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Tributaries

A Publication
of the North
Carolina Maritime
History Council
www.ncmaritimehistory.org

October 2008
Number 15

The First Planned Town in America:
The Citte of Ralegh

"Our Captain Quinn":
North Carolina's Benedict Arnold?

Developing a Public Health Policy in Early North Carolina:
The Example of Wilmington

A Quiet Corner of America's Past:
The Bodie Island Baseline
A Marker from the United States Coast Survey, 1848

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Harry S. Warren

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Brian Edwards

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About

The Maritime History Council

What is North Carolina's maritime history? It's dugout canoes, pirate ships, southern ironclads, and British blockade runners. Ships of exploration, vessels for victory, and countless craft of every description tie the Tar Heel State to the world's waterways.

The North Carolina Maritime History Council brings together all the elements that comprise our nautical heritage. It is a rich heritage, one that tells tales of high drama and unfortunate tragedy. Often one finds the state's economic and social development to be synonymous with its relation to the creeks, rivers, and sea. The production of tar, pitch, and turpentine, for instance, kept fleets afloat while providing a livelihood for innumerable North Carolinians for almost two hundred years. It is, in fact, why we are called Tar Heels.

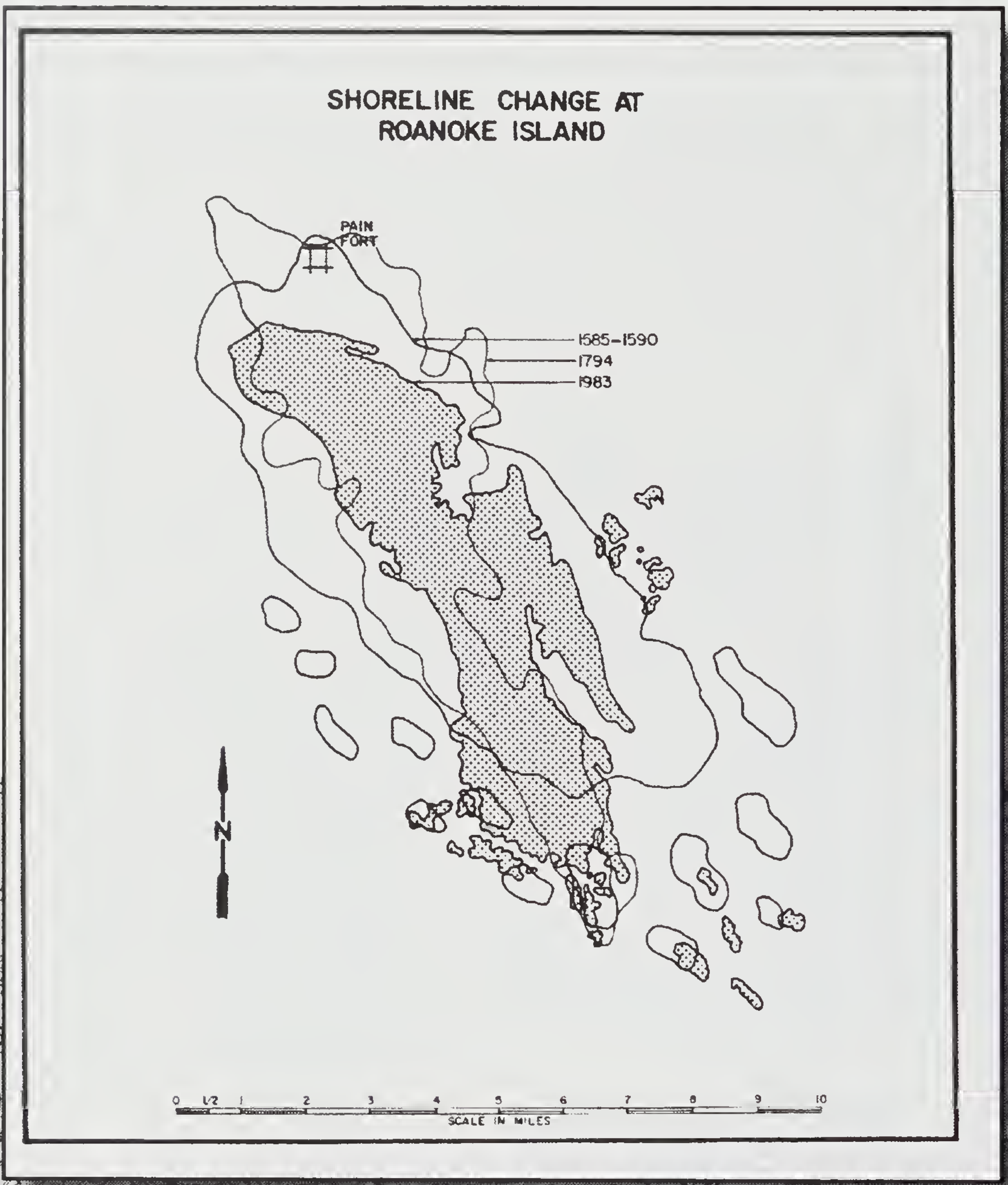
The passion for maritime history motivated a group of like-minded individuals to form the North Carolina Maritime History Council in 1988. They incorporated the Council as a non-profit entity in 1990. The Council's bylaws state the mission as "to identify and encourage historical and educational projects that have as their purpose the enhancement and preservation of the state's maritime history and culture, and that create public awareness of that heritage." The Council can already claim many accomplishments, including:

- The purchase of the Edwin Champney drawings—a collection of fifty-nine sketches of coastal scenes from the Civil War period that were obtained using funds donated by the Frank Stick Trust and other nonprofit groups.
- Serving as the principal grant recipient for the *Queen Anne's Revenge* archaeological project.
- Publishing *Tributaries* since 1991, North Carolina's only maritime history journal.
- Conducting an annual conference on North Carolina maritime heritage. Creating a register of North Carolina historic vessels.

Council membership is open to individuals and institutions interested in maritime history. We encourage this membership to seek ways to pool resources, share information, and discuss issues to benefit the dissemination of our mutual maritime heritage.

This issue of *Tributaries* contains a variety of topics that demonstrate North Carolina's multi-faceted maritime history. The Council feels privileged to publish work by such well-qualified contributors.

Harry S. Warren,
Chair


SHORELINE CHANGE AT
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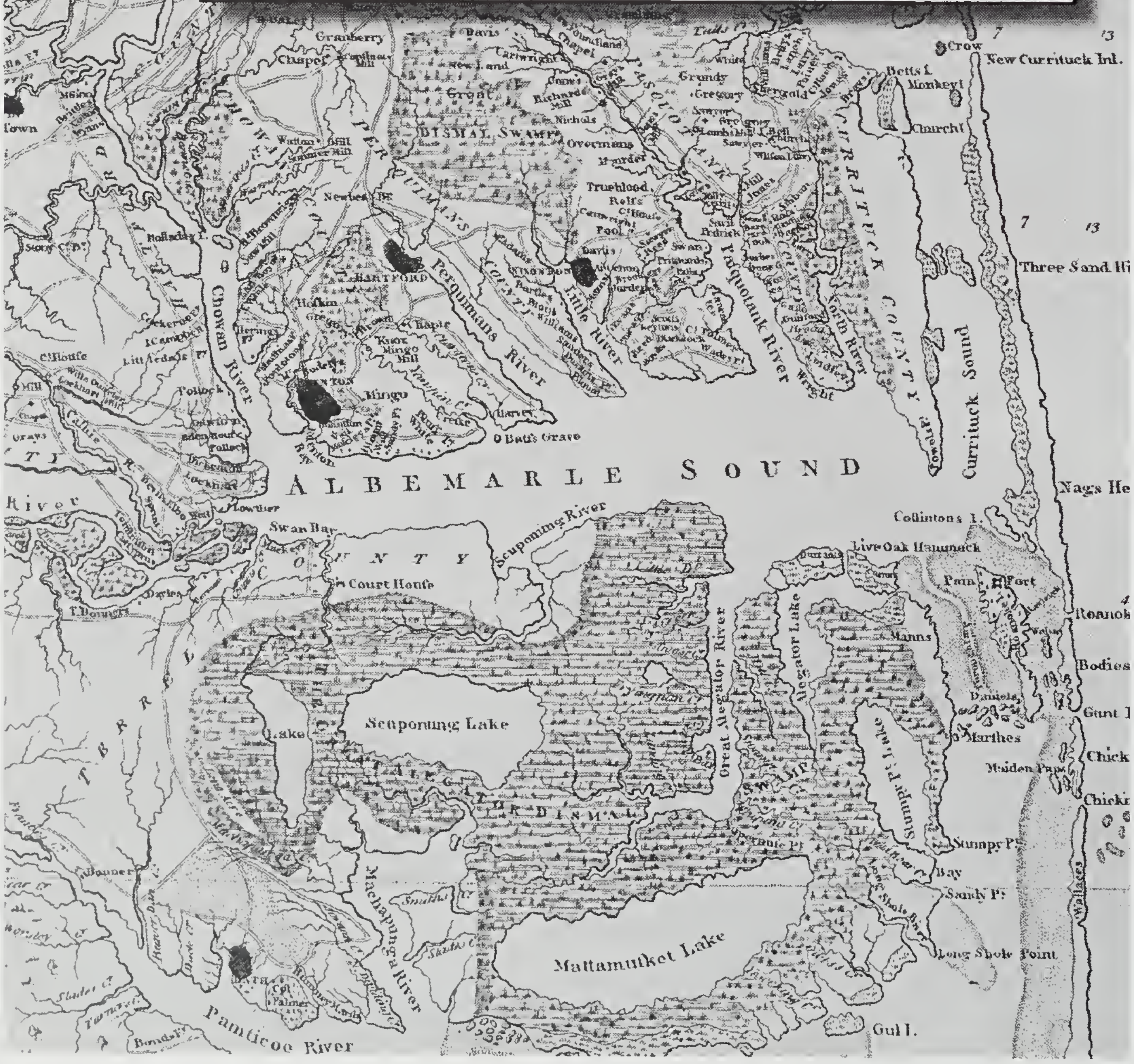
ALBEMARLE SOUND
Dismal Swamp
Chowan River
Perquimans River
Little River
Pasquotank River
North River
Currituck County
Currituck Sound
New Currituck Inl.
Nags He
Pain Fort
Roanok
Scuponung Lake
Mattamuskeet Lake
Great Alegator River
Alegator Lake
Pamticoe River
Long Shole Point
Gull I.

Top Left: A comparison of John White's 1590 map, John Collet's 1770 map, and current navigation chart show changes to Roanoke Island's shoreline

Bottom Left: Detail from *A Compleat Map of North Carolina from an actual Survey.* Captain John Collet, 1770

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The First Planned Town in America:

The Citte of Ralegh

by Richard A. Stephenson

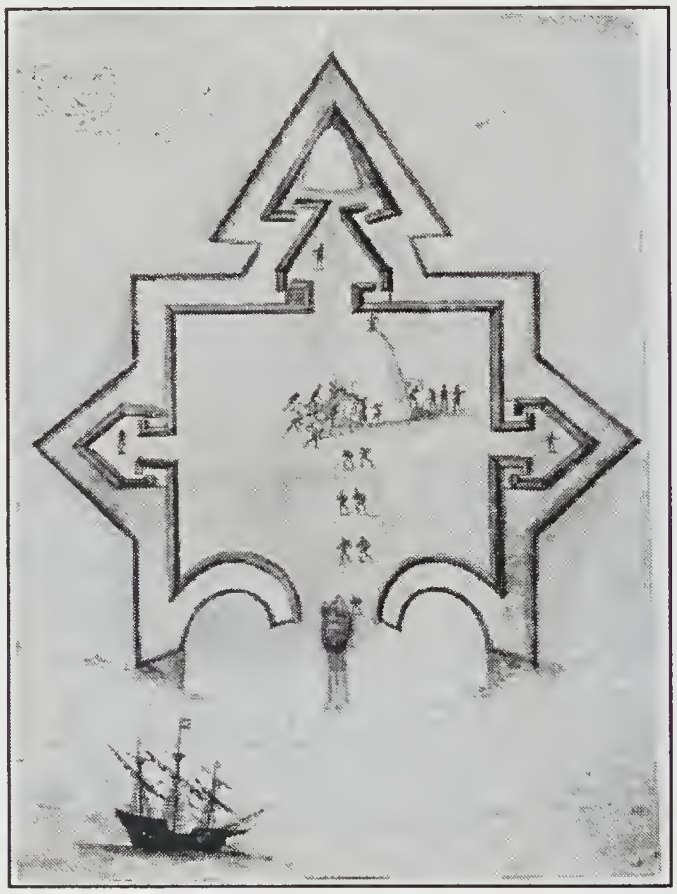
The once pristine coast of eastern North America has been explored, settled, stripped, cultivated, and utilized almost beyond recognition. A number of towns have disappeared or been abandoned, such as Woodstock lying beneath the Pungo River, Buffalo City on the Alligator River, and Elizabethtown on the Cape Fear River. Many towns have survived most of the ravages of time, such as Edenton on the Albemarle River, Bath on Bath Creek, Beaufort near Beaufort Inlet, and New Bern on the Neuse River, tributaries all, in coastal North Carolina. With all this change, it is sometimes difficult to understand how we, as a nation, have been able to sustain the longevity of our democracy for so long. To this end, it is important that we search the origins of our founding so that we may be stronger as the years go by. Perhaps we will be able to preserve our heritage for several hundred years more.

One of the most important origins in America is in coastal North Carolina where the first English settlement occurred. The purpose here is to offer at least a partial solution to a mystery that has existed since 18 August 1590, when John White returned to Roanoke Island and found it deserted of the colony he helped established.[1] Neither the English settlers, nor the fort, nor the village of the Roanoke Colony has ever been rediscovered. Historians have hypothesized about the demise of the colonists, and archaeologists have excavated to find the fort and the village, however, in both cases, the mystery remains largely unsolved. Most theorists suggest that the settlers moved to their originally intended destination, the Chesapeake Bay.[2] Some have suggested that they left the fort for a more sheltered area as winter set in, perhaps an inland Indian village. Still others suggest that they starved to death, were massacred by Native Americans, or were acculturated into the tribes in the area. We will probably never really know: that part of the mystery will probably never be resolved to everyone's satisfaction.[3]

The location of the *Citte of Ralegh* has a better chance of being found than its settlers. The fort, built by Ralph Lane for the protection of the 1585 colony, was very likely located near the water. The English were experienced fort builders. Their forts were not elaborate but functional and, in the wilderness of the New World, represented a considerable engineering feat. In general, the siting of a coastal or river fort was determined by several criteria. First, the fort had to command a view of all water passages. It should be situated as high as possible so as to control an expansive view, and maximize the range of its artillery. The height of the fortification's cannon was important, but the terrain should not obscure any possible target. If the fort was built with coquina or stone, which was unlikely in this part of America, it need not be camouflaged. However, if the fort was built of wood and soil, which was very likely, it needed to be somewhat hidden. Second, the fort needed protection from ground attack on all sides. Commonly, a moat was built, but just as important was a clean line of fire, so trees and other obstructions had to be cleared, which also allowed for settlement and agriculture. Lastly, the inhabitants of the fort and adjacent village required a potable supply of water, therefore, a shallow well or a stream had to be nearby.

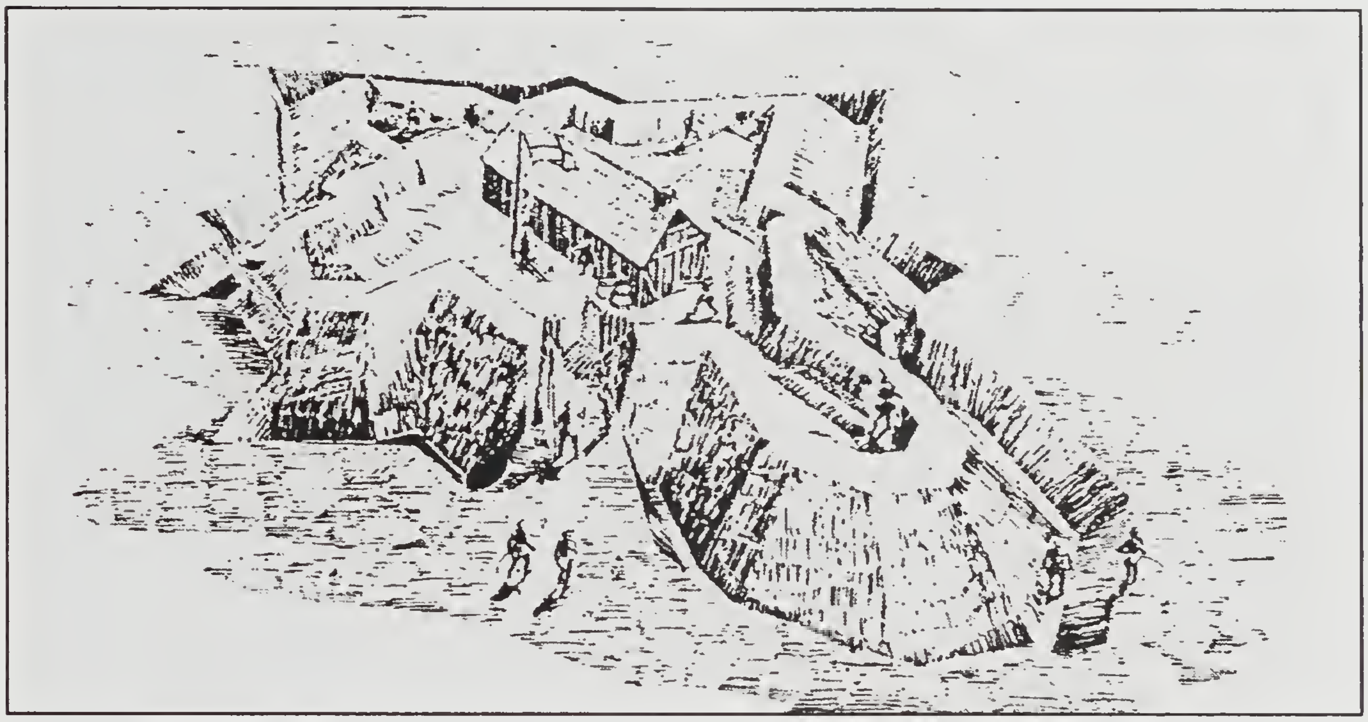
A fortification to protect the colonists needed many resources to be successful. In the case of *Fort Ralegh*, it is probable that it was located near the water or slightly inland, in or behind a dune area, but near a freshwater source. The village was very likely located farther inland, or perhaps along the shoreline, with the arable land very near to the fort and village. In fact, a paleosol or buried soil was discovered several years ago below the existing relict dunes, about nine feet above present sea level, lying exposed along the presently eroding north shore of Roanoke Island.[4] This tends to confirm that the presently forested dunes on the north end of the island have migrated in a southerly direction over a former "field." The relocated and reconstructed "outpost" that exists today at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site was probably southward of the original fort and at the end of, or beside, the colonists' arable fields.[5] Because of the erosion at the north end of island, it is suggested here that the fort and the village were located far to the north of the present location of the outpost.

There is little doubt that Sir Walter Raleigh had a fairly large settlement in mind. The English favored the idea of colonizing eastern North America as far south as they could in order to thwart the efforts of additional Spanish colonization toward the north in the New World. John Reps summarized the intent of the English by stating that "forts would be built around which towns would develop."[6] The design and instructions for constructing the new settlement were given to the colonists, namely Captain Thomas Cavendish, upon their departure from England in 1585. Reps suggests that a pentagonal structure with a bulwark at each corner was to enclose the settlement. This design and planning of the first English town in America is similar to Philippeville, Belgium. As Reps states, "The close correspondence of Philippeville's layout with the proposed design described in the Cavendish document strongly suggests that the intention of the expedition was to reproduce its plan on the spot selected for initial settlement. Perhaps of greater importance is this evidence that Raleigh proposed to establish not just an isolated military strong point, but a true town as the first stage in large-scale colonization activities in North America."[7]



Left: The fort Ralph Lane built in Puerto Rico in 1585.

However, we know that many town plans are shelved when construction begins. But we do not know why the Philippeville plan was chosen as a guide for building a new town in America. Reps proposes, "a radically symmetrical pattern with streets of the settlement leading from the central marketplace to each of the five bulwarks and to the midpoints of the connecting walls enclosing the town."[8] This suggests a relatively large community. In any case, it is likely that the ambitious plan given to Cavendish was abandoned in favor of a smaller version, such as the fort built by Ralph Lane in Puerto Rico in 1585 prior to the expedition's arrival on the North Carolina coast. Also, Reps has determined that Fort Ralegh was a rather simple construction, as illustrated in a conjectural view of Fort Ralegh. Thus, the first planned town in America began with great expectations, a smaller version was built, and it all ended in failure with the remains of the fort and village lost.



Right: Conjectural View of Fort Ralegh

Physical Processes on the Northern Shore of Roanoke Island

The physical processes in the vicinity of Roanoke Island have been previously discussed.[9] The processes include, but are not limited to, changes in the ebb and flow of tides and their related currents, the opening and closing of inlets, as well as their migration, high rainfall periods with resulting floods from inland streams, storms such as hurricanes and nor'easters, and, perhaps most important, rising sea level. Lunar tides set up tidal currents. At the present time, the tidal ranges are fifteen centimeters in Roanoke Sound, fifty-two centimeters at Oregon Inlet, and slightly more than a meter at Currituck Light. The tidal range, as related to the inlet's dimensions, result in a tidal current that averages about four knots. The tides occur diurnally, but their effects today are minimal compared to several hundred years ago when there was a greater number of inlets. After the opening of Oregon Inlet in 1846 and the earlier closing of the inlets to the north, the flood tide flowed northward through Roanoke and Croatan Sounds, and then southerly with the ebb tide.

In the past, storm surges and the related storm tides moved an immense amount of water into the sounds through as many as seven inlets between Cape Hatteras and False Cape, and sometimes made additional breeches in the low lying, fragile barrier islands. As the storms pass, the flood flow from streams and the high water in the estuaries flow back into the sea, sometimes making breeches and existing inlets more permanent. This process has created new inlets, and has closed old ones as well. The decrease in the number of inlets over the last four centuries is due in part to a decrease in the frequency and magnitude of storms, a rising sea level, a decrease in longshore drift, and the damming of streams in the fall zone, especially on the Roanoke River and its tributaries with a drainage area of more than fourteen thousand square miles. The more recent flood flow is tempered by six dams built within the past century. Robert Dolan indicates that the north shore of Roanoke Island in the vicinity of the "Lost Colony" has eroded 848 feet between 1851 and 1950.[10] From 1950 to 1970, the north shore has accreted approximately thirty feet where jetties were installed to reduce erosion. However, in other areas adjacent to the jetties, Dolan noted erosion to be as much as 150 feet during the twenty-year period.

Using a comparative cartography technique, measurements made from John White's map of 1590 and compared to the present nautical chart, suggest the erosion of approximately 5,400 feet, or an erosion rate of 13.5 feet per year since 1590, as illustrated on the accompanying chart. While this does not compare favorably with Dolan's estimated erosion rate of 8.5 feet between 1851 and 1950, the rate of almost fifteen feet between 1851 and 1903 is quite comparable. This supports the previously inferred contention that the erosion rates in the past were much greater than those we are witnessing today.[11] This is likely related to the decrease in the number of inlets, among other characteristics of the coast.

At the present time, the northeastern portion of Roanoke Island, where the greatest number of archaeological digs has been focused, is the location of the greatest change in the shoreline. Due to the closing of all the inlets north of Oregon Inlet, tidal energy has sheared off the northern shore of Roanoke Island at a very rapid rate. Prior to 1820, as many as four inlets were located north of Oregon Inlet at one time, which most recently were Currituck Inlet, Roanoke Inlet, Chickinockcomminock Inlet, and Gunt Inlet. Oregon Inlet, itself, has migrated southward and at a rate of ninty feet per year, and is filling in at the present time. It has been argued that, "at Oregon Inlet, with its migration, shoaling, and narrowing, wave action is decreasing as is the tidal prism which tends to lessen the integrated flux of energy. This situation does not allow a significant amount of sand to move."[12] This is probably due to the greater effect of the nor'easters as compared to the hurricanes approaching from the south, and a decrease in the frequency of storms from either direction.

Sea level rise has fluctuated significantly during the past eight to ten thousand years, as another interglacial stage evolves, but the rate of the rise seems to be waning momentarily.[13] For example, during the past three thousand years, the rate has been seventeen centimeters per one hundred years, but for the past five thousand years, it has been a rate of twenty centimeters per one hundred years. And for the past eight thousand years, the rate has been twenty-eight centimeters. More recently, the rate of sea level rise has been increasing, and it is expected that sea level will rise between four and eleven feet between now and 2075.[14] There is little doubt that sea level rise has a long term effect on the dynamic equilibrium of the North Carolina coast, while storms and tides have a more immediate effect.

The Beginning and the End of the First English Colony

Ventures west from Europe by the Spanish, Portuguese, French, and eventually the English, at the dawn of the age of exploration were dangerous, as well as time consuming. When the English decided to seek the northwest passage, they entered the north Atlantic Ocean where Sebastian Cabot and others had already explored.[15] The English also penetrated the Caribbean Sea, but for a different purpose, and that was to raid Spanish shipping. The search for a water route to Cathay (China) prompted the English to explore the coastline between Florida and Newfoundland. Only a few non-English navigators had sailed along the east coast of America until Richard Eden suggested that claiming such an area could prove fruitful.[16] However, when Richard Hakluyt took up Eden's theme, and later when Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Sir Walter Raleigh's half brother, crossed the Western Ocean in 1583, it was to establish "plantations," not trading posts or advanced naval bases, nor for pursuing a passage to China. These and other events set the stage for the English colonization of America.

The relative location of the founding of the colony on Roanoke Island by the English has been questioned by certain individuals.[17] The confusion appears to originate from descriptions made by Phillip Amadas and Arthur Barlow in 1584, Sir Richard Grenville in 1585, and John White in 1587. Some suggest that the colony was about seventy-five miles south of Roanoke Island. However, most researchers agree with a location near the north end of the early configuration of Roanoke Island. The confusion, suggested here, is due to changes in the exact location of the barrier islands, which resulted in misinterpreting the original descriptions of the area.[18]

The historic maps and charts demonstrate how Roanoke Island has changed in its location as well as its shape, as seen in the accompanying map. The northern shoreline shows considerable retreat since 1820. This is particularly the case along the northeastern shore. This shoreline in the seventeenth century shows a large change when compared with modern maps and charts. For example, White's map of 1585 shows a northerly point, while De Bry's rendition of White's map dated 1590 shows northwesterly and northeasterly points. The 1590 map also shows three inlets north of Roanoke Island and two south of the island, while the 1585 map shows only one inlet north and one inlet south of the island. These maps use only the latitudinal position, therefore, it is difficult to measure changes in the shoreline in an east to west direction. The 1606 Mercator-Hondius map also shows two points of land at the northern end of the island, and could have been a copy of an earlier map. Most of the maps between 1606 and the early eighteenth century were of poor cartographic quality, although they were fine examples of cartographic illustration. The 1733 and 1738 Wimble map and the 1733 Mosely map are considered to be quite accurate and more functional. The 1770 Collet map shows Roanoke Island with a northwesterly point with Fort Pain on the northeast facing shore. It is assumed by William Powell and others that Fort Pain is Lane's Fort or *Fort Ralegh*.[19] This author concurred by suggesting that, "Pain Fort was built over Lane's main fort or that of the Lost Colony."[20] Building a new fort on the remains of a older one was a common English practice, a nearby example being the English fortifications at Yorktown.

Roanoke Island has changed in its shape, the extent of its area, and its orientation. Early maps and charts, such as the ones mentioned above, show the island as somewhat rectangular with a relatively smooth, bending shoreline. Today, the island is rather curved and narrower with a crenulating shoreline. The island in early times was approximately thirty-two square miles, while the island today is about twenty square miles. Also today, the island's axis is oriented in a north-south direction as compared to a northwest-southeast direction in early times. The narrower island of today has lost significant amounts of land on both sides, and the northern shore has been eroded away by more than a mile. The southern portion of the island has grown longer presumably due to the predominance of the currents from the northern sounds moving toward Oregon Inlet, with many small islands trailing off toward the south.

Conclusion

Many scholars and researchers have found research results similar as those here. Most recently, Hume's results tend to support this current effort.[21] There is no doubt that many more will attempt to solve the mystery, as the Lost Colony is indeed lost. Not only have the inhabitants of Raleigh's colony disappeared, but *Fort Ralegh*, or Lane's Fort (or Pain Fort, as the case may be), and its settlement, the *Citte of Ralegh*, has as well. The difference here, as compared to other research, is that we surmise to find the settlement in the waters more than a mile or so almost due north of the existing reconstructed outpost of the colony. This tends to be supported using comparative cartographic techniques and the knowledge of coastal processes. Nevertheless, if the mystery is ever solved, whoever solves it will be forever removing, at least in part, the mystique of "The Lost Colony." This is a lesson learned and needs to be relearned as we make decisions for the future of our coast. There is little doubt that the coast of North Carolina will continue to change and be altered, and the existing development with it. Let the past tell us how best to meet this challenge.

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"Our Captain Quinn":

North Carolina's Benedict Arnold?

by Lawrence E. Babits and Joshua Howard

Right: Chowan
Courthose

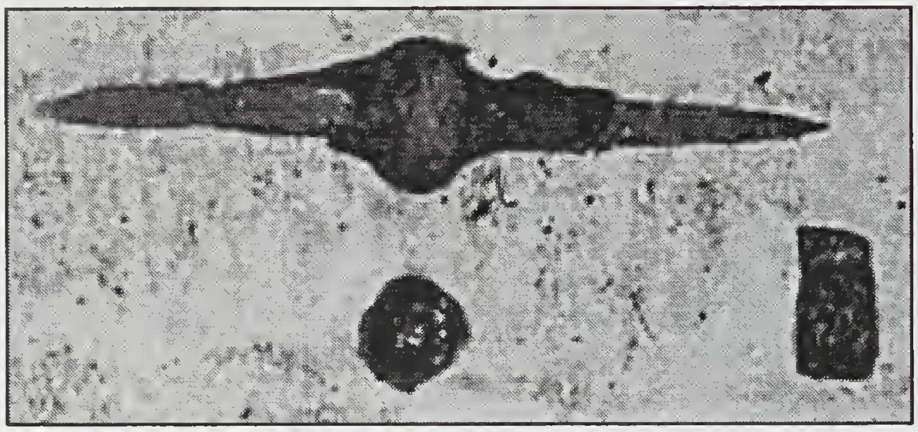
This paper represents two converging lines of research: archaeological and documentary. The first strand began with artifacts recovered from the Burroughs Shipwreck Site (0007EDS) at Edenton. The second research trail began while creating a book on the North Carolina Continental Line officers. These seemingly disparate data collections coincided in an intriguing fashion and led to a better understanding of this intriguing incident involving "Our Captain Quinn."

The first data collected came during East Carolina University's 2001 summer underwater archaeology field school that examined what was probably a three-masted ship outside Edenton's old port area. Construction details and artifacts suggested the vessel was built before 1760. Ship timbers and some artifacts indicated the vessel had been burned. The vessel had not been stripped when burnt as rigging elements were still present. A block, burned on one side, suggests that the vessel might have been scuttled prior to burning, or that the rigging collapsed before the block was fully consumed.

Two artifact types provided information as to how the vessel might have been burned. These were star shot (also known as "Spanish shot" or "pea shot") and grape or case shot. The two star shot were very curious, and possibly far more informative. Star shot was more commonly used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as an anti-ship weapon, designed to start fires aboard the target vessel. This suggests that this vessel was most likely a privateering vessel, or some other armed ship. Conversely, it may be that these shot were fired into this vessel, rather than being a part of its ordnance aboard ship.

In late May 1781, a "ship-rigged rowing galley," aptly named *General Arnold,* manned by Loyalists and Royal Navy sailors, attacked Edenton, burning warehouses, ransacking nearby plantations, and absconding with a sloop and schooner. Local men quickly organized a four-boat flotilla and set out after the raiders, eventually capturing eighteen Loyalists, and retaking the sloop. In an effort to escape, the row galley's crew set fire to the schooner. The event was briefly examined by Reverend Robert Brent Drane, the Rector of St. Paul's Church, in 1908, and again by historian David Stick in 1958. Our historical investigation began in 2003 while researching the North Carolina Continental officers, and linked many disparate elements to shed light on this event and raise more questions. [1]

In the winter of 2003, the discovery of a seemingly innocuous quote in a 9 June 1781 letter from Major Hardee Murfee to General Jethro Sumner sent us reeling. "The British galley that was at Edenton and took the vessels the other day, is taken by our boats, and most of the men, amongst which was our Captain Quinn, Lieut. Finny saw him in Irons in Edenton Jail." I remember this moment quite distinctly, standing in East Carolina University's Joyner Library's North Carolina Room. Maury York, the head of the North Carolina Collection may as well, for that was the moment I dropped Volume 15 of the State Records on the floor with a thud. The man Murfee referred to as "Our Captain Quinn" was Captain Michael Quinn of the North Carolina Continental Line. [2]

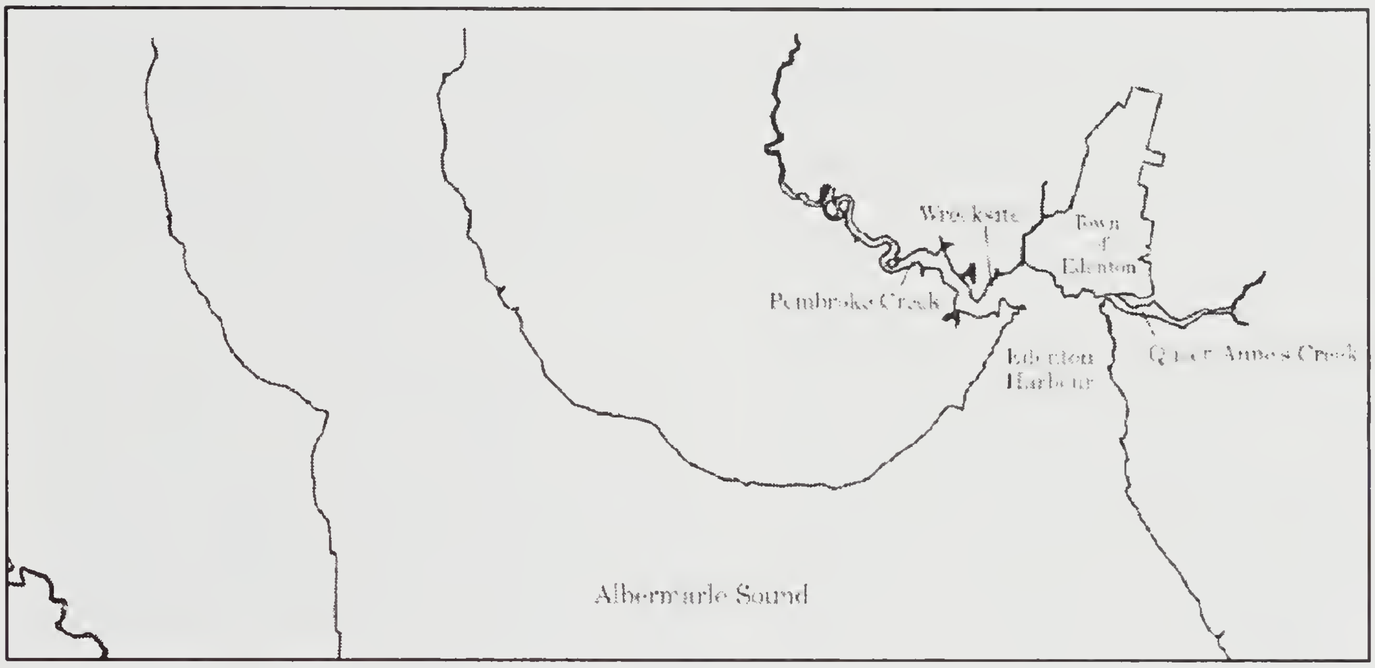


Left: Star Shot recovered from the Burroughs Shipwreck Site

Having recovered from the shock of discovering a possible traitor among North Carolina's Continental officers, I made my way back to my co-author, Larry Babit's office, told him the news, and immediately began pursuing this story. The first question that needed an answer was, who was Captain Quinn and then, how is he found with a Loyalist vessel attacking his former comrades in May 1781? Could he really be North Carolina's version of Benedict Arnold?

Captain Michael Quinn's background is a mystery. In the 1760s-1770s, there existed at least four clans of Quinns in North Carolina living in Carteret, Tryon (now Lincoln), Caswell (although their name was Quine), and Duplin counties. There are several references in the 1760s to a few individuals in Chowan as well. No genealogical sources thus far examined document Michael Quinn as being a member of these branches, suggesting that he was a newcomer to the state or possibly even the country in 1775. His name, of course, suggests that he was Irish by descent. Even his exact age is unknown. [3]

Quinn enters the historical record with his appointment as a first lieutenant in the 8th North Carolina Continental Regiment on 28 November 1776. The 8th NC was recruited as part of North Carolina's push to raise regiments as ordered by the Continental Congress in 1776. The regiment was raised in New Bern and Wilmington, suggesting something about Quinn's location at



Right: Location of the Burroughs Shipwreck Site

the time. In the spring of 1777, the 7th, 8th, and 9th regiments joined the North Carolina brigade under Brigadier General Francis Nash and marched north. They underwent smallpox inoculation at Alexandria, Virginia, and then joined Washington's main army just in time to participate in the 1777 Philadelphia campaign. On 1 August 1777, Quinn was promoted to captain, replacing Edward Ward who had resigned. Quinn took part in the battles of Brandywine on 11 September and Germantown on 4 October 1777. The 8th North Carolina took casualties in both battles, and lost one officer at Brandywine, although Quinn himself escaped unscathed. As a whole, the North Carolina brigade was only slightly engaged at Brandywine, but suffered numerous casualties in the intense fighting at Germantown, where Brigadier General Nash was mortally wounded. [4]

As the Philadelphia campaign closed, Washington's army went into winter quarters at Valley Forge. Along with learning the new drill manual prescribed by Major General Frederick Wilhelm, Baron Von Steuben, the severely understrength North Carolina brigade was consolidated. By a 28 May 1778 resolution, the nine regiments were consolidated into three. Upon its arrival, the newly recruited 10th Regiment's men were also assigned to the three standing units. Officers who were now without commands went home, either as retired supernumeraries or resigned. Some officers began recruiting and other duties as needed. In addition to the three standing regiments with Washington's army, a fourth existed on paper as a replacement and training detachment, based in Halifax. [5]

The consolidation did not sit well with many officers. In an army where rank and privilege equaled status as a "gentleman," young men whose only validation to their claim to being a "gentleman" came with army rank, viewed it as an affront to their honor. Quinn may have been one of these individuals. Officially, he was retired from the service on 1 June 1778.

Quinn, however, retained a place as a captain in the 3rd North Carolina according to the orderly book of Sergeant Isaac Rowell. Rowell's book has an undated page listing the regiment's commissioned and non-commissioned officers that includes Quinn as a captain. By comparing the officers' promotion and appointment dates, we determined the period from which it dates. The field officers listed —James Hogan, William Lee Davidson, and Thomas Hogg— took command of the 3rd on 1 June 1778. Hogan was promoted to brigadier general on

1 January 1779. Captain Gee Bradley was promoted to that rank on 13 September 1778. Lieutenant John Granberry resigned on 10 November 1778 and is not on the list. This means that the document dates from somewhere between November 1778 and January 1779. Another piece of evidence linking Quinn to the 3rd is that one of his old 8th North Carolina privates, Benjamin Simmons, became a sergeant in 3rd North Carolina on 31 October 1779, and still listed his commander as Quinn. [6] One name missing from the document, Lieutenant William Linton, should be included, as he was officially serving in the 3rd North Carolina at that time. The fact that Linton, who had served with the 3rd North Carolina since 1775, is not on the list offers clues about events in 1781.

In 1778, North Carolina's General Assembly responded to British threats in South Carolina and Georgia by authorizing two regiments of "nine-months Continentals." The 4th and 5th North Carolina, as they became known, were placed under supernumerary officers left over from the consolidation of the line, but bickering among these officers over seniority resulted in the state being unable to fully officer them. As late as April 1779, some two-dozen officer positions needed filling. As its enlistments ran out, the 3rd North Carolina marched south to recruit, leaving the remainder of the North Carolina brigade camped along the Hudson. Several 3rd North Carolina officers, among them Captain Michael Quinn, took command of companies in the 4th and 5th North Carolina regiments. On 20 June 1779, Quinn commanded a company of the 5th North Carolina in the bloody fighting at Stono Ferry near Charleston. [7]

In late summer 1779, enlistments of those who had signed up in the summer/fall of 1778 began expiring, and a new group of May-June 1779 enlistees joined Quinn's company. At about that same time, the North Carolina Continental officers with the main army threatened to resign *en masse* if the General Assembly did not alleviate their distressed situation. The Assembly acted quickly, authorizing them several benefits, including half-pay for life upon retirement and widow's pensions if an officer died in service.

The majority of the 4th and 5th North Carolina regiments were discharged when their enlistments ran out shortly after Stono Ferry. Quinn and his company apparently were part of a small North Carolina Continental contingent with the Southern Army in the late summer of 1779. According to muster rolls, Quinn received fifty-one May-June 1779 enlistees replacing the fifty-two July 1778 "nine-months" men who had been discharged in July 1779. [8]

In October 1779, the Southern Army's North Carolina Continentals were ordered to take part in the Franco-American assault at Savannah. There is no record of their participation in the fight, and the muster rolls of Quinn's company indicate that there may have been a mutiny. The men had been told upon enlisting that they would only serve in North and South Carolina. Four men deserted in September, including one sergeant. Another five deserted between October and December, and twelve were "outmustered" in October just before the disastrous 9 October assault on Savannah, including two additional non-commissioned officers. It is unknown why exactly these men were "outmustered" and it may simply mean that they deserted. Their disposition is recorded in a different handwriting from that listing the October deserters, indicating a different clerk or sergeant made the record, and may have simply not recorded them as outright deserters. Twenty-one

State Library Of North Carolina
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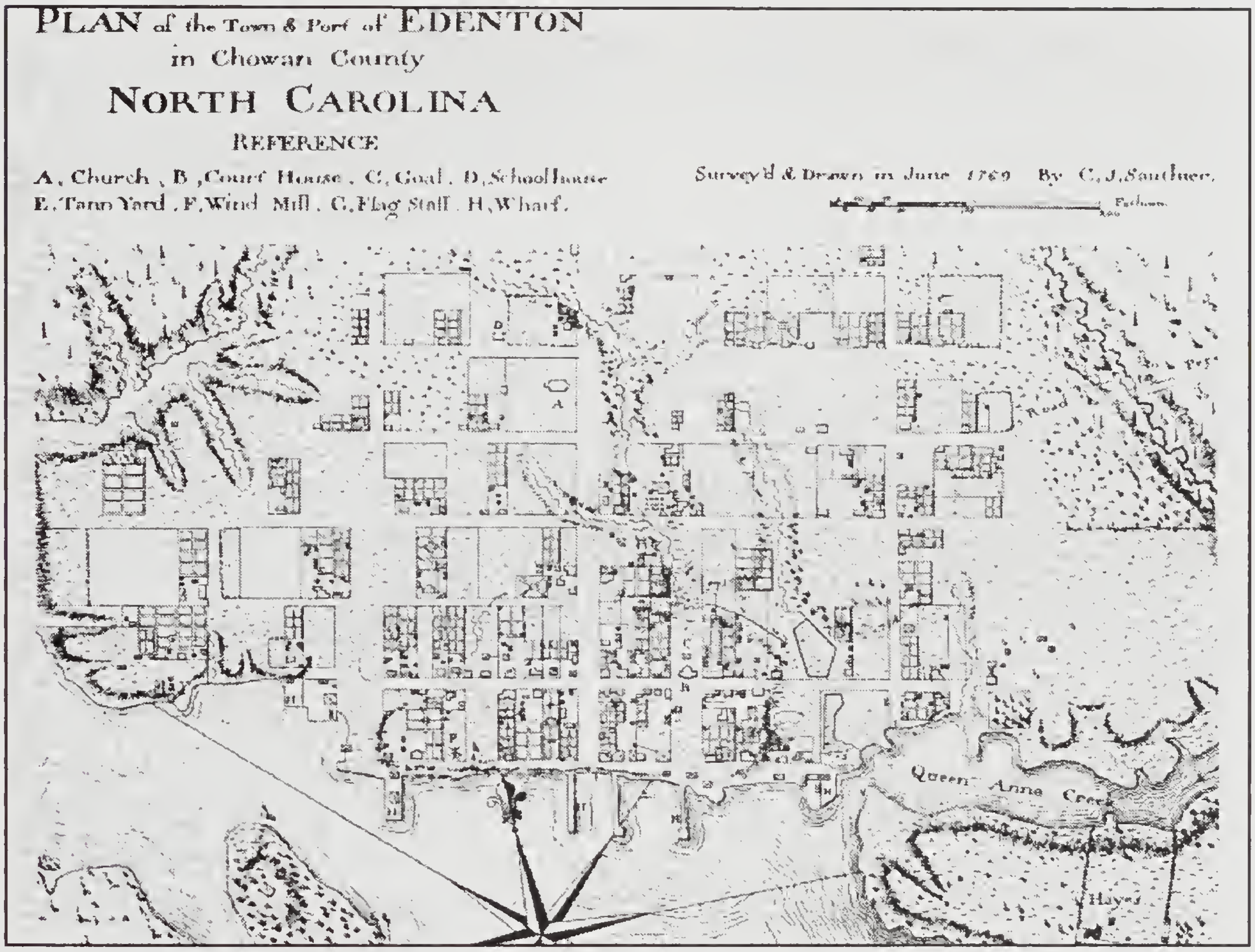
of Quinn's fifty-one men left the regiment on their own accord between October and December 1779. What happened to the others during that period is unknown, but when Quinn resigned his commission in December 1779, only ten men were left in his company. [9]


PLAN of the Town & Port of EDENTON
in Chowan County
NORTH CAROLINA
REFERENCE
A, Church, B, Court House, C, Goal, D, Schoolhouse
E, Tann Yard, F, Wind Mill, G, Flag Staff, H, Wharf.
Survey'd & Drawn in June 1769 By C. J. Sauthier.
Queen Anne Creek

Right: Plan of the Town and Port of Edenton
C. J. Sauthier
1769

Quinn's resignation likely reflects his own feelings about the cause of liberty by the close of 1779. Probably a recent arrival before the war, Quinn had few ties and, despite being an Irishman, may have still held some allegiance, however slim, to the King. He had served for three years, fought in several battles, and probably felt the same animus towards Congress and the General Assembly as did many of his fellow officers. Quinn had been forced to lead a group of men against their will on the Savannah expedition and subsequently lost at least one-half his company to desertion. He may have felt quite sympathetic towards them, as his orders went completely against promises they had been made. Fed up with a system that he felt did not appreciate him or the men, Quinn resigned. [10]

After his resignation, Quinn disappears from the historical record. Nothing is known concerning his whereabouts in 1780. It is fairly probable that Quinn's outlook on the war was heavily influenced by the 12 May surrender of the majority of the North Carolina Continental Line at Charleston by Benjamin Lincoln, the same commander who had ordered Quinn to Savannah, and Benedict Arnold's joining the British Army in July. Quinn may have attempted to model himself after Arnold, for by the winter of 1780/81, it is fairly clear that Quinn had moved from disgruntled Continental veteran to Loyalist traitor.

In the spring of 1781, after his pyhrric victory at Guilford Courthouse, Cornwallis retreated to Wilmington and then began his march towards Virginia to join the British force under General Benedict Arnold, who had invaded the state in March 1781. From a series of letters between Major General William Phillips and Sir Henry Clinton, the overall British commander in North America, it is obvious that the British had considered a similar invasion in Albemarle Sound. The British could then either extricate Cornwallis, or join him in moving into the North Carolina interior. Furthermore, such an action would deprive the Americans of an important center of privateering. By 1781, North Carolina had become a haven for these sea raiders, with Beaufort being described as "a rascally little place where privateers are fitted out." A British fleet comprised of large vessels would have been unable to maneuver in Albemarle Sound as it did in the Chesapeake. Arnold and Phillips had at least four rowing galleys with them in Virginia, and Admiralty muster rolls show three more were stationed at Wilmington, North Carolina. These shallow-draft vessels would have been integral to the proposed expedition. [11]

The large-scale invasion never took place. Cornwallis's arrival in Virginia in the second week of May initiated a series of events that eventually led to Yorktown. What did take place was a raid on the Edenton privateering center. Whether this was sanctioned by higher authority is uncertain. No record of any orders for an attack are known to exist, and it remains unclear if the "rowing-galley" that attacked Edenton was formally assigned to the Royal Navy or was a Loyalist privateer. A 29 March 1781 letter from Phillips to Clinton offers a fascinating insight into the possible location of Michael Quinn in the months leading up to the raid. Concerning the proposal to enter Albemarle Sound, Phillips wrote from Williamsburg, "A proper person has been dispatched overland to Edentown [sic] to collect intelligence. He may be expected to return in six days." (bold and underline are in the original) It is our supposition that this "proper person" was Michael Quinn. Who better to walk the streets of a town unmolested, recording military positions and possible avenues of attack, than a former Continental officer well-known and respected by many other local veterans? [12]

If he was the spy will probably never be known. Nearly two months later on Tuesday, 22 May 1781, a "small ship rigged galley came into Currituck Inlett [sic]." Aboard the vessel was Michael Quinn. It is unknown if he actually commanded the galley, as a later report of prisoners taken from the boat includes mention of a "lieutenant and nine privates." The vessel, identified as *General Arnold*, "burnt a small sloop belonging to Mr. George Kelley of Virginia, and passed into this sound." The following day, the galley attacked Edenton harbor, where Continental officer Gideon Lamb stated it took "a Schooner from Mr. Little John [sic] & carried her down the sound and burnt her, also another belonging to Mr. Robert Smith, laden with 70 or 80 hogsheads of rum and other articles to the amount of 700 hogsheads of tobacco." [13]

General Arnold apparently remained on the scene for the next several days, taking prize vessels and raiding local plantations. Robert Smith, writing to James Iredell from "Eden House" on Monday, 27 May, stated, "They have given me a pretty little Switching, but it might have been worse; they have ruined poor Littlejohn and would have left me nothing had they not taken fright . . . Many of my papers are destroyed; all my Cloaths [*sic*], Bed, Table, and other Linen squandered." Jean Blair wrote to James Iredell on 29 May, stating that "those Boats come up to cut out Vessels it is I think more probably that they will call at plantations and those in particular where they see good houses for there they will expect good plunder." [14]

The Whigs of Edenton reacted quite swiftly. On the night of 27 May, several locals took a canoe belonging to Samuel Johnston and, under the cover of darkness, assaulted the prize crew left aboard

Robert Smith's schooner. Charles Johnson noted to James Iredell the following day, "Ten of her hand's, the galleys, were taken by about the same number of ours in Mr. Johnston's canoe, after a smart fire on both sides, however nobody was wounded." The ten "hands" captured were the lieutenant and nine privates mentioned in Lamb's letter to Jethro Sumner written on 28 May, suggesting Lamb was in town and witnessed their capture. Having retaken Smith's schooner, the Whigs set about pursuing the prize crew aboard Littlejohn's vessel. "We pushed them so close they were obliged to set fire to Mr. Littlejohn's ship, and under favor of the night made their escape." The galley was upriver attacking other plantations, as Robert Smith noted, "I have serious doubts some of these pirates may go up Cashy on information of Vessells [*sic*] and goods being there. They went up to Stumpy-Reach for my Vessell [sic] and must have had a pilot on board." [15]

The following morning, the locals became "fully employed in fitting out three or four armed boats, to go in pursuit, Nelson's brig proving impractical for the service as the Galley can always get in shoal water where a large vessel cannot follow her, if she does not immediately leave the sound or is not reinforced, which the prisoners seem to expect, I have not the least doubt of our people taking her." Charles Johnson described the local enthusiasm: "I never saw, nor could even hope to see, so much public spirit, personal courage and intrepid resolution." In addition, word arrived that two boats were being outfitted at "Perquimons" and another two by the "Bankers." [16]

On 29 May, the Edenton vessels set out after *General Arnold*. James Iredell wrote to his wife Hannah on 30 May, "The boats went out yesterday, four of them under the respective commands of Capt. Gale, Capt. Bateman, Capt. Addison, and Capt. Finch, all together having about fifty Men, or perhaps more. They are Mr. Johnson's canoe, Mr. Pollok's, the *Caswell*'s barge, and Mr. Boritz's boat, and each I believe has a Swivel besides muskets." The "*Caswell* barge" was the longboat from the North Carolina State Navy ship *Caswell*. *Caswell* sank at its dock in 1778, but its barge continued in service as is confirmed by a later reference to expenses for providing rum to "the sailors." "Mr. Boritz's boat" was the ship's boat for *Holy Heart of Jesus*, a well-known Edenton vessel. Iredell added an additional comment, perhaps indicating some men were drafted for the service, stating that "The Men are well chosen and went with excellent spirits without any kind of riot or disorder." [17]

The little mosquito fleet chased after Quinn's vessel, which was anchored somewhere "in the Marshes." They located it some time between 29 May and 6 June and a brief engagement ensued. No record exists, but the galley and its crew surrendered. However it took place, the galley was taken, and the prisoners incarcerated in Edenton. Major Hardee Murfee wrote General Jethro Sumner on 9 June stating, "The British Galley that was at Edenton and took the vessels the other day is taken by our boats, and most of the men." He noted that among the prisoners was "our Captain Quinn, Lieut. Finny saw him in Irons in Edenton Jail." [18]

On 15 June, Murfee again wrote Sumner saying that he had "sent to Halifax 23 prisoners that was taken in the Galley *Genl. Arnold* near Edenton, amongst them is the traitor Michael Quin [sic], who I hope will get what he deserves." Murfee then corrected himself stating, "I have made a mistake in the Galley prisoners – there is not so many, only 18 sent." If ten men were captured serving as the prize crew aboard Smith's schooner, that would suggest only eight were captured with the galley. Simply moving the galley would have taken many more than eight men, therefore, a large number must have either escaped or been killed defending the ship. The prize crew aboard Littlejohn's vessel, who fled into the swamps after setting fire to the schooner, is also unaccounted for. [19]

As for the British predator, *General Arnold* became the communal property of Edenton, and may be the privateer galley *Tartar* that was outfitted by the town in 1782 with a crew of nearly thirty men. The subscribers paid off the forty men and their officers who pursued the galley, and a 7 June 1781 account of their expenses includes money paid for twelve pounds of musket balls, fourteen swivel balls, and £200 North Carolina currency for "Liqour for the Sailors." Each man received £40 North Carolina a day for nine days, indicating that they were in actual service from 28 May until 7 June 1781. [20]

Quinn and the other prisoners were taken to Halifax where they were incarcerated under the supervision of North Carolina militia Lieutenant Colonel William Linton. At the time, Linton was helping organize "twelve-months" Continentals being raised for General Nathanael Greene's army in South Carolina. Many of these recruits were drafted from local militia for twelve months Continental service. This was a punitive measure thrust upon them by the General Assembly as a response to their poor performance at Guilford Courthouse. General Greene blamed his loss in the 15 March engagement on the flight of the North Carolina militia. In response, Governor Abner Nash ordered those responsible drafted for twelve months Continental service. [21]

Linton, who led a militia battalion at Guilford that performed admirably, apparently took the Assembly's orders to the extreme, earning a reputation as something of a tyrant. Continental Major Pinkathan Eaton, who also led militia at Guilford, and had been assigned two hundred draftees rounded up by Linton, angrily commented to Jethro Sumner, "The men desert fast and complain heavily of the injustice done them, having never had a Tryall [*sic*] as they many of them declare; indeed Col. Linton, it appeared to me, had the power of condemning whoever he thought proper, both officer and soldier, and declared to me it was by General Jones orders. I intend to write the Genl. Fully on the matter." [22]

Whether Eaton wrote Brigadier General Allen Jones about the matter remains unclear. Eaton marched his draftees south in late April, and was killed at Fort Grierson, Augusta, Georgia, on 24 May. Eaton may well have complained, as Linton apparently attempted to resign his commission on 9 June. He must have withdrawn his resignation, because he was still in Halifax when Quinn arrived. Adding to the pressures on Linton was a smallpox epidemic that was ravaging the town and the "272 foot and 60 horse" he had under his command. [23]

Quinn and the other prisoners arrived from Edenton between 15 June and 18 June 1781. Nine days later, Allen Jones wrote to the General Assembly, "I am sorry to inform you that a few days ago Captain Quinn was killed by the Guard. The Sergeant reported to the Captain of the Guard that he attempted to make his escape as they were carrying him to a house and in consequence thereof was shot. Col. Linton has been charged with giving orders but he denys [*sic*] it & shewed [*sic*] me the Captain's Report. If I had a sufficient number of officers I would order a court martial on this occasion, for although the fellow deserved hanging, yet he had a right to a tryal [*sic*], and this action may fall heavy on our fellow subjects in the hands of the British." Jones added a postscript stating that "I forgot to mention that Col. Linton wished to be tried on the above accident. I also charged him with a variety of misconduct on his late command, to this he replied that he had done nothing but by the Governor's & G. Caswell's orders." From Jones's statement, we see that he most likely had indeed heard complaints about Linton, and Linton's statement that he was only following Caswell's orders is interesting since he told Eaton in April that he was following Jones's orders. [24]

The obvious question remains: Why would Linton order Quinn killed? On the face of the issue, it seems obvious. A former Continental officer finds one of his former comrades has turned traitor. Regulations for most European eighteenth-century armies stated that a deserter found under arms with the enemy was guilty of treason and could summarily be put to death. Evidence of such executions is rare in the American Revolution, but they did take place. One problem with this line of reasoning is that, technically, Quinn was not a Continental officer when he switched sides. Although definitely captured in arms, he was not a deserter by definition. An analysis of the relationship between Quinn and Linton suggests other possible motives.

Linton was serving as a lieutenant in the 3rd North Carolina when regimental consolidation took place during May 1778. At that time, the 3rd North Carolina had only four captains, and Linton may have been serving as an "acting" company commander. Linton remained with his regiment after consolidation, but resigned on 1 November 1778. He is, therefore, absent from Sergeant. Isaac Rowell's orderly book. Given Sergeant. Benjamin Simmons's promotion and transfer to the 3rd North Carolina with Quinn on 31 October, the date of Linton's resignation becomes more intriguing. It appears that it is, at the very least, possible that Quinn, the higher-ranking officer, took Linton's company. Linton, upset that an officer from outside his regiment had been brought in to command his company, and that he had been passed over for promotion, resigned his commission. While this is supposition, it provides motivation for Linton's actions against Quinn.

The General Assembly responded to news of Quinn's death by ordering Linton's detachment broken up and incorporated into other units, and admonished Jones for not calling on a coroner for a proper autopsy and investigation. Jones responded on 6 July that, "I should have called on the Coroner . . . without consulting the Assembly, but Quinn had been killed & buried three days before I knew it, and the Small Pox raging in town I knew it was impossible to get a jury who would attend, and tho the Small pox is nearly out of the place at this time, I still fear it will be exceedingly difficult." Jones acted on the Assembly's orders, and the Coroner exhumed and inspected Quinn's body the following day. Colonel Nicholas Long, Quartermaster for Halifax District, wrote Governor Thomas Burke on 8 July, "there has been an inquest held on the body of Mikel [*sic*] Quinn & the Jury reports he was Murdered by the Guard by order of Colo. William Linton." [25]

Linton was placed under arrest for being "accessory to the murder of Michael Quinn." On 12 July, he wrote Governor Burke that he hoped, "Your excellency don't look on me as a Chrmmenal [*sic*]; should your Excellency look on me in this light I hope he will Grant me the Indulgence of going to Camp under a guard, and to return when ever you may think proper. I have some business in Camp that I would wish to Settle before I am removed from this perhaps into a Closer Confinement." Burke apparently acquiesced, for Linton wrote the same day thanking him "for his indulgence granted him and would wish to be permitted to stay in Genl. Caswell's camp." The following day, however, General William Caswell wrote to Burke, "I am very sorry to hear that Col. Linton wishes to stay in Camp. Shall take your Excellency's directions respecting him." [26]

On 29 July, Linton was sent to the Halifax jail and incarcerated in the same cell that held Michael Quinn six weeks earlier. At a time when everyone seem to be turning against Linton, Jones stood up for him by writing Burke stating, "I think Linton's Case a Peculiar one, and if it is consistent with the Laws of the State, I really wish he could be admitted to bail. He is a young Fellow of no fortune and has spent both his time and Money in the Service of the State, when others, who had more to lose, refused to take any share in the Public Berthen [*sic*], but consulted their Personal Safety only." He also noted that he had released Linton from prison and "ordered him to stay within the limits of the town till I had your directions." [27]

By 1 August, Linton was back in the Halifax Jail on the orders of Governor Burke. His fellow prisoners included four presumed Tories, two horse thieves, two highway robbers, and a runaway slave under charges of petty theft. On 25 August 1781, State Attorney General James Iredell, Sr., wrote to his wife that "Contrary to my sanguine wishes and expectations, Linton I fear cannot be tried, nor I fear even [indicted] this time. He cannot be tried until some of those who actually shot are convicted and there is none of them to be had but one who has been made a Witness of, and is necessary as such. And I fear all the necessary Witnesses will not be present to enable me to draw an Indictment, tho' I have done all I could do to procure them." Three days later, a discouraged Iredell wrote again, "One of the Men concerned in the actual shooting of Quinn was tried yesterday, but in a great measure owing to the suppression of a most material part of the truth by a Rascal who was one of the accomplices, and swore differently to the Grand and Petit Jury, he was not convicted. No other of the Principals being now to be got, there was a necessity to admitting Linton to Bail, which has been done." [28]

Iredell did not give up and, on 30 August, wrote to Governor Burke that "a Bill of Indictment" had been passed against "two Persons (among others) named Henry Gray and Peter Brinckley, who as I am informed went out in the twelve months service from this County under Colo. Ashe, and are now serving under Major General Greene." In response, Burke requested the two soldiers' arrest. On 31 August, Burke wrote to Greene concerning the two men stating, "They were principals in one of those Murders which have been too frequently committed upon prisoners and which from Motives of humanity as well as sound policy I have determined to prevent in future by subjecting the offenders to the Civil Magistrate." It is likely that Greene had no time to respond until after the battle of Eutaw Springs on 8 September, but no reply has been found. [29]

The two men Iredell and Burke requested from Greene remain somewhat mysterious. Sergeant Henry Gray was serving in Captain Joseph Thomas Rhodes's company of the 3rd North Carolina. Muster rolls state that he enlisted for twelve months in 1781, and that he was discharged on "21 Jan., reinl'd." This notation means that he reenlisted on 21 January 1782, although the terms of his new enlistment are unknown.

A Private Henry Gray had served as a "nine-months man" in Captain Joseph Montfort's company of the 5th North Carolina in 1778-1779. Sergeant Gray was possibly the "Sergeant of the Guard" mentioned by Allen Jones. There was no Peter Brinkley serving in Greene's army, but a review of Captain Joseph Thomas Rhodes's company reveals Private Michael Brinkley. This individual enlisted on 23 January 1781 for twelve months service, and was discharged in 1782. Brinkley reenlisted in April 1782 with Captain Peter Bacot of the 1st North Carolina for "eighteen months." Brinkley had also served as a "nine-months" man, signing up on 20 July 1778 in Colonel Thomas Clark's company of the 5th North Carolina. It is our assertion that Iredell was mistaken, and that Michael Brinkley was really the individual indicted. [30]

Their identities generate even more questions. Did these men know Quinn? They served in the same regiment with him in 1779. Their 1781 enlistment dates also indicate something quite striking. At the time of Quinn's death, they were not simply militiamen following the orders of a militia lieutenant colonel. They were actively serving Continental soldiers obeying the orders of a former Continental officer turned militia officer. They likely took his word over any militia captain not only because of Linton's rank, but also because of their allegiance to the Continental line over the militia. It may also suggest that they felt quite personally about a former Continental officer turned Loyalist spy and had no qualms over killing him.

From the fact that Gray reenlisted in January 1782, and that Brinkley did the following April, it appears that they were not taken from the ranks of Greene's army. Justice did catch up with Gray, however; he was tried and convicted on 21 October 1782 for his role in Quinn's murder. James Iredell wrote his wife on 22 October that "Gray, one of the principals in the murder of Quinn, has been convicted and Linton, I believe, will be tried today. The proof very strong, and almost irresistible." Unfortunately, no trial records survive so we have no idea of the evidence nor the proceedings. However, Linton was convicted the same day for being an "accessory to the murder of Michael Quinn." There is no record of what sentences these men received. Murder and accessory to murder were both capital crimes in 1782 and it would stand to reason that both men stood a fair chance of being hanged. Before "justice" could be meted out, Gray received a pardon from Governor Alexander Martin. Whether any other co-conspirators involved with Quinn's death were similarly tried, convicted, or sentenced remains unknown. [31]

Clues to the final disposition of Michael Brinkley and Henry Gray can be found in postwar bounty land claims and pension records. Sergeant Gray received one thousand acres for eighty-four months service, a dispensation of land generally reserved for those who had been killed in the war. In other words, a soldier would receive credit for having served the entire war if he died in service. That man's heirs could then claim his bounty land. Gray's land is not recorded as having been dispensed to his heirs. Instead, the deed actually went to a Mr. Beard, who also took the claims of deceased soldiers Private John Anderson and Private James Smith. Having said that, Gray is on a list of former Continentals whose accounts were settled in 1792. This does not necessarily mean he was alive at the time. Neither Michael Brinkley, nor his heirs, claimed his land bounty when his accounts were settled in 1792. Neither man took a pension. A Henry Gray is listed as living in Tyrrell County in 1790, but there is no further record of Michael Brinkley. [32]

William Linton evidently did not receive a death sentence. He served time in the Halifax jail in 1783, an experience he referred to as "my present unhappy situation." The conclusion of the war saw the return of some normalcy. In the postwar glow of independence, past indiscretions appear to have been somewhat forgiven in North Carolina. Several important persons came to Linton's aid after the conflict who might have turned their back on him during the war for political or personal reasons. By 1784, he had become close friends with General Thomas Person and former Governor Richard Caswell, and applied to both to help him gain a gubernatorial pardon. On 17 April 1784, Linton wrote Jethro Sumner concerning "the unhappy affair respecting Quinn, and as General Person and some more of my friends will endeavour to pass some Law this Assembly in my Favour . . . I would wish these Gentlemen to call on you for my Character whilst under your command and in the Continental service." Linton implored Sumner and "any one Elce [*sic*] of my Old Brother officers" that those who had "been active in defense of his Country to routher [*sic*] be applauded than Prosicuted [*sic*]," and blamed "envy and mallace [*sic*] which presides in the breast of many men" for throwing "[justice] out of her seet [*sic*]." [33]

Sumner must have been listening, for he went to bat for Linton, as did Caswell and Person. On 29 April 1784, Governor Alexander Martin pardoned Linton for his role in Quinn's death on the suggestion of the General Assembly. The Assembly noted that since the "principal was tried, convicted, and pardoned," the "said William Linton [shall] be released from all pains and penalties which have or may accrue in consequence of the prosecution aforesaid." He was released from jail and settled in Halifax County. [34]

For the next year, Linton fought to regain the bond he posted at the beginning of his trial. He felt that since he had received a pardon that exempted him "from all penalties," he should have his money returned. On 10 May 1785, he appealed to Richard Caswell, the former governor who was then head of the Senate, that payment of the bond caused "the necessity of mortgaging every last shillings worth of property I possessed in the world to get the money to pay the state." He begged for a remonstrance and asked Caswell to order a warrant from the state treasury. Caswell replied four days later, saying that he had no power to comply with Linton's wish. "I have laid your paper before the Council who think with me that it would be improper that I should grant a warrant to the treasury." Caswell did promise to pass the petition on to the General Assembly at their next meeting in June. [35]

In December 1785, the General Assembly dismissed the charges, reminding the state that the pardon "exonerates said William Linton in express terms from all pains, penalties, fines, forfeitures whatsoever upon the prosecution against him on account of his being supposed to be accessory to the Murder of Michael Quinn." The Assembly also ordered the Sheriff of Halifax County to repay £400 North Carolina currency that Linton had been forced to spend "for his own account and for account of his Securities." Despite being exonerated a second time, the stress and pressure of a prolonged four-year legal battle had taken its toll. He completed a will in November 1785, shortly before being exonerated the second time, leaving £500 North Carolina and one-half of a stud horse called Old Mark Anthony to Peter Morgan. The will was probated in May 1787, implying that Linton died in late 1786 or early 1787. The exact cause of death is unknown. General Thomas

Person claimed Linton's 1,427 bounty land acres that he received in 1790 for thirty-one months service. [36]

As for Quinn's remains, they presumably still lie in Halifax. There is no record of his reburial after the coroner's exhumation. Quinn's land warrant for 2,102 acres over forty-six months of service was deeded to a "Capt. Marget." The entry is probably a misspelling, as Captain Frederick Hargett was the claimant. Hargett knew Quinn, having served alongside him in the 8th North Carolina. After the war, Hargett became one of the founding trustees of the University of North Carolina, donating the profits he acquired from the sale of his bounty land toward construction of the campus. So, in an odd, roundabout fashion, Captain Michael Quinn helped pay for the construction of the state's first public university. [37]

The attack on Edenton and the Quinn affair have been thoroughly overlooked by North Carolina historians and Revolutionary War historians in general. What took place at Edenton in late May 1781, and in Halifax the following week, are perhaps two very important stories of the American Revolution. The Burroughs wreck appears, from what we can determine, to probably be William Littlejohn's schooner, and it thus provides us with direct, hands-on evidence related to the short life of "Our Captain Quinn," North Carolina's own Benedict Arnold.

FOOTNOTES

1. Robert Brent Drane, "The Expedition Against the Row Galley *General Arnold* – A Side Light of Colonial Edenton," *North Carolina Booklet* 7 (April 1908), 266-277; David Stick, The Outer Banks of North Carolina, 1584-1958 (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1958).

2. Hardee Murfee to Jethro Sumner, 9 June 1781, in *State Records of North Carolina*, ed. Walter Clark (Raleigh, NC: P.M. Hale, 1886-1907) 15: 475; Lawrence E. Babits and Joshua Howard, *Fortitude and Forbearance: The North Carolina Continental Line in the Revolutionary War, 1775-1783* (Raleigh, NC: Department of Cultural Resources, 2004).

3. This information was gleaned from studying the tax, deed, will, and land records for the various North Carolina counties that existed in 1775.

4. Babits and Howard, *Fortitude*, 3-6, 109-110, 199.

5. Ibid., 7-10

6. Gertrude Sloan Hay, ed., *Roster of Soldiers from North Carolina in the American Revolution* (Durham, NC: North Carolina Daughters of the American Revolution, 1932), 100, 602. The original copy of Rowell's book is in the North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, NC; Babits and Howard, Fortitude, 45-50.

7. Babits and Howard, *Fortitude*, 6-7, 199.

8. Ibid., 6-8; Information on the muster rolls was gleaned from those listed as being in Quinn's company in Hay, *Roster of Soldiers*, 104-177. The reference to them being in the 10th North Carolina is erroneous and does not reflect service in the actual 10th regiment. That notation is for a "paper regiment," which explains why so many men are listed as having served with the unit in comparison to the other nine regiments.

9. Hay, *Roster of Soldiers*, 104-177.

10. Babits and Howard, *Fortitude*, 199.

11. Major James Craig to Lieutenant Colonel Nesbitt Balfour, 28 May 1781, in Public Records Office, 30/11/6, British National Archives; Major General William Phillips to General Sir Henry Clinton, 29 March 1781, in Public Records Office, 30/11/5, folios 137-144b, British National Archives.

12. Phillips to Clinton, 29 March 1781, in Public Records Office, 30/11/5.

13. Gideon Lamb to Jethro Sumner, 28 May 1781, in Clark, *State Records*, 15: 468-469.

14. Robert Smith to James Iredell, 28 May 1781, in *The Papers of James Iredell*, ed. Don

Higgenbotham (Raleigh, NC: Department of Cultural Resources, 1976) 2: 248-249; Jean Blair to James Iredell, 28 May 1781, in Higgenbotham, *Iredell Papers*, 2: 250-251.

15. Charles Johnson to James Iredell, 28 May 1781, in Higgenbotham, *Iredell Papers*, 2: 249-250; Robert Smith to James Iredell, 28 May 1781, in Higgenbotham, *Iredell Papers*, 2: 248-249.

16. Charles Johnson to James Iredell, 28 May 1781, in Higgenbotham, *Iredell Papers*, 2: 249-250

17. James Iredell to Hannah Iredell, 30 May 1781, in Higgenbotham, *Iredell Papers*, 2: 251-252.

18. Hardee Murfee to Jethro Sumner, 9 June 1781, in Clark, *State Records*, 15: 475.

19. Hardee Murfree to Jethro Sumner, 15 June 1781, in Clark, *State Records*, 15: 483

20. Drane, "The Expedition Against the Row Galley *General Arnold*," 266-273. The documents are from the papers of Josiah Collins, the Admiralty Court judge for Edenton.

21. Nathanael Greene to Abner Nash, 3 April 1781, in *Nathanael Greene Papers*, ed. Dennis M. Conrad (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1996) 8: 36-38; John Butler to Nathanael Greene, 11 April 1781, in Conrad, *Nathanael Greene Papers*, 8: 83

22. Pinkathan Eaton to Jethro Sumner, 17 April 1781, in Clark, *State Records*, 15: 440-441.

23. Abner Nash to Richard Caswell, 10 June 1781, in Clark, *State Records*, 15: 479; Allen Jones to the General Assembly of North Carolina, 27 June 1781, in Clark, *State Records*, 22: 1031.

24. Allen Jones to the General Assembly of North Carolina, 27 June 1781, in Clark, *State Records*, 22: 1030-1032.

25. Allen Jones to Thomas Burke, in Clark, *State Records*, 15: 514-515; Nicholas Long to Thomas Burke, 8 July 1781, in Clark, *State Records*, 15: 518.

26. William Linton to Thomas Burke, 12 July 1781, in Clark, *State Records*, 15: 526-527; William Caswell to Thomas Burke, 13 July 1781, in Clark, *State Records*, 22: 545-546.

27. Allen Jones to Thomas Burke, 29 July 1781, in Clark, *State Records*, 15: 581

28. Return of the Prisoners in Custody of Capt. Reed, 15 August 1781, in Clark, *State Records*, 15: 609; James Iredell to Hannah Iredell, 25 August 1781, in Higgenbotham, *Iredell Papers*, 2: 276-277; James Iredell to Hannah Iredell, 28 August 1781, in Higgenbotham, *Iredell Papers*, 2: 281-282.

29. James Iredell to Thomas Burke, 30 August 1781, in Higgenbotham, *Iredell Papers*, 2: 286-287; Thomas Burke to Nathanael Greene, 31 August 1781, in Conrad, *Nathanael Greene Papers*, 9: 271-73.

30. Hay, *Roster of Soldiers*, 5, 10, 110, 111, 127, 128, 193, 223, 225, 227, 285, 307, 337, 360, 402.

31. James Iredell to Hannah Iredell, 22 October 1782, in Higginbotham, *Iredell Papers*, 2: 358-359.

32. Hay, *Roster of Soldiers*, 223, 225 307, 337; United States Bureau of the Census, *Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790*: North Carolina (Spartanburg, SC: Reprint Company, 1961), Tyrrell County.

33. William Linton to Jethro Sumner, 17 April 1784, in Clark, *State Records*, 17: 132-133.

34. Records of the General Assembly, 29 April 1784, in Clark, *State Records*, 19: 523-524.

35. William Linton to Richard Caswell, 10 May 1784, and Richard Caswell to William Linton, 15 May 1784, in Governor's Papers, Richard Caswell, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, NC.

36. Records of the General Assembly, December 8, 1785, in Clark, State Records, 22: 325-326; Susie Brickell Anderson, *Abstracts of Wills, Halifax, North Carolina, 1760-1830* (Raleigh, NC: Privately printed, 1947); David B. Gammon, *Abstracts of Wills, Halifax, North Carolina* (Weldon, NC: Roanoke News, 1989); Hay, *Rosters of the Soldiers*, 245.

37. Hay, *Rosters of the Soldiers*, 261; Babits and Howard, Fortitude, 165.

Tributaries

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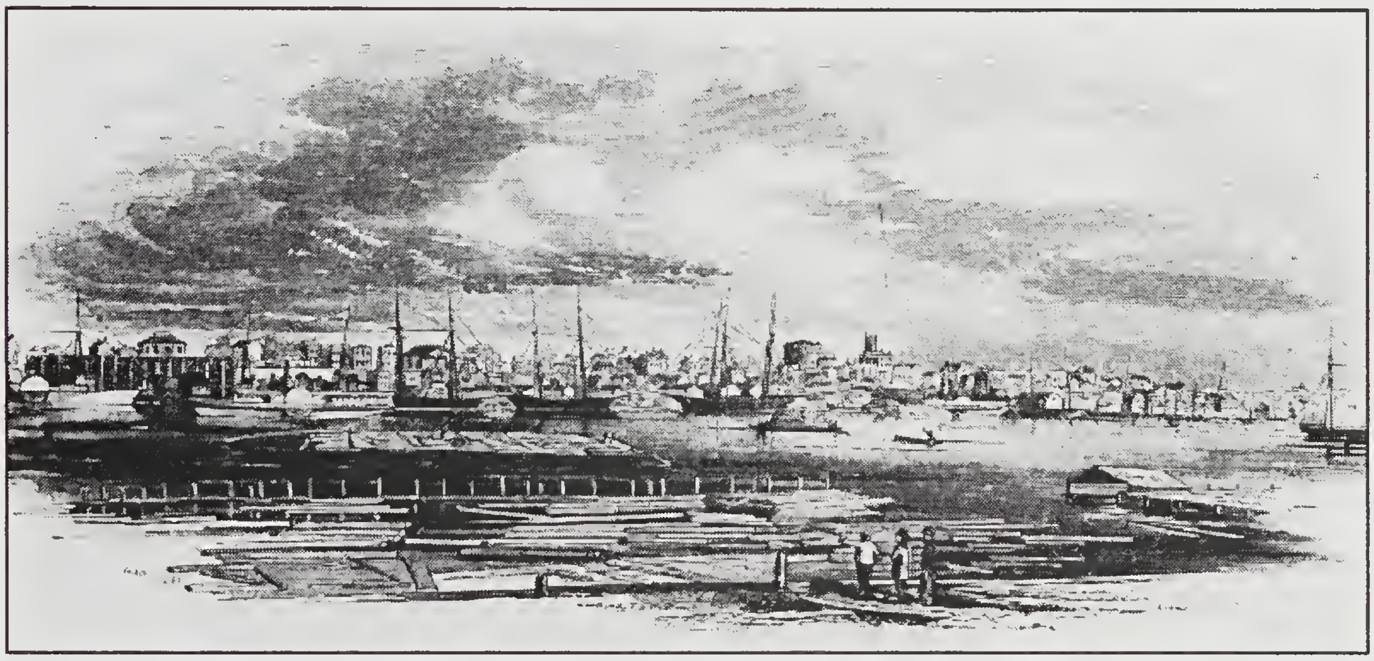
Right: Wilmington, North Carolina, waterfront seen from Eagles Island

Developing a Public Health Policy in Early North Carolina:

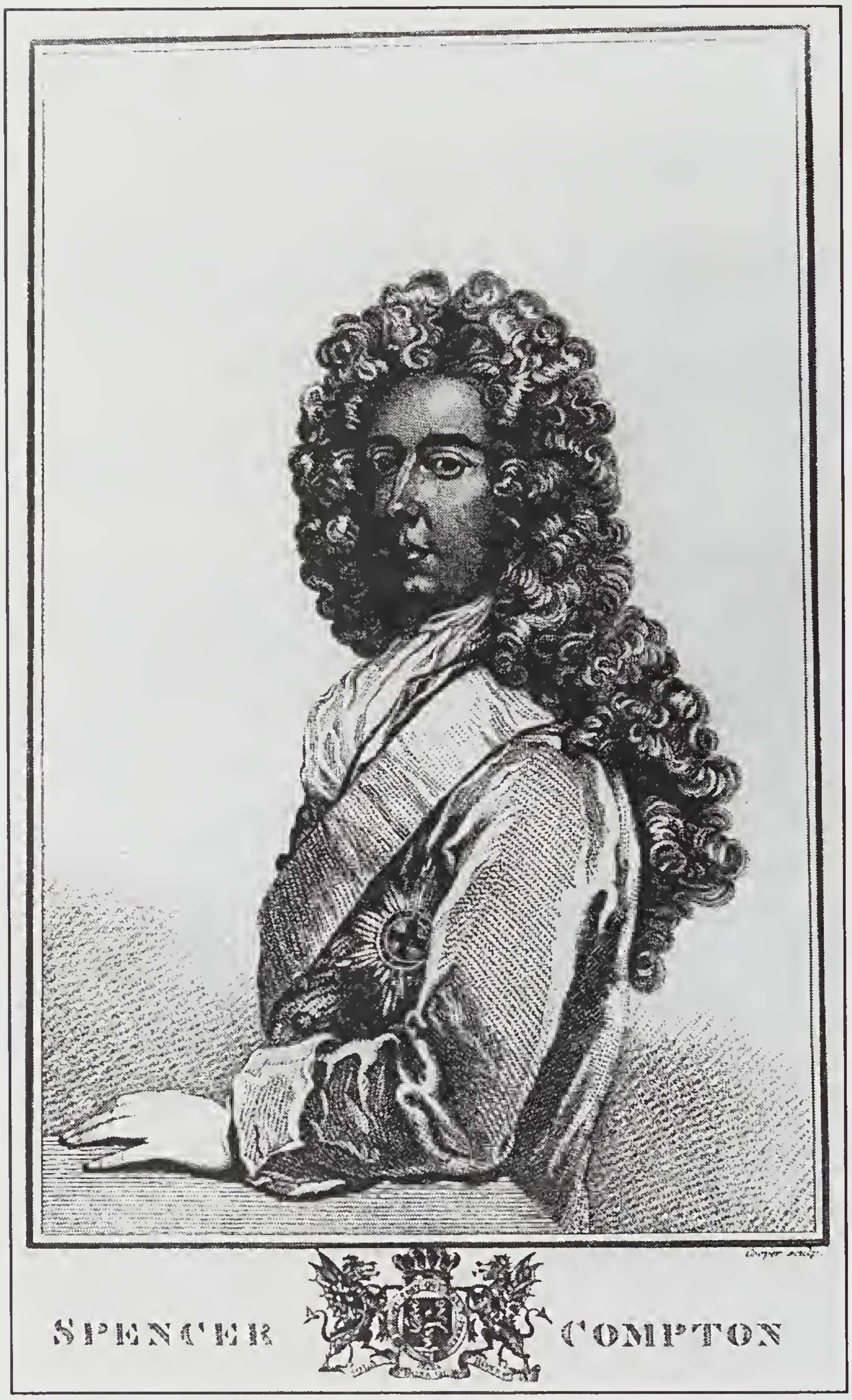
The Example of Wilmington

by Alan D. Watson



Responsibility for the protection of the health of the commonweal in early North Carolina—indeed in early America—rested principally upon local, usually municipal, governmental authority. North Carolina, hamstrung by poverty as well as by the prevailing laissez-faire attitude of its dominant Jeffersonian Republican party after the American Revolution, and the national government, restricted similarly by Jeffersonian principles of minimalist government, as well as the fear of trespassing upon state prerogatives, failed to develop concerted programs of public health. Thus, municipalities in North Carolina, following statutory guidelines established by colonial and state legislatures and acting upon their inherent authority as incorporated entities to safeguard the interests of their citizenry, gradually assumed responsibility for grappling with bacterial threats to the general welfare. The town and port of Wilmington in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries well exemplified efforts by North Carolina municipalities to try to protect the public health.

Wilmington, located on the east bank of the Cape Fear River about thirty miles from its mouth, originated in the 1730s as New Liverpool and New Town or Newton. Favored by royal governor Gabriel Johnston, Newton was incorporated in 1739/40 as Wilmington, named for Spencer Compton, Earl of Wilmington, who was Johnston's political patron in England. Quickly eclipsing Brunswick Town, its downriver commercial rival, Wilmington became one of North Carolina's most populous towns and largest ports by the time of the Revolution. Rapidly recovering from the economic dislocations occasioned by the war for independence, Wilmington's population increased to 2,633 in 1820, and at the conclusion of the War of 1812, the value of its exports was four times that of the combined exports of the remaining ports in North Carolina. During the antebellum era improvements to the navigability of the Cape Fear and consequent steamboat traffic on the river reinforced Wilmington's commercial preeminence. At the onset of the Civil War, the town's residents numbered 9,552, easily making Wilmington the most populous urban entity in the state. Moreover, the port handled virtually all of North Carolina's foreign commerce and more than half its domestic traffic. [1]



Left: Namesake of Wilmington, North Carolina, Spencer Compton, Lord Wilmington

Wilmington occupied a site along the Cape Fear River consisting of a series of sand hills that culminated in bluffs overlooking the water. Small streams, enwrapped by marshy terrain along their banks, wended their way through the sand to the river. Wilmington initially was regularly platted with wide streets, but haphazard building, structural encroachments, and bisecting alleys undermined the intention of the original developers to produce an orderly-looking community. The hills were partially leveled over the years, though the rise from the river remained undeniable. During the antebellum era, residents spread north and south along the banks of the river, and east to Boundary or present Fifth Street. Town officials filled the area between Front Street and the Cape Fear River, creating Water Street to serve better the maritime trades in the town. Also contributing to the shipping economy of Wilmington was Eagles Island, a low, mostly alluvial morass in the Cape Fear River west of the town. Mainly supporting the cultivation of rice, the island was subject to tidal flooding, except for a portion along the river opposite Wilmington which had been artificially elevated by the construction of wharves. Below Eagles Island on both sides of the river lay additional swampy, tidal terrain. [2]

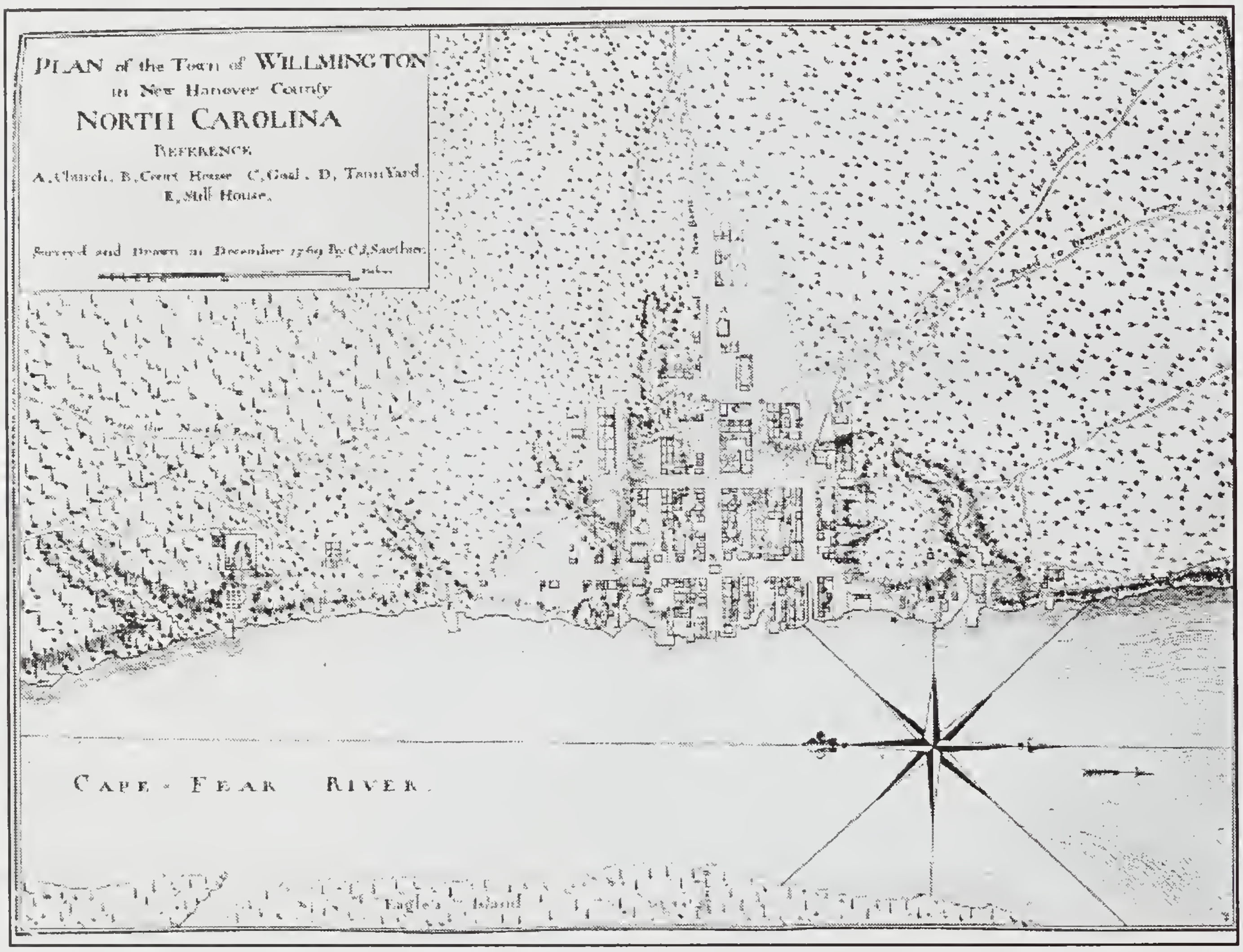
Given its location along the banks of

the Cape Fear River, and exposed to the world as North Carolina's most active port following the American Revolution, Wilmington proved doubly vulnerable to the threat of disease. Low lands and stagnant waters along the coast contributed to the presence of malaria, or bilious remittent fever, the "great Endemic of southern climates, . . . [which] never fail[ed] to make its periodical appearance in the summer and autumnal months," according to Wilmington physician Dr. James H. Dickson. Dysentery, the flux or "summer complaint," was also common, as were respiratory diseases such as pleurisy, influenza, and pneumonia, which often attacked in the winter and lingered into the spring. Whether the malady, such as a reported widespread sickness that gripped Wilmington in the fall of 1766, was undetermined, or in the case of an epidemic of influenza in 1843, well documented, the outcome was often similar—hardship and fatalities. [3] As a result, Wilmingtonians, when possible, left their unhealthy lair, at least from the late spring to early autumn, escaping to the sounds, nearby Smithville (present Southport), mineral waters in western North Carolina, or the refreshing clime of Northern states.

An active shipping center, Wilmington also hosted imported epidemic contagions, the most baneful of which were yellow fever and smallpox. From the late seventeenth century to the American Revolution, yellow fever periodically visited the major ports of the English American colonies along the north Atlantic coast, particularly Charles Town, South Carolina, whose trade with and proximity to Wilmington caused consternation in North Carolina. The deadliest outbreak of yellow fever in the United States in the days of the early republic occurred in Philadelphia in 1793, when the disease took some five thousand lives, or approximately a tenth of the town's population. Wilmington escaped the contagion at the time, but yellow fever may have flared in the port in 1796. After dysentery had claimed a number of lives that year, a bilious, "Pestilential Fever" followed. Although Dr. Armand J. de Rosset doubted that the contagion was yellow fever, the death toll, including those who succumbed to dysentery, approximated one hundred fifty from August through October. De Rosset remembered as many as fourteen funerals on one day in late September. [4]

Another deadly "Malignant Fever," undoubtedly yellow fever, occasioned numerous deaths in 1821, brought business to a "stand," and left the town shrouded "in a most gloomy appearance." The disease, probably introduced by a ship from Havana, struck in mid-August, killing eleven within two weeks. Yet, by 25 August, no new cases were reported, and the Wilmington town commissioners claimed, "The town is more healthy than usual at this time of the year." Within a week, however, the commissioners recanted, admitting that additional incidences of the fever had appeared, some fatal. During the ensuing six weeks, at least another twenty died from the pestilence, which did not abate until mid-October, doubtlessly the result of a timely frost. At that juncture, the town commissioners announced that Wilmington was "extremely healthy, and that persons absent, may follow the example of their fellow-citizens, who have already returned to their habitations, without the least apprehension." [5]

Before the American Revolution, smallpox, the most horrific scourge of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, arguably aroused the greatest fear among American colonials. Variola or smallpox first visited Newton (later Wilmington) in 1738, when a slave bearing symptoms of the disease arrived on board a ship from Charles Town, South Carolina, where a smallpox epidemic then raged. Three decades later, in 1768, Mrs. Solomon Cumbo, probably a resident of Wilmington, was treated for smallpox and recovered. [6] As a continent-wide epidemic of smallpox gripped North America from 1775 through 1782, especially the theater of the Revolutionary War, the disease surfaced in Wilmington in 1781, the result doubtlessly of the British occupation of the port during most of that year. William Hooper, a signer of the Declaration of Independence who was forced to flee his home in Wilmington, lost three slaves to the British and five to the disease. In fairness, both the Continental and British armies brought smallpox in their wake, but the latter seemed more culpable, particularly given the prevalence of the disease among the many African Americans who followed their supposed liberators. [7]


PLAN of the Town of WILLMINGTON
in New Hanover County
NORTH CAROLINA
REFERENCE
A, Church. B, Court House C, Goal. D, Tann Yard.
E, Still House.
Surveyed and Drawn in December 1769 By C.J.Sauthier.
CAPE - FEAR RIVER.
Eagle's Island

Left: Plan of the Town of Wilmington, North Carolina
C. J. Sauthier
1769

Smallpox threatened Wilmington periodically during the years of the early republic. A schooner from Dominique in the West Indies brought the disease to the town in 1797. Five years later, port officials in Wilmington stated the obvious: "Notwithstanding all the vigilance and precaution that can be used, . . . the continual correspondence with neighbouring ports, where the Small-Pox is oftentimes prevalent, renders it extremely doubtful whether any measures of precaution can . . . effectually secure the inhabitants of this Town and vicinity . . . from the introduction of so calamitous a disease." Indeed, smallpox returned in 1816, evoking the lamentation of the *Wilmington Gazette*, "We are sorry to state that our citizens are again exposed to this loathsome and fatal disease." A singular case of smallpox in 1830 was followed five years later by a more general outbreak, principally confined to African Americans. Variola surfaced several times in the 1840s and early 1850s, particularly affecting the black population in 1849 and 1851. In 1854, one Ann Devane brought the disease to town upon her return to Wilmington via a ship from New York. [8]

The century prior to the Civil War witnessed the institution of tentative public health measures to combat the various contagions that threatened Wilmingtonians. Municipal authorities acted under broad statutory guidelines established by the colony and state. The legislation reflected the prevailing belief that filth and miasmatic conditions—stagnant waters in ponds and cellars, privies without appropriate sinks, the offal of slaughterhouses—contributed to the origin and spread of disease. Thus the General Assembly of North Carolina in 1745 empowered Wilmington commissioners to require owners of lots in the new town to clear and drain their property, contending that inattention to such matters led to the unhealthiness of the town. Not until 1772, however, did the Wilmington town commissioners issue an order to residents to keep open any watercourses which ran through their properties. At the same time, the commissioners appointed a town "scavenger" to remove the rubbish and "nuisances" that cluttered the streets of the town. [9]

The state legislature revisited Wilmington after the Revolution with legislation that directed the town commissioners to eliminate stagnant water and inspect cellars. Nevertheless, in 1803 the cellars of a number of buildings under construction contained "stagnated water and putrefied substances, which . . . [had] become so extremely obnoxious as almost to impede the passage of persons in their vicinity," according to a local newspaper. Seven years later, Wilmington commissioners encountered complaints about unimproved lots overgrown with weeds that constituted "a receptacle for all kinds of filth." Perhaps prompted by conditions in Wilmington, the General Assembly in 1815 addressed all seaport towns in the state, declaring that stagnant water, dead animals, privies without wells, slaughterhouses, docks subject to the ebb and flow of tides, and filth in the streets constituted "common nuisances, productive of offensive vapours and noxious inhalation, the causes of disease, and ought to be restrained, regulated and removed." The law makers evidenced particular concern for cellars, where water might collect and stand during the hot months of the summer and early fall. [10]

The healthfulness of Wilmington remained problematic throughout the antebellum era. Legislation in 1821 pointedly gave town commissioners the authority to fill cellars that they deemed "public nuisances and injurious to the health" of the town. Yet, the next year Dr. John Hill observed that "Our docks are notoriously filthy, and our cellars are so low and damp, as in wet seasons to require daily bailing." He also condemned the town's wharves, "partly filled up with decaying vegetable matter, which . . . exhibits a most loathsome and putrefactive source of disease." Moreover, animals and humans fouled the public avenues. One household reportedly used a principal thoroughfare of the town as a receptacle for its "filth and offal." Low grounds in the northern part of town, which included the Horse Pond at the corner of Front and (present) Grace Streets, combined with rice fields and mill pond (present Greenfield Lake and Park area) to the south to present additional challenges to public health. [11]

Regardless of the efforts of municipal authorities to improve sanitary conditions in Wilmington, early Americans realized that some diseases, such as yellow fever and smallpox, emanated from external sources as opposed to internal pollutants because the onset of such maladies often followed the appearance of ships bearing ill passengers or crews. Thus protection of the public welfare additionally entailed the use of maritime quarantine to prevent the introduction of contagions from abroad.

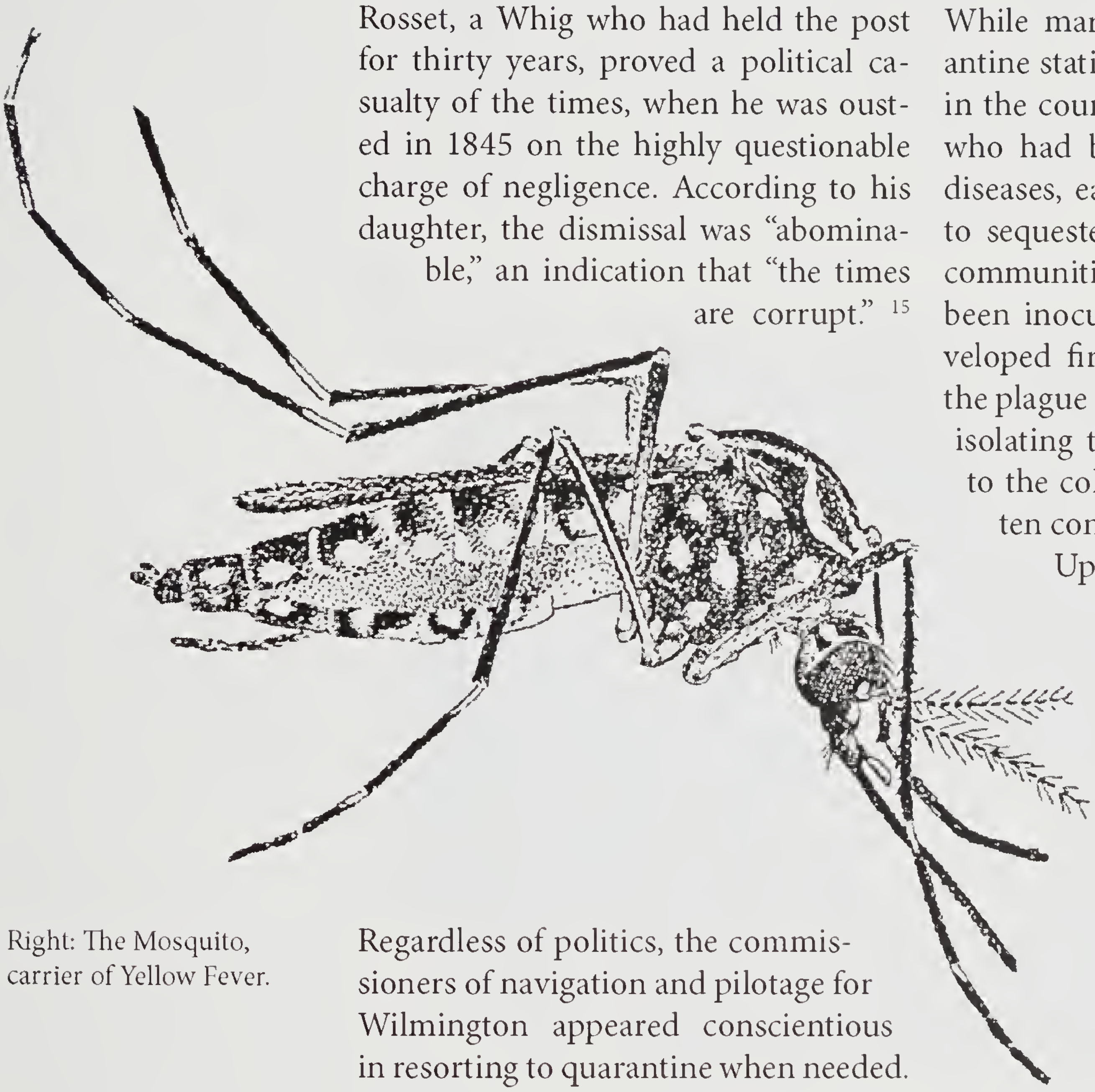
North Carolina inaugurated its maritime quarantine policy in 1751, long after most of English North Atlantic colonies, largely in conjunction with attempts by Great Britain and, later, the United States to regulate shipping. During the colonial era, Port Brunswick, the shipping district that included Wilmington, found English-appointed customs officers entering and clearing vessels and collecting customs duties. The colonial legislature designated commissioners of navigation and pilotage, who marked shipping lanes and licensed pilots in the port district. [12]

When the North Carolina General Assembly in 1751 addressed the need to provide pilots for the Cape Fear River in Port Brunswick, it also crafted a quarantine policy to try to prevent the intrusion of "any contagious, pestilential, or malignant distemper" into the colony. The legislation required captains of ships entering the river to report to the commander of Fort Johnston, located below Brunswick Town at present Southport, on the health of crews and passengers under their command. If a contagious illness prevailed on board, the commander of Fort Johnston ordered the vessel to anchor opposite the fort at which time the commissioners of navigation and pilotage for Port Brunswick were empowered to determine specific quarantine arrangements for the ship, crew, and passengers. The legislature in 1764 reiterated the prescriptions of the earlier law, prescribed a forty-day quarantine when needed, and prohibited visitation of quarantined vessels except for those taking provisions to the ships. [13]

Upon the transition to statehood, the commissioners of navigation and pilotage for Port Wilmington, which replaced Port Brunswick in the wake of the Revolution, remained in charge of quarantine policy. However, the yellow fever epidemic along the Atlantic coast in 1793 impelled the state legislature to revise procedures to permit a combination of commissioners and justices of the peace of the state's port districts to designate quarantine grounds and oversee quarantine. Ships arriving from areas infected by a "malignant disorder," or bearing persons with an "infectious distemper," had to await an examination by an "experienced physician" and permission of the commissioners of navigation and pilotage or justices to proceed to port and unload. Again, unloading and visiting any vessel under quarantine were forbidden. In 1817, the General Assembly mandated quarantine for ships that arrived from ports in which smallpox, yellow fever, or other contagious diseases obtained or that carried any person afflicted with such diseases. The statute pointedly authorized the commissioners of navigation and pilotage "to use such force as shall be necessary to remove . . . [a] vessel to the place of Quarantine." Legislation in 1828 reinforced that authority, vesting the commissioners of navigation and pilotage of Port Wilmington with plenary power to determine all quarantine procedures. [14]

North Carolina also followed other colonies and states in the creation of the position of port physician or health officer to provide medical expertise to aid the commissioners of navigation and pilotage in making decisions about quarantine matters. Charles Town utilized a health officer as early as 1712, probably the first in the colonies, and between 1750 and 1800 virtually all major ports along the Atlantic coast sought similar assistance. The General Assembly in North Carolina in 1795 permitted the commissioners of navigation and pilotage for the port of Wilmington to appoint a physician, and extended the authority in 1802 to the officials in charge of the remaining port districts in the state. The position of port physician in

Wilmington remained throughout the antebellum era, but became politicized in the 1840s as Democrats and Whigs jostled for control of Wilmington and New Hanover County. Dr. Armand J. de Rosset, a Whig who had held the post for thirty years, proved a political casualty of the times, when he was ousted in 1845 on the highly questionable charge of negligence. According to his daughter, the dismissal was "abominable," an indication that "the times are corrupt." [15]



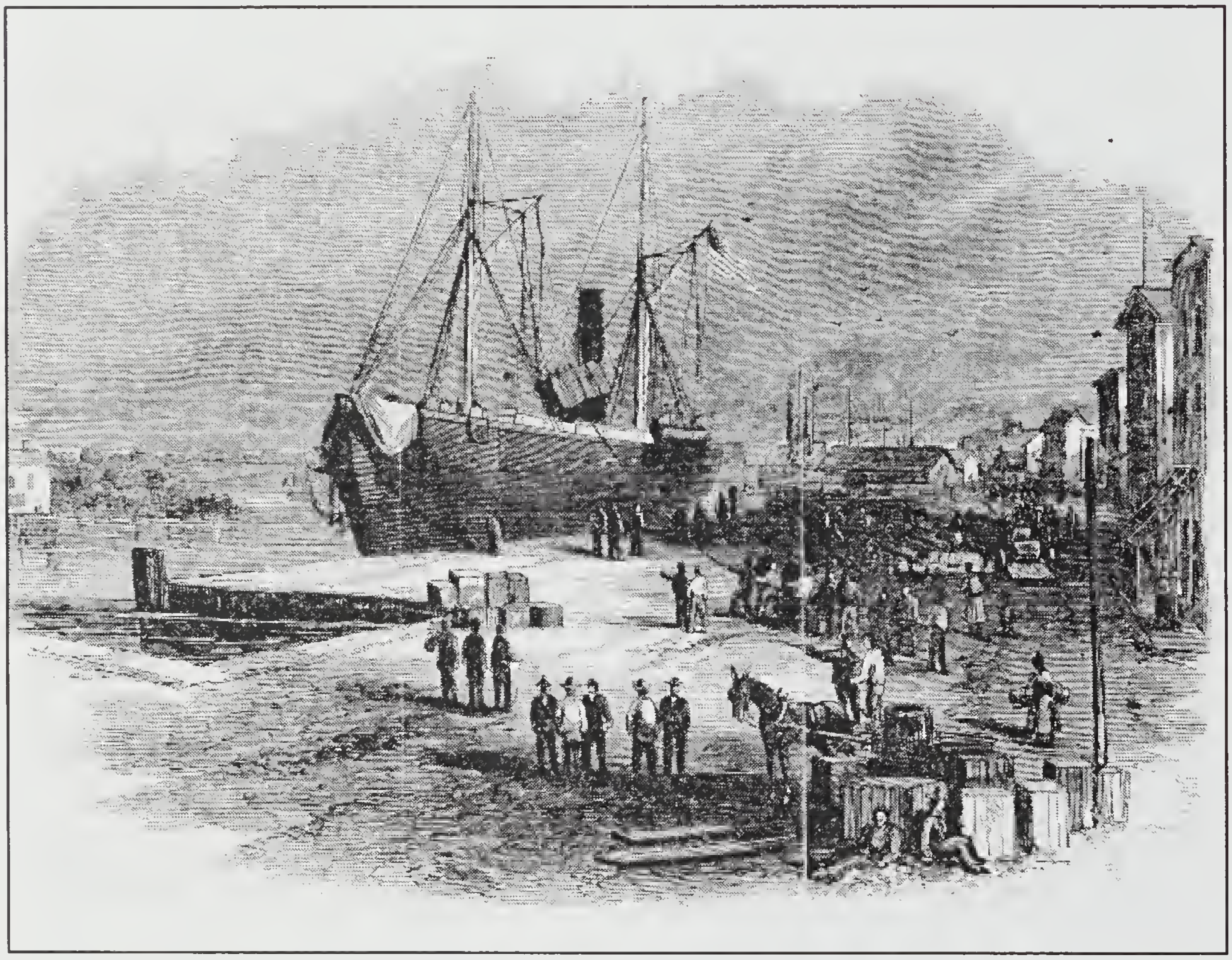
Right: The Mosquito, carrier of Yellow Fever.

Regardless of politics, the commissioners of navigation and pilotage for Wilmington appeared conscientious in resorting to quarantine when needed. After smallpox was discovered in 1797 on a vessel from the West Indies, the commissioners quarantined the ship, prohibited all ships from the Bahamas and West Indian Islands from entering the harbor of Wilmington until the health officer had given his approval in writing, and warned pilots to examine vessels that they brought to port for contagious persons on board. In the summer of 1833, the commissioners ordered a blanket quarantine of vessels arriving from the Levant, the Mediterranean, the coast of Africa, South America, the West Indies, Bermuda, the Bahamas, the Gulf of Mexico, and New Orleans from June through October. Smallpox in New York in 1845 occasioned the quarantine of ships from that port, a restriction that apparently continued into the following year, given the ships riding quarantine in the port of Wilmington in January 1846. [16]

While maritime quarantine and quarantine stations intended to isolate those in the course of oceangoing commerce who had been exposed to contagious diseases, early Americans also resorted to sequestering residents of their own communities who either were ill or had been inoculated against smallpox. Developed first for leprosy, and then for the plague and smallpox, the practice of isolating the sick spread from Europe to the colonies, where the ill were often confined to their own dwellings. Upon learning in 1854 that Ann Devane had contracted smallpox, Wilmington town commissioners ordered her to remain in the house or shop in which she resided, directed that placards bearing the warning "beware of Small Pox" be posted in the front and rear of the building, and placed a guard to prevent interaction with the quarantined. When possible, however, authorities removed the afflicted, particularly slaves, to homes or other designated structures called pest houses or "hospitals," which were located some distance from the town. [17]

The pest houses or hospitals were often temporary and usually remote with few accommodations for comforting the ill. Although several towns and counties in North Carolina, particularly New Bern and Craven County, early on experimented with the pest houses or hospitals, their efforts proved transitory. Wilmington arguably possessed the best and most enduring facility in the state for caring for the ill, a hospital at

Mt. Tirza(h), located south of town on a 150-acre plot of land along the Cape Fear River (near present Sunset Park). Mt. Tirza originated in an attempt to establish a hospital for the sailors so prominent in Wilmington commerce. The General Assembly in 1835 incorporated the Wilmington Marine Hospital Association to provide "for the relief of sick and disabled seamen," noting that Wilmingtonians had "already purchased land and prepared suitable houses for that purpose." Apparently, the hospital rarely sheltered sailors, and, in fact, was little used. The Association and Wilmingtonians hoped that the federal government would purchase the hospital and land in order to erect a federal marine hospital for the Cape Fear region. Eventually, in 1855, Congress appropriated the necessary funds, but the hospital and an accompanying "pest house" were not constructed before the Civil War. In the meantime, however, Wilmington used the hospital to house smallpox victims during the outbreaks of 1835 and 1851. [18]



Left: A ship unloads at the Wilmington waterfront. As a port, Wilmington was vulnerable to diseases brought in by contaminated vessels.

Isolation assumed a different perspective when municipal authorities attempted to prevent persons from infected communities from entering Wilmington. Restricting entrée into Wilmington emanated by implication from the legislation in 1815 and specifically from a statute in 1855 that vested Wilmington town commissioners with the power to "prevent all persons recently from any place where any contagious or infectious disease exists, or has recently existed," from entering the town. Wilmington commissioners had already taken such a precaution in 1854, when smallpox in adjoining counties and yellow fever along the Atlantic coast evoked an order that barred persons from the infected areas unless fifteen days had elapsed since their departure. [19]

The preeminent weapon with which early Americans combated smallpox was inoculation, followed by vaccination. Inoculation or variolation, introduced into England and the American colonies almost simultaneously in the early eighteenth century, consisted of making an incision in the arm and transplanting the live smallpox virus to the subject. The success of inoculation in the much touted outbreak of smallpox in Boston in 1721 led subsequently to its wider adoption in the colonies, though not without opposition. Smallpox epidemics in Charles Town, South Carolina in 1738 and 1760 engendered a resort to inoculation. However, the disease lingered so long that citizens pressured the South Carolina legislature into prohibiting the practice, for despite the obvious benefits, the subjects of inoculation bore the live virus and remained contagious. The ban on inoculation apparently little deterred its practice. [20]

The infrequent occurrence of smallpox in North Carolina before the American Revolution evoked little interest in inoculation. Still, Wilmington physician John Eustace, at his death in 1769, owned copies of William Hillary, *A Rational and Mechanical Essay on the Small-Pox*, Adam Thomson, *A Discourse on the Preparation of the Body for the Smallpox*, and an "Account of inoculation" that may have been Alexander Monro, *An Account of the Inoculation of Small Pox in Scotland.* [21] Presumably Dr. Eustace's colleagues, and they were particularly numerous in Wilmington in the three decades before the revolution—at least twenty-four physicians before 1778—likewise were familiar with smallpox and inoculation. During the war, as the British occupied Wilmington in 1781 and a smallpox epidemic descended upon the American states, recourse to variolation may well have been extensive.

Given the problematic effects of inoculation, the discovery by English physician Edward Jenner in 1796 of a cowpox or kinepox vaccine opened a new era in battling smallpox. The cowpox virus, similar to smallpox, introduced a mild case of the disease to the system which conferred immunity and yet was not contagious. News of Jenner's discovery reached North Carolina by the turn of the nineteenth century and vaccination quickly replaced inoculation as the preferred means of obtaining protection against smallpox. In March 1802, the commissioners of navigation and pilotage for Port Wilmington strongly recommended that the populace in the region resort to "Inoculation [sic] with the Kine-Pox," for they had "undoubted assurances" of the "safety and ease of the process, and of its efficacy in preventing a communication of the Small Pox to those who are thus inoculated [sic]." The commissioners also noted that vaccination was currently used in Hillsborough and among the students at the University of North Carolina to combat a smallpox epidemic in Orange County. Moreover, some Wilmington physicians possessed the vaccine. [22]

While many recognized the value of vaccination for smallpox, others opposed or ignored the procedure. Some believed that the vaccinated, like the inoculated, remained contagious; others could not afford the cost. Thus, most waited until smallpox struck before resorting to the procedure. When smallpox threatened in 1816, the *Wilmington Gazette* remonstrated with its readers for the general failure to take advantage of vaccination:

> There are men amongst us who cannot be stimulated to an act of duty which they owe to themselves, their children, and domestics. Like our savage neighbors, they appear incapable or appreciating the value of any real improvement of their condition; or like inferior animals [are] equally devoid of foresight & careless of the danger which surrounds them. Surely our ancestors who had so often felt the destructive power of small

> pox, and who had seen their dearest friends and relations cut off in the vigour of life . . . , would have thought the prevention of such calamities an object of universal importance; but we alas, in this enlightened age evince our gratitude for this invaluable discovery, by refusing to avail ourselves of it. [23]

Wilmingtonians, however, gradually embraced vaccination. By 1851, upon the threat of smallpox, Wilmington commissioners highly recommended (though did not mandate) the preventive, and the town, using local physicians, underwrote the expense. [24]

By the eve of the Civil War, the town of Wilmington had developed a crude policy of public health protection that reflected a concern for proper sanitation, the prevention of the intrusion of contagious diseases, and the containment of contagious diseases once they had appeared. From the mid-eighteenth century, town authorities evidenced a concern for improving sanitary conditions, which included whitewashing buildings and liming cellars, and, according to Dr. James H. Dickson, "filling up the low swampy branches and lagoons which formerly existed in the heart of the town," and improving "the river margin now constituting Water Street." Toward the end of the antebellum era, the town commissioners divided Wilmington into seven districts over which each of the seven town commissioners was given jurisdiction and made responsible for giving "such orders as may seem to them necessary to the health of the town." The commissioners also employed an official specifically to implement sanitary regulations. Much work remained. Dr. Dickson, in 1852, opined that the "sanitary condition of the place has undoubtedly undergone a great improvement within the past fifteen or twenty years," though, he admitted that the lack of statistical data rendered impossible any accurate comparison of health conditions over the years. [25]

The town also appeared to have enjoyed some success in preventing the intrusion of epidemic contagions. Yellow fever and smallpox threatened in the decade before the Civil War, but maritime quarantine and bans on visitations from infected areas served to stave off those diseases. Moreover, cholera, which was reported in the state in the early 1830s and in the United States in 1849, failed to reach Wilmington. In the instance of smallpox, Wilmington developed a longstanding policy of isolating the sick in their homes in town or dispatching them to the Mt. Tirza hospital. Additionally, the town underwrote the cost of medical care for those afflicted with smallpox, and sponsored free vaccination via local physicians against the disease.

More might have been accomplished. However, as historian David R. Goldfield has observed, business interests often controlled city governments as mayors and commissioners in the South, and Wilmington certainly was no exception. An application of cost-benefit analysis to manifold urban services, all of which competed for scarce tax revenues and fees, left little money available for public health protection. Civic and business leaders appreciated urban cleanliness for making a town more attractive, but the failure to understand the germ theory of disease militated against the importance of such esthetics for sanitary purposes. Most recognized the value of quarantine, but implementing an efficacious policy proved virtually impossible. Safety simply could not be guaranteed. Hence, a sense of fatalism pervaded urban leadership as well as the public, which also undermined a more determined effort to combat disease. [26]

The reticence of state and national authorities for political, financial, or other reasons to intervene in matters of public health by default left the development of public health policies largely to local governments. North Carolina seaports—Wilmington, New Bern, Edenton, and smaller communities such as Washington, Elizabeth City, Plymouth, and Murfreesboro—necessarily assumed responsibility for protecting the commonweal. Not only were people clustered together, which facilitated the transmission of disease, but seaports occupied largely low lying, unhealthful areas along the eastern coast. Moreover, ports suffered from the threat of imported contagions via shipping. Insofar as extant records and supposition permit, all towns more or less followed the example of Wilmington. Maritime quarantine and the employment of physicians obtained in the ports. Isolating the ill in their homes, "hospitals," or pest houses and providing medical care for the indigent found increasing acceptance, not only in port towns, but in those to the interior such as Fayetteville and Raleigh.

As in Wilmington, however, the efforts of North Carolina towns, coastal and inland, achieved questionable success. Indeed, while Wilmington by 1860 may have exemplified advances in the protection of the health of the commonweal that were made by urban entities throughout North Carolina, particularly the seaports, its efforts proved powerless to prevent the spread of yellow fever in 1862 that left the Confederate town desolate. Two years later, a similar epidemic swept the Union-occupied port of New Bern. The yellow fever epidemics, a chilling reminder that the horrors of the Civil War were not confined to the battlefield, attested also to the limited progress of public health protection in North Carolina. [27]

FOOTNOTES

1. Alan D. Watson, *Wilmington, North Carolina, to 1861* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2003), chaps. 1, 3, 5, 10.

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3. Dickson, "Topography and Diseases," 73; Adelaide L. Fries, ed., *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina* (Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Historical Commission, 1922), 1: 335; *Wilmington (NC) Chronicle*, 19 July 1843; Guion Griffis Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina: A Social History* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1937), 722-734.

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7. Elizabeth A. Fenn, *Pox Americana: The Great Smallpox Epidemic of 1775-82* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2001), especially 44-134; Don Higginbotham, ed., *The Papers of James Iredell* (Raleigh, NC: Department of Cultural Resources, 2003), 2: 358.

8. *Hall's Wilmington (NC) Gazette*, 16 February 1797; *Wilmington (NC) Gazette*, 1 April 1802; 6 April 1816; *Carolina Observer* (Fayetteville, NC), 21 January 1830; *People's Press and Wilmington (NC) Advertiser*, 30 October; 4, 11 December 1835; *Wilmington (NC) Journal*, 27 February; 17 April 1846; *Wilmington Chronicle*, 27 October 1848; Nancy and Rush Beeler with Helen Peckworth, ed., *Wilmington Town Minutes*, 1847-1855 (Wilmington, NC: New Hanover County Public Library and Old New Hanover Genealogical Society, 1997), 143.

9. Walter Clark, ed., *The State Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh: State of North Carolina,, 1895-1906), 23: 236; 25: 260; Lennon and Kellam, *Wilmington Town Minutes*, 181, 185, 199-200, 232.

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15. *Laws and Resolutions of the State of North Carolina, 1795*, Public Laws, ch. 20; *Laws and Resolutions of the State of North Carolina, 1802*, Public Laws, ch. 24; *Wilmington Journal*, 18 April 1845; ? to Mrs. C. D. de Rosset, 16 April

1845, (de Rosset Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC): Smillie, *Public Health*, 66-67, 79.

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22. Wilmington Gazette, 1 April 1802.

23. Wilmington Gazette, 6 April 1816.

24. *Wilmington Journal*, 31 January 1851.

25. Dickson, "Topography and Diseases," 72; *Carolina Observer*, 11 September 1832; Beeler and Peckworth, *Wilmington Town Minutes*, 170; Watson, *Wilmington*, 195.

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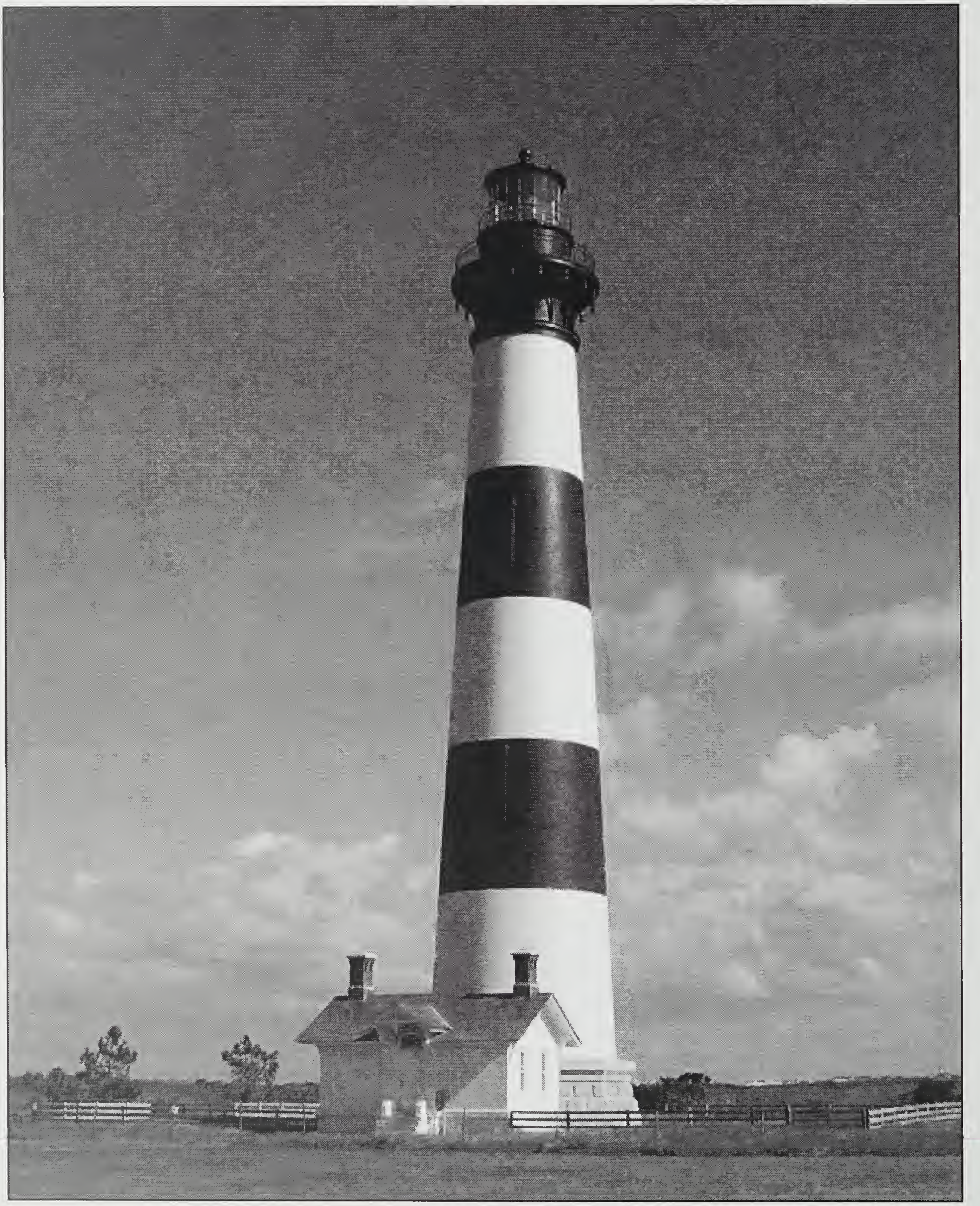

North Carolina Maritime History Council

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A Quiet Corner of America's Past:

The Bodie Island Baseline

A Marker from the United States Coast Survey, 1848

by Doug Stover

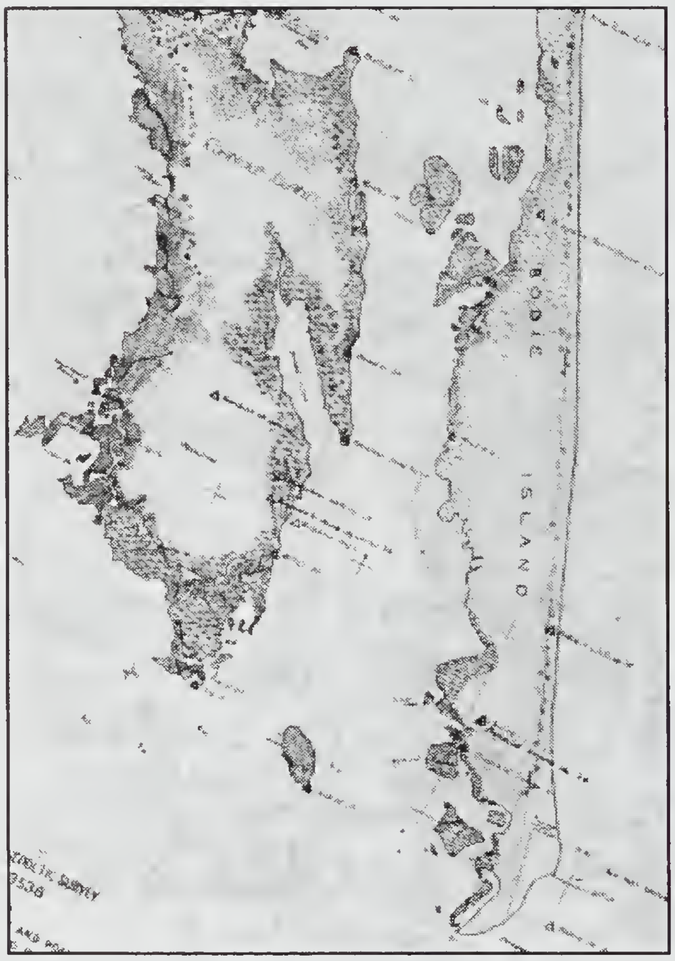
Left: Bodie Island
Lighthouse

Right: Bodie Island
Lighthouse
ca. 1900

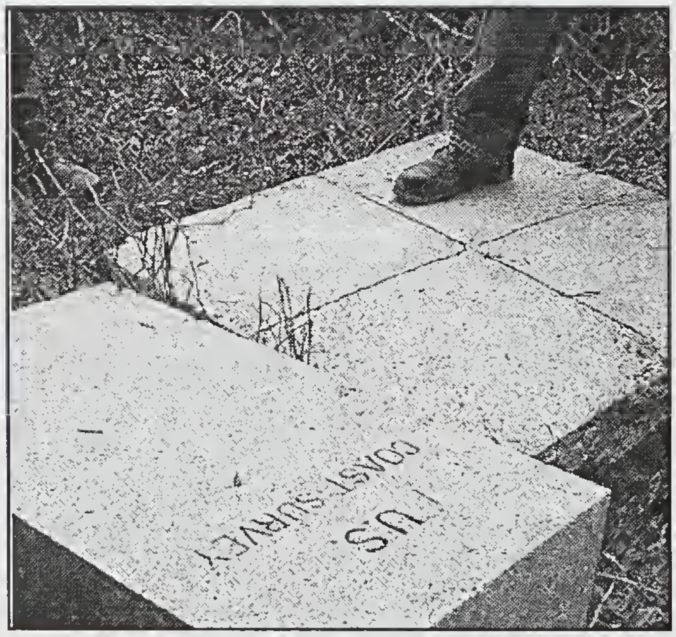
2007 marked the 200th anniversary of the establishment of the United States Survey of the Coast and was celebrated by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA). The founding of the Survey of the Coast on 10 February 1807 marked the beginnings of both the first science agency in an embryonic federal government and the establishment of NOAA's oldest ancestor agency, the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey. Fittingly, this took place during the administration of Thomas Jefferson, the most scientific of American presidents. Throughout its history, this organization, which underwent name changes to the United States Coast Survey and then the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, helped shape the infrastructure and build the foundation of American science.

The primary mission of the Survey of the Coast was to provide nautical charts to the American maritime community for safe passage into American ports and along our extensive coastline. The agency initiated a plan to build a geodetic triangulation network as a framework for both topographic surveys of the shoreline and hydrographic surveys of harbors and offshore waters. As part of our nation's first coastal survey, it established accurate baselines using geodetic triangulation in six spots from Maine to Georgia, including grounds now in Cape Hatteras National Seashore of North Carolina.

In 1848, two base markers and six associated posts were placed by the Survey of the Coast near the Bodie Island Lighthouse. These now historic markers are the only remaining complete set of coastal survey baseline markers left in the United States. The northern base marker, a large granite slab, is located in heavy wooded thickets a few miles north of the Bodie Island Lighthouse. The southern marker is buried under sand approximately one mile south of the Lighthouse. A copper nail in the crosshair center of each base marker notes the actual point of measurement taken by the Survey. Between the north and south base markers lie six of the small granite posts that provided additional measurements. Through such high standards of accuracy and scientific integrity, a national geodetic control network was built. This system was used for surveys conducted around the nation as our country grew westward in the nineteenth century, ensuring that maps and charts would align with one another through a common reference system. From the original mandate to survey the United States' coastline, NOAA's charting and coastal mapping pieces have expand. Today, NOAA's Office of Coast Survey holds more than twenty thousand historical nautical charts and continually updates its collection of one thousand current charts.



Left: Map of Bodie Island



Left: One of two base markers placed by the United States Coast Survey in 1848

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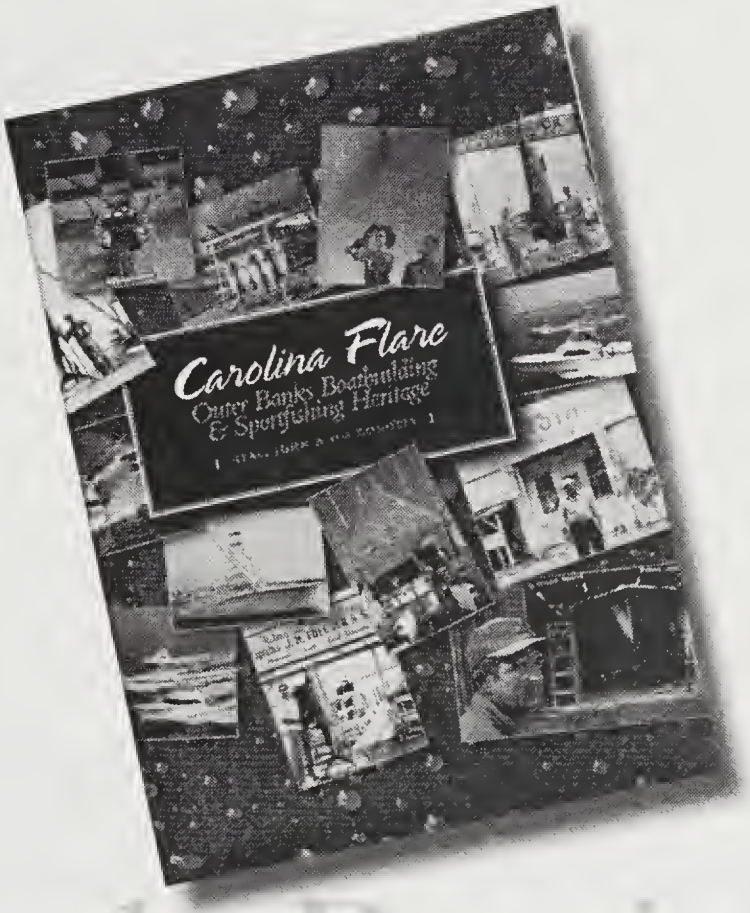

Near Right: Cover, *Carolina Flare: Outer Banks Boatbuilding and Sportfishing Heritage*

Book Review

Neal, John, and Jim Conoley. *Carolina Flare: Outer Banks Boatbuilding and Sportfishing Heritage.* Wendell, NC: Carolina Flare, LLC, 2007. 286 pp.

Carolina Flare: Outer Banks Boatbuilding and Sportfishing Heritage, authored by the father and sons team of Neal, John, and Jim Conoley, is a glossy, glitzy look at the history of two of the region's important industries. Not only does the book cover the history of boatbuilding and sportfishing between the North Carolina-Virginia Border and Beaufort Inlet (which the authors conveniently divide into the Northern and Southern Outer Banks), it also includes a general history of the Outer Banks, gleaned from familiar sources.

The Conoleys are thorough in their hailing of the pioneers of boatbuilding and sportfishing. The stories, or rather fish tales, collected for the book are a true treasure, such as the time a well-known Oregon Inlet charter boat captain allowed his mate to sleep on the return run from the inlet only to be embarrassed upon his arrival at the dock with the rigs still dangling in the water. Or the time an experienced captain from Hatteras took out a party of fishermen from the mountains who insisted on going out on a frightfully stormy day, but caught dozens of large bluefish which they loaded up in their car before driving back to the hills.

The book is attractive and well laid out. The numerous photographs, which came from a wide variety of both institutional and family sources, are entertaining, enlightening, and intriguing. Appendices and glossary included at the end of the book provide an excellent reference section. However, while no other book so aptly covers the subject matter, it does contains some inaccuracies, such as claiming Cape Hatteras as the easternmost place on the Outer Banks and that the Bonner Bridge spanning Oregon Inlet was opened in 1962. These factual errors, unfortunately, can leave the knowing reader distrusting.

With its visual appeal, and never before assembled collection of images and information, *Carolina Flare* has established itself as the most comprehensive history of sportsfishing and boatbuilding on the Carolina coast to date.

Sarah Downing
Nags Head, NC

Tributaries

Published annually by the North Carolina Maritime History Council

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