



# LOWER CAPE FEAR HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Inc. BULLETIN

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October 1980

## The Town Fathers of Early Wilmington, 1743-1775

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Alan D. Watson, professor of History at UNC-Wilmington, received his B.A. from Duke University, M.A. from East Carolina University, and Ph.D. from the University of South Carolina. He is considered an authority on North Carolina's Colonial period and published *Society in North Carolina* in 1975. He also wrote the Cornelius Harnett section of *Harnett, Hooper, and Howe* in 1979. He is a past editor of the *LCFHS Bulletin* and was recipient of the *LCFHS Clarendon Award* in 1979.

He is a frequent contributor to historical periodicals and publications and currently is on the Advisory Editorial Board of the *Division of Archives and History of North Carolina*.

Urbanization was uncharacteristic of early American life, for agriculture and extractive industry, represented by fishing, hunting, lumbering, and procuring naval stores, dominated the colonial economic scene. Although some large urban centers appeared in the northern provinces by the eve of the Revolution, most towns were small and often termed mere villages by travelers. In colonial North Carolina perhaps 98 percent of the populace lived in rural areas. The remainder clustered in the province's major seaports—Wilmington, New Bern, Edenton—and in smaller communities scattered from the coast to the backcountry.<sup>1</sup>

Wilmington, earlier known as New Carthage, New Liverpool, and Newton, was the product of Governor Gabriel Johnston's effort to combat the political and economic power of a group of wealthy Lower Cape Fear planters, "The Family," who had close ties with Brunswick. After the provincial Assembly incorporated Wilmington in 1739/40, though not without strenuous protest from Johnston's opposition, the commercial rivalry between the town and Brunswick eventuated in a triumph for Wilmington that resulted in the appearance of one of the largest towns and busiest ports in the province.<sup>2</sup> Peter DuBois remarked in 1757 that "The Regularity of the Streets [of Wilmington] are equal to those of Philadelph[ia] and [the] buildings in General [are] very Good. Many [are made] of Brick, two & three Stories High with double Piazas w[h]ich made a good appear[ance]." By the outbreak of the Revolution Wilmington probably had surpassed Edenton and New Bern in population, and in 1775 was described as the "principal Trading Town" in the colony.<sup>3</sup>

Governing Wilmington were seven commissioners ap-

pointed by the Assembly in the incorporating statute. The law bestowed upon them "all Powers and Authorities, within the Bounds of the said Town of Wilmington . . . as the Commissioners for the Town of Edenton have or possess . . ." <sup>4</sup> At that time the Edenton commissioners had been empowered to appoint a town scavenger and to decide "what things shall be Nuisances" to be removed from the town. They also enforced a legal mandate that required the penning or enclosing of hogs within Edenton. Otherwise, by inference, the Edenton commissioners generally exercised control over civic affairs.<sup>5</sup> High mortality rates as well as a high incidence of mobility necessitated consideration of the replacement of commissioners who died or moved from Wilmington. Thus the legislation also prescribed that within six months of the death or removal of a commissioner the governor would appoint a successor from a slate of three nominees submitted by the remaining commissioners.

Due to the confusion and controversy surrounding the first Wilmington law, the Assembly upon reconvening in the summer of 1740 passed a statute "for the better Regulation of the Town called Wilmington . . ." <sup>6</sup> That legislation introduced a measure of self-government into the proceedings by allowing the residents of Wilmington to meet annually on the first Tuesday in April to elect five men from whom the governor would choose three to serve as commissioners for the following year. The involvement of the governor was unique in the history of North Carolina towns. In no other instance of urban establishment or regulation was the executive of the province granted any voice in the determination of commissioners or their replacements.

Indeed, the earliest method for replacing commissioners consisted of having those who remained and the justices of the precinct (later county) court in whose jurisdiction the town lay jointly to name successors. That was the approach adopted by the Assembly for Bath, the first incorporated town in the province. It was also applied to Beaufort in 1723 and 1770, to Woodstock in 1738, and to Salisbury in 1770.<sup>7</sup> The county court records for Carteret, Hyde, and Rowan occasionally allude to the selection of commissioners for the respective towns of the counties. For example, in March 1772, Benjamin Martin and Edward McSwain, Woodstock commissioners, moved the appointment of Littleton Wilkens to replace William Harris, deceased, to which the justices of

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*Latimer House, Headquarters of the Lower Cape Fear Historical Society, Inc., 126 S. Third Street, Wilmington, North Carolina 28401—Telephone: 762-0492—House Hostess and Guide: Mrs. Ellen Breen.*

*Board Meetings of the Officers and Directors:* Latimer House, 4:00 P.M. September 18, November 20, January 15, February 12.

*Meetings:* All meetings for 1980-'81 will be held at Thalian Hall, 305 Princess Street, Wilmington, North Carolina. Please note that all meetings will be held at a new day and time: Sunday at 3:00 P.M. on October 19, 1980 and February 22 and May 17, 1981.

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### MEETING

**Date:** Sunday, October 19, 1980

**Time:** 3:00 P.M.

**Place:** Thalian Hall, Wilmington, North Carolina

**Speaker:** Mr. Charles L. Granquist, Assistant Director, Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation, Monticello, Charlottesville, Virginia.

The Society is fortunate to have a speaker of the caliber of Mr. Granquist who is a native of Minneapolis, Minnesota. He received his B.A. in American Literature from Bard College in Annandale, New York, and his M.A. in History Museum Administration from the Cooperstown Graduate Programs of the New York State University.

From 1968 to 1971, Mr. Granquist worked as a Museum Specialist in the Division of Mechanical & Civil Engineering at the Smithsonian Institution's Museum of History and Technology. Since 1973, he has been employed by the

Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation and currently holds the title of Assistant Director.

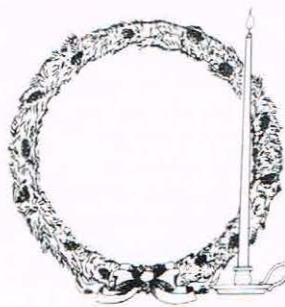
For the past seven years, Mr. Granquist has, in addition to his administration duties, researched Jefferson's furniture and furnishings at Monticello. His particular interest has been in the origin and original location at Monticello of the furniture presently in the collection. Based on inventories, account books, correspondence and visitor's descriptions, the Foundation is attempting to restore the interior and exterior of Monticello to its appearance during Jefferson's lifetime.

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### TO THE MEMBERSHIP

The end of our first quarter century finds the Lower Cape Fear Historical Society vigorous and active: The Servants' Quarters Restoration has been completed in large part due to the dedicated service of project chairman, Dr. Charles P. Graham, who merited a special award cup at the annual meeting; Mr. James Robert Warren and his committee are already active in planning the Incorporators' Garden (recently they found the old cistern and a walkway to the rear of the house); Latimer House has a new guide, Mrs. Ellen Breen, who is also the occupant of the restored Servants' Quarters; the 1980 Old Wilmington by Candlelight Tour is scheduled for December 13 and 14; a Christmas Gift Shop located in the Latimer House basement will be a new addition to this annual fund raising event; the Wassail Bowl Benefit will be December 12; *Antiques* will be publishing a distinctive article on Wilmington in the near future. The Society will sell separately bound reprints of the article as a fund raising project. In order to receive the bulk rate prices only available at the initial publication it has been necessary to solicit funds to underwrite the order. If you would be willing to assist the Society in this venture please contact Mr. Warren; the Assistant Archivists will be available and the Archives will be open from 10:00 A.M. until Noon on Thursdays. LCFHS Archives have been used recently to provide illustrations for a new pictorial history on Wilmington which has gone to press, to provide authentic photographic scenes of old Wilmington for Samuel D. Bissette who has received a commission to paint Wilmington of yesteryear, and to provide pictorial material for the New Hanover County Museum Cape Fear River Exhibit which will open during Riverfest in October; the Society in co-operation with the Department of Archives and History, Raleigh; the Historic Wilmington Foundation and the Residents of Old Wilmington sponsored a September Restoration Workshop followed by a reception for the preservationists at Latimer House.

Landon B. Anderson, M.D.  
President, LCFHS



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### OLD WILMINGTON BY CANDLELIGHT

December 13 and 14, 1980  
4:00 p.m.-9:00 p.m.

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## CLARENDON AWARD

On May 30, 1980, Mrs. E. M. McEachern presented the 1980 Clarendon Award to Mrs. John Cashman and Mrs. E. Tilghman Poole for their work on *The Lonely Road: a history of the physicks and physicians of the Lower Cape Fear 1735-1976*. This publication was a project of the Research and Romance of Medicine Committee of the Medical Society Auxiliary of New Hanover, Brunswick, and Pender Counties, North Carolina. This publication also received the most outstanding medical history award in May at the North Carolina Medical Society Auxiliary Annual Meeting in Pinehurst. Committee members who worked on the project included Mmes. Charles L. Nance, Jr., Robert Morrison, and Samuel D. Warshauer.

Dr. R. Bertram Williams, Jr. originated the idea of the Clarendon Award which is given annually by the Society for the interpretation, appreciation, and preservation of the history of the Lower Cape Fear preferably through historical writing. The Clarendon Award Cup is a large silver punch bowl which was given by Mrs. Paul V. Hendren in memory of her mother, Emma Bellamy Williamson and by the Lower Cape Fear Historical Society Board of Directors. Miniature facsimiles of the cup are given to Clarendon Award winners which have included Croquette Hewlett, Lawrence Lee, Ida Brooks Kellam and Don Lennon, Leora McEachern and Isabel Williams, Bill Reaves, Elizabeth McKoy, and Alan D. Watson.

Short scholarly typewritten articles pertaining to the history of the Lower Cape Fear may be submitted for consideration of inclusion in the *Bulletin* by sending to Mrs. John Cashman, 2502 Market Street, Wilmington, N.C. 28403.

### The Town Fathers . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

the Hyde court agreed. Nine months later, in December 1772, the magistrates chose Joseph Hancock to succeed McSwain who had died in the meantime.<sup>8</sup>

In most instances, however, those who governed the towns were a closed, self-perpetuating group of individuals. By law the commissioners, directors, or trustees determined successors to those died in office, departed the town, or refused to serve. They were circumscribed only by the mandate that the candidates must be freeholders of the towns that they served. Legislation containing provision for self-perpetuation was passed for Edenton in 1722 and again in 1740, for New Bern before 1748, for Halifax in 1757, 1759, and 1764, for Hertford in 1758 and 1773, for Nixonton in 1758, for Childsburg (later Hillsborough) in 1759, for Tarboro in 1760, and for Windsor and Winton in 1767.<sup>9</sup>

Five years after the Assembly incorporated Wilmington, it instituted a radical reform in the determination of the town's leaders by allowing the townspeople to choose their commissioners. Legislation in 1745 authorized the people to meet annually on January 1 to elect five commissioners who would serve during the following year. In case of the refusal of a duly elected commissioner to serve, the remaining commissioners would choose a substitute, but in the case of death or departure from the province, a special election had to be held to determine a successor. By 1754 replacements for any reason were determined solely by the remaining commissioners.<sup>10</sup>

The Assembly in 1745 also specified the qualifications for voting and holding the office of commissioner. For both purposes the legislature applied the strictures governing the election of a representative from the town to the Assembly. From 1740 to 1745 that had meant that any "tenant of a Brick, Stone, or frame habitable House, of the Length of Twenty Feet, and Sixteen Feet Broad, within the Bounds" of the town who had resided in the house for at least three months prior to the election was eligible to vote and represent the town. After 1745, however, only *freeholders* who met the above residence qualifications were deemed eligible voters and officeholders, and by 1756 the homes were required to have one or more brick or stone chimneys.<sup>11</sup>

Wilmington was the first and one of only three towns in which the people chose their commissioners. New Bern received the privilege of annual elections by statute in 1748. And almost twenty years later, in 1767, the Assembly applied the same democratic procedure to Brunswick because the commissioners of that town "are mostly dead or removed out of the said Town; and those Few who are still living . . . have neglected to appoint others" in their place.<sup>12</sup>

The following analysis of the early leaders of Wilmington derives principally from the information found in *The Wilmington Town Book, 1743-1778*, a fabulously rich source of information about all facets of municipal life in early America. This essay accounts for only the elected town commissioners from 1743, the beginning of the record keeping in the town book, to the eve of the Revolution, when the imperial crisis gravely disrupted provincial affairs. Despite the failure to include the anomaly of borough government, it is noteworthy that all the aldermen, except William Dry, who resided in Brunswick County, and the four mayors—John Sampson, Caleb Grainger, Frederick, and Moses John DeRosset—also served as commissioners.<sup>13</sup>

Throughout the four decades preceding the Revolution Wilmingtonians liberally bestowed the office of commissioner upon inhabitants of the town. Table 1 shows that fifty-seven individuals were chosen commissioners from 1743 to 1775. Those who held office averaged 2.8 terms. One-third served only one term; nine, five or more terms. Frederick Gregg and Cornelius Harnett undertook the position seven and nine times respectively between 1750 and 1771.

TABLE 1

Wilmington Town Commissioners, 1745-1775

Name of commissioner	Years elected
John Ancrum	1771, 1772, 1773,* 1774,* 1775*
Ralph Bugnion	1751
John Burgwin	1769, 1772, 1773,* 1774,* 1775*
James Campbell, Sr.	1743, 1745, 1746, 1752
James Campbell, Jr.	1758, 1759
John Campbell	1761, 1763
Samuel Campbell	1772, 1773,* 1774,* 1775*
William Campbell	1760, 1762, 1764,** 1768, 1771
Thomas Clark	1746
Magnus Cowan	1750, 1762
Thomas Cunningham	1758, 1759, 1761, 1763
Francis Davies	1747**
Armand DeRosset	1743
Lewis DeRosset	1750, 1751, 1752**
Moses John DeRosset	1752, 1753, 1754, 1758, 1759
John DuBois	1751, 1752,** 1754
Daniel Dunbibin	1755, 1756, 1757
Alexander Duncan	1764



Name of commissioner	Years elected
William Faris	1745, 1750, 1752
Thomas Finney	1745, 1746, 1748, 1749, 1756
Caleb Grainger	1750, 1752**
Joshua Grainger	1745, 1746, 1747
Samuel Green	1748, 1749, 1753, 1760
Frederick Gregg	1755, 1756, 1757, 1758, 1760, 1769, 1770
Cornelius Harnett	1750, 1751, 1754, 1756, 1757, 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771
Richard Hellier	1743, 1747, 1748
Robert Hogg	1771, 1772
Thomas James	1749, 1760
Jeremiah Keenan	1761
John Lyon	1750, 1751, 1752, 1753,** 1754, * 1756,** 1757, 1760, 1768
Arthur Mabson	1755, 1756, 1757
Robert McCracken	1762,** 1763
Archibald MacLaine	1772, 1773,* 1774,* 1775*
Rufus Marsden	1743, 1745, 1746, 1747, 1748, 1749
Caleb Mason	1759, 1760, 1761, 1763, 1764
John Maultsby	1753,** 1755
John Merrick	1752,** 1754
John Mortimer	1762
James Murray	1750
Thomas Newton	1758
George Parker	1764
Richard Player	1772, 1773,* 1774*
Hugh Purdie	1753
John Quince	1762, 1770, 1771, 1772**
John Robeson	1769, 1770
Alexander Ross	1761, 1763
John Rutherford	1749, 1750, 1751
John Sampson	1747, 1750
Robert Schaw	1769
James Smallwood	1743, 1747, 1748, 1749
Henry Toomer	1764, 1768
Joshua Toomer	1752, 1753, 1758, 1759
William Veale	1753
John Walker	1755
Anthony Ward	1762, 1764, 1768
Robert Wells	1762**
William Wilkinson	1770

\*Because the elections for 1773, 1774, and 1775 were not recorded, service as commissioner was deemed sufficient proof of election.

\*\*Refused to serve.

Source: Donald R. Lennon and Ida B. Kellam (eds.), *The Wilmington Town Book, 1743-1778* (Raleigh, 1973).

Election, however, did not automatically mean service. Eleven of the 57 refused office upon election including John Lyon who twice renounced the post. Nevertheless, six had previously held office and three others later were elected and acted as commissioners. Only Francis Davies and Robert Wells were elected, refused, and never served in the capacity of commissioner.

The commissioners, as expected, played an active role in local, county, and provincial government. In addition to his duties as commissioner, Daniel Dunbibin was night watchman, clerk, and treasurer of the town. Henry Toomer served as town scavenger and supervised the digging of public wells. William Campbell, Richard Hellier, and Richard Player cared for the town's fire engine. Thomas Finney was a town constable. Altogether, at least one-third

of the town fathers held some additional town office before, during, or after their tenure as commissioners.<sup>14</sup>

The commissioners were also prominent in county affairs. At least 21, or 37 percent, were justices of the peace.<sup>15</sup> Four were sheriffs of New Hanover County, three were coroners and one, James Smallwood, was register and clerk of court. Others were inspectors of commodities, overseers or commissioners of the roads, and constables.

At the provincial level of government Wilmington commissioners were also conspicuous. Rufus Marsden represented New Hanover County in the General Assembly from 1746 to 1752, and all five of the Wilmington town representatives to the Assembly from 1740 to 1775 were commissioners, including Harnett who acted in that capacity for more than twenty years prior to the Revolution. John Burgwin, Lewis DeRosset, James Murray, and John Rutherford sat on the provincial council, a body of twelve men appointed by the king to advise the governor and act as the upper house of the legislature.

In addition to membership in the Assembly and Council, Wilmington commissioners occupied other important provincial offices. James Smallwood was the Naval officer of the port of Brunswick; Thomas Clark, collector of the port of Brunswick; Burgwin, clerk of the council and clerk of the superior court of the province; Murray, deputy naval officer for the port of Brunswick, clerk of the crown, and secretary of the province; and Rutherford, receiver general of the quitrents.<sup>15</sup> Clearly the commissioners comprised an outstanding group of public-spirited, politically-minded, ambitious men.

Personal data for the commissioners proves meager as many of the men immigrated to Wilmington from Europe or other parts of America and eighteenth-century records oftentimes have not survived. Apparently several of the town fathers were less than thirty years of age when called to serve the town. William Campbell and Moses John DeRosset were 26; Cornelius Harnett, 27. John Maultsby, however, was 37. Society expected those of ability in the eighteenth century to inaugurate their careers of public service, whether as justices of the county court, town commissioners, or as some other local civic officeholder, in their third decade of life. And talents or willingness to serve did not long remain unrecognized. Thirty-two, or 56 percent, of the commissioners were elected within three years after their names first appeared in the Wilmington town book.

As would be expected in an urban environment, particularly in a seaport, the majority of the Wilmington commissioners were merchants by profession. Of the 48 commissioners for whom information is available, 29, or 60 percent, styled themselves merchants, a ratio that compared favorably with other eastern seacoast towns in which as many as two-thirds of the town directors engaged in mercantile business.<sup>16</sup> Some in Wilmington, for example Lewis DeRosset, John Rutherford, Robert Schaw, and Cornelius Harnett, were merchant-planters, deriving a substantial part of their income from the soil. Harnett and William Wilkinson, another merchant commissioner, were also partners in a distillery operation in Wilmington.

Another quarter of the commissioners were artisans or craftsmen at one time in their careers. Two tanners, two shipwrights, two carpenters, two coopers, two tailors, and a blacksmith served as town fathers on occasion. As in the case of merchants, it is sometimes difficult to determine their principal occupation. Alexander Ross was both a tailor and merchant; Thomas Cunningham, cooper and planter, and



Caleb Mason, carpenter and planter. Thomas James, often referred to as a tailor, owned several plantations and lived at Halton Lodge. Joshua Toomer had been a tanner in St. Andrew's Parish in South Carolina before coming to Wilmington about 1747, operating a tavern, and serving in various civic capacities.

Approximately one-tenth of the Wilmington commissioners were professional men, a slightly higher figure than found in the more northerly towns.<sup>17</sup> Archibald MacLaine represented the bar. Armand DeRosset and his son, Moses John, James Mortimer, and Samuel Green were characterized as "Doctor of Physik," "Practitioner of Physics," and "Surgeon." Green had begun his practice as an "Apothecary," but later assumed the more prestigious title, "Doctor of Physik." Unlike Europe, however, there was little distinction in America between apothecaries, physicians, and surgeons. A man of medicine was a general practitioner in the broadest sense, making his own curatives and treating all illnesses including those of animals as well as men.<sup>18</sup>

If the commissioners professed religious sentiments, most were at least nominally Anglican in their church affiliation. Twenty-one, or over a third, became vestrymen for St. James Parish, and upon the completion of St. James Church in Wilmington as many as thirty-seven commissioners, their families, or their estates owned pews in the church.<sup>19</sup> At his death William Faris left part of his estate to finish the construction of the building. Alexander Duncan bequeathed £400 "toward Adorning [the] Wilmington (St. James) Church . . ." <sup>20</sup> Evidence indicates that others were Anglican as well. Dr. Samuel Green, neither a vestryman nor a pew owner, was buried in St. James churchyard.

A shared trait more common than their Anglican affiliation was the failure of the commissioners to abide by the ordinances that they had enacted for the benefit of the town. Three-fourths of the town fathers defaulted on their obligation to work on the streets of Wilmington. Lewis DeRosset, Thomas Newton, and Robert Wells failed to pay their taxes, John Ancrum was cited for littering, and William Wilkinson was fined "for immoderate riding within the . . . Town . . ." <sup>21</sup> In 1774, upon indictment by the county court, a jury found the town commissioners guilty of "Neglect of duty," probably for their remissness in repairing the courthouse. As in the case of most towns in America,

Wilmington was not an autonomous enclave but the subject to the jurisdiction of county authority.<sup>22</sup>

At the approach of the Revolution the sympathies of the commissioners diverged radically. Harnett, called the "Samuel Adams of North Carolina," was one of the most assiduous and effective patriots in the colony. He chaired the local Sons of Liberty, represented Wilmington or Brunswick County in four of the five provincial congresses, chaired the Wilmington, later Wilmington-New Hanover, Safety Committee, and became president of the Provincial Council and the Council of Safety.<sup>23</sup> At least another ten commissioners also served on the local safety committee, including John Ancrum and William Wilkinson, who succeeded Harnett as chairman and deputy-chairman respectively.<sup>24</sup>

Still, there was a strong residue of loyalism in the Wilmington environs. Many refused to renounce royal authority. Business partners Samuel Campbell and Robert Hogg first joined the safety committee, then abjured the movement for independence. Hogg, however, returned to Wilmington in 1778 in order to avoid the confiscation of his property. Alexander Schaw refused to take the oath of allegiance to the new state and Lewis DeRosset died in 1785 as an exile in London. John Rutherford lived peacefully as one of the unspoken loyalists until the occupation of Wilmington by Major James Craig in 1781. Upon the departure of the British, Rutherford also felt compelled to leave.

In sum, Wilmington town government was atypical in prerevolutionary North Carolina in the democratic manner by which its commissioners were chosen. However, popular election of town leaders in the colonies became increasingly common in the eighteenth century as citizens demanded a greater voice in municipal affairs. Wilmington's town fathers tended to be young men, merchants, Anglican, and sometimes indifferent toward the ordinances designed for the governance of the town. Their backgrounds were diverse. Since many had emigrated from Europe or had close mercantile and familial ties with Britain, the division of loyalties during the Revolution was not surprising. Indeed, the town was affected more than most by the civil and imperial conflict, but it recovered rapidly to continue as North Carolina's outstanding port.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See H. Roy Merrens, *North Carolina in the Eighteenth Century. A Study in Historical Geography* (Chapel Hill, 1964), chapter 7.
2. Donald R. Lennon and Ida B. Kellam (eds.), *The Wilmington Town Book, 1743-1778* (Raleigh, 1973), xv-xix; Lawrence Lee, *The Lower Cape Fear in Colonial Days* (Chapel Hill, 1965), 122-126.
3. Peter DeBois to Samuel Johnson, February 8, 1757, Hayes Collection, Typescript, Division of Archives and History, Raleigh; William L. Saunders (ed.), *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, 10 vols. (Raleigh, 1886-1890), X, 48.
4. Walter Clark (ed.), *The State Records of North Carolina*, 16 vols. (Winston and Goldsboro, 1895-1907), XXIII, 133-135.
5. Clark, *State Records*, XXV, 175-178, 191-194.
6. Lee, *Lower Cape Fear in Colonial Days*, 126; Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 146-149.
7. Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 76 (Bath); XXV, 208; XXIII, 805 (Beaufort); XXV, 229 (Woodstock); XXIII, 810-813 (Salisbury).
8. Minutes of the Hyde County Court of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions, March, December 1772, Division of Archives and History.
9. Clark, *State Records*, XXV, 178; XXIII, 136 (Edenton); Minutes of the Craven County Court of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions, December 1746 (New Bern), State Archives; Clark *State Records*, XXV, 354-355, 398-399, 486-487 (Halifax); XXV, 367-369; XXIII, 895 (Hertford); XXV, 387-389 (Nixonton); XXV, 402-404 (Childsboro); XXV, 451-453 (Tarboro); XXIII, 755-756 (Windsor); XXIII, 773-775 (Winton).
10. Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 234-237; XXV, 262.
11. Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 147, 234, 461; XXV, 262. The provision that grounded suffrage upon dwellings with brick or stone chimneys reflected the increasing concern about fires. See Alan D. Watson, "Fire and Fire Control in Colonial Wilmington," *Lower Cape Fear Historical Society Bulletin*, XVIII (May 1975).
12. Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 304 (New Bern); 749-750 (Brunswick).
13. Lennon and Kellam, *Wilmington Town Book*, xxiii-xxvi, 127-175. Lee, *Lower Cape Fear in Colonial Days*, 127-132; Mary Phlegar Smith "Borough Representation in North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review*, VII (April 1930), 177-191.
14. In addition to information contained in Lennon and Kellam, *Wilmington Town Book*, the data for this and following paragraphs was taken principally from the Minutes of the New Hanover County Court of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions, 1759-1775, Division of Archives and History, and Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IV-X.
15. For Murray see Nina B. Tiffany (ed.), *Letters of James Murray, Loyalist* (Boston, 1901); for Rutherford, Alan D. Watson, "John Rutherford: Loyalist," *Lower Cape Fear Historical Society Bulletin*, XXI (February



- 1978). When Rutherford was temporarily suspended from his position as receiver general, Lewis DeRosset, another commissioner, replaced him.
16. Jon C. Teaford, *The Municipal Revolution in America. Origins of Modern Urban Government, 1620-1825* (Chicago and London, 1975), 25-26.
  17. However, lawyers appeared more prominent in municipal affairs beyond Wilmington where physicians predominated. See *ibid.*, 25-26.
  18. Richard H. Shryock, *Medicine and Society in America, 1660-1860* (New York, 1960), chapters 1-2. "The elder DeRosset, who received his degree from the University of Basle in Switzerland on December 3, 1720, was probably the first university-trained physician to practice in North Carolina." Diane Cashman and Jean Poole, New Hanover County Medical Auxiliary, *The Lonely Road* pages 5, 14; 1978.
  19. Ida Brooks Kellam and Elizabeth Francenia McKoy (eds.), *St. James Church, Wilmington, North Carolina, Historical Records, 1737-1852* (Wilmington, 1965), 3-26.
  20. J. Bryan Grimes, *North Carolina Wills and Inventories* (Raleigh, 1912), 164.
  21. Lennon and Kellam, *Wilmington Town Book*, 212-213.
  22. Minutes of the New Hanover County Court of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions, October 1774, Division of Archives and History. As was the case for most municipalities, Wilmington was not an independent enclave but a division of government subject to higher authority, in this case the county court.
  23. For Harnett, see Alan D. Watson, Dennis R. Lawson, and Donald R. Lennon, *Harnett, Hooper & Howe: Revolutionary Leaders of the Lower Cape Fear* (Wilmington, 1979), 3-31.
  24. Leora H. McEachern and Isabel M. Williams (eds.), *Wilmington-New Hanover Safety Committee Minutes, 1774-1776* (Wilmington, 1974), 57-83. By 1775 Robert Wells had moved to Bladen County and was a member of the Bladen County Safety Committee. *Ibid.*, 133.



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