

LIBERTY UNIVERSITY

THE NEW ENGLAND NARRATIVE

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO  
THE FACULTY OF THE HISTORY DEPARTMENT  
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF  
MASTER OF ARTS OF U.S. HISTORY

C.C. MATHIS

CONCORD, NC

AUGUST 2018



Hurrah! Hurrah! The Old North State forever!  
Hurrah! Hurrah! The good Old North State!  
Though she envies not others their merited glory,  
Say, whose name stands the foremost in Liberty's story!

- William Joseph Gaston

## Table of Contents

AUTHOR’S NOTE.....	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	vi
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....	8
CHAPTER 2: A HORNET’S NEST OF REBELLION.....	13
CHAPTER 3: THE MOST FORMIDABLE ENEMIES.....	25
CHAPTER 4: SECTIONAL NATIONALISM.....	43
CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION.....	54
APPENDIX.....	59
REFERENCES.....	64

## AUTHOR'S NOTE

As a native of North Carolina with a family lineage dating back to the 17<sup>th</sup> century, my interest in the history of the “Old North State” is one of a personal connection. As my ancestors actively contributed to the development of the Carolina colony, the struggle for independence from England, and served in every war this nation was part of, preserving the history of North Carolina also preserves the history of my family.

This work is dedicated to my mother, “Mama Chaonn” 1949-2017.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

All glory, and all my gratitude, to God.

I wish to express my sincere appreciation and thanks to Dr. Carey Roberts, Associate Dean of College of Arts and Sciences at Liberty University, for his patience, understanding, and invaluable direction on the research and composition of this thesis.

I would also wish to offer my sincerest thanks to my second reader, Dr. Roger Schultz, Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at Liberty University, whose guidance, recommendations, and encouragement were crucial to this work.

I would also like to thank Dr. Troy Kickler, Dr. Ronald Satta, Dr. Robert Slater, Dr. Steven Woodworth, and Dr. Benjamin Esswein, for their support and un-ending encouragement of my work as a historian. In addition, I am indebted to the talented historian William Gilmore Simms, who provided me with his priceless historiographical insight.

Special thanks to my husband, Jason, and my family for their love, support, patience, and understanding.

## ABSTRACT

Though equally successful, noteworthy, inspiring, and crucial as the contributions to American Independence made by New England women patriots, the contributions made by North Carolinian women patriots are excluded from the history of America's founding as a direct result of sectional nationalism.

## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

In American history, the contributions in the struggle for Independence by New England and, more specifically, New England women patriots are the accepted “standard Patriot” narrative against which all other contributions and historical narratives are measured.<sup>1</sup> The concept that New England history *was* American history has been ingrained into the American consciousness so deeply that emerging schools of thought, including social history and women’s studies, perpetuated the New England narrative as a base assumption in their research. Cultural shifts in contemporary American society have renewed interest in women’s contributions to American Independence, and New England colonial women such as Sybil Ludington, Molly Pitcher, and Mercy Otis Warren have become commonly known and respected as true patriots alongside Paul Revere, Sam Adams, Patrick Henry, and George Washington. The success of this effort to correct the historical record on women’s contributions have given rise to speculation as to why North Carolinian women’s contributions, though successful, noteworthy, and inspiring, have been overlooked.

In an effort to expand the “standard Patriot” narrative through the inclusion of North Carolinian women patriot’s contributions, this research presents a review of historical records, archived documents, news articles, journal articles, and archives related to North Carolina’s colonial and revolutionary history as compared to the New England narrative. Following with a focused review of the contributions to American Independence made by North Carolinian women as compared to the patriot women recognized by the New England narrative, these comparisons will establish an equality of contribution and impact on American Independence.

---

<sup>1</sup> A point addressed in detail and substantiated in Chapter 4, Chapter 5, and the Appendix.



Furthermore, this research will analyze the historical discrepancies and address arguments within scholarship for the continued exclusion of these North Carolinian patriot women to establish that a form of sectional nationalism defining New England history as American history is responsible. This research will also examine the use of sectional nationalism to create the “standard Patriot” narrative as a concerted effort by the post-Revolutionary historians to create a unifying national identity, the methods of perpetuation through history, and the impact of Marxist and social history on the New England narrative.<sup>2</sup>

Therefore, the structure of this thesis is defined as follows: Following this introductory chapter, Chapter Two will compare the New England narrative with the evidentiary history of North Carolina. In this chapter, the Sons of Liberty, the battles of Lexington and Concord, the Declaration of Independence, and Cowpens are analyzed beside the North Carolina Regulators and the Regulatory War, the Mecklenburg Declaration, the Halifax Resolves, and finally, the Battle of Alamance, the Battle at Moore’s Creek, and the Battle of Kings Mountain. This comparison will establish an equal importance in contribution by both and set the stage to examine the absence of North Carolinian patriot women’s contributions in the New England narrative.

Chapter Three will compare specific examples of contributions by New England patriot women highlighted within the revised “standard Patriot” narrative, with similar and equally crucial contributions of North Carolinian patriot women. This chapter’s source-supported comparison between the well-known New England patriot women with contributions of North Carolinian patriot women will reveal the sectional nationalism of the New England narrative, even under social history’s modern push to recognize women’s contributions in the historical record. The

---

<sup>2</sup> Harlow Sheidley. *Sectional Nationalism: Massachusetts Conservative Leaders and the Transformation of America, 1815-1836*. Lebanon, NH.: University Press of New England, 1998. Sheidley coined the term, “sectional nationalism” which Sheidley defines as the advocacy, propagation, and perpetuation of the lifestyle, social structure, customs, traditions, morals, and political values of a region (section) as the national culture.

absence of North Carolinian women's equally notable contributions in Chapter Three, considering the absence of North Carolina's equally important role in American Independence presented in Chapter Two, provide the foundation and evidentiary support for the existence of the New England narrative as sectional nationalism covered in Chapter Four.

Chapter Four will analyze the ways the New England narrative is defended within modern scholarship and how the rise of social history allows modern historians to uphold the "standard Patriot" narrative. Within this crucial chapter, the "standard Patriot" narrative is established as a form of sectional nationalism, and the gaps in the historical record are revealed as a product of the perpetuation of New England history as American history dating back to the post-Revolution historians. This chapter reveals how sectional nationalism contributed to the absence and continued exclusion of both while acknowledging the difficulty in recognizing the women without acknowledging the history of the state.

Chapter Five will analyze the decision of post-Revolutionary historians to use sectional nationalism as a unifying national identity, why they chose the Sons of Liberty as heroes in the American epoch, and how their choice led to the New England narrative. In addition, this chapter will touch on the attempts of current regional historians to revise the traditional narrative of North Carolina history to align with social history and uphold the revised "standard Patriot" narrative. Finally, this chapter explores the ways inclusion of North Carolina history and the contributions of her women patriots to American Independence can substantially transform the perception of America's founding.

This thesis includes and builds on the key work of notable 19<sup>th</sup> century regional historians such as North Carolina native Samuel Ashe, soldier, lawyer, politician, and prolific historical author, whose compilation, *History of North Carolina*, contains biographies and events within the

history of North Carolina from colonial times through the Revolution, and Eli W. Caruthers, Presbyterian minister, educator, and notable historian who was compelled to record the history of his state in his work, *Preface to Revolutionary Incidents: And Sketches of Character*, which includes quoted text, letters, articles, and images of original source material. Also included is the work of Cyrus Hunter, *Sketches of western North Carolina, historical and biographical: illustrating principally the Revolutionary period of Mecklenburg, Rowan, Lincoln, and adjoining counties, accompanied with miscellaneous information, much of it never before published*, and John Wheeler's *Historical Sketches of North Carolina* which utilized the original records, official documents, and traditional statements of and from distinguished statesmen, jurists, lawyers, soldiers, divines, and family to create biographical and historical sketches of memorable North Carolinians, from 1584 to 1851.

Additional works by historians spanning from the 19<sup>th</sup> to the 21<sup>st</sup> century, such as those by poet, novelist, and historian William Gilmore Simms, and Professor of History and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, Sir Herbert Butterfield, are crucial to the theme of this thesis. This research also examines the research of notable 20<sup>th</sup> century women historians such as Carol Berkin's *Revolutionary Mothers: Women in the Struggle for America's Independence*, and articles such as Marjoleine Kars' *Breaking Loose Together: The Regulator Rebellion in Pre-Revolutionary North Carolina*. Most important to this research is 20<sup>th</sup> century historian, respected professor, and Chancellor's Award recipient Arthur Shaffer and *The Politics of History*, which analyzes the work of the post-Revolutionary War historians which are also included in this research - historians such as David Ramsay who is considered to be the first historian of the Revolutionary War. Shaffer's work, along with the more recent, 21<sup>st</sup> century, scholarship of Professor Sean R. Busick, *A Sober Desire for History: William Gilmore Simms as Historian*, and

Harlow Sheidley, who coined the term “sectional nationalism” in her notable work, *Sectional Nationalism: Massachusetts Conservative Leaders and the Transformation of America, 1815-1836*, blazed the trail for this thesis.

Analyzing the New England narrative, establishing equally crucial contributions made by North Carolina and her women patriots, and revealing the sectional nationalism responsible for their absence, does not inherently challenge the primacy or importance of New England’s role in American Independence. Instead, by moving beyond the sectional nationalism of the “standard Patriot” narrative, the inclusion of North Carolina’s history substantiates New England’s contributions in the struggle for independence, self-governance, class mobility, diversity, and religious freedom from the arrival of the first colonists through the American Revolution, where colonial men and women came together and provided the strength and stability required to break from England and forge a new nation. However, if the history of American Independence remains founded in the revised “standard Patriot” narrative, one thing is certain: if North Carolina’s history and major role in American Independence can be consistently suppressed and dismissed in the historical record under a preference for the New England narrative of American history, the noteworthy, successful, and equally crucial contributions made by Tarheel women patriots will remain a sequestered footnote in American history.

## CHAPTER 2: A HORNET’S NEST OF REBELLION

Though General Charles Cornwallis appropriately called North Carolina a “hornet’s nest,” the accepted historical narrative presents New England as the “bees knees” of the Revolution. If critical contributions were acknowledged in the historical record, North Carolina would stand as the first to fight for independence, declare independence, and, at King’s Mountain, change the course of the Revolutionary war toward victory.<sup>3</sup> These contributions are not some secret, locked in a deep, dark archive, they are recorded throughout publicly available sources in the years directly following the war. However, a review of the pragmatic historical record shows North Carolina’s role in the independence of the nation – from the 16<sup>th</sup> of May, 1771 where the first blood of the American Revolution was spilled between the NC Regulators and Governor William Tryon’s troops in the battle of Alamance, to the Halifax Resolves and the first Declaration of Independence written and signed on the 20<sup>th</sup> of May, 1775, to the Battle at Kings Mountain which turned the tide of the war - would be a surprise to the majority of Americans.<sup>4,5</sup>

According to the New England narrative, the origin of the struggle for American Independence lay solely with Sons of Liberty, originally a loosely organized, rowdy group of Bostonian men which included many of today’s well-known Patriots such as Sam Adams, John Hancock, James Otis, Joseph Warren and Paul Revere.<sup>6</sup> It was these Sons of Liberty, “a secret organization known as the Sons of Liberty sprang up in opposition to the Stamp Act in Boston,” who united Patriots throughout the 13 colonies with propoganda, first acted against the crown with

---

<sup>3</sup> Charles Stedman, *The History of the Origin, Progress, and Termination of the American War in Two Volumes, Vol. II*. London, UK.: J Murray, J. Debrett, & J. Kerby, 1794.

<sup>4</sup> Eli W. Caruthers, *Interesting Revolutionary Incidents and Sketches of Character*. Philadelphia, PA: Hayes & Zell, 1856. Eli Washington Caruthers was a notable Presbyterian minister, educator, and historian who was compelled to record the history of his state and accounts of the contributions and impact of North Carolinian women before it was lost which are absent from histories outside of the state.

<sup>5</sup> See Appendix 1.

<sup>6</sup> See Appendix 1.

harbor-brewed tea, and single-handedly goaded England into the war for American Independence in 1775 by fighting the British over their illegally hoarded weapons at Lexington and Concord.<sup>7,8</sup>

By the rude bridge that arched the flood,  
Their flag to April's breeze unfurled,  
Here once the embattled farmers stood,  
And fired the shot heard round the world.<sup>9</sup>

As seen with Ralph Waldo Emerson's poetic recount of the Revolutionary War, the "standard Patriot" narrative is ingrained in literature, textbooks, publications, and all forms of media across several generations. The "shot heard around the world" was, and is still, heralded as the beginning of the Revolution:

Now, the ride of Paul Revere  
Set the nation on its ear,  
And the shot at Lexington heard 'round the world,  
When the British fired in the early dawn  
The War of Independence had begun,  
The die was cast, the rebel flag unfurled.<sup>10</sup>

Even in a recent edition of North Carolina's *Our State* magazine, writer Susan Stafford Kelly set the first battle of the Revolutionary War in Lexington and Concord where "at the war's outset in April 1775, the British concentrate on the North."<sup>11</sup> Despite Emerson's famous poem, *Schoolhouse Rock*, generations of history classes, and the March 2017 article in *Our State* magazine, the origins of the American struggle for Independence lay not with the Sons of Liberty, and the first battle of the Revolution was not fought in 1775, nor in New England.<sup>12</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup> Bailey-Brooke Farrell, *The American Adventure: Teacher's Edition*. USA." Field Educational Publications, Inc., 1970. 103.

<sup>8</sup> Robert Middlekauff, *The Glorious Cause: The American Revolution*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.

<sup>9</sup> Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Concord Hymn*. 1837.

<sup>10</sup> "The Shot Heard 'Round the World" *Schoolhouse Rock!* Season 3, Episode 3. 1975.

<sup>11</sup> Susan S. Kelly, "Reliving the Revolution." *Our State* March, 2017. Greensboro, NC.: OS, 2017. 107-129.

<sup>12</sup> "Blood News." *The New Hampshire Historical and Gazette*, April 21, 1775.

Ironically, in the same issue of *Our State* where the article, “Reliving the Revolution,” set the first battle in Lexington and Concord, Katie King prefaced the issue with the editorial, “Revolutionary Roots,” a brief summary of the Regulator movement, the Regulatory War, and the 1771 Battle of Alamance. With astute political deftness, King did not tread on the New England narrative, or challenge the primacy of New England’s contribution, with her reminder; instead, she offered up this lesson in regional history as “a brief glimpse of the Revolutionary War to come.”<sup>13</sup> It was not the Sons of Liberty, but the Regulators, named after the 1765 citizen-formed Regulatory Movement which represented the citizen’s desire to “regulate” their own affairs, who struggled against the British in both North and South Carolina over their desire for self-rule.<sup>14,15</sup> First-hand accounts, such as the memoirs of William Moultrie, a planter and politician who became and Major General in the Patriot Army during the Revolutionary War and a later Governor of South Carolina, included in his first-person narrative detailed descriptions of the culture, society, events, and actions of Patriots and Tories leading up to, and during, the Revolutionary War. Though focused on the South Carolina colony, Moultrie’s account discussed the simple fact that North Carolinians took up arms against colonial officials in the War of the Regulation under a bid for independence in 1765.<sup>16</sup>

In line with Moultrie’s account, the War of the Regulation is recorded by government leaders and military participants, state archives of both North and South Carolina, and reported in British publications such as *The Gentleman’s Magazine* and the *Annual Register*. In works published by respected historians, such as E.W. Caruthers and Samuel Ashe, which were in line

---

<sup>13</sup> Kelly, 2017.

<sup>14</sup> “News: Battle at Alamance” *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, July 1771.

<sup>15</sup> Marjoleine Kars, *Breaking Loose Together: The Regulator Rebellion in Pre-Revolutionary North Carolina*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 2002.

<sup>16</sup> William Moultrie, *Memoirs of the American Revolution: so far as it related to the states of North and South Carolina, and Georgia*. New York, NY.: D. Longworth, 1802.

with the Crown's view of the whole affair as published in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, the first blood of the American Revolution was spilled between the North Carolina Regulators and Governor Tryon's troops in the Battle of Alamance on the 16th of May, 1771.<sup>17</sup> The day following the battle, May 17<sup>th</sup>, 1771, Governor Tryon three times offered Regulator James Few the alternative of taking the oath over hanging, and each time Few chose death on the grounds that "he was raised up by the hand of God to *liberate his country*."<sup>18</sup>

A few years later, as reported by the *Annual Register*, those "rebels to the King's government, now equally enemies wot the provincial establishment, whom we have frequently had occasion to take notice of under the name of Regulators" who won a great victory at Moore's Creek Bridge.<sup>19</sup>

This victory was a matter of great exultation to the Carolinians. They had shewn that their province was not so weak as imagined.... But what was still more flattering, and, perhaps not of less real importance, they had encountered Europeans (who were supposed to hold them in the most sovereign contempt, both as men and as soldiers) in the field and defeated them with an inferior force.<sup>20</sup>

At the last battle in which Highlanders wielded broadswords, the number of Regulators engaged in the Moore's Creek Bridge battle on February 27<sup>th</sup>, 1776, "was more than double the entire forces present at both of the world-famous battles of Lexington and Concord," and, unlike the Patriots in the North, the Tarheel Patriots won, marking the first Patriot victory in the struggle for American Independence.<sup>21</sup> As with the Battle of Alamance, the Battle at Moore's Creek Bridge and the

---

<sup>17</sup> Samuel Ashe, *History of North Carolina*. Greensboro: Charles L. Van Noppen, 1908. 363-724.

<sup>18</sup> Ashe, 1908.

<sup>19</sup> Marshall De Lancey Haywood, *Governor William Tryon, and His Administration in the Province of North Carolina, 1765-1771: Services in a Civil Capacity and Military Career as Commander-in-chief of Colonial Forces which Suppressed the Insurrection of the Regulators*. Haywood, NC.: E. M. Uzzell, 1903. 182-185.

<sup>20</sup> Edmund Burke, *The Annual Register, Or, A View of the History, Politics, And Literature for the Year 1776*. London: J. Dodsley, 1777. 32,156.

<sup>21</sup> D. L. Corbitt, "Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge." *The North Carolina Historical Review*, vol. 4, no. 2, 1927. 208-209.



contributions by the Regulators of North Carolina are strikingly absent from the “standard Patriot” narrative.

Arguments surrounding the New England narrative on the subject of North Carolina’s Regulatory War were brought to heel by North Carolina native and Trinity College [Duke University] Professor John S. Bassett in 1896. Bassett’s work, “The Regulators of North Carolina (1765-1771),” was published in a journal printed by the Government Printing Office in Washington, *American Historical Association Report*, and directly attacked the view that the Regulators and the Regulatory War were the beginnings of the Revolution. Bassett’s derogatory interpretation of the events was as a “peasants’ uprising” which only fought for better economic conditions and equal political processes under British rule.<sup>22</sup> As the first in a wave of historians educated under progressive history, Bassett continued his admitted direct assault on the publications of the “apologists of the Regulation” historians such as Caruthers, Wheeler, and Ashe, through his new journal, the *South American Quarterly*, a journal intended to challenge southern sentiments on history and the press which propagated them.<sup>23</sup>

After the publication of *The Regulators of North Carolina (1765-1771)*, sentiment shifted sharply across the profession on every level, as historians publicly dismissed the Regulatory War and battles in favor of the Battle at Lexington on April 19<sup>th</sup>, 1775, claiming, despite recognition by the royal governor and his allies as being in rebellion against King, country, and law in both government documents and news publications, the Regulators were not intent on independence from His Majesty’s Government in North Carolina and therefore cannot be considered as the beginnings of the Revolution. This is an interesting rebuttal considering the battles of Lexington

---

<sup>22</sup> John S. Bassett, *The Regulators of North Carolina (1765-1771)*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1896. 141-212.

<sup>23</sup> Wendell H. Stephenson, “John Spencer Bassett as a Historian of The South.” *The North Carolina Historical Review*, vol. 25, no. 3, 1948. 289–317.

and Concord also occurred before the unified colonial Declaration of Independence in 1776, and it could be argued that those participating in the battles were not, at the time, fighting for independence from the Crown either.

The historical impact of the 13 colonies unified under a single Declaration of Independence simply cannot be lessened or diminished by acknowledgement of prior contributions toward Independence. However, even though the U.S. National Archives and Record Administration acknowledged the Independence of the United States was a culmination of events, they only date the span from Lee's Resolution on June 7<sup>th</sup>, 1776,

Resolved: That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States, that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved.

to July 4<sup>th</sup>, 1776, when Thomas Jefferson's Declaration of Independence was officially adopted, signed, and sealed by the Continental Congress:<sup>24</sup>

When in the Course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.<sup>25</sup>

Jefferson's words, forever ingrained in history, are more than the birth of a nation or a proclamation of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, they are the very definition of the United States of America, her people, and her culture.

As with the timeline presented by the Library of Congress, even when a process leading up to declaring independence is acknowledged, past and present scholarship on the Revolutionary

---

<sup>24</sup> NARA. "The Declaration of Independence: A History." *America's Founding Documents*. Washington, DC.: U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, 2017.

<sup>25</sup> Thomas Jefferson, *Declaration of Independence*. July 4, 1776.

War stubbornly disavows any resolution or declaration pertaining to Independence prior to July 4<sup>th</sup>, 1776.<sup>26</sup> However, with the Battle of the Alamance proven, though not recognized, as the first battle of the Revolution, it is no surprise that when it comes to the first declaration of Independence historians dismiss or disavow the validity of the *Resolutions by Inhabitants of Mecklenburg County* signed on May 20<sup>th</sup>, 1775, and ignore the May 31<sup>st</sup>, 1775, *Mecklenburg Resolves*, in favor of the national Declaration of Independence signed in Philadelphia in 1776.<sup>27</sup>

Admittedly, the Mecklenburg Resolves and the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence are a controversial subject outside of North Carolina due to lack of primary and secondary sources.<sup>28</sup> However, given the war for Independence began in North Carolina in 1765, both are highly plausible as it follows directly the sentiment of the time:

*Resolved*, That we do hereby declare ourselves a free and independent people, are, and of right ought to be, a sovereign and self-governing Association, under the control of no power other than that of our God and the General Government of the Congress; to the maintenance of which independence, we solemnly pledge to each other, our mutual co-operation, our lives, our fortunes, and our most sacred honor.<sup>29</sup>

This sentiment as stated within the Mecklenburg Declaration is in line with the Mecklenburg Resolves which does have secondary source references through news publications at the time, but, with the original destroyed by a fire, it is understandably easily dismissed.<sup>30</sup> As Richard Plumer presented in *Charlotte and the American Revolution: Reverend Alexander Craighead, the Mecklenburg Declaration and the Foothills Fight for Independence*, the notes scribbled on the

---

<sup>26</sup> Barry Alan Shain, *The Declaration of Independence in Historical Context: American State Papers, Petitions, Proclamations, and Letters of the Delegates to the First National Congresses*. Yale University Press, 2014.

<sup>27</sup> Emily Ethridge, "Fact Check on 'Meck Dec'." *CQ Weekly*, 3 Sept. 2012, 1733, CQPress, 2012.

<sup>28</sup> A. S. Salley, "The Mecklenburg Declaration: The Present Status of the Question." *The American Historical Review*, vol. 13, no. 1, 1907, pp. 16–43.

<sup>29</sup> "Resolutions by Inhabitants of Mecklenburg County." Mecklenburg, NC.: May 20, 1775. *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina* Volume 9. North Carolina, n.d.

<sup>30</sup> Ashe, 1908.

first page of the Mecklenburg Declaration by John McKnitt Alexander offer an explanation toward why the declaration remained unpublished until 1819:

Allowing the 19th May to be a rash Act, [adoption of our resolutions had good] effects in binding all the middle & western [patriots together in the common cause, all] firm Whigs-not Tories but...<sup>31</sup>

Quite simply, the signers recognized the rashness of their act in declaring independence from England without proper consideration of the possible consequences and toned down their enthusiasm and language when drafting the Mecklenburg Resolves a few days later. These obscure men, “that spoke out their thoughts, and thought as they spoke; and both thought and spoke inextinguishable principles of freedom of conscience and civil liberty,” sacrificed life and fortune for honor.<sup>32</sup>

Harder to dismiss, less than a year later on April 4, 1776 the committee members of the Fourth Provincial Congress forcefully, plainly, and officially declared North Carolina’s independence from Britain through the Halifax Resolves.<sup>33</sup>

The Select Committee taking into Consideration the usurpations and violences attempted and committed by the King and Parliament of Britain against America, and the further Measures to be taken for frustrating the same, and for the better defence of this province reported as follows, to wit, It appears to your Committee that pursuant to the Plan concerted by the British Ministry for subjugating America, the King and Parliament of Great Britain have usurped a Power over the Persons and Properties of the People unlimited and uncontrouled... Your Committee are of Opinion that the house should enter into the following Resolve, to wit: Resolved that the delegates for this Colony in the Continental Congress be impowered to concur with the other delegates of the other Colonies in declaring Independency, and forming foreign Alliances, resolving to this Colony the Sole, and Exclusive right of forming a Constitution and Laws for this Colony.<sup>34</sup>

---

<sup>31</sup> Richard Plumer, *Charlotte and the American Revolution: Reverend Alexander Craighead, the Mecklenburg Declaration and the Foothills Fight for Independence*. Charleston, SC.: The History Press, 2014.

<sup>32</sup> William H. Foote, *Sketches of North Carolina, Historical and Biographical, Illustrative of the Principles of a Portion of Her Early Settlers*. New York, NY.: R. Carter, 1846. 45.

<sup>33</sup> “Minutes of the Provincial Congress of North Carolina.” *North Carolina Provincial Congress, April 04, 1776 - May 14, 1776*, Volume 10. North Carolina, 1886.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

Unlike the Mecklenburg Declaration or the Mecklenburg Resolves, two original copies of the Halifax Resolves survive as testament to “the culmination of a year of discussions in conferences at the county level across the colony, and it was the first official action by a colony that called for severance of ties to Britain and independence for the colonies.”<sup>35</sup> With the minutes of the Fourth Provincial Congress documenting a long-standing struggle for self-governance and resulting in official action, even setting aside the Mecklenburg Declaration controversy, the Halifax Resolves still account for North Carolina as the first colony to officially take action in declaring independence. Recognized or not, “the imperishable honor of being the first in declaring that Independence which is the pride and glory of every American,” belongs to North Carolina.<sup>36</sup>

Represented in the “standard Patriot” narrative, the Battle at Kings Mountain, fought on October 7<sup>th</sup>, 1780, was a battle of such importance Thomas Jefferson referred to it as “the turn of the tide of success.”<sup>37</sup> The victory forced Lord Cornwallis to retreat from Charlotte into South Carolina, stopped the British advance into North Carolina, and allowed time for General Nathanael Greene’s reorganization of the Patriot army.<sup>38</sup> The officers and men who fought for the patriot cause were described as “Mountain men,” “Overmountain men,” and from “beyond the mountains,” terms which, at the time, referred to the then forming western counties of North Carolina and Virginia.<sup>39</sup>

---

<sup>35</sup> Elaine Marshall, *North Carolina Manual: Legislative manual and political register of the State of North Carolina; Pocket manual for the use of members of the General Assembly of North Carolina; Manual of North Carolina*. Raleigh, NC.: North Carolina Secretary of State, 2012. It is important to note the Halifax Resolves as “the culmination of a year of discussion,” were “unanimously adopted by the 83 delegates assembled at Halifax and written into the meeting minutes” less than a year after Mecklenburg Declaration.

<sup>36</sup> Foote, 1846, 45.

<sup>37</sup> Thomas Jefferson, *To John Campbell of Richmond, Virginia Concerning the Battle of Kings Mountain*. 1822.

<sup>38</sup> Middlekauff, 2007.

<sup>39</sup> Foote, 1846, 271.

Even though, as William Foote noted, “the chief honor belongs to North Carolina shared most nobly with South Carolina and Virginia,” the Battle of Kings Mountain has been disconnected from North Carolina.<sup>40</sup> Samuel C. Williams echoed the sentiments of his peers when he wrote how they were all “in accord in the view that the Battle of Kings Mountain turned the tide of warfare *in the south* in favor of the patriot cause.”<sup>41</sup> The disconnect is also seen by use of the term “Carolinas” when referencing where Major General Lord Cornwallis’s “strategy and offensive campaign *in the Carolinas* was defeated by militarily inferior force, in a rural territory, through a hybrid form of conflict that directly contributed to the British defeat at Yorktown in 1781.”<sup>42</sup> In addition, online sources and open educational sources are in confusion over which state Kings Mountain belongs to, often listing the Battle of Kings Mountain in South Carolina alone.

Today, in scholarship, textbooks and online supplementary material by Pearson and MacMillan, created for the Common Core curriculum, North Carolina is viewed as little more than a place where skirmishes occurred, if at all. Instead, the battle of Cowpens is taught to students in context of the *southern theater* as “a crucial turning point in the Revolutionary War in the South and stands as perhaps the finest American tactical demonstration of the entire war.”<sup>43</sup> This exclusion of North Carolina, her contributions to the struggle for American Independence, and her significance in achieving a Patriot victory even as part of the southern theater, is perpetuated in materials from the highest levels, the Library of Congress, and throughout open access information resources.

---

<sup>40</sup> Foote, 1846, 271.

<sup>41</sup> Samuel C. Williams, "The Battle of King's Mountain." *Tennessee Historical Magazine* 7, no. 1 (Apr 01, 1921).

<sup>42</sup> Lieutenant Colonel Brian W. Neil, “The Southern Campaign of The American Revolution: The American Insurgency from 1780 to 1782.” Master’s Thesis. United States Marine Corps Command and Staff College, Marine Corps University. Quantico, V.A.: 2009.

<sup>43</sup> Lawrence E. Babits, *A Devil of a Whipping: The Battle of Cowpens*. Chapel Hill, NC.: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001.; Quoted from NCCA online supplemental material, Pearson, 2016.

Given the recognition of New England's contributions despite equally crucial contributions to American Independence by North Carolina, there should be little wonder as to why North Carolinian women's contributions are also absent from the common historical record. Native North Carolinians found only irritation, not surprise, as they have witnessed the dialogue of history changed through years. Colonel Alfred Moore referenced this irritation in 1895 when he spoke during the Confederate Memorial dedication ceremony in Raleigh, NC:

The accepted history of the late war, like the previous history of the United States, has been written by Northern men, and a Southerner, reading it, cannot help recalling what Fronde said about history generally: namely, that it seemed to him 'like a child's box of letters with which we can spell any word we please. We have only to select such letters as we want, arrange them as we like, and say nothing about those which do not suit our purpose'.<sup>44</sup>

Regardless of rhyme or reason, whether through an effort of the patriarchy, a lack of impact or documentation, or a "calculated effort to use historical writing as an instrument of public policy," due to the sectional nationalism of the New England narrative, Americans today know little of North Carolina's contribution to our independence and even less of the remarkable women patriots who called North Carolina home.<sup>45</sup>

In 1770, the population of the entirety of North Carolina was approximately 197,200 souls with women making up about half of the total population, and only about 10-12% of the total population - around 10,000 colonists - could be counted as loyal to the crown.<sup>46</sup> In the state which had fought for independence through the decade leading up to what is considered the Revolutionary War period, there is no question that out of the over 75,000 Patriotic Tarheel women, North Carolinian women in every level of society, contributed to the nation's

---

<sup>44</sup> Ashe, 1908.

<sup>45</sup> Shaffer, 1975, 12.

<sup>46</sup> DocSouth, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970: Population in the Colonial and Continental Periods*, Vol 10. 1995.

independence in both creative and outspoken ways.<sup>47</sup> Without diminishing the equally crucial and important New England contributions to American Independence, North Carolinians were first in the fight for liberty, first to shed blood for freedom, first to declare independence from tyranny, first to turn the tide, and their women were first to be forgotten.

---

<sup>47</sup> See Appendix 1.



### CHAPTER 3: THE MOST FORMIDABLE ENEMIES

In the middle of the outrage over the British Coercive and Tax Acts, fifty-one women from Edenton, North Carolina stood up to British policies and on October 24, 1774, these women gathered at the home of Elizabeth King. Under Penelope Barker's leadership and direction, "they signed their names to a petition that outlined their disagreement with British policies and their duty to publicly announce" where they stood:<sup>48</sup>

Maybe it has only been men who have protested the king up to now. That only means we women have taken too long to let our voices be heard. We are signing our names to a document, not hiding ourselves behind costumes like the men in Boston did at their tea party. The British will know who we are.<sup>49</sup>

Addressed and mailed directly to the King of England, the full text of this petition to boycott British goods, along with the names of fifty-one outspoken Tarheel Patriot women, were published on January 16, 1775 in the *London Advertiser* and the *Morning Chronicle*. Read by the King, Parliament, and all of England, the words of the illustrious Penelope Barker dominated conversation on both sides of the pond; an exceptional feat considering the colonial papers did not carry the news. Organized and carried out by North Carolinian Patriot women, the Edenton Tea Party levied the first official instance of political action in the struggle for American Independence. In a bombshell mixture of shock, awe, and even amusement at the audacity of the Edenton women in calling out the Bostonian men as cowards, eyes on both sides of the Atlantic focused sharply on North Carolina. As Arthur Iredell's letter to his brother, James, who became one of the first Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, reveals that even at the time, North Carolinian women

---

<sup>48</sup> Maggie Mitchell, "Treasonous Tea: The Edenton Tea Party of 1774." Master's Thesis. Liberty University, 2015.

<sup>49</sup> Penelope Barker, "Statement of Protest" *The Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, January 16<sup>th</sup>, 1775. On October 25<sup>th</sup>, 1774,

and their contributions to American Independence far exceeded the expectations of what these colonial freedoms would yield.

Is there a female congress at Edenton too? I hope not, for we Englishmen are afraid of the Male Congress, but if the Ladies, who have ever, since the Amazonian Era, been esteemed the most formidable Enemies, if they, I say, should attack us, the most fatal consequences is to be dreaded. ...The Edenton Ladies were indeed aberrant, for in all probability they were but a few of the places in America, who possess so much female Artillery as Edenton.<sup>50</sup>

In contrast with the “baron and femme” mentality of English society at the time, women in 18<sup>th</sup> century America were more active, more prominent, more independent, and more successful in activities outside of the home.<sup>51</sup> Underestimated by the British and privileged through formal etiquette, colonial women were uniquely positioned to not only acquire information, but, in the off chance they were caught or suspected of treason against the crown by the British, also received extreme leniency in punishment, if any at all.<sup>52</sup>

According to the “standard Patriot” narrative, the notable women to wield a pen more skillfully and deadly than any sword in contribution to American Independence did not include Penelope Barker and the women of Edenton. In their place, New England women such as Mercy Otis Warren, the “Conscience of the American Revolution,” Hannah Mather Crocker, Grand Master of Freemasonry at St. Anne’s Lodge and champion of women’s rights, and Abigail Adams, wife to founding father John Adams, who are renowned for the influence their written word had on America’s struggle for independence.<sup>53</sup>

---

<sup>50</sup> Arthur Iredell to James Iredell, January 31, 1775, printed in Don Higginbotham, ed., *The Papers of James Iredell*, vol. 1: 1776-1777 (Raleigh: North Carolina Division of Archives and History, 1976). 282-284.

<sup>51</sup> Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Americans; the colonial experience*. New York, NY.: Random House, 1958. Baron and femme mentality, founded on the law of the same name.

<sup>52</sup> Caruthers, 1856.

<sup>53</sup> Middlekauff, 2007.

Boston's Mercy Owen Warren hosted protest meetings in her home which evolved into the Committee of Correspondence, and her writings, published under a pseudonym at the time, influenced prominent men and women in support of Independence.<sup>54</sup> Abigail Adams, Mercy's friend and confidant, was "a force for change," a woman whose letters were "valued when she wrote them because they represented an important and entertaining source of information" on the struggle for American Independence.<sup>55</sup> Fellow Bostonian, Hannah Mather Coker actively contributed to the Patriot cause as a spy and author who, along with Warren and Adams, "represented the vital and active political roles of women in ensuring the justification of the Revolution as it unfolded, as well as the legitimacy of its constitutional outcome long after violence had ceased."<sup>56</sup> Though influential in different ways, at the time of the struggle for American Independence, the writings of Adams, Warren, and Coker did not come close to the level of impact of Penelope Barker who, on October 25, 1774, composed that statement of protest vowing to give up tea and boycott other British products "until such time that all acts which tend to enslave our Native country shall be repealed."<sup>57</sup>

With the push to recognize women's contributions during the struggle for American Independence originating within the modern feminist movement and its related progressive social history scholarship, it stands to reason why these particular New England women authors were pulled from obscurity back into the spotlight through the 20<sup>th</sup> century. While social historians argue within the "standard Patriot" narrative for recognition of New England women such as Adams, Warren, and Coker, whose writing represented "vital and active political roles of women in

---

<sup>54</sup> Eileen Hunt Botting, "Women Writing War: Mercy Otis Warren and Hannah Mather Crocker on the American Revolution." *Massachusetts Historical Review*, vol. 18, 2016, 88–118.

<sup>55</sup> Elaine Forman Crane, "Political Dialogue and the Spring of Abigail's Discontent." *The William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 56, no. 4, 1999, 745–774.

<sup>56</sup> Botting, 2016.

<sup>57</sup> Barker, 1774.

ensuring the justification of the Revolution as it unfolded, as well as the legitimacy of its constitutional outcome long after violence had ceased,” they overlook the writings of North Carolinian women Patriots which equally and actively contributed to American Independence.<sup>58,59</sup>

Unlike Adams, who never intended her letters for publication, Warren, who used fiction genres to conceal her intent, and Cocker, who published under pseudonyms, Penelope Barker and the women of Edenton did not hide behind masks or anonymity. These Tarheel Patriots wrote exactly what they meant and meant every word of what they wrote, signed their proclamation with their full, legal names and address, and mailed it directly to the King of England. Sadly, Penelope Barker’s brave contribution to liberty, along with other North Carolinian women Patriot’s contributions, were ignored in the colonies at the time, and are overshadowed by New England women to this day - even in the Old North State itself.<sup>60</sup>

When it comes to the shift from charitable contributions to politically motivated contributions by the upper classes of Colonial society, the unapologetic and vulgar nature of Penelope Barker’s letter in alluding to the cowardly nature of their male counterparts in Boston, negated the upper-class status of all of the Edenton women and allowed the denial of any true social influence which may have resulted from their actions. Also excluded from the “standard Patriot” narrative are the young ladies of the upper-class families in the North Carolina counties of Mecklenburg and Rowan and their “Courtship Boycott,” framed around the chivalrous notion of Knights and Ladies and executed with the gracefulness of high nobility. Instead, the New England narrative focuses on Philadelphia, headquarters of the Continental Congress and

---

<sup>58</sup> Hunt, 2016.

<sup>59</sup> Susan E. Klepp, Review of *Revolutionary Mothers: Women in the Struggle for America's Independence* by Carol Berkins. Temple University.: JSTOR, 2015.

<sup>60</sup> Ashe, 1908.

unofficial capitol of the 13 colonies, and Esther DeBerdt Reed as honored as “America’s most sophisticated, poised, confident, admired, and efficacious” woman patriot.<sup>61</sup>

Within the New England narrative, London born Esther DeBerdt Reed, shared the sentiments of her husband and Adjutant-General of the Continental Army, Joseph Reed, and bravely produced a series of political initiatives under her own name in 1780. These initiatives, published by the *Pennsylvania Gazette* under the headline, “The Sentiments of an American Woman,” were a call to action which roused the sentiments of fellow local women patriots:

Shall we hesitate to wear a cloathing more simple; hair dressed less elegant, while at the price of this small privation, we shall deserve your benedictions. Who, amongst us, will not renounce with the highest pleasure, those vain ornaments, when she shall consider that the valiant defenders of America will be able to draw some advantage from the money which she may have laid out in these; that they will be better defended from the rigours of the seasons, that after their painful toils, they will receive some extraordinary and unexpected relief; that these presents will perhaps be valued by them at a greater price, when they will have it in their power to say: *This is the offering of the Ladies.*<sup>62</sup>

Having enlisted the wives and daughters of known and respectable Patriots such as Benjamin Franklin’s daughter, Sarah Franklin Bache, Reed organized a genteel and sophisticated organization of women patriots into The Ladies Association of Philadelphia. Under her leadership, The Ladies of Philadelphia launched a door-to-door campaign which raised and contributed over \$300,000 dollars to clothe and supply Washington’s troops.<sup>63</sup> Esther, in expectation of her “Sentiments” to be widely circulated by the press, smartly structured her work to serve as guidelines for other, married, upper-class Patriot women to follow, and within a few weeks ladies’ associations were established in New Jersey and Maryland, with other northern states soon

---

<sup>61</sup> Owen S. Ireland, *Sentiments of a British-American Woman: Esther DeBerdt Reed and the American Revolution*. University Park, PA.: Penn State Press, 2018. Owen S. Ireland, recipient of the Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History fellowship, is Distinguished Professor of History at The College at Brockport, State University of New York.

<sup>62</sup> Esther D. Reed, “The Sentiments of an American Woman.” *Pennsylvania Gazette* (June 21). Philadelphia, PA.: 1780.

<sup>63</sup> Berkin, 2005.

following suit.<sup>64</sup> With newspapers at the time presenting The Ladies of Philadelphia as the highest form of genteel, feminine, republican virtue in their actions and support, Esther and her associates set the bar for cultured and educated women patriot contributions in political activity throughout the struggle for American Independence and later earned her a well-earned place in history as a Daughter of Liberty.<sup>65</sup>

There seems little to no room in the halls of liberty for the upper-class women of North Carolina who gracefully utilized their social influence in contribution toward American Independence. Elizabeth Alexander, Mary Wilson, Violet Wilson, Jane Morrison, Polk, Margaret Polk, Jane Brevard, and Mary Brevard, Lillis Wilson, Hannah Knox, and Charity Jack, sister of Captain James Jack, the bearer of the Mecklenburg Declaration to Philadelphia, were notable Tarheel women patriots of the upper-classes who were determined to contribute to American Independence honorably and within the popular ideals of courtly love and chivalrous action.<sup>66</sup> Publicly proclaiming a “Courtship Boycott,” the ladies of the upper-classes reminded possible suitors that “thy quarrel must come of thy lady” with “such love I call virtuous love.”<sup>67</sup> Their unconventional contribution to American Independence was reported in the *South Carolina and American General Gazette*:

The young ladies of the best families of Mecklenburg county, North Carolina, have entered into a voluntary association that they will not receive the addresses of any young gentlemen of that place, except the brave volunteers who served in the expedition to South Carolina, and assisted in subduing the Scovillite insurgents. The ladies being of opinion that such persons as stay loitering at home, when the important calls of their country demand their military services abroad, must certainly be destitute of that nobleness of sentiment, that brave, manly spirit, which would qualify them to be the defenders and guardians of the fair sex. The ladies of

---

<sup>64</sup> Emily J. Arendt, ““Ladies Going about for Money”: Female Voluntary Associations and Civic Consciousness in the American Revolution.” *Journal of the Early Republic* 34, no. 2 (Summer, 2014): 157-86.

<sup>65</sup> Ireland, 2018.

<sup>66</sup> Sir Thomas Malory, *Le Morte Darthur*. England.: William Caxton, 1470.

<sup>67</sup> “Courtship Boycott.” *South Carolina and American General Gazette*. February 9<sup>th</sup>, 1776.

the adjoining county of Rowan have desired the plan of a similar association to be drawn up and prepared for signature.<sup>68</sup>

The influence of the “Courtship Boycott” as a reminder to women of all classes that chivalrous men answered the call of duty and fought for their country, and as a warning to possible suitors who would not, created such a stir that their sentiment transitioned from social influence into political sway in official proceedings. On May 8<sup>th</sup>, 1776, the letter the ladies sent to the chairman of the Committee of Safety in Rowan county requesting the approbation of the committee to a number of resolutions enclosed, entered into, signed, and recorded as:

Resolved. That this committee present their cordial thanks to the said young ladies for so spirited a performance; look upon these resolutions to be sensible and polite; that they merit the honor and are worthy the imitation of every young lady in America.<sup>69</sup>

The “Courtship Boycott” set the norm for all other eligible Tarheel women and created a social movement to ostracize the Tories and encourage the "loitering young men" to a proper sense of their duty.

With the upper-class families of Mecklenburg and Rowan setting the standard, other eligible North Carolina women followed their lead, and, with Patriot women holding a vast majority over Loyalist women in the colony’s population, bachelors seeking a bride was forced to consider contributing to America’s Independence.<sup>70</sup> This contribution by the women patriots of North Carolina leveled such cultural influence that for generations after the Revolutionary War,

---

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> “Minutes to the Salisbury Committee of Safety.” Salisbury, NC.: Committee of Safety, May 8th, 1776. *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina* Volume 10. North Carolina, n.d. This source provides documented evidence that the contributions of women of North Carolina to American Independence, though unorthodox, were impactful enough to merit government proceedings and resolutions.

<sup>70</sup> DocSouth, 1995. Approximately 5,000 Loyalist women as compared to approximately 75,000 Patriot women. Even factoring in for age and eligibility in courtship and marriage, the ratio of eligible Loyalist women is tiny in comparison to eligible Patriot women who supported the “Courtship Boycott.”

the upper-class measurement of a family name was based in service and contribution to American Independence rather than inherited wealth or related status.<sup>71</sup>

While the upper-class women patriots of North Carolina contributed to the struggle for American Independence in clever and genteel ways, Tarheel women were actively engaged in the wartime effort. Their direct participation in the war effort even involved violence as reflected in the case of Tarheel born Nancy Ann Morgan Hart. More than few times, Benjamin Hart found himself dragging dead Tory and British soldier's bodies off his property to deliver them to the authorities after his wife had shot them from the large oaken stump in her yard she cleverly notched for her rifle barrel.<sup>72</sup> However, when it comes to patriot women famous for battling Tories and Redcoats during the Revolutionary War, "Captain Molly" Pitcher and Deborah Sampson top the social history list.<sup>73</sup>

"Molly Pitcher," the woman who took over firing the cannon in battle when her husband fell, is one of the most well-known female figures of the Revolution; she is also a fabrication. The New England legend of Molly Pitcher was created by selectively combining the stories of New Jersey's Mary Hays McCauly and Pennsylvania's Margaret Cochran Corbin.<sup>74</sup> Both women took their husband's place in battle, but where Mary McCauly fought at the Battle of Monmouth, Margaret Corbin fought at the Battle of Fort Mifflin. In the light-hearted debate over who was the real Molly Pitcher, most historians align with Mary McCauly and descriptions of her contribution such as the one from Joseph Plum Martin in his memoir:

---

<sup>71</sup> In the genealogy of North Carolina family names dating back to arrival prior to the Revolutionary War period, it is plainly evident in the genealogical records that there was a distinct preference in marrying within family lines who were also 1) settled prior to 1765 and 2) Patriots. Research through DAR, with only a few exceptions, shows that in North Carolina, Patriot descendants carried a preference for marrying into families whose surnames were connected by the struggle for Independence.

<sup>72</sup> Anna Maria Cook, *History of Baldwin County, Georgia*. Anderson, S.C.: Keys-Hearn printing co., 1925. 160.

<sup>73</sup> Berkin, 2005.

<sup>74</sup> Carol Klaver, "An Introduction to the Legend of Molly Pitcher." *Minerva* XII, no. 2 (Jun 30, 1994): 35.



A woman whose husband belonged to the artillery and who was then attached to a piece in the engagement, attended with her husband at the piece the whole time. While in the act of reaching a cartridge and having one of her feet as far before the other as she could step, a cannon shot from the enemy passed directly between her legs without doing any other damage than carrying away all the lower part of her petticoat. Looking at it with apparent unconcern, she observed that it was lucky it did not pass a little higher, for in that case it might have carried away something else, and continued her occupation.<sup>75</sup>

With such vibrant descriptions, Mary McCauly's actions in battle seem far closer to the myth of Molly Pitcher, still, historians on the other side of the fence point to Margaret Corbin, wounded during the Battle of Fort Mifflin. Referred to as "Captain Molly" in the records of the Secretary of War, Margaret Corbin received a pension of half-pay for life and is the only veteran of the Revolutionary War buried at West Point.<sup>76</sup> Though both of these New England women rightly contributed in battle for American Independence, the "standard Patriot" narrative preferred and perpetuated the Molly Pitcher myth.

More than a myth, Massachusetts' native and New England heroine Deborah Sampson successfully disguised herself as a man for two years in order to fight the Tories and Redcoats. In 1778 Deborah enlisted in the Fourth Massachusetts Regiment and assigned to the Company of Light Infantry under the command of Captain George Webb who sent her scouting and raiding for almost two years before she fell ill, and her secret was discovered. Though there are some accounts of disguised Tarheel women fighting alongside the men throughout the battlefields of the Revolutionary War, most Tarheel women kept their skirts and battled as the 'home guard' - even if they weren't residing in their home state.<sup>77</sup> These contributions are reflected by Nancy Ann Morgan Hart, a North Carolina native born near the Yadkin River valley and cousin to the

---

<sup>75</sup> Joseph Plumb Martin, *A Narrative of Some of the Adventures, Dangers and Sufferings of a Revolutionary War Soldier*. Hollowell, Maine, 1830, pp.96-97, in Larry R. Gerlach, ed., *New Jersey in the American Revolution 1763-1783 A Documentary History*. New Jersey Historical Commission, 1975.

<sup>76</sup> Klaver, 1994.

<sup>77</sup> Some of which are in my distant family's possession up in Andrews, NC – Crawford, Blalock, and Adams.

legendary Daniel Morgan, who moved to the piedmont of northern Georgia after her marriage with Benjamin Hart.

“Aunt Nancy,” as she was called, had a habit of “capturing a large number [of Tories] at her own table,” and, as a Tarheel woman who had a habit of exacting revenge on anyone who threatened or harmed her or her family, at least once threw “boiling soap into the face of one who was peeping at her.”<sup>78</sup> Out of the many recorded accounts of her fearlessness in the face of her enemies, and her contributions to the struggle for American Independence, the most notable began when six British soldiers confronted her on the whereabouts of a local Whig leader. Convinced that Nancy’s denial of seeing the man they sought, one of the Tories shot her prized turkey and demanded she cook the bird for them. Nancy obliged the men, serving them wine as she secretly sent her daughter to alert their neighbors, and

As Hart served her unwelcome visitors and passed between them and their weapons, she began to pass the muskets through an opening in the cabin wall to her daughter, who had slipped outside to the rear of the house. When the soldiers noticed what was going on, they rushed to try and retrieve what weapons were left. She gave them one warning that she would shoot the next man that moved. Ignoring her warning, one man made the deadly mistake of approaching her. She held the rest off until her husband, Benjamin, and others arrived.<sup>79</sup>

Though her husband wanted to shoot the hostages, Nancy was far more practical on conserving ammunition - she insisted on a hanging. When a railroad came through the Hart property in 1912, workmen revealed six skeletons buried neatly in a row near where the old Hart cabin once stood – one for each of the hostages she once hosted.<sup>80</sup> As with Nancy Hart, dutifully taking on the responsibility of keeping to the boycotts as well as defending home and hearth against the Tories, Tarheel women patriots were fiercely outspoken in their defense of liberty. Though her

---

<sup>78</sup> Cook, 1925, 160.

<sup>79</sup> Pamela Murrow, “10 Amazing Women of the Revolutionary War.” *Journal of the American Revolution* October 25, 2013. <https://allthingsliberty.com/2013/10/10-amazing-women-revolutionary-war/>.

<sup>80</sup> Morrow, 2013.

memory is eclipsed by the New England narrative and tales of the fictional Molly Pitcher, the contributions of fierce North Carolinian women patriots as active participants in the fight for American Independence live in the hearts and minds of loyal Americans.<sup>81</sup>

Tarheel women patriots were matched in their fierce contributions only by their younger kith and kin. In comparison to Paul Revere's legendary ride on April 18, 1775, Betsy Dowdy, a young North Carolina girl of only sixteen, rode and swam more than 50 miles to deliver the news of Lord Governor Dunmore's plan to attack Patriot forces.<sup>82</sup> Though Betsy's brave and courageous ride allowed the Patriots to not only stop Dunmore, but also to capture the port at Norfolk, it was Sybil Ludington of Connecticut the "standard Patriot" narrative resurrected in the 1940's as the 'female Paul Revere' for her night ride to warn of approaching British forces on April 26<sup>th</sup>, 1777.<sup>83</sup>

Listen, my children, and you shall hear, Of a lovely feminine Paul Revere, Who rode an equally famous ride, Through a different part of the countryside, Where Sybil Ludington's name recalls, A ride as daring as that of Paul's.<sup>84</sup>

The British had set fire to the town of Danbury, the new location of the Patriot's supplies. Without an organized resistance at Danbury, the militia could lose the desperately needed munitions, clothing, and medicines, so Colonel Ludington, unable to take the message himself due to preparations necessary to prepare the local militia for the looming battle, ordered the messenger to take the news onward to the rest of his regiment. Already exhausted by his ride to the Colonel's home, and considering his message delivered, the messenger refused.

In this emergency he turned to his daughter Sybil, who, a few days before, had passed her sixteenth birthday, and bade her to take a horse, ride for the men, and tell them to be at his house by daybreak. One who even rides now from Carmel to Cold Spring will find rugged and dangerous roads, with lonely stretches.

---

<sup>81</sup> Robert Louis Freear, *Nancy Hart: an American Heroine*. Boston: C.M. Clark Publishing Company, 1908.

<sup>82</sup> NCDAR, Betsy Dowdy Chapter, Janet Gregor, Regent, chapter scrapbook.

<sup>83</sup> Paula D Hunt, "Sybil Ludington, the Female Paul Revere: The Making of a Revolutionary War Heroine." *New England Quarterly: A Historical Review of New England Life and Letters* 88, 2 (2015): 187-222.

<sup>84</sup> Berton Braley, *Sybil Ludington's Ride*. 1940.

Imagination only can picture what it was a quarter and a century ago [now over two centuries ago] on a dark night, with reckless bands of “Cowboys” and “Skinners” abroad in the land.<sup>85</sup>

Sybil Ludington rode almost 40 miles through the dense and dangerous woods to warn her father’s militia of the British raid. In comparison to Paul Revere, scholarship and the New England narrative agrees with the assessment of her father who presented the bravery and contribution of her ride as greater than Paul Revere’s.<sup>86</sup>

There is no extravagance in comparing her ride with that of Paul Revere and its midnight message. Nor was her errand less efficient than his was. By daybreak, thanks to her daring, nearly the whole regiment was mustered before her father’s house at Fredericksburgh, and an hour or two later was on the march for vengeance on the raiders.<sup>87</sup>

In honor of her contribution to America's independence, Sybil was memorialized with a statue on Lake Gleneida in New York, historical markers identifying the route she traveled, and, in 1975, a Bicentennial series, "Contributors to the Cause," eight-cent postage stamp which states, “Sybil Ludington, Youthful Heroine. A brave tribute to the teenager who earned the nickname 'the female Paul Revere.’”<sup>88</sup> However, two years earlier than Sybil, on December 9, 1775, sixteen-year-old Tarheel patriot Betsy Dowdy of Currituck Banks saddled her pony Black Bess and set off to inform the nearest North Carolina militia that the Virginia Governor Lord Dunmore was advancing on the Great Bridge.<sup>89</sup>

The anticipated invasion of the Albemarle counties, and the expected collision at Great Bridge where had been the center of conversation for some time. Betsy, after overhearing the conversation between her father and her neighbor on Lord Dunmore’s plan to kill the Banker

---

<sup>85</sup> Willis Fletcher Johnson, *Colonel Henry Ludington: A Memoir*. New York, NY.: Ludington & Ludington, 1907, p. 35, 61.

<sup>86</sup> Donna Alice Patton, “Sybil Ludington: Teenage Patriot of the American Revolution,” *History Magazine*. December/January 2011: 47-51.

<sup>87</sup> Johnson, 1907.

<sup>88</sup> Patton, 2011.

<sup>89</sup> Caruthers, 1856.

ponies which could be used as mounts by the Patriots, decided that to save her beloved ponies and the men who needed them to fight for her Independence by riding to warn them about Dunmore's plan to attack the Patriot forces.<sup>90</sup> In the dead of winter, Betsy and her horse waded through creeks, swam the Currituck Sound, rode through the Dismal Swamp and Camden up to Elizabeth City before racing inland to Hertford, more than fifty miles to reach the rebel militia commanded by General William Skinner.<sup>91</sup> Betsy's daring ride, responsible for the Lord Governor Dunmore's defeat as well as the Patriot victory and seizure of the port at Norfolk, saw publication when Col. R. B. Creecy penned the story, "The Legend of Betsy Dowdy," published on February 25, 1898, in the *Elizabeth City Economist*:

Through the divide, on through Camden, the twinkling stars her only light, over Lamb's old ferry, into Pasquotank, by the "narrows" (now Elizabeth City), to Hartsford's ford, up the Highlands of Perquimans, on to Yoepim Creek, and General William Skinner's hospitable home was reached. The General's daughters, the toast of the Albemarle, Dolly, Penelope, and Lavinia, made her at home. General Skinner listened to her tale of danger and promised assistance. Mid-day came and with it Betsy's kind farewell. Filial duty bade her, and she hurried her home. As she neared her sea girt shore the notes of Victory were in the air. "They are beaten, beaten, the British are beaten at Great Bridge." The reports materialized as she went. The battle of Great Bridge had been fought and won." Then and long after by bivouac and campfire and in patriotic homes was told the story of Betsy Dowdy's Ride.<sup>92</sup>

Though Betsy's story was not published until 1898, her contribution has a long-standing oral history and tradition is honored in North Carolina with a Daughters of the American Revolution chapter, as well as a children's book by Kitty Griffin, *The Ride: The Legend of Betsy Dowdy*.<sup>93</sup> Betsy's ride illustrates that for every New England Sybil Ludington highlighted in the

---

<sup>90</sup> Nancy B. Samuelson, "Revolutionary War Women and the Second Oldest Profession." *Minerva* II, no. 2 (Jun 30, 1989): 16.

<sup>91</sup> Colonel R.B. Creecy, "The Legend of Betsey Dowdy: An Historical Tradition of the Battle of Great Bridge." *North Carolina Booklet*. Vol. I. September 10, 1901. No. 5. Raleigh, NC.: Capital Printing Company, 1901. The reprint of the article, by the same name, in the *Elizabeth City Economist*, February 25, 1898.

<sup>92</sup> Creecy, 1898.

<sup>93</sup> [http://www.ncdar.org/BetsyDowdy\\_files/html/history.html](http://www.ncdar.org/BetsyDowdy_files/html/history.html)

“standard Patriot” narrative, there are equally amazing contributions by Carolina girls whose remembrance is a socio-historical struggle, with amazing and inspirational stories yearning to be heard.<sup>94</sup> These inspirational stories, which include contributions equal to those made by New England women, should not be easily dismissed over lack of evidence alone, for when it comes to which inspirational stories are highlighted in the “standard Patriot” narrative, purely fictionalized women such as Molly Pitcher are included, as well as those with little to no viable sources, such as Lydia Barrington Darragh.

Lydia Barrington Darragh is credited with having saved General Washington’s army from a British attack, and, based on hearsay alone, is honored in the social historical narrative as a Revolutionary War heroine for her contributions as patriot spy.<sup>95</sup> The account of Lydia’s contribution to American Independence, first published in the *American Quarterly Review* about 38 years after her death, contains a “number of slightly varying accounts” in print and historiography due to the absence of sources, yet, the New England narrative presents that:<sup>96</sup>

On the night of Dec. 2, 1777, the adjutant general and other officers commandeered one of her rooms for a secret conference, and, listening at the keyhole, she learned of their plan to attack Washington at Whitemarsh, 8 miles away, two nights later. On the morning of the day, December 4, she let it be known that she needed flour from the Frankford mill and obtained a pass to leave the city for that purpose.<sup>97</sup>

On her way to Whitemarsh, Lydia passed the information onto her friend, Col. Thomas Craig, who carried the warning back to camp. This warning, mentioned in Colonel Elias Boudinot’s journal as coming from “a little, poor looking, insignificant Old Woman,” relayed that

---

<sup>94</sup> Elizabeth Ellet and Lincoln Diamant, *Revolutionary Women in the War for American Independence*, Westport, Connecticut, London.: Praeger, 1998, pp. 67-68.

<sup>95</sup> Berkin, 2005.

<sup>96</sup> Henry Darrach, “Lydia Darragh, of the Revolution.” *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 23, no. 1, 1899, pp. 86–91. Henry Darrach attempts to provide a simple, descriptive account of Lydia’s story by excluding variations. However, with no primary source documents outside of Colonel Boudinot’s journal (which remains suspect as the descriptive of the Old Woman does not match), Darrach’s account still lacks credibility.

<sup>97</sup> Jeffrey H Wallenfeldt, *The American Revolutionary War and the War of 1812: People, Politics, and Power*. Britannica Educational Pub. in association with Rosen Education Services, New York, 2010.

“General Howe was coming out the next morning with 5,000 men, 13 pieces of cannon, baggage wagons, and 11 boats on wagon wheels.”<sup>98</sup> Due to Lydia’s warning, Colonel Boudinot and General Washington had time to ready the Continental Army for the attack and General Howe arrived to find them fully armed and ready to fight. Based on hearsay alone, Lydia Barrington Darragh of Philadelphia, is honored as a Revolutionary War heroine for her contributions as patriot spy.<sup>99</sup>

On equal footing with Lydia is Cape Fear’s Mother Smith, who provided a center point of the Patriot intelligence network as she took in and cared for local patriot women and children.<sup>100</sup> Mother Smith is best remembered for having met Tory guerillas at her door, wielding a cast iron ladle in defense of the patriot wives and children inside. Her story, discounted as hearsay outside of local history and legend, tells how she called each Tory by name and “dressed them down” for threatening to burn her home, is barely acknowledged by regional historians.<sup>101</sup>

However, setting aside hearsay, myth, and legend as evidence, North Carolina’s Martha McFarlane McGee Bell’s exploits as a patriot spy are well documented. Described as having the spirit of Washington himself, Martha not only offered her services as a nurse and host to Cornwallis himself, she created the opportunity in order to keep the militia well apprised of Tory plans and British troop movements.<sup>102</sup> An 1847 article in the *Raleigh Register* reported on her most memorable encounter:

Col. David Fanning proceeded with his troop to the house of William Bell, on Deep River, on the road which leads from Salisbury to Raleigh; Bell, having for safety

---

<sup>98</sup> Colonel Elias Boudinot, *Journal of Historical Recollections of American Events during the Revolutionary War; copied from his own original manuscript*. Philadelphia, PA.: Frederick Bourquin, 1894. The discrepancy of age in the woman mentioned in the Colonel’s journal with the age of Lydia casts doubt on this entry, which is often used to substantiate Lydia Darragh’s contribution.

<sup>99</sup> Berkin, 2005.

<sup>100</sup> Hershel Parker, “North Carolina Patriot Women who talked back to the Tories.” *Journal of the American Revolution*, January 11, 2017.

<sup>101</sup> Concerning Mother Smith, of Peter Cromartie’s plantation off Cape Fear River, there is little evidence other than oratory local history. This is relative because Lydia Barrington Darragh is honored in the social historical narrative as a Revolutionary War heroine for her contributions as patriot spy on hearsay alone.

<sup>102</sup> Alexander Gray, *Raleigh Register*, September 11, 1847. Raleigh, NC.

repaired to the American camp, left none at home but his wife and negroes; but fortunately about 6 or 8 of the neighbors, armed as was usual, came in: when the Tories rode up within 30 or 40 yards and made a halt, the old Lady, who had the voice of a stentor and a spirit like that of a Washington or Lee, give orders (so loud that Fanning and his men could hear it,) to those within to throw open all the windows, take good sight, and not draw a trigger until they were sure of bringing a man down. This give Fanning a fright which caused him to retreat, without doing further mischief except burning Bell's barn.<sup>103</sup>

Later, when Col. Fanning came to arrest her husband, she ran him off by shouting orders to those within to throw open all the windows, take good sight, and not draw a trigger until they were sure of bringing a man down, even though the house was fairly empty. When the Tories approached, she grabbed a broad-axe and raised it over her head, proclaiming, "If one of you touches him I'll split you down with this axe. Touch him if you dare!"<sup>104</sup> Contrary to Martha Bell's commanding presence, Sally Salter and her stockings hid in plain sight. After a small band of Whig soldiers gathered on the Salter's plantation at Little Sugar Loaf the night of September 29, 1781, Sally Salter volunteered to scout the town and report back. William Salter's thoughts on his wife's role as a Patriot spy are lost to history, but according to the reports of the battle, none of the Redcoats "had any idea the fall of the Tory base at Elizabethtown was brought on by a wife and mother riding a bony horse and selling eggs and socks."<sup>105</sup>

Loyal Whig, enthusiastic Patriot, Revolutionary heroine, Martha Bell, inconspicuous Sally Salter, and countless other North Carolinian women just as brave, fiercely defended their homes and their dreams of liberty by keeping the Patriot militia and the Continental Army well-fed with intelligence.<sup>106</sup> However, no matter how well-documented or well-known, their contributions

---

<sup>103</sup> Eli W. Caruthers, *Preface to Revolutionary Incidents: And Sketches of Character*. Philadelphia: Hayes & Zell, 1854.

<sup>104</sup> Eli W. Caruthers, *Preface to Revolutionary Incidents: And Sketches of Character*. Philadelphia: Hayes & Zell, 1847.

<sup>105</sup> Caruthers, 1856.

<sup>106</sup> Her marker is at the site of the Battle of Guilford Courthouse and was placed there by the Alexander Martin Chapter of the DAR in 1929.



remain hidden behind the contributions of New England women patriots, such as Lydia Darragh, in the “standard Patriot” narrative.<sup>107</sup> Even without a full accounting of all the contributions made by Tarheel women patriots, or a measure of the lengths they went to in preserving life and land from the Tories and Redcoats, this chapter’s focused historical review on the contributions of those well-known New England women patriots definitively prove that the impact of Tarheel patriot women were just as notable, worthy, and crucial to American Independence. Tarheel patriot women were most formidable indeed.

Abigail Adams, Mercy Otis Warren, Hannah Mather Crocker, Esther DeBerdt Reed, Lydia Barrington Darragh, Sybil Ludington, Deborah Sampson, Molly Pitcher, and Lucy Knox, as compared with the contributions of North Carolinian patriot women Penelope Barker, the Edenton women, the women of the “Courtship Boycott,” Martha McFarlane McGee Bell, Sally Salter, Betsy Dowdy, Mother Smith, and Nancy Ann Morgan Hart, establish equal impact in contribution by the patriot women of North Carolina. Combined with the discrepancies between New England history and the history of North Carolina during the struggle for American Independence highlighted in the prior chapter, the equal impact of contribution with unequal recognition show a distinct bias in the accepted social history of the American Revolutionary War:

Some things truly are conspicuous by their absence, no matter how cliched that old saying is. Historically, a significant gap might be evidence of someone in the past not noticing something or choosing not to comment on something that we in our own time consider to be indispensable. And the ‘absence’ – or, rather, or perception of an absence in the record of the past – might tell us something about ourselves, about how our thinking or self-perception has changed and about changing fashions in history. Maybe the absence of evidence in one place helps us to see the presence of evidence in another.<sup>108</sup>

---

<sup>107</sup>John H Wheeler, *Historical Sketches of North Carolina*. Philadelphia, PA: Lippincott, Grambo and Co., 1851.

<sup>108</sup> Richard M. Gamble, *In Search of the City on a Hill: The Making and Unmaking of an American Myth*. New York, NY.: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2012. 11.

The absence of these equally crucial contributions to American Independence made by North Carolinian women patriots reveal the New England narrative as a form of sectional nationalism, a term coined by Harlow Sheidley, defined as the advocacy, propagation, and perpetuation of the lifestyle, social structure, customs, traditions, morals, and political values of a region as a national culture.<sup>109</sup>

---

<sup>109</sup> Sheidley, 1998.

## CHAPTER 4: SECTIONAL NATIONALISM

Due to the sectional nationalism which defines the “standard Patriot” narrative of America’s founding, it has been only recently, within social history and women’s studies, that Tarheel women patriots, namely Penelope Barker and the Edenton Tea Party, have achieved some slight recognition by select scholars. However, even within scholarship by women social historians, proponents of the “standard Patriot” narrative have used various arguments or excuses when confronted with the gap in the social history narrative left by the sectional nationalism which presents New England history as American history. The most prominent, the excuse of patriarchal oppression, is contrary at best and hypocritical at worst as it flies in the face of all primary source documents concerning North Carolina patriot women. Interesting to note, this excuse quite literally establishes the opposite conclusion of their intent in proving equality in strength and contributions between the sexes:

No serious scholar today would write a book about men in the struggle for American independence. A book on such a diverse and unwieldy topic would be either enormous or superficial-maybe both. This book, by contrast, is short and surprisingly nuanced. The good news is that “Revolutionary Mothers: Women in the Struggle for America's Independence” is an engaging synthesis that [people] will read and enjoy. The bad news is that-after nearly three decades of women's history scholarship-such a book is welcome both because historians generally have not integrated women into the larger story of the American Revolution and because most general readers know little about American women's history.<sup>110</sup>

To present patriarchal oppression as the reason for the absence of Tarheel women’s contributions in the “standard Patriot” narrative, and to accept the conclusion on which the excuse is based, only belittles, infantilizes, and underestimates all colonial women. Despite their

---

<sup>110</sup> Cynthia A. Kierner, "Revolutionary Mothers: Women in the Struggle for America's Independence." *The Journal of Southern History* 72, no. 3 (08, 2006): 653-4. This review is interesting, as it both condemns historians who focus solely on women’s contributions as part of the exclusion problem while upholding the focus on women patriots. Adding to this, no similar reviews on works and research which only include or focus on New England women patriots. This contrary conclusion and passive-aggressive reprimand method seems to permeate social history on the subject of contributions outside of the New England narrative.

assumptions on the patriarchy and the culture of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the “invisibility of women in the historical record,” and the absence of North Carolinian women’s contributions to American Independence, is not due to gender oppression under the “authority of the patriarchy.”<sup>111</sup>

Pragmatically speaking, colonial women patriots exhibited no fear of gender-based retribution, and, despite the claims of an all-powerful, all-controlling, patriarchy, there is little to no evidence within the Patriot colonial society, organizations, or government to support such claims. Neither is there evidence to support their sister claim that “traditional constitutions of men and women,” the baron and femme culture, resulted in a preference of the women themselves to be ‘seen and not heard.’<sup>112</sup> Flora MacDonald, a Jacobite heroine born in Scottish isles of Hebrides who resided in North Carolina through the revolution with her husband, Allan MacDonald, hardly supports the “baron and femme” perception of women at the time, and she was raised within that culture.<sup>113</sup> As seen in this research, from Penelope Barker and company’s direct address to the King of England, to Elizabeth Alexander and company’s publication of their Courtship Boycott, and the countless women who publicly boycotted and fought off Tories and Redcoats alike, these women had no bones about their public association with the revolution or concern of societal or patriarchal backlash: they wanted to be seen and heard.

At the time, none of the notable patriot women were publicly denounced, shamed, condemned, reprimanded, or stoned in the street by patriot men over their words, actions, or contributions during the many years which mark the struggle for American Independence. In fact,

---

<sup>111</sup> Betsy Erkkila, “Revolutionary Women”. *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature*, Vol. 6, No. 2. Tulsa, OK.: University of Tulsa, 1987. Though specializing in Women’s studies, Betsy Erkkila uses historical documents, newspapers, pamphlets, and records to provide an excellent overview of women’s activities and contributions to American Independence.

<sup>112</sup> Erkkila, 1987.

<sup>113</sup> Foote, 1846, 157. Though a loyalist whose husband led the highlanders in the Battle of Moore’s Creek, throughout North Carolina Flora is honored in song and literature, and her memory will live on as long as “nobleness has admirers, and romantic self-devotion to the welfare of the distressed can charm the heart.”

patriot men, throughout the states over the full course of the war and after, included in their letters, diaries, and written works, accounts of the heroism and bravery their women counterparts displayed:

The hardships and difficulties they experienced were too much for their delicate frames to bear; yet they submitted to them with a heroism and virtue that has never been excelled by the ladies of any country; and I can with safety say that their conduct during the war contributed much to the independence of America. For their heroism and virtue in those dreadful and dangerous times . . . Their conduct deserves the highest applause, and a pillar ought to be raised to their memory.<sup>114</sup>

These tributes to Patriot women by men such as General Moultrie, Major General in the Patriot Army and later Governor of South Carolina, speak in awe the highest respect of Patriot women and their contributions to American Independence without a shred of animosity toward contributions, behavior, or actions unbecoming a woman.

This patriarchal lens is cast across modern scholarship with similar results as evident in reviews of social historians on works such as Carol Berkin's *Revolutionary Mothers: Women in the Struggle for America's Independence*, a successful, well-written account of Patriot women which includes a solitary reference on the contributions of Tarheel Patriot women. The well-researched entry on Penelope Barker and the Edenton women's historical contribution to American Independence is addressed by many of her fellow women social historians who, like Catherine Kaplan, extolled the merits of Berkin's work on New England women, but reprimanded on the focus of her Edenton entry:<sup>115</sup>

Surely, for example, her discussion of the petition of Edenton women would have benefited from a discussion of the notorious print portraying them as mannish harridans. Many of the most famous images of the prewar years—from Revere's engraving of the Boston Massacre to his "Able Doctor, or America swallowing the bitter draught"—include portrayals of the mistreatment of women; others, such as the 1775 London print in which the Edenton, North Carolina women who publicly

---

<sup>114</sup> Moultrie, 1802.

<sup>115</sup> Catherine Kaplan [O'Donnell], "Old Tales in a New Narrative: Rethinking the Story of Women and the American Revolution." *Reviews in American History* Vol. 33, Issue. 3. Baltimore, MD.: 2005): 309-313.

vowed to boycott tea appear as shockingly unfeminine, deal in portrayals of women's misbehavior and grotesque transformation.

No matter how deeply buried within the list of New England women whose notable contributions are highlighted within the “standard Patriot” narrative, the response to research which includes contributions by North Carolinian women patriots by social history scholarship have generally including a scathing critique.<sup>116</sup>

Another often used reason for dismissing the contributions of Tarheel colonial women names them, along with the contributions of their state, mundane and trivial.<sup>117</sup> This opinion, that the contributions held no notable impact, is the easiest to disprove, but the hardest to dispel. As discussed in length through the previous chapter, the impact of contributions made by North Carolinian women such as The Edenton Tea Party, the Courtship Boycott, the network of spies and messengers, and the home guard were as substantiated as their New England counterparts. What was known then is even more evident today.

Going beyond those Tarheel colonial women documented by name for memorable contributions, without the activities and support of all the patriot women in North Carolina, successful boycotts of British goods would not have been carried out, the patriot militia and Washington’s army would have lost their greatest source of intelligence and support, and, “even had the patriots prevailed, they would have returned to burned homes and barren farms.”<sup>118</sup> Equally true for the women of New England, had the women of North Carolina not actively contributed to American Independence, even if the Continental Army somehow succeeded in beating the British, Independence was not certain, nor was it sustainable. If the level of impact measures in the

---

<sup>116</sup> Cynthia A. Kierner, "Revolutionary Mothers: Women in the Struggle for America's Independence." *The Journal of Southern History* 72, no. 3 (08, 2006): 653-4.

<sup>117</sup> Shaffer, 1975. 19.

<sup>118</sup> Wheeler, 1851.

outcome of creating a new nation founded on life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, that is a notable contribution indeed.

The lack of verifiable sources is another reason often cited by scholarship for the absence of North Carolinian women's contributions in the general historical record. Historians through the years have correctly lamented how there "were no newspapers in the state for several years, no diaries written by literate women and miraculously preserved from Tory house-burnings."<sup>119</sup> However, notable regional historians such as Archibald McBryde, Archibald D. Murphey, Samuel Ashe, Eli Caruthers, Cyrus Hunter, Hershel Parker, and John Wheeler from the 19<sup>th</sup> century onward have researched and uncovered a plethora of source documentation which they included in their work:

Such materials, procured at this late day-upon the arrival of our National Centennial year, are often imperfect and fragmentary in character – merely scatter facts and incidents gathered here and there from the traditional recollections of our oldest inhabitants, or from the must records of our State and county offices; and yet it is believed such facts, when truthfully transmitted to us, are worthy of preservation and rescue from the gulf of oblivion, which unfortunately conceals from our view much valuable information.<sup>120</sup>

Within this light of source discovery and research, North Carolina's role in the struggle for Independence has solidified, and, as seen in Chapter 3, the great contributions made by Tarheel women are as substantiated and equal in impact as those made by New England and her women.

At this point, the gap pertaining to North Carolinian women patriot's contributions to American Independence has been identified, analyzed through a comparative source and literature review, and the common opposing arguments have been acknowledged and addressed. There is no

---

<sup>119</sup> Parker, 2017.

<sup>120</sup> C.L. Hunter, *Sketches of western North Carolina, historical and biographical: illustrating principally the Revolutionary period of Mecklenburg, Rowan, Lincoln, and adjoining counties, accompanied with miscellaneous information, much of it never before published.* Raleigh, NC.: Raleigh News Steam, 1877. The son of a Revolutionary Patriot, C.L. Hunter is a member of the Historical Society of North Carolina as well as the Mecklenburg Historical Society.

general argument or scholarly disagreement over whether or not the contributions highlighted in this research were made. In addition, there is no general argument over the New England narrative existing, and without the acceptance of New England's contributions as the focus of the "standard Patriot" narrative, there would be no gap to challenge.<sup>121</sup> There would be no need to present or validate source material to fill the gap, no need to discuss possible patriarchal oppression, and no attempt to measure the impact of contributions made by North Carolina and her women patriots against New England contributions.

The sectional nationalism of the New England narrative is not a modern creation, nor was it cultivated through scientific and objective means and methods; simply speaking, the facts of history were not weighed and measured on an empirical or rational scale. Through an in-depth analysis of post-Revolutionary historians and historiographies, author and historian Arthur Shaffer noted how post-Revolutionary historians were highly influenced by the Enlightenment to be "less concerned with the facts of the past than with the lessons to be drawn from them," and they felt that it was time to "assume a national character, and opinions of our own; and convince the world, that we have some true philosophy on this side of the globe."<sup>122,123</sup> This sentiment was echoed by historians who "comprised an informal coalition of cultural and political nationalists" such as Noah Webster who stated, "every engine should be employed to render the people of the country national to call their attachment home to their country; and to inspire them with the pride of national character."<sup>124</sup>

These historians faced a difficult task. To unite a fiercely independent, self-sufficient, and diverse patchwork of culture under a single national identity required a simple, yet powerful, linear

---

<sup>121</sup> See Appendix for supporting evidence of the New England narrative.

<sup>122</sup> Shaffer, 1975, 37.

<sup>123</sup> James Sullivan, *Thoughts upon the political situation of the United States*. Worcester, Mass.: 1788. 21.

<sup>124</sup> Shaffer, 1975, 13.



narrative with an element common to all patriots. With their decision to center the future course of American history on the “biographies of American heroes [which] taught the spirit and character traits of republican citizenship exemplified by the Founding Fathers to a generation too young to have participated in the Revolution,” the history of struggle for American Independence focused sharply on Massachusetts and its “shining city upon a hill.”<sup>125,126</sup> Boston’s Sons of Liberty were the chosen American heroes who were “enlisted in the cause of constructing a national identity,” provided characters, setting, drama, action, adventure, suspense, mystery, tragedy, and morality to rival the greatest classic literature of the Old World in a narrative driven by a single tenant of faith shared by every patriot, regardless of denomination, culture, origin, or language: the God-given right to liberty.<sup>127, 128</sup> With the Sons of Liberty as the heroes of the great American epoch, any contributions outside their realm of influence were stripped of merit and the Revolution neatly molded itself into the purposeful, meaningful, act of providence the post-Revolutionary historians and founding fathers needed to unite a new nation under a single unifying national identity. In one fell swoop, the New England narrative was born and North Carolina’s role in the fight for American Independence, along with the notable and equally crucial contributions made by North Carolinian women, were marginalized as “mundane, fortuitous, or trivial” and discarded by the post-Revolutionary historians as useless in their endeavor of uniting the people and building a nation.<sup>129</sup>

---

<sup>125</sup> Shaffer, 1975, 37.

<sup>126</sup> See Appendix 1.

<sup>127</sup> Sean R. Busick, *A Sober Desire for History: William Gilmore Simms as Historian*. University of South Carolina Press, 2005. 5.

<sup>128</sup> Rodney Stark; Roger Finke, “American Religion in 1776: A Statistical Portrait.” *Sociological Analysis*, vol. 49, no. 1, 1988, pp. 39–51. With a majority of the colonial Catholic population - estimated in 1775-76 at 1.7 percent or about 45,200 souls out of the estimated total population of 2.5 million colonists - loyal to the King, the overwhelming majority of the 2.5 million colonists shared a deep devotion to the core beliefs of the Protestant faith.

<sup>129</sup> Shaffer, 1975, 19.

Schaffer observed that just after war's end, "the pressure for intellectual conformity affected every historian" and that with "independence a settled issue, Americans were in no mood to tolerate views alternative to the standard Patriot interpretation of the Revolution."<sup>130</sup> When David Ramsay, who was one of the first notable historians of the American Revolution, declared early on that the act of independence from England "did not hold out to the world thirteen sovereign states, but a common sovereignty of the whole of their united capacity," he breathed life into the sectional nationalism of America's struggle for Independence.<sup>131, 132</sup> Post-Revolutionary historians not only perpetuated the lens of nationalism, they defended their use of sectional nationalism and stifled any version of history which did not align with federalist "reason and logic."<sup>133</sup> As Shaffer pointed out:

For post-Revolutionary historians the problem of the imperial relationship had been resolved, never to be reopened, and logic demanded a national perspective. To elaborate the virtues of New Hampshire or Virginia or Pennsylvania would only serve to make the Revolution appear a mundane, fortuitous, trivial event.<sup>134</sup>

Once composed, historians and historical societies cultivated the sectional nationalism of the New England narrative, defended it, and distributed it to Americans through newspapers and magazines such as *American Apollo*, *Spy*, and the *Columbian Magazine*.<sup>135</sup> These early publications spread the Revolutionary generation's perception of history and into scholarship through published works such as serialized versions of William Gordon's *History of American Independence*, Ramsay's *History of the Revolution*, and early versions of Belknap's *American*

---

<sup>130</sup> Shaffer, 1975, 14.

<sup>131</sup> David Ramsay, *The history of the American Revolution* Volume I. Philadelphia, PA.: R. Aitken & Son, 1789. 123.

<sup>132</sup> Not to be confused with Harlow Sheildley's "sectional nationalism," as applied to the Boston elite as the creators of the narrative for primacy and political, social, and cultural stewardship.

<sup>133</sup> Sheidley, 1998.

<sup>134</sup> Shaffer, 1975, 19.

<sup>135</sup> Sheildley, 1998.

*Historiography*.<sup>136</sup> In addition, this sectional nationalism was etched into textbooks and publications utilized by schools during the early years following the war; textbooks such as Noah Webster's *Elements of Useful Knowledge* and John M'Culloch's *Concise History of the United States* established the pattern and sentiment for all educational material later produced.<sup>137</sup>

Shaffer described the “standard Patriot interpretation” as “one characterized by the subjugation of history to the service of nationalism” and surmised that “their frequent vagueness and imprecision of formulation, almost incantatory repetitiousness, and patriotic sentimentality, [comprised] a revealing effort to come to grips with the meaning of the Revolution and nationhood.”<sup>138</sup> His thorough analysis of method, reason, and defense strategy of the “standard Patriot” narrative leaves little room for current historians to defend the New England narrative. In line with Shaffer's conclusions are historian Sean R. Busick and the subject of his work: *A Sober Desire for History*, the 19<sup>th</sup> century author, poet, and historian, William Gilmore Simms.

Early on, Simms, dubbed the greatest writer America has produced by Edgar Allan Poe, rejected the “romantic notion that national spirit drove history forward” and advocated regional history as “democratic history.”<sup>139</sup> Focused on the achievements of individuals rather than unrelatable forces and ideals, Simms's biographical work on Revolutionary War heroes attempted to move southern Patriot heroes into the national narrative of Revolutionary War history.<sup>140</sup> Shaffer, Sheildley, Simms, and Busick are but a few of the notable historians who researched the discrepancies, highlighted sectional nationalism, and strove to amend the “standard Patriot” narrative.

---

<sup>136</sup> Shaffer, 1975, 21.

<sup>137</sup> Shaffer, 1975, 21.

<sup>138</sup> Shaffer, 1975, 12.

<sup>139</sup> Busick, 2005, 49.

<sup>140</sup> William Gilmore Simms, *The life of Nathanael Greene, Major-General in the army of the Revolution.*; *The life of Captain John Smith: The Founder of Virginia.*; *The life of Francis Marion*. New York, NY.: Derby & Jackson, 1846; 1858.

Even with the eventual rise of the Marxist-based social history in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, historians of the Revolutionary War period continue to build on this sectional nationalism rather than challenge the New England narrative; a defining practice of social history and a trademark of social historians. Christoph Conrad, professor of history at the University of Geneva, explained the rise of social history as a history which has continuously developed independently and “gradually cast doubt upon the plausibility of their own basic assumptions,” which included the trademark of “borrowing of concepts and even the adaptation of ‘middle range theories’ as tools in historical research and writing.”<sup>141</sup> Eerily in line with the post-Revolutionary historians, today’s social historians continually confuse “the attempts to discover a science of history” with historicism, a “progressive theory of history in which the future we are being inevitably propelled by forces beyond our control is always better than the present, if not utopian.”<sup>142</sup>

The sectional nationalism of the New England narrative even survived the 20<sup>th</sup> century social history perception shift where social historians framed their research on colonial women and “emerging feminism of post-war women intellectuals” under a race-class-gender paradigm with an eye towards influencing public opinion rather than focusing on the importance of their action to history itself.<sup>143</sup> Only recently have North Carolinian women patriots achieved some slight recognition by select scholars on social history’s list of admirable women active in the struggle for independence.

No state in our union can present a greater display of exalted patriotism, enduring constancy, and persistent bravery than North Carolina. And yet, how many of our own people do we find who know but little of the early history of the state, her stern opposition to tyranny under every form, and her illustrious Revolutionary career.<sup>144</sup>

---

<sup>141</sup> Christoph Conrad, “Social History.” *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*. Amsterdam: Elsevier Ltd, 2001.

<sup>142</sup> Busick, 2005, 3.

<sup>143</sup> Klepp, 2015.

<sup>144</sup> Hunter, 1877.

No history of the suffering and contributions of Patriot women in North Carolina in the Revolution can be anywhere near definitive, and the absence of North Carolina's contributions, along with the courage and bravery of its women, will remain as generation after generation are educated under sectional nationalism through a revised "standard Patriot" narrative which presents New England history as American history.<sup>145</sup>

---

<sup>145</sup> See Appendix 2.

## CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

The choice of the post-Revolution historians to craft a single national identity using sectional nationalism is responsible for establishing New England's role, and New England women patriots' contributions, as the accepted "standard Patriot" narrative against which all other contributions and historical narratives are measured. Though based in truth, the New England narrative tells a lie by omission and it is this lie which created a gap in every level of scholarship based in the "standard Patriot" narrative.

This research began under the methods of the scientific historian who, according to Busick, hold that "accuracy is a measure of factuality," and concludes with the methods of the artistic historian who "believe historical accuracy cannot be measured by the same standards of exactness as the physical sciences."<sup>146</sup> In the quest for origins, artistic historians, as described by Busick, recognize the difficulties in defining truths when history is unsystematic and historical facts are "symbolic representations of vanished past events."<sup>147</sup>

Since facts can be arranged to either mislead readers or guide them to historical truth, the arrangement of facts is at least as important as their discovery. Accurate history must not only be correct in its details as far as that is possible working with an imperfect historical record, it must also correctly convey the character of past events to readers. Facts are given meaning by the artistic historian.<sup>148</sup>

According to Simms, the highest purpose of the artistic historian is as a teacher of moral truths, a writer, working hand in hand with all truths to manifest a biography of society.<sup>149</sup> The biography the post-Revolution historians crafted for our society as the "standard Patriot" narrative not only rivaled those of Europe, but surpassed them in result and influence.<sup>150</sup> The contributions made by

---

<sup>146</sup> Busick, 2005, 5.

<sup>147</sup> Busick, 2005, 5.

<sup>148</sup> Busick, 2005, 6.

<sup>149</sup> Busick, 2005, 20.

<sup>150</sup> The unifying national identity of America's founding, created through sectional nationalism and distributed internationally, would inspire and lead the world into the Age of Revolutions which spans from 1774-1849: beginning with the American Revolution and including the French Revolution, the Irish Rebellion, the first

North Carolina and her women patriots to American Independence are quite simply a casualty of the American Republic and the sectional nationalism which built it.

However, for the historian, context always matters.<sup>151</sup> Though the post-Revolution historians' efforts were understandable, reasonable, and, for the most part, justified, the continued exclusion of North Carolinian women patriots by subsequent generations is not. The perpetuation of the "standard Patriot" narrative, especially during the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries, has not fulfilled the intent or goals of the post-Revolution historians in maintaining a unifying national identity. John Lukacs, called one of the last great narrative historians, prophetically urged historians to pay attention more "to what people do to ideas than what ideas do to people. Ideas are not autonomous actors in history...Ideas are acted upon, used, and changed."<sup>152</sup> The New England narrative is, in itself, an idea, and the myth of the "Great Idea" is, in itself, a myth.<sup>153</sup>

The gaps left by the post-Revolution historians' use of sectional nationalism have widened proportionately with the growing distance between the founding and its Protestant roots, and the removal of Divine influence has transformed the New England narrative into little more than a tall tale reduced to stereotyped caricatures by social history. With the rise of Marxist and social history, the "standard Patriot" narrative, and the national identity it created, was further revised through a perception shift on the New England colonists.<sup>154</sup> As early as 1973, historiographer Herbert Butterfield recorded a reference from his preacher which rang true of society's shifting perceptions

---

Italian War of Independence, the Haitian Revolution, the Sicilian Revolution, independence movements in South America, and (arguably) the Industrial Revolution.

<sup>151</sup> Ira Berlin, "American Slavery in History and Memory and the Search for Social Justice." *The Journal of American History*, vol. 90, no. 4, 2004. 1251–1268.

<sup>152</sup> Gamble, 2012, 6.

<sup>153</sup> Newton M. Campos, *The Myth of the Idea and the Upsidedown Startup*. USA.: Createspace, 2015.

<sup>154</sup> See Appendix 2.

on America's founding, "maybe you can't change what has passed," the preacher had said, "But you can change the meaning of what has passed. You can even take all meaning away."<sup>155</sup>

Another direct result of the New England narrative's sectional nationalism are recent attempts to uphold the revised "standard Patriot" narrative through rewriting the narrative on North Carolina history to fit the social history lens.<sup>156</sup> Larry E. Tise and Jeffrey Crow's *New Voyages to Carolina: Reinterpreting North Carolina History* contains a collection of essays written under the shadow of the New England narrative in an effort to "reimagine the type of narrative needed to explain the state's history."<sup>157</sup>

The new paradigm emphasizes social history, class conflict, gender-based studies, the African American experience (including civil rights), economic development, and working-class struggles. Modern historians do not eschew political history—they place it in broader contexts of region, nation, culture, and changing demographics.<sup>158</sup>

Tise and Crow's new paradigm is anything but new, and the final chapter, "A New Description of North Carolina," justified the need for a new, social history, narrative under the failure of regional historians "to provide a narrative to serve as a founding story for the state," the failures of the Carolina colonists (including their failure to produce a hero), the lack of a central culture, and the failure of the state's "legions of poets, lyricists, novelists, journalists, and nonfiction writers, [of which] none seems to have captured an image of NC that conveys a more uplifting and positive identity of the state or its peoples."<sup>159</sup>

---

<sup>155</sup> Michael Bentley, "Herbert Butterfield and the Ethics of Historiography." *History and Theory*, vol. 44, no. 1, 2005, pp. 55–71.

<sup>156</sup> Carol W. Troxler, "Land Tenure as Regulator Grievance and Revolutionary Tool," *New Voyages to Carolina: Reinterpreting North Carolina History*. The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 2017. In her essay, Troxler claimed that "there are historical reasons" for the exclusion of contributions, such as the Regulatory War and the Battle of Alamance and defined those reasons as "patriotic motives" behind the regional historians' accounts.

<sup>157</sup> Larry E. Tise, Jeffrey J. Crow, *New Voyages to Carolina: Reinterpreting North Carolina History*. The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 2017.

<sup>158</sup> Tise, Crow, 2017, 5.

<sup>159</sup> Tise, Crow, 2017, 359.



History, as a biography of society, requires a combination of the scientific historian's stance regarding historical accuracy as a measure of factuality on validating source material, and a literary artistic historian as an exemplifier, guardian, promulgator, and teacher of moral truths. The revised "standard Patriot" narrative of sectional nationalism has led to a perception of America's founding which propagates division. Would the inclusion of North Carolina's history, and recognition of her women patriots' contributions to American Independence, solve the problems we face today? There is no way to discern the future except through a quest for origins, a study of history, and if a shift in historical perception helped to create the problems, then it stands to reason a shift in historical perception may help solve them.

This research proposes an expansion, not a revision, to the historical narrative. North Carolina's long struggle for Independence validates the "standard Patriot" narrative of New England's Revolutionary War history without challenging the primacy of New England in the Revolution. Moving beyond sectional nationalism by including North Carolina history introduces the fact that the colonists and colonies were not all Pilgrims and Puritans, but instead were as diverse in intent, manner, and method as society is today. The history of the Lords Proprietors of the Carolinas establishes a long history of religious freedom and toleration, the influence of John Locke and the Age of Reason, and a struggle for self-governance dating back to the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>160</sup> In addition, the sale of North Carolina by the defeated Lords Proprietors to the King in 1729 reinforces the fact that royal colony status was forced upon the colonies over time, which will link the unrest in Boston to the seizure of the Massachusetts colony in 1691 and realign the perception of the Revolution as the culmination of a struggle for independence against unjust rule.<sup>161</sup>

---

<sup>160</sup> See Appendix 1.

<sup>161</sup> See Appendix 1.

The successful, noteworthy, and crucial contributions of Tarheel patriot women compliment and solidify the contributions of the New England women patriots already recognized by the revised “standard Patriot” narrative. From the outspoken Edenton women to the genteel methods of the Courtship Boycott, and from the notorious axe-wielding Martha Bell to the determined Betsy Dowdy, expanding the list of notable women patriots beyond the borders of sectional nationalism will transform the New England women’s “single act[s] of patriotism into a complex narrative of revolutionary activity” and present a more complete, diverse, and inclusive narrative on colonial women’s contributions.<sup>162</sup>

In the end, historians must decide whether history is “like a child’s box of letters with which we can spell any word we please [where] we have only to select such letters as we want, arrange them as we like, and say nothing about those which do not suit our purpose,” or if it is something greater.<sup>163</sup> Filling the gaps in scholarship created by the New England narrative and moving our national story beyond sectional nationalism will satisfy the need to include “a role for ordinary people who sustained the patriot cause... without disrupting its heroic outlines.”<sup>164</sup> The inclusion of North Carolina history returns the unprecedented uniqueness of America’s founding as a consistent struggle for independence, self-governance, class mobility, diversity, and religious freedom from the beginning, a uniqueness which has been diminished through the revised “standard Patriot” narrative of New England sectional nationalism. In short, equal recognition of North Carolina’s history and the contributions of her women patriots will reinvigorate American history by portraying how, for the first time, patriot men and women of diverse origins, culture, language, class, and beliefs fought together under one common cause: Liberty.

---

<sup>162</sup> Ulrich, Laurel Thatcher. How Betsy Ross Became Famous: Oral tradition, nationalism, and the invention of history. *Common-Place* vol. 8 · no. 1 (October 2007).

<sup>163</sup> Caruthers, 1856.

<sup>164</sup> Ulrich, 2007.

## APPENDIX

## APPENDIX 1: SUPPLEMENTAL RESEARCH

In context of this research, this information provides perspective on the differences between North Carolina history, the sectional nationalism of the “standard Patriot” New England narrative, and the revised “standard Patriot” narrative. Statistics and timelines obtained from *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970: Population in the Colonial and Continental Periods*, Bicentennial Edition Vol 10.

**Population Statistics**<sup>165</sup>

Date	North Carolina Population	Massachusetts Population	Total Colonial Population
1590	120 <i>Lost Colony</i>	--	120 <sup>+/-</sup>
1620	--	180 <i>Plymouth Rock</i>	500 <sup>+/-</sup>
1630	--	506	4,646
1640	--	8,932	26,634
1650	--	14,037	50,368
1660	1000 <i>1663 Charter of Carolina</i>	20,082	75,058
1670	3,850	30,000	111,935
1680	5,430	39,752	151,507
1690	7,600	49,504 <i>1691 Royal Charter</i>	210,372
1700	10,720	55,941	250,888
1710	15,120 <i>Revolution of 1719</i>	62,890	331,711
1720	21,270 <i>1729 Act for Purchase</i>	91,008	466,185
1730	30,000	114,116	629,445
1740	51,760	151,618	905,563
1750	72,984	188,000	1,170,760
1760	110,442	202,600	1,593,625
1770	197,200	235,308	2,148,076
1780	270,188	268,627	2,780,269

<sup>165</sup> *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970: Population in the Colonial and Continental Periods*, Bicentennial Edition Vol 10. 1995.

## Colonial Timeline: North Carolina

1524	Giovanni da Verrazana arrives at Cape Fear
1540	Hernando de Soto
1584	Queen Elizabeth I grants a charter to Sir Walter Raleigh
1584	Amada & Barlowe claim Roanoke
1585	Sir Richard Genville arrives
1586	Colonists on Roanoke are forced to return to England
1587	John White establishes 2 <sup>nd</sup> Roanoke colony with 150 men, women, and children
1587	Virginia Dare is born, the first colonist born in the New World
1587	John White returns to England
1590	John White returns to a Lost Colony and the “Croatoan” carved on a tree.
1609	Exploration by Henry Hudson
1653	Nathaniel Batts settles permanently in “North” Carolina
1660	Navigation Act
1665	Charter of Carolina and the Concessions and Agreements of the Lords Proprietors...
1669	The Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina – Legislated by John Locke
1673	Staple Act
	Act of 1673
1677 <sup>166</sup>	Culpeper’s Rebellion
1704	Settlement agreement: Lord Proprietor John Archdale’s campaign
1710	Neuse River settlement
1711	The Tuscarora War
1712	North Carolina becomes a separate colony
1715	The Yamasee War
1719	The Revolution of 1719 ended proprietary rule, began self-governance
1729 <sup>167</sup>	Seven of the Eight Lords Proprietors sell North Carolina to the King (25,001 each)
	North Carolina becomes a royal colony
1765	The Regulator Movement organized under the desire to “regulate” their own affairs
1771	Battle of Alamance
1775	Battle at Moore’s Creek
	Mecklenburg Declaration
1776	Halifax Resolves
1780	Battle at Kings Mountain

---

<sup>166</sup> Culpeper’s Rebellion was one of a string of colonial uprisings: 1676, Bacon’s Rebellion; 1683, Grove’s Rebellion; 1689, Boston Revolt; 1689, Protestant Rebellion; 1689, Leisler’s Rebellion.

<sup>167</sup> By the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, 8 of the 13 colonies were under royal authority, with six transferred to royal authority in: 1624, Virginia; 1635, Connecticut; 1636, Rhode Island; 1664, York; 1691, Massachusetts Bay, 1729, North Carolina.

### Colonial Timeline: New England: “Standard Patriot” Narrative

1620	The Mayflower Compact
	The Plymouth Colony, Massachusetts
1689 <sup>168</sup>	Boston Revolt
1691	Massachusetts Bay becomes a Royal Colony
1754	French and Indian War
1763	Proclamation of 1763
1764	Sugar Act
	The Currency Act
1765	The Stamp Act
	The Quartering Act
	The Stamp Act Congress
1766	The Declaratory Act
1767	The Townshend Revenue Act
1768	Boston Non-Importation Agreement
1770	The Boston Massacre
	Death of Crispus Attucks
1773	The Tea Act
	The Boston Tea Party
1774	Intolerable Acts
	First Continental Congress
1775	Ride of Paul Revere
	Battles at Lexington and Concord, MA
1776	“Common Sense” by Thomas Paine, published
	Declaration of Independence
1781	Battle at Cowpens

---

<sup>168</sup> See Footnote #161

## APPENDIX 2: THE REVISED NARRATIVE

**Colonial Timeline: Revised “Standard Patriot” Narrative**

1620	The Mayflower Compact
	The Plymouth Colony, Massachusetts
1765	The Stamp Act
1770	The Boston Massacre
	Death of Crispus Attucks
1773	The Tea Act
	The Boston Tea Party
	First Continental Congress
1775	Ride of Paul Revere
	Battles at Lexington and Concord, MA
1776	Declaration of Independence

**Simple Survey<sup>169</sup>**

- 84.2% believed the colonists were refugees seeking freedom from religious persecution and religious freedom.
- 60.5% believed the colonists were British citizens sent to colonize for England.
- 78.9% believed the colonies were British colonies.
- 23.7% believed the Sons of Liberty were terrorists that used propaganda to incite the anger of colonists.
- 31.6% believed the Boston Tea Party was where the colonists refused to allow ships to dock and unload taxed tea.
  - 57.9% believed the Boston Tea Party was the Sons of Liberty protest where they threw the tea in the harbor.
  - 10.5% believed the Boston Tea Party was the first act of rebellion
- 63.2% believed “no taxation without representation” caused the revolution.
- 60.5% believed the first death of the revolution was Crispus Attucks.
- 50% believed the Revolutionary War began with a battle in 1775.
- 86.7% believe women patriots are under-represented in the history of American Independence.
  - 66.7% believe it is due to a Patriarchy [social, cultural, and/or political oppression/suppression by a male patriarchy]
  - 26.7% believe it is due to a lack of notable contributions
  - 6.7% believe it is due to a lack of documentation

---

<sup>169</sup> Suspecting a correlation between modern perception on political and social issues in America and the revised “standard Patriot” narrative, I conducted a simple research survey. The survey, containing 10 multiple choice questions, was first published on Facebook, July 7<sup>th</sup>, 2018. All answers were anonymously recorded to allow for an honest response. The demographic of the 400 participants were Facebook users residing in America who voluntarily interacted with the survey and were between the ages of 18-68.

## REFERENCES

**Primary Sources**

- Armitage, David. "John Locke, Carolina, and the Two Treatises of Government." *Sage Journals* (32/5, 602-627). 2004. Retrieved from: <https://doi-org.ezproxy.liberty.edu/10.1177/0090591704267122>.
- Ashe, Samuel. *History of North Carolina*. Greensboro: Charles L. Van Noppen, 1908.
- Barker, Penelope. "Statement of Protest" *The Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, January 16<sup>th</sup>, 1775. Retrieved from: <https://lccn.loc.gov/sn86056961>
- Bassett, John S. *The Regulators of North Carolina (1765-1771)*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1896. Library of Congress Digital Archive. Retrieved from: <https://archive.org/details/regulatorsofnort00bass>
- Bentley, Michael. "Herbert Butterfield and the Ethics of Historiography." *History and Theory*, vol. 44, no. 1, 2005. 55–71. Retrieved from: [www.jstor.org/stable/3590782](http://www.jstor.org/stable/3590782).
- Berkin, Carol. *Revolutionary Mothers: Women in the Struggle for America's Independence*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005.
- Boorstin, Daniel J. *The Americans; the colonial experience*. New York, NY.: Random House, 1958.
- Botting, Eileen Hunt. "Women Writing War: Mercy Otis Warren and Hannah Mather Crocker on the American Revolution." *Massachusetts Historical Review*, vol. 18, 2016. 88–118. Retrieved from: [www.jstor.org/stable/10.5224/masshistrevi.18.1.0088](http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5224/masshistrevi.18.1.0088).
- Braley, Berton. *Sybil Ludington's Ride*. 1940.
- Burke, Edmund. *The Annual Register, Or, A View of the History, Politics, And Literature for the Year 1776*. London: J. Dodsley, 1777.
- Busick, Sean R. *A Sober Desire for History: William Gilmore Simms as Historian*. University of South Carolina Press, 2005.
- Butterfield, Herbert. *Christianity and History*. London: Bell, 1949.
- Caruthers, E.W. *Interesting Revolutionary Incidents and Sketches of Character*. Philadelphia, PA: Hayes & Zell, 1856.
- . Preface to *Revolutionary Incidents: And Sketches of Character*. Philadelphia: Hayes & Zell, 1854.



Cook, Anna Maria (Green) 1844-1936. *History of Baldwin County, Georgia*. Anderson, S.C.: Keys-Hearn printing co., 1925.

Corbitt, D. L. "Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge." *The North Carolina Historical Review*, vol. 4, no. 2, 1927, pp. 208–209.

Crane, Elaine Forman. "Political Dialogue and the Spring of Abigail's Discontent." *The William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 56, no. 4, 1999. 745–774. Retrieved from: [www.jstor.org/stable/2674234](http://www.jstor.org/stable/2674234).

Creecy, R.B. "The Legend of Betsy Dowdy." *Elizabeth City Economist*, February 25, 1898.

Digital Archive. "Colonial and State Records of North Carolina." Documenting the American South. North Carolina, n.d. Retrieved from <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html>.  
*Primary Sources within the DocSouth Collection:*

"Blood News." *The New Hampshire Historical and Gazette*, April 21, 1775.

"Courtship Boycott." *South Carolina and American General Gazette*. February 9th, 1776.

"Minutes of the Provincial Congress of North Carolina." North Carolina Provincial Congress, April 04, 1776 - May 14, 1776, Volume 10. North Carolina, 1886.

"Minutes to the Salisbury Committee of Safety." Salisbury, NC.: Committee of Safety, May 8th, 1776. Colonial and State Records of North Carolina Volume 10. North Carolina, n.d.

"News: Battle at Alamance" *The Gentleman's Magazine*, July 1771.

"To John Adams from John Penn, 17 April 1776," *Founders Online*, National Archives, last modified April 12, 2018. <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-04-02-0046>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 4, *February–August 1776*, ed. Robert J. Taylor. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979, pp. 128–129.]

"Resolutions by Inhabitants of Mecklenburg County." Mecklenburg, NC.: May 20, 1775. *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina* Volume 9. North Carolina, n.d.

Ellet, Elizabeth; Diamant, Lincoln. *Revolutionary Women in the War for American Independence*, Westport, Connecticut, London.: Praeger, 1998, pp. 67-68.

Emerson, Ralph Waldo *Concord Hymn*. 1837.

Erkkila, Betsy. "Revolutionary Women". *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature*, Vol. 6, No. 2. Tulsa, OK.: University of Tulsa, 1987. Retrieved from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/464269>

- Ethridge, Emily. "Fact Check on 'Meck Dec'." *CQ Weekly*, 3 Sept. 2012. CQPress, 2012. [library.cqpress.com/cqweekly/weeklyreport112-000004146198](http://library.cqpress.com/cqweekly/weeklyreport112-000004146198).
- Foote, William H. *Sketches of North Carolina, Historical and Biographical, Illustrative of the Principles of a Portion of Her Early Settlers*. New York, NY.: R. Carter, 1846. Retrieved from: <https://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/foote/foote.html>.
- Freear, Robert Louis. *Nancy Hart: an American Heroine*. Boston: C.M. Clark Publishing Company, 1908.
- Gelles, Edith B. *Abigail Adams: A Writing Life*. New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2002.
- Gray, Alexander. *Raleigh Register*, September 11, 1847.: Raleigh, NC.
- Haywood, Marshall De Lancey. *Governor William Tryon, and His Administration in the Province of North Carolina, 1765-1771: Services in a Civil Capacity and Military Career as Commander-in-chief of Colonial Forces which Suppressed the Insurrection of the Regulators*. Haywood, NC.: E. M. Uzzell, 1903. Retrieved from: <https://archive.org/details/govwilliamtryon00hayw>.
- Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970: Population in the Colonial and Continental Periods*, Bicentennial Edition Vol 10. 1995. Retrieved from: [https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1975/compendia/hist\\_stats\\_colonial-1970.html](https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1975/compendia/hist_stats_colonial-1970.html).
- Hunt, Paula D. "Sybil Ludington, the Female Paul Revere: The Making of a Revolutionary War Heroine." *New England Quarterly: A Historical Review of New England Life and Letters* 88, 2 (2015): 187-222.
- Hunter, C.L. *Sketches of western North Carolina, historical and biographical: illustrating principally the Revolutionary period of Mecklenburg, Rowan, Lincoln, and adjoining counties, accompanied with miscellaneous information, much of it never before published*. Raleigh, NC.: Raleigh News Steam, 1877.
- Iredell, Arthur. "Arthur Iredell to James Iredell, January 31, 1775." Don Higginbotham, ed., *The Papers of James Iredell*, vol. 1: 1776-1777. Raleigh, NC.: North Carolina Division of Archives and History, 1976.
- Jefferson, Thomas. "Thomas Jefferson to John Campbell of Richmond, Virginia Concerning The Battle of Kings Mountain." 1822.
- Johnson, Willis Fletcher. *Colonel Henry Ludington: A Memoir*. New York, NY.: Ludington & Ludington, 1907. 35, 61. Retrieved from: <https://archive.org/details/colhenrylud00johnrich>.

- Kaplan, Catherine. *Old Tales in a New Narrative: Rethinking the Story of Women and the American Revolution*. vol. 33, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 2005.
- Kars, Marjoleine. *Breaking Loose Together: The Regulator Rebellion in Pre-Revolutionary North Carolina*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 2002.
- Kelly, Susan S. "Reliving the Revolution." *Our State* March 2017. Greensboro, NC.: OS, 2017. 107-129.
- Kerber, Linda K. "'I Have Don . . . much to Carrey on the Warr': Women and the Shaping of Republican Ideology after the American Revolution." *Women and Politics in the Age of the Democratic Revolution*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Harriet B. Applewhite and Darline G. Levy, 1990.
- Kierner, Cynthia A. "Revolutionary Mothers: Women in the Struggle for America's Independence." *The Journal of Southern History* 72, no. 3 (08, 2006). 653-4.
- Klaver, Carol. "An Introduction to the Legend of Molly Pitcher." *Minerva* XII, no. 2 (Jun 30, 1994). 35.
- Klepp, Susan E. Review of *Revolutionary Mothers: Women in the Struggle for America's Independence* by Carol Berkins. Temple University, 2015. Retrieved from: <https://journals.psu.edu/phj/article/viewFile/59452/59175>.
- Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth. *Paul Revere's Ride*. 1860.
- Martin, Daisy. "Using Core Historical Thinking Concepts in an Elementary History Methods Course." *The History Teacher* (vol. 45, no. 4, 2012). 581–602. Retrieved from: [www.jstor.org/stable/23265947](http://www.jstor.org/stable/23265947).
- Martin, Joseph Plumb. *A Narrative of Some of the Adventures, Dangers and Sufferings of a Revolutionary War Soldier*. Hollowell, Maine, 1830, pp.96-97, in Larry R. Gerlach, ed., *New Jersey in the American Revolution 1763-1783 A Documentary History*. New Jersey Historical Commission, 1975.
- Mayer, Holly A. "Revolutionary Mothers: Women in the Struggle for America's Independence." *The American Historical Review* 111, no. 3 (06, 2006): 827-8.
- Middlekauff, Robert. *The Glorious Cause: The American Revolution*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Moultrie, William. *Memoirs of the American Revolution: so far as it related to the states of North and South Carolina, and Georgia*. New York, NY.: D. Longworth, 1802.

- NARA. "The Declaration of Independence: A History." *America's Founding Documents*. Washington, DC.: U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, 2017. Retrieved from: <https://www.archives.gov/founding-docs/declaration-history>.
- Patton, Donna Alice. "Sybil Ludington: Teenage Patriot of the American Revolution," *History Magazine*. December/January 2011: 47-51.
- Ramsay, David. *The history of the American Revolution* Volume I. Philadelphia, PA.: R. Aitken & Son, 1789.
- Reed, Esther D. "The Sentiments of an American Woman." *Pennsylvania Gazette* (June 21). Philadelphia, PA.: Library of Congress, 1780.
- Samuelson, Nancy B. "Revolutionary War Women and the Second Oldest Profession." *Minerva* II, no. 2 (Jun 30, 1989).
- Shaffer, Arthur. *The Politics of History*. New York: Routledge, 1975.
- Shain, Barry Alan. *The Declaration of Independence in Historical Context: American State Papers, Petitions, Proclamations, and Letters of the Delegates to the First National Congresses*. Yale University Press, 2014.
- Sheidley, Harlow. *Sectional Nationalism: Massachusetts Conservative Leaders and the Transformation of America, 1815-1836*. Lebanon, NH.: University Press of New England, 1998.
- Simms, William Gilmore. *The life of Nathanael Greene, Major-General in the army of the Revolution.; The life of Captain John Smith: The Founder of Virginia.; The life of Francis Marion.; The life of Captain John Smith*. New York, NY.: Derby & Jackson, 1846; 1858.
- Stedman, C. *The History of the Origin, Progress, and Termination of the American War in Two Volumes: Volume II*. London, UK.: J Murray, J. Debrett, & J. Kerby, 1794.
- Wendell H. Stephenson, "John Spencer Bassett as a Historian of The South." *The North Carolina Historical Review*, vol. 25, no. 3, 1948. 289–317. Retrieved from: [www.jstor.org/stable/23515254](http://www.jstor.org/stable/23515254).
- Williams, James H. "The Mecklenburg Declaration – The Celebrations." *Mecklenburg Historical Association*. Charlotte, NC.: MHA, 2008. <https://www.meckdec.org/declaration/the-celebrations>.
- Williams, Samuel C. "The Battle of King's Mountain." *Tennessee Historical Magazine* 7, no. 1 (Apr 01, 1921).

Wineburg, Samuel S. "On the Reading of Historical Texts: Notes on the Breach between School and Academy." *American Educational Research Journal*, vol. 28, no. 3, 1991. 495–519. Retrieved from: [www.jstor.org/stable/1163146](http://www.jstor.org/stable/1163146).

Wheeler, John H. *Historical Sketches of North Carolina*. Philadelphia, PA: Lippincott, Grambo and Co., 1851.

## Secondary Sources

Allport, Floyd H. "Literature and the Search for Truth." *The Sewanee Review*, vol. 49, no. 2, 1941. 213–236. Retrieved from: [www.jstor.org/stable/27535769](http://www.jstor.org/stable/27535769).

Arendt, Emily J. "'Ladies Going about for Money': Female Voluntary Associations and Civic Consciousness in the American Revolution." *Journal of the Early Republic* 34, no. 2 (Summer, 2014): 157-86.

Angelis, Angelo T. Review of *Abigail Adams: A Writing Life* by Edith B. Gelles. "Biography." *Biography*, vol. 26, no. 2, 2003. 326–329. Retrieved from: [www.jstor.org/stable/23540416](http://www.jstor.org/stable/23540416).

Berlin, Ira. "American Slavery in History and Memory and the Search for Social Justice." *The Journal of American History*, vol. 90, no. 4, 2004. 1251–1268. Retrieved from: [www.jstor.org/stable/3660347](http://www.jstor.org/stable/3660347).

Campos, Newton M. *The Myth of the Idea and the Upsidedown Startup*. USA.: Createspace, 2015.

Conrad, C. "Social History." *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*. Amsterdam: Elsevier Ltd, 2001. Farrell, Bailey-Brooke. *The American Adventure: Teacher's Edition*. USA." Field Educational Publications, Inc., 1970.

Gamble, Richard M. *In Search of the City on a Hill: The Making and Unmaking of an American Myth*. New York, NY.: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2012.

Machiavelli, Niccolo. *Discourses on the First Decade of Titus Livius by Niccolo Machiavelli: Citizen and Secretary of Florence*. Translated by Ninian Hill Thomson, M.A. London.: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1883.

Martin, I. J. Griffin. "Catholic Loyalists of the Revolution." *The American Catholic Historical Researches*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (April, 1889), pp. 77-88. American Catholic Historical Society, 1889. Retrieved from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44373628>.

Marshall, Elaine. *North Carolina Manual: Legislative manual and political register of the State of North Carolina; Pocket manual for the use of members of the General Assembly of North Carolina; Manual of North Carolina*. Raleigh, NC.: North Carolina Secretary of

- State, 2012. Retrieved from:  
<http://digital.ncdcr.gov/cdm/ref/collection/p16062coll9/id/146038>.
- McGloughlin, William. "The American Revolution as a Religious Revival: 'The Millennium in One Country'," *The New England Quarterly* (March, 1967). Retrieved from:  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/363855>.
- McDonnell, Michael A.; Waldstreicher, David. "Revolution in the Quarterly? A Historiographical Analysis." *The William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 74, no. 4, 2017, 633–666. Retrieved from: [www.jstor.org/stable/10.5309/willmaryquar.74.4.0633](http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5309/willmaryquar.74.4.0633).
- Mitchell, Maggie. "Treasonous Tea: The Edenton Tea Party of 1774." Master's Thesis. Liberty University, 2015. Retrieved from: <https://digitalcommons.liberty.edu/masters/386>.
- Neil, Lieutenant Colonel Brian W. "The Southern Campaign of The American Revolution: The American Insurgency from 1780 to 1782." Master's Thesis. United States Marine Corps Command and Staff College, Marine Corps University. Quantico, V.A.: 2009.
- Ozment, Stephen. *Protestant: The Birth of a Revolution*. New York, NY.: Double Day, 1992.
- Parker, Hershel. "North Carolina Patriot Women who talked back to the Tories." *Journal of the American Revolution*, January 11, 2017. Retrieved from:  
<https://allthingsliberty.com/2017/01/north-carolina-patriot-women-talked-back-tories/>
- Parramore, Thomas C. *Carolina Quest*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ.: Prentice Hall, 1978.
- Pazicky, Diana Loercher. *Cultural Orphans in America*. University Press of Mississippi, 1998. Retrieved from: [www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt2tvj07](http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt2tvj07).
- Plumer, Richard. *Charlotte and the American Revolution: Reverend Alexander Craighhead, the Mecklenburg Declaration and the Foothills Fight for Independence*. Charleston, SC.: The History Press, 2014.
- Salley, A. S. "The Mecklenburg Declaration: The Present Status of the Question." *The American Historical Review*, vol. 13, no. 1. 1907. 16–43. Retrieved from:  
[www.jstor.org/stable/1834885](http://www.jstor.org/stable/1834885).
- Schultz, Martin. "Occupational Pursuits of Free American Women: An Analysis of Newspaper Ads, 1800-1849." *Sociological Forum*, vol. 7, no. 4, 1992. 587–607. Retrieved from:  
[www.jstor.org/stable/684503](http://www.jstor.org/stable/684503).
- Shift, Stacy. *Cleopatra: A Life*. New York, NY.: Little, Brown & Company, 2010.
- Smith, Paul H.; Fowler, William M. "The Florida Historical Quarterly." *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, vol. 59, no. 1, 1980. 89–91. Retrieved from: [www.jstor.org/stable/30146082](http://www.jstor.org/stable/30146082).

- Stark, Rodney; Finke, Roger. "American Religion in 1776: A Statistical Portrait." *Sociological Analysis*, vol. 49, no. 1, 1988. 39–51. Retrieved from: [www.jstor.org/stable/3711102](http://www.jstor.org/stable/3711102).
- Tise, Larry E.; Crow, Jeffrey J. *New Voyages to Carolina: Reinterpreting North Carolina History*. The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 2017.
- Ulrich, Laurel Thatcher. "How Betsy Ross Became Famous: Oral tradition, nationalism, and the invention of history." *Common-Place* vol. 8 · no. 1 (October 2007).
- Wallenfeldt, Jeffrey H. *The American Revolutionary War and the War of 1812: People, Politics, and Power*. Britannica Educational Pub. in association with Rosen Education Services, New York, 2010, 137.