

LOWER CAPE FEAR HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Inc. BULLETIN

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TRAVEL CONDITIONS IN COLONIAL NORTH CAROLINA: THE CASE OF THE LOWER CAPE FEAR by Alan D. Watson, Ph.D.

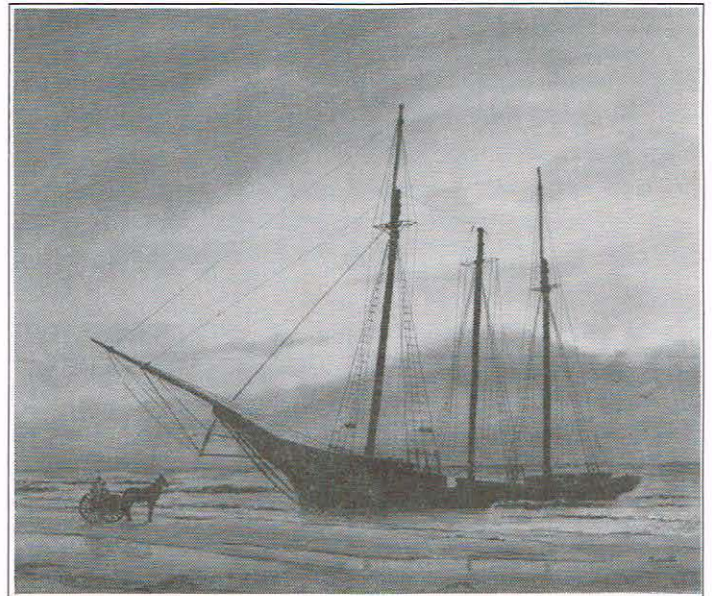
In this issue, the *Bulletin* suffers from an embarrassment of riches with an article by Dr. Alan D. Watson and illustrations by Samuel D. Bissette. Dr. Watson is professor of history at the University of North Carolina at Wilmington and is the author of several important books about Wilmington and New Bern, as well as a number of articles in the *North Carolina Historical Review* and the *Bulletin*. His latest book, *Society in Colonial North Carolina* was published last year by the Historical Publications Section of the North Carolina Division of Archives and History.

Samuel D. Bissette began painting in 1970, just seven years before he retired as President of People's Savings and Loan in Wilmington. His watercolors now grace the walls of the North Carolina Governor's Mansion, the offices of the *New York Times* and Duke University Medical Center. The most visible local displays of Mr. Bissette's artistry are the exterior murals over the entrances to Belk-Beery at Independence Mall. —Ed.

The natural beauty of America surprised and delighted Europeans who first gazed upon these shores in early modern times. Giovanni da Verrazano, an Italian exploring for France in 1524, anchored off the coast of present southeastern North Carolina, becoming one of the first Europeans to site present North Carolina, and certainly the first to leave a written description of his visit:

We saw the open country rising in height above the sandy shores with many fair fields and plains, full of mighty great woods, some very thick, and some thin, replenished with divers sorts of trees, as pleasant and delectable to behold, as is possible to imagine. [The woods] are full of palm trees, bay trees, and high cypress trees, and

many other sorts of trees unknown in Europe, which yield most sweet savors far from the shore.¹



Shipwreck on the Beach by Samuel D. Bissette

Those magnificent woods, however, rendered overland travel difficult in early North Carolina. The colonials necessarily resorted first to water—bays, rivers, streams—which offered easier, cheaper, and faster transport than overland routes. To the interior the settlers found only Indian trails and animal paths to help them negotiate the often heavily-wooded landscape. Even guides sometimes lost their way. In addition to the forests, the colonials battled morasses and swamps, and contended with crossing the many watercourses that interlaced the coastal region. Wild animals, pesky insects, inclement weather, and inadequate lodging compounded the problems of travel.

Although Virginians began to filter into North Carolina's Albemarle region in the 1650s, and Barbadians and New Englanders briefly resided along the banks of the Cape Fear River in the 1660s, the permanent settlement of the Lower Cape Fear did not occur until the 1720s. Brunswick Town immediately appeared, followed a few

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years later by a village just below the confluence of the branches of the Cape Fear River, which eventually was incorporated as Wilmington. The North Carolina General Assembly in 1729 recognized the settlements in southeastern North Carolina by erecting New Hanover County (Precinct until 1739), whose seat was first Brunswick Town and then Wilmington. From New Hanover County in 1764 the legislature carved Brunswick County. This essay will consider travel conditions and transportation in those counties prior to the Revolution.

Settlers of the Lower Cape Fear immediately took advantage of a magnificent system of natural waterways, crowned by the Cape Fear and its branches, the Northwest and Northeast, for purposes of transportation. The Cape Fear was the only river in North Carolina that flowed directly into the Atlantic, which in turn transformed Brunswick Town and Wilmington into North Carolina's principal deepwater ports. The Cape Fear's channel provided ingress for large oceangoing vessels such as ships and snows, at least to Brunswick Town, and for smaller craft, including brigs, sloops, and schooners, to Wilmington and beyond on the Northwest and Northeast rivers. Merchant James Murray remarked that such vessels, which could carry 100 barrels (of naval stores products), were essential for conducting business in the region.²

The Northwest and Northeast rivers offered access to

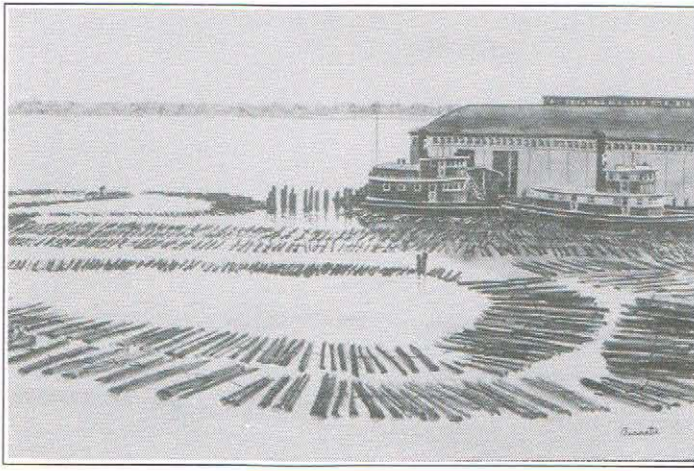
a magnificent hinterland, making Wilmington a major market for wood products (boards, staves, shingles) and naval stores (tar, pitch, turpentine). At the same time myriad minor watercourses crisscrossed the Lower Cape Fear. Janet Schaw, a Scottish visitor to the area in 1775, observed, "what adds in a most particular manner to this convenience [of travel] is, that quite across from one branch to the other, and indeed thro' the whole country are innumerable creeks that communicate with the main branches of the river and every tide receive a sufficient depth of water for boats of the largest size and even for small Vessels, so that every thing is water-borne at a small charge and with great safety and ease."³

Residents plied the inland waters in various craft, including the popular canoe, which Hugh Meredith used on the Northeast Cape Fear during his exploration of the area in 1731. According to one Carolinian, both men and women were "very dexterous in managing" their canoes. Moreover, "no Boat in the World [was] capable [of being] rowed as fast as they..." Canoes were usually propelled by oar or paddle, though some were outfitted with sail. Smaller ones might carry two or three people; larger canoes might accommodate two or three horses as well. Also popular was the perriauger, a versatile craft driven by oar or sail depending upon its size. Larger than canoes, perriaugers were capable of transporting livestock, or as many as 40 to 50 barrels of tar or pitch. Some were sufficiently seaworthy that they were used in the coastal or even the West Indian trade.⁴

Other water craft ranged from rafts and flatboats to pleasure craft. Rafts and flatboats proved indispensable in providing an easy, inexpensive means of sending bulky items such as wood products and barrels of naval stores to market in Wilmington. Of course travel was slow, for such craft depended upon the current for motive power, supplemented by heavy oars or poles. For leisure, the well-to-do planter and royal officeholder John Rutherford kept a "very fine boat with an awning to prevent the heat." Rowed "by six stout Negroes in neat uniforms," it transported Miss Schaw from Rutherford's plantation to Wilmington.⁵

Water transport encountered impediments, however. Logs, of which there were "millions," according to James Murray, and other debris obstructed the river. Hugh Meredith also reflected upon the "Multitude of Logs" in the Northeast Cape Fear. If "jammed together," "being sound, heavy, fast and deep in the Sand," they were virtually "immovable." Residents living along the waterways occasionally attempted to clear the streams, but their efforts were usually unavailing. An additional obstacle, which also made the logs more menacing to shipping, was the low level of the water in the rivers, particularly during the summer and early fall months.⁶

As the colonial population increased, absorbing the land along the rivers and steams, habitations moved inland, necessitating the development of a system of overland transportation—roads, bridges, ferries. The General



Lumber Rafting by Samuel D. Bissette

Assembly or colonial legislature exercised ultimate jurisdiction over such matters, but legislation in 1715 entrusted the immediate supervision of roads, bridges, and ferries to the county courts which were composed of local justices of the peace. That law and subsequent statutes made male taxables (defined as all whites and blacks, ages 16 to 60) responsible for building and repairing the roads and bridges.⁷

Colonial legislation directed each county court annually to appoint overseers for the roads within the county. The overseers in turn took charge of road companies, which were groups of taxables deemed by the county court responsible for the maintenance of roads and bridges within their vicinity. The county court also authorized new roads, named a road jury of twelve men to mark the routes of the new roads, and subsequently designated an overseer and road company to construct and repair each new road. The statutes provided fines for overseers and taxables who failed to comply with the law.⁸

According to the legislation in 1715, roads were required to be "cleared of ...all Trees & Brush at least Ten Feet wide & such Limbs of Trees cut away as may incommode horsemen..." By 1764 the mandatory width of roads had been increased to 20 feet. According to Alexander Schaw, brother of Janet Schaw, the colonials in the lower Cape Fear did little more than directed by law: they cut "the trees to the necessary breadth, in as even a line as they can, and where the ground is wet, they make a small ditch on either side."⁹

Bridle roads or paths, and causeways, supplemented the main roads. Laid out by a jury of twelve, a jury of three, or the individual constructing the road, bridle paths were narrow and thus reduced the cost of clearing a road of normal width. They were used to connect a dwelling house or mill with a main road, to link a river landing with a main road, or to conjoin two highways. The colonials used causeways for crossing lowlands and swamps as well as for approaches to ferry landings. Legally the same width as highways, causeways were constructed by placing logs in the direction of the roadbed, covering the logs with dirt, and recovering

the whole with small trees, brush, and dirt again. Usually they were higher in the middle and tapered to the sides to promote better drainage.¹⁰

New Hanover County first utilized road overseers and companies, but in 1735, the General Assembly instituted the commission system for supervising roads and bridges in the southern counties, or those lying below Tyrrell on the south side of Albemarle Sound. A statute in that year empowered each county court to nominate as many commissioners as it deemed appropriate to care for the roads and bridges within the county. The commissioners then appointed overseers and summoned taxables to work on the roads. However, the law offered the commissioners the option of contracting with private individuals for the repair and maintenance of the roads and bridges, collecting money from white taxables and owners of male slaves to pay the cost. The decentralization of control over transportation in 1735 reflected the sparse and scattered population of the southern counties which rendered oversight by the county courts difficult. The New Hanover court proceeded to name the most eminent men in the county as road commissioners. All were justices of the peace. Two were members of the royal council: Nathaniel Rice and Matthew Rowan, the latter of whom later served as acting governor of the colony in 1753-1754.¹¹

Legislation in 1745, the most explicit and comprehensive road statute of the colonial era, retained the commission system for the southern counties and elaborated upon the provisions of the earlier law. At that time, the General Assembly divided New Hanover County into six districts and (with one exception) appointed five commissioners for each district, permitting them to call upon taxables at least twice a year to work on the highways. Again, county luminaries served as commissioners: councillors Roger Moore, William Forbes, Matthew Rowan, and Robert Halton, in addition to such other well known Cape Fear names as Dry, Rutherford, Davis, Waters, Swann, Ashe, Lillington, Walker, and Bloodworth.¹²

Many counties, sensing the need for greater control over road and bridge construction and maintenance, objected to the commission system. Although the county courts, including that of New Hanover, replaced commissioners when they moved or died, and occasionally assisted commissioners in imposing fines on delinquent taxables, generally the commissioners acted independently of the courts. Gradually, the General Assembly began placing southern counties under the overseer-road company system, and legislation in 1764 completed the process by requiring all remaining counties to return to the former approach to roads and bridge construction and maintenance.¹³

As a result, the New Hanover court in its June 1764 session assumed control over the roads and appointed overseers throughout the county. The number was fourteen,

few compared to other counties, but the districts of the New Hanover County overseers were large, reminiscent of the commission system. Subsequently, the justices of the court altered the overseers' districts and shifted taxables from one district to another. Although the court usually followed the statutory directive of appointing a road jury to mark the route of a new road, in 1765 the New Hanover magistrates commanded the overseers of the Rocky Point and the North East districts to open roads according to directions given by the justices without the benefit of a jury, similar to the practice of the road commissioners.¹⁴

Of all the North Carolina counties, only New Hanover found the overseer system objectionable. Thus, in 1773, the General Assembly, observing that the 1764 law had "been found inconvenient in the County of New Hanover, and [did] not answer the Purposes thereby intended," returned New Hanover to the commission system. Four districts were delineated by the law and commissioners were named for each district. The statute made the commissioners self-perpetuating. When a commissioner moved from his district or died, the remaining commissioners in that district selected a replacement.¹⁵

Travelers gave a mixed review to the roads in the Lower Cape Fear at the end of the colonial era. Many found the highways sandy, hiding dangerous tree roots and tiring horses. However, in 1773, the Reverend Joseph Pilmore, a Methodist minister, deemed the roads in the area satisfactory. Two years later Janet Schaw observed that the road leading from Wilmington to Castle Hayne was "sufficiently broad to allow fifty men to march abreast..." Additionally, she found the roads "entirely level," which enabled her to ride without complaint in a four-wheeled carriage called a phaeton.¹⁶ Indeed, the number of wheeled vehicles, such as gigs, sulkies, and phaetons, in the Lower Cape Fear attested not only to the extraordinary wealth of the inhabitants but also to roads sufficient to sustain that mode of travel.

One road that encountered criticism, however, was the highway leading from Wilmington across Eagles Island and down the west bank of the Cape Fear to South Carolina, part of the "King's Highway," and the only road in eastern North Carolina at the time that led to the southern province. British postal inspector Hugh Finlay in 1774 complained that the road was "the most tedious and disagreeable of any on the Continent of North America." In his estimation, it passed through "a poor, sandy, barren, gloomy country," through which "Neither man nor beast can stand a long journey..."¹⁷

In addition to the difficult roadbed, travelers left frightening stories of losing their way between Wilmington and the South Carolina border. One man, who left the main road for a "by-path," became bewildered among the swamps, then totally lost. He finally stopped, his horse exhausted. Fortunately he carried flint and steel, and could

light a fire, but he spent the night using pitch pine torches to fend off wolves who were attracted by the light. The next morning the man climbed a tree and saw Wilmington in the distance. United States postal inspector Ebenezer Hazard in 1777 took a short cut in the same vicinity, trying to save twelve miles, but "met with great Difficulty" and soon lost his way. In his journal he entered the following memorandum—"Take no more short Cuts in North Carolina."¹⁸

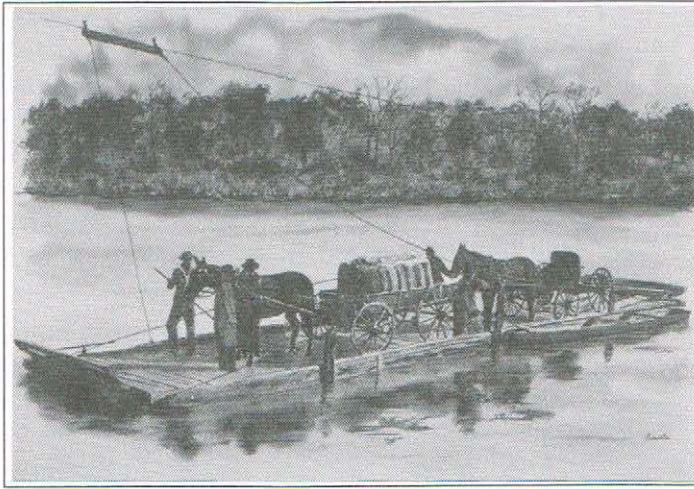
The one segment of the road south of Wilmington that was universally deplored was that leading though Eagles Island, connected by two ferries to Wilmington and Brunswick County. The General Assembly in 1764 permitted William Dry, wealthy planter and collector of customs at Brunswick Town, to keep the ferries in return for maintaining the road through the island. Dry, however, had made a hard bargain, for repairing the road was extremely difficult as the island was little more than a marsh. Despite his negligence, Dry was never prosecuted, in all likelihood because the Attorney General of North Carolina, Thomas Maguire, was Dry's son-in-law.¹⁹

Although the Reverend Joseph Pilmore had ridden across Eagles Island in 1773 in a gig, the next year Finlay found it nearly impassable. Wrote the postal inspector, "This public avenue to the most flourishing town in the Province (Wilmington), will induce a stranger to believe, that the people in this country have no Laws..." According to Finlay the highway was "quite broken and full of large holes, [and] in many places 'tis with difficulty that one can pass it on foot, [and] with a horse 'tis just possible."²⁰

Responsibility for the construction and maintenance of bridges over the many rivers, streams, and creeks in the Lower Cape Fear fell to those entrusted with the supervision of the roads. The overseers and road companies, then the road commissioners, undertook the almost thankless task of bridging the waters. Legislation in 1715 required that bridges over navigable streams be ten feet wide, increased to twelve feet in 1764. Not only were the structures difficult to erect but exposure to the elements, particularly freshets, meant frequent repair or replacement, often within seven to ten years.²¹

Travelers sometimes found the bridges in poor condition or even nonexistent. In approaching Wilmington from South Carolina in 1774, Finlay noted several "bad" bridges. As he left Wilmington for New Bern, the postal inspector encountered heavy rains that swelled the waterways and "carried away" all the bridges, confining him for several days in a rural tavern. More determined was the Reverend Pilmore. When he came to a washed-out bridge north of Wilmington, he found some planks, put them across the stream, and continued his journey.²²

Few travelers mentioned the toll bridges in New Hanover, perhaps because they posed no obstacle to safe travel. In 1752, the General Assembly authorized Caleb Grainger to replace the ferry over Smith Creek with a toll



Ferry Over the River by Samuel D. Bissette

bridge. In 1767, the legislature allowed Benjamin Heron to erect a toll drawbridge to replace the ferry over the Northeast Cape Fear at Castle Hayne. A rare form of bridging in early America, Heron's drawbridge was the first of only two such bridges in colonial North Carolina. The bridge opened in the middle and was raised by a system of pulleys. One arch was thirty feet wide, designed to permit the passage of rafts, perriaugers, and other craft, and its floor was six feet above the high water mark.²³

The inability to ford or bridge the watercourses that intersected roads necessitated the institution of ferriage. Cornelius Harnett, father of the revolutionary patriot, operated one of the first in the region. The ferry crossed the Cape Fear River at the Haulover, connecting the coastal road along the east side of the Cape Fear River with Brunswick Town. With the appearance of Newton, the forerunner of Wilmington, and a road along the west side of the Cape Fear extending to South Carolina, ferries emerged at Old Town Creek, Shallotte, and Lockwoods Folly. Additional ferries soon spanned the Northwest Cape Fear at Mount Misery, the Northeast Cape Fear at various points, and Black River. A principal ferry in New Hanover County was that which connected Wilmington and Point Peter.²⁴

Throughout the colonial era the county court remained in charge of ferriage. The court determined the need for ferries and their location, named ferrykeepers, and established rates that ferrykeepers might charge for their services. Additionally, when placing Francis Lynaugh in 1760 in charge of the ferry from Wilmington to Point Peter, the New Hanover court ordered Lynaugh to provide one good flat and two canoes for ferry service immediately, and another flat within three months. Later in 1760, the court ordered all ferrykeepers in the county to maintain at least two boats for each ferry and to provide pens or pounds to receive cattle "to be ferried over or to force them in the water."²⁵

Ferriage proved an undependable mode of transportation before the Revolution. Ferrykeepers

relinquished their jobs so often that some ferries went unattended. After two years' service, Thomas Merrick, in 1740, resigned as ferrykeeper at Brunswick. Nine months elapsed before Roger Moore assumed the responsibility for the ferry. In 1759 the New Hanover court ordered a Mrs. Bethelly to keep the ferry from Wilmington to Point Peter. Joseph Newton replaced her three months later, but in June 1760 the court appointed Francis Lynaugh ferrykeeper. He resigned in March 1761, succeeded by Isaac Ray, but by December 1764, Joseph Newton had assumed the position. After the court dismissed Newton for "bad boats and bad attendance," a succession of individuals kept the ferry, including Newton again. In 1775, on the eve of the Revolution, the court appointed Timothy Bloodworth ferrykeeper with the admonishment "to keep the ...ferries well attended & to provide good & sufficient boats & flats for the transporting of Passengers..."²⁶

Beyond nonattendance, various other difficulties beset ferriage in North Carolina. A New Hanover County grand jury in 1739 declared that the ferries over Smith Creek and Old Town Creek were dangerous because of the difficult approaches to the ferriage sites and unfit boats. When nearing Wilmington from the south in 1774, Hugh Finlay found the first ferry to be "a small leaky flat." The second was larger, but rode so low in the water that the postal inspector became "very wet" during the crossing.²⁷

Nature also played havoc with ferriage. While waiting for the ferry at Shallotte in 1734, one traveler declared that he was almost "devoured" by mosquitoes. The Reverend Pilmore in 1773 had to endure a thunderstorm while on Eagles Island waiting for the Wilmington ferry to take him to the town. At least Pilmore was able to make the trip. Adverse winds forced William Logan, a Quaker from Pennsylvania, to abandon the Wilmington ferry in favor of the one over the Cape Fear at Brunswick Town.²⁸

Another facet of colonial travel was the tavern, more frequently called an ordinary, and also a public house of entertainment. Offering respite to the traveler as well as comfort to those in its immediate environs, the tavern aroused ambivalent emotions among its patrons, particularly travelers who, perhaps, were more accustomed to finer establishments in the northern colonies or in Europe. William Logan, who rode along the North Carolina coast in 1745, complained of staying in a house with "many air holes," an "Earthen Floor," and a "stinking" bed, and considered himself fortunate to escape without catching a cold. President George Washington in 1791 found North Carolina taverns "indifferent" places. And at the turn of the century a European visitor characterized the rural North Carolina tavern as a small, one-room building with little furniture, many loud children, several cats and dogs, and keeper whose conversation was limited to the high price of New England rum and the dull market for local tobacco.²⁹

Indifferent or not, during the latter part of the colonial era, New Hanover claimed many taverns, in part because it

contained a large town, Wilmington, and in part because the principal eastern highway in the province traversed the county. Colonial legislation required the county court to license taverns. Between 1759 and 1769, the number of licenses granted by the New Hanover justices ranged from 11 to 17; between 1771 and 1775, 8 to 10. Although scattered throughout the county, most taverns were located in Wilmington and at the various ferries, where travelers might relax while waiting passage across a river. Eventually the colonial legislature, many members of which were well familiar with ferriage delays during the course of their travels, required ferry operators at the longer crossings in the colony to maintain ordinaries.³⁰

Many kept their taverns for several years. Among them were ferrykeepers Darby Eagan (1759-1769) and Francis Lynaugh (1760-1769), John Simpson, who operated an ordinary at his house on Black River (1764-1775), and John Campbell (1760-1769) and Lehansius Dekeyser (1767-1774), who maintained public houses in Wilmington. Women played a prominent role as tavernkeepers in New Hanover. At least 17 women were licensed for taverns between 1759 and 1775. Many took over the business of a deceased husband in order to maintain their livelihood. After the death of Jeremiah Hand, who had operated an ordinary from 1760 to 1765, his wife Elizabeth kept the establishment from 1766 to 1769. Some women, including Rosanna Stafford and Dorothy Sears (Shears, Scyers) operated taverns jointly with their husbands.

Taverns, in addition to ferries, doubtlessly represented the best example in early America of a government-regulated business. Provincial legislation not only required the county courts to license ordinaries but annually to establish prices for food, drink, lodging, and care for animals. In the process of setting rates for taverns the courts revealed a great deal about colonial dietary habits. Dinner was the principal meal of the day, flanked by breakfast and supper, all of which might be served in different ways. Dinner consisted of meat, sometimes two dishes, hot or cold, with "good wheat bread," and an alcoholic drink. Breakfast and supper were less extravagant. Sometimes they included meat and wheat bread and butter. Tea or coffee might accompany breakfast. An alcoholic beverage likely enlivened supper.³¹

The ordinaries offered a variety of alcoholic liquors which were rated by the gallon, quart, pint, half-pint, gill, and half-gill, but were often sold by the bowl, nip, or dram. Rum usually came from the West Indies or New England. Also popular were common and "good Crab" cider, beer from England, New York, and Philadelphia, apple and peach brandy, and wines from Madeira and the Teneriffe Islands. Mixed drinks proved appealing. Punch consisted of several ingredients, including rum and loaf or brown sugar. Another favorite was toddy, made of rum or brandy. Other drinks that might be found in the taverns along the eastern coast included flips, sangaree, samson, ale, sling, grog, and cordials.

For those who stayed overnight, lodging for men and animals was available. For the former the court sometimes used the qualifying phrase "in a clean bed." The justices also made the distinction between one who occupied a bed by himself and one who shared quarters with another. The latter cost half as much. Ordinaries also provided stabling and pasturage for horses by the day, by the night, or for a twenty-four hour period. Indian corn and oats were the principal provender. Fodder and hay accompanied stabling.

In addition to requiring the county courts to rate the prices of food, drink, lodging, stabling and pasturage, the North Carolina General Assembly imposed other restrictions upon tavern keepers. Legislation in 1753 forbade "unlawful gaming" in ordinaries, proscribing all games of chance in public houses except bowls, backgammon, chess, and draughts (checkers). A statute in 1764, claiming that "excessive and deceitful Gaming" contributed to the "Discouragement of Industry, [the] Corruption of Youth, and [the] Destruction of Families," admonished tavern keepers not to allow any gaming except backgammon, a prohibition relaxed in 1770 to permit patrons to play whist, quadrille, piquet, and billiards in addition to backgammon. The legislature also instructed tavern keepers to prevent their patrons from becoming intoxicated or to "drink more than... [was] necessary on the Sabbath," and enjoined them from entertaining servants without the consent of their masters and sailors without the permission of their captains.³²

Some tavern operators, indeed, ran afoul of the law. In 1768 the New Hanover court revoked the licenses of Mrs. Lettice Blackmore and Mrs. Elizabeth Saunders, who were found guilty of "keeping disorderly houses, & harbouring & detaining Common Sailors, to the great Injury of the merchants & masters of Vessels trading to the river of Cape Fear." The women were threatened with prosecution if they further allowed "any Sailors or other disorderly person or persons to tipple any Liquors in either of their houses..." The New Hanover court occasionally denied requests for tavern licenses and prosecuted those who failed to abide by the law. In 1759 the court rejected the petitions of Margaret Sheels and Robert Bennyman for licenses for businesses in Wilmington. In 1768, Hugh Campbell's license was "taken from him immediately" for failing to provide "fodder Corn or other Entertainment for an Ordinary."³³

Of course, all these facets of transportation—watercourses, roads, bridges, ferriage, and lodging—impinged directly or indirectly upon many aspects of colonial life. Governor Arthur Dobbs asserted that difficult travel conditions prevented members of the colonial legislature from attending sessions of the General Assembly. Martin Howard, Chief Justice of the colony, complained that wide and dangerous ferries in North Carolina made his office more burdensome and expensive than any on the continent.³⁴ Delayed and expensive travel deprived merchants of the latest news to guide their transactions, impeded the development of manufacturing, rendered the

postal system undependable, retarded the spread of religion and education, isolated people from one another and the colony from the remainder of the British provinces, and exacerbated the general uncertainties of life. An inadequate transportation system contributed greatly to the ignorance, provincialism, and isolation that helped shape the character of North Carolinians and North Carolina politics before and after the Revolution.



Creek Ford and Footbridge by Samuel D. Bissette

Correction: Mrs. Katharine deRosset Rhett Fox brought to the editor's attention an error that appeared in the last issue of the *Bulletin*. It was Mrs. Louis H. deRosset (née Maria Tapier Finley, 1844-1870) who threw her infant daughter Gabrielle deGondin deRosset (1863-1936) to safety. As an adult, Gabrielle was Mrs. Alfred Moore Waddell. This harrowing story is also told in James Sprunt's *Tales of the Cape Fear Blockade*.

Footnotes:

- 1 David Leroy Corbitt (ed.), *Explorations, Descriptions, and Attempted Settlements of Carolina, 1584-1590* (Raleigh, 1953), 141.
- 2 Nina M. Tiffany (ed.), *Letters of James Murray, Loyalist* (Boston, 1901), 64; Alan D. Watson, "Port Brunswick in the Colonial Era," *Lower Cape Fear Historical Society Journal*, XXX (1989), 23-32.
- 3 Evangeline W. Andrews and Charles M. Andrews (eds.) *Journal of a Lady of Quality: . . .* (New Haven, 1921), 159.
- 4 Hugh Meredith, *An Account of the Cape Fear Country, 1731 . . .*, ed. by Earl Gregg Swem (Perth Amboy, N. J., 1922), 21; John Brickell, *The Natural History of North Carolina* (Murfreesboro, N. C., 1968; orig. 1737), 260-261; "The Tool Bag," *Tributaries*, II (1992), 31-33; Charles Christopher Crittenden, "Inland Navigation in North Carolina, 1763-1789," *North Carolina Historical Review*, VIII (1931), 145-154.
- 5 Andrews and Andrews, *Journal of a Lady of Quality*, 177; Alan D. Watson, *Wilmington: Port of North Carolina* (Columbia, S. C., 1992), 15.
- 6 Meredith, *Account of the Cape Fear Country*, 22; Tiffany, *Letters of James Murray*, 27; Walter Clark (ed.), *The State Records of North Carolina*, 16 vols., numbered XI-XXVI (Raleigh, 1895-1907), XXIII, 384-385; Minutes of the New Hanover County Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, June 1767, Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, N. C.
- 7 Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 46-48.
- 8 Alan D. Watson, "Regulation and Administration of Roads and Bridges in Colonial Eastern North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XLV (1968), 400-403, 407-408, 411-412.
- 9 Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 47, 608; Andrews and Andrews, *Journal of a Lady of Quality*, 280. One traveler observed that the colonials blazed the trees, cutting a strip of bark from two opposite sides of the trunk, which "may be seen for a great distance in an open forest," and furnished "a guide . . . even in the ordinary obscurity of night." Winslow C. Watson (ed.) *Men and Times of the Revolution; or Memoirs of Elkanah Watson* (New York, 1856), 59.
- 10 Andrews and Andrews, *Journal of a Lady of Quality*, 280; Watson, "Regulation and Administration of Roads and Bridges," 409.
- 11 "An Act for Laying Out, Making, Altering, and Keeping in Repair the Several Roads and Highways Within the Several Precincts of the County of Bath, and for Building Bridges, and Cleansing and Keeping Clean the Several Rivers and Creeks Within the Same," CO 5/333, fs. 5-6b, copy kindly supplied by Robert J. Cain, Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, N. C.; New Hanover Court Minutes, June 1739; June 1740.
- 12 Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 220.
- 13 New Hanover Court Minutes, August, November 1759; September, December 1760; June, September 1761; Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 607-611.
- 14 New Hanover Court Minutes, September 1764; December 1765; December 1766; October 1769.
- 15 Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 910-911.
- 16 Donald Jackson and Dorothy Twohig (eds.), *The Diaries of George Washington*, 6 vols. (Charlottesville, Va., 1976-1979), VI, 118; Hugh Buckner Johnston (ed.), "The Journal of Ebenezer Hazard in North Carolina, 1777 and 1778," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XXXVI (1959), 378; Frederick E. Maser and Howard T. Maag (eds.), *The Journal of Joseph Pilmore* (Philadelphia, 1969), 176; Andrews and Andrews, *Journal of a Lady of Quality*, 146, 202.
- 17 Hugh Finlay, *Journal Kept by Hugh Finlay, Surveyor of Post Roads on the Continent of North America* (Brooklyn, 1867), 67; Watson, *Men and Times of the Revolution*, 41.
- 18 Watson, *Men and Times of the Revolution*, 57; Johnston, "Journal of Ebenezer Hazard," 380.

- ¹⁹ Clark, State Records, XXIII, 662-663; XXV, 487-489; Finlay, Journal Kept by Hugh Finlay, 74.
- ²⁰ Maser and Maag, Journal of Joseph Pilmore, 177; Finlay, Journal Kept by Hugh Finlay, 66.
- ²¹ Clark, State Records, XXIII, 47, 608; Watson, "Regulation of Roads and Bridges," 415-416.
- ²² Finlay, Journal Kept by Hugh Finlay, 66, 79-80; Maser and Maag, Journal of Joseph Pilmore, 175.
- ²³ Clark, State Records, XXIII, 385-386; XXV, 506-507; Andrews and Andrews, Journal of a Lady of Quality, 202. The other drawbridge in colonial North Carolina was in Windsor in Bertie County.
- ²⁴ William L. Saunders (ed.), The Colonial Records of North Carolina, 10 vols. (Winston and Goldsboro, N. C., 1886-1890), II, 698; New Hanover Court Minutes, March 1737/38; September 1738; June, September 1740; June, September 1741.
- ²⁵ Clark, State Records, XXIII, 47, 608; New Hanover Court Minutes, June, September 1760.
- ²⁶ New Hanover Court Minutes, February, May 1759; June 1760; March, June 1761; June, December 1764; December 1766; March, September 1767; October 1768; January 1772; April 1775.
- ²⁷ New Hanover Court Minutes, June 1739; Finlay, Journal Kept by Hugh Finlay, 66.
- ²⁸ A New Voyage to Georgia by a Young Gentleman (London, 1737), 59; Maser and Maag, Journal of Joseph Pilmore, 189; "William Logan's Journal of a Journey to Georgia, 1745," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, XXXVI (1912), 13-14.
- ²⁹ "William Logan's Journal of a Journey to Georgia," 10; Jackson and Twohig, Diaries of George Washington, VI, 119; Alan D. Watson, "The Colonial Tavern: A Gathering Place in the Albemarle," in A Taste of the Past: Early Foodways of the Albemarle Region, 1585-1830, ed. by Barbara E. Taylor (Elizabeth City, N. C., 1995), 36.
- ³⁰ Clark, State Records, XXIII, 728. Information for this and the subsequent paragraph has been taken from the New Hanover Court Minutes, 1759-1775 passim.
- ³¹ Information for this and the following two paragraphs was obtained from various minutes of the courts of North Carolina counties, including the New Hanover Court Minutes, June 1741; April 1772.
- ³² Clark, State Records, XXIII, 183,492,611,726, 838.
- ³³ New Hanover Court Minutes, May, August 1759; April 1768.
- ³⁴ Saunders, Colonial Records, V, 154; IX, 814.

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