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JOURNAL OF THE NEW BERN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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WHO WOULD BE A MINISTER IN THAT COUNTRY?

Christ Church and the Quest for Rectors in Colonial North Carolina

David Curtis Skaggs

When King Charles II issued a charter to eight Lords Proprietor for Carolina, he required the proprietors to provide such religious toleration as they believed to be "fit and reasonable." Because of sparse and scattered population along the northern Carolina coast, no serious effort was made to establish clergymen and churches in the first 40 years after the founding of the colony.

To accomplish the charter's objectives, the Anglican Communion needed institutions, money, clergy, and laity working towards a viable ecclesiastical presence. Such an objective required that the church adapt to a New World religious, political, and social environment far different from that existing in Britain. Nowhere was this problem more graphically illustrated than in the struggle to establish rectors for the parishes of the colony.

The first new reality was that the colonies were populated by religious dissenters who did not want to see the full panoply of ecclesiastical powers that characterized England. Even many Anglican adherents were not inclined to institute bishoprics, chancellery courts, and religious homogeneity in their colonies. From the founding of Virginia in 1607, Anglicans modified their religious institutions to fit the world they faced. What emerged was a laity-dominated, non-episcopal Episcopal Church. Regarding the absence of a bishop, two English church historians wrote: "To say this was like acting the play of Hamlet with the character of the prince of Denmark omitted,

would be to understate the case (Overton 307)."

But long before Episcopal institutions could be established, the Church of England desired the pastors of local parishes to have the normal privileges of their office. Essential to the normative parochial position of a parish priest was that he would be installed as the rector of a parish. The road to a rectorship involved four prerequisites—holy orders, presentation, institution, and induction. No one questioned the necessity for ordination into holy orders by a Church of England bishop. Presentation was the act of recommending a person in holy orders for a benefice and was usually done by a local nobleman—the patron—or by the bishop. Institution was the investment of a presentee into the spiritual part of a benefice while induction was the investment of the clergyman into possession of the church into which he had been instituted with all the rights, profits, etc., appertaining thereto. The right of institution and induction was traditionally of the king's foundation and donation. In colonial British North America, this latter power devolved upon the governor as the king's representative.

In England the patron of a benefice was the person or persons

possessing the right to make a presentation to a benefice. The patron could be a private individual, a lay corporation (such as the mayor and corporation of a borough), an ecclesiastical corporation (such as a dean and chapter of a cathedral) or a collegiate body (such as an Oxford or Cambridge college or a school such as Eton College). The right of patronage could be held as personal property, or in virtue of the office held by the patron. . . . In some cases patronage was shared between several patrons, who might appoint jointly to the living, who might each appoint to a portion of a living . . . or who might take it in turn to exercise the patronage." (Glossary)

Most colonial British Americans thought of themselves as a parish's patrons and that they should have the right of presentation of a minister.

But colonial British Americans demanded even more. When installed in a benefice, a rector received lifetime tenure in the position. He could only be removed from office by his Episcopal supervisor—in the case of colonial churches, that was the Bishop of London whose jurisdiction included all overseas congregations of the Church of England.

What occurred in colonial British America was a tug-of-war between the colonists and the imperial authorities. In various colonies the provincial assembly functioned similar to the Crown and bishops in the Mother Country; and the parish vestries assumed roles not all that dissimilar to those played by local nobility and bishops in the calling and dismissal of clergy. Attempts by Anglicans in Britain to replicate many British ecclesiastical laws and customs had a deleterious impact upon the colonial church's development.

The Virginia Example

North Carolinians were familiar with church polity in Virginia and sought to replicate it in their colony. Early in the Old Dominion's history, the church vestries gained control of the choice and election of their ministers, and it soon became a central principle of church governance in the colony. Virginia's laymen dominated church activities in ways unheard-of in England. Their General Assembly established and divided parishes by statute and made provision for the maintenance of churches, clergy, and public welfare within each parish. Royal governors assumed the right of induction and vestries arrogated unto themselves the right of presentation.

For the most part, Virginia vestries received a governor's recommendation of a clergyman as a suggestion, not a presentation. They required a candidate to conduct ser-

vices and preach and occasionally rejected the person sent them. In at least one instance, a vestry hired a newly ordained minister without a gubernatorial recommendation.

But the most innovative policy was the parish vestry policy of not submitting a parson's name to the governor for induction. Thus, they developed a policy of annual contracts between the vestry and the parson. This gave them control over tenure which they deemed necessary in the absence of a bishop to control clerical malfeasance. From the vestry's perspective, this enhanced local control and apparently had no deleterious consequences. Tenure in Virginia parishes averaged over 12 years and long serving parsons for over 20 years were common. However, the contractual provisions of this arrangement threatened a minister's independence, integrity, and gentlemanly status. It implied job insecurity and suggested an inferior status to that of the vestrymen. These parsons were mere "hireling ministers" subject to dismissal at the whims of a majority of vestrymen. Needless to say, governors and British ecclesiastical authorities were outraged at such an arrangement and sought to discontinue it; certainly they would not condone its use in other colonies. The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury wrote in 1697:

This seems to me a very strange way they have there that their Ministers are not inducted but may be removed Like domestick Servants, by a Vote of the Vestry. Who would be a Minister in that Countrey?" (Nelson 127-131)

The North Carolina Assembly demanded the right of dismissal from a benefice be given to the parish vestry. One can easily understand the assembly's position given the low quality of parsons sent to North Carolina where religious impiety, bigamy, drunkenness, and criminal conduct characterized all too many Anglican clergymen who came in the first third of the eighteenth century.

These statutes offended the Bishop of London who

saw in them the diminution of his authority. Since the bishop was *ex officio* a member of the Board of Trade and since that body recommended to the monarch the disallowance of any colonial laws thought to be contrary to the laws and customs of Great Britain, no colonial statute advocating such a policy would be approved by the Crown. How, you might ask, did Virginians receive these privileges and North Carolinians could not? The Virginia system developed in the years before the Navigation Acts had been enacted and before the Board of Trade became the agency supervising the colonial legal system. By the time North Carolinians sought to replicate the system of their northern neighbor, British colonial supervision was a might tighter than in the early seventeenth century. ❖

Church of England in North Carolina

By the early eighteenth century, the Board of Trade launched an effort to secure the establishment of the Church of England in various colonies, particularly in the South. While in South Carolina the Church of England gained a presence from the start, in the Albemarle Sound littoral what little organized religion existed was dominated by the Society of Friends. These Quakers opposed any effort to establish parishes as well as the tax-supported church itself. The Church of England's efforts from 1700 to 1740 may be largely deemed a failure. Virginia's haughty William Byrd II found that North Carolinians were "content their offspring should remain as arrant pagans as themselves."

While Anglican laity and the governor pushed through a vestry act in 1701, the Quakers opposed it; and orthodox Anglican leaders in London found it deficit in that it gave the power of patronage to the vestries and not the governor. The Board of Trade recommended the statute be disallowed. Similar rejections of the establishment acts occurred in 1704, 1711, 1715, 1741, 1755, 1760, and 1762 (Clark 660-662, Cain *Church* 188-192, 265, 414-419,

Woolverton 169-172, London and Lemmon 1-93).

In no way was any colonial established church comparable with the national church of Great Britain.

Without royal and episcopal powers to toll the bell, regulate life, and provide guidance amid increasing religious pluralism, the sense of the state as a single, corporate religious body was gradually, though unevenly, lost. What was left was the derivative understanding of establishment: official confirmation and recognition, tax support, governmental surveillance, and special benefits and immunities.

At the heart of the difference between any colonial establishment and the British one was the absence in the New World of the principal of uniformity: the idea that there was a oneness between church and state, that nearly all people shared a common loyalty to the Crown and the Church of England (Woolverton 19). Colonial British America in general and North Carolina in particular were replete with diversity of peoples and religious beliefs.

But all was not lost. In 1715 the colonial assembly recognized that some counties were so poor that they could scarcely pay a reader for Morning Prayer and a printed sermon. It passed "An Act for Observing the Lord's Day" among other things and established nine parishes. Among these was Craven Parish (Carraway 14-26, Cain).

What the assembly created was not what most of us would today consider a parish—the property owned by a congregation consisting of a church, rectory, cemetery, and other buildings and lands. These new parishes were geographic regions usually encompassing an entire eighteenth-century county which in those days often included territory from the seacoast to hundreds of miles inland. A parish involved more than those persons attending worship; all residents of the geographic parish regardless of religious affiliation were parishioners and expected to pay taxes for its upkeep. Parishioners expected that the parish

would establish not only a church in the county seat but also build chapels-of-ease for the convenience of worshippers throughout the county.

When the propriety charter was transferred to the Crown in 1729, the instructions to the new Royal governor required him to

take especial care that God Almighty be Devoutly and Duly Served throughout Your Government, the *Book of Common Prayer* as by law establish'd Read each Sunday and Holyday and the Blessed Sacrament Administered according to the Rites of the Church of England.

Such pious phrases belie the fact that a sparse and dispersed population, many of whom dissented from the national church, did not want to pay taxes to the Anglican Church nor did they want to see the 39 Articles of Religion observed. The new governor reported to London:

This Country has no Orthodox Minister legally settled, those that formerly have been here generally proved so very bad that they gave People Offence by their Vicious Lives.

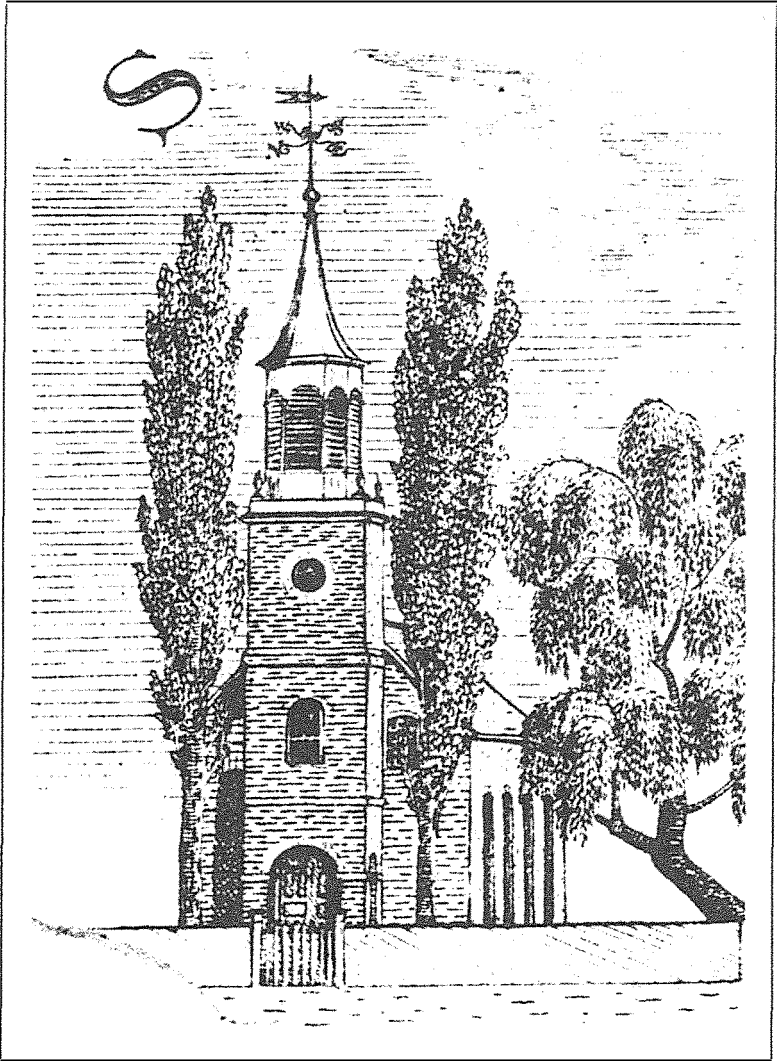
Reform and expansion would be slow in coming and grudgingly accepted by the majority of North Carolinians who were Quakers, Baptists, Presbyterians, or of no religious affiliation whatsoever (Cain 325, 327).

The Long Serving, but Never Inducted Ministers

A French Huguenot born in 1681 in LaSalle, France, the Reverend John LaPierre studied at Trinity College, Dublin, from which he received a bachelor's degree around 1706. In 1707 the Bishop of London ordained him an Anglican minister and sent him to a French-speaking congregation in St. Denis Parish, South Carolina, where he

ministered from 1708 to 1728. Many of the Huguenots in this congregation preferred the communion service done in the Calvinist form rather than the Anglican one. For 20 years LaPierre insisted on following the *Book of Common Prayer*, much to the displeasure of many of his communicants. Finally he left South Carolina to minister to the new congregations of St. Philip's in Brunswick and St. James in Wilmington on the Cape Fear River. Here he was initially well received but soon was labeled as someone with "a very unsettled temper" who did a number of things which "disobliged" his friends; most importantly he incurred the displeasure of the Reverend Richard Marsden who usurped the living from him (Cain 312, 324, 336-339, 344, 347-348, Fleming 578-591, Fordham et. al. 7-9, 187-189, Wood 402-430).

Parson LaPierre came north in 1735 to be with his daughter's family in Craven County (Cain 350). It would appear he regularly performed divine services in Craven parish for the next 22 years. However he was never inducted as the rector. There are several reasons for this. First, he appears not to have spoken English well and his personality may not have been well received with many in Craven Parish. Certainly he was worldlier than such evangelicals as George Whitefield thought clergy should be. He was a moderate-sized landholder and a slave-owner (Whitefield 375-376). Second, he found himself caught up in the bitter quarrels between the North Carolina governor and the vestries over the patronage of the parish and the right to name the rectors. Third, because legally induction conferred upon the rector lifetime tenure, many Carolinians, churchmen or not, wanted more control over their clergy than this. Under these circumstances Parson LaPierre found himself in a vise between the Carolinians who desired the right to name and dismiss their clergy and those familiar with traditional English ecclesiastical policies which gave this right to the King as "defender of the faith." Throughout his career in Craven parish, the Board of Trade in London recommended the disallowance of all



Christ Church, completed by 1752, demolished ca. 1826, as it appeared ca. 1822-1824 on the Price-Fitch map of New Bern. *North Carolina Division of Archives and History.* (Sandbeck 21)

North Carolina attempts to find a middle ground between these two camps.

For instance, the 1741 vestry law allowed the vestry to “procure an able and Godly minister” and such clerks as necessary on yearly stipends. It also allowed nine of the twelve vestrymen to remove a minister who was “notoriously guilty of any scandalous Immorality (Cain 417-418).” The Board of Trade and the Bishop of London were not about to allow vestries such powers that were restricted in England to the Crown (with the governor acting as his agent) and the bishops. What the vestries desired was the right of presentment or nomination of the rector to the appropriate authority. Such a right would not be approved by the Bishop of London. Similarly the vestries demanded some say on a rector’s tenure; they had been burned too many times with immoral, profligate, or indifferent clergy to allow induction with its lifetime tenure without some sort of local dismissal authority. So it was that during his long service to three North Carolina parishes, 1728-1755, the Reverend John LaPierre never became a rector of any.

By the early 1750s, Craven Parish had a fine new brick church building, a superb communion service, a Prayer Book, and a Bible; its minister was now over 70 and there was a need for a dynamic, English-fluent, clerical leader of the congregation. The new Governor, Arthur Dobbs, was an active churchman and a vigorous proponent of Anglican Church expansion in the colony. He noted that LaPierre “by reason of his foreign Dialect and his age” was of very little service to the congregation. LaPierre died in 1755 at the age of 74.

Governor Dobbs apparently recruited several new clergy for North Carolina before he left the British Isles. One of these was the Reverend James Reed, who came to New Bern in 1753. Little is known of Reed’s personal or educational background, but he proved an effective shepherd of his flock for the next 24 years. He did not originally come as a Society for the Propagation of the Gospel missionary and so must have had some indication of em-

ployment before arriving in the province. The vestry employed him initially for a year and shortly thereafter agreed to pay him £133.6.8 current money (a substantial increase over the £50 allowed by law) and to find and provide him with a glebe house, kitchen, and other necessary houses on a paled (i. e. fenced) lot in New Bern. For this Reed agreed to perform divine services every Sunday of the year except when excused by the vestry and to perform services three times each year in the various chapels of the parish. Because this agreement was so unusual and in excess of what was required by law, it had to be approved by the colonial assembly as an exception to the rule (Clark 23: 420-421, 661, 991).

The Clergy Act of 1765

Finally, in 1765 the Assembly passed a law which made no reference to the vestry role in the approval or dismissal of clergy. The bill was silent on the matter of patronage and London approved it. By then it was too late to establish a strong Anglican church before the Revolution broke out. It allowed the governor to suspend a clergyman from serving his cure of a parish a priest found "guilty of any Gross Crime or notorious Immorality." This statute received quick assent from the Lord Bishop of London Richard Terrick and resulted in the formal induction of several Anglican clergy in North Carolina (Clark 23: 660-662, 11: 214, Nelson 22-28, Cross 130-133, 241-245).

With the approval of this "Act for establishing an Orthodox Clergy," the governor presumed authority to induct clergy into the parishes. Governor William Tryon proceeded to do so with a flourish. Because by "Virtue of His Majesty commission [he was] true and undoubted patron of the Rectory, Benefice, or Parish, of Christ Church," the governor empowered Thomas Clifford Howe to induct the Reverend James Reed as Christ Church's first rector September 10, 1765, a dozen years after his arrival in the village (Powell 1: 152, 460-461). At the same time Reed

was inducted, Alexander Stewart of St. Thomas', Beaufort, Charles Cupples of St. John's, Bute, William Miller of St. Patrick's, Dobbs, Hobart Briggs of St. Gabriel's, Duplin, George Micklejohn of St. Mathew's, Orange, and Samuel Fiske of St. John's, Pasquotank, were installed in their rectorships. Previously Thomas Burgess of Edgecomb Parish, Halifax, had been installed by special act of assembly in 1764.

Undoubtedly the governor's claim that he was the "true and undoubted patron" of the parish stuck in the craw of many North Carolinians. Coming as it did in the midst of the Stamp Act crisis, this declaration would be one of many irritants that contributed to the alienation of affections between Britons and their North American colonists. A few months later, Reed noted the

confused situation of affairs in this American world. Tho' people here are peaceable and quiet yet they seem very uneasy discontented and dejected. (Saunders 7: 154)

Even so, the problem of installing rectors continued as late as 1769 when one cleric refused Governor Tryon's offer to be presented as rector because "They will starve Me, for none like the Inducted Parson." Tryon wrote to London:

Some vestries idly imagine the Power of Presentation is still vested, by implication in them, because say they, neither the Crown nor the Governor is in express Words declared to have the right of Presentation.

Tryon's intransigence on this issue did much to damage the Anglican faith's reputation in the province when he proposed "to bring this Matter on some future Occasion to tryal, that They may be convinced of the obstinacy and error of such a Notion." Over time Governor Tryon became somewhat tolerant of vestry input into approval of a cler-

gyman; witness the case of the Reverend Theodorus S. Drage, whom he sent to St. Luke's Parish in Salisbury to officiate for several months so as to find out whether the situation was satisfactory to both Mr. Drage and his vestry. When the vestry wrote of its approval, the governor presented him for induction (Powell 2: 312, London and Lemmon 53). Without conceding the right of presentation to the vestries, he allowed local opinion to influence his decision to nominate a clergyman for induction.

It would appear then that during the last years of colonial administration a tacit compromise over induction became colonial church policy. Governors nominated clergy to parish vestries who had time to review the clergyman's conduct and personality before recommending him to the governor for approval. From the perspective of the vestrymen, they had the right of presentation. Governor Tryon and his successor Josiah Martin, on the other hand, maintained the charade that they had the power of presentation. For the most part, North Carolina vestries, unlike their Virginia contemporaries, did not seem so intransigent that they refused to allow induction and assumed governors would dismiss unsatisfactory clergymen.

Too often Royal officials in England and abroad failed to understand the differences between the church in the Mother Country and its manifestation in the New World where conditions differed greatly from those on the other side of the Atlantic. Compromises were going to have to be made relative to traditional church governance, finance, and functions in order to accommodate the pluralistic religious environment found in British North America. Tryon and his successor Josiah Martin seem to have understood this to a degree, but time was running out for the established church to accommodate itself to the North Carolina social and political environment.

The death knell to the world of the established church for which Parson James Reed had worked so industriously collapsed when the North Carolina Constitution of 1776 said in its Section XXXIV: ". . . there shall be no Establish-

ment of any one Religious Church in this Ståte in Preference to any other." The Reverend James Reed died the following year, bringing to a close one of the longest pastorates in the history of Christ Church, New Bern. About this time the Reverend Daniel Earl of Edenton wrote the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel:

. . . all denominations are upon an equality, and no person obliged to contribute to the support of any one religious persuasion or frequent any one particular place of worship, but what he himself thinks most agreeable, which renders the situation of the Church Clergy very precarious, their people being fewest in number.

A year later he wrote that "such of the Episcopal Clergy, as were not incumbered with families, or were in the Prime of Life, have quitted the Country (Cain *Records* 9: xxxviii-xxxix)."

The world of special status for the Church of England and its clergy ended; with this end came a period of both lay leadership and revival on an entirely new basis. Keeping Christ Church alive in the midst of the changed political and ecclesiastical world that emerged after the Declaration of Independence was a challenge for a new generation of clergy and laity to resolve. Who would serve as the next rector became more important than how he would be presented to the benefice.

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FORDHAM FOREVER: A CEMETERY PRESERVATION PROJECT

The Pepsi-Cola Kids Club

Introduction

Our club, The Pepsi-Cola Kids Club, is made up of our sixth grade class at the Epiphany School in New Bern, North Carolina. We are concerned about a small, abandoned cemetery called the Bryan-Fordham Cemetery. At first, not many of us knew about the cemetery. Our teacher Mrs. Cille Griffith brought it to our attention, and right away we became interested.

There are many repairs that need to be done, including the brick walls that are crumbling, the grass that is overgrowing, and maintenance that needs to be done. The reason that we want to help is because we think that we can really make a difference in saving this little cemetery. Our goal is to restore the Bryan-Fordham Cemetery.

During a class visit to the cemetery on Queen Street, our classmates recorded the names of the people buried there. A smaller group of students returned to the cemetery and sketched off the plot with the gravesites and approximate distances from each other. We then recorded all of the names of those buried there and then researched the history of as many of the deceased as we could locate in records at the New Bern-Craven County Public Library. Our research informed us that this little cemetery was of great significance to our town. Some of the early leaders and influential citizens of New Bern are buried there. We knew at this point that it was even more important to work hard to learn more and share our research with interested citizens in our community.



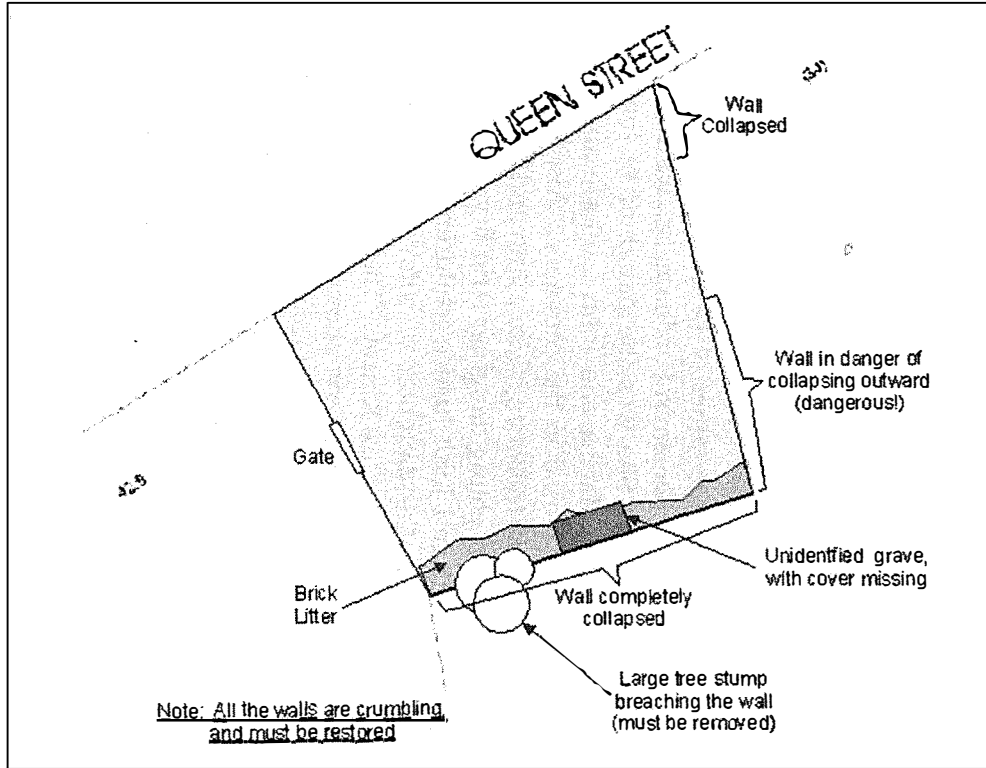
View of Queen Street side of the Fordham Cemetery. Photo by Radford.

The Sixth Graders have researched the Bryan-Fordham Cemetery, and the four officers have compiled the research and have written this article. Officers of The Pepsi-Cola Kids Club are President, Bailey Welsh; Vice-president, Zannie Owens; Secretary, Dana McLaughlin; Treasurer, Morgan Qualkinbush. Photographs for the article were contributed by Holly Radford.

Research

In 1735 Benjamin Fordham, Sr., set aside a burial ground next to his home along what is now Queen Street in New Bern. (It is somewhat confusing that the first Benjamin Fordham was born in the 1600s and is buried in Philadelphia. He is the father of Benjamin Fordham, Sr., born May 28, 1703.) Benjamin Fordham, Sr., married Martha LaPierre in 1735. She was the daughter of John and Suzanne LaPierre. Martha and John LaPierre and Benjamin Fordham are buried in the cemetery. Also buried in the cemetery are the following: Mary Ann and John Council Bryan and their young daughter Ann Bryan; Elias, Ann Rebecca, Jannett and John Justice (children of Ann Maria Justice, who was the daughter of John Council Bryan); Elizabeth Forbes; and Alice Kinsey. There may be two unknown graves in the cemetery, shown in the diagram as numbers 10 and 14. We believe that number 10 might be that of John and Ann Maria Justice since their children are buried here. Stones with an "a" suffix in the diagram represent foot stones.

Three of the deceased buried in Fordham Cemetery played key roles in the early history of New Bern. Benjamin Fordham was born in Annapolis, Maryland, and later moved to New Bern. Martha LaPierre, daughter of John LaPierre, married Benjamin Fordham in 1735. He died around 1777 and is buried in his own cemetery. He acquired his land from the town commissioners in 1753 and set aside the little plot for this cemetery in the same year. Benjamin Fordham served as a messenger of the House of



Current structural state of the Fordham Cemetery.

Assembly at the session held in New Bern in 1746. Fordham was later appointed as Mace Bearer to the Assembly.

The Reverend John LaPierre, a French Huguenot, was ordained in 1707 and came to America in 1708. He sold all of his belongings, moved to New Bern in 1735, and lived here until his death in 1755. Historical records indicate that John LaPierre probably held services here and assisted with what we now know as Christ Episcopal Church. John LaPierre's daughter Martha was married to Benjamin Fordham, who set aside the cemetery. The Reverend LaPierre was well-known throughout the town.

John Council Bryan played a significant role in Christ Episcopal Church. On behalf of the parish, he received a silver communion set from King George II. Our class visited Christ Episcopal Church, where we actually were able to touch this historic communion set. John Council Bryan also served as warden at Christ Church.

To do further research, we contacted a Fordham family member Yvonne Fordham Burnsed, who lives in Pembroke, Georgia. We called her and informed her that we were working to restore the cemetery. She was thrilled someone was concerned about the cemetery and told us we could do anything to help the cemetery. She gave us some family history, but could not furnish more because the family records had burned in a fire.

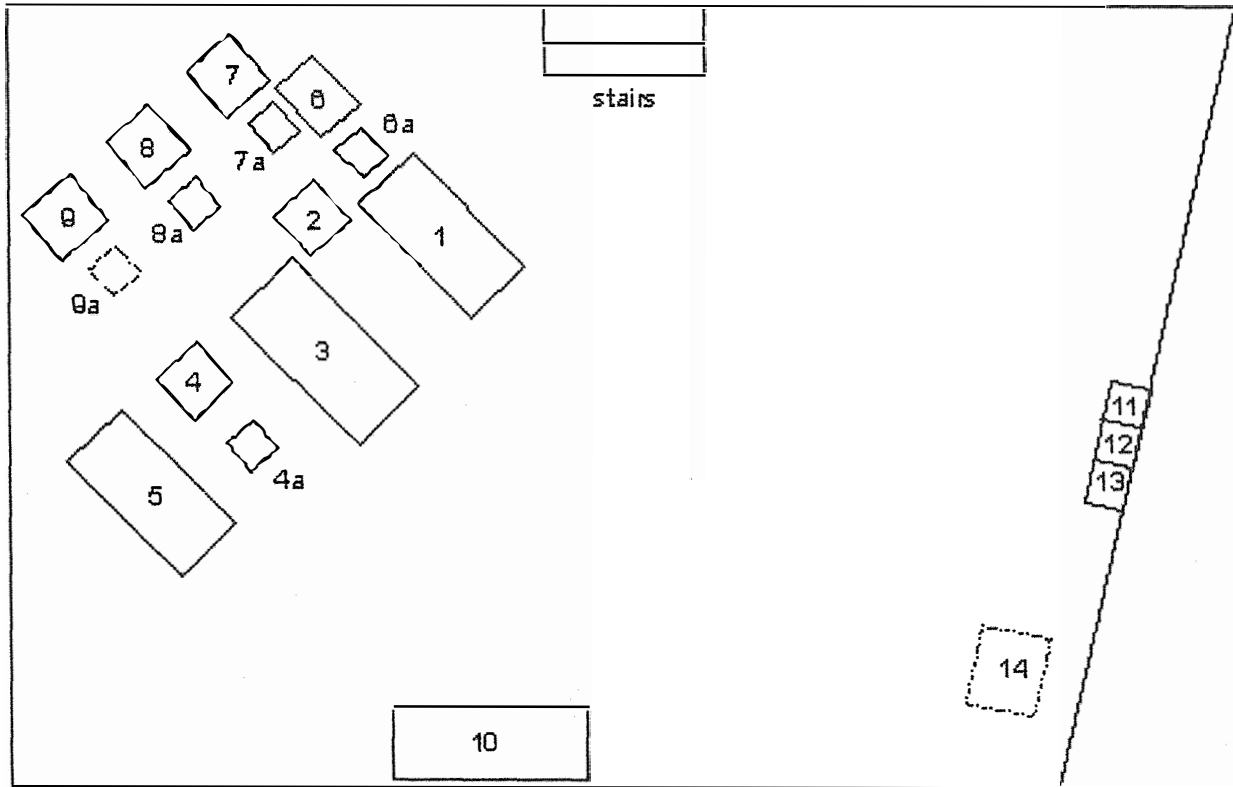
Next in our research was determining the present owners of the cemetery. We knew that we could not proceed with any kind of restoration until we established ownership. We then contacted Mr. Ronald Antry of the Craven County Tax Office and invited him to visit our class and help us with this challenge. We learned that the Fordham Cemetery is actually exempt from taxation. According to section 105-278.2 of the North Carolina Constitution,

Real Property set apart for burial purposes shall be exempted from taxation unless it is owned and held for purposes of one, sale or rental; or two, sale of burial rights therein.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Died</u>	<u>Age</u>
1. Elizabeth Forbes	February 22, 1822	unknown
2. Ann R. Bryan	April 12, 1808	13 years
3. John Council Bryan	March 14, 1807	65 years
4. Mary Ann Bryan	December 5, 1821	52 years
5. Alice Kincey	April 18, 1845	unknown
6. Jannett Justice	unknown	6 years
7. Elias Justice	June 16, 1812	3 years
8. John Justice	August 7, 1810	4 months
9. Ann Rebecca Justice	September 16, 1818	3 years
10. Unknown	(Wall fell on grave)	unknown
11. Benjamin Fordham, Sr.	1777	unknown
12. John LaPierre	1755	unknown
13. Martha LaPierre	unknown	unknown
14. Partial stone	unknown	unknown

Fordham Cemetery gravestone identification table.

QUEEN STREET



Map showing layout of graves in Fordham Cemetery.

So the Fordham Cemetery has no tax records.

The point that we have reached today with the Fordham Cemetery would not have been reached if we had not had the help from people in the community. We are very grateful to them all.

- First, we met Mr. Victor Jones on our field trip on October 20, 2006, at the New Bern-Craven County Public Library. He works in the Kellenberger Room and helped us identify the people buried in the cemetery. He also shared information about the Fordham family history.
- Mr. Tom McGraw had talked with Mrs. Griffith, who had invited him to come to our class for a presentation. Mr. McGraw chairs the Connectivity Committee and is helping to plan the celebrations and projects for New Bern's 300th birthday in 2010. We decided to partner with Mr. McGraw and his committee to accomplish our goals for the Fordham Cemetery.
- We invited Mr. Ron Antry to visit our class also. Mr. Antry is the tax collector for Craven County. We needed to determine the owners of the cemetery, and we figured that tax records would help us. Mr. Antry showed us how to use FIS maps to determine owners of property. We learned that no owners were listed for the Fordham Cemetery and that Todd and Anita Fulcher owned all of the surrounding property.
- We invited Mrs. Anita Fulcher to visit our class. Since her family owns all of the surrounding property, we were interested in knowing how well her family valued the cemetery. We learned that the Fulcher family supports our efforts to restore and protect this significant little property. Mrs. Fulcher shared some maps of the plot and was very encouraging of our continued work.

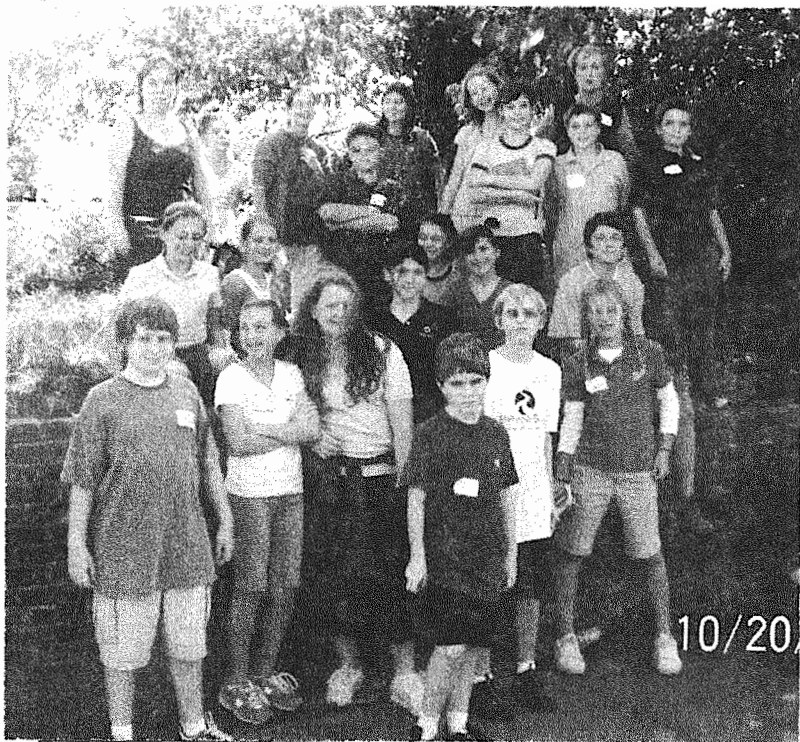
- Next, Mrs. Vina Farmer visited our class and interviewed us. She also told us about a grant proposal called "Save Our History," that we could apply for to help restore the damaged brick wall surrounding the cemetery. She then shared our research on the Fordham Cemetery in an article she wrote for the *Historic New Bern Herald*.

As a class, we are keenly aware of the many contributions of skill, knowledge, and expertise that the citizens in our community have shared with us. They have all been a big help in our efforts to restore the Fordham Cemetery that people have abandoned.

Our Dreams

In the future we hope many good things will happen to the Bryan-Fordham Cemetery. First, we hope to receive permission to proceed with improvements to and restoration of the cemetery through a quitclaim deed. We are grateful that our lawyer Mr. Buzz Mead is helping us with this process. Secondly, we are working with our partners for grant funding. The New Bern Preservation Foundation has agreed to support our efforts to proceed with a grant proposal from "Save Our History" for \$10,000 to begin the restoration of the wall. We are looking for other sources of money to fund this project which will cost approximately \$35,000 to do properly. We are even thinking about sharing our research with Mr. Bill Gates to see if he will help us.

Another goal of ours is to open the cemetery as a tourist attraction by including it on the official New Bern Tour of Cemeteries, so that all can learn the amazing history of the Bryan-Fordham Cemetery. We also want our community to gain a respect toward the cemetery by educating local citizens about the historical significance of the people buried in the Fordham Cemetery. We hope to publish our research for anyone who is interested. Lastly, we sincerely



Sixth grade class at Fordham Cemetery. Photo by Radford.

hope that our efforts are successful and that our community will eventually gain an understanding through our research of how important the Bryan-Fordham Cemetery is to our heritage in New Bern.

The Epiphany School
Sixth Grade Students

Mary-Kate Amerson	Lea Nopper
Chase Ballenger	Zannie Owens
Ian Chiles	Ford Parson
Hayley Deaton	Kristin Peed
Tori DeBruhl	Madison Propst
Kassidy Joyce	Morgan Qualkinbush
Evi Karmi	Holly Radford
London Lilly	Robert Rowland
Alex McCunn	Scott Schwarzer
Dana McLaughlin	Mike Solter
Malachi Monteiro	Hannah Welborn
Joshua Nichols	Bailey Welsh

ONE PICTURE CAN BE WORTH A THOUSAND WORDS

This small, hand-painted map captures the essence of
Civil War New Bern

Dick Lore

During the first part of the 13 years I served as a docent in the Attmore-Oliver House, I spent most of my time pointing out features of the strikingly beautiful and large pieces of antique furniture in the house. About my third year as a docent, I was drawn to a small, inconspicuous hand-painted watercolor map of New Bern in the Civil War Room of the house. Not many docents or visitors paid attention to the painting because it hangs on the wall next to the entrance door. Hence, when the door is open, the painting is effectively hidden behind the open door. Over the ensuing years, I became increasingly fascinated by this modest painting.

Certainly there are more flamboyant items in this room, including the huge Confederate national flag hanging over the mantel and the exquisite drop-leaf table. Both the tattered old flag and the exquisite table—purported to have belonged to Josiah Martin, the last royal governor of North Carolina—would each command prices of around \$100,000 in any serious auction. The flag was handmade early in the war and is very rare because it has only seven stars. The flag was taken in New Bern on the day after Union forces captured the city. It was returned to the Society in 1967 by the Connecticut descendants of the soldier who had picked up the abandoned flag on the streets of New Bern. No doubt about it, the old flag is very special for us since it is now displayed proudly in its hometown.

Despite these glamorous artifacts, I began to shut the door to the Confederate room and draw people in for a close look at the modest painting. Small, a little more than 7.5 inches wide and 10.5 inches tall, the painting is housed in an economy frame of the period. Yet what an attractive piece of art! Moreover, for me, the painting captures the essence of New Bern during the Civil War.

The painting is the product of Private George W. Williams of the 44th Massachusetts Infantry. Private Williams was writing to his niece in 1862 and wished to use his hand-painted map to show her what New Bern was like. In the accompanying letter he warns her that "I am no artist" and that he has to use "a barrel stave as a straight edge."

As shown on page 33, Private Williams's map depicts all the major streets in New Bern as well as the landmark churches in town. Each church is represented by a tiny replica of the real thing. Look closely and you can identify the distinct features of those churches that still grace New Bern.

The extensive wharves that lined the shores of New Bern on both rivers are there. Similarly, the numerous Union earthen fortifications and forts that surrounded the city are represented accurately in the drawing. Note the strategic location of star-shaped Fort Totten, the keystone fort in the Union fortifications of the city. The central location of this fort meant that its big guns could be used with deadly effect to repel a Confederate attack from virtually any direction. The extensive inner defenses portrayed on the map indicate that New Bern was indeed a fortified city.

Examine the many ships Private Williams inserted on the Trent and Neuse rivers. Some are in full sail, others are side-wheel steamers, and still others are transitional, using both steam and sail. The artist makes it clear that these gunboats, supply ships, and transports were a significant factor in occupied New Bern.

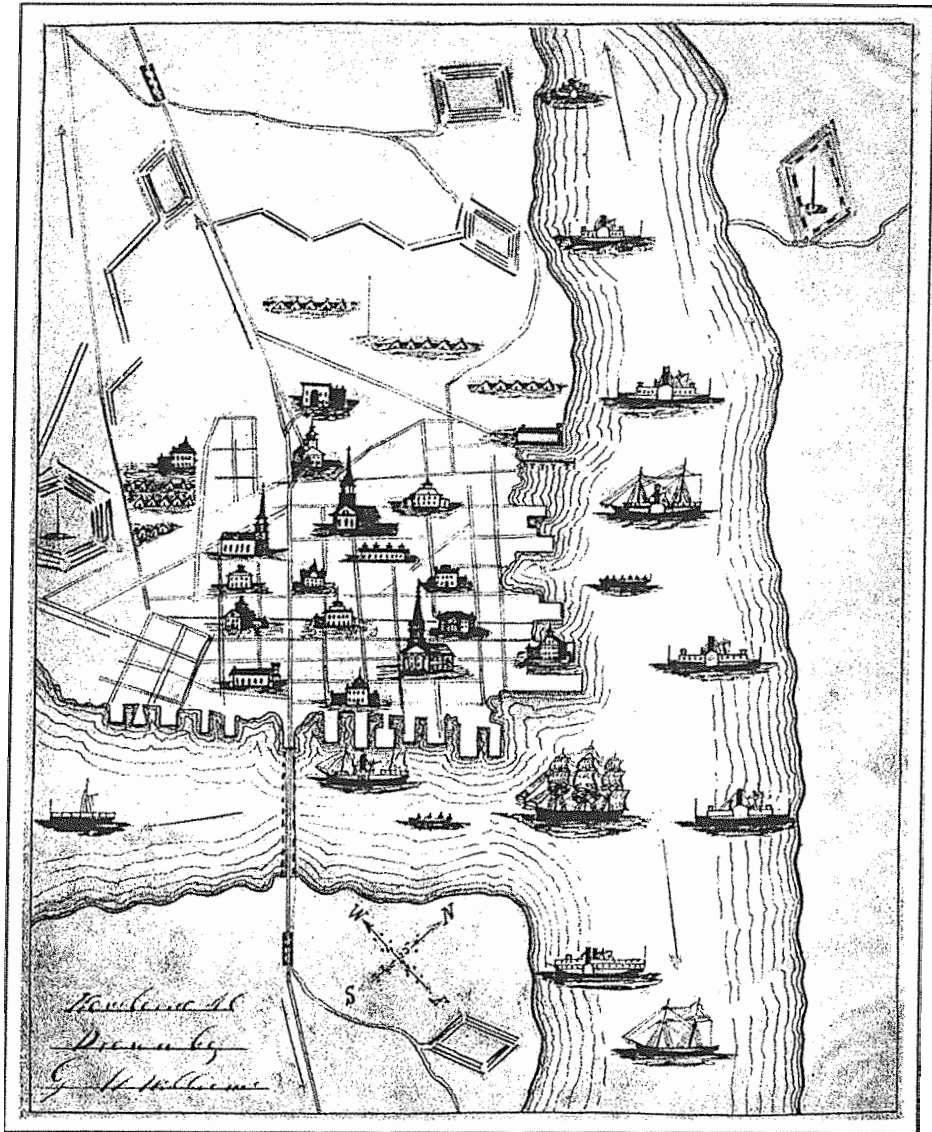
The Union troops stationed in New Bern were mostly from small towns or farms who had never been more than

15 miles from home prior to joining the army. Stuck down here in the wilds of eastern North Carolina so far from home, they all suffered from chronic cases of home sickness. As a consequence, they wrote letters, thousands of letters, each week to the folks back home. They also sent money from their meager military pay. Mail call was the highlight of the week. Frequently, a lucky soldier would receive a large package from home filled with all manner of cakes, cookies, candy, jams, and canned good to supplement the monotonous military diet.

The military knew how critical mail was for the maintenance of good morale for their troops and made every effort to deliver mail efficiently and promptly. Ocean steamers often left New Bern for Philadelphia or New York with 37,000 letters on board. Surprisingly, the mail service was about as good then as now; it was not uncommon to receive a letter in Philadelphia four days after it had been mailed in New Bern

Large numbers of the old letters written by Union soldiers during their stay in New Bern survive. The paper quality was generally good, and someone back home had the good sense to know that they were worth saving. Thus, they were secured in packets with ribbon and tucked away in a trunk. Now these letters provide us with a unique and intimate picture of what life was like in New Bern during the Civil War. But the old adage, "one picture is worth a thousand words," certainly holds true here. We are grateful that Private Williams sat down one day after drill with his watercolors and left us with this rare and beautiful picture of old New Bern.

Recently, our Executive Director Newsom Williams produced a number of high-quality copies of the painting in several sizes. These copies are available for a modest price at the Society office. The painting would make a most thoughtful gift for anyone interested in the history of our town. My bet is that if you display this painting in your home, you will use it often when discussing New Bern history with guests and visitors.



Small map of New Bern during the Civil War hand-painted by Private George W. Williams of the 44th Massachusetts Infantry. Original in the Attmore Oliver House. NBHS photo.

THE BEST WAY TO GET THERE: A HISTORY OF NEW BERN IN MAPS

Victor T. Jones, Jr.

(Editor's note: Mr. Jones is Local History and Genealogy Librarian at the New Bern-Craven County Public Library.)

Miguel de Cervantes wrote that one can "journey over all the universe in a map, without the expense and fatigue of traveling, without suffering the inconveniences of heat, cold, hunger, and thirst." Such may not be the case with the mapmaker, as he trudges his way over rivers and creeks, through swamps and pine thickets, to draw the layout of the land for others to experience. Throughout the history of New Bern, the town has been depicted on various maps, giving today's viewer a glimpse into the past.

The earliest depiction of the town of New Bern on a map dates to the very founding of the town. Christopher de Graffenried mentions in his *Account of the Founding of New Bern* that he

took the Surveyor-General [John Lawson] and his clerk with me to make a plan of this new city [New Bern]. Since in America they do not like to live crowded, in order to enjoy a purer air, I accordingly ordered the streets to be very broad and the houses well separated one from the other. (Todd 377)

This early depiction of New Bern is on *Plan der Sweitzzerischen Colony in Carolina angefangen im October 1710 durch Christopher von Graffenriedt und Frantz Ludwig Michel* (translated as "Plan of the Swiss Colony in Carolina begun in

1710 by Christopher von Graffenried and Franz Ludwig Michel"). This plan survives and is located in the Burgerbibliothek Bern in Bern, Switzerland.

On the lower portion of the map is located the town of New Bern at the confluence of the "Trent Rivier" and the "News Revier" as a triangular-shaped town, with two streets running from the Trent River to the Neuse River and a third street running through the center of town from the point to the base of the triangle. This last street continues "into the forest" for about 10 miles to a star-shaped fort near the Trent River and Mill Creek (in present day Jones County). In the center of the town plan is a church. According to de Graffenried, "I divided the village like a cross and in the middle I intended the church" (Todd).

As the viewer of the map looks along the banks of both rivers, the names of the Swiss settlers are mentioned with their 250-acre plantations. Other plantations are depicted, but the names of the owners are not listed. The town of New Bern itself contained 20 families, mostly artisans, including

two carpenters, a mason, two carpenters and joiners, a locksmith, a blacksmith, one or two shoemakers, a tailor, a miller, an armourer, a butcher, a weaver, a turner, a saddler, a glazier, a potter and tilemaker, one or two millwrights, a physician, a surgeon, a schoolmaster. (Todd)

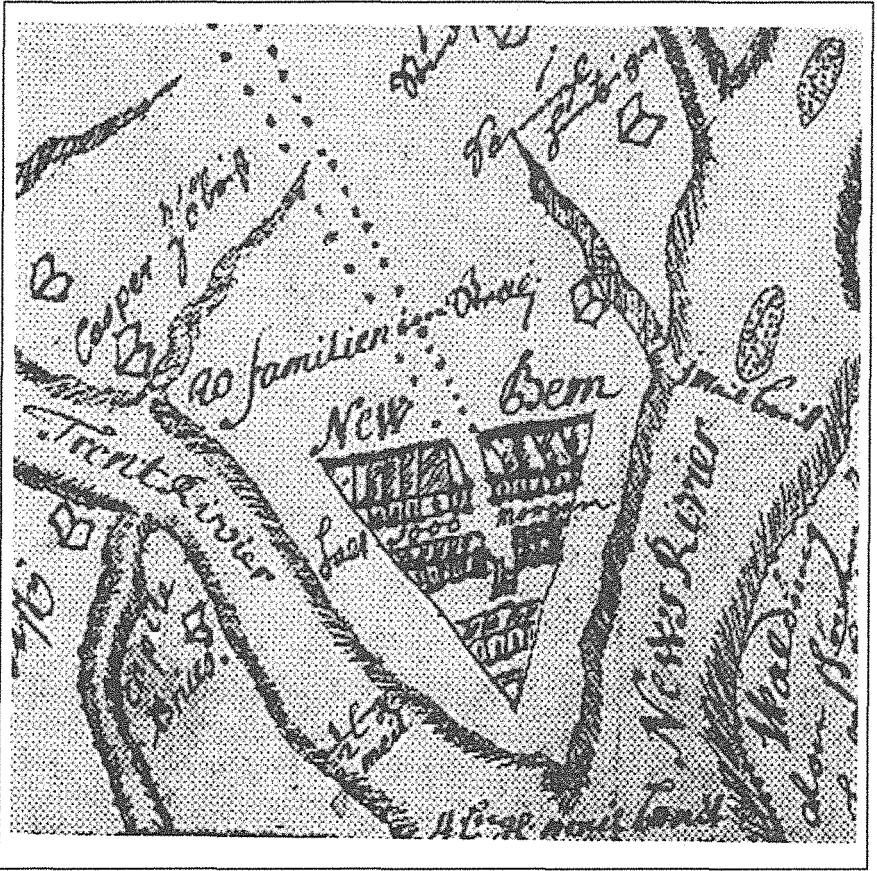
This figure does not include de Graffenried's house, which was situated "at the point" (Todd).

The next map of the town of New Bern is not mentioned until 1756, when the General Assembly passed a law titled, "An Act for the better Regulation of the Town of New Bern, and for securing the Titles of Persons who hold Lots in the said Town." Section XII of the law stated that

the Commissioners of the said Town shall . . . cause a true and exact Plan of the said Town to be made, with



"Plan of the Swiss Colony in Carolina begun in 1710 by Christopher von Graffenried and Franz Ludwig Michel." *Burgerbibliothek Bern Mül. 466 (3a).*



New Bern detail from *Burgerbibliothek Bern Mül. 466 (3a)*.

proper Descriptions, and lay the same before the next session of Assembly, and if by them approved of, to be forever hereafter deemed the true Plan of the said Town. (Clark 23: 454)

In December 1758, during the next session of the Assembly the Commissioners

laid before this house a plan thereof the Truth and Exactness of which being Examined the same was approved of. Resolved that the said plan be forever hereafter deemed the true plan of the said Town and be lodged with the Clerk of the Assembly and be deposited amongst the Rolls of the Assembly. (Saunders 5: 1078)

The exact whereabouts of this 1756 plan is currently unknown.

In 1767, Governor William Tryon brought Claude Joseph Sauthier to North Carolina. Between 1768 and 1770, Sauthier surveyed and mapped several North Carolina towns, including New Bern. In a letter to the Assembly in January 1771, Tryon stated

that the Plans of the Towns were taken from actual Surveys, consequently attended with much Fatigue and Expence of Travelling, as well as a considerable length of Time in performing those Services, which Considerations, and the Ingenuity of the Gentleman, induce Me warmly to recommend Him to Your Liberality.

The Assembly agreed to pay Sauthier 50 pounds (Powell 2: 557-558+).

When Tryon was appointed Governor of New York, Sauthier followed Tryon to that state, continuing to make surveys of that state. During the American Revolution, Sauthier became a military surveyor for the British and

made maps of several battlefields and fortifications. In 1777, Sauthier returned to England as a private secretary of Earl Percy. Sauthier eventually returned to Strasbourg, his native town, where he died November 26, 1802, at the age of 66 (Cumming 5: 289).

There are actually two Sauthier maps of New Bern, both drawn in 1769, with some notable differences between the two. The two maps are the most detailed early maps of New Bern that survive. They include the locations of various public buildings, houses, gardens, and streets throughout the town. The first Sauthier map (designated as MS A) was "Survey'd & Drawn in May 1769" and measures 21 x 17 inches. The second map (MS B) is slightly smaller at 20 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 15 $\frac{3}{4}$, and omits the month, stating it was "Survey'd & Drawn in 1769" (Cumming 304-305). A list of references in the upper right corner of the map lists locations for the "Church" [Christ Church], the Court House, the Governor's Palace, the "Gaol" [jail], the School House, the "Tann Yard," the Still House, Flag Staffs, and Wharfs. Prominent in the map are the Race Grounds in the upper middle of the map and a "Bricke Kiln" up the Trent River and near the lower left of the map. Other locations on the map depict houses and gardens throughout the town. The original of MS A is located in King George III's Topographical Collection at the British Library in London, while the original MS B is located in the Clinton Collection of the William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Not until November 1771 did the General Assembly require the Town Commissioners to lay out a new map of the town of New Bern. At that time the Assembly passed a law creating George Street "at right Angles with the East and West Corners of the North Front of the Palace, to the Bounds of the town" and discontinuing Eden Street from Pollock Street northward. The changes in the streetscape created a slight problem with the numbering system of the town lots, so the General Assembly requested the Town Commissioners to make "a fair and accurate Plan of the

said Town, with proper Descriptions." Two copies of the plan were to be made, with one kept by the Secretary of State (amended by a later act to be the County Registrar's Office) and one kept by the Town Clerk. Evidently it took nearly seven years to create George Street and lay out the town as required by the 1771 Act; for in January 1778 the final copy of the map was presented to the General Assembly for approval. A July 1893 copy of this map survives and is endorsed, as required by the Assembly, with the following notation:

State of North Carolina

In General Assembly 11 February 1779

We do hereby certify agreeable to a Resolution of the General Assembly dated the 11th Day of February 1779 That this Plan of the Town of New Bern is one of the two plans to which the Act passed at the General Assembly held at Halifax Town in January 1779 [1778] entitled an Act for the Regulation of the Town of New Bern and for other Purposes refers.

By order John Sitgreaves C. S. [Clerk of the Senate]

Allen Jones, S. S. [Speaker of the Senate]

Thos. Benbury, S. C. [Speaker of the House of Commons]

The whereabouts of the original 1778 map is unknown at present (Clark 23: 864-865 for the text of the 1771 law; 24: 240-247 for the text of the 1778 law; and 13: 613, 727-728 for the minutes of the General Assembly concerning the map).

Section 15 of the 1778 law mentioned above stated

that the South west corner of the Church, Lot number Sixty-six, where stands a stone fixed in the ground . . . shall forever be deemed the proper beginning of the plan of the said Town.

It was at the point that Jonathan Price commenced his survey of the Town of New Bern in 1809, according to a corre-

spondent to the *Daily Journal* on August 13, 1882. [“Bits of the History of New Berne” was a weekly article written for the *Daily Journal* by a correspondent who signed his name as “D.” Based on his writing style, it appears the correspondent was John D. Whitford (1825-1910), President of the Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad, legislator, former mayor of New Bern, and historian.]

Jonathan Price was a well-known cartographer by the time the Commissioners of New Bern employed Price to resurvey the town in 1809. On April 26, 1809, the Commissioners

Ordered, that Jonathan Price be requested to run off and survey the Town of Newbern and to establish such corners of squares, as near the original plan of the said town, as possible. (Green, Town Council Minutes entry for April 26, 1809)

Price had recently moved to New Bern from Pasquotank County, where he had been named the County Surveyor in 1789. Between 1789 and 1809, Price created a map based on actual surveys of the entire State of North Carolina (now known as the Price-Strother Map), was hired by John Gray Blount to survey his massive land holdings in eastern North Carolina, created sailing charts for the areas around Ocracoke and the Cape Fear region, and completed a survey of the North Carolina coast from Cape Fear to Cape Hatteras commissioned by the United States Congress in 1806 (Stevenson).

The result of the resurvey of New Bern begun by Price was apparently returned to the Commissioners of New Bern the next year, for on April 22, 1810, the Commissioners

Ordered that Jonathan Price be paid the Sum of Two hundred & fifty dollars for his Services in Surveying the Town—fixing the Corner Stones, making two plans of the town, with notes, &c.

A typescript of these notes was made in 1928 by J. E. McGowan. The notes give the actual dimensions for the streets, the squares, and the lots. In his final paragraph, Price states

I have finished the plan of the town and am fully persuaded that it has been executed with accuracy, and I fully intended to have copied it in a more elegant style than this, as well as those unfinished notes, but my business calls me away at this time, though I hope to return in a few weeks when I shall have time to give you a more elegant plan and correct any errors which may appear. (Green, Town Council Minutes entry for April 22, 1810, and McGowan)

The more elegant plan was not printed until 1817. This 1817 map, printed by Allen Fitch, included Price's New Bern survey with an earlier survey of the lands of the Dry family which adjoined New Bern in a section called Dryborough. The map included sketches of some of the prominent buildings in New Bern: the Academy, the Bank of New Bern, the State Bank, and the original Christ Church. After Price's death in 1822, his administrator purchased the plate copy of the map and had a second printing of the map made with additional buildings: the newly completed First Presbyterian Church and a newer version of Christ Church (Stevenson 143). [See page 11 for this illustration of Christ Church.]

A copy of the 1817 Price map of New Bern from the Tryon Palace collection is available on the Craven County Digital History exhibit on the Internet at <http://newbern.cpcplib.org/digital/TP1987065001.html>. A reproduced copy of the 1824 second printing is available at the Kellenberger Room of the New Bern-Craven County Public Library. The actual name of the Price map of New Bern is "A Plan of the Town of New Bern and Dryborough With the Lands adjoining Contained within the bounds of the Original Grant to Danl. Richardson in 1713."

The Price map of New Bern continued to be used as the City's official map for several years. Price maps of other towns, such as the plan of Beaufort in 1816, continued to be used as the official town maps until the 1950s (Stevenson). During the mid-1800s, advances in map making continued to be made. As New Bern became a seat of activity during the Civil War, more and more maps were made of New Bern and the surrounding area for purposes of war. A discussion of these Civil War and later maps will be the topic of another article.

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BOOK REVIEW

Remembering Craven County: Tales of Tarheel History, William Hand. (Charleston, S. C.: History Press, 2006. 128 pp. \$19.95.)

Nowadays, I normally read books in 30-minute spurts because I am usually attempting to digest 20 different other books, magazine articles, or favorite TV shows at the same time. Gone are the days of my youth when I could gulp down a single book in a 24-hour marathon. To my surprise, Bill Hand's marvelous and quirky interpretation of the long history of New Bern sustained my attention as no other book in recent memory. Perhaps I am not slipping into senility. It may just be that authors are not writing attention-grabbing books. I should note that anyone who has attended New Bern's annual Ghostwalk celebration has already encountered Mr. Hand's ability to extract both humor and interest from a singularly unlikely setting: an ancient and dismal old graveyard. For many years now, Bill has scripted, directed, and acted in the lively and popular Ghostwalk segments that take place in New Bern's Cedar Grove Cemetery.

Be warned that *Remembering Craven County* is not your standard history book. It is not designed as a textbook nor would it serve well as a reference source. There is no bibliography or index. On occasion, he does mention major sources such as Alan Watson's comprehensive work, *A History of New Bern and Craven County* and Peter Sandbeck's wonderful book, *The Historic Architecture of New Bern and Craven County, North Carolina*. Rather, Bill presents a number of biographical sketches of individuals who have had critical influences on local history. Some of

these people are well-known to most New Bernians (e. g., Baron de Graffenried, John Lawson, and William Gaston). Other sketches describe citizens whose lives are relatively obscure such as Robert Hay or Drury Lacy. Within these thumbnail but incisive biographies, Hand describes some of the significant events that have shaped the town's past.

No doubt many readers will be upset with the author's treatment of some of the notables included in his book. For example, the acclaimed "Founder of New Bern" the Swiss Baron de Graffenried is considered to be a sacrosanct figure, a man of great nobility and achievement, by many folks in New Bern. In contrast, an almost equal number of people consider him to have been a scoundrel, a spendthrift, and a man with no qualifications to endure the rigors associated with his foolhardy attempt to begin a settlement in the New World.

On the Baron's early life, Hand comments that "the young Christopher would become the idol of European courts, the heartthrob of several girls and a spendthrift perpetually in debt." The reader acquires a vivid picture of Hand's opinion of the Baron's youth when he notes that "Christopher was high-strung and hardly able to sit still. In the present-day super-medicated world he might have been treated for attention deficit disorder." On the Baron's decision to establish a colony in the wilderness at the relatively advanced age of 49 with no qualifications and no experience, Hand notes that

he began to read about a wealth of silver mines to be had in the English-controlled New World and like a conquistador at mid-life, his debt-blurred eyes grew hopeful and wide.

Hand concludes:

Of course, North Carolina had no more silver mines than Florida had fountains of youth; embroiled in politics, destitution, ill luck and a nasty Indian war, de

Graffenried's settlement was far from successful: it barely survived. Leaving his eldest son behind, Christopher fled Columbia's golden shores broke and so disgraced that he arrived in Bern under an assumed name.

Strong words indeed about a man who is considered to be the "Founder of New Bern." No doubt, Hand's harsh treatment of the Baron will infuriate the large number of individuals—including many of the Baron's numerous American descendants—who hold a vastly more lofty view of his accomplishments.

As for myself, I enjoyed Hand's pithy, acid, and largely negative review of the Baron's New World adventure. Certainly the Baron's brief two-year stay in the New World was characterized by a series of disasters that almost destroyed the struggling colony. In my opinion, de Graffenried did make one key contribution to the long-term success of his New World adventure, but it came before he left England. In choosing the palatine families who would immigrate to eastern North Carolina, he selected skilled and hardworking farmers, craftsmen, and tradesmen for the voyage. Those hardy Swiss and Germans who survived the initial hardships went on to thrive and help build this country.

Mr. Hand's text is nicely complemented by numerous illustrations and photographs; many are original photographs taken by the author. There is a lively chapter on the long occupation of New Bern by Union troops during the Civil War but nothing beyond that period. Like many native New Bernians, the author is convinced that nothing vital and interesting happened in New Bern after this conflict that was so disastrous for this region.

I found a few minor mistakes. For example, General Ambrose Burnside's army landed at Slocum's Creek on March 13 of 1862, not on March 14. The Battle of New Bern was fought on the next day, March 14. In his sketch of the remarkable John Wright Stanly, the author states

that Stanly was making molasses at a distillery located in New Bern. Not quite correct: He was distilling rum from molasses brought over from the West Indies, largely in Stanly's own ships.

Recently, a friend told me he had read *Remembering Craven County* and found it not to be a serious book, too flip, too funny. When questioned further, he also had read the book in a single sitting and found it to contain a great deal of new information that he had acquired in a painless fashion. You want another flip and funny book that also contains a great deal of useful information: Read Mark Twain's *Innocents Abroad*. Maybe Mr. Hand is not quite Mark Twain, but the latter was also often accused of not being a serious writer.

Richard Lore