

A Preliminary Report
for the Use of the Archaeological Project
at the Site of Tryon's Palace
in New Bern, N.C.

June 1, 1940

By A.T. Dill, Jr.

I n t r o d u c t i o n

The purpose of this report is to provide a background of research for the use of the archaeologist who will direct the excavation of the Tryon's Palace site. This purpose has been in some respects exceeded. Certain topics regarding the history of the Palace which are not strictly necessary for the work of the archaeologist have been included in this report. Something has been told, for example, of the circumstances surrounding the location of the provincial capital at New Bern. This has been done to show the importance of Tryon's Palace not only as a fine building but as a factor in the development of colonial North Carolina. Such inclusions have seemed worthwhile (if for no other reason) because they tend to justify the present project.

The writer wishes to express appreciation to Mr. B.M. Potter, C.E., of New Bern, whose professional skill in providing diagrams of the Palace site has been indispensable to the making of this report. Others who cooperated courteously in making available certain material and offer-

useful suggestions are C.C. Crittenden, secretary of the State Historical Commission; Allyn B. Forbes, of the Massachusetts Historical Society; Fiske Kimball, director of the Philadelphia Museum of Art; Lawrence Martin, chief of the Library of Congress division of maps; and A .R. Newsome, chairman of the University of North Carolina Department of History. Miss Elinor Lee Walters, of the University Extension Library, and the staff of the New York Historical Society, have also been helpful in supplying information for this report.

Finally, thanks are due to the North Carolina ~~Association~~ ^{Society} for the Preservation of Antiquities, ^{Dr. Joseph Hyde Pratt president,} and the New Bern Historical Commission for sponsoring this report. Their effort in behalf of the restoration of the Palace should certainly not go unrewarded. In so far as this report helps, however little, toward that goal, the credit for it---and indeed the report itself---belongs entirely to them.

A.T. Dill, Jr.

New Bern, N.C.

June 1, 1940.

The New Bern Historical Commission

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PART I.

Tryon Palace, 1767-1798: Its Historical Significance

1. The Need for a Capital.

During the period of its greatest expansion, colonial North Carolina had no single, legally fixed center of government. From earliest times the Assembly had met in the northeastern part of the province. In 1722 Edenton had been designated as capital. But by the late 1730s the Assembly and Governor began to forsake this section in favor of the fast-growing southern regions. In 1746 the Assembly fixed the capital at New Bern, but the act, unfairly passed in an effort to end the political dominance of the northeastern counties, was repealed by the Crown. In December, 1758, the Assembly fixed the capital at Tower Hill, a bluff forty-two miles above New Bern on the Neuse River. It was proposed to create a city there and thus end the rivalry of the eastern towns which aspired to be the center of government. The act died of its own impracticality while the Assemblymen themselves petitioned the Crown for its repeal. New Bern, where Courts of Claims for lands and Courts of Chancery were held, as well as by far the majority of Assemblies and Councils, continued to be regarded as de facto capital both

before and after the act of 1758.¹

Nevertheless, there was no capital in the accurate sense of the word. The royal Governors resided where the climate best suited them. The Councils met variously at New Bern, Brunswick, Edenton, Bath, and Newton, later called Wilmington. The Assemblies met at all these towns except Brunswick. The public records were similarly scattered. In 1748 "some few" were at New Bern; others were at Cape Fear; and still others were at Edenton "in a place without Lock or Key."² This was the result of each colonial officer's keeping his papers at his private residence. In 1754 Governor Arthur Dobbs complained that "when- ever a Receiver General, Surveyor General, Secretary or Auditor dies, all papers die with them," so rarely were they turned over intact to the successors.³

Upon taking the oath of office early in 1765, Governor William Tryon's first recommendation to the Board of Trade was that New Bern should be the permanent capital.⁴ It was a logical

1. The Colonial Records of North Carolina, W.L. Saunders, ed., Vol. V, pp. 760-761. Hereafter abbreviated to the initials C.R.

2. C.R. IV, 1165.

3. C.R. V, 156-157

4. C.R. VII, 2. Written from Brunswick April 1, 1765, and received by the Board of Trade June 17 of that year. Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, 1764-1767 (London, 1936), p. 185.

choice. Between 1735 and 1764, there were twelve Assemblies which held forty-four sessions. Of these sessions, twenty-five were at New Bern, ten at Wilmington, six at Edenton, and three at Bath.⁵ Tryon spoke critically of these "itinerant publick Assemblies." As no other Governor had been able to, he put into effect his decision to end them by the erection, at New Bern, of North Carolina's first capitol building. This was to be not only the home of the Governor but the meeting place of the Assembly and Council as well.

On December 1, 1766, upon recommendation from the Crown, the Assembly meeting in New Bern enacted legislation providing for this building.⁶ The act, which was carried, according to Tryon, by "a great majority,"⁷ authorized the Governor to purchase twelve lots in New Bern for the site and appropriated five thousand pounds proclamation currency for the building.⁸ On January 9, 1767, Tryon and "John Hawks of Newbern Architect" signed a contract under which Hawks was to design the building and oversee its construction subject to the general supervision

5. C.R. IV, V, VI, passim.

6. C.R. VII, 273, 338, 420.

7. C.R. VII, 431.

8. The State Records of North Carolina, Walter Clark, ed., Vol. XXIII, pp. 664-665. Hereafter abbreviated to the initials S.R.

of Tryon himself, in whose hands the Assembly had placed "sole Direction and Management." ⁹ This contract specified a two-story building with dimensions not exceeding eighty-two feet wide by fifty-nine feet deep. The erection of "offices" or wings was also provided for. Hawks was to procure and hire skilled labor (a not inconsiderable task), to buy and keep account of all expenditures for materials, and to draft plans for structures of "elegance and Strength." The buildings were to be completed by October 1, 1770, and Hawks' salary of three hundred pounds proclamation money annually was to begin January 1, 1767, and continue to that date. An interesting proviso was included in the contract. This stipulated that

...in case the Sum of Five Thousand pounds now Granted by the said Act of Assembly, shall on carrying on the said Building be found to be insufficient for compleating the same, according to the said plan [,] and the work shall on that account be delayed, His said Excellency William Tryon shall not be liable to the payment of the said Salary as above mentioned, any longer than untill the said five thousand or such sum as may be further granted, by Act of Assembly [,] shall be fully expended, in and about the said Work

9. This contract is among the North Carolina documents of the Hawks MSS, New York Historical Society, 170 Central Park West, New York, N.Y. These papers were left to the Society by the Rev. Francis Lister Hawks, historian, rector of Calvary Church, New York, and grandson of the architect. For many years Dr. Hawks lived in New Bern.

Thus Tryon from the very first planned a more elaborate structure than the Assembly's appropriation provided for. In a letter to the Board of Trade on February 23 he wrote that the expense of completing the building he had in mind, "in the plainest manner," had been estimated at ten thousand pounds sterling, or well over fifteen thousand pounds proclamation money.¹⁰ "I shall therefore at present order only the body of the house to be constructed," he wrote, "and defer going upon building the offices till the General Assembly grants a further supply, which I have reason to believe is the intention of the public."¹¹ By the end of January contracts for basic materials had been made and Hawks had been dispatched to Philadelphia to hire skilled labor, of which there was a lack in North Carolina.¹²

Under the terms of the agreement with Tryon, Hawks had been given the duties not simply of a contractor but of an architect in the full sense of the word. Hawks was indeed a professional architect, having been employed probably as apprentice in the service of a "Mr. Leadbeater" ---doubtlessly the J. Lead-

10. About this time exchange stood at £166:10:4 proclamation money to £100 sterling. C.R. IX, 390-391.

11. C.R. VII, 442.

12. C.R. VII, 431.

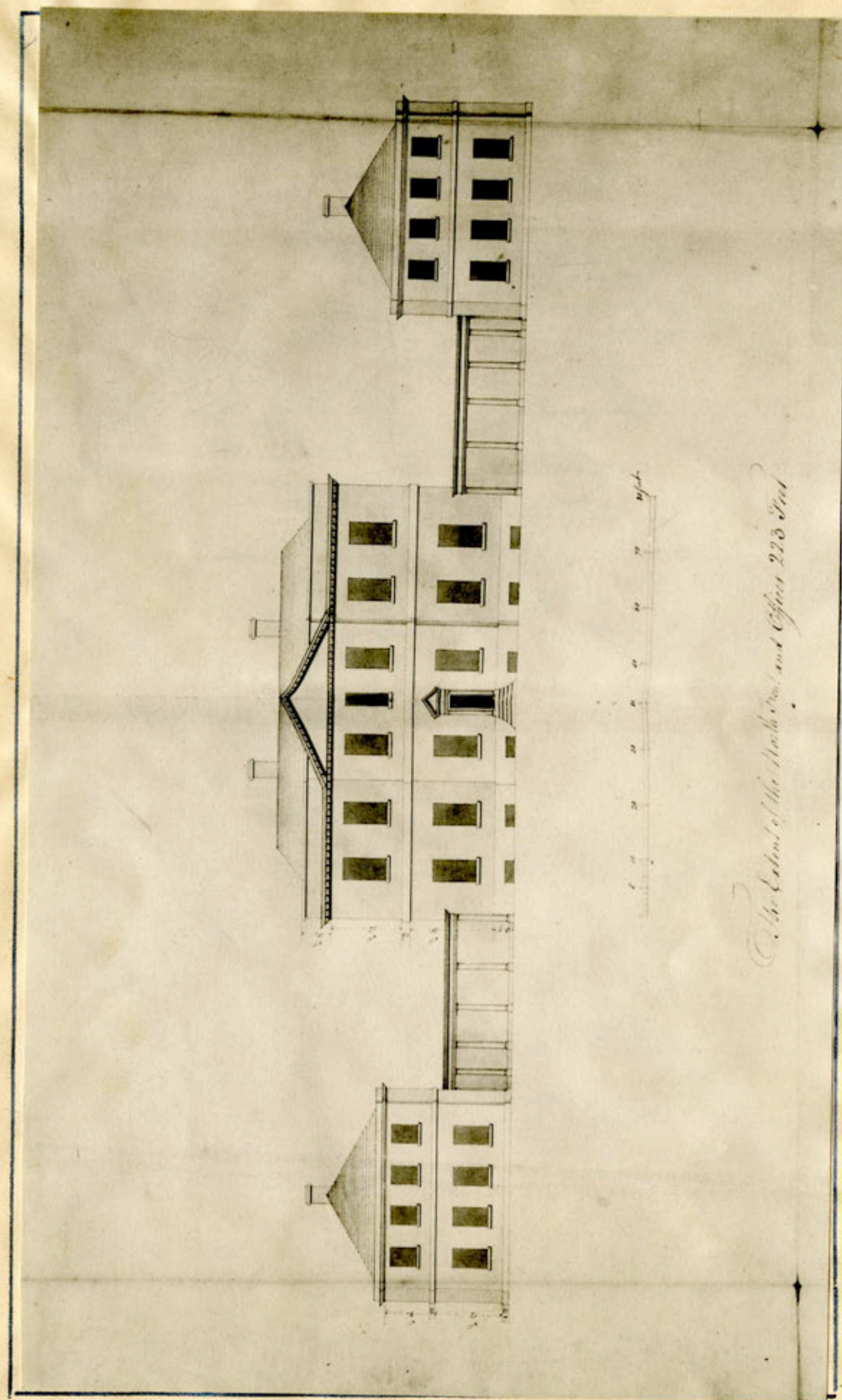
beater who designed the great country house, Nuneham, in Oxfordshire.¹³ He came to America, accompanying Tryon, in October, 1764, with Tryon's assurance of employment on the badly needed capitol building, so long desired by the Crown. Fiske Kimball has pointed out that until Hawks began his career in America, the colonial designers had been either "builders who themselves contracted for the work, as Richard Munday did for erecting the Ayrault house in Newport from his own plan in 1739, or gentlemen-amateurs, of whom Peter Harrison was the most gifted." But "So far as we yet know," Kimball concludes, "he [Hawks] was the first professional architect to remain in this country, preceding Hadfield and Latrobe by a generation."¹⁴

Of John Hawks' career in England little is known. Information is likewise meager on his work as an architect in North Carolina, though his career in administrative posts under both the royal and State governments is well known.¹⁵ It has been suggested that he designed the John Wright Stanly home, now the Public Library, in New Bern. It is certain that he had a hand in the building of New Bern's (Craven County's) first brick Court House. In 1766 the justices of the Craven County Inferior

13. Ibid. Kimball, Fiske, and Carraway, Gertrude, "Tryon's Palace," New-York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin, Vol. XXIV, No. 1, January, 1940, p. 17.

14. Kimball, op. cit., pp. 20-21.

15. A brief biographical sketch is contained in Kimball, op. cit., p. 21. The Federal Writers Project has in preparation a work on American architects which will include a sketch of Hawks' life.



The Palace of the North Carolina and Office 223 St.

Illustration No. 1

Elevation of Tryon's Palace Approved by Crown. Referred to as Plan (B). Courtesy of the State Historical Commission.

Court ordered the sheriff to "pay M^r John Hawks Twenty pounds proclamation money . . . for his Extra Trouble Care and Ingenuity in Superintending and Designing the Works on the Court House." ¹⁶ Unfortunately this building was destroyed about 1800 and no likeness of it is extant.

2. The Building of the Palace.

Hawks and Tryon had conferred on the question of the design for the Palace ¹⁷ long before the act of 1766 was passed. Hawks' drawings were ready early in 1767, for on February 23, Tryon submitted to the Crown final floor plans of the first and second stories of the main building, a floor plan of the first floor of the wings, and an elevation of the set of three buildings. ¹⁸ (See Illustration No. 1.) By mid-year the Crown had given its approval to the plans and elevation, though Tryon did not receive this welcome news until near the end of the year. ¹⁹ The Governor had hoped to start the work in May but it was not until August 26, 1767, that the first brick was laid and the main building begun. ²⁰

In December of that year, the Assembly having met again in New Bern, Tryon sought additional funds. He mentioned

16. October Session, 1766, Minutes of Craven County Inferior Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, State Historical Commission archives, Raleigh.

17. This designation will hereafter be used, as it is a more general term and does not restrict the function of the building as do the words "Governor's House" or "capitol." It follows the common designation for the building and its wings.

18. C.R. VII, 442.

19. C.R. VII, 471, 531.

20. C.R. VII, 431, 695.

"the progress and dispatch" with which the work was proceeding and diplomatically informed the legislators of their alternatives in granting or not granting an appropriation:

When I shall lay before you the plan of this building with an estimate of the charges of its construction, you will be better able to form a judgment what further sum will be immediately wanted to prevent the disadvantages that must arise from a deficiency of materials and the necessity of soon discharging the present artificers and workmen, whose skill and diligence may not be easily replaced; circumstances that would not only stop the present undertaking but create a heavy additional expence to the Country whenever reassumed. ²¹

To Tryon's address the Assembly and Council returned "grateful thanks" for his supervision of the construction, but the circumspect Assembly added that additional funds should be appropriated only to an extent "consistent with the abilities and very distressed state of our Constituents." ²² Alexander Elmsley, borough member for New Bern, presented the Governor's bill, and with Tryon's assent on January 15, 1768, it became law. ²³ This

21. C.R. VII, 550-551.

22. C.R. VII, 554, 568-569.

23. C.R. VII, 584, 623, 668.

"additional act" was badly needed from Tryon's point of view, for he had run low in finances. The treasury had been unable to make available to him all of the five thousand pounds voted in 1766.²⁴ He lacked fifteen hundred pounds of this first appropriation.²⁵ The "additional act" therefore sought to make good this deficiency as well as to appropriate ten thousand pounds more, making a total of fifteen thousand pounds proclamation money for the Palace. The money was not in the treasury, so Tryon and the Public Treasurers were empowered to borrow, at eight per cent, such funds as were needed until the public tax could raise the amount appropriated.²⁶ One other piece of legislation concerning the Palace was passed at this session. The Assembly enacted a bill confirming Tryon and his successors as governor in possession of the twelve lots upon which the Palace was being erected.²⁷

The building, meanwhile, was progressing satisfactorily. In March, 1768, Tryon wrote that "the body of the house is

24. C.R. VII, 581.

25. S.R. XXIII, 713.

26. S.R. XXIII, 711-713.

27. C.R. VII, 666; S.R. XXIII, 708-711.

already carried up to the plates." In six weeks, he said, he expected to see the main building roofed.²⁸ In January of the following year he informed Lord Hillsborough, president of the Board of Trade, that both the main building and its two wings were roofed. The "plumbers work" (i.e., the gutters and downspouts), for which a metal worker had been brought from London, was also completed, he wrote, and sashes and mantels were arriving from England for the interior of the buildings, upon which the joiners or carpenters were then engaged.²⁹ In January, 1770, Tryon felt that the completion was close enough in prospect for him to make a guess that work would end toward the close of the year.³⁰ Six months later he said that the whole structure would be finished by Christmas.³¹ Hawks' contract called for completion by October 1 unless the work were delayed for reasons beyond his control. There must have been some such delays, although the progress on the building

28. C.R. VII, 695.

29. C.R. VIII, 7.

30. C.R. VIII, 170.

31. C.R. VIII, 210-211.

was remarkable enough considering the difficulty in financing the undertaking and in procuring the desired labor and materials. Actually, by the middle of 1770, the main building was sufficiently outfitted for Tryon and his family to move into it. Sometime prior to June 7 the Tryons left "Castle Tryon," their residence at Brunswick, to make their official home in New Bern.³²

The three-score members of the Assembly convened in the large Assembly Hall or Council Chamber on the east side of the newly completed Palace on December 5, 1770. In his address Tryon enthusiastically approved the new capitol not only as a "public ornament" but as a sturdy structure that would remain for years to come as "a lasting monument of the liberality of the Country."³³ He singled out for praise "the ability of the architect." He announced that no further appropriation would be necessary. All work had not ended, but Tryon predicted the completion "within a few months." (Presumably some construction on the wings was still going on.) Both houses, in reply, praised the "elegant and noble" buildings, and thanked

32. Ibid.

33. C.R. VIII, 285.

the Governor for his supervision.³⁴

There remained only to move in the public records. In January, 1771, the records in the office of the Secretary of the Colony at Wilmington were transferred to New Bern.³⁵ The Assembly similarly looked to its own records. In 1768 the lower house had passed a resolution ordering its journals since 1760 copied, and all its records properly filed, locked up, and centralized at New Bern.³⁶ A similar resolution was passed in January, 1771, indicating that the previous order had not been fully complied with.³⁷ The Secretary's records (i.e., the land grants) were housed in the Palace but it is doubtful whether the Assembly's journals were also kept there. No place for Assembly records is indicated on the plans; and the resolution ordered the clerk to "provide a room in the town of New Bern" for his journals and other papers. Or was this only a temporary expedient

34. C.R. VIII, 289, 312.

35. C.R. VIII, 445.

36. C.R. VII, 963.

37. C.R. VIII, 440-441. Similarly the Long Assembly of 1746, at a session held in 1749, requested Governor Gabriel Johnston "to give strict Orders to the several officers of this Province, that they have all the Records . . . brought to New Bern." C.R. IV, 1025. The "strict Orders" were of course not complied with.

until the final touches could be put to the nearly completed offices or wings? The Secretary's records seem to have been the only important body of public papers at this time remaining outside of New Bern.³⁸ Thus Tryon's Palace effectively centralized all records for the first time since the infant colony of North Carolina was limited to the northeastern corner of the province.

At a Council held in the Palace in June, 1771, Hawks formally presented the members with a statement of the cost of the building.³⁹ Of the fifteen thousand pounds proclamation money received by him, Hawks reported a balance of one hundred and forty pounds, fourteen shillings, and three pence. And this remainingsum, he made clear, was to be spent on certain incidentals necessary to the finishing up of the newly completed buildings.

3. The Palace During the Regulators' Uprising.

The Palace was thus built but not paid for. Its financing helped precipitate a serious uprising: the War of the Regulation. To raise the first five thousand pounds the act of

38. About 1760 the Secretary's office had been moved from Edenton "to Cape Fear." C.R. VI, 412.

39. C.R. VIII, 626.

1766 levied two taxes: one a tax of two pence per gallon on wine, rum, and distilled liquors imported from elsewhere than Great Britain; and the other an annual poll tax of eight pence on each taxable person, to be levied for a period of two years beginning January 1, 1767.⁴⁰ To raise the additional ten thousand pounds the act of 1768 authorized a poll tax of two shillings and sixpence for a period of three years beginning March 1, 1769.⁴¹ The duty on liquors could produce only a very small amount of revenue; the tax on the poll was relied on to raise the greater part of the funds for the Palace. Thus, the inhabitants of the province were to pay for this building over a period of five years.

As early as 1766 there had been unrest in the interior counties as a result of abuses by local officials of their fee-taking privileges and tax-gathering duties.⁴² The tax to be levied for the Palace increased the resentment of these back-county inhabitants. The capitation levy fell heavily on

40. S.R. XXIII, 664-665.

41. S.R. XXIII, 711-713.

42. Haywood, Marshall DeLancey, Governor William Tryon and His Administration (Raleigh, 1903), Chs., VI-VIII, contains an account of the Regulator movement.

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them and their sizeable but poor families.⁴³ They saw the building of the Palace as a useless extravagance imposed upon the growing west by the political power of the settled east. Tryon's action in asking five thousand pounds, then obtaining ten thousand more, they regarded rightly or wrongly as unfair political trickery (though many a public building, before and since, has been erected by this manoeuvre). Furthermore, the fact that Edmund Fanning, member for Orange County, was the patron of the bill of 1766 did not help the popularity of the Palace.⁴⁴ Fanning, though Tryon's friend, was the most violently detested official in Orange, in the eyes of the Regulators. Partisans of the Regulators were inclined to blame the whole uprising on the building of the Palace. One "Leonidas," writing in the Massachusetts Spy of June 27, 1771, charged Tryon with "managing" the Assemblymen on the Palace appropriation and as a result of it "impoverishing" the province. "Phocion," a defender of Tryon, replied in the Virginia Gazette of September

43. A letter to the Boston Chronicle for November 7-14, 1768, from Mecklenburg County, remarking on the "prolific" women of the west, said the large families of the interior bore the brunt of the tax. " . . . A man that is worth 10,000 £ [pounds] pays no more than a poor back settler that has nothing but the labour of his hands" C.R. VII, 864-865.

44. C.R. VII, 366.

17 that the "original Cause of the Erection of the Palace" was that it was "schemed" by some Gentlemen of the Assembly, who proposed, by this means, to fix the Seat of Government in a Town convenient for the whole Province." ⁴⁵

Add to the charges of the Regulator partisans the really difficult state of the provincial finances, and it is not hard to see why the Palace became a cause célèbre. The province was forced into debt. More than eight thousand pounds proclamation money (this including the eight per cent interest) was paid out in 1773 to Samuel Cornell, a wealthy New Bern merchant, as the loan which he had made to Tryon in order that the building might be carried on without interruption. ⁴⁶ And all the while the hated poll tax was being collected, the colonial currency was depreciating to an unwholesome level. ⁴⁷ Such considerations as these made the spending of so much money on a single building a questionable action, but the collection of the tax was hardly a fundamental cause of the Regulation. The Palace rather was a contributory cause. It symbolized and dramatized the conflict between the east and west, and gave the backwoodsmen of Orange a tangible object

45. From North Carolina Items from the Virginia Gazette 1771-1776, typescript volume at the State Historical Commission, Raleigh. Tryon's influence with the Assembly was partly due to his qualities as a political leader and partly because of the improved relations between Assembly and Crown which came after the repeal of the Stamp Act.

46. C.R. VIII, 167-168; IX, 390-391, 475-476, 478, 485-486.

47. A short paper on this subject is Charles Lee Raper's "The Finances of the North Carolina Colonists," North Carolina Booklet, Vol. VII, No. 2, October, 1907.

upon which to vent their indignation.

So hated was the Palace by these back-country people (if we may credit a contemporary newspaper) that the Regulators were believed at one time on the point of marching upon it to destroy it. The South Carolina Gazette of Charleston wrote as follows:

CHARLES-TOWN, April 11 [1771]

Many strange tales daily arrive [from North Carolina] The people cannot be reconciled to being taxed as they are for building the Governor's sumptuous Palace at Newbern which is thought to stand in so much danger of being destroyed, that an entrenchment or barricade has lately been thrown up, across the neck of Land on which it stands, in order the better to defend it. 48

The historian Martin, who as an inhabitant of eighteen-century New Bern must have seen some vestige of this entrenchment, says the Governor "caused a ditch to be dug . . . from Neuse to Trent River . . . [along] Muddy and part of Queen Street." 49 Muddy Street is the present Burn Street, one block west of Eden Street, which helped to bound Palace Square. Tryon's redoubt

48. Issue of April 11, 1771. From North Carolina Items from the South Carolina Gazette 1770-1775, typescript volume at the State Historical Commission.

49. Martin, Francois-Xavier, The History of North Carolina, (New Orleans, 1829), Vol. II, p. 265. Hereafter cited as Martin's History.

was therefore only a few hundred feet from the Palace.

Col. John D. Whitford wrote that the redoubt passed "a step or two south of" a well-known landmark, a holly tree west of the former Atlantic & North Carolina Railroad offices. These offices used to stand approximately on the site, or a little to the east, of the present Union Station on Queen Street.

Whitford wrote that the fortifications also passed near the old Attmore house on the northwest corner of Broad and ~~Queen~~^{Burn} streets.⁵⁰ However, it was not solely to destroy the Palace that the Regulators threatened to march on New Bern, though that may well have been an incidental motive. A better reason for their threats was the imprisonment at New Bern of Herman Husband, their leader, whom they talked of freeing by force.⁵¹

4. The Palace During the Revolution.

As the seat of royal authority in the province, the Palace was a vortex of the Revolution. Governor Josiah Martin, Tryon's successor, was its last occupant under the Crown. On May 23, 1775, "a mob" of New Bernians (writes Martin), under the leadership of Abner Nash, gathered before the Palace

50. Whitford, John D., "Historical Notes," MS reminiscences in the New Bern Public Library and Whitford Collection, State Historical Commission, pp. 325-326. Colonel Whitford wrote about 1900.

51. Haywood, op. cit., p. 108.

to protest against the Governor's dismounting "some pieces of old cannon which lay behind my house, and which had occasionally been made use of on rejoicing days." ⁵² This "park of artillery" consisted of six field pieces. Like those at the waterfront Battery at Union Point, their principal purpose was to roar forth salutes for the Governor and other dignitaries when they arrived or departed from the capital. ⁵³ Martin reassured the demonstrators---or thought he had. He confessed privately he had feared the cannon might be seized and used against the government, and thus had had them dismounted. But to Nash and the others he proclaimed, somewhat lamely, that his only purpose was to repair the carriages of the cannon, which doubtlessly had been rotted beyond the point of any great military effectiveness by their exposure to the weather. This demonstration left Martin so apprehensive that on May 31 he left for Fort Johnson^t at Cape Fear, having locked and bolted the Palace and left the keys in the hands of the servants. Thus was the Palace left to the vicissitudes of revolution.

52. C.R. X, 41.

53. The Union Point Battery is shown quite clearly on eighteenth-century maps of New Bern.

On June 23, which was Election Day, an event always heartily celebrated, "a mob . . . after being inflamed with liquor" (writes Martin) gathered at the Palace and sought to break into it.⁵⁴ This crowd demanded the keys of the servants but were apparently not sufficiently willing to trespass on governmental property to seize them by force. They did, however, seize the dismounted cannon, which had been spiked by Martin's servants at his parting instructions. The New Bern committee of safety then had these useless engines of war brought to the Court House at Broad and Middle streets.⁵⁵

The abandoned Palace was subjected to curious search and doubtlessly overrun by the idle of the town during the next few months. In the fall of the year startling news transpired. A dispatch from New Bern dated September 22 tells the story:

This week will ever be remembered as the most remarkable epoch in the annals of this country, for the discovery of the grand repository and dark depositum of Governor Martin's infernal magazine, which, with cool deliberation, he intended to deal out in mis-sive weapons of death to the good people of this province. In the palace garden, and under a fine bed of cabbage, was found and dug up

54. C.R. X, 45.

55. C.R. X, 66, 145. One of these field pieces, lacking its carriage, has been set up beneath a marker on East Front Street, in New Bern, where it may be seen.

a barrel, containing about three bushels of gunpowder; in the palace cellar was also dug up two quarter casks of the same commodity, the casks quite new, and marked R.B. In the palace garden was also dug up about 1000 weight of musket balls, lately cast, about 500 weight of iron swivel balls, a large quantity of small shot, lead, iron, worms for the cannon, with swabs, rammers, artillery boxes, matches, and the whole apparatus for his park of artillery, which he certainly would have mounted at the Palace, had not the appearance of the people of Newbern, on his attempting to move the Palace guns, driven him from the trenches before he had made them quite tenable. It is said his Excellency, the night before he took his precipitate flight from the Palace, buried these engines of death, as they might remain in places of safety till he or his creatures might have an opportunity to use them. The Palace cannon, it is said, were spiked up after his Excellency left the Palace, by a person who will no doubt, be obliged to answer for his conduct, as it is improbable the Governor could procure those deadly weapons without assistance. The Committee of this town and country are using their utmost diligence to discover the authors of so black a treachery. 56

With the flight of Governor Martin, the Palace, like any untenanted building, began to deteriorate. In February,

56. Virginia Gazette, Williamsburg, issue of October 21, 1775. From North Carolina Items from the Virginia Gazette, 1771-1776, typescript volume at the State Historical Commission. Also reprinted in S.R. XI, 255-256.

1777, Governor Martin's furniture and library, this being his personal property and not that of the Crown or province, were sold at public auction as confiscated goods.⁵⁷ By August, 1780, the house had been reoccupied but this time by a State Governor, the same Abner Nash who five years before had led "a mob" to the Palace grounds. A letter addressed to Nash "at the Palace, New Bern," shows he was living there at this date,⁵⁸ but it is not likely that his residence was of long duration, for the Assembly had begun holding its meetings at Halifax, Hillsborough, Smithfield, Wake Court House (Raleigh), and Tarborough, all in the interior of the State.

Both State and colonial Assemblies met regularly at New Bern until 1778. The first and second provincial congresses, in 1774 and 1775, also met in New Bern. It is doubtful whether the Palace can claim to be the meeting place of the provincial congresses in the absence of specific information on this point. Both took place while Martin still was a resident of the Palace; it would have been a petty and foolish defiance indeed to have held these Assemblies beneath his very bedroom. The Court House would seem to have been the logical place for these congresses. With the Palace untenanted, however, no considerations of

57. S.R. XXII, 880.

58. S.R. XV, 20.

Martin's presence stood in the way of meetings there. It is certain that the Assembly of 1777 met in the Palace, and the following Assembly was called to meet there in April, 1778.⁵⁹ In August, 1778, the Assembly moved to Hillsborough, thus sounding the death knell of the eastern monopoly on Assembly sittings. The Assemblies of 1779 and 1785 returned to New Bern and doubtlessly made use of the Palace, but the latter was the last to be held in the capital which Tryon had chosen. These intermittent occupancies of the Palace were no match for the ravages of time and disuse, and the once-proud structure fell rapidly into decay.

This deterioration was helped along by the removal of a great part of the Palace's metalwork for the manufacture of patriot ordnance. In July, 1781, the Quarter Master's Department of the North Carolina Continental troops complained of a lack of lead and pointed out there was "a considerable quantity in the Palace at Newbern."⁶⁰ Actually there were eight tons of lead in the various fittings and gutterwork and plates which seem to have been used in the construction of the roof.⁶¹ "Six Stacks of Lead pipes" had been included in an estimate of the cost of the Palace.⁶² "A few hours" before

59. The North Carolina Gazette, New Bern, issues of December 26, 1777, and January 2, 1778.

60. S.R. XV, 518.

61. C.R. VIII, 7.

62. C.R. VII, 542.

the British captured New Bern on August 19, 1781, local patriots removed some of this metal "where it could be spared without hurting the Building."⁶³ The British did not pause in New Bern, so they did not prevent this metal from falling into the hands of their enemy. In October the Council of State acted on the recommendation of the Quarter Master's Department.⁶⁴ Governor Thomas Burke observed before the Council that to dismantle the "palace of its metal work" will reduce it to almost a wreck and a pile of brick." In view of the cost of the Palace and the fact that in future there might be a sale for it, Burke counseled against any extensive removal of the metal. He pointed out that "The Iron palisades, which are ornamental only, may be taken without injuring the building." Whereupon the Council decided "that no more lead [should] be taken from the palace only in case of emergency" but that the iron palisades might be used for ordnance.

5. Last Days of the Palace.

If Burke had allowed the removal of additional lead, it is doubtful whether the Palace would have lasted as long as

63. S.R. XV, 624.

64. S.R. XIX, 872-873.

it did. Even before any of it had been seized, the lead sheeting on the roof was falling into a sad state of disrepair. The Council in November, 1779, ordered repairs to be made to the roof in consideration of "the daily damage the Palace sustains by reason of the lead in several places . . . being cracked and otherways so much out of repair that every shower of rain runs through, which if not timely prevented will soon destroy the ceiling and otherways considerably damage the rest of the building."⁶⁵

The rain was not the only element from which the Palace suffered. Marauders and vandals seem to have played their part in reducing it to ruins. The Senate in January, 1787, passed a resolution authorizing the caretakers of the Palace to take steps to deal with any wanton trespassing on this State property.⁶⁶ The caretakers were urged to prosecute, "at the risque and Expence of this State," "any person [who] shall in any manner damage the said Buildings." J.D. Schoepf, a German traveler who visited New Bern about 1783, remarked on this looting of the Palace in these words:

. . . the inhabitants of the town took away everything they could make use of, carpets, pannels of glass, locks, iron utensils, and

65. S.R. XXII, 961.

66. S.R. XVIII, 221.

the like, until watchmen were finally installed to prevent the carrying off of the house itself. ⁶⁷

Some effort had been made to prevent "the carrying off of the house itself." In 1782, a year or so before Schoepf arrived, Longfield Coxe, of New Bern, had been appointed by the Assembly to care for the Palace. ⁶⁸ In 1784 James Coor, Spyers Singleton, and John Council Bryan, all of New Bern, were named commissioners to let out the rooms of the Palace, collect the rents, and appropriate this revenue "towards repairing the said Houses, so as to prevent their going further to decay." ⁶⁹ In 1785 and 1787 caretakers were appointed---William Good in the former year and Good and Joseph Leech in the latter. ⁷⁰ In 1785, 1787, and 1793, the Assembly deliberated on selling the Palace. In 1785 and 1787 the bills to sell the Palace were tabled. ⁷¹ In 1793 a bill

67. Morrison, Alfred J., ed., Travels in the Confederation, translated from the German of Johann David Schoepf's Reise durch Einige der mittlern und südlichen vereinigten nordamerikanischen Staaten, (Philadelphia, 1911), Vol. II, pp. 128-129. This citation contains all of Schoepf's remarks on the Palace, so it will not be repeated when future reference is made, in the text, to a quotation from his travel account.

68. S.R. XIX, 115.

69. S.R. XIX, 667.

70. S.R. XVII, 425; XVIII, 460.

71. S.R. XVII, 425; XX, 248.

was enacted appointing commissioners to advertise and receive bids for the lots and houses, and to lay the bids before the next session of the Assembly.⁷² Evidently the bids were so disappointing that nothing further was done, for in the Assembly journal of the following session the matter is not mentioned.⁷³ Schoepf observed with some truth and much malice that the State "would be glad" to sell the Palace, "but there is nobody who thinks himself rich enough to live in a brick house." In the same session at which bids for the Palace were to be reported, the Assembly passed an act fixing the Governor's residence in Raleigh.⁷⁴

Meanwhile, the Palace was being put to a miscellany of uses. The appointment of commissioners in 1784 to rent the rooms indicates that after that date the Palace served as a sort of apartment building. Whether the main building was put to this

72. Ch. XXVIII of the Laws of 1793, in Laws of N. Carolina from 1790 to 1804, Supreme Court Library, Raleigh.

73. Session of 1794-1795, in Journal of the Genl. Assembly N. Carolina 1788-1795, Supreme Court Library, Raleigh.

74. Ch. VIII, p. 5, Laws of 1794. This provided that the Governor should reside in Raleigh at least six months of each year exclusive of the time of Assembly sessions. Ch. XXVII, p. 15, of the Laws of 1798 fixed unconditionally the Governor's residence at Raleigh and provided that any intended absence of longer than ten days should be advertised in one or more newspapers. Laws of N. Carolina from 1790 to 1804.

use is not clear, but it is certain that there were lodgers in the east wing. The verdict of a coroner's jury dated 1790, for example, tells of the slaying of one William Hoboye at an apartment "at the Pallace Kitchin."⁷⁵ Advertisements in contemporary newspapers indicate a variety of semi-public uses of the Palace. In 1784 a fencing school was to be held there;⁷⁶ in 1795 a dancing school;⁷⁷ and in 1796 classes by one M. Reverchon for instruction in French.⁷⁸ Without doubt these were held in the large downstairs rooms of the main building. William Attmore, who visited New Bern in 1787, remarked on the desolateness of these vasty halls:

. . . the Legislature, not meeting at this time in Newbern, the only use now made of it is, the Town's people use one of the Halls for a Dancing Room & One of the other Rooms is used for a School Room. The only inhabitants we found about it were the Schoolmaster and one little boy in the palace, school being out.

⁷⁵. Among miscellaneous papers at the Craven County Court House, New Bern. This document, accompanied by several affidavits, is signed by John Green, foreman of the jury, and Jarvis Buxton, coroner.

⁷⁶. The North Carolina Gazette and Impartial Intelligencer, New Bern, issue of July 29, 1784.

⁷⁷. (Martin's) North Carolina Gazette, New Bern, issue of October 31, 1795.

⁷⁸. (Martin's) North Carolina Gazette, New Bern, issue of April 30, 1796.

And in the Stables 2 or 3 horses who had taken shelter there from the bleakness of the Wind. ⁷⁹

(The stables were in the west wing, which is still standing.) In 1795, when the New Bern Academy was burned, writes the Rev. L.C. Vass, Thomas P. Irving, the Episcopal rector, moved the parochial school to the Palace and himself resided with his family on the upper floor. ⁸⁰ Thus the Palace, as Attmore so philosophically remarked, "from being the seat of a little Court, under the regal Government; is now become the seat of a petty Schoolmaster with his little subjects."

On February 27, 1798, the main building was destroyed by fire. A few days after the conflagration, St. John's Masonic Lodge No. 3 entered upon its minutes:

The thanks of the Lodge was return'd to brothers McMains & Jacob Johnston for their assiduity in saving a great part of the Treasures belonging to the Lodge from the Flames on the 27th Febr'y / 1798/. ⁸¹

For a number of years, from 1792 at least, this Masonic lodge, one of the oldest in North Carolina, had been holding its regu-

79. Rodman, Lida Tunstall, ed., "Journal of a Tour to North Carolina By William Attmore, 1787," James Sprunt Historical Publications, Vol. XVII, No. 2, 1922, pp. 15-16. This citation includes all of Attmore's comments on the Palace and will not be repeated.

80. Vass, Rev. L.C., History of the Presbyterian Church in New Bern, N.C. (Richmond, 1886) pp. 92-93.

81. Entry in minutes of monthly apprentice lodge, St. John's No. 3, March 7, 1798, Masonic Theatre vault, New Bern.

lar meetings in the Palace. The last meeting was held on the night it burned.

At least two eighteenth-century newspapers carried accounts of the fire. The Boston Gazette, in a dispatch from New Bern dated March 3, reported as follows:

On Tuesday last [February 27], about midnight, the inhabitants of this town were alarmed by the cry of fire. A large body of smoke was discovered issuing from the cellar of the Palace, and so filled the entry and apartments on the first floor as to leave it a matter of doubt what part of the building was on fire. The flames first made their appearance thro' the floor next to the foot of the stair case; they almost instantly reached the cupola, and the whole roof blazed nearly at one time.

Every piece of timber, and all the wood work of that edifice, both within and without, were consumed. The colonade which joined the main building to the wings was pulled down, and the fire did not spread any further.

A quantity of hay which had been placed in the cellar, and to which by some unknown means fire was conveyed, occasioned the conflagration. ⁸²

Thus ended the career of Tryon's Palace.

82. The Boston Gazette & Republican Weekly Journal, issue of April 9, 1798. An identical account, with two exceptions, was printed in The North Carolina Journal, Halifax, of Monday, March 19, 1798---this date, incidentally, enabling one to fix the date of the burning from the day of the week. The Halifax account misprinted the second word as "Thursday" and, probably because of lack of space, left off the last paragraph.

PART II.

How the Palace Looked:

Travel Accounts and Other Description

6. Opinions of Contemporaries.

Valuable description and comment on the Palace are preserved in the writings of eighteenth-century gentlemen who visited it during its brief lifetime. At least four travelers (notable exceptions being J.F.D. Smyth and the evangelist Francis Asbury) left written remarks on this much-admired structure. The journals of Attmore (1787) and Schoepf (about 1784) have already been mentioned. George Washington, who stopped in New Bern on his southern tour in 1791, and Francisco de Miranda, who visited the town in 1783, also wrote comments on the Palace.⁸³ Jedidiah Morse's The American Geography for the year 1789 mentions the Palace though there is nothing to

83. Hoskins, Jos. A., ed., President Washington's Diaries 1791 to 1799 (Summerfield, N.C., 1921), p. 21. Robertson, William Spence, ed., The Diary of Francisco de Miranda / Tour of the United States / 1783-1784 (New York, 1928), pp. 4 et seq. These citations will not be repeated in future references to quotations from Washington or Miranda. The Robertson work, which is the Spanish text, is the complete diary of the tour, parts of which have been translated by J. Fred Rippy in the article "A View of the Carolinas in 1783," North Carolina Historical Review, Vol. VI, No. 4, October, 1929. The quotations in this report are translations by R.W. Linker, of the University of North Carolina Romance Language Department.

indicate that Morse saw it.⁸⁴ Unfortunately, all these travelers wrote of the Palace as it looked in its later days. Ebenezer Hazard, Postmaster General from 1782 to 1789, seems to have left some record of a visit to the Palace in 1777, but only a fragment of his journal, and this only at second-hand, has been available to the writer of this report.⁸⁵ If the original could be found in its entirety, Hazard's comment might yield interesting information on how the Palace looked seven years after its completion.

Tryon's views as to the merit of the Palace are expressed plentifully in his writings. In an address to the Assembly he called it "A Palace that is a public ornament and credit to the Colony, as well as an honor to British America."⁸⁶ Apparently he was not alone in this opinion, for in a letter to England he referred to the Palace as "this much-admired structure."⁸⁷ And on another occasion he wrote proudly: "Several persons who have passed through here [North Carolina] from the other colonies esteem this house the capital building on the continent of North America."⁸⁸

84. Morse, Jedidiah, The American Geography (Elizabethtown, 1789), pp. 412-413. The citation will not be repeated in future references to Morse.

85. One sentence from "his [Hazard's] journal of 1777" is quoted in Lossing, Benson J., The Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution (New York, 1855) Vol. II, p. 364. Diligent search has been made for this "journal" with no success.

86. C.R. VIII, 285.

87. C.R. VII, 695.

88. C.R., VIII, 7.

Disinterested observers bear out Tryon's high estimate of the architectural worth of the Palace. Miranda, who like Tryon was a man of education and taste, wrote that the Palace was a building "which really merits the attention of a knowing traveler." If we may believe Francois Xavier Martin, who escorted Miranda on his visit to the Palace, this Spanish traveler was even more fervid in his conversational tributes to the building, for Martin declares he "heard that gentleman say, it had no equal in South America."⁸⁹ Morse and Attmore wrote that the Palace was "large and elegant." "This once-handsome and well-furnished building is now ^{ab} [about 1789] much out of repair," Morse added. These later observers, while paying tribute to the building, could not help noticing its declining grandeur. Washington, who attended a dinner and a grand ball in the Palace in 1791, called it in his phlegmatic way "a good brick building but now hastening to Ruins." Even the acrid Schoepf, a hostile critic of much of American life, admitted that it was "a very genteel house." "This palace, for it is honored with that much too splendid name, is at this time," he wrote, "almost in ruins." Perhaps Schoepf, with the continental conception of a "palace" in mind,

89. Martin's History, II, 265.

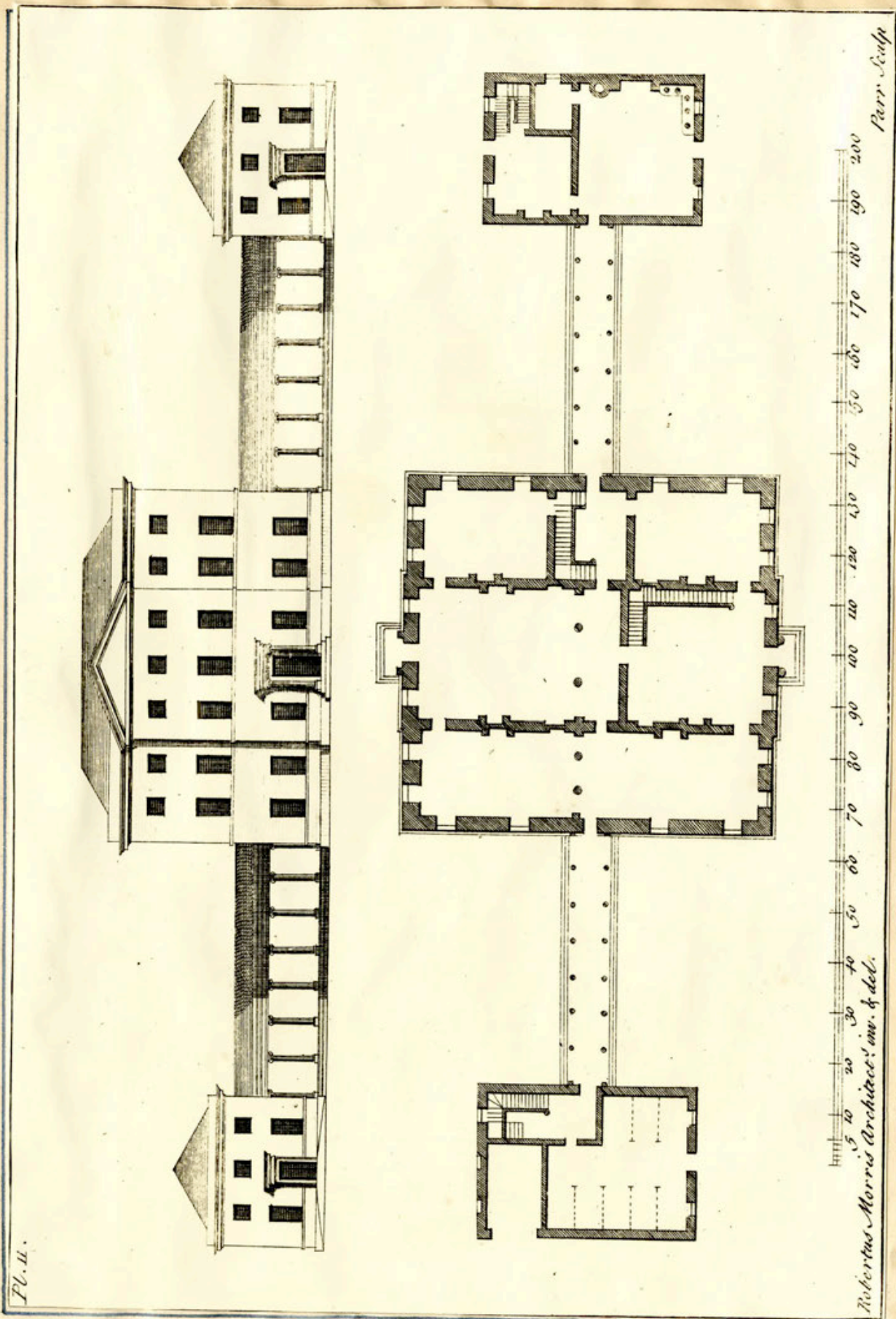


Illustration No. 2

Origin of Hawks' Design. Plate X, Select Architecture. Courtesy
of the Philadelphia Museum of Art

could not entirely appreciate the simple lines and absence of pretentiousness that distinguished this fine building.

For, as Miranda observed, the Palace was "in purely English taste." In origin and execution it was in the best English tradition. Kimball has written authoritatively on the origin of the Palace design:

In the Colonies the more ambitious academic buildings were generally based on ones shown in the engraved folios or quartos of English designs, such as those of Gibbs, Ware, Langley, Halfpenny and Morris. It has been suggested that Hawks's design was derived from Kew Palace, which was figured in Chambers's folio on Kew, 1763, but while the north front there has a general similarity, it is eleven windows wide and has no colonnades or detached outbuildings. Of all English designs, the elevation that comes closest is plate 10 of Morris's Select Architecture, 1757, a book often followed in America. The resemblance is so close we cannot doubt that Hawks had the book open before him. [See Illustration No. 2.7. In plan, to be sure, Morris's design is different; here as we shall show, Hawks had in mind a house in England on which he had worked himself.

In volume IV of the Vitruvius Britannicus, filled with plans and façades of the great English country seats, appear those of "Newnham" (Nuneham) in Oxfordshire, the seat of Earl Harcourt, famous for its prospect, its gardens, and its temples, engraved elsewhere by Rooker after Paul Sandby. The architect of Nuneham, as the Vitruvius Britannicus says, was "J. Leadbetter" --- of whom, alas, little further is known. We are not

surprised, then, to find that it was precisely from Nuneham, the work of the architect in whose service he had been, that Hawks derived many ideas for his house. Here in the plan (otherwise somewhat different) are the two stairs grouped in the middle, with the rooms around them en suite, and even the niches in the hall. Here in the facade are again the three stories, / which "ryon changed to two, however; see below under "The Plans for the "alace" / the seven windows in the width, the three central ones grouped under a pediment, the curved connections with outlying offices. At Nuneham these are curved passages without columns, but curved colonnades, as at New Bern, were common enough in other English models. This volume of the Vitruvius Britannicus was not published until 1767, so that Hawks could not have had it before him; he worked from memory of the plan, with a freedom and competence beyond all but one or two of the Colonial designers. 90

7. The Plans for the Palace.

So much for the general style and origin of the architectural ideas with which Hawks worked. Fortunately his original plans have been preserved, and these give precise information not only about the larger aspects of the Palace but about many of its smallest architectural details. There are actually two "sets" of plans, and a study of the drawings which are comparable yields much information about the buildings.

One group of plans, the larger group, is among

90. Kimball, op. cit., pp. 16-17.

the Hawks Manuscripts of the New York Historical Society.⁹¹ This consists of six drawings as follows: (1) an incomplete plan and elevation of a man building 78 x 34 feet with adjoining wings only partly sketched in (2) a complete floor plan and elevation of a main building 82 x 59 feet with connecting wings each 44 x 26 feet (3) a floor plan of the second story of the main building 82 x 59 feet (4) a diagram of joists and rafters in floor and roof (5) a sketch of drawing room details, and (6) a plan of the reservoir and drains of the elaborate Palace water system. These drawings are the ones which were preserved by the descendants of the architect.

The other group of plans is in the British Public Record Office.⁹² This group consists of only three drawings as follows: (A) floor plan of a main building 82 x 59 feet with wings each 49 x 39 feet (B) elevation of this main building and wings, and (C) plan of the second floor of this main building. These drawings were the ones Tryon sent to the Crown for approval.

91. See reference note nine.

92. British Public Record Office, Colonial Office 5, Vol. 310. All three papers are endorsed: "In Gov^t. Tryon's [letter] of the 23^d Feb^ry 1767." Negative photostats of these drawings have been obtained by the State Historical Commission along with transcripts of documents in England not included in the Colonial Records.

The question arises: Which plan or plans were followed in the execution of the Palace? It is obvious from the listing of the two groups that Tryon had Hawks alter his sketches several times before he found buildings of a size and design that suited him. The first plan Hawks drew seems to have been Plan (1) with the main building 78 x 34 feet in dimensions. Tryon evidently thought this building too shallow. It could hardly have accommodated the Assembly meetings very easily. The next drawing must have been Plan (2), with the main building brought up to 82 x 59 feet. These dimensions were specified in Tryon's contract with Hawks. Plan (2), however, provided for wings of only 44 x 26 feet each. Tryon, having enlarged the main building, now found the wings too small. Accordingly he had Hawks make them larger. Plan (2) bears the date December 29, 1766; a few weeks after this, early in the following year, Tryon made this second alteration in the dimensions. On February 23 he sent the "plan and elevation of the edifice with the offices" to the Board of Trade for approval of the Crown.⁹³ This "plan and elevation" was Plan (A) as described above. It provided for a main building of 82 x 59 feet with wings of 49 x 39 feet. These

93. C.R. VII, 442, 471.

wing dimensions agree perfectly with those of the remaining building on George Street. Thus it seems clear that Plan (A) was the one followed in the actual construction and that the completed main building measured 82 feet wide by 59 feet deep with connecting wings each 49 feet wide by 39 feet deep. After two "enlarg^ements" it was thus a sizeable and commodious structure. ⁹⁴

Tryon made two other important changes. The first two elevations which Hawks drew showed a two-and-a-half-story main building (or three stories, depending upon how one counts them). The elevation sent to the Crown depicted a two-story building. The half-windows that had formerly been just below the cornice in the upper part of the building appear in the third drawing as basement windows, apparently resting on a line

94. The act of 1758 fixing the capital at Tower Hill provided for a two-story, 50 x 45 Governor's House, with two 44 x 24 wings connected with the main building by a colonnade. A separate "State House" for the use of the Assembly was to be 70 x 26 feet. These buildings of course were never built. The specified dimensions do show, however, that Tryon's Palace was not an excessively large structure from the viewpoint of the Assembly (and through them, of the people) considering the fact that it combined the functions of State House and Governor's Residence. S.R. XXV, 373-378.

almost level with the ground. It may be that Tryon changed his mind from wanting attic space in favor of a cellar. Certainly we know that a cellar was built "under the north front of the house,"⁹⁵ this being the place from which flames burst forth to destroy the Palace on the night of February 27, 1798. Besides the removal of this half-story "from top to bottom" there was another change made necessary by enlargement of the wings. The early elevation shows wings of three windows in depth. An additional window was added in the later drawing with the increase in depth of the wings from 26 to 39 feet. The wing which is standing today has these four windows in its north and south walls. Otherwise, essentially the same façade appears in both early and later elevations: a main building with hipped roof, conventional cornice, and center portion beneath a large pediment, the whole connected by circular, five-column colonnades to the two wings, which stand in front of and at right angles to the main building.⁹⁶

As to the other drawings, there is no reason to believe they were not followed in the execution of the building.

95. C.R. VII, 442.

96. Lossing's Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution contains an engraving of the Palace drawn by Lossing from the Hawks Manuscripts plans. It is based on the two-and-a-half-story elevation which, as has been shown, was not followed. The engraving is also in error as to the setting of the Palace. This is pointed out below in a discussion of the Palace grounds.

The plans of the main building's second floor, Plans (3) and (C), are identical. The diagram of joists and rafters and the sketch of drawing room details, Plans (4) and (5), are matters which it is safe to assume met with no objection from Tryon. Presumably the water system, Plan (6), also was carried out according to Hawks' drawing. This water system, questions about which only archaeological exploration can answer, is discussed elsewhere in this report.

So far only exterior changes have been discussed. The enlargement^e of the wings naturally brought reassignment of the uses for which the rooms were designed. At first the east wing was to have housed the Secretary's office and laundry. The west wing (the one standing) was to have contained the kitchen and servants' hall. So much is indicated, in Hawks' lettering, on Plan (2). Apparently the functions of the other rooms had not been decided upon at that time, for there is no lettering indicating the uses of the other rooms. However, the drawing sent to the Crown, Plan (A), has an alphabetical legend and corresponding letters showing the uses for which each room on the ground floor of both wings and main building was designed. (See Illustrations Nos. 3, 4, and 5.) The east wing was thus not only made to serve as Secretary's office and "wash house" but was given the additional duties of kitchen, scullery, and

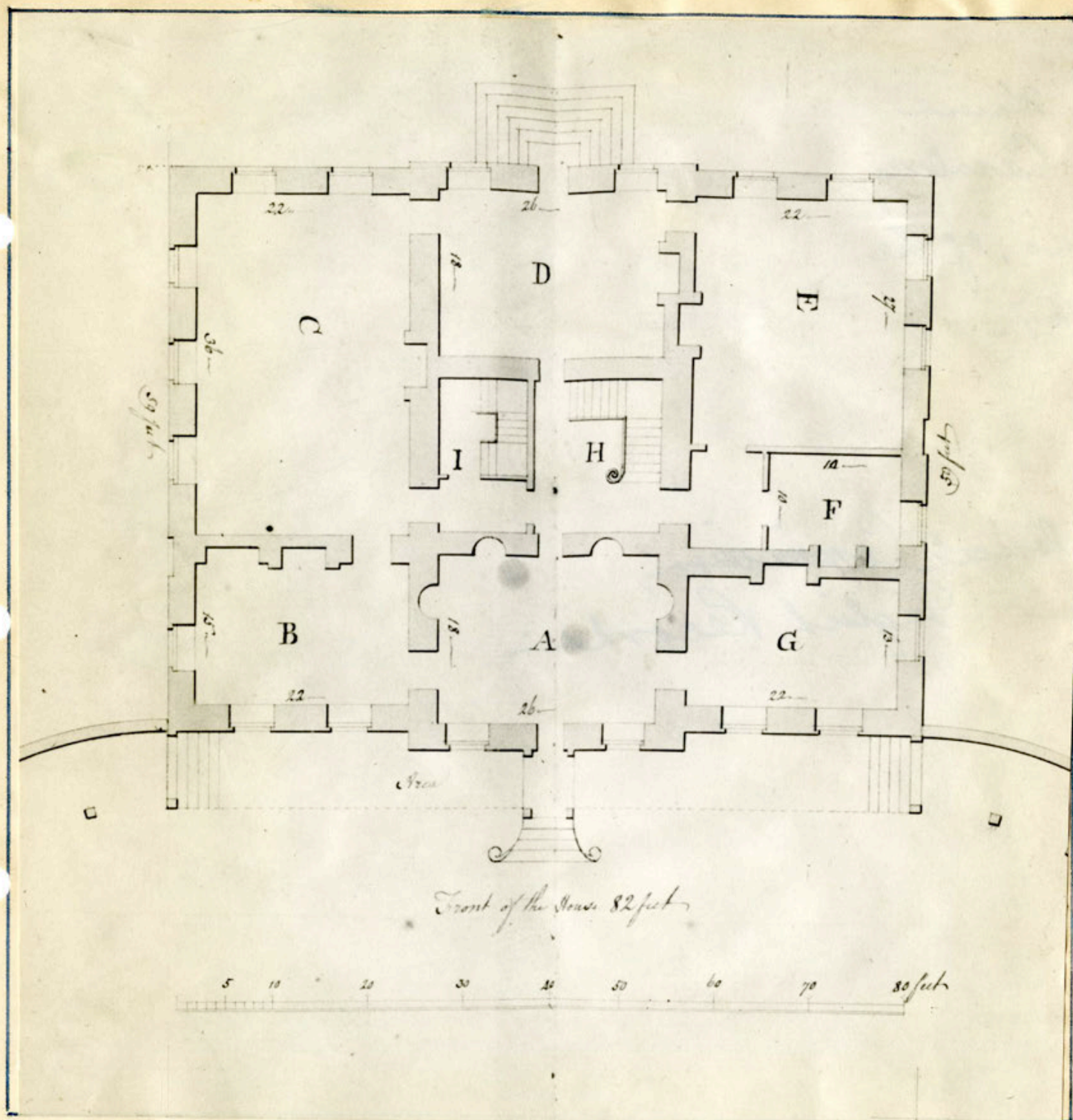


Illustration No. 3.

Floor plan of the main building. Plan (A). The rooms: A, hall; B, library; C, Council Chamber; D, drawing room; E, parlor; F, housekeeper's room; G, servants' hall; H, great staircase; I, lesser staircase. Courtesy of the State Historical Commission.

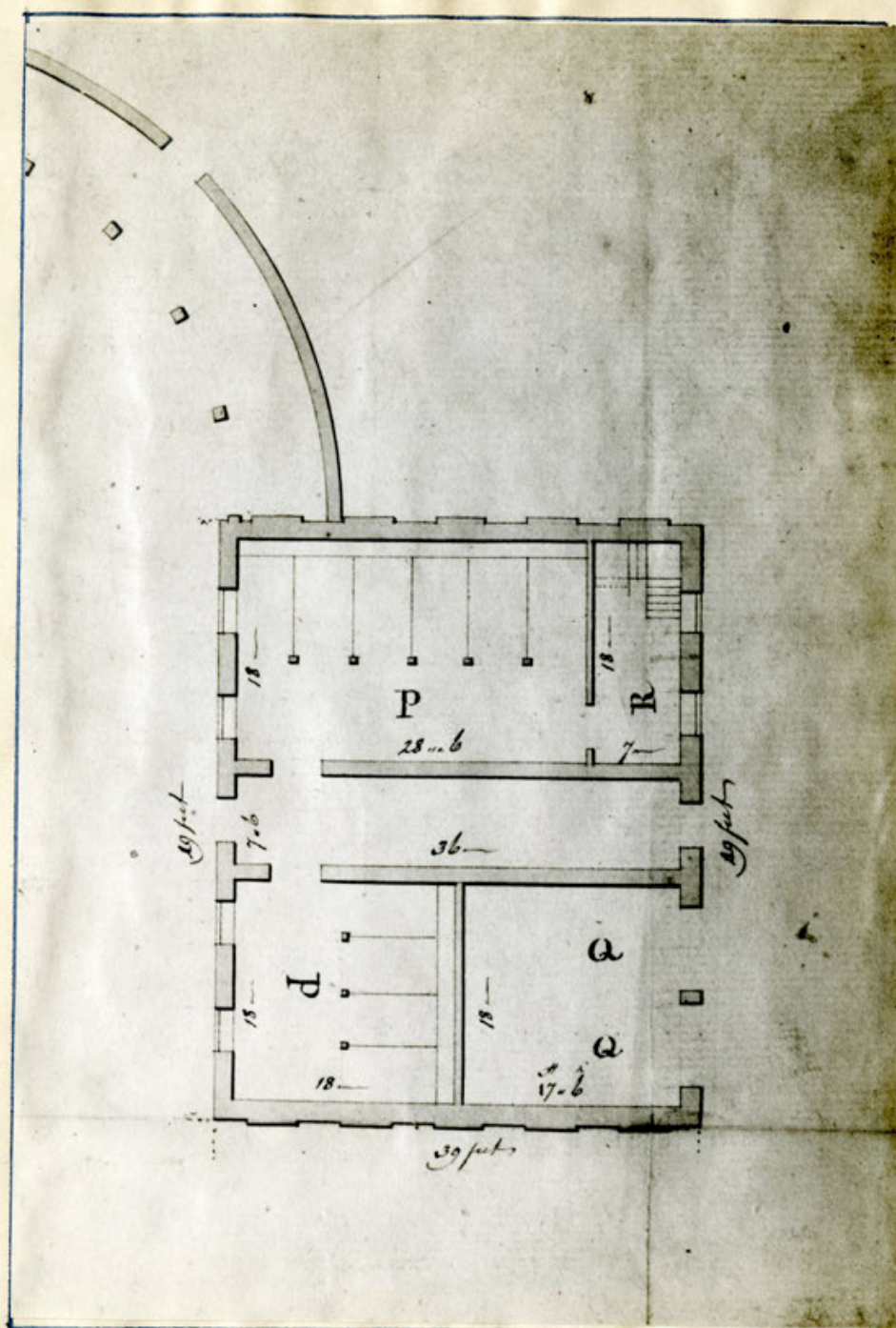


Illustration No. 4
 Floor plan of the west wing. Plan (A) continued.
 PP, stables; QQ, coach houses; R, harness room.
 Courtesy of the State Historical Commission.

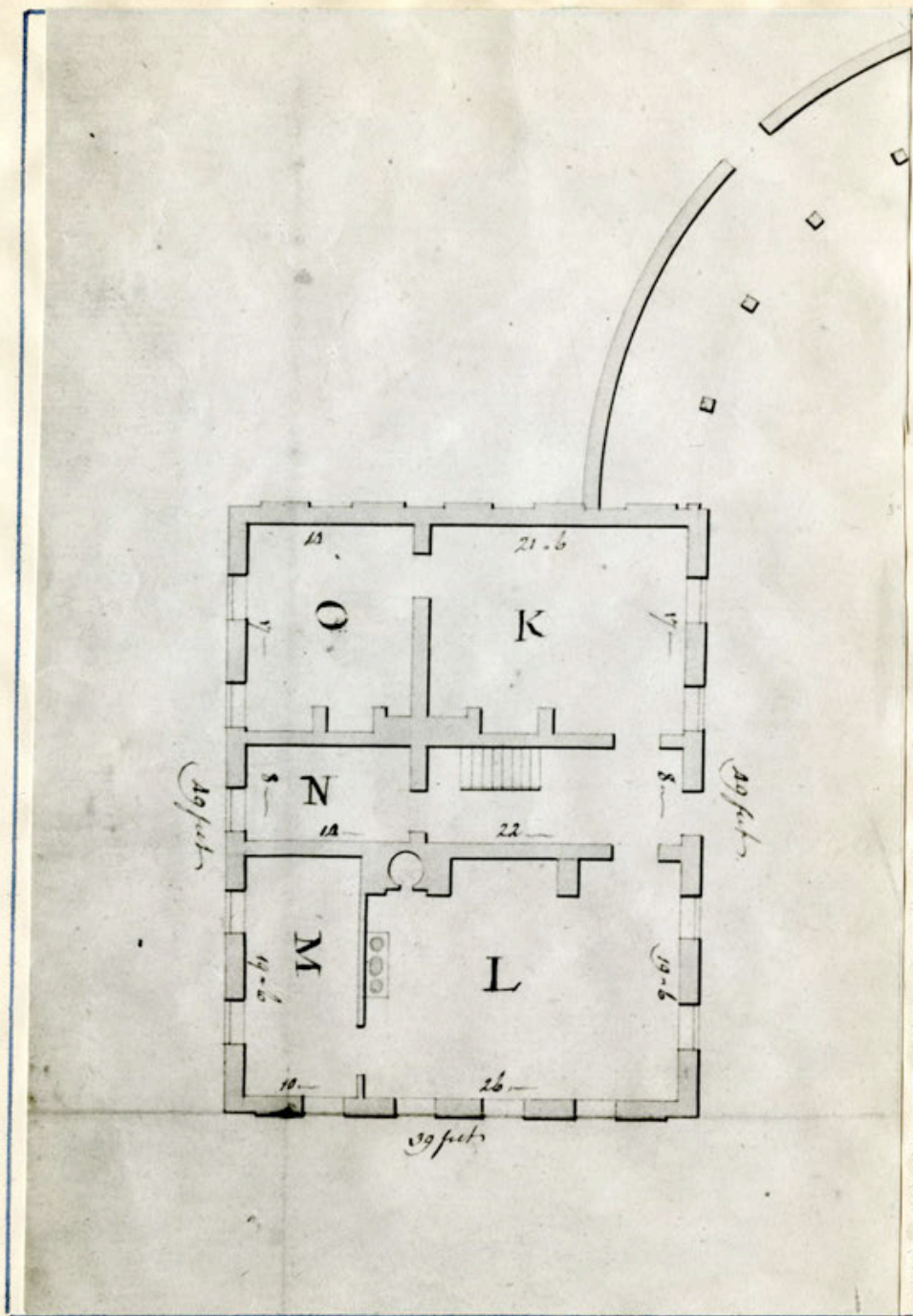


Illustration No. 5

Floor plan of the east wing. Plan (A) concluded.

K, Governor's Secretary's office; L, Kitchen;
M, scullery; N, larder; and O, Wash house.

Courtesy of the State Historical Commission

larder; while the west wing, no longer the kitchen and servants' hall, was devoted entirely to stables, coach houses, and harness room. On the upper floor of the west wing, over the stables, were a granary and hay loft, while on the second floor of the east wing space was provided for servants' chambers and a laundry.⁹⁷ The servants' hall, which had been in the west wing, was transferred to a first floor front room of the main building. All of this revisal agrees perfectly with the traditional designation of the wings. As has already been pointed out, one was the "Palace Kitchen." The other, the one standing, was known as the "Palace Stables," and all nineteenth century legal papers by which this remaining wing was sold or transferred refer to it as such.

There was no change in the dimensions or uses of the rooms on the second floor of the main building. Plans (C) and (3) are identical. In his letter to the Board of Trade Tryon does not indicate the uses of these upstairs rooms, nor

97. The uses of the upper floors of the wings are described by Tryon in his letter by which he transmitted Plans (A), (B), and (C) to the Crown. C.R. VII, 442. One may well ask, however, why the upper floor of the east wing housed a "laundry" while the lower floor of the same wing had its "wash room." What was the difference? Or was this only a slip of Tryon's pen? The wash room could have been a place for washing kitchen utensils--but did not the scullery serve this purpose?

does Hawks on the drawing which Tryon sent to England. Plan (3), however, does give the uses of these rooms. (See Illustration No. 6.) One was Tryon's bedroom, another Mrs. Tryon's dressing room, a third Miss Tryon's bedroom (with adjoining dressing room or "closet"); and a fourth was a bedroom "with the fashionable feature," says Kimball, "of an alcove a la française." There were four other rooms upstairs for which no uses were assigned. Some of them presumably were apartments for the Governor's guests. One, perhaps, was the dining room, for there was no dining room on the first floor, according to Plan (A). All these rooms, and an upstairs hall, were quite large, indeed luxurious in their ample size.

To recapitulate: It seems quite clear that Plan (A) was followed both as to dimensions of the buildings and functions of the rooms. Plan (B) was of course the elevation. (See Illustration No. 1.) Plan (C) or (3) was the arrangement of the upstairs floor of the main building. No drawing is available of the upstairs floors of the wings, but the uses of these rooms are revealed in Tryon's letter of February 23, 1767, by which he transmitted the plans to the Crown. As to the sketches of the roof, floor, and drawing room details, we may assume these were followed in the construction of the Palace.

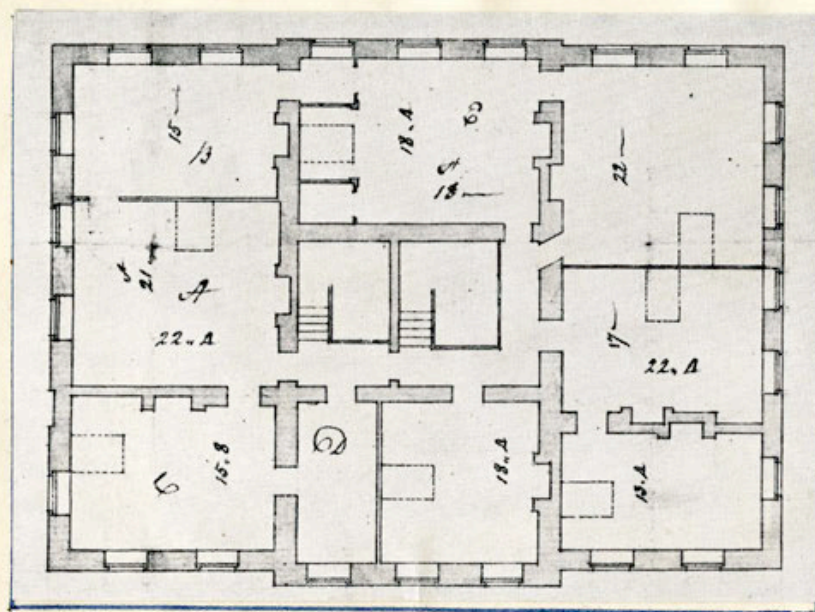


Illustration No. 6.

Plan of the second floor, main building.

Plan (3). A, Tryon's bedroom; B, Mrs.

Tryon's dressing room; C, Miss Tryon's

bedroom; D, Miss Tryon's dressing

room or "closet"; E, an alcove

bedroom. Courtesy of the New

York Historical Society.

8. The Exterior of the Palace.

The Palace was an imposing building, though without architectural pretentiousness or preciousness. The sketch of the façade sent by Tryon to England shows a main building with hipped roof at the base of which seems to rise a low parapet. Around the top of this structure runs a cornice. The center portion of this façade, in which three of its seven upper windows are placed, projects slightly from the main building, and over this part of the front rises a large pediment, about thirty feet wide, just as in Morris' sketch. Unlike the sketch by Morris, however, the main building connects with its wings not by a stiff, straight colonnade but by a gracefully curving one of five columns. And instead of facing parallel with the façade of the main building and being behind it, the wings in this design by Hawks face at right angles and stand about forty feet in front of, and about thirty feet away from, the main building.

The Palace was as sturdy as it was beautiful. The walls of the main building were nearly three feet thick, and both main building and wings were of brick construction. Where did this brick come from? Was it imported, as some have believed, from England? It is more likely that it came from

within a mile of the Palace grounds. On C.J. Sauthier's map of the town of New Bern made in May, 1769, there is shown a brick kiln with several surrounding buildings---in other words, what appears to be a complete brick-making plant.⁹⁸ Then as now there was abundance of brick-making clay within a few miles of New Bern. This early kiln was on the bank of Lawson's Creek near the present site of New South Front Street. As late as 1854 this brickyard, which is now quite "forgotten," was a landmark of this area. A legal document of that year refers to certain lots on Norwood and Crooked streets as being "near [the] old Brickyard."⁹⁹ A deep depression is still discernible near where New South Front Street joins Pembroke Road, and this may be where the brick for the Palace was mined. There is no evidence whatsoever that the Palace brick came from England. In his letters Tryon details a number of materials which were imported from the British Isles---the sashes, hinges, and

98. "Plan of the Town of Newbern / in Craven County / North Carolina / . . . Survey'd and Drawn in May 1769 by C.J. Sauthier." British Museum, King's Maps CXXII-60. Photostat in Division of Maps, Library of Congress. Hereafter referred to as Sauthier's map.

99. Craven County Records, Deed Book LXII, p. 107-108.

locks, for example---but nothing is said of imported brick.¹⁰⁰
 Neither does Hawks mention imported brick in his estimate of the
 cost of materials for the Palace.¹⁰¹

Imported brick would have been carrying coals to
 Newcastle in view of the brick-making industry so near the
 Palace. However, it was not specially for the Palace that this
 kiln had been set up. It seems to have been erected to supply
 brick for the Court House which had been begun sometime before
 and which Hawks had designed in whole or in part. Thus the
 Palace was the second brick building to be erected in New Bern.
 For many years it was the only brick residence in the town.¹⁰²
 By 1789, however, there were others, for Morse notes that of
 New Bern's four hundred houses, the Palace, Christ Church, the
 gaol on Craven Street, and two dwellings were of brick construc-
 tion. Thanks to the strength of the brick the Palace escaped
 serious damage in the hurricane ^{came} ~~struck~~ of 1769, which destroyed two-
 thirds of the town.¹⁰³ And Vass declares that because the
 brick held so stubbornly, Union soldiers gave up the attempt
 to pull down the remaining wing during their occupation of the

100. C.R. VIII, 7.

101. C.R. VII, 542-543. This estimate is referred
 to frequently in subsequent passages of this report. The citation
 will not be repeated each time "Hawks' estimate" is quoted from
 in the text.

102. Schoepf, at the time of his visit, remarked on
 this.

103. C.R. VIII, 75.

town. ¹⁰⁴

The roofing used on the Palace is revealed explicitly in one of Tryon's letters. The buildings were shingled, he wrote, because he considered this covering "when well executed and painted, more beautiful than slate or tyle." ¹⁰⁵ Vass repeats the legend that "the roof had parapet walls with a balustrade around it; was made flat for a promenade, and had an aquarium on it." ¹⁰⁶ It may be that there was a promenade on the roof; such a feature was nothing unusual in a town where many residences had these "captain's walks." But the roof seems hardly the place for an aquarium. Attmore's journal sheds some light on this tradition. The large staircase inside, he wrote, was "lighted from the sky by a low Dome, which being glazed kept out the Weather." This "low Dome" probably was the cupola mentioned in the newspaper accounts of the Palace fire. Furthermore, conspicuous items in Hawks' estimate of the cost of Palace materials were "skylights" and "glass." It may be that a certain large open space shown in Plan (4), the diagram of the roof, was the place where this skylight was to be fitted. This undoubtedly was the glass "aquarium" of which Vass speaks.

104. Vass, op. cit., p. 94.

105. C.R. VIII, 7.

106. Vass, op. cit., p. 92.

It is not hard to imagine that this roof with its painted shingling contrasted prettily with the brick walls of the Palace. Another effective architectural detail was the wide pediment over the center portion of the building. Attmore wrote that "The King of G. Britain's Arms" appeared "in a pediment at the front of the Building," and doubtlessly he meant this large pediment high above the entrance. There was also a small pediment over the doorway, but the heraldic device of which Attmore speaks would have been more effective on the larger one, which dominated the whole building.

One of the most important reasons for the beauty of the Palace was its setting. Its site when it was built was on the edge of town. Sauthier's map shows that although the east wing bordered on the town proper, the west wing touched on the uncut woodland. The Palace, from its gentle eminence on the bank of the Trent, turned its face to the road leading to the Core Point Ferry (later George Street), and its back to the placid waters of the river.¹⁰⁷ If the natural setting was lovely, the improvements on it were no less handsome. Before the Palace and on either hand stretched its formal gardens. Sauthier's map shows a series of carefully laid out plots on either side of George Street. These extended from

¹⁰⁷. Lossing's engraving of the Palace mistakenly shows trees behind it. Sauthier's map shows quite positively there were no trees between the Palace and the river.

either wing to Eden and Metcalf streets respectively. In Hawks' estimate of the cost of materials the sum of one hundred and sixty pounds is allotted for the "Dwarf Wall, Pallisadoes, piers, Gates &c, to form a Court Yard." Doubtlessly the low wall surrounded and bounded the gardens, while the piers, probably of brick, marked off the formal plots within. The "Pallisadoes" or palisades must have been wrought-iron ornamentation surmounting the dwarf wall.

Perhaps behind the Palace, and unobtrusively situated, was the vegetable garden---else how explain the digging up of Governor Martin's "infernal magazine" beneath "a fine bed of cabbage?" Or is it possible that hungry patriots, after Martin's flight, set cabbage to grow where formerly there had been more beautiful though less edible plants and shrubs?

Sauthier's map is the only presently available diagram of the Palace gardens. (See Illustration No. 7.) [^] Hawks evidently designed both the gardens and the buildings they accompanied, for Miranda writes that Hawks, whom he met and pronounced a man "of admirable character," gave him "an exact plan of the said edifice and gardens." 108

108. In the Spanish text there appears a parenthetical insertion by Miranda referring to this as "(Plane No. 1^o)."
Did this mean that "Plane numero primero" was an illustration accompanying his diary? If so this illustration does not accompany the Robertson edition. There is no note or anything else to explain the meaning of this reference to the "exact plan of the said edifice and gardens" as "(Plane No. 1^o)."

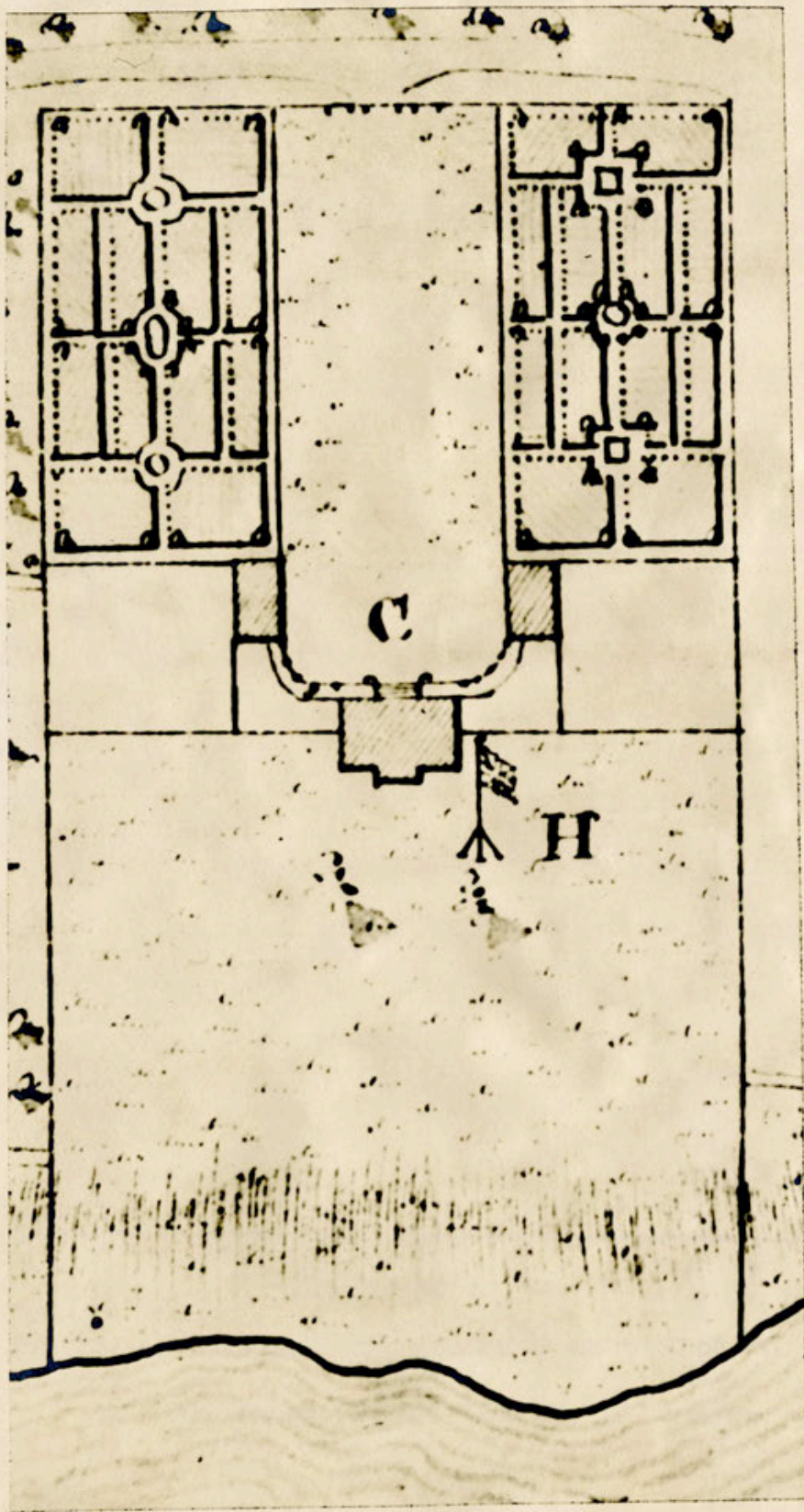


Illustration No. 7
 The Palace Gardens and Grounds
 according to Sauthier
 Courtesy of Library of Congress

If such a plan of the gardens could be recovered it would be an authentic diagram of exactly how the gardens were laid out by this early American designer and landscape architect.

9. The Interior of the Palace.

The interior of the Palace was no less handsome than the exterior. Contemporary visitors were equally impressed with the well-appointed rooms inside. "It was finished within," says Attmore, of the Palace, "in a very elegant manner." Miranda too paid tribute to Hawks' skill as shown in the interior. "Its ornaments are simple and carefully collected," he wrote. Miranda also commented on the beauty of the Council Chamber or Assembly Hall. The one fragment of Hazard's journal which survives deals with the appearance of the entrance hall. Though contemporary descriptions are far from being copious, they serve to show that the interior of the Palace matched the exterior in simplicity and well-ordered taste.

The entrance hall, which afforded the visitor his first glimpse of the inside of the Palace, was an impressive starting point for a tour of this building. According to Lossing, Hazard, in his journal for 1777, when he visited the Palace, wrote that "Upon entering the street door you enter a hall in

which are four niches for statues." ¹⁰⁹ These four niches, each nearly four feet wide, are plainly to be seen in the floor plan of the Palace. The hall itself was quite large, being 18 x 26 feet in dimensions. What did these four niches contain? ---statuary doubtlessly but as to whose likenesses graced this entrance hall, no write bears witness. Inscribed over the principal door in this "vestibule," as Martin calls it, were the following lines:

Rege pio, felix, diris inimica tyrannis,
Virtuti has aedes libera terra dedit
Sint domus et dominus saeculis exempla futuris
Hic artes, mores, jura, legesque colant.

Martin declares that Sir William Draper "was said to be" the author of these Latin verses, which he, Martin, renders as follows:

In the reign of a monarch, who goodness disclos'd,
A free, happy people, to dread tyrants oppos'd,
Have, to virtue and merit, erected this dome;

109. Lossing, op. cit., loc. cit.

May the owner and household may this the lov'd home,
Where religion, the arts and the laws may invite
Future ages to live, in sweet peace and delight. 110

Martin, who is frequently in error in his historical information, says that the Palace was dedicated to Draper, "who was on a visit at Governor Tryon's" and who presumably dashed off the verses above in gratitude to his host. Draper did indeed visit Tryon in May, 1770, and conceivably the Governor might have immortalized his poetry in the nearly completed Palace. The Governor refers to Sir William as "my very worthy friend." 111 But notwithstanding this friendship and the prominence of Draper in affairs of the empire, it is difficult to see why Tryon should have honored his friend by the "dedication" to him of a building erected at public expense. 112 This does not seem consonant

110. Martin's History, II, 265-266.

111. C.R. VIII, 210.

112. Sir William Draper (1721-1787) headed an expedition which took Manila in 1762 from the Spanish, but the British did not press their claim. He toured America beginning in 1770. Dictionary of National Biography, VI, 4-7. It was rumored in 1771 that he would succeed the Earl of Dunmore as Governor of New York, the post to which Tryon instead was appointed. Virginia Gazette, February 7, 1771. "Sir William was an excessively vain man," observes Lossing gravely. "Upon a cenotaph, at his seat at Clifton Down, near Bristol, England, he had this inscription placed: 'Here lies the mother of Sir William Draper.'" Lossing, op. cit., II, footnote p. 364.

with Arvon's manifest respect for the proprieties of his office.

Behind the entrance hall and in the center of the building were two staircases which led to the upper floor. One was the "Great Stair Case" and the other the "Lesser Stair Case." At the place where the "Great Stair Case" ended there is visible in the floor plan of the Palace a large, spiral newel post. A not inconsiderable item in the cost of the Palace was the wood for this staircase. In Hawks' estimate of the cost of materials, "Boards and Scantling, including Mahogany for y^e Staircase," were set down at six hundred pounds. The smaller staircase stood behind a ~~partition~~ ^{partition} and obviously was placed more for utility than ornamentation. The larger one must have been a handsome sight with the sunshine of winter and summer warming its rich mahogany; at least, so it would seem from the picture which Attmore leaves us of "The grand Staircase lighted from the Sky" by the low dome on the Palace roof.

To the left of the entrance hall was the library, and its counterpart on the right was the servants' hall, already spoken of, behind which was placed the housekeeper's room. These headquarters for the staff of servants were not conspicuous to

the visitor and were very well-arranged for the comfort and convenience of the Palace's mistress. It was to the library that the visitor's attention was naturally drawn. Its contents in Tryon's time are not known, but doubtlessly they were much the same as in Martin's. The list of Martin's confiscated furnishings show the Governor as possessor of such volumes as Smollett's novel, Humphrey Clinker, LeSage's Gil Blas, Cervantes' Don Quixote, Goldsmith's poem, "The Deserted Village," and works of Rousseau, Swift, and Shakespeare.¹¹³ Such a cosmopolitan literary collection must have been a helpful stimulant to the conversation and thought of eighteenth-century North Carolina.

Behind the library was the most imposing room in the Palace: the Council Chamber or Assembly Hall, where council meetings, legislative sessions, entertainments, and other state occasions were held.¹¹⁴ This room was 36 feet long and 22 feet wide. On the west side of it was a large fireplace and mantelpiece---"of marble and in good taste," declares Miranda, who asserts that it was the gift of Sir

113. S.R. XXII, 882 et seq.

114. "Newbern, Monday the 6th of November, 1769. About 3 o'clock his Excellency the Governour was pleased . . . to command the attendance of the house of assembly in the council chamber" South Carolina and American General Gazette, December 13, 1769. This shows that even before Tryon's Palace this dual use of the Council Chamber was not unusual.

William Draper. Perhaps Miranda misunderstood his guide, Judge Martin, for he declares that the inscription in the entrance hall attributed the mantel to Draper's munificence--- while Martin was explaining merely that these lines had been composed by the titled Englishman. (Many misunderstandings indeed might arise between a Frenchman and a Spaniard discussing an inscription in Latin! ¹¹⁵) Tryon, however, makes no mention of this mantel being a gift from Draper, though he devotes quite a little space to it in one of his letters:

Four of the principal chimney pieces are arrived . . . from London As I think there is great elegance both in the taste and workmanship in the chimney piece for the Council Chamber, I take the liberty to enclose you the description. ¹¹⁶

The enclosure read as follows:

For the Council Chamber in the Governor's House at Newbern
in North Carolina

A large statuary Ionic chimney piece,
the shafts of the columns sienna and the
Frett on the Frieze inlaid with the same.
A rich edge and Foliage on the Tablet;

¹¹⁵. Martin was born in Marseilles, France, March 17, 1762. Ashe, S.A., Weeks, S.B., and Van Noppen, C.L., eds., Biographical History of North Carolina (Greensboro, 1906), IV, 306 et seq., contains a sketch of his life.

¹¹⁶. C.R. VIII, 7.

medals of the King & Queen on the Frieze over the Columns, the mouldings enriched, a large statuary marble slab and black marble covings.

Mess^{rs} Devol & Granger fecit [made it].¹¹⁷

It is therefore evident that there were at least four imported mantelpieces. Where were they placed? The elaborate one described above was in the Council Chamber. Another, perhaps, was in the library. Still another seems to have ^{been} in the drawing room, and the fourth was in the parlor, both of which rooms were in the back of the building and looked out over the river. All of these four rooms were provided with fireplaces, so it is almost certain that the four imported mantelpieces were placed in them.

Little is known of the appearance of the parlor, but Hawks' details of the drawing room, Plan (5), give a remarkable picture of that corner of the building. Through the drawing room, which was placed in the back-center of the Palace, one stepped through a rear door leading onto terrace-like steps which descended to the sloping bank of the Trent. On either side of this rear door was a window. As for the other three

117. C.R. VIII, 8.

walls, each contained a doorway--one connecting with the Council Chamber, another with the parlor, and the third with the hall in which was the grand staircase. This last-named doorway was surmounted by a pediment, but the other three were less ornately adorned, each ending in a level cap or cornice. The doors, according to Hawks' inscription, were three feet four inches by seven feet two inches. The "pedistals" (Hawks' spelling) at the base of the windows were ten and a half inches wide and projected one and three-quarters inches from the wall. Around the bottom of the room ran a wide baseboard or wainscot, and the walls curved inward gracefully, above rather elaborate molding, to meet the ceiling overhead.

As much as is known of the second floor and wings has already been set down, or is apparent from the illustrations accompanying this report.

A word as to the Palace furnishings. These were the private property of the royal Governor. As the Palace neared completion, Tryon persuaded Lord Hillsborough to request the King to furnish this fine building:

As prosperous and successful as this work has been carried on, [writes Tryon]
 . . . there is something still wanting to

make the whole complete and of a piece. It is, my Lord, furniture and plate, suitable to the simplicity and unornamented beauty of the building, what furniture I have here, has been so abused, that it would disgrace even the upper story of the edifice. I therefore beg leave to apply to his Majesty's munificence for these necessary interior conveniences and ornaments. ¹¹⁸

Hillsborough made the request, but the King did not see fit to grant it "as it could not be done without establishing a Precedent, that would probably be the foundation for applications of the like nature from every other Colony." ¹¹⁹ Tryon brought up the subject again in a later letter---"I still wish furniture may be obtained and precedent cease to be a bar to so well directed a liberality"---but his persistence went unrequited and indeed unheeded. ¹²⁰ He was left to provide his own furnishings, which surely, considering his personal affluence, could not have been so unsightly as he described them.

A complete inventory of all that the Palace contained during Martin's administration has been preserved in the

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- 118. C.R. VIII, 7.
 - 119. C.R. VIII, 21-22.
 - 120. C.R. VIII, 210-211.

State Records.¹²¹ This is an account of the sale of Martin's confiscated furnishings in February, 1777. It is valuable because it apparently lists everything that was movable in the Palace, from the pots of the kitchen and currycombs of the stables to the mahogany furnishings of the main building. Much of this mahogany furniture was purchased by Governor Richard Caswell. The account is too lengthy to reproduce here. It gives a complete picture of an eighteenth-century household in all its details. But it is evident from these details that the furnishings and plate were, as Tryon had hoped, in keeping with "the simplicity and unornamented beauty of the building." Even at forced sale they brought the sizeable sum of nearly nine hundred pounds. Several of these pieces of furniture survive, though it is not within the province of this report to determine which of those said to be from the Palace are authentically Palace furnishings.¹²²

121. S.R. XXII, 880-889.

122. For example, Colonel Whitford claimed to have "the bell used in the Palace." Whitford, op. cit., 268-269. ("One large bell" was bought, during the auction, by Governor Caswell.) The late C.C. Clark is said to have owned a clock from the Palace; Judge Henry Ravenscroft Bryan, a marble-topped table; and S.M. Brinson, a mahogany desk. These furnishings are now in the possession of the heirs of these New Bern gentlemen. They should be located and catalogued if further research on the Palace is undertaken. Several other New Bern families possess furnishings said to have come from the Palace. No attempt is made here to list all, or even a part, of these.

PART III.

The Site of the Palace.
From 1767 to the Present Day.

10. History of the Site Prior to 1798.

Under the act of 1766 Tryon was empowered to purchase twelve lots in New Bern "in any part of the said Town he shall think most proper and convenient," and to accept deeds conveying these lots to him and his successors.¹²³ The site which Tryon chose, or had already chosen before the act was passed, consisted of twelve lots (equaling one block) bounded by Metcalf, Eden, Pollock, and South Front streets. George Street had not then been laid off, and South Front, sometimes called Water Street,¹²⁴ had not at that time and at that place developed as an active thoroughfare. Four of these lots fronted on Metcalf and four on Eden Street; the remaining four fronted on South Front Street, and extensions of these last-named four lots continued past South Front Street

123. S.R. XXIII, 664.

124. For example, The State Gazette (Hodge & Blanchard) of October 4, 1787, states, p. 1, that it was being printed "in Hancock Street, between Pollock and Water Streets."

to the river. Thus the Palace site, consisting as it did of these twelve lots "with the Water Fronts belonging thereto," actually was bounded on the south not by South Front Street but by Trent River.¹²⁵

A little more than a year later, early in 1768, another act was passed dealing more at length with the site of the Palace.¹²⁶ Tryon had been having difficulty in buying a certain few of these lots. The act declared that "his Excellency hath not yet been able to make a Purchase, or obtain proper Conveyances for some of the said Lots" because legal title to these was vested in "Persons out of the Province, or Infants or Trustees, or Persons at present unknown." The act undertook to remedy this situation by empowering a twelve-man jury of the Inferior Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, which should convene in New Bern for a session in March of that year, to condemn the doubtful lots for the public use, to set a fair price on them, and to determine if necessary the rightful owner. In addition, the act closed South Front Street, incorporating it into the Palace grounds; and reduced Eden Street from a sixty-foot thoroughfare to a thirty-

125. S.R. XXIII, 708.

126. S.R. XXIII, 708-711.

foot one, thus adding a thirty-foot strip to the western boundary of the site.¹²⁷ Finally the act ratified and confirmed any previous purchases and "fully invested" all twelve lots in Tryon and his successors. Therefore, except for the matter of agreeing upon or fixing a purchase price for the doubtful lots, the whole site was as good as in Tryon's possession.

As a matter of fact, condemnation proceedings were unnecessary. With the passage of this act the owners evidently came to terms. It was no longer a question of whether Tryon could obtain a proper title since, by legislative fiat, the lots were already invested in the Governor and his successors. It was only a question of whether

127. The thirty-foot strip is clearly indicated by a dotted line in the oldest plan of the city of New Bern which the writer had been able to find. This plan is in the possession of Judge R.A. Nunn, of New Bern, and is a blueprint of a tracing made in 1893 by H.A. Brown, Sr., surveyor, from an original which has apparently been lost. The inscription on this plan is as follows: "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 entitled an Act for the Regulation of the Town of New Bern and for other Purposes refers. / [signed] Allen Jones S.S. / Tho^s Benbury S.C."

the owners and Tryon could agree on the purchase price privately or whether they should submit the matter to a court. They clearly chose the former alternative and agreed on a private settlement, for the minutes of the court contain no reference to any judicial action on the matter.¹²⁸ No deed was necessary under the sweeping terms of the act; and none was recorded in the Craven County Records, though Tryon may have kept receipts or other records of the payment of the purchase price to be turned over to his successor.

The absence of publicly recorded legal papers dealing with the Palace site is one reason for the obscurity of its earliest history. Another reason is that what seems to be the earliest extant plan of the town of New Bern (1779) shows the lots in the Palace site without numbers.¹²⁹ The numbers of the original lots are therefore unknown. The lots were renumbered in 1798 after the Palace fire, and the present numbers do not follow the sequence indicated by the surrounding lots except in the case of Lots 27 and 28, which front on South Front Street and which follow in sequence Lot 26, on the northeast corner of Metcalf and South Front in the adjoining block.¹³⁰ In other

128. Search was made through the minutes of the twelve sessions of court held in the three years 1766-1768. Minutes of the Craven County Inferior Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, State Historical Commission, Raleigh.

129. See note 127 for a description of this plan.

130. "Plan of / the City / of New Berne, N.C. / Its Subdivisions and Additions / Compiled by Raymond Eagle, C.E. / A 1913 D."

words, because of these irregularities---all outgrowths of the changes which the Palace site has undergone---little or nothing can be learned of the Palace lots prior to 1767 by reference to the index of the Craven County Records. Only systematic turning of page by page of the conveyances prior to 1767 offers the slightest chance of any data; and even then it would be hazardous, to say the least, to try to conjecture, without knowing definitely the numbers of the lots, which were Palace lots and which were not.

Thus it is from records other than deeds that we learn the name of one man who owned land on the Palace site prior to Tryon's purchase. He was Richard Dobbs Spaight, Governor of North Carolina from 1792 to 1795. When Spaight was a member of the House of Commons for Craven County in 1787, he presented a memorial

. . . setting forth that part of the Grounds on which the Palace and other public buildings [the wings] in the Town of New Bern was built by order of the General Assembly in the year 1767, was taken from him without the consent of him, the said Richard Dobbs Spaight, or his Guardian, and for which a consideration was paid to the said Guardian far inadequate to the value of the Ground so taken 131

No action was taken on this petition, although Spaight, having

131. S.R. XX, 204.

been a minor of only ten years of age in 1768, might conceivably have had some ground for suit.¹³² By an act in the laws of 1793---the same which sought unsuccessfully to find a buyer for the Palace---Spaight's claim was recognized.¹³³ In this act it was recited that in 1768 he had owned Lots 27, 28, and twenty-one feet of Lot 29, as well as Lots 101 and 194. It was provided that if Spaight would relinquish his claim to Lot 101 and his share of Lot 29, "and so much of lot number one hundred and ninety-four as may be in front of the Palace," ---then Lots 27, 28, and 194 "so far as it does not interfere with the front of the Palace," should be restored to Spaight as the rightful owner. Most of these numbers are meaningless in view of the fact that the lots to which they correspond cannot now be located on the

132. S.R. XX, 248. Spaight was born in 1758 in New Bern. Governor Arthur Dobbs, Tryon's predecessor, and Frederick Gregg qualified in 1764 as guardians for the boy, whose father had died prior to 1763. It is believed the youth was sent abroad to be educated by his Dobbs relatives (his father being a grand nephew of the royal Governor), so it may be that he was the reason for the reference in the act of 1768 to "Persons out of the Province, or Infants . . ."etc. For a sketch of Spaight's life see Andrews, A.B., "Richard Dobbs Spaight," in North Carolina Historical Review, Vol. I, No. 2, April, 1924.

133. Ch. XXVIII of the laws of 1793, pp. 14-15, and a correction to this act, Ch. XXVIII, of the laws of 1798, p. 15. Both in Laws of N. Carolina from 1790 to 1804, Supreme Court Library, Raleigh.

plan of the town. However, the location of some of them is known; Lots 27, 28, and 29 were in the Palace block fronting on South Front Street. But little or nothing in the way of useful description of these lots is discoverable in the conveyances by which they changed hands prior to Spaight's ownership.

Consider Lots 28 and 29. Both came into Spaight's possession through his mother, Elizabeth Wilson Spaight, daughter and heir of William Wilson. In 1740 Wilson acquired Lot 28 from John Pinder, who a short time previously had purchased the property from Joseph Hannis, Hannis having acquired it from the town commissioners in 1731.¹³⁴ From a reading of these deeds it is completely inconclusive whether these lots had buildings on them. Neither the legal phraseology, "with appurtenances," nor the purchase prices indicate definitely whether there were or were not buildings on Lot 28. The fact that it changed hands between Hannis and Pinder for a consideration of ninety pounds may mean that it was an improved lot. It is also true that under the terms of sale of lots by the town commissioners such lots were to be built on within eighteen months or revert to the commissioners. And so it might be argued that Hannis improved the lot. But this proviso appears at times to have been disregarded. A similar state of indefinite -

134. Craven County Records, Deed Book I, 213, 320, 322.

ness involves the conveyances pertaining to Lot 29, which Wilson bought of George Bould in 1742 and which Bould acquired from the commissioners some time previously.¹³⁵ It might be argued that there was, or was not, a building on this plot in view of the increase in purchase price from the four shillings paid by Bould to commissioners, to the fifteen pounds paid to Bould by Wilson; though indeed it seems more likely that there was no such improvement. Furthermore, assuming that there was no building on Lot 29 at the time Wilson purchased it, one still does not know whether Wilson improved it before bequeathing it to his daughter, since there is no description of any of his real property in his will. Fortunately it is not vital to know whether there were or were not buildings on these waterfront lots, for no part of Tryon's Palace was erected on them. The presence or absence of buildings on these few lots of the pre-Palace site which can now be located, would serve merely to show whether the town, at the time the Palace was erected, had extended as far west as the place chosen by Tryon for this first provincial capitol building. And all evidence seems to indicate a negative answer to this

135. Craven County Records, Deed Book I, 48, 159. The commissioners' deed is undated.

question.

If Tryon had had his way the lands belonging to the Palace would not have ended with the twelve lots between Eden and Metcalf streets. Early in 1771 he asked the Assembly to purchase several hundred acres of land "Conveniently situated to the Palace . . . between Trent road and Trent River."¹³⁶ He pointed out that such a tract "would be always extremely useful to the Governor," probably for hunting or other diversions. The Assembly declined to make such a purchase owing to "the present exhausted state of the public funds."¹³⁷ This did not deter Tryon from buying land near the Palace in his own name. Between June, 1770, and February, 1771, he purchased eleven lots west of the Palace on Eden Street, South Front Street, Muddy (Burn) Street, and Dirty Lane (Spring Street).¹³⁸ Evidently he believed, and rightly so, that the Palace had enhanced property values at the west end of town.

136. C.R. VIII, 416.

137. C.R. VIII, 440-441.

138. These were Lots 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 206, 207, 208, 209, and 235. Craven County Records, Deed Books XVII, 242; XVIII, 143, 149, 152. Among the Craven Records are deeds showing that at least some of these lots were sold in 1780 as confiscated Tory property.

The Palace had not been erected many years before the environs of its site began to acquire some of the present-day aspects. In 1771 the Assembly authorized the laying off of George Street, so called in honor of the King.¹³⁹ The act provided that the lines of George Street should run "at right Angles with the East and West Corners of the North Front of the Palace." Eden Street, which had heretofore been cast somewhat in the role of modern George Street as a crosstown thoroughfare, was discontinued north of Pollock Street. This street, which had already been narrowed to thirty feet, was thus made to end, as it does today, at Pollock Street. On the other hand, George Street, being exactly the width of the Palace, was cut through with the ample breadth of an eighty-two-foot street (from property line to property line). In 1778, probably due to the increased activity in that part of town, the Assembly provided for the reopening of South Front Street, which had been closed by the act of 1768 and vested in the Governor and his successors.¹⁴⁰ This street, the blocking of which had been "Prejudicial to many of the Inhabitants of the Town" and "much complained of," was thereby removed from the bounds of "Palace Square," as the

139. S.R. XXIII, 864-865.

140. S.R. XXIV, 246.

capitol grounds had become known. But the square still consisted of the twelve lots and their waterfront extensions beyond the lines of South Front Street.

11. The Site of the Palace After 1798.

After the burning of the Palace early in 1798, the General Assembly lost no time in returning the lots in the site to private ownership. At the session near the end of the year, an act was passed appointing John Council Bryan, William Johnston, Lewis Bryan, and James Carney commissioners to sell the Palace lots "and the bricks remaining of the Palace."¹⁴¹ The law provided for extending George Street southward to join with South Front Street (as at present) and for renumbering and rearranging the lots on either side of the newly extended right-of-way. The law again ran afoul of Richard Dobbs Spaight's claim. The continuation of the street crossed Lots 28 and 194, which by the law of 1793 had been confirmed in his possession. In return for his relinquishing such parts of these as came within the line of George Street, Spaight was to receive whatever part of

¹⁴¹. Ch. XXIX of the laws of 1798, pp. 15-16.
Laws of N. Carolina From 1790 to 1804, Supreme Court Library, Raleigh.

Lot 196 was left on the eastern side of George Street according to the new arrangement.¹⁴² Thus ended the long legal tangle which began with Tryon's purchase of the lots when Spaight was a ten-year-old boy.

When in March, 1799, the public sale of the Palace lots was carried out according to the act of the Assembly, all lots in the Palace Square---leaving out of consideration for the moment those on which Palace buildings stood---had been vacant of any dwellings ever since 1767 and, most probably, since even before that date. The difficulty of ascertaining the earliest history of the site has already been mentioned. It can be said with assurance, however, that prior to 1767 the town had not developed in a westerly direction. The growth of New Bern, as shown by Sauthier's map, had centered at a point near the confluence of the Neuse and Trent rivers and had reached its farthest extension in a northerly direction along East Front Street. It is very unlikely, therefore, that there was any building on the Palace site prior to 1767. After that date the town began to envelop Palace Square. Tryon's purchase

142. Lots 194 and 196 cannot be positively located now for reasons already explained. However, it is likely that Lot 196 is on or near the site of the present Lot 616, which for many years bore in lieu of a number the name "Richard Dobbs Spaight" on the official plan of the town. Indeed, the present plan of the town has this lot so designated.

of lots, evidently for speculation, has already been mentioned. Lots hitherto unclaimed in the George Street area were taken up in the 1770s.¹⁴³ An advertisement in a New Bern newspaper of 1788 tells of a newly opened shop "at the house of William Tooley," which was on South Front between Burn and Eden streets, west of the Palace.¹⁴⁴ Hence it is not surprising to find that the Palace site soon attracted builders once it was open to private ownership again. Two of these houses, built at the latest by about 1826, are still standing. Both are within the bounds of Palace Square though neither rests on the site of a Palace building. One is the Stevenson house, on the southeast corner of Pollock and George streets, the building of which can be placed between 1805 and 1826.¹⁴⁵ The other is the old John

143. For example the town commissioners in 1770 granted Lot 201 on the west side of George Street between Pollock and Broad streets to John Daves. By the early 1800s lots in this vicinity, including the Daves lot, contained "houses . . . kitchens fences and improvements" and brought rather high prices. Craven County Records, Deed Books XXXVI, 443; XXXVIII, 391.

144. The State Gazette of North Carolina (Hodge & Wills), February 7, 1788. William Tooley owned Lot 32 "with . . . the houses thereon standing" from 1786 to 1789. Craven County Records, Deed Book XXVII, 141, 218.

145. A sign on the house erected by the New Bern Historical Commission fixes the date of the building as 1805. However, it is only during or after 1826 that the purchase consideration mounts to as much as \$2,000 (in contrast to previous considerations of \$750 and \$1,000, which seem no more than what a corner lot would bring without a dwelling on it). The chain of titles to this lot is as follows (Lot 611): Craven County Records, Deed Books XXXVI, 589; XLIV, 274; XLIV, 36; LV, 483, 484; LXIV, 238, 473; LXXVIII, 351, 371.

P. Daves home just south of the remaining wing of the Palace, which was standing about 1822.¹⁴⁶ Many other houses which have since been razed doubtlessly sprang up on the Palace site a few years after the sale in 1799.¹⁴⁷

When the main building of the Palace burned in 1798, the two wings were saved by the pulling down of the colonnades connecting with the main building. The west wing still stands. When did the east wing disappear from its site? Both wings at the time of the fire must have been in dilapidated condition. In the early nineteenth century the west wing was in such shape that only the walls were standing. Stephen F. Miller writes as follows in his reminiscences:

The residence of Mr. [John P.] Daves, in Newbern, was on or very near the site of the Palace By design or accident it was burned down [the Palace, that is] long before my day; but it must have been a costly edifice, judging from the size and quality of the stables, the brick walls of which were more than twenty feet high. The roof had fallen in, or was destroyed by the conflagra-

146. This is mentioned in his reminiscences by a writer who came to New Bern to live in 1822 and wrote of the town as it appeared in the 1820s. See the quotation in the next paragraph.

147. The auction of the lots, held on March 22 of that year, was advertised in the Newbern Gazette (John C. Osborn) of January, February, and March, 1799. The sale of each lot is recorded in the Craven County Records and is indexed under "North Carolina, State of---Commissioners" as grantors.

tion; yet the walls remained in 1824, and
I presume still remain . . . ¹⁴⁸

Thus, if only the west wing remained standing in the early 1820s, the conclusion is inescapable that the companion wing was deliberately razed or destroyed prior to that time. Miller surely would have mentioned the east wing if he had ever seen it. And the lasting quality of the construction presumes that the brick walls of this wing would have remained if they had not been torn down. Perhaps the east wing was in such a state of decay that it was torn down immediately after the fire in order that the brick might be sold along with those in the burned main building. The deed for the sale of the lot upon which it stood mentions no building, and the purchase price was only two hundred and twenty-five pounds.¹⁴⁹ On the other hand, the price for the lot on which the west wing is standing was five hundred and thirteen pounds, more than twice as much.¹⁵⁰

148. Miller, Stephen F., "Recollections of Newbern Fifty Years Ago," in Our Living and Our Dead, Vol. I., 1874-1875, p. 464.

149. Craven County Records, Deed Book XXXIII, 302.

150. Craven County Records, Deed Book XXXIII, 391.

So it is probable that the east wing was torn down between February, 1798, and March, 1799. In any event, the east wing could not have remained standing many years after the fire, and by 1824 at the latest had disappeared from the scene at Palace Square.¹⁵¹

This now-vanished east wing stood mostly on Lot 617 and partly on Lot 618. The former is the lot just opposite the west wing. The house on it, the Eaton home, was built in 1894. Between 1894 and the time the east wing was razed there has been at least one other structure on it. This seems clear from the will of Michael H. Lente, of New Bern, probated in December, 1851, which devised the lot "together with the buildings and appurtenances" to his son to be held in trust for one Matilda Lisbon.¹⁵² The trustee was directed to "pay over the

151. Lossing remarked that the two wings were still standing at the time he wrote (1855). However, this is in error, just as is the sketch of the Palace, made from the wrong plan, which he included in The Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution. Lossing apparently did not visit New Bern, although he traveled through the western part of the State. Anyone who ever saw the Palace site could hardly make the fatal error of drawing in trees (instead of the river) as the background for the buildings. The writings of Miller, a resident of New Bern, are more to be trusted than are Lossing's on the point of whether the east wing was standing in the early nineteenth century.

152. Craven County Records, Will Book D, p. 181, Clerk of Superior Court's Office, New Bern.

rents and profits to Matilda Lisbon" etc. The mention of rents certainly presumes a dwelling on the site. There may have been others, but this is the only one clearly indicated in any legal documents. ¹⁵³ The history of Lot 618 is more obscure. There are so few conveyances and these tell so little about this lot that one can only say, first, that the present dwellings on it are not over fifty years old and, second, that it is impossible to tell whether there were any others preceding them. ¹⁵⁴

The west wing rests on Lot 605. Both this lot and the one directly south of it, Lot 606, with the house on it of which Miller wrote, came into the possession of the Daves family through marriages with the Hatch and McKinlay families, members of which bought these lots at the 1799 auction. Lot 605 continued in the possession of the Daves family until 1868, when the heirs of John P. Daves conveyed it in trust to Christ Church Parish with the provision that a parochial school and mission should be established in the west wing. ¹⁵⁵ The building was made a "Memorial Chapel" to John P. Daves. By deed of 1881 the Daves

^{153.} The chain of titles to Lot 617 is as follows: Craven County Records, Deed Books XXXIII, 302; XXXVI, 680; XLI, 65; XLIV, 342; Will Book D, 181; Deed Books LXXVI, 237; CIX, 301; CXIII, 421; CCXVI, 518.

^{154.} The chain of titles to Lot 618 is as follows: Craven County Records, Deed Books LVIII, 109, 113, 117; LXII, 107; CXXXVI, 427.

^{155.} Craven County Records, Deed Book LXXV, 195.

heirs consented to allowing the building to be used as the Episcopal rectory, and gave the vestry permission to sell the property provided the proceeds should be used to reestablish elsewhere the memorial to Daves.¹⁵⁶ In 1895 the house and lot came into the possession of the Duffy family, the present owners.¹⁵⁷ During all this time the building has undergone a number of alterations and uses. The original roof is no longer on it, and a number of interior changes have been made. The porch in front and a wooden addition in back have been built onto the walls. The wide aperture in the rear through which the coaches passed in Tryon's day has been walled up, and is now hidden by this wooden addition. Whitford writes that after the loss of the Court House about 1800, it was proposed to use the building as a temporary office for the county government.¹⁵⁸ And Vass states that it served during the

156. Craven County Records, Deed Book LXXXV, 386.

157. Craven County Records, Deed Book CXV, 501.

158. Whitford relates the following anecdote as to why this proposal was not carried out. The Palace Stable was then the property of James McKinlay. Major John Daves mentioned that McKinlay, his son-in-law, would let the justices of the Inferior Court, before whom he was appearing, have the Palace Stable for a court house "on their own terms." John Stanly, who appeared in opposition to the proposal, effectively stopped it by remarking, during his address: "You see, Your Worships, he would put you in the King's Stable---and make donkeys out of you."

early nineteenth century as a storage room for hay and grain.¹⁵⁹

The main building, as has already been mentioned, rested on the present site of George Street. Since the fire in 1798 the site has remained a ~~two~~^{town} thoroughfare and as such has undergone the imposition of only paving or macadamizing over its surface. One important physical change has taken place in this site. That is the leveling of the hill formerly there. Undoubtedly one of the considerations which moved Tryon to choose this site of all others was the height of the land at this particular point.¹⁶⁰ Miranda wrote that from the Palace one could see more than twelve miles down Neuse River. The fact that the Palace stood on this "rather elevated" place, he wrote, made its situation "quite agreeable." This hill has been leveled to make George Street less steep, but one can see from the declivity on either side of George Street that the main building of the Palace was erected on the very crest of this elevation. As to how much has been removed one cannot say exactly. However, George Street is now, at the point where the main building stood, nearly three feet below the sidewalk

159. Vass, op. cit., pp. 93-94.

160. One of the objections frequently raised to New Bern as a capital by Assemblymen from Edenton and, particularly, Wilmington, was that it was too low and therefore unhealthy and subject to plagues.

level. It may be that the sidewalks too are lower than the top of the hill, so it is reasonable to suppose that the site of the main building is something more than three feet below the level where it stood in the eighteenth century.

12. Archaeological Possibilities of the Site.

If such vestiges of Tryon's Palace as appear above the earth's surface are any indication of what may be found below ground, there is an abundance of material awaiting discovery by the archaeologist. The area on and near the site of the Palace buildings is literally studded with outcroppings of apparently very old brick. A few of these may be found to have no authentic relationship with the Palace other than the fact that they were Palace brick. Some of the houses on George Street perhaps contain brick that were bought at the public sale after the fire, and there are some brick lying about superficially or placed at random. But many of these surface brick will be found to have a definite significance in connection with Tryon's Palace.

The most important of these outcroppings have been mapped by B.M. Potter, C.E. (See Illustration No. 8.) On the site of the east wing there is very little visible evidence of the fact that a building once stood there. There are some vestiges of what seems to be the colonnade or the walkway beneath

Photostat not yet made.

Illustrations No. 8.

Outcroppings of brick on the Tryon's Palace site.

Diagram by B.M. Potter, C.E.

the colonnade. It may be that the lack of visible brick on the east side of George Street is not so much because there are no brick there, as because they are obscured by the dwellings now on the location. In any event, the exact spot where the east wing stood would be easy to locate. A notation on one of Hawks' drawings says there were exactly 145 feet between the two wings. The measurement of that distance from the wall of the remaining wing would give the precise location of the foundations of the vanished wing.

On the site of the west wing there are a number of outcroppings, many of which are shown in the illustration. Just south of this building is a five-sided brick figure just above the surface of the earth. This is flanked by lesser outcroppings. About forty feet north of this pentagon is a strip running north and south. Swinging in a circular direction apparently from the southeast corner of the remaining building is a moss-covered outcropping which is indubitably the colonnade or the walkway beneath the colonnade. Finally there is a long brick wall on Eden Street which may be contemporary with the Palace.

Most important of all, there are visible a foot or so above the surface of the earth the bases of both the east and west walls of the main Palace building. George Street having

been laid out to the exact width of the Palace (eighty-two feet), these walls now rest on the property lines of either side of the street, serving very ^{conveniently} ~~conveniently~~ for the property owners as a boundary and a bulwark against erosion.

All visible remains of the Palace coincide perfectly with what would be expected from the plans. The dimensions of the remaining wing are the same as those in the plan sent to the Crown. The colonnade joins the main building wall (if one projects it on an imaginary line) just where it should, and the relationship of the main building and the existing wing is just as was indicated on Hawks' plan. The length of the main building walls are fifty-nine feet, the depth of the Palace exactly.

It would seem therefore that a large part of the foundations of the Palace are waiting to be unearthed. There may be remains of the Palace cellar too. "The cellars," Tryon wrote, "will be under the north front of the house with a seven feet pitch, three feet three inches of which will be below the surface of the ground."¹⁶¹ Is there anything remaining of this cellar, or did the cutting of George Street remove it? Only excavation will tell. This north front of the Palace had not only the cellar below ground but also a walkway above ground. This was the "area" (as Hawks called it) running beneath the

161. C.R. VII, 442.

colonnades and in front of the main building.¹⁶² One item in Hawk's estimate is the "Paving the Cellars, and Area, Area Wall and pallisadoes D^O." The connection of the "pallisadoes" here is not clear. The "Area Wall" probably was a low wall below the colonnade and behind the columns.¹⁶³ From the amount allotted for this, two hundred pounds, one would suppose that considerable paving was involved. Perhaps excavation will reveal the extent of it.

It is improbable that there were many outbuildings on the Palace grounds. The wings contained space for most of the household operations for which outbuildings are needed. The three Palace buildings were more or less self-sufficient and independent of any outside functions. However, the remains of at least one outbuilding are visible on the Palace site. These remains are the five-sided figure a few feet south of the west wing. Until comparatively few years ago the walls of this building stood several feet high. Residents of George Street recall also that a latticed window was set in these walls. What was the purpose of this pentagonal building? From

162. This is indicated on Plan (6), the diagram of the water system, and on Plan (A).

163. Another reference in this estimate is to the "Circular Collonade, with Wall." Were the "Area Wall" and colonnade wall the same? It is obvious both from this and from Hawk's drawings that some sort of wall accompanied the colonnade.

the description given by residents of George Street, it is very reminiscent of the hexagonal outbuilding on the site of the restored Governor's Palace at Williamsburg. The purpose of this Williamsburg building is not definitely known, but it is thought to be either the dairy or the "bannio" (bath house) referred to in documents concerning this earlier Governor's House.¹⁶⁴ However, there is no mention of the pentagonal building in the records of Tryon's Palace.

Besides this pentagonal building, there was a boathouse behind the Palace on Trent River. In a New Bern newspaper of 1775, we find the modern version of a lost-or-stolen advertisement signed by Josiah Martin and announcing that

. . . a Boat belonging to the Governor was, on Sunday the 11th instant, conveyed by Persons unknown from the Boathouse behind the Palace in Newbern, to Mr. Ellis's Wharf, and three Swivel Guns, the property of his Majesty, which lay in the said Boat for ballast, [were] at the same time stolen out of her¹⁶⁵

Location of this boathouse would be difficult now because of the difference between the shorelines of the eighteenth and twentieth centuries. The 1779 plan of New Bern shows what seems

164. "The Governor's Palace," booklet published by Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., 1936, p. 8.

165. Advertisement dated June 21 from Fort Johnston in The North Carolina Gazette of June 30, July 7, and July 14, 1775.

to be a ~~large~~ marshy area behind the Palace. Much of the land there has been filled in because of the Trent River Bridge and the growing up of several commercial establishments about it.

The walks or areaways on the front of the main building and beneath the colonnades have been mentioned. There were similar appurtenances elsewhere on the Palace grounds. There must have been paving or flagstones in the gardens in front of the Palace. There is mention in the records of the "Dwarf Wall, Pallisadoes, piers, Gates &c, to form a courtyard," so these gardens evidently contained their share of paving and brick- or stonework. It may be that the entire Palace Square was surrounded by a low wall. Such a conclusion would naturally be suggested if the long wall now remaining on Eden Street could be established as contemporary with the Palace buildings. It is known that at one period in the Palace's life there was a fence of some kind across the yard behind the main building. The act of 1778 ordering the reopening of South Front Street stipulated that "the moving the fence from the South side of the Street to the North side, on the bounds of Palace Square, shall be done at the proper cost and charges of the town" ¹⁶⁶ Also behind the Palace was a flagstaff, clearly shown on Sauthier's

166. S.R. XXIV, 246.

map of 1769. This seems to have been a little southeast of the main building. Near this flagstaff on Sauthier's map are some unidentifiable markings representing some unknown feature of the Palace grounds which excavation might possibly determine. These are two roughly triangular shaped markings which look as if they were drawn to represent shadows cast by either a depression in the earth or a raised place above the ground. Can it be that the "park of artillery" kept by Governor Martin was mounted in simulated fortifications at the rear of the Palace?

A vital part of the Palace was its water system, which is sure to be encountered in archaeological excavation. Hawks' diagram, Plan (6), shows this system in detail. It is entitled: "The manner of laying Drains and sesspools to convey the Water from His Excellencys House 6 Jan^{ry} 1769." The diagram shows incidentally a cross-section of a fourteen-inch drain. Its principal purpose, however, is to show the reservoir and the piping leading from it to the main building, and the drains leading from the main building to the river. Hawks' diagram, superimposed on a map of Palace Square to show the relation of the water system to the streets, has been included in this report. (See Illustration No. 9.) The diagram does

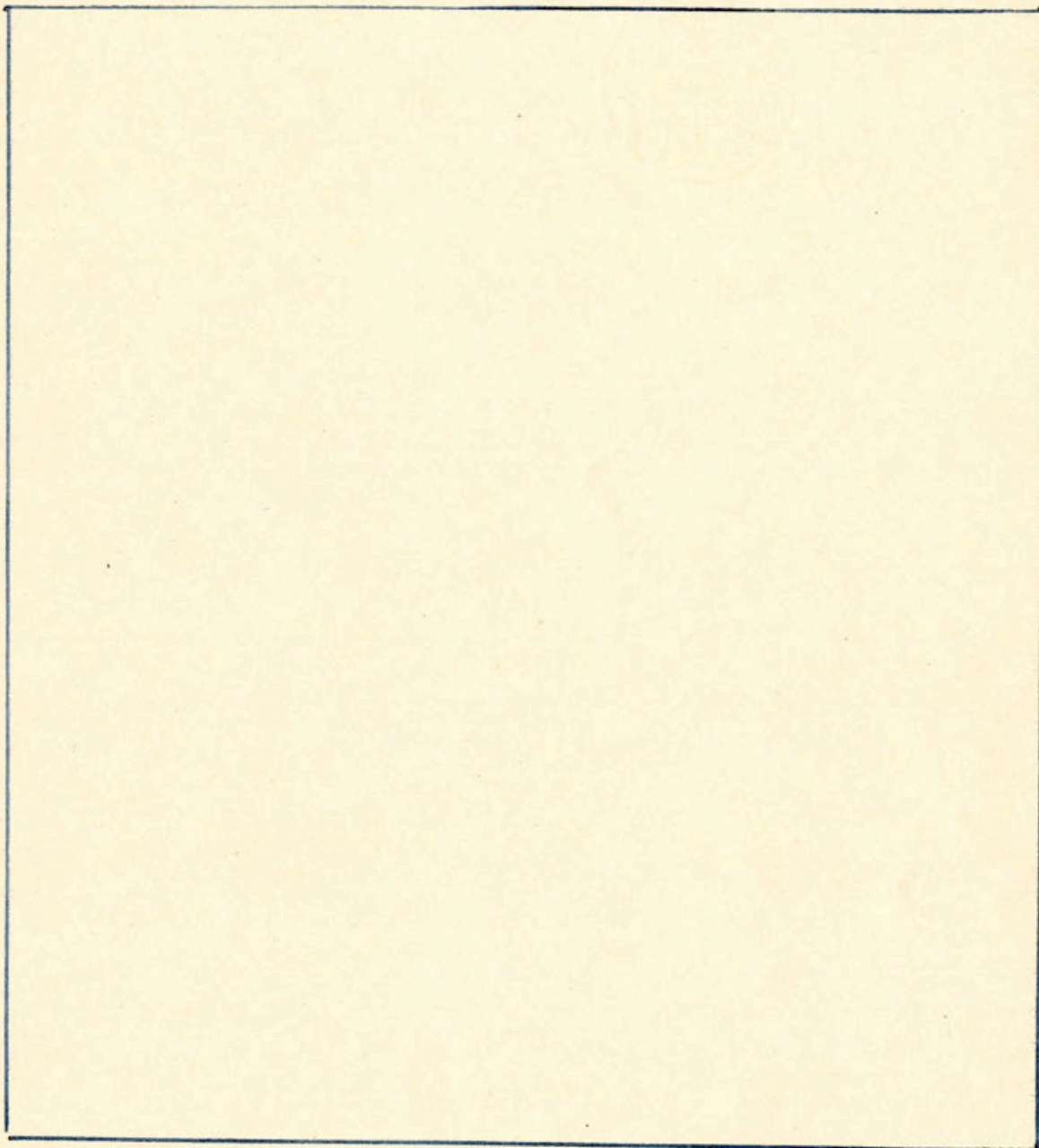


Illustration No. 9.

The Palace in relation to its water system and streets.

Diagram by B.M. Potter, C.E.

not explain how the wings were supplied with water; no piping is shown leading to or from these flanking buildings. However, in Hawks' estimate we find grouped under the cost of the wings the following item: "Two Wells with Pumps Compleat," set down at forty pounds. Evidently these wells and pumps were meant exclusively for the use of the kitchen and stables, for the estimate on the main water system is grouped with the items for the main building.¹⁶⁷ Where were these wells? There is neither any documentary evidence nor any trace at the site which would enable one to point them out. Fortunately the reservoir is clearly shown on Hawks' diagram, and this no doubt can be located without difficulty.

Excavation probably would tell much about how this water system worked. The drains have been encountered several times, the last time during the leveling off of a hill in the construction of a filling station at the northeast corner of George and South Front streets. Unexplained "finds" have been made on the site. About 1905 Henry A. Brown, Jr., surveyor and engineer, in laying water mains on George Street encountered a bricked-in cavity about ten feet long and three or four feet

167. Labor and materials for "Digging and laying drains from the House, and making Reservoir" were figured at four hundred pounds.

wide and deep running north and south almost directly in front of the remaining wing. Because it was sealed at either end and surrounded by white sand, indicating no seepage, it is not likely that this was one of the drains, though it may have had something to do with the Palace water system. The incident is cited not necessarily with a view to suggesting search for this "crypt," the location of which cannot be accurately told, but with the purpose of showing the unusually frequent occurrence of brickwork below the surface of the site and the need for interpretation of such brickwork by the archaeologist.

It is evident from the foregoing that many permanent features of the Palace---walkways, foundations, drains, and other brickwork and paving---are part of the remains which may be unearthed. Besides these skeletal vestiges of the exterior, there must also be a number of interior fixtures of which fragments at least have survived. There were in the Palace, for example, hinges and locks which, as we have seen, Tryon imported from England. The correspondence of the Quarter Master's office during the Revolution shows there was a considerable amount of metalwork in the Palace, not all of which,

surely, could have been carried away by townspeople.¹⁶⁸ Many other articles which could survive the wear of one hundred and forty-two years are not accounted for. Some light on their whereabouts might be shed by archaeological research at the site. Where, for example, are the "Chimney pieces, and Stone Steps to two Fronts" which are named in Hawks' estimate? Surely the stone steps could not have been moved a great distance from the site. Perhaps they have been used in the construction of later dwellings on George Street. And as for the mantelpieces, it may be that fragments of these could be found on the site, or at least some clue which would help to determine where they were placed.

As a final word, attention is called to the possibility of locating the redoubt which Tryon caused to be constructed west of the Palace to protect the town from the threatened invasion of the Regulators. So much as is presently known of the line of this pre-Revolutionary fortification has already been told. Excavation of it is of course not necessary for archaeological exploration of the Palace site. But restoration of the Palace would certainly demand that this redoubt be

168. A lock and keys said to have come from the Palace are on display at the New Bern Public Library.

discovered and investigated.

Restoration of the Palace is an eventuality which this preliminary report has not been called upon to deal with. It is difficult, however, not to anticipate such a possibility. For the present, enough has been said to show the architectural and historical importance of this colonial building, and the archaeological promise of its site. For the future, it can only be hoped that "the capital building on the continent of North America" will rise again from undeserved oblivion, faithful to its former self.

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B i b l i o g r a p h y *

The principal body of material concerning the Palace is contained in the Colonial and State Records of North Carolina, published documents covering the history of the State and province to 1790. In an effort to supplement this source, a check has been made of transcripts of papers from the British Public Record Office which were not included in these published records. Search was made through these transcripts, which are in the State Historical Commission, for the years which deal with Tryon's and part of his successor Martin's administration as royal governor of North Carolina. The Acts of the Privy Council . . . Colonial Series (Vol. V, 1766-1783) have been examined for data concerning the Palace, as well as the Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, 1764-1775. The index of the Reports of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, 1870-1911, has been searched for manuscripts relating to

* The purpose of this bibliography is not so much to catalog in bibliographical form the volumes and manuscripts from which information was obtained, as to tell what sources were investigated whether or not they yielded anything that was useful to this report. It is hoped that such a "narrative" bibliography may be helpful in case future research on the Palace is undertaken.

Tryon in private English archives. These efforts to supplement the Colonial and State Records yielded little or nothing in additional data.

Newspapers published in North and South Carolina and Virginia were a more fertile source of information. The task was facilitated by the fact that in the State Historical Commission archives are typescript volumes of North Carolina items from (1) the South Carolina Gazette, Charleston, 1770-1775; (2) Virginia Gazette, Williamsburg, 1771-1776; (3) South Carolina and American General Gazette, Charleston, 1766-1780. The files of all extant New Bern papers published between 1766 and 1800 were read. Some data were gathered here . In addition, newspapers of the year 1798 which were published in North Carolina and in other states were searched for an account of the burning of the Palace. This was found in the Boston Gazette and the North Carolina Journal of Halifax.

Besides the legislative acts concerning the Palace which are included in the Colonial and State Records, other acts were found in the Laws of N. Carolina from 1790 to 1804 (bound State printer's copies, Supreme Court Library, Raleigh, which unfortunately contain no workable index). It became necessary to search the Journal of the Genl. Assembly N. Carolina

1788-1795 (bound State printer's minutes, Supreme Court Library, which contain no index at all) for the session of House and Senate of 1794-1795. The manuscript minutes of the Craven County Inferior Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions were read in an effort to find records on the Palace site entered during the sessions of 1766, 1767, ^{and} 1768, ~~1769, and 1770.~~ The manuscript minutes of St. John's Masonic Lodge No. 3, in New Bern, yielded one interesting reference to the burning of the Palace. Valuable miscellaneous information was obtained from the Craven County Records, Register of Deeds' office and Clerk of Superior Court's office, in New Bern.

Certain other sources were examined on the long chance that they might contain data on the Palace. These include the indexes of the Southern Historical Collection, of the University of North Carolina, and the Manuscripts Collection, of Duke University, as well as the Virginia Calendar of State Papers and Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York. These searches were necessarily very perfunctory. Two travels accounts were examined which just missed the period of the Palace's life---Lord Adam Gordon's Journal (1764-1765) and the journal of an unidentified French agent (1765)---on the hope that they might contain some reference to plans for the Palace. The journal of Francis Asbury, the evangel-

ist, who visited New Bern in 1796, was also read in parts. Contrary to expectation, Asbury as well as the English traveler J.F.D. Smyth failed to mention the Palace in their voluminous travel accounts though both of them visited New Bern for brief stays.

Some other travels accounts yielded valuable information. These were the journals of: George Washington, who visited New Bern in 1791; William Attmore, a visitor in 1787; Francisco Miranda, in 1783; and Johann David Schoepf, in 1783-1784. Jedidiah Morse's American Geography for the year 1789 contains mention of the Palace. An attempt was made to locate a writing on the Palace by Ebenezer Hazard, the early Postmaster General, who seems to have visited New Bern in 1777 and from whose "journal" B.J. Lossing quotes one tantalizing sentence. The National Archives, the Library of Congress, the Pennsylvania Historical Society, the Massachusetts Historical Society---all these institutions, which have collections of Hazard's writings, very courteously sought Hazard's elusive "journal" on behalf of this report, but in vain. Perhaps future research on the Palace can determine for certain whether Hazard left a description of the Palace seven years after the buildings were completed. If such an account could be located it would prove interesting. Most descriptions of the Palace deal with its later years of decay.

Certain secondary works have been helpful. These include F.X. Martin's History of North Carolina (1829); S.F. Miller's "Recollections of New Bern Fifty Years Ago" (1874-1875); L.C. Vass's History of the Presbyterian Church in New Bern, N.C. (1886); Col. John D. Whitford's manuscript reminiscences of New Bern (about 1900); and M. DeL. Haywood's Governor William Tryon and His Administration (1903). A useful article and one which deals with a subject in which additional research could well be done is Fiske Kimball and Gertrude Carraway's "Tryon's Palace," in the New York Historical Society's quarterly bulletin issued in January, 1940. B.J. Lossing's Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution (1855) gives some erroneous impressions of the Palace which have been referred to in this report.

Finally, in addition to all publications and manuscripts, certain plans and maps have been used. Two maps which have been helpful are (1) a plan of the town of New Bern dated 1779 in possession of R.A. Nunn, of New Bern; and (2) C.J. Sauthier's map of New Bern dated 1769, a photostat of which is in the Library of Congress, the original being in the British Museum. The writer ordered from the William L. Clements Library of Ann Arbor, Mich., a photostat of a Sauthier original in possession of that library which is said to differ from the British Museum map, but this did not arrive in time for comment in this report. Two sets of plans of the

Palace have been studied and compared. One is the group sent to the Crown for approval, photostats from the originals in the British Public Record Office having been obtained by the State Historical Commission. The other is the group which remained in possession of the descendants of the architect and which now is among the Hawks Manuscripts of the New York Historical Society. A photostat was ordered from the Library of Congress of an elevation of the Palace the original of which is said to be in the British Museum (?), but this, like the Sauthier map, did not arrive in time to be included in this preliminary study, in the event of its proving to be a drawing which is not duplicated by the plans already mentioned.

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