

A Revolutionary Generation

Chapter Preview

Terms:

Proclamation of 1763, Stamp Act, Edenton Tea Party, Provincial Congress, Committees of Safety, Tories, Whigs, Mecklenburg Resolves, Halifax Resolves, Declaration of Rights, Confiscation Act, Overmountain Men, pardon, Articles of Confederation, compromise, Federalists, Antifederalists

People:

Betsy Dowdy, King George III, Daniel Boone, Elizabeth King, Penelope Barker, John Harvey, Richard Caswell, William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, John Penn, George Washington, Lord Charles Cornwallis, William R. Davie, Nathanael Greene, Daniel Morgan, John Hamilton, David Fanning, John Sevier, Hugh Williamson, James Iredell

Places:

Boston (Massachusetts), Kinston, Moore's Creek Bridge, Ramsour's Mill, Kings Mountain, Hannah's Cowpens, Cowan's Ford, Guilford Courthouse, Yorktown (Virginia), Tarboro, Smithfield, State of Franklin, Fayetteville, Chapel Hill

Betsy Dowdy rode her way to legend and lore in the early days of America's struggle for independence. In December 1775, word came that the British army was marching south from Norfolk, Virginia. Folks in eastern North Carolina feared that, if the British kept marching south, their neighborhoods would be as open to invasion as Lexington and Concord, Massachusetts, had been when the War for Independence started the previous April. Determined to do something, sixteen year-old Betsy left her house in the middle of a cold December night without telling her parents. She mounted a horse and rode through the darkness until she came to the village of Hertford where she could rally soldiers to defend their homes. At one point, she and the horse waded and swam more than a mile across the Currituck Sound. So young was Betsy that, when her father learned what she had done, he took off after her, both to protect her and to discipline her for being so reckless. However, she completed her mission, her parents forgave her, and folks ever since have hailed her as a hero who risked her future to establish a state and create a country. Although there are no written eyewitness accounts of Betsy's ride, some North Carolinians have considered her to be their version of Massachusetts's Paul Revere, who rode out from Boston to warn the Minutemen of an attack by the king's troops. Betsy Dowdy has remained in the memory of Tar Heels ever since.



All types of North Carolinians pledged “their lives” and “their sacred honor” during the time of the American Revolution. Although North Carolina had been a poor and often divided colony, it held its own in the fight for freedom. Its soldiers often served with distinction; its leaders often sacrificed their fortunes to the cause of liberty. North Carolina even had its own version of the Liberty Tree that had given Boston its fame as a resister of British control. The Germans who lived on the South Fork of the Catawba River repeatedly met under a white oak near the present site of the city of Hickory. There they made decisions about when to fight that helped shape the values of their families for generations to come. Their descendants continued to honor that tree until it fell in 1939.

Above: The approximate path of Betsy Dowdy on her pony, Black Bess, as she made the midnight run to Hertford. **Background:** The commander sent soldiers and militia north to help stop the British at the Battle of Great Bridge.

Signs of the Times



Population

It was estimated that more than 200,000 people lived in the colony by 1775. The proportion of slaves grew from one-fifth of the population to one-fourth. Only New Bern and Wilmington had more than 1,000 people.

Economics

In 1776, Adam Smith, a Scottish college professor, wrote *The Wealth of Nations*, which argued for a market system free of the king's control. The same year, North Carolina helped lead the effort to have the thirteen colonies break away from the Crown and control their own markets.

Education

Despite the dangers of the War for Independence, Presbyterian ministers like David Caldwell of Greensboro and James Hall of Statesville continued to teach in "academies," schools that prepared young men for college. In Wachovia, the Moravians continued schools for both boys and girls.

Science and Technology

Joseph Priestley, an English preacher, discovered oxygen in 1774, and Antoine Lavoisier, a French chemist, concluded that animals inhale oxygen and exhale carbon dioxide. The Reverend James Hall taught these ideas in 1784 at Clio's Nursery in Rowan County, the first school to teach science in North Carolina.

Inventions

During the American Revolution, English miller Edward Cartwright invented the "power loom," a machine that harnessed water power to turn yarn into cotton cloth. Cartwright's invention helped launch the Industrial Revolution. North Carolina's first cotton mills would use the same machine.

Literature

In 1773, botanist William Bartram began a four-year journey through eight southern colonies, taking notes on Native Americans and on native plants and animals. He wrote about these explorations in a book whose title began with *Travels through North and South Carolina...* and continued for forty-three more words! Today it is known more simply as *Bartram's Travels*.

Sports

It is thought that golf was first played in America at a course established in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1786. Pinehurst was not envisioned in the Sandhills for more than a century.

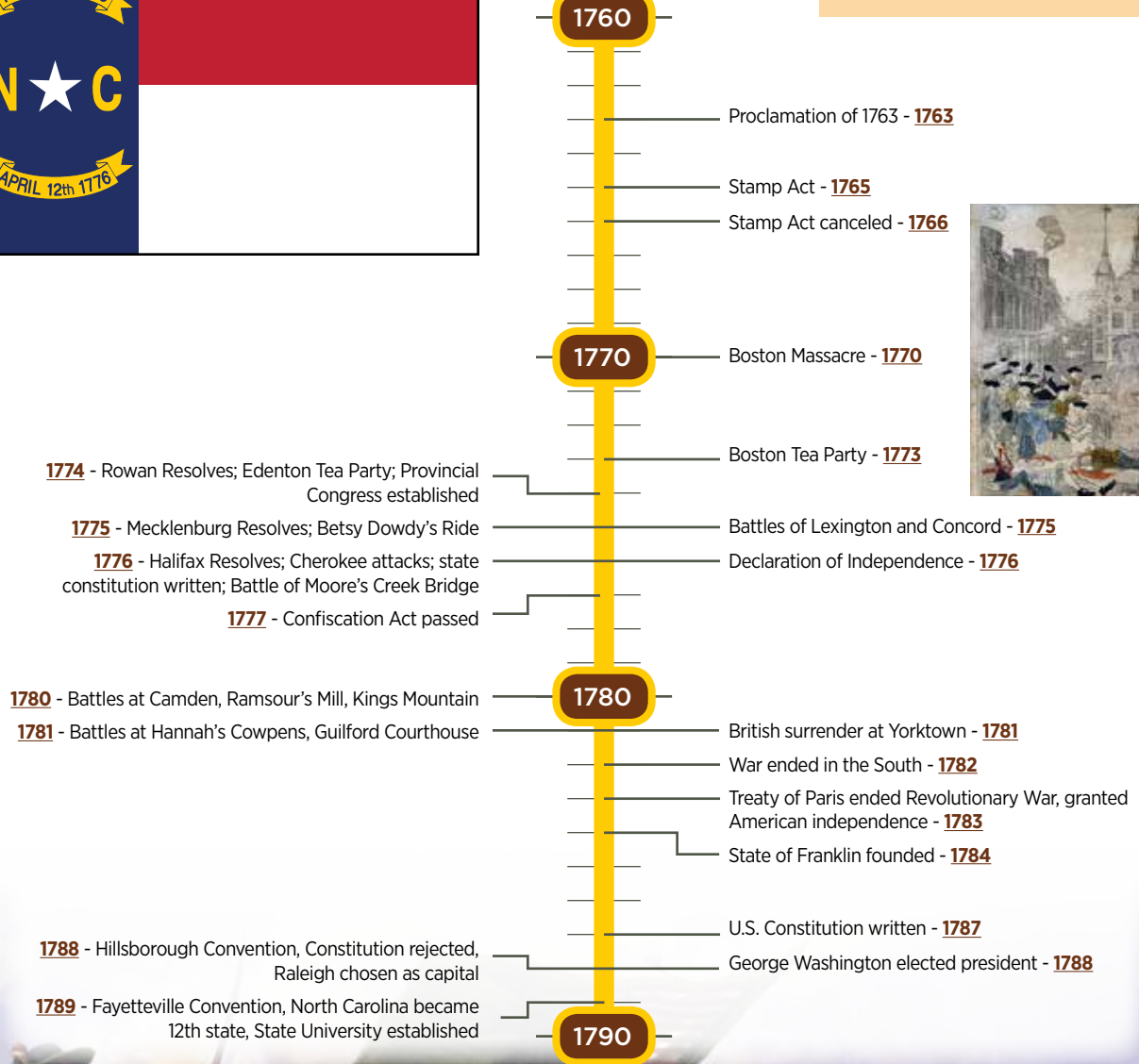
Fashion

Both men and women in the state continued to dress as close to European style as they could. Gentlemen wore tri-cornered hats, and wealthier women had their hair curled and stacked in the "French manner."



Figure 6.1

Timeline
1760-1790



Section 1

The Long Road to Independence

As you read, look for



- ▶ the purpose of the Proclamation of 1763 and North Carolinians' reaction to it;
- ▶ how protests against the Stamp Act led to its repeal;
- ▶ famous tea parties in Boston and Edenton;
- ▶ the beginning of the American War for Independence;
- ▶ terms: **Proclamation of 1763, Stamp Act, Edenton Tea Party.**

Below: These three Cherokee chieftains were part of a delegation sent to London, England, at the end of the French and Indian War. The man on the left is their translator. This engraving appeared in a British publication during the time they were visiting.

North Carolinians were caught up in more than just the troubles of the Regulation during the 1760s and the 1770s. The British Parliament began to change the way the thirteen American colonies were governed. The new policies were designed to make Americans pay heavier taxes and be more under the control of the British. The colonists were angry that the British Parliament would pass laws without having the colonists' representatives take part in the process. "No taxation without representation!" became the slogan used to protest against this unfairness. Over the course of twelve years—from 1763 to 1775—these protests led to greater arguments and, ultimately, to violence. The result was the War for Independence that was part of the greater American Revolution.



The Proclamation of 1763

The British passed two policies in the 1760s that hurt North Carolina's ability to grow and develop. The first was the **Proclamation of 1763**. In this proclamation, King George III said there could be no settlement by the colonists on the western side of the Appalachian Mountains. The king had a good reason for the proclamation. He wanted to stop the fighting between the Indians and the settlers. Each fight cost men and supplies, and the king's funds were running low. By keeping the settlers on the eastern side of the mountains, and the Indians on the western side, the king hoped to keep colonists safe and save money at the same time.

Some North Carolinians ignored the wishes of the king. Many colonists believed they could become wealthier by claiming these “free” lands in the west. Daniel Boone and others actually explored all the way into what became the states of Tennessee and Kentucky in the late 1760s. Boone, who was living on the upper reaches of the Yadkin River at the time, set up a base camp for his trips at the site where the town of Boone is today. After the Battle of Alamance, many Regulator families ignored the Proclamation Line and moved into the valleys of the Tennessee River. That area had been designated an Indian reserve.

The Stamp Act

The second harmful act of the British Parliament was the **Stamp Act**, passed in 1765. Because the British needed more money to pay for the French and Indian War and to pay for troops that guarded the frontier along the Appalachian Mountains, they took steps to increase the taxes they collected from the colonists. The Stamp Act required that stamps be used on all kinds of documents. During the 1700s, ships often sailed without paying taxes on goods they carried. Such taxes, called customs duties, were new. The Stamp Act required all ships to have their records “stamped” with an official seal, and those stamps had to be bought from a customs (tax) official. The purchase of the stamps was like a departure announcement. Customs officers knew they should visit the ship to verify that the cargo was what the captain said it was. Cheating on buying the stamps or paying the customs duties would lead to the ship being *seized* (taken by the government). The captain would be taken to a court in Nova Scotia, Canada, where he would be charged and tried by a panel of judges, not a jury.

There were several problems with the Stamp Act. There had never been a tax like this to raise money. Even though the tax was very small, many colonists worried that the taxes could increase. Also, the tax was added without the *consent* (approval) of the colonial legislatures. In other words, the colonists were not asked about the tax; they were simply told to pay it! The next problem was the lack of a jury trial for the ship captain. This violated “the rights of Englishmen” that colonists up and down the Atlantic Coast had come to expect.



Map 6.1

The Proclamation Line of 1763

Map Skill: Which colonies did not border the Proclamation Line?

DID YOU KNOW...

Some of the documents that were supposed to be stamped were newspapers, playing cards, checks, deeds, contracts, insurance policies, permits, and wills.



IN OTHER WORDS

Derogatory means “insulting” or “showing a lack of respect.” It was illegal to insult the king.

IN OTHER WORDS

The *Crown* here refers to the king or queen, or monarch, of a country.

Mobs protested the Stamp Act in every colonial port. They often threatened the stamp agents with bodily harm unless they resigned and burned the stamps. In North Carolina, reported one royal official, “Not one advocated for the stamp duty.” When the General Assembly protested the new law, Governor Tryon sent the representatives home. Soon Edenton, New Bern, and Wilmington passed petitions condemning the governor. When the first ship with stamps from London arrived at Brunswick, local leaders—including Hugh Waddell, a hero of the French and Indian War—told the captain they would not allow the stamps to be sold. When the British seized two ships because their captains sailed without stamps, Waddell and five hundred men destroyed the documents that would be used in court against the ship captains. The situation almost led to open rebellion in the Cape Fear. At the last moment came news that the British Parliament had canceled the Stamp Act.

tains sailed without stamps, Waddell and five hundred men destroyed the documents that would be used in court against the ship captains. The situation almost led to open rebellion in the Cape Fear. At the last moment came news that the British Parliament had canceled the Stamp Act.

Continuing Disagreements and Protests

The cancellation of the stamp duty in 1766 quieted matters for a while, but the colonists and the British continued to quarrel. While North Carolina was swept up in the Regulation, leaders in Virginia, Massachusetts, and other colonies continued to assert the political rights that colonists had come to expect. When the North Carolina General Assembly protested that the king was not doing enough to help the colony develop economically, a member of Parliament claimed that North Carolinians were “derogatory to his Majesty’s honor.” In 1769, Governor Tryon once again sent the Assembly home because it was too critical of the British.

Even though the Regulation showed that the British would use force to get what they wanted, some North Carolinians continued to disobey. Daniel Boone joined with Judge Richard Henderson to start the Transylvania Company, a group designed to settle farmers west of the Appalachians. When the king would not charter Queen’s Academy in Charlotte (a Presbyterian attempt to open a college in the colony), the Scots-Irish opened the school anyway. By the time the War for Independence started, it had eighty students.

The two sides continued to disagree. In 1770, the same year Regulators rioted in Hillsborough, British troops fired on a group of protesters in Boston. This conflict became known as the Boston Massacre. When the British announced new steps to control the colonists, North Carolinians joined in the protests. Matters came to a head in 1773 when Bostonians disguised themselves as Iroquois Indians and dumped hundreds of boxes of tea into their harbor. They were protesting the exclusive right to sell tea that the British Crown gave to the East India Company. Bostonians and other colonists believed such controls went against their rights to a free marketplace. The event has been known ever since as the Boston Tea Party.

Top: Tax stamps for the American colonies from the Stamp Act of 1765.

Legislation	Date	What It Did
Proclamation of 1763	1763	Set boundaries for western settlement
Sugar Act	1764	Lowered tax on sugar, molasses, and other products, but tightened customs enforcement
Stamp Act	1765	Taxed certain types of documents
Declaratory Act	1766	Stated that Great Britain had the right to tax the colonies
Townshend Acts	1767	Taxed glass, lead, paint, paper, and tea
Tea Act	1773	Gave East India Tea Company the sole control of tea trade
“Intolerable” Acts	1774	Closed port of Boston

Figure 6.2

Steps toward Revolution

The Edenton Tea Party

When the British closed the port of Boston to punish the city for the loss of the tea, the other colonies agreed not to trade with England until matters improved. In 1774, Salisbury’s leaders passed the Rowan Resolves, a series of statements that urged their citizens not to import British goods. Rowan County citizens were encouraged to use their own homemade products. The same year, North Carolina leaders sent a ship to Massachusetts full of corn, wheat, and salted pork to help the citizens of Boston.

In October 1774, fifty-one women from around the Albemarle Sound met at the home of Mrs. Elizabeth King on the village green in Edenton. Under the leadership of Penelope Barker, they promised they would drink no more British tea or use other imported materials. Mrs. King served herbal tea that day, and news of the event was carried all the way back to England. Since that time, North Carolinians have remembered it as their own **Edenton Tea Party**.

By 1775, tensions were high in Boston. Fighting broke out when soldiers were sent to seize weapons and ammunition the leaders of the rebellion were hiding in the town of Concord, Massachusetts. Shots fired in nearby Lexington led to a battle at Concord that started the American War for Independence. Poet Ralph Waldo Emerson later described the gunfire as “the shot heard round the world.” Very soon, North Carolinians heard about the battles and took action to join in the struggle for independence. Colonists were shocked that the troops who were supposed to be protecting them were now seen to be attacking them!



IN OTHER WORDS

The American War for Independence is also called the Revolution, the Revolutionary War, and the American Revolution.

It's Your Turn

1. Name two actions Hugh Waddell took to protest the Stamp Act.
2. Describe the event that took place at Elizabeth King’s Edenton home in 1774.
3. Why was gunfire at Lexington and Concord described as “heard round the world”?
4. Look at the laws in Figure 6.2. Which do you think would have had the greatest impact on the colonists? Why?

HAVE YOU VISITED...



Historic Edenton State Historic Site? Daily guided tours of the town include sites like St. Paul’s Church, the Cupola House, the Chowan County Courthouse, and the James Iredell House. The home of Penelope Barker, now called the Penelope Barker House Welcome Center, is another stop on the tour and serves as a gathering place known as “Edenton’s Living Room.”

Section 2

North Carolina in the War for Independence

DID YOU KNOW...



John Harvey was the great-grandson of the first John Harvey of Culpeper's Rebellion. He was carrying on a family tradition of protesting what he believed to be unfair treatment.

Below: Patriotic citizens of Charlotte raised funds to erect a statue honoring Captain James Jack and his historic ride to deliver copies of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence to Philadelphia.

As you read, look for



- ▶ actions of the Provincial Congress and Committees of Safety in North Carolina;
- ▶ purposes of the Mecklenburg and Halifax Resolves;
- ▶ important innovations in the state constitution of 1776;
- ▶ early battles between Whigs and Tories in North Carolina;
- ▶ terms: **Provincial Congress, Committees of Safety, Tories, Whigs, Mecklenburg Resolves, Halifax Resolves, Declaration of Rights, Confiscation Act.**

Even before the battles of Lexington and Concord, North Carolinians had taken steps to separate themselves from the control of the British. When first Governor Tryon, then his successor Josiah Martin, tried to shut down the Assembly, Speaker John Harvey continued to correspond with protestors in other colonies.



Harvey, who was elected five times as speaker of the Assembly, stood up to the royal governors for the interests of North Carolinians. In 1774, Governor Martin refused to call the Assembly together to elect representatives to attend a Continental Congress. (The Congress was meeting in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, to protest what was going on in Boston.) Harvey set up a new body, a **Provincial Congress**, which chose the delegates anyway. When news of the battles at Lexington and Concord arrived in North Carolina, Governor Martin fled. Harvey ordered **Committees of Safety** to be set up in each county to keep order and provide government. Most Committees immediately demanded that men suspected of siding with the British—called **Tories**—had to sign a loyalty oath. In turn, members of the Committees called themselves **Whigs**, a name borrowed from the political opponents of the Tories back in London.

The Committee of Safety in Mecklenburg County went farther in protesting the British attacks than any other. Mecklenburg’s leaders came together at Queen’s Academy to discuss recent events. The Committee announced a series of statements that have collectively been called the **Mecklenburg Resolves**. The Resolves stated that, because of British aggression, “the king’s commissions” were “null and void.” Local leaders were directed to elect new leaders themselves. As cheering residents realized, this amounted to Mecklenburg being “free and independent” of British authority. Later, Mecklenburg residents counted their “years of liberty” from 1775 and what came to be called the “Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence.” The date it was said to have been signed—May 20, 1775—was later included on North Carolina’s state flag. According to legend, James Jack, a Charlotte tavern keeper, took copies of what the Mecklenburg leaders had done all the way to Philadelphia to show them to the Continental Congress.

IN OTHER WORDS

Tories were also called Loyalists, British Royalists, and King’s Friends. Whigs were also called Patriots, Liberty Boys, Colonials, Sons and Daughters of Liberty, and Rebels.

Below: The North Carolina state flag contains the dates of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, May 20th, 1775, and the Halifax Resolves, April 12th, 1776.



IN OTHER WORDS

The word *arms* refers to weapons and ammunition. To “take up arms” means to go to war.

The Battle of Moore’s Creek Bridge

After the death of John Harvey in 1775, other leaders like Cornelius Harnett of Wilmington and Richard Caswell of Kinston led the province. The Provincial Congress set up defense measures, created a loyalty oath for everyone to take, authorized the enlistment of soldiers to fight in the war, and printed paper money to pay for everything. The province raised two *regiments* (groups of soldiers) commanded by James Moore of Wilmington and Robert Howe of Brunswick. (Both later became generals in the army.) North Carolina militiamen—civilians called up to serve the military for short periods of time—were sent into South Carolina and Virginia to fight Tories.

By early 1776, North Carolinians were once again fighting among themselves, this time about the war against the British. Governor Martin had fled to a ship off the Cape Fear coast. Nevertheless, he encouraged the recently arrived Highland Scots to march on Wilmington to join a British invasion of the two Carolina colonies. Since many of the Highlanders had signed an oath of personal loyalty to the king, they kept their word and gathered to fight. In February, the Highlanders marched from Cross Creek toward Wilmington. Colonel James Moore ordered several groups of militia to cut them off.

The Whig forces blocked the Tories’ path at Moore’s Creek Bridge about twenty miles north of Wilmington. The Whigs removed the planks from the bridge and greased the support beams. For fifteen minutes, the Highlanders tried to slip and slide across the bridge. More than fifty were shot. They soon retreated. Colonel Moore chased them, seizing their arms and money. The Battle of Moore’s Creek Bridge was as celebrated an American victory in the southern colonies as the 1775 Battle of Bunker Hill had been in Boston.



Map 6.2

The Thirteen Colonies in 1776

Map Skill: Which colony claimed the land that is today the state of Maine?

This is a reconstruction of the Moore’s Creek Bridge.



Halifax Resolves

The British attempt to rally support convinced many North Carolinians that their conflict could not be settled peacefully. William Hooper, a delegate to the Continental Congress, wrote that “it would be Toryism to hint [at] the possibility of future reconciliation.” In April 1776, the Provincial Congress decided that the whole province should follow the example of Mecklenburg County. “Independence seems to be the word,” Robert Howe told friends back in Brunswick.

On April 12, 1776, the Provincial Congress passed the **Halifax Resolves**, which put together all the feelings about liberty and freedom that North Carolinians had been discussing for years. (This is the second date on the state flag.) The Resolves authorized the delegates in Philadelphia to join other colonies in seeking independence. North Carolina became the first of the thirteen colonies to endorse the independence movement. Later, in July 1776, William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, and John Penn were the three North Carolinians who signed the Declaration of Independence. Within months, the great document was read publicly in front of every courthouse in North Carolina. The ideas expressed in the words of Thomas Jefferson were familiar to many North Carolinians. King George III, Jefferson claimed, “dissolved representative houses repeatedly,” which reminded them of the troubles of the Regulation. The king’s policy of “imposing taxes on us without our consent” had been the basis for the protests over the Stamp Act. Most of all, Jefferson ended the Declaration with the promise that Americans would “mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor,” a phrase that was taught at Queen’s Academy in Charlotte, and which was part of the language used to construct the Mecklenburg Resolves.

Above: This painting shows the Declaration of Independence being presented to John Hancock (seated). The men standing before the table were those charged with writing the document. The painting hangs in the U.S. Capitol.



Wm Hooper Joseph Hewes, John Penn

Above, left to right: The three North Carolina signers of the Declaration of Independence were William Hooper, a Wilmington lawyer; Joseph Hewes, an Edenton merchant; and John Penn, a Granville County farmer. Hooper was absent on July 4, 1776, when the Declaration was approved, but later signed it. Penn had just been appointed to the Congress to represent the North Carolina backcountry but served longer in the Continental government than any other state delegate. Hewes helped establish the United States Navy and helped John Paul Jones, the first great naval hero, get his commission.

State Constitution

Once independence was declared, and the United States created by an act of the Continental Congress, North Carolina officially went from being a colony to a state. As a state, North Carolina had to come up with its own rules to govern itself. With the encouragement of the Continental Congress, each of the thirteen new states wrote a state constitution (a set of rules and procedures for government). To make sure the new government truly connected to the people, the Provincial Congress chose delegates for a special constitutional convention. The delegates wrote the first state constitution at a convention in Halifax in November and December 1776.

Everyone who wrote the North Carolina Constitution agreed upon one principle: The legislature made up of the representatives of the people should be the strongest part of the government. They continued the General Assembly, but made it bicameral: the House of Commons (an old English term for people who were not aristocrats) and the Senate (an old term that went back to ancient Rome, referring to older, wiser leadership). Each county in the state was to send two delegates to the House and one to the Senate. The representation was equal no matter how big or small the county was, whether in size or population. House members had to own one hundred acres and senators three hundred acres, a way to ensure that only wealthier men were elected to the higher of the two bodies. All eligible men could elect a House member, but only those who owned at least 50 acres could vote for senators. No women or slaves could vote at that time. While North Carolinians gave a lot of power to the General Assembly, they kept watch on them. All General Assembly members were to run for office on an annual basis. That way, unhappy voters could replace them frequently, or reward them often.

Because North Carolinians remembered vividly what a leader like William Tryon could do to them, they were cautious in the creation of the office of governor. He was to be chosen by the legislature each year, and he had very little power. The governor could only act upon the advice of a council and the consent of the legislature. William Hooper joked that the governor's only real power was "to sign a receipt for his salary."

Most importantly, North Carolinians included a **Declaration of Rights** in their constitution. This list set out the rights and protections citizens had, such as the right to a trial with a jury. The Declaration of Rights was a legacy of the Regulation and the other controversies with the British. It was written by the delegates from Mecklenburg, Rowan, and Orange Counties, the very places where people's rights and property had been literally trampled. Amazingly, the delegates included no rule about amendments to the constitution.

Governing the New State

The new legislature in the new state faced many challenges in its early years. Under the first governor, Richard Caswell, it had to find ways to protect its citizens and raise revenue to pay for the war. Waging a war is expensive. Soldiers must be paid. Ammunition and weapons must be purchased. Also, soldiers must have food, clothing, and shelter. There is a need for wagons, horses, ships, and more! In 1777, the assembly passed a **Confiscation Act**, which said that residents who refused to take the oath of allegiance to the new state could have their property taken away. Eventually, the lands of hundreds of North Carolina residents were seized, including the thousands of acres still belonging to the descendants of Lord Granville. With each seizure, the state made money by reselling the land. In addition, strictly religious people like the Quakers and Moravians, who would not say an oath or take up arms, had to pay more taxes than other citizens.



Richard Caswell was the unanimous choice for governor. He held the office for three years.



Left: New Bern served as the capital of the North Carolina colonial government, then briefly as the state capital. **Above:** Richard Caswell, who lived near present-day Kinston, became the first governor once North Carolina became a state.

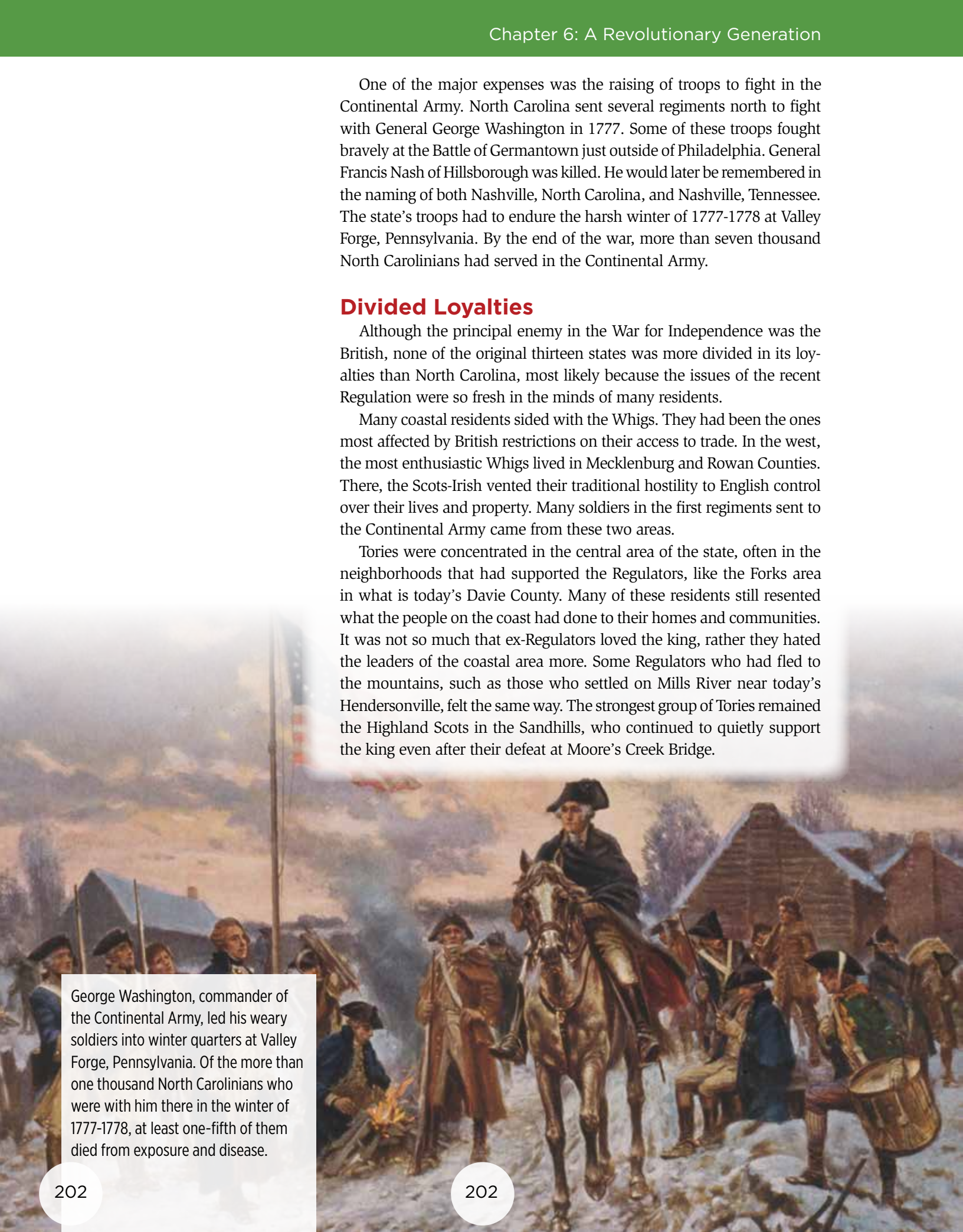
One of the major expenses was the raising of troops to fight in the Continental Army. North Carolina sent several regiments north to fight with General George Washington in 1777. Some of these troops fought bravely at the Battle of Germantown just outside of Philadelphia. General Francis Nash of Hillsborough was killed. He would later be remembered in the naming of both Nashville, North Carolina, and Nashville, Tennessee. The state's troops had to endure the harsh winter of 1777-1778 at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania. By the end of the war, more than seven thousand North Carolinians had served in the Continental Army.

Divided Loyalties

Although the principal enemy in the War for Independence was the British, none of the original thirteen states was more divided in its loyalties than North Carolina, most likely because the issues of the recent Regulation were so fresh in the minds of many residents.

Many coastal residents sided with the Whigs. They had been the ones most affected by British restrictions on their access to trade. In the west, the most enthusiastic Whigs lived in Mecklenburg and Rowan Counties. There, the Scots-Irish vented their traditional hostility to English control over their lives and property. Many soldiers in the first regiments sent to the Continental Army came from these two areas.

Tories were concentrated in the central area of the state, often in the neighborhoods that had supported the Regulators, like the Forks area in what is today's Davie County. Many of these residents still resented what the people on the coast had done to their homes and communities. It was not so much that ex-Regulators loved the king, rather they hated the leaders of the coastal area more. Some Regulators who had fled to the mountains, such as those who settled on Mills River near today's Hendersonville, felt the same way. The strongest group of Tories remained the Highland Scots in the Sandhills, who continued to quietly support the king even after their defeat at Moore's Creek Bridge.



George Washington, commander of the Continental Army, led his weary soldiers into winter quarters at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania. Of the more than one thousand North Carolinians who were with him there in the winter of 1777-1778, at least one-fifth of them died from exposure and disease.

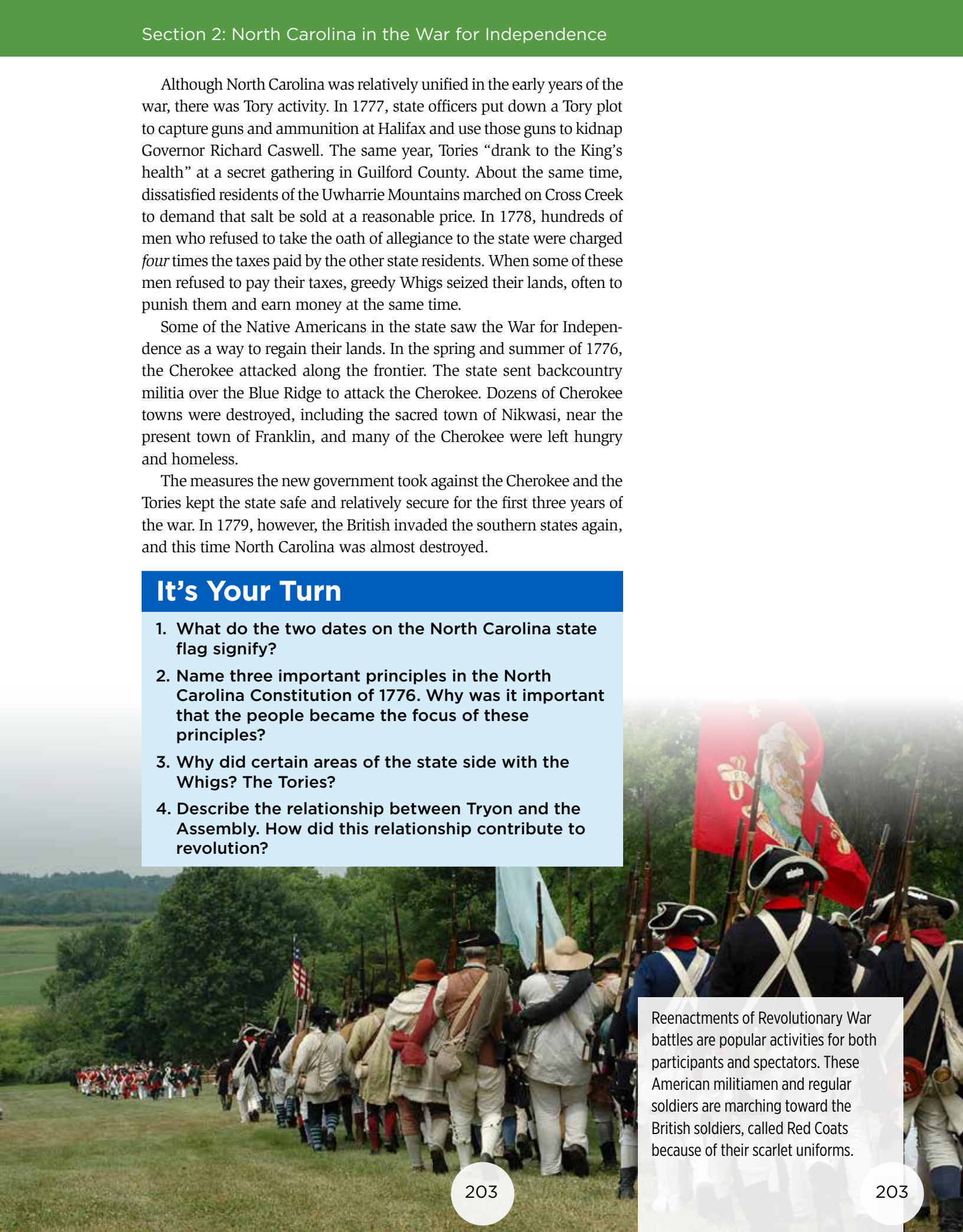
Although North Carolina was relatively unified in the early years of the war, there was Tory activity. In 1777, state officers put down a Tory plot to capture guns and ammunition at Halifax and use those guns to kidnap Governor Richard Caswell. The same year, Tories “drank to the King’s health” at a secret gathering in Guilford County. About the same time, dissatisfied residents of the Uwharrie Mountains marched on Cross Creek to demand that salt be sold at a reasonable price. In 1778, hundreds of men who refused to take the oath of allegiance to the state were charged *four* times the taxes paid by the other state residents. When some of these men refused to pay their taxes, greedy Whigs seized their lands, often to punish them and earn money at the same time.

Some of the Native Americans in the state saw the War for Independence as a way to regain their lands. In the spring and summer of 1776, the Cherokee attacked along the frontier. The state sent backcountry militia over the Blue Ridge to attack the Cherokee. Dozens of Cherokee towns were destroyed, including the sacred town of Nikwasi, near the present town of Franklin, and many of the Cherokee were left hungry and homeless.

The measures the new government took against the Cherokee and the Tories kept the state safe and relatively secure for the first three years of the war. In 1779, however, the British invaded the southern states again, and this time North Carolina was almost destroyed.

It’s Your Turn

1. What do the two dates on the North Carolina state flag signify?
2. Name three important principles in the North Carolina Constitution of 1776. Why was it important that the people became the focus of these principles?
3. Why did certain areas of the state side with the Whigs? The Tories?
4. Describe the relationship between Tryon and the Assembly. How did this relationship contribute to revolution?



Reenactments of Revolutionary War battles are popular activities for both participants and spectators. These American militiamen and regular soldiers are marching toward the British soldiers, called Red Coats because of their scarlet uniforms.

special Feature

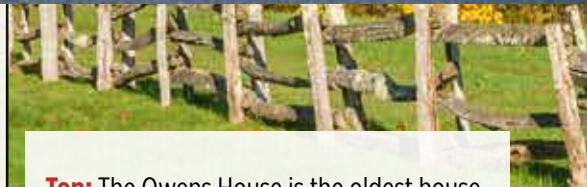


Carolina Places Halifax

During the War for Independence, Halifax may have been the liveliest town in the new state. It certainly was the most important in the year 1776, when North Carolina became the first state to go on record urging the colonies to seek independence. Later that same year, the new state's leaders returned to write the first state constitution. Lord Cornwallis later camped there as his British army moved toward Virginia and disaster at Yorktown.

Halifax was founded in 1757 to handle shipping from nearby plantations on the Roanoke River. Halifax remained very small in the colonial period because most of its prominent citizens lived outside of town on their plantations. People from all around the area, however, came to town to have parties, watch horse races, attend the Church of England, and hold the county court four times a year. During the War for Independence, Halifax made uniforms for North Carolina Continentals.

The best-known early resident was Willie (pronounced "why-ley" in the speech of the day) Jones. A successful tobacco and wheat planter, Jones threw the biggest parties in town. He kept some of the fastest racehorses and had his own private racetrack. Jones had a hand in the passage of the Halifax Resolves in April 1776 and became acting executive of the state during the time between the Declaration of Independence in July 1776 and the writing of the state constitution in November. He then had a major role in the writing of the North Carolina Constitution. During the War for Independence, Jones went to Philadelphia to be a member of the Continental Congress. Jones's view of liberty was very strict. He believed no government should be very strong. When it came time to write the United States Constitution in 1787, Jones opposed the idea of a strong federal government. He refused to represent the state at the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia and then worked to keep North Carolina from ratifying the Constitution in 1788. His last public act was to help establish the site for the capital city, Raleigh.



Top: The Owens House is the oldest house in Halifax. It was North Carolina's first entry on the National Register of Historic Places. **Above:** The Eagle Tavern was built in the late 1700s.



“Historic Halifax” is now a state historic site within the small town of Halifax. The state has restored a number

of buildings to depict life in the early history of the town. The best known of the buildings is the Owens House, built around 1760. The Constitution-Burgess House was, at one time, thought to be where the first state constitution was written. However, later evidence shows that the constitution was actually written at the Eagle Hotel.

After the Declaration of Independence was passed, Halifax was one of the first places in the state where it was read aloud. Townspeople carried members of the Assembly on their shoulders in an *impromptu* (unplanned and unorganized) parade.

Halifax did not grow very much during the 1800s. It particularly lost influence after the railroads helped develop Roanoke Rapids. In the twentieth century, it remained a small county seat town in the northern Coastal Plain.



Top: The Tap Room offers visitors a chance to touch the exhibits. **Middle:** The jail was built in 1838. Two earlier jails at the same location were burned to the ground by escaping prisoners. **Left:** The Constitution-Burgess House is furnished as an early-1800s law office would be.

Section 3

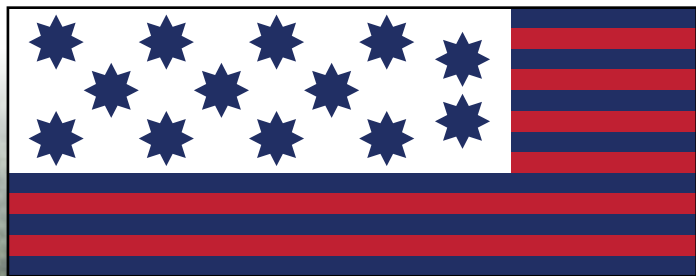
The British Invade the Carolinas

As you read, look for



- ▶ Whig victories at Ramsour's Mill, Kings Mountain, and Hannah's Cowpens;
- ▶ the journey of British General Lord Cornwallis through North Carolina and his ultimate defeat at Yorktown, Virginia;
- ▶ independent actions by North Carolina Whigs and Tories that amounted to civil war in the state;
- ▶ terms: **Overmountain Men, pardon.**

Below: This North Carolina militia banner is reported to have flown at the Battle of Guilford Courthouse on March 15, 1871. The battle took place where Greensboro is located today.



North Carolinians had a mixed record of military service during the southern phase of the War for Independence. The Continental Congress made Robert Howe of Brunswick the ranking American general in the South but replaced him when he lost Savannah, Georgia, to the British in late 1778. During early 1779, General John Ashe of Wilmington was unable to retake Augusta, Georgia, from the British, and he too was replaced. After a long struggle, the American army was trapped in Charles Town, South Carolina, and surrendered in May 1780. Almost all the North Carolina Continentals were imprisoned for the rest of the war.

A second southern army was raised in a month, including militia called out from across North Carolina and commanded by former Governor Caswell. That army marched into South Carolina and collided head on with one commanded by Lord Charles Cornwallis, one of Great Britain's most experienced generals. The Americans were soundly defeated at Camden on August 16, 1780. Most of the North Carolina troops fled after the first shots were fired. Some ran more than fifty miles all the way back into North Carolina. The American defeat at Camden meant that South Carolina was in the control of the British and that North Carolina was open to invasion.



North Carolinians Defend Their Homeland

Faced with an enemy at their doorsteps, North Carolinians gathered their courage and their resources and fought back. Even before the battle at Camden, Whigs along the Catawba River had attacked a large group of Tories who had gathered to join Cornwallis. On June 20, 1780, more than a thousand Tories were defeated at Ramsour's Mill at the site of present-day Lincolnton. The Whigs came mostly from the Scots-Irish settlements east of the Catawba River.

After Camden, Cornwallis split his army into two. First he sent Tories into the North Carolina mountains to force the settlers there to join with the British. He then took the main army into Charlotte. Both invasions into North Carolina proved to be disastrous for the British.

At Charlotte, Whig leader William R. Davie held up the British for hours, then retreated to Salisbury. Cornwallis stayed in Charlotte for a month, but the people of Mecklenburg County did not treat him well. The Scots-Irish made as much trouble for the invaders as possible. One Whig militia captain even burned his own farm rather than let the British use it. Once, several hundred British soldiers were sent to forage, which meant they took whatever they wanted from nearby farms. The residents in the neighborhood started firing at the soldiers from hiding places in the woods. One wounded British soldier knocked over a hornet's nest in a barnyard. The angry swarm chased the British all the way back to Charlotte. Ever since, Mecklenburg County has had a reputation as the "hornet's nest" of the Revolution. One officer serving with Cornwallis called Charlotte the most "rebellious country" in all America.

Map 6.3

The Revolutionary War in the Carolinas

Map Skill: Which battle took place closest to your home?

DID YOU KNOW...



The Battle at Kings Mountain has been called the turning point of the war in the South.

Meanwhile, the Tories sent to the mountains were wiped out. When settlers there were told to fight for the British or suffer the consequences, they chose to make their own consequences. **Overmountain Men**, as they came to be called, crossed the Blue Ridge and trapped the Tories on October 7, 1780, at the Battle of Kings Mountain. Patrick Ferguson, the Tory commander, had bunched his thousand troops at the top of a ridge on the border between North and South Carolina and dared anyone to attack him. The Overmountain Men surprised the Tories, killed Ferguson, and took the survivors off as prisoners. The loss at Kings Mountain forced Cornwallis to retreat into South Carolina.

The British Chase the American Army

With Cornwallis in retreat, the small group of American troops left in Salisbury advanced to Charlotte. In the winter of 1780, their new commander, Nathanael Greene, arrived. Greene found the army almost starved to death. To find supplies, he split it in two, sending one division west under General Daniel Morgan and taking the other east himself.

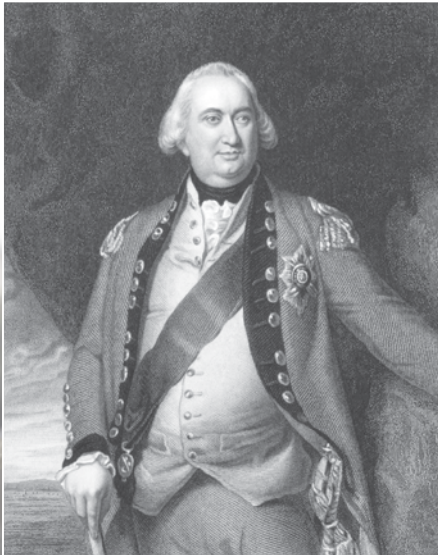
The British immediately went after Morgan, thinking that his was the weaker force. Morgan, however, was reinforced by several groups of militiamen. On January 17, 1781, he turned and made a valiant stand at Hannah's Cowpens, not far from Kings Mountain. On the open pastures where men gathered cattle for shipment to market, Morgan gave the British one of their biggest defeats of the war. The Americans captured many British soldiers in the fight. Morgan knew that Cornwallis would come after him, and he beat a hasty retreat toward Salisbury. Greene, too, retreated toward the Yadkin River, hoping to put his army back together before it was too late.



According to legend, after the Battle of Cowpens, General Nathanael Greene arrived at a Salisbury inn late at night declaring to a friend that he was “fatigued, hungry, alone and penniless!” Elizabeth Steel, the patriotic innkeeper, served him a meal and gave him two bags of gold and silver.

Wet weather slowed Cornwallis so much that he burned his extra baggage and pushed his troops faster. Morgan had barely gotten across the Catawba River when the British destroyed General William Lee Davidson's militia at Cowan's Ford. So badly were the Americans scattered that General Greene spent an entire night, woefully alone, at the rally point near Salisbury. The Americans barely escaped with their soldiers and their supplies across the Yadkin River. The British appeared on the ridge above as the last boats made it across. Cornwallis then occupied, in turn, Salisbury, Salem, and Hillsborough, while Greene and the Americans crossed the Dan River into Virginia to gain reinforcements and supplies.

When General Greene returned to North Carolina, his army outnumbered the British two to one. He carefully chose a battleground similar to the one that had worked at Cowpens. The two armies met on March 15, 1781, at Guilford Courthouse (where Greensboro is today) and fought viciously for one and one-half hours. Early on, the North Carolina militia panicked and ran away, just as it had at Camden. Greene, however, had put more experienced troops from Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware in a second line, and they stood their ground. At one point, the fighting became the fiercest of the entire War for Independence. Cornwallis, knowing his army was near total defeat, ordered *grapeshot* (small metal balls and jagged fragments that do great damage) fired into a spot where his own troops were mixed up with the Americans. It worked, but at great human cost. Greene chose to pull back, and the British held the field.



The state's first paper mill was built in 1777 in Hillsborough to reduce the paper shortage brought on by the war.

Background: Grapeshot is a mass of small metal balls or slugs, usually made of lead or iron, packed tightly into a canvas bag and shot out of a cannon.

Above Left: Lord Charles Cornwallis was one of the leading British generals in the American War for Independence.

Above Right: Nathanael Greene was commander of the Southern Department of the Continental Army.

DID YOU KNOW...



Benjamin Franklin was the only one of the Founding Fathers who signed the three important founding documents of the United States: the Declaration of Independence, the Treaty of Paris of 1783, and the U.S. Constitution.

Below: This John Trumbull painting of the British surrender at Yorktown, Virginia, hangs in the Rotunda of the U.S. Capitol. At the center of the scene, American General Benjamin Lincoln, on a white horse, extends his hand toward the sword of a surrendering British officer. On the left are French officers, and on the right are American officers under the Stars and Stripes. George Washington, riding a brown horse, is shown in the background because Lord Cornwallis himself was not present for the surrender.

Cornwallis lost one-fourth of his army. When the result was announced back in London, one British official suggested that “another such victory would be the ruin of the British army.” The British then limped across the Coastal Plain to Wilmington and, after resting, marched north into Virginia. Cornwallis hoped to have better luck in that richer state, but in October 1781, Washington trapped him in Yorktown. The British army surrendered to the Americans, effectively ending the war. However, it took some time for the word to spread that the British were beaten.

Greene moved his army into South Carolina to remove the British from a number of forts. North Carolina recruits did redeem their state’s battlefield reputation by fighting bravely at the Battle of Eutaw Springs. By the end of 1782, the British had left Wilmington and Charles Town, ending the war in the South.

After the British defeat at Yorktown, the Americans sent John Adams, Ben Franklin, and John Jay to Paris, France, to work out the details for peace with Great Britain. The two sides signed a preliminary agreement in November 1782, but it was not until October 1783 that details were worked out and Adams, Franklin, and Jay signed the treaty for the United States. The Continental Congress approved the final treaty in January 1784, over two years after the British surrendered at Yorktown.

The two years of war left its mark on the North Carolina landscape. Today Kings Mountain, Cowpens, and Guilford Courthouse are national military parks. General Greene had Greenville, Greensboro, and Greene County, North Carolina; Greenville, South Carolina; and Greeneville, Tennessee, named for him. Professional athletic teams in Charlotte have adopted the Hornet name, a reference to Mecklenburg County as a “hornet’s nest” of the revolution. The first was its minor league baseball teams then most recently its National Basketball Association franchise, which changed its name from the Bobcats to the Hornets in 2014.



A Civil War

Whig control of the state was all but lost when Lord Cornwallis swept through with his army in 1781. Some Tories joined with the invaders. John Hamilton, a Halifax merchant, organized the North Carolina Regiment for the British. It marched with Lord Cornwallis all the way to Yorktown.

David Fanning (of no kin to the Edmund Fanning hated by the Regulators) raised a second North Carolina Regiment. Fanning, who had a skin condition, was often ridiculed as a “scald head.” He had been abused and beaten by Whigs early in the war, and he swore revenge. Fanning’s regiment did not join the British but operated independently. Fanning recruited most of his troops from among the unhappy residents of the Uwharries. As the British retreated from Guilford Courthouse to Wilmington, Fanning and his men terrorized the backcountry neighborhoods that sent men to the North Carolina militia. Fanning’s men were accused of theft, murder, and more than one rape during this time. Fanning’s most astounding feat was to surprise the town of Hillsborough while it was the temporary capital of the state. Fanning’s men literally ran the Assembly out of town, captured lots of supplies, and kidnapped the governor, Thomas Burke. Despite being attacked along the way, the Tories delivered Burke and other prisoners to the British in Wilmington.

Losing the governor was symbolic of the terrible times Whigs faced during the British invasion. After the Battle of Guilford Courthouse, soldiers went to the Log College run by David Caldwell and burned it and ruined all his books. A dozen Tories surrounded the house of Thomas Hadley on the Cape Fear River and shot him through an upstairs window. Three of his four sons got away, but the youngest, only a teenager, was taken to a nearby pocosin, stripped of his clothes, and tied to a tree in the middle of a swarm of mosquitoes. Another Cape Fear Whig, imprisoned in Wilmington, escaped. He ran eighty miles in less than twenty-four hours, then hid in the woods near his house for the rest of the war.

Women often showed their bravery in the conflict. Elizabeth Wiley Forbis had no time to mourn when she learned her husband had been killed at Guilford Courthouse. She and a young son took their only horse out to plow and plant corn. When two Tories demanded the animal, Mrs. Forbis stood in front of both of them. “I will split your head with this hoe,” she threatened. The Tories left without the animal. Mrs. Colin McRae, who lived on the Deep River, had her farm repeatedly looted. She had used her last sheet to wrap her baby. A robber came in and yanked the sheet out of her hands, rolling the baby onto the floor. So dangerous was the neighborhood that Mr. McRae hid in the swamp for a year, coming out at night to work his fields to feed his family.

DID YOU KNOW...

When the British surrendered at Yorktown, Colonel John Hamilton and eighty members of the Royal North Carolina Regiment became prisoners.

Lord Cornwallis told his superiors in London that Hamilton’s “conduct as a citizen and soldier appear to me highly meritorious.” Hamilton was later exchanged, and continued to fight until the war was over.

DID YOU KNOW...

Governor Burke was imprisoned on James Island near Charles Town, South Carolina. He escaped in January 1782.

HAVE YOU VISITED...

House in the Horseshoe State Historic Site? On July 29, 1781, this home was occupied by its owner, Whig Colonel Philip Alston, and his followers. A larger group of Tories, led by David Fanning, attacked the Whigs and attempted to set the house on fire by rolling a cart of burning straw against it. After both sides took casualties, Colonel Alston surrendered. This historic home, named for its location on a horseshoe bend in the Deep River near Sanford, is still marked by bullet holes from that battle.

Whigs could be just as cruel as Tories. During Cornwallis's march to Hillsborough, more than four hundred Tories under the command of Colonel John Pyle marched to join him. Near the site of present-day Burlington, American cavalymen tricked the Tories into believing that they were British soldiers. (During the war, the cavalymen of both sides wore the same green color.) Colonel Henry Lee's men rode up to the Tories and, without any warning, began to cut them down with sabers. At least ninety were killed before they could flee. Colonel Pyle managed to jump into a nearby pond. He stayed underwater all day, only raising his nose up when he had to breathe. One of the Tories, Drury Honeycutt, suffered a dozen saber wounds and was shot twice. He survived as an invalid.

In August 1781, Whigs along the Cape Fear struck back at three hundred Tories gathered in Elizabethtown in Bladen County. After their commanders had been shot, the Tories fled, many of them into a deep ravine that covered their retreat. The spot has been known ever since as "Tory Hole." On the Yadkin River, Kings Mountain veteran Benjamin Cleveland hanged five suspected Tories. The tree, located where Wilkesboro would be built, became famous as the Tory Oak, surviving into the twentieth century.

Right: This historically accurate 2012 painting, *Colonel Cleveland's War Prize* by Don Troiani, pictures "the Terror of the Tories," Benjamin Cleveland, at an earlier time when he was a hero at the Battle of Kings Mountain. According to legend, when Cleveland led some 200 Wilkes County militiamen into battle at Kings Mountain, his horse was shot from under him. He claimed the white stallion of Tory commander Patrick Ferguson as a war prize and rode it home to Roundabout, his Wilkes County estate.



History by the Highway

William Bartram



William Bartram, for a time a merchant in the Cape Fear, made several trips into the mountains of Cherokee country looking for plants that he could preserve and take back with him to his botanical garden in Philadelphia. His father was the official botanist to King George III for a time. After the War for Independence, Bartram set up a celebrated garden outside the city of Philadelphia. He was lucky this day in Swain County. The Cherokee were on the warpath and could have done him harm.



The War Ends in North Carolina

The Tory-Whig war in North Carolina stopped after the British withdrew from Wilmington in 1782. David Fanning and many of his men left with them, resettling in Nova Scotia, Canada. Almost immediately, the Whigs tried to calm the state. County courts continued to try Tories charged with crimes and confiscated their property, but Tories who had simply fought for the king in battle were generally allowed to return home. John Hamilton, for example, returned to the state and resumed his successful career as a merchant. He became one of the more popular men in the state and often had dinner with former Whigs, where they traded war stories. In 1784, the state legislature issued a pardon to the Tories. A **pardon** is an act forgiving participants for their actions in the war.



After the war, David Fanning was one of three men in North Carolina to whom the government did not grant a pardon for offenses committed during the war.

It's Your Turn

1. What was the result of the August 16, 1780, Battle of Camden?
2. How did Mecklenburg County get its reputation as a hornet's nest?
3. What was David Fanning's most shocking action?

special Feature

Connecting with U.S. History The Founding Fathers

North Carolina leaders introduced in this chapter were among those who came to be called the Founding Fathers. The Founders wrote and approved the documents that defined American hopes and values: the Declaration of Independence in 1776, the Constitution in 1787, and the Bill of Rights in 1789.

Most historians agree that seven Founders stood out for their leadership. None were from North Carolina, but all had ties, in one way or another, to North Carolina.

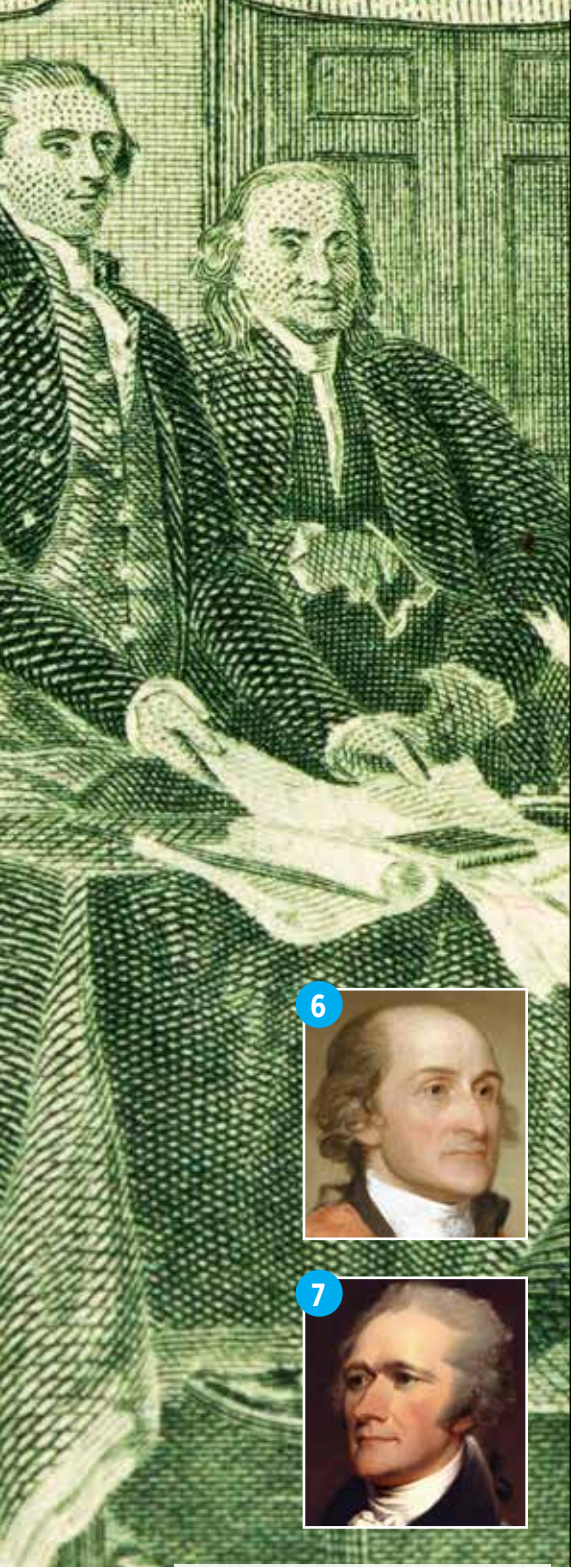
Benjamin Franklin (1), a Philadelphia printer, helped write both the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. Franklin gained worldwide fame as the first famous American scientist. He figured out the course of the Gulf Stream, the great warm ocean current that passes north from the Gulf of Mexico off the North Carolina coast, which helps make beach trips so enjoyable.

George Washington (2), the first president, was a Virginia planter and military leader. When the War for Independence came, Washington was the logical choice to command the Continental Army. After the war, he returned to his farm, Mount Vernon on the Potomac River. When the Confederation government needed to be improved, Washington started the process that led to the writing of the U.S. Constitution. He visited North Carolina in 1791 while he was president as part of his tour of southern states.

John Adams (3), the second president, was a Boston lawyer. He was an organizer of the Continental Congress and had taken the lead in the movement to declare independence in 1776. He used the Halifax Resolves to help in the cause of liberty.



S OF AMERICA



Thomas Jefferson (4), the third president, was also a Virginia planter and the inventor of one of the best plows used in early America. He was such a good thinker about government that he was chosen to write the text of the Declaration of Independence in 1776. Franklin and Adams assisted him in the rewriting. Jefferson never set foot in North Carolina, but he was known to have a “double” in the state. Samuel E. McCorkle of Rowan County, one of the founders of the University, was said to have looked just like him. They met once, in Philadelphia, and had a great laugh about it. (Think of the “selfie” they could have taken, if the technology had existed then.)

James Madison (5), the fourth president, was another Virginia planter. He went to college at Princeton with North Carolinians like James Hall of Iredell County, who helped build up the library at the University in Chapel Hill. Madison became the “Father of the Constitution,” because of his work in creating the compromises that established the “checks and balances” approach to government. He also helped write *The Federalist*, a series of essays that supported the new form of government. In response to Antifederalists in places like North Carolina, he helped introduce the Bill of Rights in Congress. Madison later married Dolley Todd Payne, who was born in Guilford County.

John Jay (6), a New York lawyer, became the first chief justice of the United States. He collaborated with Justice James Iredell of Edenton on some of the first decisions that helped establish judicial review, where the U.S. Supreme Court decides on the constitutionality of actions by the executive or legislative branch of government. In 1786, Iredell had been one of the lawyers involved in *Bayard v. Singleton*. In that case, the predecessor to North Carolina’s Supreme Court ruled that a law passed by the legislature was unfairly enforced.

Alexander Hamilton (7) was the Founder who had the most visible impact on North Carolina. He helped organize the Constitutional Convention and later wrote *The Federalist* with Madison and Jay. When Washington was president, Hamilton became the secretary of the treasury. One of his duties was to protect commercial shipping on the open seas, so he had a series of lighthouses built along the Atlantic Coast. The second one to be authorized was the Cape Hatteras Light.

Hamilton had a personal reason to be concerned about the North Carolina coast. When he moved to New York from a Caribbean island in 1772, he had almost been shipwrecked off Cape Hatteras. Hamilton first called it the “graveyard of the Atlantic,” a phrase that North Carolinians have used ever since.



Background: The engraving from the reverse (back) side of the U.S. \$2 bill was inspired by John Trumbull’s 1819 painting, *Declaration of Independence*.



Section 4

North Carolina from Confederation to Constitution

As you read, look for



- ▶ why the State of Franklin was founded and why it failed;
- ▶ weaknesses in the Articles of Confederation that led to calls for a new government;
- ▶ debates and compromises that created the U.S. Constitution;
- ▶ conflicting views of Federalists and Antifederalists;
- ▶ results of the Hillsborough and Fayetteville Conventions;
- ▶ terms: **Articles of Confederation, compromise, Federalists, Antifederalists.**

North Carolina only slowly recovered from the hate and destruction left over from the War for Independence. The state was so disorganized that the General Assembly moved from place to place after the war. Some host towns, like Tarboro and Smithfield, or the hamlet around Wake Court House, had fewer houses than there were legislators. There was even less money for the state to spend than there were places to meet. The paper money issued to pay for military expenses was worthless, and state residents did not want to accept it. Trade suffered at ports like Ocracoke. New towns like Kinston on the Neuse River were slow to grow.

To raise money, the state continued to sell the confiscated lands of Tories, even though the Treaty of Paris of 1783 said that was illegal. The state also could not make up its mind whether to give its lands west of the Appalachians to the Confederation. In 1784, the state decided to *cede* (give up) those lands. Then it reversed that decision when it thought it could raise money from their sale. Some North Carolinians also wanted to get rich by being the agents for the sales. As William Hooper, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, observed, what some North Carolinians called “political zeal” was really “avarice clothed in the cover of patriotism.”

IN OTHER WORDS

Zeal means “enthusiasm” and *avarice* means “greed.”

The State of Franklin

While North Carolinians in the east argued over Tory rights, residents west of the Blue Ridge wanted more control over their own rights. Most of these settlers lived on the tributaries of the Tennessee River like the Holston or the Watauga. Some had moved to this fertile, but remote, area to escape the Regulation. Others were veterans of the War of Independence who went west to claim lands the state owed them for their military service. They did not particularly like the leaders from the Coastal Plain who had beaten them at Alamance and deserted them after Camden. One eastern legislator returned the scorn. The Watauga settlers, he claimed, were “the offscourings of the earth.”

When North Carolina’s General Assembly in 1784 ceded its western lands to the Confederation government, the leaders of the Watauga area immediately petitioned Congress to set up a new state. They wanted to name the state Franklin, after Benjamin Franklin of Philadelphia. When North Carolina took back the land, the organizers of the State of Franklin went ahead anyway. In 1784, they met at Jonesborough, wrote a constitution, and elected John Sevier, one of the commanders of the Overmountain Men, as their governor.

Like most other events in North Carolina history, the State of Franklin was controversial. Both the Confederation Congress and the North Carolina General Assembly refused to recognize the new state. Soon, Franklin’s residents began to fight among themselves. Some people were actually killed over the issue. Split from within, and scorned elsewhere, the “State of Franklin” ceased to exist by 1787.

The fight over Franklin, however, did help create the state of Tennessee. The long distance to the mountains made it impractical for North Carolina to provide a fair government. After North Carolina joined the new United States in 1789, the lands were once again ceded. The territory of Tennessee was set up in 1794, and statehood was granted in 1796.

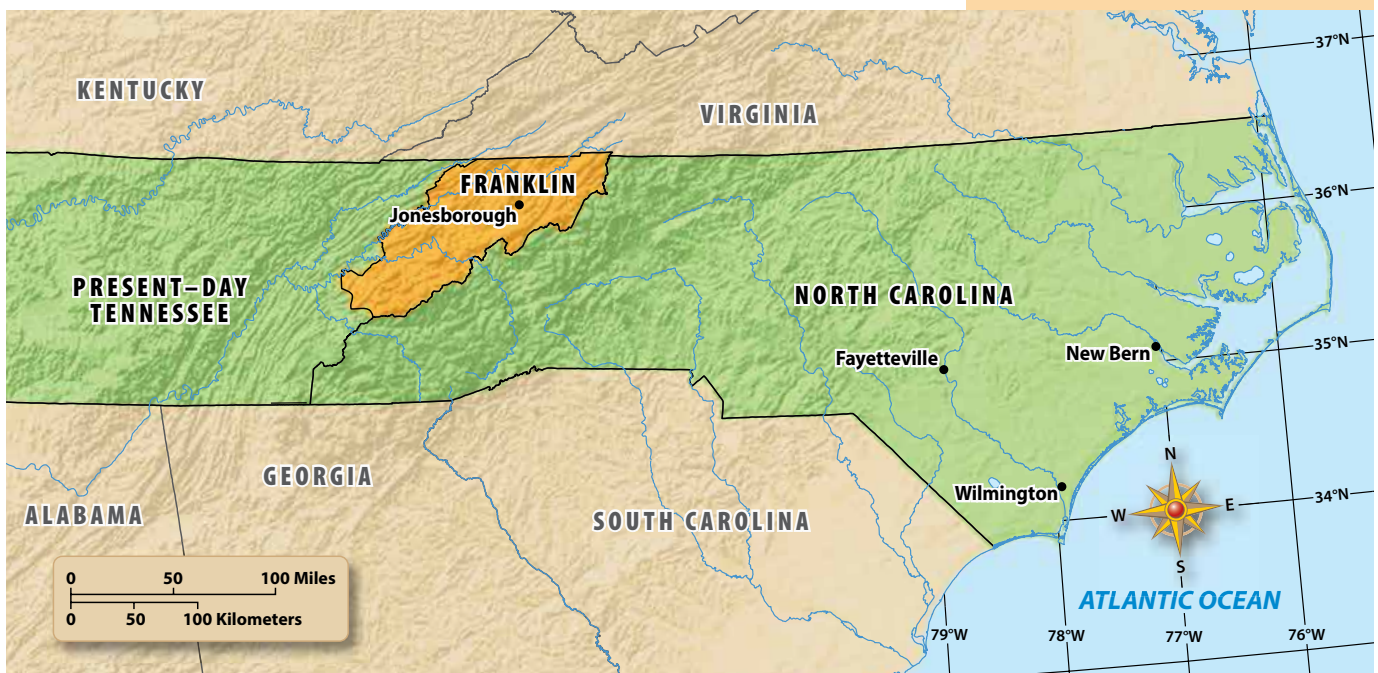
IN OTHER WORDS

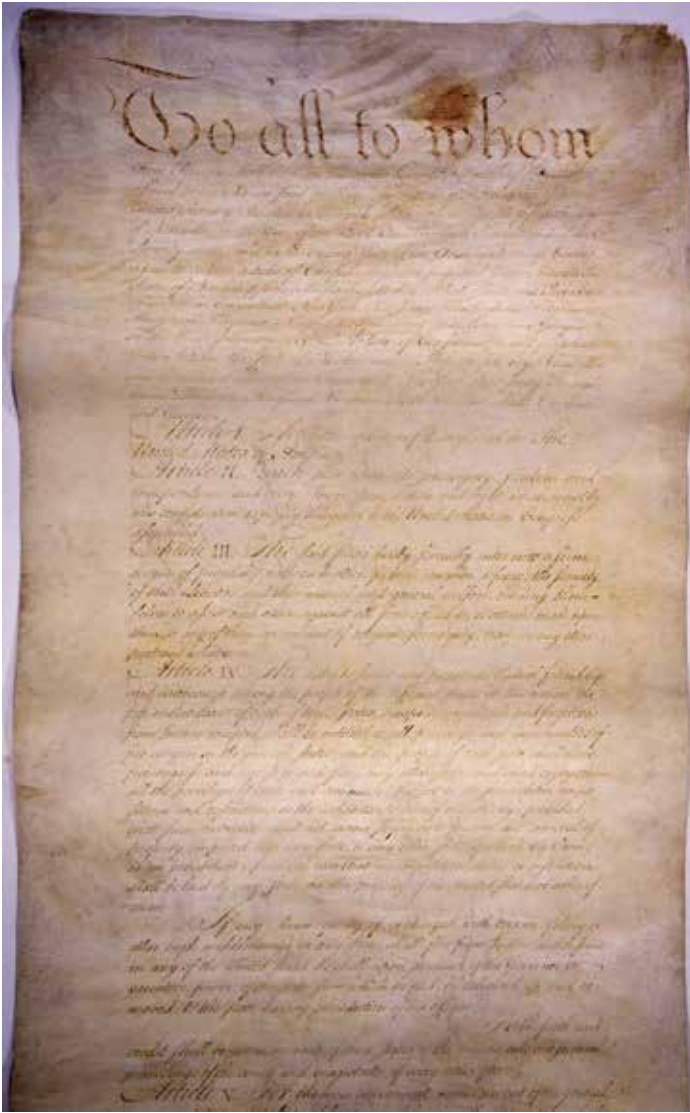
The word *offscourings* means “outcasts.”

Map 6.4

The State of Franklin

Map Skill: Approximately how far was Jonesborough from Fayetteville?





Above: Three North Carolinians were among the signers of the Articles of Confederation: John Penn, a signer of the Declaration of Independence; Cornelius Harnett, one of the leaders of the Provincial Congress; and John Williams, one of the founders of the University of North Carolina.

North Carolina under the Articles of Confederation

During the War for Independence, the Continental Congress adopted the country's first constitution, called the **Articles of Confederation**. The Articles created a one-house national legislature—Congress—in which each state had one vote. There was a president, but he had hardly any power, and there was no court system. The Confederation, as that government was called, provided for national defense and foreign policy during those years. (Foreign policy refers to a nation's international relations.) The Confederation Congress did succeed in signing a peace treaty with the British and securing new lands west of the Appalachian Mountains. However, the Confederation was most often ineffective because it lacked money and resources. Its difficulties were much the same as those of North Carolina but on a larger scale.

Americans generally suffered during the period because the British refused to abide by some of the terms of the 1783 peace treaty. In 1784, the British closed off trade to its Caribbean islands. This trade had provided North Carolinians with more than half of their income. The British also refused to leave the military bases they had built west of the Appalachians. From forts like Detroit, the British encouraged

the Indians to attack white settlers who were moving into the valleys of the Kentucky and Tennessee Rivers. More than once, the Watauga settlers—led by John Sevier—fought off Cherokee attacks.

The new United States seemed shaky on many fronts in 1786 and 1787. North Carolinians were fighting each other in Franklin. Massachusetts mobs were marching on their courthouses to keep farmers from having their property seized for unpaid debts, just as the Regulators had done in North Carolina years before. These rebellions convinced many American leaders that a stronger government was needed in every state.

Figure 6.3

Weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation

Confederation Congress had no way to tax the states.
Each state had only one vote, regardless of size.
Nine of the thirteen states had to approve each law.
The Congress had no way to enforce laws that were passed.
Confederation Congress had no power to regulate foreign or interstate trade.
Amending the Articles required a unanimous vote of the states.
There was no judiciary or executive branch.

North Carolina and the Federal Constitution

Since the Confederation Congress lacked the resources and power to do much, prominent citizens took action to protect their lives and investments. In Virginia, George Washington was having problems selling the crops grown at his home at Mount Vernon. He called for the leaders of nearby states to meet and discuss new ways to improve trade and government. This led to a meeting in Annapolis, Maryland, in 1786 that called for the reform of the Confederation. North Carolina appointed delegates, but no one attended the meeting. The Annapolis group then put out an invitation to every state to come to Philadelphia in 1787 to decide what to do.

All thirteen states sent representatives to the Philadelphia Constitutional Convention in the summer of 1787. Soon, most delegates had agreed that the Articles could not be fixed and a new government was needed. They began to write a constitution to organize it. North Carolinians played a small but significant role in achieving the **compromises** (agreements where each side gives up something and gets something it wants) that led to the acceptance of the United States Constitution.

The Virginians, led by James Madison, proposed a more powerful national government that would oversee most activities of citizens and states. This plan called for a Congress with two houses. Representation in each house would be based upon population. Thus, North Carolina, which was the fifth most populous state at the time, would benefit by having more votes. The small states, like Connecticut, objected, because they would lose power under that plan. They countered with a plan that gave each state an equal vote on every issue, regardless of its size. When it became apparent that the two sides could not agree, the leaders of the convention came up with its first important compromise.

DID YOU KNOW...

North Carolina's delegates to the Constitutional Convention were William R. Davie, Richard Dobbs Spaight, Richard Caswell, Alexander Martin, and Hugh Williamson. William Blount later replaced Governor Caswell as a delegate.



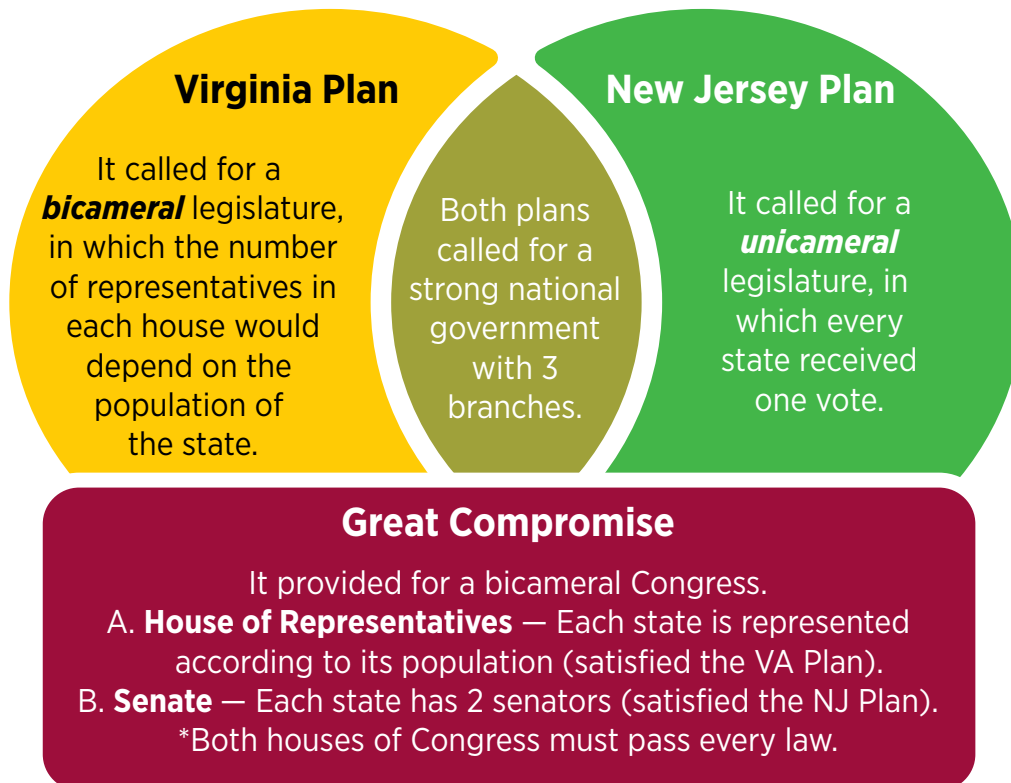
We the People
insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence,
and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution.

The Great Compromise, as it was called, set up the government Americans have today—which we learned about in Chapter 3. In the House of Representatives, members are elected every two years. The number of representatives a state has is based on its population. That way, states with a lot of people get more representatives. The Senate, in turn, consists of two members from each state, giving each state an equal role in that branch of the legislature. Senators were given six-year terms of office. Only a third would be elected at one time. This meant that elections could be held every two years for Congress, but someone with experience would still be in office, even if all the representatives and senators up for reelection lost.

North Carolina’s William R. Davie, a Halifax lawyer, served on the “grand” committee that came up with the Great Compromise. He had pushed the idea of an equal number of senators for each state because, as he said, “we are partly federal, partly national in our Union.” In fact, Davie was said to have cast “the most decisive single vote” in the convention to make the compromise succeed.

Once a balanced scheme for representation was agreed to, most of the rest of the government was logically thought out. For example, the chief executive, called the president, could veto laws passed by Congress. However, Congress could override the veto by a two-thirds majority of each house. The president was to serve a four-year term, as a balance between the terms of the two houses in Congress. North Carolina’s Hugh Williamson, an Edenton physician, was instrumental in getting the other delegates to adopt the two-thirds ratio for overturning vetoes.

Below: The Great Compromise set up a bicameral U.S. Congress, where membership in the House of Representatives is based on population and membership in the Senate is equal for all states.



One final dispute almost kept the convention from completing its task, and led to the second of the major compromises. The delegates from the northern states disagreed strongly with the desire of the southern delegates to count slaves as people being represented in the government. Because slaves were property as well as persons, the northern delegates, whose states had few slaves, wanted them left out. This would give their states a numerical advantage in the new Congress. Southerners wanted them counted, which would give them the advantage. After much argument and debate, the delegates agreed to their second significant compromise. They split the difference, somewhat. Slaves were to be counted as three-fifths of a person when it came to representation. North Carolinians went along with their fellow southern delegates in demanding this. Ever since, this has been known as the Three-Fifths Compromise. North Carolina's Hugh Williamson had been one of the first to suggest that proportion as appropriate.

North Carolina Hesitates to Ratify

The writers of the Constitution decided to ask the people in the various states to ratify (approve) the “new form of government.” Before the end of 1787, several states had ratified the document; by 1788, enough states had joined the Union that the United States held its first elections and chose George Washington as president.

North Carolina was not among them. Although leaders like William R. Davie and Hugh Williamson assured people that the U.S. Constitution was superior to the Confederation, many residents distrusted the plan. The state was divided between **Federalists** (those in favor of the new government) and **Antifederalists** (those who distrusted its ideas).

Most of the Federalists lived along the coast. They included, for example, James Iredell of Edenton, who urged that “local interests give way to the general good.” Federalists stood to benefit from the new powers over business and money that the new government would have. For example, coins were to have the same value anywhere in the nation. North Carolina, the Federalists said, would be better organized and protected to make more money in overseas trade.

DID YOU KNOW...

On September 17, 1787, thirty-nine delegates signed the United States Constitution. Today we celebrate September 17 as Constitution Day.

DID YOU KNOW...

Because North Carolina had not yet ratified the United States Constitution, it could not take part in the election of George Washington as president.

George Washington's first inauguration as president took place at Federal Hall in New York City on April 30, 1789. At the time, North Carolina was still not a part of the Union, so it had no representatives present.

Antifederalists often came from the backcountry. They included the Reverend David Caldwell of Guilford County, the state's most respected educator. They worried about how powerful the new government would become, remembering how Governor Tryon had taken advantage of them before the Revolution. One Antifederalist feared that the Federalists would act just like the British had, sending out armies and "crushing the liberties of the people."

People across North Carolina debated the merits of the Constitution. Sometimes they were louder than they were logical. One Federalist called the opposition "a set of fools and knaves." An Antifederalist declared that even George Washington was a "rascal and traitor" for being a Federalist. Because so many people in the backcountry had suffered in the Regulation and the Revolution, and because they were the majority, the Antifederalists were able to stop the first attempt to ratify the Constitution.

The Hillsborough Convention

The delegates met in July 1788 at Hillsborough. They voted overwhelmingly—184 to 83—to delay ratifying the Constitution. The majority believed the new government would be too powerful. Since the new government was about to be put into effect anyway, the delegates did agree that they would accept the Union if some changes were put into the Constitution. The Antifederalists particularly wanted a Bill of Rights, believing that such amendments would protect their basic rights. The members of the Hillsborough Convention proposed more than twenty amendments to safeguard "the Great Principles of civil and religious liberty" that were "unalienable rights of the People."

North Carolinians were gambling with their future by refusing to join the rest of the United States. Their state would be surrounded by the new nation and denied its promised benefits, like real money and reliable markets. Rhode Island had been the only other state to turn down the Constitution. Since Rhode Island and North Carolina had poor records managing their money, business leaders expected to pay high prices to trade with the new country. To encourage North Carolina to join the Union, Congress delayed any special taxes on North Carolina goods until 1790. In addition, James Madison, the leader of the new Congress, worked to have a Bill of Rights approved by the other states. Both the friendliness of the new Union and the disadvantages of not joining became apparent to many North Carolinians.

The Fayetteville Convention

In November 1788, the North Carolina legislature called for a second vote on the Constitution. A year later, in November 1789, another convention met in Fayetteville. This time the vote was as overwhelmingly for the Union as the previous vote in Hillsborough had been against it. The vote was 194 to 77. Only a few counties full of former Regulators continued to oppose ratification. Growing national support for a Bill of Rights pleased supporters of ratification.

North Carolina sent its first representatives and senators to the new government in 1790. They were mostly Federalists. The representatives included John Steele of Salisbury, Hugh Williamson of Edenton, and John Sevier of Jonesborough. Sevier's election showed just how up and down state politics could be. He had been the governor of the rebel State of Franklin, but the voters and the state had long forgiven him, as they had many of the people who had hated and resented and fought one another for so long in the struggle to create the state.

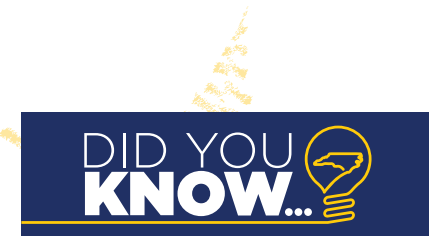
The State Establishes a New Capital

North Carolina made a major effort to get organized and move forward during the debate over the Constitution. The 1788 Hillsborough Convention had agreed to a site for a permanent state capital. The convention chose an area in Wake County “within ten miles” of Isaac Hunter’s tavern. They chose Raleigh as the capital’s name. The site was just about equal distance for people in the backcountry, the Cape Fear, and the Albemarle to travel. After a commission found a location at the Joel Lane plantation, the legislature moved to Raleigh in 1794.

Not everyone accepted the Raleigh location. The newly created town of Fayetteville made a real effort to gain the capital. Fayetteville was the result of two colonial towns—Cross Creek and Campbelltown—growing together on the Cape Fear River. The town was named for the Marquis de Lafayette, a Revolutionary War general. Even after the 1788 decision, Fayetteville built a “new state house” to host the 1789 convention, hoping for a reversal. It did not get the right number of votes, and Raleigh’s streets were soon laid out. The new capital grew very slowly, however. One early visitor said that every street “ended in the woods.”

The First State University

The legislature that met in Fayetteville in 1789 also established a State University. William R. Davie, who led the effort, later chose a location for the school south of Hillsborough, near the New Hope Chapel of Governor Tryon’s day. Soon after the University was opened in 1795, school officials also established the village of Chapel Hill. Although the trustees of the college tried their best to make the University a symbol of a united state, the sectional divisions continued in some ways. Students from the eastern section tended to join one debating society, and those from the west another one. These tendencies would continue to cause trouble for North Carolina into the early part of the next century.



The two smallest states (even today) were the first and last to ratify the U.S. Constitution. Delaware displays its status as “The First State” on its license plates. Rhode Island was the thirteenth state to ratify, following North Carolina, which was twelfth.

It's Your Turn

1. List three weaknesses in the Articles of Confederation.
2. Describe the Great Compromise of the U.S. Constitution.
3. Why did North Carolina delegates oppose ratification of the U.S. Constitution, and why did they later approve it?

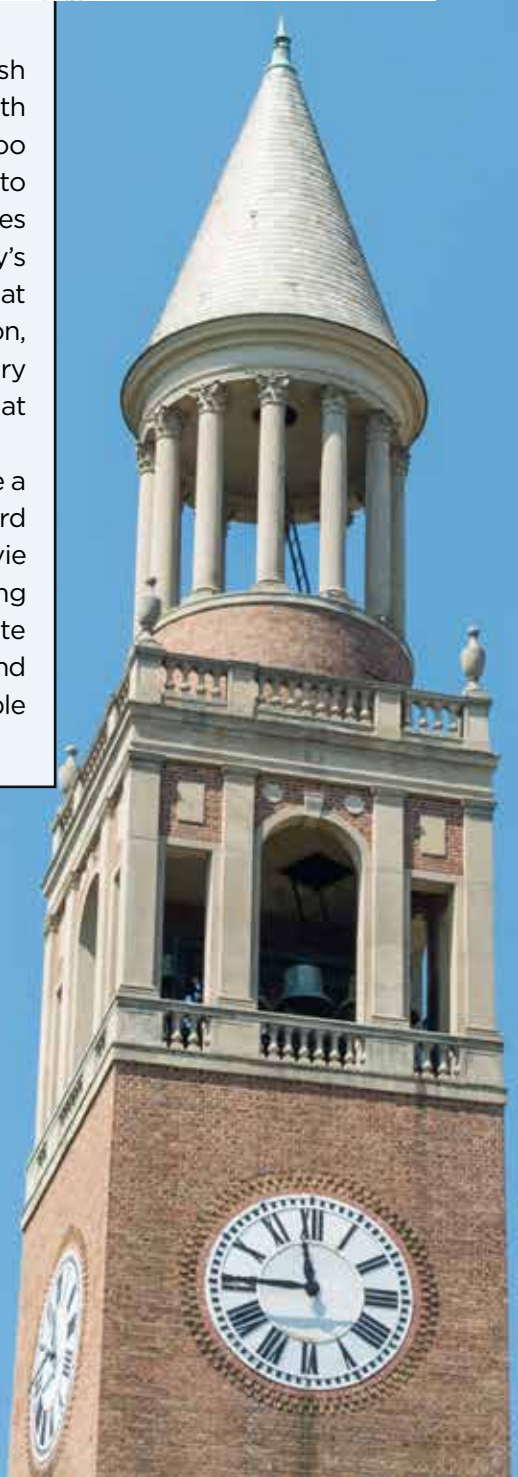
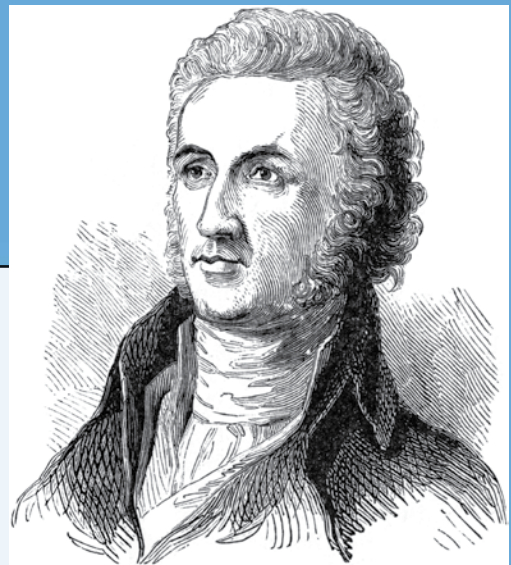
special Feature

Carolina People William R. Davie

Patriot, planner, educator, compromiser, innovator—these are five of the many words that describe William Richardson Davie. This Revolutionary leader also deserves to be described as a Founding Father.

Davie, born in England, eventually moved with his Scottish parents to the Waxhaws, a Scots-Irish neighborhood on the North Carolina-South Carolina border southeast of Charlotte. He was too young to take part in the Regulation, but he was one of the first to enroll at Queen's Academy. He advanced so rapidly in his studies that he was soon admitted to the College of New Jersey (today's Princeton University). Davie was so eager to be a Patriot in 1775 that he went off with fellow students to fight with George Washington, risking suspension. He never did graduate, but moved to Salisbury to study law. Again he excelled, and when he became a lawyer at age twenty-three, his first client was Governor Richard Caswell.

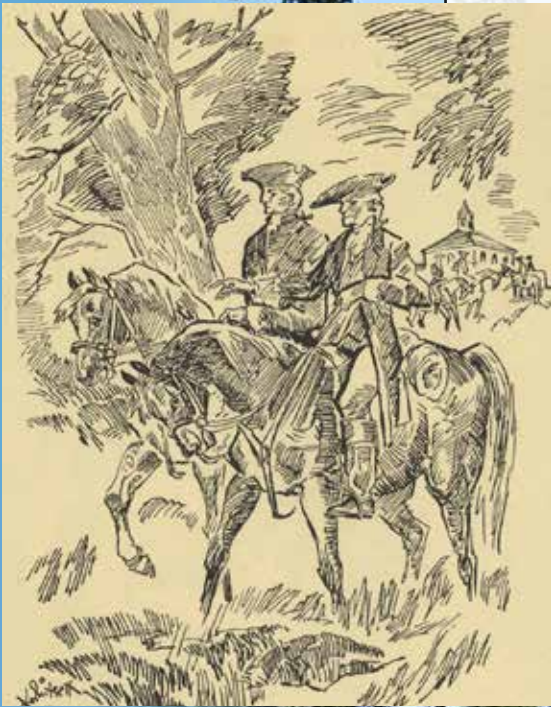
When the British invaded the Carolinas in 1779, Davie became a captain of “mounted partisans”—volunteers who had both a sword and a rifle and could fight either on horseback or on foot. Davie became a hero when he almost kept the British from capturing Charlotte in September 1780. So versatile was he that the state made him the “commissary general.” This duty required him to find food for the soldiers and fodder for the horses during the terrible winter of 1781.





After the war, he moved to Halifax. He was elected to the state legislature and at age thirty-one was a participant in the 1787 Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, where he was said to have often been “silent” in open debate, but “his opinion was always valued.” He helped decide that each state should be equally represented in the Senate, and he got other North Carolinians to agree to the Great Compromise. One North Carolinian later said, “Davie’s vote was critical in saving the Constitution itself.” He did not stay long enough to sign the new Constitution, but he voted for it at both the Hillsborough and Fayetteville Conventions. He later became governor.

Davie is remembered today as the principal founder of the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill. Legend has it that he had a picnic under a poplar tree near the old chapel built during the time of William Tryon. He had such a pleasant time that he chose that site. Most historians now doubt the picnic happened, but the University long has honored the “Davie Poplar” as the site of its origin. The tree, now more than three hundred years old, has concrete in its hollow trunk and is held up by guy wires going to nearby oaks. Nearby, “Davie Junior” and “Davie the Third” are well-tended reminders of Davie’s legacy.



Opposite page, Top: William R. Davie was governor of North Carolina from 1798 to 1799. **Opposite page, Left:** Davie (at right, wearing a Masonic apron) helped lay the cornerstone of Old East. **Opposite page, Right:** Bell tower at the University. **Background:** The Davie Poplar. **Top:** Portrait of William R. Davie. **Middle:** Davie leads a party past New Hope Chapel. **Right:** Old East, the oldest building on campus

Chapter Review

Section 1: The Long Road to Independence

- In the 1760s and 1770s, the British Parliament wanted American colonists to pay heavier taxes and be more under Britain's control.
- The Proclamation of 1763 forbade colonial settlement west of the Appalachian Mountains.
- The Stamp Act of 1765 required stamps on official documents. Protests against it led to its repeal.
- In 1774, fifty-one North Carolina women protested British tea and other goods at the Edenton Tea Party.
- The War for Independence began in 1775 with shots fired in Lexington and Concord, Massachusetts.

Section 2: North Carolina in the War for Independence

- The Mecklenburg Resolves declared that the “king’s commissions” were “null and void” in the colony.
- North Carolina Whigs defeated Tories at the Battle of Moore’s Creek Bridge.
- The Halifax Resolves authorized North Carolina delegates to join other colonies in seeking independence.
- North Carolina delegates William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, and John Penn signed the Declaration of Independence.
- North Carolina’s first state constitution created a bicameral legislature and contained a Declaration of Rights.
- During the war, many coastal North Carolinians were Whigs. Many residents from the center of the state and the Sandhills were Tories.

Section 3: The British Invade the Carolinas

- An American defeat at Camden, South Carolina, left North Carolina open to invasion.

- Charlotte became known as the “hornet’s nest” of the Revolution.
- Americans won victories at the Battle of Kings Mountain and the Battle of Cowpens.
- The British, under General Cornwallis, won a costly victory at the Battle of Guilford Courthouse.
- Cornwallis went to Wilmington, then to Virginia, where he was defeated at Yorktown, effectively ending the war.
- The Tory-Whig war stopped after the British left Wilmington in 1782.

Section 4: North Carolina from Confederation to Constitution

- North Carolina was disorganized and had little money after the war.
- The State of Franklin was set up in western lands but ceased to exist by 1787.
- During the Revolution, the country was ruled by the ineffective Articles of Confederation.
- Leaders from all thirteen states sent representatives to a Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia in 1787.
- In a Great Compromise, the new U.S. Constitution set up a bicameral legislature with representation in the House based on population and with equal representation in the Senate.
- North Carolina Antifederalists rejected the new U.S. Constitution at Hillsborough in 1788 but approved it in Fayetteville in 1789, and North Carolina joined the new United States.

Activities for Learning

Reviewing People, Places, and Things



Match each of the following with the correct description that follows.

King George III	Richard Caswell
George Washington	Nathanael Greene
Daniel Morgan	Tories
Whigs	Yorktown
Guilford Courthouse	Edenton Tea Party

- commander in chief of the Continental Army
- first governor of North Carolina after independence
- battle in Virginia that led to a British surrender
- a protest where North Carolina women pledged not to drink British tea or buy British goods
- last major battle of the war in North Carolina
- appointed to lead the Continental Army in the South
- people who remained loyal to the king and Great Britain
- monarch of England during the Revolution
- people who fought for independence from Great Britain
- general who led American troops at the Battle of Hannah's Cowpens

Understanding the Facts



- What does the phrase “no taxation without representation” mean?
- What was the Edenton Tea Party?
- How did the Committee of Safety in Mecklenburg County protest British policies?
- Name the two dates on North Carolina’s flag and explain their significance.
- Why was the Battle of Kings Mountain significant?
- What happened at the Battle of Guilford Courthouse?
- Describe the condition of North Carolina after the war.

- Why were the Articles of Confederation replaced by the Constitution?
- What were two main compromises of the Constitutional Convention?
- Why was Raleigh chosen as the site for a state capital?

Developing Critical Thinking



- Why did the Highland Scots join the British invasion of the Carolinas in 1776? How do you think that action affected their relationship with other North Carolinians after the war?
- Where in North Carolina did most Federalists and most Antifederalists live? How did their locations affect their point of view?
- What changed between the Hillsborough and Fayetteville Conventions to convince North Carolina to ratify the Constitution?

Writing across the Curriculum



- Write a short speech titled “No Taxation without Representation!” to read at a Whig protest.
- Create a newspaper report about the Battle of Moore’s Creek Bridge from both the Whig and the Tory point of view.

Building 21st-Century Skills: Primary Sources



Historians use primary source evidence to reconstruct past events. Read the excerpt below from the Halifax Resolves and answer the questions that follow:

“Resolved that the delegates for this Colony in the Continental Congress be empowered to concur with the delegates of the other Colonies in declaring Independency, and forming foreign Alliances, reserving to this Colony the Sole, and Exclusive right of forming a Constitution and Laws for this Colony...”

- What does “empowered to concur” mean?
- Besides declaring independence, what else can the delegates do?
- Who does it say has the “exclusive right” to declare laws for the colony of North Carolina?