to the paper money issued by the Continental Congress in Philadelphia.[19]

At the August 1777 term of Orange County court, the justices issued notices to all merchants trading with Great Britain or their factors, agents, or storekeepers that they must take an oath of allegiance to the new state. Anyone who refused was required to leave the state within sixty days or go to jail.[20] Prisoners in the county jail for any reason were encouraged to join the Continental Line to gain their freedom. Even loyalists could change their minds and be released to enlist.[21] In 1778 the oath was required of all males sixteen years old and up. William Cain was appointed to administer it in Saint Mary's District, and John Tapley Patterson in Saint Mark's.[22] Many Orange Countians proved to be loyalists, but of those identified none lived in eastern Orange, though some may have owned land there. For example, James Monro, a Scots merchant in Hillsborough, owned a large tract on the Eno River. Monro, however, later changed his mind and returned to Orange County.[23]

All through the war loyalists were leaving and returning to North Carolina and Orange County, trying to save their property from confiscation. Some, however, emigrated to England, some to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Ontario in Canada, and some to the Bahamas, West Indies, or even East Florida.[24] Many Quakers, too, found it expedient to leave. They moved westward not only because of the penalty they paid for pacifism and the distress they endured during both the Regulator and Revolution crises, but also because of chattel slavery, to which they were vehemently opposed, and which promised to remain an integral part of life in North Carolina.[25] The removal of neither the loyalists nor the Quakers, however, had much effect on eastern Orange, for few if any of them had lived there; its residents had always been and continued to be predominantly in the mainstream of North Carolina's evolving culture. Those who refused to fight for whatever reason

were required to pay a threefold tax. In eastern Orange, John Tapley Patterson, John Redman, and John Scarlett paid such a tax.[26]

The position of blacks during the Revolution was ambiguous. Free blacks in North Carolina, for the most part mulattoes, had participated on almost equal terms with whites in the civic life of the colony. They could own land and vote and had been expected to serve in the militia and on the road maintenance crews just as had white men. Consequently, numbers of free blacks bore arms in the Patriot cause. A tally of the army in 1778 showed fifty-eight blacks from North Carolina in the Continental Line.[27] Although these soldiers have not been identified, possibly among them were free blacks from eastern Orange County.

For enslaved blacks, the Revolution offered unparalleled hope and opportunity for freedom. When it became known that any slave joining the British forces would gain his freedom, slaveowners knew they would have to double their vigilance to hang on to their human property. Richard Bennehan, a merchant in eastern Orange, on his departure with the militia wrote to his storekeeper, "It is said negroes have some thoughts of freedom. Pray make Scrub sleep in the house every night and that the overseer keep in Tom."[28]

In addition, the Patriots knew that the British would encourage slave revolts, and that the slaves were quite capable themselves of conspiring violently against their masters to achieve liberation. A third threat to slaveholders and aid to bondsmen was the moral stand adopted by the Quakers against slaveholding: the Yearly Meeting directed its members to free their slaves. Many thousands of slaves did escape to the British, and some slave insurrections were plotted, though none was ultimately successful. Many Quakers did free their slaves, contrary to North Carolina law, which reserved that power to the county courts. As a result, some of the freed slaves were captured and returned to slavery.[29] These internal conflicts compounded the chaotic conditions of the war years.

Though little personal testimony has survived of the war experience of civilians, a great deal is known about that of the military. For example, a letter of Richard Bennehan's expresses the urgency and uncertainty of the unseasoned recruit about to set forth to his first battle. He wrote in February 1776 from Hillsborough to James Martin, the clerk at the Little River store:

> We are this moment going to march & we thought by way of Wake Court House, but when under arms, our Rout was altered & we are going directly among the Scotch men who are embodied in Cumberland County near X Creek [Cross Creek, now Fayetteville] & it is said to the am't of ab't 3,000 men under good officers & regulations.[30]

Bennehan was among the troops led by James Thackston, colonel of the Hillsborough District. Their original orders to join battle with a contingent of loyalists marching toward Wilmington were changed, and they were redirected to Cross Creek where other loyalists were ordered to gather round the Royal standard. Thackston's objective was to prevent the town's becoming a refuge for the first group when they discovered their way to the coast blocked. Bennehan missed fighting in the famous Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge by the change in orders. He ex-

pected a hard battle at Cross Creek, however, from its loyalist defenders, and had made provision for his effects in the event of his death. His letter continued:

> My friend James, should anything prevent my ever returning, my will and all my cash, papers, etc. are in my Little Blue Trunk standing on the chest of drawers. Mr. Johnston, who is now in his bed very sick, begs your care and attention to his mill dam and everything about his plantation.[31]

The raising of six continental regiments, provided for by the provincial Congress of April 1776, was needed because militiamen could not be counted on for long terms of service (the usual militia tour was three months), and militiamen lacked the training and discipline of regular troops.[32] Continental enlistments were for two and a half years. Each regiment was to have 728 men divided into eight companies, each company with a "captain, two lieutenants, one ensign, four sergeants, four corporals, two drummers or fifers, and seventy-six privates." Each man's pay (one shilling a day for provisions, an advance of three pounds, and an enlistment bounty of forty shillings) was to be docked ten shillings to cover the cost of his uniform. What his rations should be was also stipulated by the Congress, but reality must quickly have altered regulations.[33] As inflation grew rampant and supplies quickly dwindled, the army was lucky to have anything at all. Throughout the war shoes were particularly hard to come by and quickly worn out, hence the army's takeover of a shoe factory in Hillsborough and the exemption of cobblers from the military draft to keep them at work. The Provincial Congress established a quota of supplies that each county was to furnish the troops. Orange County was to provide "73 hats, 306 yards of linen, 146 yards of wool, 146 pairs of shoes, and 146 pairs of stockings."[34]

Although militiamen were considered inferior fighters to the Continental troops, they took part in every engagement and often fought valiantly. The Third Provincial Congress in Hillsborough reorganized the militia when they set up six military districts in the colony. Each county was to form five divisions from its population of men aged sixteen to sixty—four of regular companies of no fewer than fifty men, and a fifth of aged or infirm men. Instead of the old system of mustering once or twice a year, they were to muster every month and to be fined ten shillings for absences. The rank and file were to receive two shillings and sixpence a day in actual service, an amount later raised to eight shillings. The rank and file and noncommissioned officers were also to receive a $20 bounty at the time of enlistment.[35]

No list has been compiled of soldiers in the Revolution from the area that became Durham County. Though an incomplete list has been attempted for Orange, it is not possible to know in every instance which men actually lived in eastern Orange. A tentative list would include the following: Robert Ashly, Richard Bennehan, Jacob Bledsoe, Lewis Bledsoe, George Carrington, James Carrington, Benjamin Carroll, John Daniel, Lewis Deshong, William Dilliard, James Dollar, Jonathan Dollar, William Dollar, Hardeman Duke, William Duke, Edward Ferrell, Davis Gresham, John Harris, Benjamin Herndon, James Herndon, Zack Herndon, Isaac Hicks, William Hodges, William Hopkins, George Horner, Thomas Horner, Moses Leathers, John McFarling, Thomas Marcum, William Ray, Jesse Rigsbee, John Rhodes, William

Rhodes, Elisha Roberts, Thomas Ross, Thomas Scarlett, John Sherron, Lazarus Tilley, and John Woods.[36]

Veterans who applied for pensions from the United States government were required to prove their service by discharges, or, lacking such, by a detailed statement of their participation. If their widows or children applied in their names, much genealogical information also got into their records. A brief summary of the typical service of the Orange County soldier may be found in the narratives of four young men of eastern Orange. Moses Leathers, who lived in the Eno River area, enlisted in the Sixth Regiment of the Continental Line under Captain Archibald Lytle and Colonel Gideon Lamb. Leathers fought at the battles of Brandywine and Germantown. When Leathers's two-and-a-half-year term of service was up, he was discharged at King's Ferry on the North River in New York and made his way home. He next volunteered in the militia and fought in the disastrous Battle of Camden under General Gates.[37] Like Leathers, William and Hardeman Duke of the Flat River area enlisted in the Continental Line under Captain Lytle and were marched to Wilmington and thence to Charleston, where William well remembered bathing in the sea, no doubt a novelty to a backcountry youth. After a furlough at home, both went to Valley Forge with Washington, where they were inoculated against smallpox. Convalescence from the mild case of the disease that inoculation produced prevented their leaving Valley Forge with Washington, but they later rejoined his army in New York and fought in the Battle of White Plains. They too were discharged on the North River in 1778.[38]

George Carrington had a somewhat different series of experiences. A native of the Flat River area, he enlisted as a substitute for Solomon Mangum under his brother Captain James Carrington and was put in charge of a battle wagon. The driver was Elisha Roberts, a boy whom George's father, John Carrington, had raised. While the wagons and wagoners remained safely behind the lines, James Carrington and his soldiers fought in the Battle of Stono Ferry. George's next tour of duty, again with his brother James, found him at the siege of Charleston, where he was taken prisoner. He was soon paroled, returned home, and shortly after volunteered to fight the Tories in a light horse company under Captain John McFarling (McFarland), a friend from his childhood in the Flat River area. They marched to the Haw River and patrolled its banks looking for Tories. They fought under Colonel Robert Mebane in the Battle of Lindley's Mill against four or five hundred Tories, where in George Carrington's words, "we had a hard fight & gave them a good beating though our number was much smaller than theirs." Recruited by McFarling yet again, they had ridden only as far as William Cain's when the company was disbanded as too few to fight the Tories.[39] As George Carrington's account makes clear, anyone who wished not to fight could hire a substitute to go in his stead. Thomas Ross was Fred Geer's substitute and fought at the siege of Savannah. Richard Bennehan, too, later in the war hired Ezekiel Kinchey to serve for him in the "state legion."[40]

Independence was gained at great cost. The Revolutionary War left in its wake economic, physical, and emotional exhaustion. The very nature of the conflict—a civil war—had increased the last component significantly. With neighbor against

neighbor, even brother against brother, the intricate social fabric was violently torn apart. The loyalists either were forced to leave their homes and property to begin lives all over again in a strange place or stayed and took the consequences, often personal attack and the destruction of property by their own militiamen. Hundreds of refugees were set adrift by the armies of the Americans or British as they alternated possession of the terrain. On all sides families lost fathers, sons, or brothers who had been their sole economic support. Hundreds of thousands of acres changed ownership, and new settlers came to replace those who left. The heirs of Lord Granville were the heaviest losers of land. They lost the entire Granville District, almost half of North Carolina, when it was confiscated by the state. Later long-drawn-out lawsuits to gain compensation proved futile. British merchants, too, lost heavily, for American debts were for the most part uncollectable as states refused to pay. Ultimately merchants had to seek compensation from the British government. Like white Americans, thousands of slaves gained freedom, and free Americans of both races, now reborn as citizens of a new nation, were gaining a sense of national pride in a fusing of interests with other ex-colonists in a novel and common endeavor—building a nation.

4

Eighteenth-Century Orange County, 1752–1800

LAYING THE FOUNDATIONS

In the meantime the settlers had been laying the foundations of a society that was beginning to assume its own character and strength. They had already built homesteads, mills, and churches, and through their institutions, traditions, and intermarriages had begun to develop a social structure that survives to this day.

In 1761 Governor Dobbs stated that immigration into the colony had completely ceased during the previous seven years, an effect of the French and Indian and Cherokee wars. What growth had occurred, and it was considerable, was due, he said, to natural increase.[1] Though immigration had undoubtedly been much reduced, Dobbs's view of the matter was not entirely accurate. Not a few land grants were issued by Henry McCulloh in the years 1758, 1759, and 1760, of which the largest number were around the headwaters of the Neuse—undoubtedly because this, his most eastern tract, was well away from the area of Indian attacks.[2] Population figures for Orange County in 1766, moreover, show a large increase over the figures from the first tax list of the county: whites numbered 3,324, blacks and mulattoes, 649.[3] Astonishment at the growth of population in the Carolina backcountry was expressed as far away as Connecticut, where a newspaper reported in 1767, "There is scarce any history . . . which affords an account of such rapid and sudden increase of inhabitants in a back frontier country, as that of North Carolina. To justify the truth of this observation, we need only to inform our readers, that twenty years ago there were not twenty taxable persons within the above mentioned County of Orange; in which there are now four thousand taxables."[4] Orange County was the most populous in the colony. Another impediment to immigration had been the closing of Lord Granville's land office between 1766 and 1773.[5] Though settlers were unable to get title to Granville lands during those years, they nevertheless continued to arrive and settle, buying land from earlier grantees or waiting to obtain title when the office reopened. When the Revolution began and the new state took

over the granting of land in the former royal colony as well as in the confiscated Granville District, a tremendous backlog of land transactions to record and a huge number of new entries to grant resulted in the state's doing quite literally a land-office business.

Who were the newcomers to eastern Orange and whence had they come? From histories of some of the families, from the names they bore, and from public documents it seems clear that the largest number of them came from Virginia, where they had been established a generation or more, though some few did come from colonies farther north. By tradition the Bowlings, Cains, Hopkinses, and Suitts are said to have come from Maryland; the Allens, Cabes (McCabes), and Umsteads from Pennsylvania. The Umsteads, Foglemans, and Links were some of very few originally German families to settle in eastern Orange, although large numbers settled in the Haw River valley and westward on the land now found in Rowan, Davidson, Mecklenburg, and Cabarrus counties. From over the border in Halifax County, Virginia, came the Carringtons, Kennons, Links, and Lipscombs, while from Goochland Parish came the Bilboas (originally a Huguenot family), Couches, Dukes, Harrises, Holloways, Trices, Parrishes, and Masseys. From Bristol Parish came the Dezerns (another Huguenot family), Morelands, and Vaughans. From Middlesex County came the Barbees (who had arrived in the first wave of immigration), Markhams, Morgans, Rhodeses (likewise early arrivals), Ferrells, Greshams, Guesses, Nicholses, Shepherds, and Worthams. From Caroline County came the Herndons, Leighs, Mays, and Pattersons. The Glenns came from Louisa County. The Valley of Virginia counties of Augusta and Rockbridge supplied the Shieldses, McCowns, and Lynns. Though previously in Sussex County, Virginia, the Mangums drifted into Orange from Warren County, North Carolina; the Alstons came from Halifax County and the Colcloughs from Granville County, North Carolina. The latter had been previously in Stafford County, Virginia. The Rogerses came from New Hanover County, Virginia, but they had earlier been in Rhode Island. The Tilleys, Shieldses, and McCowns had come from Ireland to Virginia and the Turrentines from Italy to Ireland before arriving in North Carolina.[6] While the population in eastern Orange County remained, therefore, predominantly English, there was beginning to be more of a mix with a larger element of Scotch-Irish.

A case has been made that the northern part of Durham County was settled by a more affluent population than the southern part, a conclusion based on a comparison of the 1790 tax districts of Saint Mary's and Saint Mark's.[7] A closer look at these lists, however, does not support such a conclusion. To begin with, because the area and population of Saint Mary's were much larger than Saint Mark's, a comparison of the raw figures is meaningless. Saint Mary's contained 237 white taxables, of whom 173 owned land totaling 61,619 acres; Saint Mark's contained 138 white taxables of whom 92 owned land totaling 39,965 acres. The average acreage per landowner was 356.2 acres in Saint Mary's but 434 acres in Saint Mark's. Further, a count of the taxable slaveowners shows that 48 percent of taxed whites owned slaves in Saint Mark's District, compared to only 33 percent in Saint Mary's. Examined another way, 8 percent of landowners in Saint Mark's (seven men) owned 1,000 or more acres, while in Saint Mary's only 6 percent (ten men) owned that much. What is

a clear difference between the districts is that Saint Mary's contained John Carrington, Jr., Richard Bennehan, and William Cain, who owned far more than the average number of both acres and slaves. The presence of these men brings up the averages in Saint Mary's District considerably, presenting a distorted picture. Probably a fair description would be that the yeomen in Saint Mark's District were a more homogeneously prosperous group than that in Saint Mary's, while the group in Saint Mary's included both a few very wealthy men and a larger proportion of landless men (37 percent) than Saint Mark's (33 percent).[8]

Another difference between the districts lay in their geography. The three rivers, Eno, Little, and Flat, with their fertile valleys and well-drained ridges, made Saint Mary's land suitable for a variety of agricultural uses. Saint Mark's, on the other hand, lay almost entirely in the Triassic Basin where drainage was poor; and though New Hope Creek and its tributaries supplied large quantities of rich bottom land, some of it was so low and of such soil as to be wet, even swampy, much of the time, and thus not truly arable. In addition, farmers involved in the production of staples for the market economy required access to commodity markets. The distribution of roads favored Saint Mary's, with its main artery to Virginia and network of local cart roads on the dry ridges. On the other hand the terrain worked to Saint Mark's disadvantage and made all its roads impassable much of the time. The geographical advantages of Saint Mary's probably account for the development there of the large-scale farming and notable prosperity of the larger planters.

Before leaving the comparison of populations, a look at the settlers in the areas of Wake County that later became Durham County might be instructive. Though it is impossible to find tax lists exactly congruous with the acreage of Cedar Fork, Oak Grove, and Carr townships (the areas taken from Wake County to help form Durham), tax lists approximating those areas of western Wake suggest the population makeup. The districts of Captains William Warren, Thomas King, and John Barbee in 1793 show combined totals of 247 white taxables, of whom 202 were landowners with a total of 72,500 acres. These numbers give an average of 359 acres per landowner. Thirty-eight percent of them owned slaves. Six percent of them (twelve men) owned over 1,000 acres.[9] Thus the population as regards land- and slaveholding was very much in line with the adjoining districts of then Orange County.

While waves of new settlers moved into Orange County, another, smaller stream moved out. During and after the Revolution emigration was noticeably heavy, either to South Carolina and Georgia or west to Tennessee and beyond. The Greene County, Georgia, deeds, for example, show familiar Orange County names: Abercrombies, Booths, Cains, Peelors, Trices, and Greshams. Often it was the younger or landless branches of families who moved, hoping for better opportunities in a new frontier. Another reason for emigration was the availability of military bounty land in Tennessee for those who served in the Revolution or for those who bought bounties from veterans. Still another element that moved on was made up of debtors fleeing the arm of the law, chronic drunkards or generally shiftless men, or even petty criminals who knew how to take advantage of a frontier society.[10] As Simon Suggs said, "It is good to be shifty in a new country."

Hardiness of muscle and spirit was required of those who undertook the ardu-

ous and risky move into a wilderness or frontier; they were forced to leave behind most of what they owned and bank on health and luck to carry them through the long journey on rugged roads to a new and untested environment, there to reestablish themselves quickly enough to get a crop in the ground and a shelter over their heads before another winter rolled around. One family's move is described by William Few, brother of the Regulator:

> My father . . . purchased lands on the banks of the river Eno, in the county of Orange. Those lands were in their natural state. Not a tree had been cut. The country was thinly inhabited, and the state of society was in the first stage of civilization. My father employed a man to build a house on his lands, and returned to remove his family. After selling his lands in Maryland and such of his goods and chattels as were not moveable, the remainder were placed in a wagon drawn by four horses and in a cart drawn by two horses. In the autumn of 1758 he set out for North Carolina with all his family and property. There a new scene opened to us. We found a mild and healthy climate and fertile lands, but our establishment was in the woods and our first employment was to cut down the timber and prepare the land for cultivation. My father had taken with him only four servants, who were set to work, and every exertion was made to prepare for the ensuing crop.[11]

As Few's narrative makes plain, getting a crop planted was vital to the newcomer's survival. Clearing a field for it was backbreaking work, first felling trees and then burning off the land, and finally breaking up the sod. If a farmer had sufficient cleared land to plant a staple, he chose wheat or tobacco, usually not both. Tobacco was grown only by those farmers with many hands to help, for it was a labor-intensive crop. Since wheat was bulky, it was usually ground into flour before being marketed. With the money from a staple, a farmer could obtain items that he could not supply himself, such as coffee, sugar, and rum. Almost every farmer had swine; they ran free in the woods foraging for themselves. Only crops were enclosed. If swine were to be sold at market, they were trotted there on the hoof, even as far as Petersburg and northward. Animal herds were usually small by necessity; comparatively little cleared land was available for pasture in the early days.[12]

Folk housing—utilitarian, unself-conscious, the kind most settlers lived in—took two forms in eastern Carolina and the Piedmont. Both were one-room structures with lofts above. One form was of sawn lumber usually constructed sixteen by sixteen feet, the other of logs, sixteen by twenty-four feet. Log houses were a part of Scandinavian and German tradition which the Scotch-Irish were quick to adopt when they met with it in Pennsylvania or the other middle colonies. The English adhered to their own tradition.[13] As the first settlers were predominantly English in eastern Orange, the prevalent form of housing was probably the square, sawn variety. Possibly the oldest of the few structures that survive from the later eighteenth century is the Horton cottage at Stagville. Believed to date from about the 1770s, it is built of pit-sawn boards, two to three inches thick and ten inches wide, dovetailed at the corners. Extremely wide pine boards sheathe the inside walls and weatherboarding, the outside. The engaged front porch shows a coastal influence;

Piedmont houses usually had no porches at that time. The ceiling beams in its original one room, sixteen by sixteen feet, are beaded, a refinement not typical of the average yeoman farmer's dwelling. The cottage, which originally stood in another location on the same tract, was moved to its present site in front of a row of slave houses at Horton Grove for use as an overseer's house when the Cameron family was developing Horton Grove slave quarters in the mid-nineteenth century.

Although probably more substantial than average, the Horton cottage is not the finest type of eighteenth-century structure to survive in Durham County; the William Cain house, Hardscrabble, can claim that distinction. A large, double house, both sections dating from the eighteenth century, it stands high on a hillside on the old Trading Path, or Hillsborough to Oxford road. The front section, 28 by 42 feet, contains heavy Georgian paneling and mantels throughout the six rooms, plastered and ceiled above the wainscoting. The back section of four rooms, slightly smaller with lighter Federal-style decoration, contains, nevertheless, structural details that suggest an earlier date than the front. Evidence exists that at least one of the sections (and perhaps both) was built by Samuel Hopkins and Martin Palmer in 1790.[14]

Somewhere between the grandeur of the Cains and the modest but refined simplicity of the Hortons stands the Richard Bennehan plantation house at Stagville. The smaller wing, approximately twenty-five feet square, was built in the late 1780s, probably just after the building of the Stagville store in 1787. One large room with a shedroom behind it and a loft above made up the original structure. Again Georgian paneling below the chair rails and plastered walls and ceilings above show simple but fine construction. In 1799 a larger section was added consisting of one large room and a broad hall with staircase downstairs, and a large and a small bedroom upstairs. Only slightly more ornate than the original section, the height and lines of the addition give dignity to the house to match the standing of its owner.

One other eighteenth-century house, which stood until the 1970s, should be remembered for its rarity among dwellings of its time in Orange County—Tyree Harris's brick house. Probably built in the 1760s, it was about twenty feet square, of half-timbered construction with the exception of the rear, chimney wall, which was entirely of brick; within, it had one room downstairs and one upstairs, though it later acquired an addition. Bennehan bought the brick house from Harris in 1776 and moved there with his bride after adding some outbuildings and repairing others, but he made no alterations in the house. He called the place Mount Union because of its location at the confluence of the Eno and Flat rivers.[15]

Though most early houses have disappeared, estate records reveal their contents, reflections of the life lived in them. When a man died, if he had left no will, his administrator was required to give the court an inventory of his possessions, which were then sold at auction by the sheriff and the proceeds distributed among the heirs. Slaves were sold along with other possessions, but land was divided, if possible, among the heirs without a sale. The estate inventory of Joseph Bohannon of Saint Mark's District is typically modest, showing only the bare essentials for his own and his wife's needs. He owned no land, possibly because he was a young man just starting out in life, but possibly also because he practiced a craft—joinery.

Besides his joiner's tools his possessions included three "horse kind," three saddles (one a woman's), a slave boy named Denby who probably worked alongside his master at his craft, 136 feet of black walnut plank (his raw materials), and half interest in a whipsaw (an important tool of his trade) with John Patterson, probably his partner. Inside his house Bohannon had a walnut chest, a table, and a bedstead with feather bed and bedclothes. No children or relatives shared his home, but he did have a wife. The objects she worked with were listed as his: a loom, a linen wheel and slay, two iron pots, a frying pan, four dishes, six plates, six spoons, two earthen plates, one punch bowl, one teacup, one tin cup, two forks, two basins, some pewter, and a box iron and heater. He and his wife, Patty, also kept some livestock to supply their needs: eight geese, thirteen head of cattle, and eight head of hogs. Besides these, Bohannon owned a Bible and two razors.[16]

In contrast to this modest estate is that of Patrick Boggan, the innkeeper on the Trading Path, who died in 1757.[17] He ran a farm as well as a hostel, and both occupations are reflected in his inventory. For his farm he had seven horses, twenty head of cattle, two hogs, ten sheep and three lambs (for their wool and mutton), one wagon and gear, one plow with plow irons, four broad hoes, two mattocks, an axe, a pair of hand millstones, one grindstone, three sickles, and a branding iron. His farming comprised both livestock and crops, one of which was probably flax, for he owned a flax wheel, two hackles, a chuck reel, and a set of spools for linen and woolen spinning and weaving. The quantity of his household possessions reflects accommodations for transient guests: five bedsteads, "three feather beds and furniture," two tables, two tablecloths, two walnut benches, five chairs, a chest, three iron pots, a brass kettle, a tea kettle, a set of tea ware, twelve plates, nine trenchers, twelve spoons, nine knives, seven forks, four mugs, six dishes, six basins, two wooden platters, a butter pot, a churn, a stool, two hand towels, a case of bottles, two candlesticks, two chamber pots, a box iron, and many other miscellaneous items. The listing of six "broak" horses suggests they too may have been part of his equipment as an innkeeper, spare horses to ride or to pull a vehicle when needed. He also had four saddles.

A few possessions related to his tavern: five barrels, three hogsheads, two pails, five noggins, two piggins, seven bottles, a funnel, five kegs, a bung borer, brass scales and weights, a pair of money scales, and a tickler, a tool for extracting bungs from casks. Even his clothes were not exempt from the auction block: two coats, three jackets, a great coat, two pairs of breeches, a pair of trousers, three pairs of stockings, a pair of shoes, a pair of garters, four shirts, and a hat. A pair of spectacles and a Bible completed Boggan's worldly goods.

MILLS

Grist- and sawmills were vital industrial components of the eighteenth-century agricultural economy. They supplied the farmer with cornmeal for his daily bread and lumber for his farm buildings; they made possible his participation in the market economy with his corn, wheat, and lumber. A settler with more resources than average was quick to request permission to build a merchant or public mill if his land

offered a good mill seat. Anyone could build his own mill on his own land, but if he hoped to serve the neighborhood commercially, he was required to get the court's approval.

Michael Synnott's mill on the Eno River, constructed even before he received the grant of land it stood on in 1752, was the first on record in Orange County and was located a short distance upstream from the now reconstructed West Point Mill.[18] Synnott was the kind of man about whom legends develop. One longtime resident of the area, himself a miller, related that Synnott "got drownded. He was a bachelor and he kept all his change in the mill. He had ½ a pot of gold and silver. The water rose up and carried him in and tumbled the mill into the deep hole. More people been diving to get that pot of gold. They say they've never found a bottom, the water's so deep."[19]

In 1778 Charles Abercrombie and William Thetford applied for a license to build a mill at Shoemaker's Ford, exhibiting a petition from the neighborhood for the mill. The court required an investigation to see whether the millpond would "overflow the Mill of any other person," surely an oblique reference to Synnott's mill a short distance upstream.[20] At the end of the eighteenth century George Carrington, the Revolutionary War veteran, owned Abercrombie's mill. It was possibly Carrington who built the house that stood until recently on the knoll east of the mill and whose Flemish bond chimney has been saved. Huge stone boulders formed the cellar and foundation of the two-story house. Much later the addition of a back wing and Victorian roof and porches so disguised the age of the house that it was unwittingly demolished in the 1970s.

A mill's location was an integral factor in its success or failure. It required first of all a site where bedrock could offer a secure footing for the mill foundation, preferably sufficiently high above the stream to escape the worst of the sudden flooding in Piedmont streams. Next it needed a site within a burgeoning farm population accessible by roads on both banks of the stream and by a good ford so that farmers could reach it from both sides. Abercrombie's mill had an optimal site. It began with an excellent ford and soon had roads approaching it on both the north and south banks. In 1786 the court ordered a new road laid out from Abercrombie's mill to Hillsborough, supplying it with yet another large area of potential custom.[21] The lack of a ford and main roads leading to it probably accounted for the Synnott mill's short life, while Abercrombie's continued uninterrupted under different names and ownerships into the twentieth century.

Many other mills were built in eastern Orange on all three rivers and some of the larger streams. Just before his death in 1785, William Johnston had one built on Little River at Snow Hill plantation by George Elliot and Joseph Brittain. George Newton obtained permission in 1777 to build a mill on the south fork of Little River, a location that later became well known under the name of South Lowell Mills.[22] Other mills were James Vaughan's on Dial Creek in the Flat River area (1780), Samuel Daniel's on New Hope Creek (1783), Isaac Hicks's mill on Eno (1791), William Cain's on Little River (before 1795), and George Herndon's, date and site unknown.[23] Vaughan's was probably on the site later known as Nathaniel Harris's mill where Dial Creek ran into Flat River, now covered by Lake Michie. After having

reversed itself twice on Hicks's petition, the county court granted him permission for a public mill. In 1793 Hicks sold his tract presumably with a mill to John Kennon, who three years later sold it to Charles Kennon. In 1806 it was bought by Richard Bennehan and remained in that family throughout the rest of its existence, last known as Red Mill.[24] Cain's mill remained in that family until Thomas R. Cain sold it to his partner Samuel H. Johnson, who continued to run it until 1908. Along with many other mills on all the rivers, it was destroyed by an unusually severe rain storm and the consequent flooding.[25] Johnson Mill Road preserves the memory of the mill and its location, just downstream from the bridge over Little River. Herndon's mill is known from his will, probated in 1796, by which he left to his wife five hundred acres and a gristmill, probably on Northeast Creek.[26]

Unknown are two mills shown on the Collet map of 1770: Gibbs mill on Flat River and Wads mill on Little River.[27] Gibbs mill was probably the forerunner of Crabtree's mill, for "Gibb" could have been the mapmaker's misnomer for "Gibson," the owner of the tract where Crabtree's mill was later located. Wads mill probably represents a misspelling of the name Wade. Land on Mountain Creek and Little River containing a gristmill was sold to settle John Wade's estate.[28] Clues to still other mills are found in stream names mentioned in land records.[29] These may all have been small, private mills which could be built on creeks whose small and variable flow would suffice for the needs of one family. Public mills collected a toll for their services, an amount regulated by law, and often produced handsome profits for their owners. The laws of 1715 stipulated a miller's toll as one-eighth of the total of ground wheat and one-sixth of ground corn.[30]

Mills played more than an industrial and economic role in the building of that early society. They played a social role as well, offering isolated families a place to meet their neighbors and to exchange news, opinions, encouragement, and information, and where they could hear the harangues of county politicians and list their taxables with the sheriff's constables. The millpond offered a swimming and fishing hole to the men and boys, and the thunder of the intricate machinery and glorious rush of water over the wheel added wonder and pleasure to their flat, work-ridden lives. In later decades, as mechanical improvements occurred and the functions of the mills multiplied, they would assume an ever-growing importance in the settlers' lives.

CHURCHES

Also performing the function of community centers, though in a more restricted way, were the churches. Few churches or meetinghouses, as they were more usually called, existed in present Durham County in the eighteenth century. Members of the Church of England, the established church in North Carolina, were supplied with churches by the Colonial government. The first Orange County church was at Hillsborough at least by 1764, and soon two chapels were built, one to the north and the other to the south of it, missing by only a few miles becoming part of Durham County's history.[31] Anglicans in eastern Orange could take their pick of these. Those of dissenting beliefs, who carried their religion as part of their baggage, were

quick to establish religious groups in the neighborhoods they settled. Since eastern Orange lacked both Scotch-Irish and German settlements, it had no early dissenter congregations such as Eno and New Hope Presbyterian churches in present Orange County. The Separatist Baptists, too, established churches in the 1750s, but though Shubal Stearns made hundreds of converts in Randolph County and adjacent areas, his influence did not extend to eastern Orange. After the Revolution, when dissenting groups at last formed churches in present Durham County, they first built brush arbors of boughs supported by poles, and afterward rough buildings of frame or logs dignified by the name of meetinghouses. No regular preachers cared for these congregations; they managed the services themselves with occasional visits from itinerant preachers. The need to be their own teachers and preachers as well as jacks of all trades developed in these early settlers an independence of mind that tended to reject authority and hierarchy in church matters even if they had not already been indoctrinated by dissenting beliefs before their arrival in the backcountry. It is not surprising, therefore, that so many were attracted to the Baptist fold, or to the more regulated but equally plainspoken and self-reliant Presbyterian and Methodist persuasions—the three denominations with the most members in Durham County today—when their accustomed Anglican services were no longer supplied. Durham County can, however, claim one eighteenth-century Anglican structure—its existence inferred from the slimmest of evidence—a private chapel built by William Johnston on his home tract near the graves of his wife and their five small children.[32]

The vacuum left by the demise of the Church of England during the Revolution began to be filled by itinerant preachers of the Methodists and Baptists who came in the middle 1770s. Francis Asbury, the most famous, first came to North Carolina in 1780. On that visit he preached at Hillsborough in William Courtney's tavern to about two hundred people, whom he described as decent and well behaved. Of his mission he wrote, "Hitherto the Lord has helped me through continual fatigue and rough roads, little rest for man or horse, but souls are perishing—time is flying—and eternity comes nearer every hour."[33] This sense of urgency kept him on the road over forty-five years, traveling 270,000 miles and preaching 16,425 sermons. Also on his first visit he preached at Neuse preaching house in present Durham County, where four hundred people gathered to hear him. He recorded that "these people have had an abundance of preaching from the Baptists and Methodists, till they are hardened."[34] From names recorded by Asbury the meetinghouse can be generally located in the Fish Dam Ford District of then Wake County. It very possibly evolved into Kimbrough's meetinghouse, which some thirty years later was in the same neighborhood.[35] Another eastern Orange meetinghouse may have been established shortly after Asbury's visit. In 1781 James Trice of St. Mark's District left property in his will to be converted to cash "to the use of Bilding of a meeting house in this neighborhood where my Executors shall think most convenient for the use of the Publick."[36] A third eighteenth-century meetinghouse was built on the land of Richard Rhodes, who in 1794 gave for the purpose two acres in what is today Bragtown. When he sold his tract to Abraham Anderson, he reserved the acreage for the meetinghouse, and when Anderson sold the same tract he excepted "two Acres

for the use of the Congregation and place of publick worship by the name of the Eno Meeting house."[37] The congregation soon after allied itself with the Primitive Baptists. The third building of this congregation still stands on the same two acres that Rhodes originally deeded.[38]

One other church still active in Durham County had its roots in the eighteenth century—Mount Bethel United Methodist Church in Bahama. Traditionally, Nathaniel Harris has been credited with its founding in 1750.[39] Actually, Nathaniel Harris did not come to Orange County until the late 1750s and died in 1775, while no evidence for a meetinghouse in that area can be found until the 1780s. A long deposition of James Walker, Jr., concerning a disputed boundary line, discloses the origins of Mount Bethel Church. It was Archer Harris, the son of Nathaniel, who is there credited with the establishment of a meetinghouse. Walker said that the Methodist itinerant preachers came to their neighborhood in 1780, and that Archer Harris was converted and became a lay preacher. Walker further said that when Stephen Wilson bought Charles Carroll's land in 1784, "the Methodists had a Meetinghouse on the land, and moved the Meetinghouse" with Wilson's consent to the land of James Walker, Sr.[40] Thus the meetinghouse was built sometime between 1780 and 1784. In 1812 Archer Harris gave two acres of land to John Wilson, John McFarling, and Nathaniel Harris (his son), "trustees of a meeting house standing at the Cross Roads between the Harris's and John McFarlings . . . for the only proper use and benefit of a meeting house."[41] Five or six years later the congregation was incorporated into the Methodist Church and assigned to the Granville circuit. The church was long called Crossroads Meetinghouse because of its location at the junction of the roads from Raleigh to Roxboro and Oxford to Hillsborough. Now called Mount Bethel, the present edifice, the sixth, stands at the same intersection but on a different corner, separated from its graveyard.[42]

Unlike early churches, early schools have left no traces in the records. Life was so demanding of time and energy in the early years that none were left over to give to educating children. Self-sufficient as the settlers were in every other respect, home schooling was probably the prevailing system, if any attention at all was given the matter. The first kind of organized school to develop in rural areas was the "old field" or subscription school. A group of neighbors would band together to hire a teacher for their children, one of them donating for use as a schoolroom an old structure in an abandoned field. They shared the cost of the teacher's salary, a very small sum, for a three- or four-month course of lessons, usually held during the season of the year when farm work was least demanding and the children's help most easily spared. Though a simple enough solution in principle, its practical application could often be difficult; the farmers lived so far apart that a group of children within walking distance of one another was not easy to find. Not a few such schools were organized, nonetheless, and William Few described one that he attended in Orange County just over the present Durham-Orange line.

> In the year 1760 a schoolmaster appeared and offered his services to teach the children of the neighborhood for twenty shillings each per year. He was employed, and about thirty scholars were collected and placed under his tuition;

in the number I was enrolled. . . . This schoolmaster was a man of a mild and amiable disposition. He governed his little school with judgment and propriety, wisely distinguishing the obedient, timid child from the obstinate and contumacious; judiciously applying the rod when necessary. He possessed the art of making his pupils fear, love, and esteem him. At this school I spent one of the most happy years of my life.[43]

SLAVERY

Chattel slavery, which developed along with agriculture, had become entrenched in the lives of these settlers by the end of the eighteenth century. In 1665 the law allowed fifty acres of land to each settler for each slave that he brought into the colony, thus encouraging the ownership and importation of slaves.[44] The exhausting work of clearing the wilderness for planting could hardly have been done without slave labor. In the Piedmont, settled late by yeoman farmers rather than planters committed to large-scale commercial farming, the slave population grew more slowly than in the coastal plain. Nevertheless black population growth far exceeded white in eighteenth-century Orange County. The 1755 tax list shows that blacks then made up a very small proportion of the total population, perhaps under 5 percent.[45] The population figures of the 1790 census show two thousand slaves to some ten thousand whites, and the 1800 figures show 3,327 slaves to 12,222 whites, yielding black percentages of the total population of 21 percent and 27 percent respectively.[46]

Laws concerning slaves—restricting their activities, mobility, and legal rights; giving masters complete control over their persons, while at the same time prohibiting inhumane treatment, maiming, or killing—were changed from time to time as the institution became ingrained in the society and as social attitudes toward slavery solidified. There was nothing static in the relationship of the colonists and their slaves, and the customs and circumscriptions associated with the antebellum period, the last phase of the institution, did not come into being all at once.[47] They took decades to evolve and were influenced by events, movements, and practices in the country at large—for example, the system of indentured servants so prevalent in early colonization efforts, religious opposition to slavery among certain sects, the Revolution and its potent ideas of inalienable individual rights, technological improvements in cotton culture, the closing of the slave trade, the emancipation and abolition movements, slave revolts, and the South's nearly complete economic dependence on agriculture.

The regimen under which slaves lived is generally known. They worked from dawn to dusk six days a week, were permitted off the plantations only with passes, and could not hold unauthorized meetings, carry or possess arms, or engage in commerce with whites. Their quarters were routinely inspected by patrollers appointed by the court (these were the hated "pattyrollers" of the slave narratives), who searched for stolen goods or secreted weapons and made sure the curfew was enforced. Slaves could be hired out if they were not needed as servants or field