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THE CLUBFOOT CREEK CANAL

James E. White, III

From the beginning New Bern, located at the confluence of the Neuse and Trent rivers, was the ideal place for a port. Ships would come in from Ocracoke and Old Topsail inlets bringing goods from up and down the Atlantic seaboard, the Caribbean, or European nations. Ships coming in from Old Topsail Inlet, however, would have to travel around Carteret County and Cedar Island, taking valuable time to get to and from New Bern. If a canal could be dug to connect the Neuse River to Old Topsail Inlet, it would cut that time in half and increase the amount of trade. In addition, it would allow large vessels to utilize the port at New Bern, because they could come in at Beaufort and up to New Bern rather than have to stop at Ocracoke Inlet where they were hampered by shallow waters.

New Bern was growing and rapidly outstripping Beaufort in importance as a port of entry in the mid- and late eighteenth century. If a canal could be dug to connect Old Topsail Inlet to New Bern, that would not only increase the trade between New Bern and the inlet, but it would also add to the prestige and importance of New Bern itself. The ideal situation would be to dig a canal connecting Clubfoot Creek to Harlowe Creek. Clubfoot Creek emptied directly into the Neuse River, while Harlowe Creek emptied directly into the Newport River. A canal would permit New Bern bound vessels to enter the inlet at Beaufort and travel up the Newport River, through Harlowe Creek and into the canal, through the canal and into Clubfoot Creek, and on into the Neuse River and directly to New Bern. It would save both time and money for the ship owners, merchants, and the master of the ship.



Clubfoot Creek Canal as it appears today lined with trees at this site. Contributed photo.

In 1766 an bill was introduced into the General Assembly to build such a canal between the Neuse and Newport rivers, connecting the head of Clubfoot Creek to that of Harlowe Creek. The purpose was to enable ships with a deeper depth than Ocracoke Inlet would allow to use Old Topsail Inlet rather than having to rely on Ocracoke Inlet. When using Ocracoke Inlet, they would have to unload their cargo onto lighters at Ocracoke Bar, then cross over the swash and reload to proceed onward to New Bern or to the other inland ports. By having the canal, those vessels would be able to use the deeper inlet at Old Topsail and come directly through the canal on to New Bern or the other ports on the Pamlico Sound. The 1766 act appointed a number of Commissioners to oversee the laying out of Clubfoot Canal, most of whom lived in New Bern. They were Samuel Cornell, John Smith, Parmenius Horton, John Benners, James Davis, William Cole, Richard Cogdell, John Easton, Henry Stanton, Christopher Neale, and William Burden. These men were among the wealthiest and most important men in New Bern and Craven County at the time. The act gave them the "full Power and Authority, to lay Off and Plan, and design a navigable Canal . . ." (Clark XXIII, 684-685). The act went on to provide an "opportunity" for many "Public Spirited Gentlemen" to "contribute to the same, by either paying in Sums of Money, or sending their Slaves to Work in cutting the said Canal . . ." (Clark).

The canal would be less than 10 miles and an overland road already existed between the heads of the two creeks.

A canal connection of these two creeks would not only have given Beaufort access to Neuse River and the interior, it would also have made Beaufort the port of entry for cargoes bound for New Bern, then the capital of the colony. Furthermore, it would have cut in half the distance by water from New Bern to the ocean. (Paul 133-134)

the rules and bye-laws of the company shall indicate.

CALCULATION of an ANNUAL INCOME, that a canal from HARLOW'S to CLUBFOOT'S CREEK, with a proper bridge and floodgate, would produce.

Every canoe passing or repassing (suppose 400 per annum,) 2s. each time,

			£. 40
Every whale-boat, 300	4	60	
Every craft burthen 10 barrels, (suppose 200)	5	50	
Do. from 10 to 20	150	6	45
Do. from 20 to 40	75	7	26 5
Do. from 40 to 70	40	8	16
Do. from 70 to 100	20	10	10
Do. from 100 to 150	10	12	6
Do. from 150 to 250	5	14	3 10
Do. 250 & upwards	3	16	1 12
			258 7

Every four wheel carriage passing over the bridge, 4

Every waggon, 5 at 4s.		1	
Do. horse cart, 50	1	2	10
Do. ox do. 80	11s.	6	
Do. chr. or fulk. 80	11s.	6	
Do. man & horse 50s	1	25	
			40 14

Dresses of black cattle and horses. See

Notice from *North Carolina Gazette*, September 1791.

The bill became law on November 20, 1766, but the canal was to be financed by private funds rather than the public treasury. The Commissioners "were instructed to 'immediately employ Hands to work on the said Canal' as soon as they had 'received any Subscriptions of Monies to carry on the same'" (Paul).

While nothing of a positive note came of the canal, it was a great idea. It would facilitate "or open a new avenue of commerce, promote both agricultural and commercial interests; and make wealthy citizens and towns" (Morgan 54). It would help

West India trade, and that would enhance the demand for pork, lumber and other products exported by New Bern. It would also help trade with London, Amsterdam, and other European markets because European ships and other ships of any size would then be able to trade directly with New Bern. (Morgan)

Finally, the canal, with a bridge and floodgate, would simply provide revenue and pay for itself many times over, and yet 1766 went by and no work was begun on the canal project.

It was not until after the American Revolution that talk of building the canal began again. In 1783 a bill was introduced into the General Assembly to cut a navigable canal from Clubfoot Creek to Harlowe Creek to

promote and encourage the navigation and commerce of the State by opening a more easy and safe conveyance for the produce of a great part of this State, to the navigable and safe harbour of Beaufort. (Clark XXIV, 538)

The act went on to name new commissioners to build such a canal and again the majority of them lived in New Bern. Those men were John Benners, John Jones, Christopher Neale, John Easton, Enoch Ward, Dedrick Gibbler, and

and would be most convenient if carried on from the first of November to the first of April

One hundred labourers, it is imagined, will complete the whole in six months, viz.

60 Negroes at 2 l. per month, four months,	480	
40 do. at 3 l. per do. 4 do.	480	
<hr/>		
100 Negroes for 4 months,	960	
do for 2 months more, from July 20 to Sept. 20.	480	
<hr/>		1440
Provisions, &c.		220
Wages for 2 overseers to overlook the Negroes, 50 l. each payable 1 half share, 30 l. each.	100	
Do. for a capable person to superintend the whole work.		
3 whole shares, 80 l. each,	200	
<hr/>		300
Expence of a draw-bridge & flood-gate, and small house for toll-gatherer to live in.		240
<hr/>		2200

Which should be raised by SUBSCRIPTION in the following manner of shares :

Notice from *North Carolina Gazette*, September 1791.

William Burden. It was their task for “overseeing, designing and laying out the said canal. . .” (Clark).

By 1791 little work had been done on the canal. Plans were drawn up but little more than that had actually been accomplished. The *North Carolina Gazette* stated

the Canal would render both sides of the Neuse river much healthier, and would introduce many different kinds of excellent fish, oysters, &c. in the rivers and creeks contiguous to the same: Add to this, the extensive field by which many industrious families would obtain a support, as Beaufort would become a flourishing town; and Newbern reap many essential advantages, which of course would extend far back. (Morgan 54)

The September 1791 edition of the *North Carolina Gazette* also calculated the annual income that the Clubfoot Canal, with a proper bridge and floodgate, would bring into the state. It stated that “Every canoe passing or re-passing (suppose 400 per annum,) 2s. each time, £. 40” (Morgan).

In addition to the charges expected to be brought in from operation of the canal, the *Gazette* also discussed the need for labor in order to build the canal and advertised for the slaves necessary for the building thereof. One hundred slaves were needed to complete the project over a six month period of time. The committee advertised for 60 Negroes to be hired at £2 per month for four months, and 40 Negroes to be hired at £3 per month for four months. On top of that, enough provisions had to be provided to take care of the slaves as well as supervision to oversee that the work was done. The canal was to be cut two miles in length, 20 feet wide and seven feet deep (Morgan).

When the canal did not materialize, the

legislature moved to act on Governor Martin’s behest. The General Assembly in 1795 provided for the incor-

January 7.

N O T I C E

IS hereby given, that the number of shares required by law to call a meeting of the subscribers to the Clubfoot and Harlow's creek canal being compleated, they are hereby required to attend at Frilick's hotel, in the town of Newbern, on the first Monday in February next, for the purpose of appointing a president and directors.

RICHARD D. SPAIGHT,
WILLIAM M'CLURE,
JOHN DEVEREUX, } *Managers.*

January 7.

Notice from *North Carolina Gazette*, January 7, 1797.

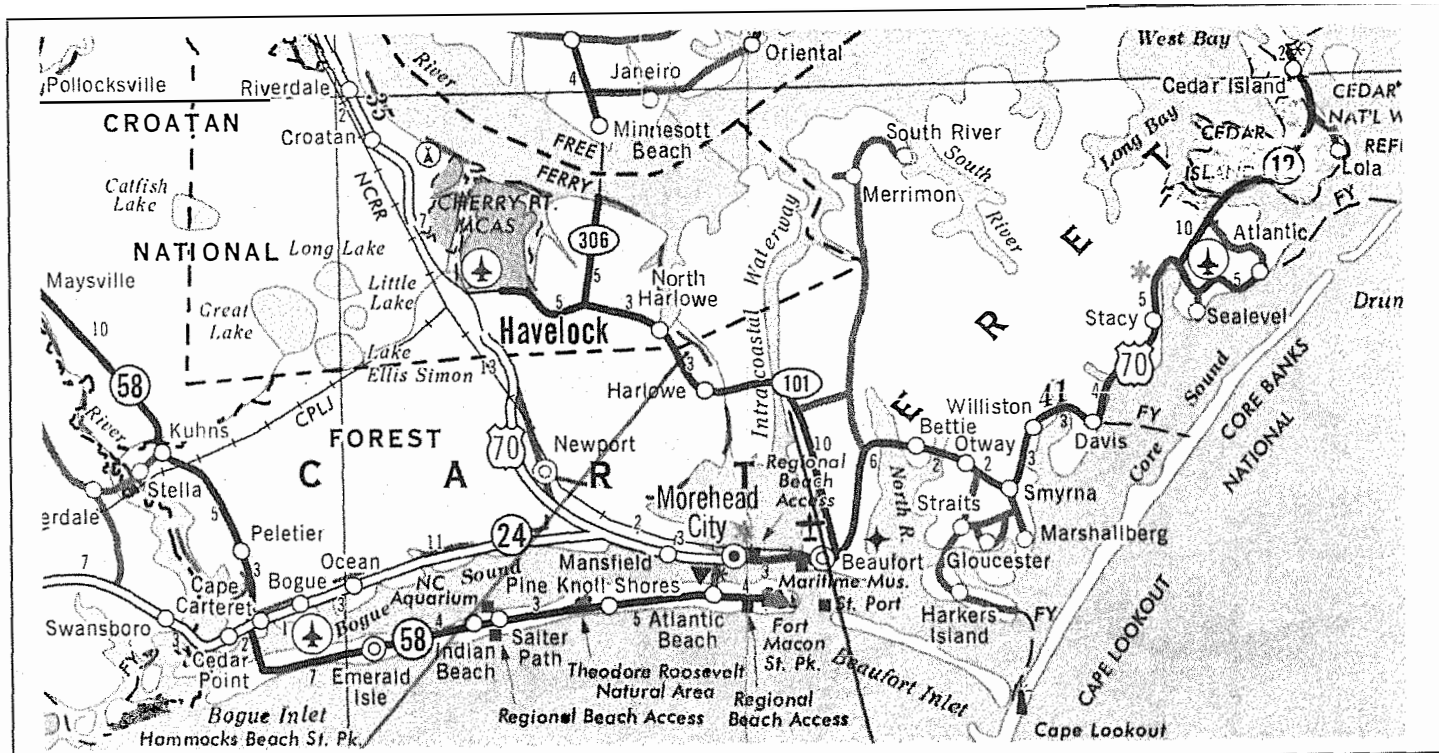
poration of a company, to be capitalized at \$10,000, to pursue the construction. After two thirds of the stock had been subscribed, the company might incorporate. Upon construction, the canal would be deemed a public waterway and exempted from taxation. The statute restricted annual toll rates to a maximum of one fourth of the cost of construction and maintenance of the canal. In 1797, the legislature increased the capitalization by \$1000 and extended the company's charter from sixty to ninety-nine years. (Watson 133-135)

On April 14, 1796, subscriptions were taken from the citizens of New Bern for cutting the canal. While efforts had been made as early as 1766, this was actually the first time subscriptions were begun for the process. In January 1797, notice was given in the *North Carolina Gazette* that "the number of shares required by law to call a meeting of the subscribers to the Clubfoot and Harlow's creek canal being completed" a meeting of the subscribers was to be held at Frilick's Hotel in New Bern on the "first Monday in February next, for the purpose of appointing a president and directors" (January 7, 1797).

On February 25, 1797, a notice was given in the *Gazette* that the President and directors of the Clubfoot Canal had been chosen and that they were ready to receive proposals for cutting the canal. George Pollock was given as President of the Clubfoot Canal Company and Francis Hawks was listed as Clerk. Richard D. Spaight, William M'Clure, and John Devereux were listed as Managers. The instructions for digging the canal were given in the same paper that the width of the canal was to be "sixteen feet at the bottom, and to increase a foot for every foot in ascending, the dirt to be drawn back to leave a margin of four feet" (*Gazette*).

As of 1800 the canal had not been constructed.

Most of the work was subsequently supervised by William McClure, at whose death in 1804 the construc-



Clubfoot Creek-Harlowe Creek Canal. Adams Creek-Core Creek Canal (Intracoastal Waterway). NCDOT map.

tion halted. A reorganization of the canal company in 1813, however, indicated a continuing interest on the part of the legislature. The law envisioned a canal fourteen feet wide and four feet deep with four sidings, each sixty by twelve feet, to allow boats to pass each other. Drainage ditches on both sides of the canal would prevent the erosion of the canal banks. Although books were opened for subscription to the reorganized canal company in March 1814, William Gaston wrote, "There is a hurried languour and inertness here which almost forbids action on the project." (Watson 133-135)

Finally, the canal was completed in 1827, but even then, it was not as successful as the planners had hoped. The canal

saw relatively little use and thus produced little toll revenue for its investors or for the state, which had backed it heavily. An 1830 report documenting the poor performance of the canal refers to "the general depression of every kind of business" which then prevailed, and alludes hopefully to the future revival of foreign and "British West India Trade." (Sandbeck 40)

The canal proper was five or six miles long and had a guard or tide lock at its northern end.

Interestingly, this lock was at first constructed as a turf-sided lock in 1821 but this was found impractical so as finally completed it had chamber walls, probably of wood. (Trout 2:4)

When the locks broke down in 1856, the canal was abandoned, but it was reopened in 1880 as the New Berne and Beaufort Canal. In 1911 the passageway was replaced by a new canal parallel to it two miles to the east. The Adams Creek-Core Creek Canal is in use today as part of the In-

tracoastal Waterway. Location of both canals may be seen on the map on page 12.

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RENEWAL OF A NEW BERN LANDMARK:
BRINGING THE UNITED STATES COURTHOUSE
INTO THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

Paul F. Stephens, AIA

(Editor's note: Mr. Stephens is currently Architect/Project Manager of the United States District and Bankruptcy Courts, Eastern District of North Carolina.)

New Bern has been the seat of a United States District Court since the establishment of the District of North Carolina by Act of Congress on June 4, 1790 (History . . . Courts), and the appointment of the district's first sitting district judge, the Honorable John Stokes, on August 3, 1790 (History . . . Judges). At that time the court in New Bern was the only seat of a United States District Court in the State of North Carolina. In the ensuing years, the statewide district was gradually carved up with the establishment of additional divisions and districts in other populous areas of the state until the present structure of an Eastern District, Middle District, and Western District ultimately was established in 1927 (History . . . Courts). Through it all a United States District Court has continued to hear cases and conduct the business of the court in New Bern, with the sole exception of the Civil War years (1861-1865).

The Confederate States of America held court in New Bern only once in 1861 before New Bern fell to Union forces in the spring of 1862 (Baxter). To those attending that session of the Confederate District Court, it would have seemed business as usual, since the judge presiding was the Honorable Asa Biggs, formerly the United States District Judge presiding in New Bern, who had resigned

his judgeship and promptly was reappointed as a Confederate District Judge (History . . . Judges). With New Bern and the surrounding area under military control from 1862 onward, no civilian court was held for the remainder of the war. However, at the conclusion of the war New Bern once again became the site of United States District Court proceedings under the Honorable George Washington Brooks (History . . . Judges).

Along with changes in the court itself, there have been many changes in the housing of the United States District Court in New Bern since 1790. As originally established, the United States District Court met only four times per year and was able to share the Craven County Courthouse with the state courts (Baxter). This shared arrangement continued until 1861 when the county courthouse burned (Sandbeck 43). When court resumed in 1865, it first was housed in rented space in the McLean Building (Branson 34) and in 1874 relocated to Stanly Hall at the corner of Pollock and Craven streets (Baxter). In 1897 the court moved into its first official home, the newly constructed Federal Post Office and Courthouse (Sandbeck 185), which is now the New Bern City Hall located across Pollock Street from Stanly Hall. For the next 38 years, court was held in the ornate courtroom that now serves as the Board of Aldermen Meeting Room. In 1932 Congressman Charles L. Abernethy secured Works Progress Administration (WPA) funding for a new Federal Building in New Bern. The result was the present home of the United States District Court in New Bern—the monumental Georgian revival style Post Office, Courthouse and Custom House on Middle Street. It was designed by a New Bern native, New York architect Robert F. Smallwood, and dedicated on December 15, 1934 (Sandbeck 368).

The size of the building (over 35,000 square feet) and the size of the appropriation (\$325,000) (Sandbeck 369) elicited both positive and negative comments at the time, but few would now argue that the resulting facility did not provide good value for the investment. For 70 years the

Post Office, Courthouse and Custom House housed the various agencies of the federal government in New Bern with little more than routine maintenance, the necessary upgrades such as air conditioning, and modifications to accommodate changing tenant requirements.

When the United States Postal Service was created in 1971, ownership of the building was transferred to that agency (McCotter 29), yet the Post Office, Courthouse and Custom House continued on as the symbol and location of the federal government in New Bern much as it had in the past. Then in 1992 the United States Postal Service ceased operations in the building, moving the main Post Office to a new facility on Glenburnie Road and the downtown branch to the O. Marks Building, leaving the court as primary tenant. For a time the future of the building as a federal facility was in doubt, but in 2003 that future was made more secure when New Bern was designated as the duty station of the Honorable Louise W. Flanagan, Chief United States District Judge. During this period of renewed commitment, the building once again became federal property when the United States General Services Administration (GSA) purchased it from the United States Postal Service in June 2004. However, over 10 years of uncertainty and deferred maintenance had begun to show, and an immediate program of repairs was undertaken by GSA.

Many who have been in downtown New Bern over the last several years will have observed these efforts, which include painting the exterior including the cupola, cleaning the masonry, replacing the boiler, and minor roof repairs. These efforts have stabilized the building, but to accommodate the court and the other major tenant, the United States Marshals Service, a general upgrade and modernization is now required to bring the building into the twenty-first century.

Work has begun already with a first phase to install new finishes, modern lighting, and information technology, while consolidating and improving the functional arrangement of the Clerk of Court's Office, the jury room,

and the Judge's chambers, including an administrative area and law clerk offices. The Judge's chambers have been returned to their original appearance by removing, wherever possible, a commercial grade lay-in ceiling and fluorescent lighting to re-expose the plaster ceiling and decorative cornice, repairing the mahogany wainscoting and doors, and uncovering and refinishing the parquet flooring. This work is now nearing completion, but much more is needed.

The second phase of the project will focus on security and safety issues. One of the most noticeable aspects of this phase will be a new exterior fire stair housed in an open masonry tower located on the rear of the building to the north of the courtroom projection. The design of the tower is intended to blend with the original character of the building by adapting materials and decorative elements to those of the existing structure. This tower will provide a much needed second means of egress from the courtroom thus complying with current fire safety requirements. Additional security improvements for the site will entail the construction of a perimeter fence around the rear of the property, designed in keeping with its surroundings, to control access to the parking area and the back of the building. Other planned work includes the creation of public restrooms on the first floor and restoration of the light fixtures, marble trim, and decorative plaster in the lobby. This phase is expected to begin in the next three months and take about one year to complete.

The final phase of the project is now in the early planning stages. It is scheduled to be completed in the autumn of 2009, in time for New Bern's three hundredth anniversary celebration in 2010. The work will renovate the vacant areas of the building previously used by the United States Postal Service as well as those portions of the building not receiving attention in the earlier phases. A new bankruptcy court hearing room with associated conference rooms will be created in half of the old postal work area. The remainder of the old postal work area and substantial

portions of the basement will be renovated to provide prisoner holding and processing space for the United States Marshals Service. Other security enhancements, including a vehicle sally port and an elevator to allow for the secure movement of prisoners from the Marshals' area to the courtroom, are necessary components of the project. The new elevator tower is intended to balance and harmonize with the fire stair tower. The courtroom will receive modest modifications to accommodate handicapped access and seating. Other aspects of the work will include the cleaning and preservation of the courtroom murals painted by David J. Silvette in 1938, and possibly the installation of a second flagpole on the front plaza to replace one lost in a mid-twentieth century storm.

The work to renew the United States Courthouse will not only preserve a New Bern landmark but will also help to ensure that the United States District Court will continue to hold court in New Bern as it has for the past 216 years.

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BETWEEN THE PALACES: THE BURNED OUT AND THE REBUILT

Gordon N. Ruckart

The original Tryon Palace was built between 1767 and 1770 in New Bern and celebrated in a gala opening held by Royal Governor William Tryon on December 5, 1770. The stately mansion was pronounced the most elegant government building in English America. It became the first capitol of the North Carolina colony. Following Tryon's short tenure as governor and resident of the palace, Josiah Martin was named to replace him. When the capital was moved to Raleigh, the palace became run down. It burned to the ground in early 1798; only the stable (or west wing) survived.

The land on which the palace stood was cleared of the burned rubble and was declared eligible for sale by the North Carolina General Assembly in 1798. George Street was extended to the Trent River where a wooden bridge was erected to carry old U. S. 70 across the river. South Front Street was extended straight across what is now the palace south lawn. The former palace grounds were divided into 21 lots. Of course one of the first lots sold was lot 605 containing the stable building. James McKinlay paid £513 for it on May 27, 1799 (Craven 33: 391 and 396). By 1819, McKinlay's widow Mary Daves McKinlay owned the lot (Craven 41: 278). When she died in 1840, the property was left to her sister-in-law Mrs. Elizabeth Batchelor Graham Daves, who was the second wife of John Pugh Daves, who had died in 1838.

Continuing in the Daves family, the stable building became a Christ Church parochial school in 1868, dedicated by the children of John Pugh Daves in his memory.



West wing (stable) of Tryon Palace on George Street, 1951. Photo by VHJ.

Three rooms were to be used as classrooms and a fourth room became Memorial Chapel where a tablet was inscribed "To the Church of the Living God." When Christ Church burned in 1871, services were held in the Memorial Chapel. By 1873 the church was rebuilt, and the chapel became a mission chapel. The Daves heirs continued control of the building until November 26, 1881, when they gave lot 605 to the vestry of Christ Church

for use as a rectory with one binding condition: that at all times while said building shall remain in the custody of said vestry, the same now known as the Memorial Chapel shall continue in whole or in part to be used for religious purposes and that the tablet now erected shall be preserved and cared for. (Craven 85: 386)

On March 13, 1895, the Relief Society and Vestry of Christ Church sold lot 605 to Francis S. Duffy for \$1900 (Craven 115: 501). The sale did not include the memorial tablets and certain other furnishings in the Memorial Chapel. The tablets were moved to the Christ Church yard.

In 1899 Francis Duffy needed to obtain the education and license required to dispense medicine at his Duffy Pharmacy on the northeast corner of Craven and South Front streets. As recorded in Deed Book 131, p. 28, August 14, 1899, he sold part of the stable property to his brother James Bernie Duffy and wife Lonie (Lenora Wilson Trenwith) Duffy. James obtained a loan of \$1600 from his aunt and her husband, Annie and David Hill of Beaufort. Under the Duffy ownership, the stable building was converted into apartments. A wood frame addition was built on the rear of the building to accommodate kitchens, baths, and stairway. Renters were often workers at Barbour Boat Works. The four Duffy children were all born in their "stable" apartment, which was the southern half of the building, both floors.

Buyers of the other 20 lots divided and subdivided

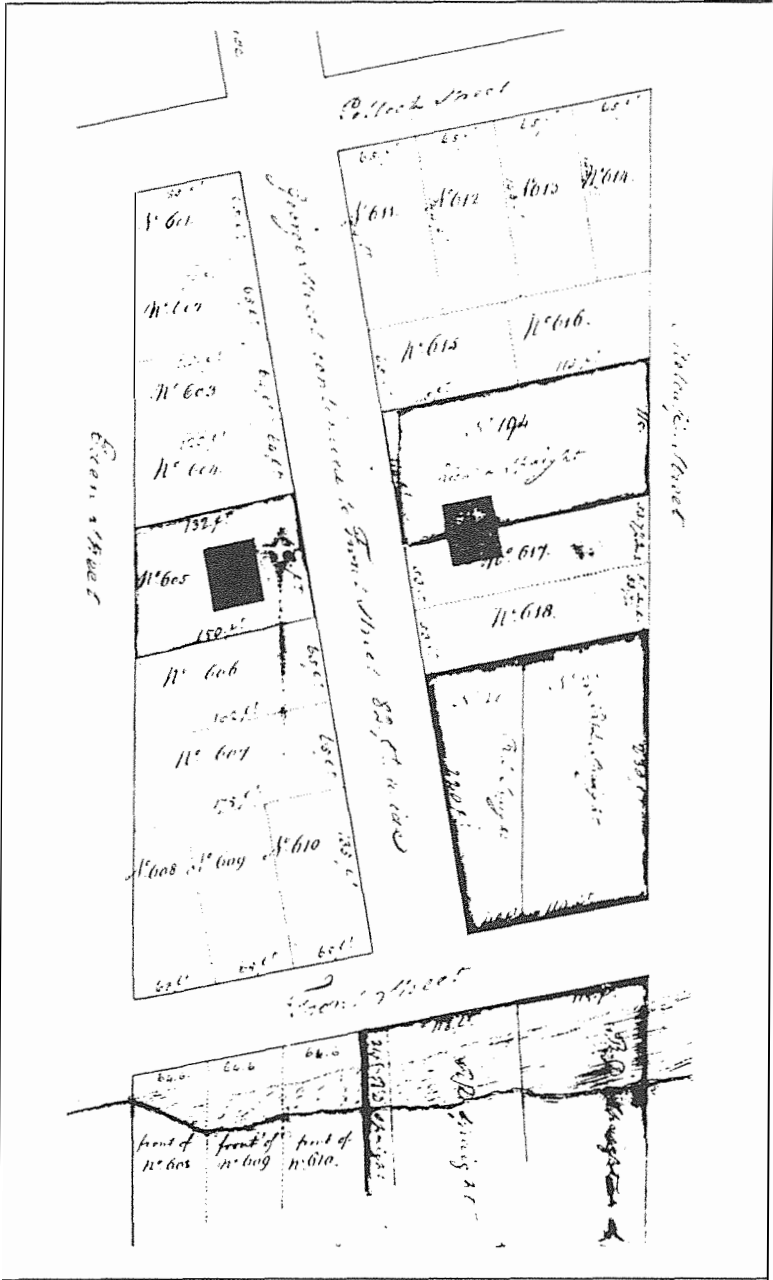
their properties over the years. The Price-Fitch map of 1810 outlines 32 lots laid out in the former palace area bordered by Pollock, Metcalf, South Front, and Muddy (now Bern) streets. Many of the lots facing George Street ran through to either Eden to the west or Metcalf to the east. Except for one lot, end-of-the-block lots faced either Pollock or South Front. A Sanborn Map Company of New York map of 1931, which outlines almost 50 lots, shows the footprints of structures built on these lots.

A search of deed records reveals that many lot buyers bought lots as investments and built houses as rentals. Early city directories show few owners living in their houses. A sampling of owners who did live on their properties over many years includes these families: Sumrell (Eugene), Baxter (Benjamin R.), Lipman (Samuel), Broadstreet (Mayma), Land (Jerry), Duffy (Lonie), Ballanger (Clyde), and Russell (William K.).

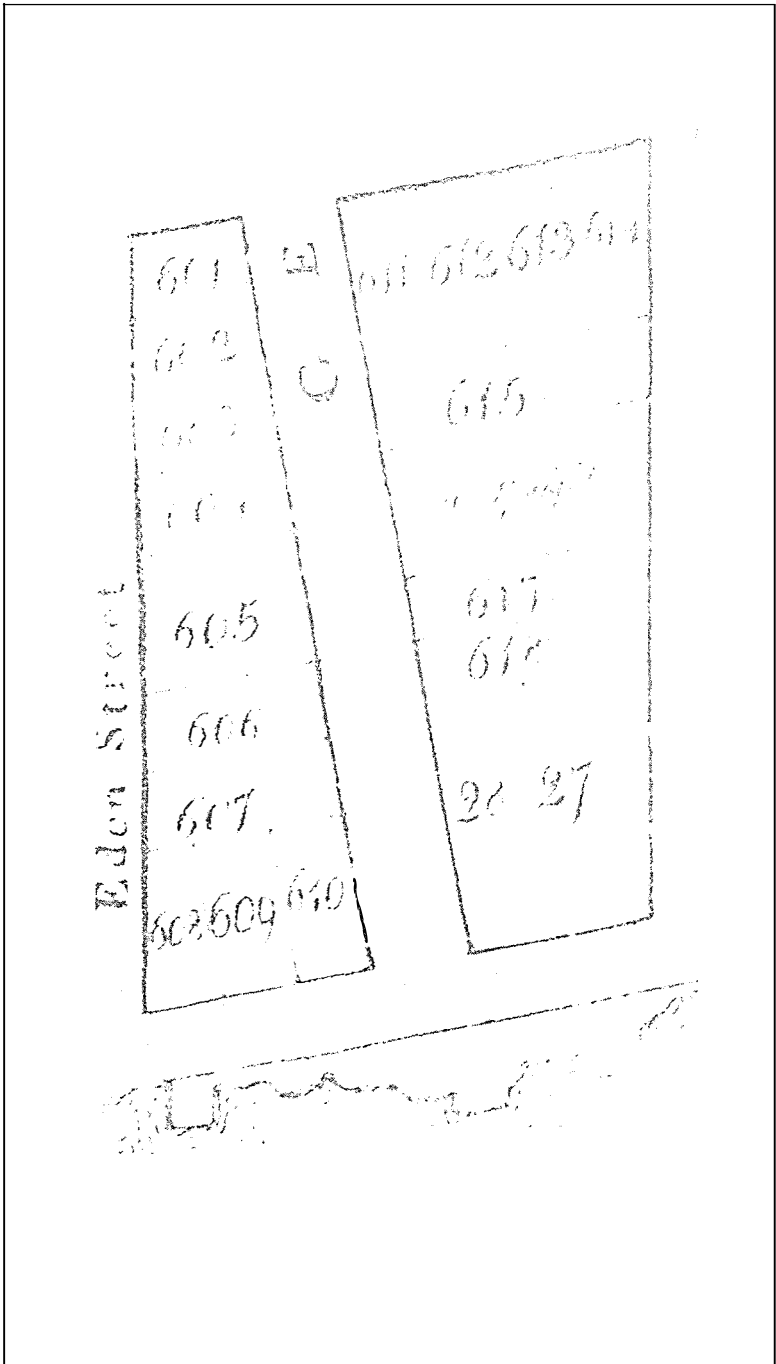
Among the long-term renters were Walter B. Taylor, Guy Rowe, John B. Osborne, Stephen J. Phillips, Lillie Nelson, John Goulding, and Leslie Brinson.

Then there were the several businesses attracted at times to the busy intersection at George Street and the bridge crossing the Trent River: Hamilton's Café, Sterling Smith Service Station, Lupton Grocery, Nina Hamilton Grocery, Morris Service Station, Trent Esso Station, Nelson's Seafood Market, Lewis Café, Texaco Quick Lunch, and Gaskins Service Station.

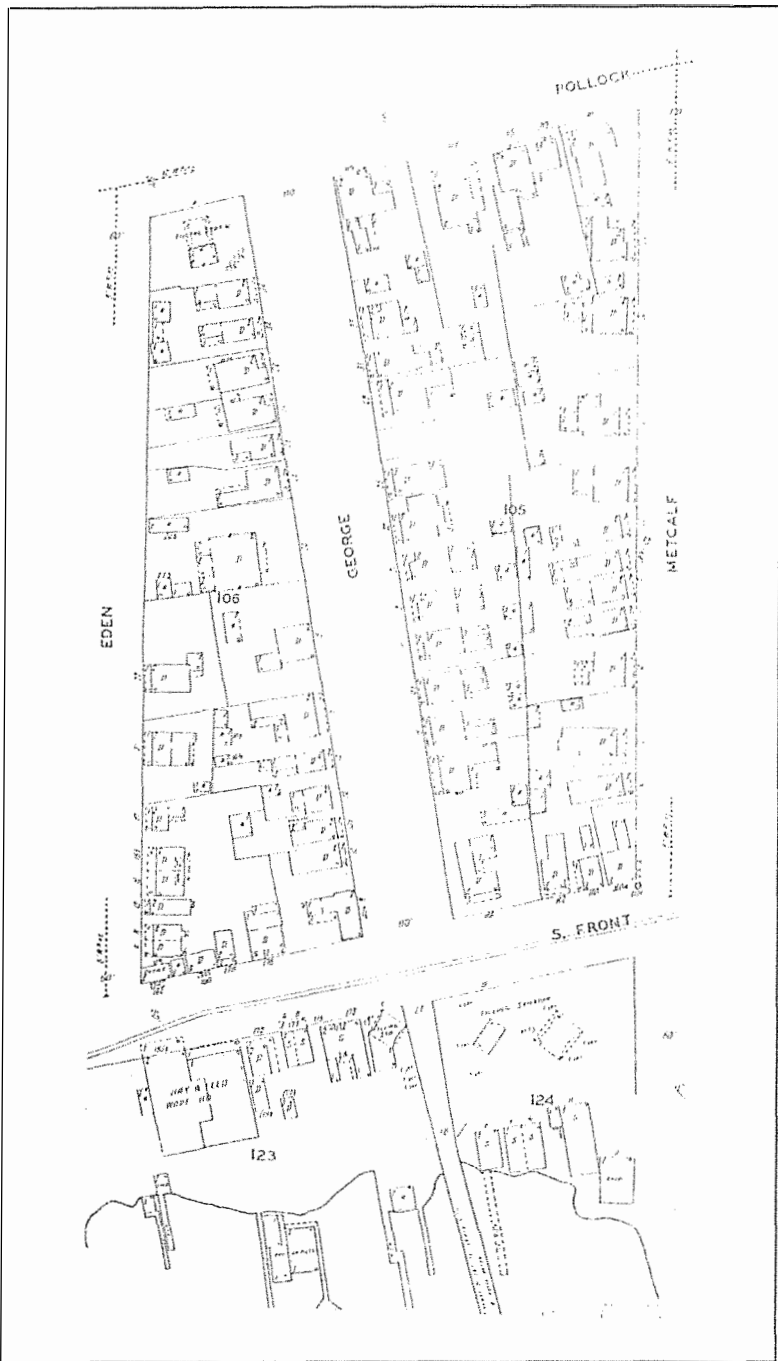
Though the story is told that New Bern native Maude Moore (Mrs. James Edwin Latham) got the idea of rebuilding the palace from stories told her by her father while growing up in New Bern, not so. Mrs. Latham actually got the idea from a project she shepherded to completion in 1939: a book featuring important houses and gardens in North Carolina, for which she paid the publishing costs. During the process, she traveled the state and to Charleston and Williamsburg. About the latter, Mrs. Latham declared, "North Carolina should not fall behind the State of Virginia in promoting its history." So began the years-long



"A plan of the Palace square in the Town of Newbern as subdivided by An act of the General Assembly passed November session 1798." Map from Sandbeck.



Palace square lots, 1810. Price-Fitch map.



Palace square lots with structure outlines, 1931. Sanborn map.

effort to restore Tryon Palace, but World War II came along and put off any plans for the time being.

After the war, Mrs. Latham renewed her desire to get the restoration started. The first step, of course, was to re-acquire the properties. In the Tryon Palace Restoration Act ratified by the state legislature on March 10, 1945, authority was given the Tryon Palace Commission to acquire, by condemnation, land originally included in the palace grounds. Mrs. Latham requested a \$150,000 state grant to start the purchases. By 1951, with another \$35,000 from the state and with private donations (including those from the Lathams), the total reached \$250,000.

Now came the hard part: not all property owners were willing to sell. Even the mayor and the city attorney were against rebuilding the palace, saying, "Nobody will come to see an old house."

B. G. Hines and Lawrence A. Stith were developing a warehouse for Montgomery Ward on a lot at the southeast corner of George and South Front streets and did not want to stop work. Their contention was that the original palace property did not extend to the river and instead had a fence around the southern boundary and that their property was outside that boundary. They sent lawyer Charles L. Abernethy, Jr., to Raleigh to lobby against the approval of the \$150,000 grant application.

Another who protested loudly against moving from the house his grandfather had built was James Mitchell. Mr. Latham, who had made personal pleas and offers of help in finding other places for residents to live, was successful in encouraging Mitchell to move nearby. Since Mitchell's grandfather's house had no first floor bathroom and Mitchell had developed a heart condition, the new place worked out so well and Mr. Mitchell was so happy that he later made regular deliveries of flowers from his garden to palace staff members.

Maude Moore Latham also worked hard to encourage residents to take the offers to more. She visited Mrs. Lonie Duffy, who had lived in her stable apartment since August

12, 1899. The state ended up condemning her property, and the Superior Court settled with Duffy and heirs in 1952 (Craven 467: 72). Lonie Duffy purchased the Gaston House on Craven Street and lived there until she died.

Mary Prevatte Paul lived across the street from Lonie Duffy and her sister Miss Fannie Trenwith. Next door and upstairs in the Daves-Ellis House lived Mrs. Mamie Trenwith Hancock. Mary Paul, expressing her feelings over being forced to move away to make room for the rebuilding of the palace, wrote the following poem about her friends Lonie, Fannie, and Mamie:

THREE LOVELY LADIES

Glancing with saddened eyes at Tryon
Palace Wing, I miss you ladies three,
Its emptiness echoes memories of
Things that used to be.

On the porch you're not sitting, rocking
So calm and cool,
With friends who were no exception to the rule,
Miss Lonie with her patience, and Miss Fannie's
Gentle way.
Not forgetting Miss Mamie's sunshine
Smile, always bright and gay.

In the generation past you've seen
Trouble come and go,

And from tiny, little tots strong men
And women grow.

An inspiration to hundreds who passed your door
each day
Giving your love and kindness to all who came your
way.
The governor's mansion will rise again

With buildings to complete
And cover up the blacktop that's now on George
Street.

And folks will come from miles around
Just to take a look,
And say, it's like a picture from an
Old storybook.

But no matter how beautiful, it will
Never be as nice to me
As when those lovely ladies lived there
For me to go and see. (Duffy)

By 1952, with all the residents and business owners moved out and the land cleared, rebuilding of the palace began. Because the restoration commission had invested Mrs. Latham's bequest wisely, the commission seemed to have all the money needed to complete the work. Miss Gertrude Carraway, who had been president-general of the DAR in Washington, D. C., and had returned to her New Bern home, was appointed first director of the palace. Mrs. May Gordon Kellenberger, daughter of James and Maude Latham, as head of the commission, worked closely with Miss Carraway and followed every phase of the reconstruction. Fortunately, original architectural drawings by John Hawks, who had arrived with Tryon in 1764, were found in London and New York, and some of the original brick foundations were uncovered during the clearing of the site. These discoveries allowed rebuilding in the exact location of the original structure.

Well before the grand opening, Mr. and Mrs. Kellenberger and her sisters Virginia and Elizabeth Horne went to England to study the decorative arts. Gertrude Carraway commented that "they came back bustin' full of ideas." Mr. Gregor Norman-Wilcox, a recognized decorative arts expert at the Los Angeles County Museum, came to New Bern on a one-year contract to guide the furnishing

of the palace. He prepared a room-by-room list of items needed that was based on documentary evidence gleaned from Tryon's 1773 inventory of losses suffered in a fire at Fort George, N. Y. (his assignment following his post in New Bern), and from the 1777 sale of Josiah Martin's household goods confiscated by the New Bern Committee of Safety after Martin's hasty departure in 1775. The Kellenbergers, the Horne sisters, and the Norman-Wilcoxes traveled to the British Isles to shop for as many of the items on the list as they could find. Their purchases augmented the considerable collection donated by Maude Latham to present an elegant appearance in all rooms opened to the public on April 15, 1957.

Prior to the formal opening, Miss Carraway advertised for and received a huge response from volunteers who wished to become "hostesses" at the new palace. She held training classes to inform the volunteers about the history and the things visitors would see in the palace, the kitchen wing, and the stable. Now, almost 40 years later, millions of visitors have toured Tryon Palace Sites and Gardens—and many, many more are yet to come. Over those same years, many discoveries have been made to cause administrators to change what was earlier thought to be historically accurate. Such study and analysis will no doubt continue to reveal a more authentic presentation of this historic site to the visiting public.

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Conversations with Exave Lupton, Sonny Taylor, and Jim Schulteis.

CORRIGENDA

After the May 2006 issue of the *Journal* was printed, errors were discovered in Gordon Ruckart's splendid article "Between the Palaces: The Burned Out and the Rebuilt."

In the last paragraph on page 28, the first sentence should read:

Maude Moore Latham also worked hard to encourage residents to take the offers to move.

In the last paragraph on page 30, the first sentence should read:

Well before the grand opening, Mr. and Mrs. Kellenberger and the sisters Virginia and Elizabeth Horne went to England to study the decorative arts.

There was no relation between the Horne sisters and Mrs. Kellenberger.

On page 31 the last sentence in the first paragraph should give the date for the reopening of Tryon Palace as April 15, 1959.

The Editor and Staff of the *Journal* are embarrassed at the poor quality of printing of this article and hope future issues will be satisfactory.

QUESTERING IN NEW BERN, NORTH CAROLINA

Alice Ruckart

The Questers does not command name recognition, but their efforts have been recognized internationally. The Questers was founded in 1944 by Jessie Elizabeth Barden in Pennsylvania. What started as an informal gathering of friends to study material culture has grown into an organization of more than 900 chapters with 15,000 members in the United States and Canada. Their mission has expanded over the years to include the preservation of historic landmarks and the support of scholarships to the Graduate School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation at Columbia University and a Fellowship for a student in the arts conservation program at Winterthur University of Delaware.

The Earl of Craven Questers chapter was founded in New Bern, North Carolina, in 1997. Shortly thereafter, Cedar Grove Cemetery was selected as the preservation/restoration project for the chapter.

A Condition Assessment Study of Cedar Grove Cemetery had been prepared in 1995 by Stephens & Francis, P. A., Architects, and Peter Sandbeck, restoration consultant. Funding was provided by The Kellenberger Historical Foundation and the National Park Service, through a certified local government matching grant administered by the North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources. This study addresses the preservation/restoration efforts that should be taken to save one of the state's finest collections of early and mid-nineteenth century gravestones, markers, and monuments—most erected during the period when New Bern was North Carolina's largest town and an important seat of commerce and maritime trade.

Working closely with the City of New Bern's Public Works Department, the Earl of Craven Questers has been instrumental in the repair of the cemetery's display water fountain, gate repair, the replacement of roofs for two mausoleums, installation of oyster shell walks, planting of azaleas around the Confederate Memorial, and the installation of an interpretive panel just inside the entry gates. Recently, 20 benches were acquired and will be installed.

Funding for these projects has been derived from many sources: catered lunches by Quester members, grants from The North Carolina State Organization of Questers, Questers International and Exxon-Mobil, and donations from concerned local citizens.

The Earl of Craven Questers now find themselves at a critical point in their preservation/restoration efforts. While there are still a number of manageable efforts to be made, the most critical project to be undertaken is the repair of tombstones and brick walls surrounding family burial plots. As months and years pass, they continue to deteriorate at a rapid rate, and restoration costs are monumental. These involve privately owned properties ineligible for grant monies. The families represented in the oldest section of Cedar Grove no longer live in New Bern, and in some cases, there may be no living relatives. Questers is currently trying to find a solution to this challenge.

Those interested in the preservation/restoration of Cedar Grove Cemetery may send donations to the City of New Bern, Department of Public Works, earmarked for this purpose so they are not used for regular maintenance.

In 1854, the town erected the present entrance gates and perimeter wall of marl to enclose the burying ground. Over the entrance gates is a marble plaque inscribed with a verse penned by Dr. Francis Lister Hawks:

Still hallowed by this spot where lies
Each dear loved one in earth's embrace
Our God their treasured dust doth prize
Man should protect their resting place.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN NEW BERN: SOME HIGHLIGHTS

Julie Hipps

New Bern, perched between the scenic Neuse and Trent rivers, routinely hosts travelers to eastern North Carolina. Tourists visit Tryon Palace and the stately eighteenth and nineteenth century homes, gardens, churches, and public buildings in the historic districts. These guests may not learn that African Americans comprised the majority of the New Bern population and boast a compelling history of their own.

During New Bern's era of prosperity before the Civil War, slaves fueled the labor force, and the town supported the state's largest concentration of free blacks. After the war, black physicians, lawyers, entrepreneurs, educators, and religious leaders actively participated in the local economy, society, and politics. By the turn of the twentieth century, however, white supremacists unleashed a campaign of disfranchisement and repression. Jim Crow laws established strict racial demarcations, and by 1910 black businesses no longer mingled with white businesses downtown on Middle and Craven streets.

In the 1940s, displaced African American businesses concentrated at Five Points, a second downtown. The A & P, Ben Franklin, and the Palace Theatre franchises served local blacks as did locally owned Hill's Five Points Drug Store, Midway Soda Shop, Dowdy's Café, Charles Henderson's blacksmith shop, West End Barbershop, Bishop Rivers Funeral Home on Broad Street, N. C. Mutual Insurance Company, Barker's Seafood and Produce, Vail's Alberta Beauty Shop, and Peter J. Kenan's Shoe Repair Shop on Queen Street.

One of New Bern's largest employers of skilled black laborers, the Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad, fired blacks only to replace them with whites (Hanchett). The result of all of this was an insular African American community. Black people all took care of each other, with their own ministers, medical professionals, funeral directors, and shopkeepers.

The Reverend Willie Hickman, a local National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) organizer and activist, harbored some unpleasant childhood memories, admitting that he "sort of grew up hating white people" (*Sun Journal*, November 1, 1992). Hickman resented the fact that white school children rode school buses, while the blacks had to walk to school. It made him angry that, while he trudged along to school, white students yelled "walk nigger" at him, as their bus sped by (Oral History). Hickman's indignation followed him to adulthood and to the Fish House, a downtown restaurant. At the Fish House black people were not allowed to come in the front door. African Americans were served at a window. One day, Hickman and a friend dared to enter the Fish House by the front door. The proprietor first trapped Hickman's leg in the door. Then he said that the only way he would serve blacks inside would be after a Supreme Court ruling. Hickman and his friend dined elsewhere. Later, at Moore's Barbecue on Broad Street, John Moore refused to seat Hickman and another companion. Moore told them to use the window. The two men filed a successful lawsuit. The federal court ordered Moore to pay a \$5000 fine and relocate his business.

In 1960 the New Bern Youth Council of the NAACP, advised by the Reverend G. J. Hill, Dr. A. Hillary Fisher, the Reverend Leon C. Nixon, and B. S. Rivers, staged sit-ins, boycotts, and marches at Kress's Department Store, Clarke's Drug Store, and Anderson's Drug Store. (G. J. Hill was minister at St. Peter's AME Zion Church, which hosted a visit by the Reverend Ralph Abernathy. Dr. Fisher, pastor of Trinity AME Zion Church, took over as

managing editor of the *New Bern Carolina Times Weekly* in July of 1960. B. S. Rivers was a funeral director and member of St. Peter's. Leon C. "Buckshot" Nixon was a civil rights advocate.)

Barbara Jean Hill Lee explained the situation: Black people "knew their place and tried to stay in it." And she clarified,

when I grew up, we seldom saw anybody white unless it was the insurance man. We were taught that you didn't say anything [to white folk]. You had to stay in your place. Our place was that we didn't touch anything. If we wanted a hot dog, you'd stand at the far corner of Kress's Department Store. You had to order your hot dog or something and take it out of the store to eat it. If you wanted to buy something, you had to keep your hands to yourself, because if you touched something they would assume you were stealing it. (Wilson 154)

After eight months of hard work and 29 indictments for trespassing, the young people celebrated the integration of Kress's lunch counter in October.

Hickman remembered sit-ins and marches from the 1960s. When a restaurant refused to serve blacks, "we would congregate outside the place and then decide to go in and just sit there," Hickman explained.

Or we would march downtown, and of course we didn't have too much police protection because they were against what we were doing. We would just march on a place that refused us. We would come together and just march. (Oral History)

Hickman granted that "there was a little violence. Sometimes a policeman would hit, would strike a youth." He also realized that there were more subtle forms of intimidation. Many blacks refused to join the NAACP, because

“if they had a job and was a member of the NAACP they would be terminated” (Oral History).

The assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., on April 4, 1968, sparked some unrest. The atmosphere on that night was sober and pensive. But the next evening rabble-rousers threatened to “start tearing up” (Oral History). What had started out as a peaceful demonstration turned into vandalism and looting. Young people met at 10:00 p. m. and quietly marched downtown to the courthouse. Then the ransacking began. Five Points on Broad Street was the hardest hit. The following businesses suffered damages: Cecil’s Citgo, Hayes Food Center, Swan-Rawls, Colonial Store, Service Distributor’s Station, Crayton’s Real Estate building, Carolina Cleaners, Tico’s Sandwich Shop (looted), Johnson Cleaners, Broad Street Shell, Jake’s Market (looted), Ernul’s Sport Shop, Wyatt’s Electronics Radio & TV Service, a market on Miller Street, Askew’s Hardware, Merita Bread Warehouse (looted and shattered windshields on trucks), Reece’s Grocery, the poolroom next to Tico’s, telephone booth in Five Points, and the main office at Craven Terrace housing unit.

Hurled bricks and bottles also damaged state patrol, police, and private vehicles. Law officers armed with billy clubs, riot guns, and helmets arrested five blacks on charges ranging from littering to disorderly conduct, assault, and concealed weapons. Police arrested Elmer A. Norris, Robert Louis Sanders, LeRoy N. Brown, Lonnie Stocks, Jr., and Willie Murphy Pender. Fifty to 60 police, plus N. C. Highway Patrol and State Troopers quieted the 150-200 black demonstrators, who eventually settled town about 3:00 a. m. (*Sun Journal*, April 6, 1968).

This was when Mayor E. H. Ricks called for an emergency meeting of the Board of Aldermen, law enforcement officials, and black citizens. They tried to figure out how to keep this type of thing from happening again. The mayor promised that, from that point on, police would arrive promptly, at the first sign of trouble. Black committee members asked that only black, no white, policemen patrol

Five Points and pushed for barricades and detours around the Five Points business district. The barricades extended from Pollock Street to Fort Totten to Neuse Boulevard.

Nonetheless, ransacking and plundering continued. On April 9, homemade fire bombs were hurled at Carolina Cleaners, the George Street Recreation Center, a Carroll Street church, and a New Bern police car. Officers Sergeant W. F. Dowdy, III, H. L. Jones, and E. W. Ipock escaped their bombed vehicle, uninjured. After this, a curfew was put into place. Stationed at the armory, 45 National Guard troopers were on standby, but "after the curfew had been put into effect, things quieted down" (*Sun Journal*, April 10, 1968). Even so, the police discovered a stash of "Molotov cocktails," a development that caused the Board of Aldermen to pass an ordinance against the possession and manufacture of explosives and firearms.

Public school integration was a major issue. In 1954 the Supreme Court ruled that racial segregation in public schools was unconstitutional but offered no deadlines or implementation guidelines. So each state made up its own plan. The North Carolina General Assembly shifted authority from the State Board of Education to individual school systems. Under the leadership of Governor Luther Hodges, the General Assembly passed a series of resolutions that empowered local districts and established vague criteria for student transfers. Using this legislation, the New Bern school system postponed integration until the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Title IV of this bill connected federal funding to integration. This meant that local school systems had to integrate or lose federal money. In August of 1965, Dr. Charles Carroll, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, decreed that each school district put "some degree of racial integration" (*Sun Journal*, August 27, 1965) in place and submit desegregation plans to the United States Office of Education.

New Bern, led by school superintendent H. J. McDonald, followed a "Freedom of Choice Plan," where each year the board approved a "Plan for Assignment of Pupils."

The plan allowed that the board consider reassignment requests "without regard for race" but specified other criteria for reassignment such as: the proximity of the school, undue hardship, special physical needs, extenuating family circumstances, course availability, and the discretion of the board (Craven *Minutes*). H. J. McDonald explained that the initial black students to enroll in New Bern High School

came from homes of college educated parents, teachers, doctors, lawyers, and they were not distinguishable from the achievement of the white children. They fit into everything and they were accepted. (Quoted in Wilson 145)

In the fall of 1965, Gwendolyn Bryan and three other black students entered New Bern High School. Under orders from Governor Dan K. Moore, the State Bureau of Investigation dispatched several men to New Bern. SBI Director Walter Anderson and State Highway Patrol Colonel David Lambers moved "a small number of troopers into the areas where local authorities had indicated that they may need assistance." Even so, Craven County School Superintendent Robert L. Pugh reported a peaceful opening day (*Sun Journal*, August 27, 1965). However, in the evaluation of the *Sun Journal*, as quietly as it began, integration became an event of watershed proportions in Craven County Schools" (February 23, 1993). Gwendolyn Bryan confessed that "for the first year I couldn't eat my breakfast. There was a lump in my throat" (Quoted in Wilson 145).

The only black student to enter Central Elementary School under the Freedom of Choice Plan, Stephanye Ann Kenyear Henderson, discovered that "by the end of the first grading period, I was jumping rope with the rest of them and playing kick ball." The other fifth graders never invited Henderson over to play, however, and she understood because "my mother explained that to me, and I still

had my friends that I grew up with. I had the support of the black community" (Oral History). When Joan Parks enrolled the next year, Central boasted two black students.

Things changed in the 1970s. According to McDonald,

if we had been left to our own resources or own affairs [desegregation under the Freedom of Choice Plan] would have continued and resulted in the integration of schools with no problems. But later [we were told] "you do it all immediately," and the doing of it was by busses. (Quoted in Wilson 145)

Wallace Booker, Principal at West Street School, characterized the bussing scheme as a "bitter pill," because he noticed black teachers "pleading and complaining and begging not to be reassigned," and a handful of white teachers who "expressed fear in coming to a black school" (Oral History). Booker realized that integration was a "drastic change because it called for a whole new way of thinking," but that after initial resistance to the bussing plan, "we got along well," and "it was working alright" (Oral History).

Arlestus Attmore was promoted from his teaching position at J. T. Barber to Assistant Principal at New Bern High School during the 1970 desegregation process. In his view,

being thrown together like that was something new for everyone. There was animosity that existed among the students. The whites were against the blacks and the blacks were against the whites. The situation was not a pretty one. (Oral History)

"The most talked about event of school desegregation" (Wilson 148) happened in January of 1971. Black students asked for a ceremony to commemorate Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. The administration said, "No." But the students held the assembly on a Friday anyway. White students responded by planning a Robert E. Lee celebra-

tion for Monday. During the Monday assembly, black students skipped class, headed for the auditorium, and confronted white students with Confederate flags. A brawl ensued. Then a custodian pushed a wheelbarrow full of soft drinks into the melee, supplying ammunition, and the students pelted the bottled sodas at one another. The administration called the police, closed the school, and eventually suspended the troublemakers. New Bern High School Principal H. P. Honeycutt called over to J. T. Barber for help. Principal Grover C. Fields sent William Guion, monitor at J. T. Barber, for crowd control. Black civic leader Lee Morgan lent a hand as well.

In an effort to ease tension, black and white ministers, school officials, parents, community leaders, and the Student Inter-racial Council met. They proposed a policy whereby black and white students shared all extra-curricular activities equally. So the school had two homecoming queens, club presidents, and class officers. The officers split duties monthly, as Henderson explained, "one would be in charge one month and one would be in charge the next month, and that kind of thing" (Oral History). Teachers and students agreed that the measure was fair and evenhanded. In the midst of all of this Principal Honeycutt resigned, and Grover C. Fields took over.

The first thing that Fields did was to address the student body. "You all look alike to me," he said. "I don't want any trouble" (*Sun Journal*, February 21, 1993). Fields was truly admired, because, as his colleagues attested, he

"made a world of difference and turned the whole thing around . . . he had a talent, he knew how to work with teenagers, both white and black. [The students] cared for him because they pointed him out as a fair man. He believed in giving everybody a hearing . . . [also] all of the teachers began to care for Mr. Fields and they tried very hard" (Oral History).

Grover C. Fields saved New Bern High School and, as an

extension, was “the man that saved New Bern” (Oral History).

These highlights of the civil rights movement in New Bern, woven from newspaper articles and oral histories, merely scratch at the surface of a rich and vibrant history. These strong, honorable, and courageous people and their goals deserve scholarly consideration and recognition.

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BOOK REVIEW

Tapping the Pines: The Naval Stores Industry in the American South, Robert B. Outland III. (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 2004. 352 pp. \$47.95.)

Professor Outland's book is not for everyone. First, at \$47.95, the book puts a big dent in the pocketbook. In places, the content is dense and highly technical. Certainly, *Tapping the Pines* is not an "easy read." Yet I have not read a book of such sweep in years. The book's capacity to capture and dissect an entire industry's history over 300 years is unique. Most compelling is the author's ability to provide us with vivid pictures of the arduous lives of the folks who worked so hard at "burning tar" or "stilling turpentine."

While writing an article on the naval stores industry in the New Bern area for this *Journal* in the May 1996 issue, I recall my unsuccessful search for a photograph of a local turpentine distillery. Despite the fact that these stills were common in this area up until about 1900, the only pictorial representation of a New Bern still I could locate was a rough sketch drawn by Col. Edward Cabot, 44th Massachusetts Infantry, in 1862. The truth of the matter is that a turpentine still was about as ugly a structure as can be conceived, and no one thought to preserve the likeness of such an eyesore.

The naval stores industry represented hard work for little money and has been largely forgotten. Yet from the beginning of European colonization of this continent, the naval stores industry was the economic mainstay of eastern North Carolina. Colonial Virginia got rich from exporting tobacco, and South Carolina flourished from the

cultivation of rice and indigo. In contrast, North Carolinians had to sweat out a living producing pine tar, pitch, and turpentine. From shortly after European settlement in 1710 until about 1860, the Tarheel State led the world in the production of these commodities and their byproducts.

Sadly, most of us have little knowledge of this thriving and long-lived industry. Indeed, not many people know that our nickname, "Tarheels," is derived from the fact that our ancestors picked up pine tar on their bare feet while firing tar kilns out in the piney woods of North Carolina. The Moore's Creek Battlefield Park, located close to Wilmington, contains a delightful walk through a stand of pines on the property. The purpose of the trail is to provide some information on the local naval stores industry. Several of the signs read something like "Resin (sap) is collected from the trees" Resin is not sap. Resin is the thick, sticky material produced by the tree to seal an injury, to prevent insects, water, and bacteria from damaging the tree. Hence, even professionals can make mistakes when describing this forgotten industry! Fortunately, Robert Outland's recently published book, *Tapping the Pines*, provides us with a well-documented and comprehensive history of this critical industry. He notes early in his book that the source of tar, pitch, and turpentine is resin, and resin is *not* tree sap.

Dr. Outland is a professor at Louisiana State University. His book was published by the LSU Press. Accordingly, when I purchased the book, I suspected that Dr. Outland might focus his book on the more recent naval stores industry in Louisiana and the Gulf Coast region. Would he give our state its due as the dominant player in this industry during the early period? My fears were reduced when I read that Dr. Outland was a native of Rich Square, a town in the Albemarle region of this state where pine tar was produced early in the colonial period. More than a third of the book is devoted to a detailed description of how this industry developed in our state. Dr. Outland then traces the movement of the industry into South

Carolina, Georgia, and on to states in the Gulf Coast region. He also documents the migration farther south of many of the skilled North Carolina workers when the huge stands of longleaf pines were exhausted in our state.

Outland emphasizes the hard work and low profits to be made in the early period when the major products were pine tar and pitch. Pine tar is a viscous fluid that looks something like blackstrap molasses. It is used to waterproof the standing rigging on sailing ships. English sailors are sometimes called "Tars" because a major ship maintenance chore involved keeping the lines tarred. Pitch is simply pine tar that is boiled down to create a thicker, stickier product. It is used to waterproof the hull of wooden ships.

But then, beginning in the early 1800s, the demand for turpentine rose sharply. It was used in paints, as a universal solvent, particularly in the developing rubber industry, and as a replacement for whale oil in lamps. Resin for making tar and pitch could be collected from deadwood, but turpentine required that the resin be gathered from live longleaf pines and then distilled. Resin flow was induced by cutting or "hacking" one side of the tree in a herringbone pattern. Resin or "raw turpentine" was gathered in the woods in barrels and taken to the distillery. The distilling process was complicated, and the operation of the large iron or copper stills required skills gained through years of experience.

The major byproduct of making turpentine was the leftover rosin (not to be confused with resin) in the kettle after the turpentine had been distilled. Rosin was used in the paper industry as a sizing agent to make the paper accept ink. One could make excellent profits producing turpentine as the demand grew throughout the nineteenth century. Many of the fine old houses in New Bern were built with turpentine money.

Prior to the Civil War, rosin prices sometimes dropped so low that it was dumped at a nearby location. When demand for and prices of rosin increased after that

war, the dumped rosin was mined and sold on the market. Outland notes that some Northerners returned to New Bern and made fortunes selling rosin they mined from the banks of the Neuse River.

The author also mentions the 20,000-acre Richlands Plantation in Onslow County. This plantation produced an annual income of \$60,000 for John Avirett during the 1840s, but the intense tapping of his pines soon destroyed his forests. Avirett failed to diversify into cotton or other crops, and in 1850 he advertised the sale of his entire operation, including the family cemetery and his 125 slaves. John Avirett died penniless in either an insane asylum or a poorhouse in Goldsboro in 1863. His son James served as a chaplain with Stonewall Jackson and wrote of his privileged life on the plantation and his regrets that the timber on the plantation had not been "more carefully guarded and economized."

After the Civil War, it became increasingly difficult to obtain an adequate supply of low-wage workers who were willing to perform the backbreaking tasks at the isolated and primitive turpentine camps that were the norm in the lower South. An unexpected bonus is Outland's extensive discussion of the unfair labor laws and practices that were used to keep wages low and workers virtually imprisoned in the industry. Vagrancy laws dictated if you did not have a job, you could go to jail. A peonage law means that if you were in debt to your employer or the company store, you could not leave the job. Enticement laws prevented a company from recruiting employees from another operation. And, of course, there was the widespread use of prison labor. Moreover, it was not uncommon to employ armed guards to prevent even free workers from leaving their jobs. These outrageous labor practices were not limited to the naval stores industry; they were commonly used in other industries in the South.

In the current era of engine-powered ships with steel or fiberglass hulls, there is little need to produce the tar and pitch that fueled our economy for so long. There re-

mains, however, a strong demand for turpentine and rosin. The last time I was in Lowe's, the building supply store, turpentine was selling for five dollars a quart. In 1880, the wholesale price for turpentine in New Bern was about 20 cents a gallon or five cents a quart. So where are the giant industrial distilleries producing turpentine? There are none.

Turpentine is now produced by new, more efficient production techniques developed by the pulpwood industry. The logs are now debarked, chipped, and cooked in a weak sulfuric solution to isolate the wood's cellulose and make paper. Turpentine and rosin are captured and collected as byproducts during this highly automated process. Several years ago, the local Weyerhaeuser paper mill was producing almost 1000 gallons of turpentine each day. Do the math and you have to conclude that turpentine remains very much a profitable component of the Craven County economy. Somehow I find it comforting to know that we are still in the turpentine business. Even better, battalions of men no longer have to work hard for endless hours out in the pines to produce the product.

Dick Lore