HISTORIC ARCHITECTURAL RESOURCES SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT

DANIEL STREET (SR 1537) EXTENSION

TARBORO, EDGECOMBE COUNTY
NORTH CAROLINA

T.I. P. No. U-3826
STATE PROJECT No. 8.2291201
FEDERAL AID PROJECT No. STP-1537(2)

The HISTORIC ARCHITECTURE *Section*

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VANESSA E. PATRICK
ARCHITECTURAL HISTORIAN
NORTH CAROLINA DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION
NOVEMBER 2002

Vanessa E. Patrick 11-30-2002

Vanessa E. Patrick, Principal Investigator
Historic Architecture Section
North Carolina Department of Transportation

Date

Mary Pope Furr 11·30·2002

Mary Pope Furr, Supervisor
Historic Architecture Section
North Carolina Department of Transportation

Date

North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources
State Historic Preservation Office
David L. S. Brook, Administrator

Michael F. Easley, Governor
Lisbeth C. Evans, Secretary
Jeffrey J. Crow, Deputy Secretary

Division of Historical Resources
David J. Olson, Director

January 2, 2003

MEMORANDUM

TO: Greg Thorpe, Manager
Project Development and Environmental Analysis Branch
NCDOT Division of Highways

FROM: David Brook DSB for David Brook

SUBJECT: Historic Architectural Resources Supplemental Report, Daniel Street Extension (SR 1537), Tarboro, U-3826, Edgecombe County, CH01-0306

Thank you for your letter of December 16, 2002, transmitting the survey report by Vanessa Patrick for the above project.

For purposes of compliance with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act, we concur that the following property is eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places under the criterion cited:

> The Shiloh Graveyard, on SR 1523 (Shiloh Farm Road), under Criterion A for its association with the social development of Tarboro and Edgecombe County and the evolving belief system and funerary tradition of the American South. The property is eligible under Criterion B for its association with Lawrence Toole, one of Tarboro's first founders and commissioners. In addition, the property is eligible under Criterion C as a graveyard containing good examples of the major styles of American funerary art and as a landscape feature, typical of Southern plantations and representative of late-colonial and nineteenth-century custom and practice. Finally, the Shiloh Graveyard is likely to yield future information about Anglo-American and possibly African-American burial practices.
>
> The Shiloh Graveyard also is eligible for the National Register under Criteria Considerations C and D. The property contains Lawrence Toole's grave and is the only tangible link to his exceptional contribution to the founding of Tarboro. The graveyard is also significant for its association with the early development of the Tarboro region and includes one of the oldest surviving gravestones in North Carolina.

We concur with the Shiloh Graveyard National Register boundary as described and delineated in the survey report.

The following property is determined not eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places because they are neither historically or architecturally significant:

Eastlawn Memorial Cemetery
Landfill Shed
Tarboro Animal Shelter
Panola Heights Club
House
Tip Top Roofing
House and Outbuildings
House
House
House
House

We appreciate the excellent research and writing in this report and suggest that Ms. Patrick may want to submit this material for publication.

The above comments are made pursuant to Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation's Regulations for Compliance with Section 106 codified at 36 CFR Part 800.

Thank you for your cooperation and consideration. If you have questions concerning the above comment, contact Renee Gledhill-Earley, environmental review coordinator, at 919/733-4763. In all future communication concerning this project, please cite the above referenced tracking number.

DB:doc

cc: Mary Pope Furr

bc: Brown/McBride/County

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA
DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION

MICHAEL F. EASLEY
GOVERNOR

Ref. #CH01-0306
S Due 1/10/03

LYNDO TIPPETT
SECRETARY

December 16, 2002

RECEIVED
DEC 18 2002
HISTORIC PRESERVATION OFFICE

Mr. David L. S. Brook
Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer
North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources
109 East Jones Street
Raleigh, North Carolina 27601

Re: *U-3826, Tarboro, Edgecombe County*
Daniel Street (SR 1537) Extension
State Project No. 8.2291201, Federal Aid Project No. STP-1537(2)

Dear Mr. Brook:

The North Carolina Department of Transportation (NCDOT) is conducting planning studies for the above-referenced project. This letter accompanies three copies of the Historic Architectural Resources Supplemental Report for the project area. The report meets NCDOT and National Park Service guidelines for survey procedures and concludes that one property (the Shiloh Graveyard) within the Area of Potential Effects (APE) is eligible for the National Register of Historic Places.

Please review the report and provide us with your comments. The project area is within the purview of your Raleigh office. Should you have any questions, please contact Vanessa Patrick, Historic Architecture Section, 919-733-7844. extension 296.

Sincerely,

Mary Pope Furr

Mary Pope Furr
Supervisor, Historic Architecture Section

Attachment

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Management Summary

The North Carolina Department of Transportation (NCDOT) proposes to extend SR 1537 (Daniel Street) from SR 1518 (Loop Road) to US 258 in Tarboro, Edgecombe County. The new road will reduce truck traffic in downtown Tarboro and its surrounding residential areas, as well as improve general access to northeastern Edgecombe County. The proposed extension of SR 1537, currently a two-lane, two-way facility, entails constructing a similar roadway on a multi-lane right-of-way and a crossing of the Tar River. Since the project area was initially investigated by NCDOT for historic architectural resources in 1999, it has acquired a number of additional, alternative corridors. The project is federally (Project No. STP-1537(2)) and state (Project No. 8.2291201) funded.

NCDOT conducted survey and compiled this supplemental report in order to identify historic architectural resources located within the Area of Potential Effects (APE) associated with the new alternatives. All structures within the APE have been assessed according to the National Register of Historic Places criteria of evaluation. No properties in the APE are currently included on the National Register or state study list, or otherwise determined eligible. Twelve properties were identified in the survey, of which eleven were determined not eligible for the National Register and not worthy of further evaluation in a consultation meeting between the North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office and NCDOT. The remaining property, the Shiloh Graveyard, is addressed in this report. It is the conclusion of the principle investigator that the Shiloh Graveyard is eligible for the National Register under Criteria A, B, C, and D and Criteria Considerations C and D as significant both locally and regionally in the areas of art and social history.

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Project Description

The North Carolina Department of Transportation (NCDOT) proposes to extend SR 1537 (Daniel Street) from SR 1518 (Loop Road) to US 258 in Tarboro, Edgecombe County (Figure 1). The new road will reduce truck traffic in downtown Tarboro and its surrounding residential areas, as well as improve general access to northeastern Edgecombe County. The proposed extension of SR 1537, currently a two-lane, two-way facility, entails constructing a similar roadway on a multi-lane right-of-way and a crossing of the Tar River. Since the project area was initially investigated by NCDOT for historic architectural resources in 1999, it has acquired a number of additional, alternative corridors (Alternatives A-H) (Figure 2).[1] Project planners have eliminated Alternatives A and G. Two of the remaining alternatives (F and H) are not located within the bounds of the original Area of Potential Effects (APE) and thus necessitated additional study. T.I.P. project No. U-3826 is both federally (Project No. STP-1537(2)) and state (Project No. 8.2291201) funded.

The APE for historic architectural resources was delineated by NCDOT staff architectural historians and reviewed in the field on April 26, 2001 (Figure 3). It surrounds the routes of the added Alternatives F and H to include those areas that may be affected either physically or visually by new construction.

Purpose of Survey and Report

NCDOT's initial study of historic architectural resources in the U-3826 project area assessed one property as eligible for the National Register of Historic Places (NR): the Atlantic Coast Line (ACL) Railroad Bridge over the Tar River. The North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office (NCHPO) concurred with the finding in July of 2000 (see Appendix B for relevant document). On November 16, 2000, NCHPO and NCDOT reviewed three alternatives -- then called Alternatives 1, 2, and 3 and roughly corresponding to the present Alternatives C, D, and E -- and agreed that Alternative 2 constituted an adverse effect to a NR-eligible property (see Appendix B for relevant document).[2] Additional alternatives

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[1] The initial findings are presented in "Historic Architectural Resources Final Identification and Evaluation..., T.I.P. No. U-3826," prepared by Vanessa E. Patrick, NCDOT, June 2000. The rationale for each alternative is summarized in "Preliminary Alternatives Analysis Report ..." by Rummel, Klepper and Kahl, LLP, Consulting Engineers, May 2, 2001.

[2] Alternative 2 originally incorporated the ACL bridge, as well as adjacent sections of the abandoned CSX (formerly Atlantic Coast Line) Railroad bed. Alternative 2 has been shifted

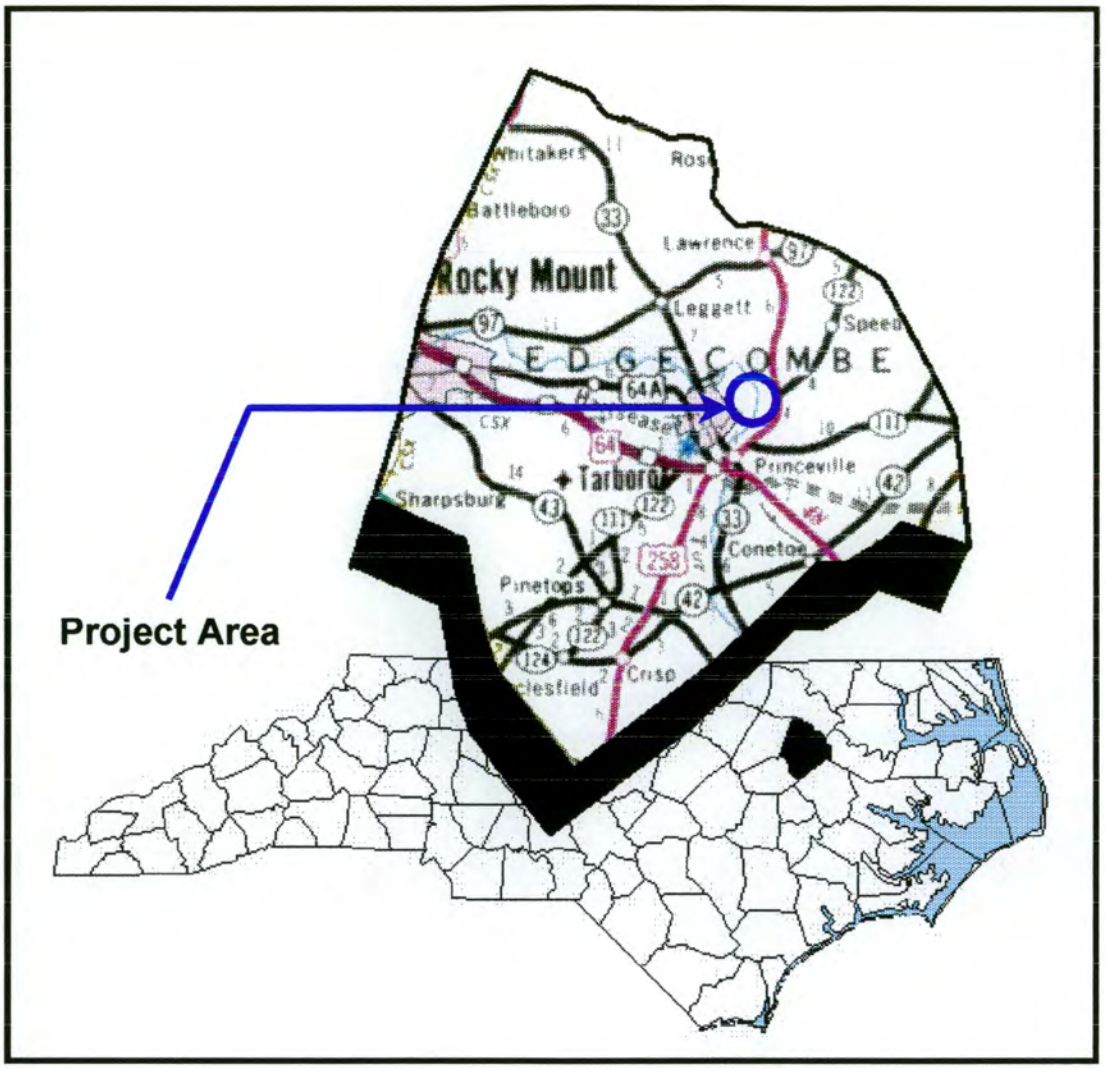

Figure 1. Project Location. Not to Scale.

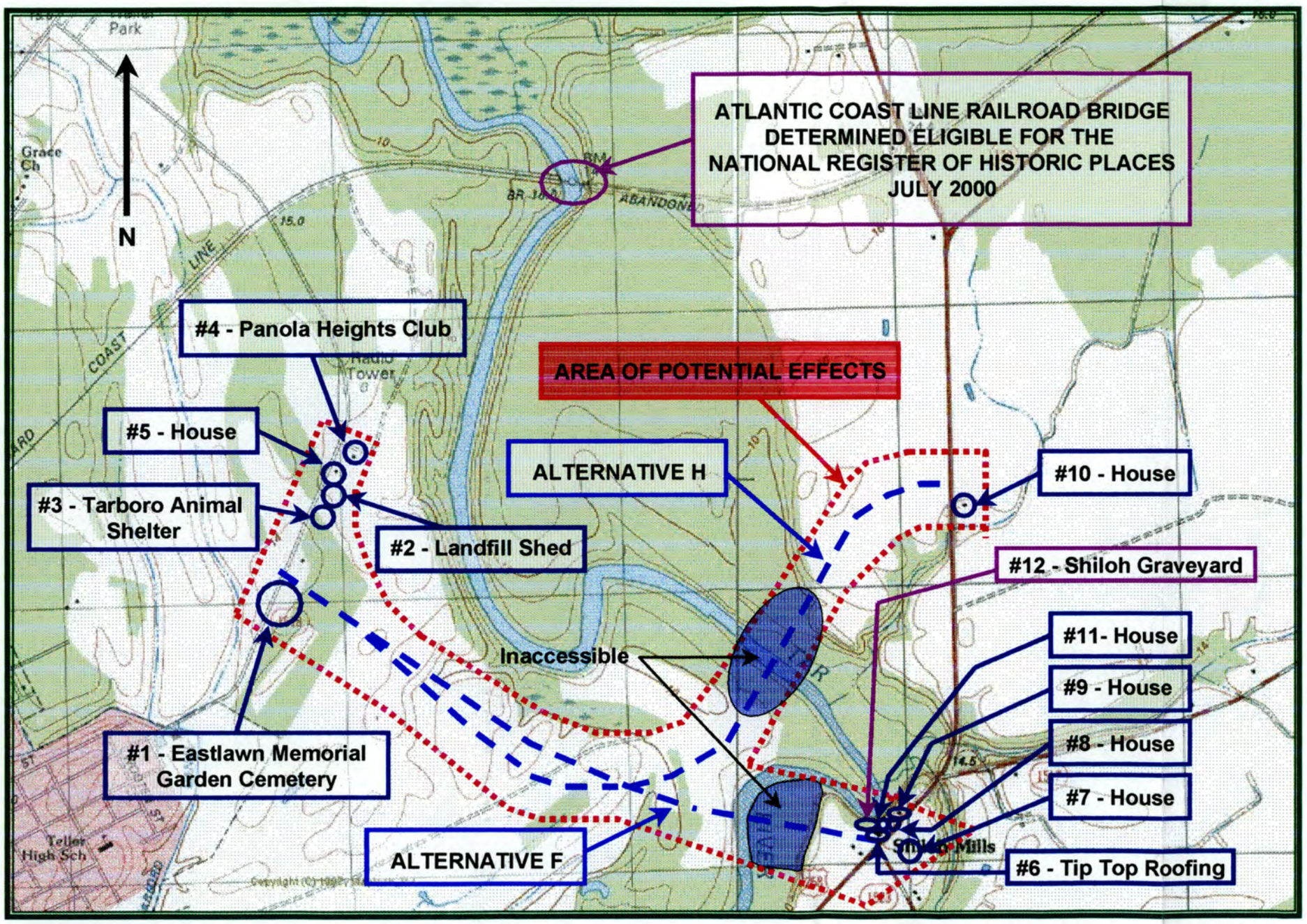

Figure 3. Historic Architectural Resources
Supplemental Survey
Tarboro and Speed USGS 7.5' quadrangles (not to scale)

U-3826 (SR 1537, Daniel Street Extension)
ALTERNATIVES "F" AND "H"
May 2001/revised August 2001

were subsequently developed. In May of 2001, historic architectural investigation was requested by the project development engineer for six of the eight alternatives (A-H) shown in Figure 2. Alternatives B, C, D, and E lie within the APE of the initial study and so required no further attention. Alternatives F and H lie to the south of the original APE and were accordingly surveyed and evaluated. Findings are presented herein, a supplement to the earlier historic architectural resources report for the project.

NCDOT conducted survey and compiled this supplementary report in order to identify historic architectural resources located within the APE as part of the environmental studies performed by NCDOT for the proposed project T.I.P. No. U-3826, Daniel Street Extension, Edgecombe County and documented by an Environmental Assessment (EA). This report is prepared as a technical addendum to the EA and as part of the documentation of compliance with the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) of 1969 and the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966, as amended. Section 106 of the NHPA, as amended, 16 U.S.C. Section 470f, requires Federal agencies to take into account the effect of their undertakings (Federally funded, licensed, or permitted projects) on properties included or eligible for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places and to afford the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation a reasonable opportunity to comment on such undertakings. This report is on file at NCDOT and is available for review by the general public.

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approximately one-hundred feet southward to minimize its direct impact on the historic resources and renamed Alternative D.

Methodology

NCDOT conducted the survey and prepared this report in accordance with the provisions of Federal Highway Administration (FHWA) Technical Advisory T6640.8A (Guidance for Preparing and Processing Environmental and Section 4(f) Documents); the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archaeological and Historic Preservation (48 CFR 44716): 36 CFR Part 60; and Survey Procedures and Report Guidelines for Historic Architectural Resources by NCDOT. This survey and report meet the guidelines of NCDOT and the National Park Service. In addition, this report conforms to the expanded requirements for architectural survey reports developed by NCDOT and the NCHPO dated February 2, 1996.

An intensive survey was undertaken with the following goals: (1) to determine the APE, defined as the geographic area or areas within which a project may cause changes in the character or use of historic properties, if any such properties exist; (2) to identify and record all significant resources within the APE; and (3) to evaluate these resources according to the National Register of Historic Places criteria.

The APE, as illustrated in Figure 3, was delineated to allow for flexibility in the design of avoidance alternatives.

An NCDOT architectural historian conducted a field survey on April 26 and May 24, 2001, covering nearly 100% of the APE by automobile and on foot; two small areas on the Tar River proved inaccessible and are so designated in Figure 3. NCDOT architectural historians and archaeologists visited the Shiloh Graveyard on July 27 and August 7, 2001. All structures over fifty years of age in the APE were identified, evaluated, photographed, and recorded on the appropriate United States Geological Survey (USGS) topographic maps (Figure 3).

An NCDOT architectural historian pursued preliminary documentary research to establish historical and architectural contexts for the project area, as well as the development of individual buildings and structures. The principal resources consulted included survey and National Register files at the NCHPO in Raleigh and public records at the Edgecombe County Courthouse in Tarboro and North Carolina State Library and Archives in Raleigh. Both primary and secondary sources held in the Edgecombe County Memorial Library in Tarboro, the Southern History Collection of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and the North Carolina State Library and Archives and North Carolina State University Libraries in Raleigh yielded additional information. Loretta Lautzenheiser, archaeologist and president of Coastal Carolina Research in Tarboro

accompanied NCDOT staff on their initial site visit and shared her expertise and knowledge of the region.

Summary Findings of the Survey

The project proposes to extend SR 1537 (Daniel Street) from SR 1518 (Loop Road) to US 258/NC 122. This supplemental report addresses those parts of the expanded project area not treated in the original historic architectural investigation. No properties listed on the National Register of Historic Places are located within the APE. Twelve properties were identified as greater than fifty years of age (Figure 3). Of the twelve, eleven were determined not eligible for the National Register and not worthy of further evaluation in a consultation meeting between the NCHPO and NCDOT held on June 7, 2001 (see Appendix B). This report includes photographs and brief statements of their ineligibility. Additional investigation of the remaining property, the Shiloh Graveyard, suggests that it should be considered eligible for the National Register, and it is treated accordingly in this report.

Criterion Consideration G, for properties that have achieved significance within the last fifty years, states that properties less than fifty years of age may be listed on the National Register only if they are of exceptional importance or if they are integral parts of districts eligible for the National Register. There are no properties in the APE that qualify for the National Register under Criterion Consideration G.

Historic Architectural Resources in the APE

Properties Listed on the National Register:
None

Properties Listed on the North Carolina State Study List:
None

Properties Evaluated and Determined Not Eligible for the National Register:
Properties 1-11 (pp. 54-60)

Properties Evaluated and Considered Eligible for the National Register:
Property 12 - Shiloh Graveyard (pp. 9-52)

PROPERTIES EVALUATED

AND

CONSIDERED ELIGIBLE

FOR THE

NATIONAL REGISTER

OF

HISTORIC PLACES

Property 12 - Shiloh Graveyard

Location: The graveyard is located 2.7 miles east of Tarboro at Shiloh Mills, near the intersection of US 258 and SR 1523 (Shiloh Farm Road). It is situated approximately 300 feet northwest of US 258, behind the cluster of buildings identified as Tip Top Roofing (Property 6) and immediately south of the Tar River (see Figure 3).

Setting: The graveyard, or more precisely that part of it containing gravemarkers, is currently defined by a ruinous frame structure to the southeast; occupied house trailers to the northwest; a narrow, unpaved roadway at the south and southwest; and an even narrower, unpaved path at the northeast. The area is level and considerably overgrown with tree and brush vegetation, as well as thick groundcover (predominantly Vinca minor and Rhus radicans) (Figure 4). Visible at the perimeter of the area is a scatter of recent domestic and commercial debris. The fragments of a wrought iron gate and a square, concrete slab towards the southeastern end of the area suggest that a formal enclosure once existed. Only the unpaved path and its two, very sparse, flanking lines of vegetation intervene between the graveyard and the eroded and precipitous bank of the Tar River, a buffer of about twelve feet. According to local report, the graveyard was flooded by over five feet of water during Hurricane Floyd in 1999.

Figure 4. Looking northeast towards the Tar River, from the vicinity of the Lawrence Toole (d. 1760) gravestone (visible in foreground). Photographed January 2002 by Charles Jones, NCDOT.

Description: The graveyard as currently defined is a roughly rectangular area of approximately a quarter of an acre. Standing or otherwise visible gravemarkers constitute two distinct spatial groupings (Figure 5). The first and earliest contains head- and footstones, as well as an obelisk, identified with eight individuals and dating from 1760 to 1847. Situated towards the riverside of the graveyard, this grouping covers approximately 2500 square feet. The second, a smaller and later collection of stones, is located to the west of the first, closer to the unpaved roadway, and occupies approximately 1500 square feet. Two sets of head- and footstones, a fragmentary headstone, and an unrelated footstone from the second half of the nineteenth century, plus a footstone of earlier date, mark the graves of four or five individuals. Just northwest of the first grouping are a number of finely carved and apparently related marble fragments lacking any identifying inscriptions (Figure 6). Rectangular segments of about four feet in length and molded at their outer edges form a square ring or plinth that once may have supported a monument. A section of fluted column incorporated in the trunk of a growing tree suggests that the removal or destruction of at least some part of this presumed structure occurred prior to the very recent past.

The gravemarkers also may be grouped stylistically according to form, material, and textual or iconographic carving. The five recognizable graves dating to the second half of the eighteenth century all bear rectangular stones with curvilinear, tripartite tops. The gravestone of Lawrence Toole, who died in 1760, is the oldest and most elaborately carved of the group, as well as the only one of slate (Figures 7 and 21). A central, semi-circular arch nearly the full width of the stone creates a tympanum occupied by a winged death's head and floral and leaf motifs. A fielded panel directly below contains the inscription. The panel is bordered on either side and at the bottom by a narrow band of stylized scroll work, which, like the tympanum carving, is executed in low relief. The side borders terminate above the panel in small, semi-circular arches or "caps" flanking the tympanum.[3]

The four remaining eighteenth-century markers, all of freestone, are smaller than the Lawrence Toole gravestone and carved solely with text. The headstone of Mary Toole (d. 1787) and the footstone of Sabra Toole (d. 1786) are characterized by a central, semi-circular arch about a third of the stone's width, which descends to smaller, but similarly arched end caps via concave or cavetto haunches (Figures 8 and 9).[4] The style of lettering on both stones is quite similar and may indicate a single hand, especially given the chronological and familial proximity of the deceased. The grave of Mary Hearne (d. 1786) is marked by

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[3]The term "cap" is favored in the gravemarker literature for the projecting, uppermost termination of a vertical border (decorated or implied). It is a good eighteenth-century word, applied to a variety of architectural elements, including capitals, handrails, and chimney stacks. See Carl R. Lounsbury, ed., *An Illustrated Glossary of Early Southern Architecture and Landscape* (1994), p. 59.

[4] The identification of the Sabra Toole marker as a footstone is explained on p. 32.

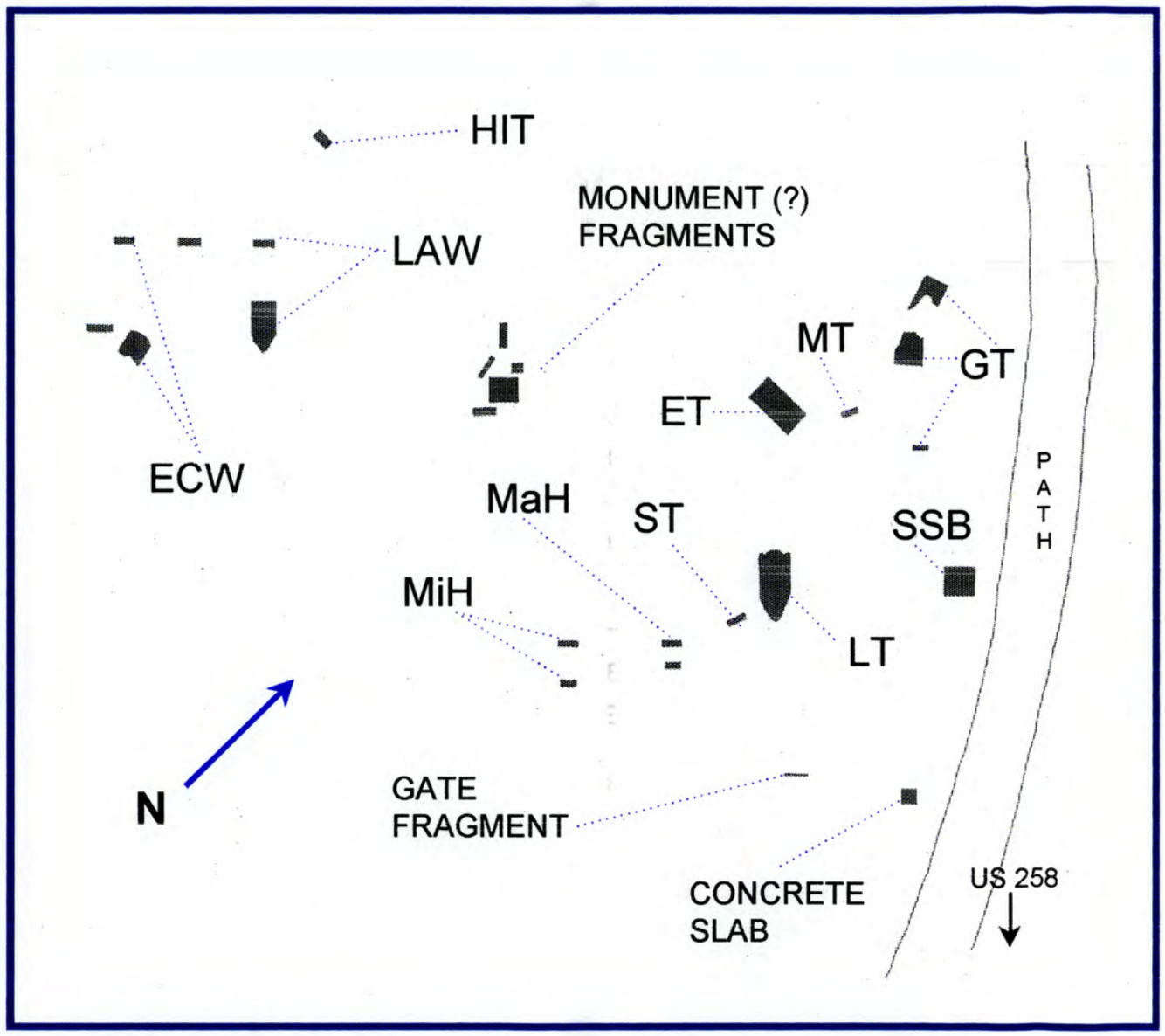

Figure 5. Shiloh Graveyard - Relative Locations of Markers and other Major Features. Recumbent and standing stones are shown in plan. Dates recorded are those inscribed on markers, though the possibility of later fabrication and installation always exists for memorial art. One marker is broadly dated based on style and identity (see p. 43). Not to scale.

Susan **S**impson **B**ranch - 1847
Mary **H**earne - 1786
Michael **H**earne - 1787
Elizabeth **T**oole - 1832
Geraldus **T**oole - 1834
Henry **I**rwin **T**oole - ca. 1800
Lawrence **T**oole - 1760
Mary **T**oole - 1787
Sabra **T**oole - 1786
Eliza **C**. **W**illiams - 1886
Leon **A**. **W**illiams - 1868

For familial relationships see Appendix A.

Figure 6. Fragments of Unidentified Monument. Segment of plinth (above) and section of column (below). Photographed August 7, 2001.

Figure 7. Gravestone of Lawrence Toole (d. 1760).
Photographed January 2002 by Charles Jones, NCDOT.

Figure 8. Headstone of Mary Toole (d. 1787).
Photographed August 7, 2001.

Figure 9. Footstone of Sabra Toole (d. 1786).
Photographed August 7, 2001.

Figure 10. Headstone of Mary Hearne (d. 1786).
Photographed August 7, 2001.

head- and footstones with the same central arch and similar lettering as the Sabra Toole and Mary Toole stones (Figure 10). By contrast, the caps of the headstone are divided from the arch by a simple, squared channel and fall to the outer edges of the stone in a single cavetto. The head- and footstones of Michael Hearne (d. 1787) are somewhat larger and more attenuated in appearance than the other 1780s markers, but the style, placement, and wording of the text resembles that of the nearby stones (Figure 11). The central feature of the headstone is formed by two joined, mirror-imaged cyma recta curves, which step down to cavetto haunches. The footstone is nearly identical in form, substituting a semi-circular arch at center.

The marked graves dating to the nineteenth century bear marble stones of basically rectilinear form. The headstones of Elizabeth Toole (d. 1832) and Geraldus Toole (d. 1834) display the same low-relief design elements: a circular, raised field for the inscription, two fluted, fan-like corner motifs, a drapery swag supported on two bosses, and a medallion containing an urn and willow motif (Figures 12 and 13). The arrangement of these features, as well as that of the textual carving (including names in capital, shadowed letters), is identical: fluted fans in lower corners, inscription field immediately above, medallion at top center, and swag just below in an echoing curve. At the very bottom of both stones is carved the maker's name: "Tingley Prov. R.I." (ET) and "S. Tingley Jr. Prov. R.I." (GT). The Geraldus Toole footstone is small and rectangular, inscribed simply with the deceased's initials and death year (Figure 14). A solitary footstone

Figure 11. Grave of Michael Hearne (d. 1787).
Headstone (above) and footstone (below). Photographed August 7, 2001.

Figure 12. Headstone of Elizabeth Toole (d. 1832).
Photographed January 2002 by Charles Jones, NCDOT.

Figure 13. Headstone of Geraldus Toole (d. 1834).
Photographed January 2002 by Charles Jones, NCDOT.

Figure 14. Footstone of Geraldus Toole (d. 1834).
Photographed August 7, 2001.

Figure 15. Footstone of Henry Irwin Toole (early 19th-century).
Photographed August 7, 2001.

identifying "H.I.T" (Henry Irwin Toole) is more robust and slightly arched at top (Figure 15).

The most visibly prominent marker in the graveyard is that erected in 1847 for Susan Simpson Branch, who died in 1825 (Figure 16). It is a truncated obelisk sitting on a deep plinth and finished at top with a pronounced torus, broad scotia, and two fascia blocks of decreasing dimension. One face of the obelisk contains the carved inscription, including the name of the maker "S. TINGLEY Prov R.I."

Figure 16. Susan Simpson Branch (d. 1825) monument, erected 1847. Photographed August 7, 2001.

The headstone of Leon A. Williams (d. 1868) is the only one in the graveyard containing a Biblical quotation (Figure 17). A central medallion appears to have graced the now broken top of the stone, and the three chain links symbolizing the Independent Order of Odd Fellows is carved below the inscription. A small, squared footstone corresponds to this headstone, and a similar, unidentified footstone stands nearby. The grave of Eliza C. Williams (d. 1886) is marked by a broad headstone with a segmentally-arched top and terse inscription (Figure 18). An adjacent, groundset fragment may be the base of this stone or the remainder of another. The similarly arched footstone is inscribed with the initials of the deceased.

Figure 17. Headstone of Leon A. Williams (d. 1868). Photographed August 7, 2001.

Figure 18. Headstone of Eliza C. Williams (d. 1886). Photographed August 7, 2001.

Many of the gravemarkers have fallen or otherwise sustained damage. When first surveyed on July 27, 2001 the slate headstone of Lawrence Toole was discovered partially spanning a recently excavated and possibly robbed grave. The stone itself is in very good condition, unbroken and minimally eroded. Simply uprooted, it now reveals the nearly half of its length that remained unfinished as a subterranean "foundation." The headstones of Elizabeth Toole, Geraldus Toole, Leon A. Williams, and Eliza C. Williams also lie flat on the ground, and all but the first are broken in various ways. The Michael Hearne headstone and, particularly, footstone are considerably out of plumb, as is the Henry Irwin Toole footstone, and the upper elements of the Branch monument are severely cracked. The components of the latter have also shifted out of alignment. The Mary Toole and, especially, the Sabra Toole and Mary Hearne stones are spalled and somewhat deteriorated. Allowing for changes in the disposition of head- and footstones, the graves appear to be positioned along east-west lines, with the majority oriented to the east. Unmarked depressions discernable even in heavy vegetation suggest that the graveyard is larger and more populated than the surviving stones indicate.

History. In the early spring of 1758 a runaway slave named Tom found refuge in a quarter, or slave dwelling house, near the Tar River. His owner's son, William Mace, Jr., had been sent to capture him, but Tom proved elusive until "...in passing by Mr. [Lawrence] Tool[e]s Quarter in the Night [Mace] Obser'd the light therein to be put out on a sudden, Upon which he went inn & Blowing up a light saw [the] s[ai]d Slave...".[5] Thus discovered, Tom ran out of the dwelling and Mace "...shot a pistol which he had in his Hand, designing to shoot over his Head & thereby frighten him...". At the same time, Toole and his visitor Robert Belcher "...heard a Gunn go off in the Quarter & one of Tool[e]s Daughters Run in & s[ai]d. Lord have Mercy on Me Daddy some Body has been shooting the Negroes in [the] Quar[ter]...". Toole and Belcher went to investigate and found Tom, killed by a pistol shot in the head. From the circumstances of Tom's death much may be learned about colonial northeastern North Carolina, including that part of it owned by Lawrence Toole. Toole, on whose land Tom met a brutal and untimely end, lies under an elaborately carved, slate headstone in the Shiloh Graveyard. Tom's final resting place is unknown.

That we know anything about Tom as an individual is due to the vivid account of his death recorded in the court minutes of Edgecombe County. William Mace, Jr. appeared before the June 1758 court to support his father's claim of restitution for lost property. North Carolina law dictated that slaveowners receive monetary compensation for any slave killed during apprehension as a runaway. Accordingly, the Maces asked the court to set Tom's value at £70 and recommend their reimbursement to the colonial assembly.[6] Though freely

[5] The commentary quoted in this paragraph appears in Edgecombe County Court Minute Book I, pp. 209-210 (June 1758 Court).

[6] The slave laws of 1715 and 1741 included provisions for such compensation. The Edgecombe County court valued Tom at £50 proclamation money, a figure confirmed by the colonial

admitting his responsibility for Tom's death, Mace, Jr. was not prosecuted for murder or manslaughter, neither was he charged with trespassing or endangering Lawrence Toole's slaves and family. Injuring or killing a slave, either accidentally or intentionally, was not a crime in North Carolina prior to 1774.[7] As a slave owner Lawrence Toole most likely considered Mace's actions proper and just, fully in keeping with the codified labor system of hereditary, lifelong bondage upon which they both depended.

The house in which Tom found temporary refuge almost certainly stood near Lawrence Toole's own dwelling. The presence of Toole's daughter and Belcher his guest, the audibility of the gunshot, and the men's investigation of the area apparently on foot, suggest the proximity of the slave house to that of the slaveowner. The relative placement of such structures is typical of the southern plantation and was well established in the colonial period. Indeed the building in question was most likely a "home quarter" or "home house quarter," wherein lived the slaves who worked in and around the owner's residence.[8] Given the extent of Lawrence Toole's property -- nearly 600 acres on both sides of the Tar River (see below) -- it is possible that slaves also lived in several "farm quarters" located some distance from the "home house" near the fields in which they labored. Not one of the many buildings and structures that defined and served the Toole plantation -- the domestic and agricultural outbuildings, the ferry, the home quarter and main house that figured in the drama of a runaway slave's death -- survives above ground today. The Shiloh Graveyard is its single, visible remnant.

Lawrence Toole and the Colonial Gravestone Trade

In 1751 Lawrence Toole purchased his first parcel of land in Edgecombe County -- 250 acres on the Tar River -- and began his rise to local prominence.[9] He and his wife, Sabra Irwin Toole, figured among the numerous Virginians who took up residence in the region from the 1720s through the 1750s.[10] Attracted by the fertile soil of the upper coastal plain and the river connection to the Pamlico Sound, the Tooles and other early residents helped to establish the plantation economy that characterized northeastern North Carolina during the colonial and antebellum periods. By 1756 Lawrence Toole owned some 578 acres north and

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Committee of Public Claims in December of 1758. Marvin L. Michael Kay and Lorin Lee Cary, *Slavery in North Carolina 1748-1775* (1995), p. 87; William L. Saunders, ed., *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* 5 (1993), p. 980.

[7] Kay and Cary, p. 75.

[8] In the eighteenth century the term "quarter" referred variously to a domestic building, a group of such buildings and their immediate surrounds, or a component farm associated with a larger holding of land. Lounsbury, ed., pp. 181, 300-301 (entries written by the author of this report).

[9] Halifax County Deed Book 4, pp. 142-144 (November 1751). Halifax County was created from Edgecombe County in 1758 and retained the county seat, Enfield, as well as early land records.

[10] Ruth Smith Williams and Margarette Glenn Griffin, *Bible Records of Early Edgecombe* (1958), p. 290; J. Kelly Turner and J. L. Bridgers, Jr., *History of Edgecombe County North Carolina* (1920), pp. 25-27.

south of the Tar.[11] The bend in the river near which his main house most likely stood was known as "Toole's Hole" well into the twentieth century. "Toole's Ferry" first appears in the public record in 1756, and mention of "Mr. Tools Quarter" in 1758 implies the existance of the main dwelling house and other farm buildings, as discussed earlier. Lawrence Toole also figures in the deeds and county court minutes of the 1750s as a witness to several land transactions and as an overseer of roads near his plantation, specifically that from Toole's Ferry to Hendricks Creek.[12]

Hendricks Creek joins the Tar River about three miles downstream (southwest) of Shiloh.[13] At this point by the mid-eighteenth century several roads converged, the river became more reliable for navigation, and an inspection warehouse for exported goods stood nearby.[14] Inspired by the commercial possibilities of the site, five local residents -- James Moir, Aquilla Sugg, Elisha Battle, Benjamin Hart, and Lawrence Toole -- purchased 150 acres in September of 1760, laid out a town, constituted themselves as the town commissioners, and began to sell the lots. Two months later the colonial assembly granted their petition to establish the town of Tarboro "for promoting the trade and navigation of the said river." The creation of Halifax County from Edgecombe in 1758 left the latter without a county seat (see n. 9). Redmond's (Redman's) Old Field on Tyancoka Creek served Edgecombe County until 1764, when the town commissioners won the honor for Tarboro. One of their number did not see the town become the center of county government -- Lawrence Toole had died in December of 1760, within a month of Tarboro's founding.

By the mid-eighteenth century the practice of burying the dead in "family graveyards" established on farms and plantations was commonplace in the southern colonies. The traditional English option of parish churchyards was greatly limited by their scarcity (or nonexistence) and distant location, as well as an unreliable road system.[15] As elsewhere in pre-revolutionary North Carolina, Edgecombe County was served sporadically and minimally by clergy and congregations: not until the 1740s did the Anglicans and Baptists organize, and

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[11] Halifax County Deed Book 4, p. 456 (July 17, 1752 -266 acres) and p. 533 (November 22, 1753 - 50 acres); Halifax County Deed Book 6, p. 11 (January 10, 1756 - 2 acres) and p. 122 (December 6, 1756 -10 acres).

[12] For example, Halifax County Deed Book 2, p. 312 (May 22, 1755) and p. 371 (April 15, 1755); Edgecombe County Court Minute Book 1, p. 208 (June 1758) and p. 260 (March 1760).

[13] Lawrence Toole's plantation did not acquired the name "Shiloh" until the 1830s (see p. 37) and was generally known simply as "Lawrence Toole's," "Toole's," or "Toole's Ferry." The later name is used in this section of the report to emphasize locational relationships to the graveyard vicinity.

[14] The following brief account of the founding of Tarboro is based upon: Turner and Bridgers, pp. 34-38; Harry Roy Merrens, *Colonial North Carolina in the Eighteenth Century* (1964), pp. 155, 161-162; Alan D. Watson, *Edgecombe County - A Brief History* (1979), pp. 5-6, 23; Edgecombe County Deed Book O, pp. 161-165 (September 22, 1760); and "An Act for establishing a town on the land of Joseph Howell, on Tar river" in Walter Clark, ed., *The State Records of North Carolina* (orig. 1906; 1994), vol. 25, pp. 451-453.

[15] Lounsbury, ed., p. 166; M. Ruth Little, *Sticks and Stones - Three Centuries of North Carolina Gravemarkers* (1998), p. 31.

no denomination enjoyed a truly permanent building and location until the next century.[16] The Toole family thus chose the regional solution and dedicated a piece of land somewhat removed from, yet still within the vicinity of their dwelling house as their graveyard. Lawrence Toole's grave is the earliest now identifiable and may indeed represent the very first interment on the Shiloh site.

Lawrence Toole's beautifully carved, slate gravestone was as extraordinary a commodity in 1760 as the historical resource it is today (see Figure 7). Colonial Edgecombe County, like most of the coastal plain, contained no viable source of quarryable stone.[17] Very few craftsmen specializing in the cutting and carving of gravestones worked in the South and essentially none in the Tarboro region. Thus, finished or otherwise, stone constituted an import and commanded a significant price. Cheaper, as well as more readily available and crafted, wood was the material usually chosen for marking graves in the form of low railings, paled fences, graveboards, and gravehouses.[18] During the colonial period, and indeed long after, a great many graves remained entirely unmarked. For those with some wealth, however, brick vaults and, especially, gravestones offered both relative permanence and sophistication. The importation of finished gravestones into North Carolina was well established by the mid-eighteenth century. A few stones originated in England, but most were the products of stonecutters' shops in New England and the middle colonies. Lawrence Toole's gravestone was almost certainly carved in the prolific Lamson shop near Boston. Its presence in Edgecombe County, to say nothing of its aesthetic quality, clearly reflects the elevated economic and social position Toole attained, as well as the desire of his family to give that attainment material expression. Only a very few surviving gravestones in North Carolina are older.

The source of a gravestone is usually indicated by one (or more) of three kinds of evidence: 1) an order, invoice, or similar written record, 2) a signature carved on the stone itself, or 3) physical characteristics associated with a particular carver or shop. None of the available documents pertaining to Lawrence Toole's estate mentions the purchase of a gravestone.[19] His stone is also unsigned, however its stylistic features are recognizable as the work of the Lamsons, a New England family of innovative and influential gravestone carvers active from the late-seventeenth to the early-nineteenth centuries. Lamson stones display several,

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[16] Hugh Talmage Lefler and Albert Ray Newsome, *The History of a Southern State - North Carolina* (1973), pp. 133-142; Turner and Bridgers, pp. 432-438; Jacquelin Drane Nash, *A Goodly Heritage - The Story of Calvary Parish* (1960), pp. 4-5, 26-27.

[17] Little, pp. 3-4, 32; Thomas L. Watson, Francis B. Laney, and George P. Merrill, "The Building and Ornamental Stones of North Carolina," *North Carolina Geological Survey Bulletin* 2 (1906), pp. 4, 25, 27, Plate III.

[18] This and the following general remarks about gravemarkers in colonial eastern North Carolina are based on Little, pp. 41-61.

[19] Edgecombe County Will Book A, pp. 82-83 (probated 1761); Edgecombe County Court Minute Book I, pp. 312 and 315 (December 1761) and Book 2, pp. 12 (January 1763), 14 and 17 (April 1763), 99 (April 1765) and 101 (July 1765).

highly distinctive elements and are thus comparatively easy to identify.[20] The winged skulls carved by Joseph Lamson (1658-1722) are broad and rounded and include circular eyes (Figure 19). Eyebrows are hooked at each outer end, joined between the eyes, and drop down to form triangular noses. Borders of lush, swirling leaves, often incorporating stylized figs, typically surround the inscription field. By the mid-eighteenth century a number of equally idiosyncratic features had been added and developed by Joseph's sons Nathaniel (1692-1755) and Caleb (1697-1760) and grandsons Joseph (1728-1789) and John (1732-1776). Complimenting the curvilinear eyebrows is an ogee or bracket-like upper lip, and above the skull appears a suspended oak or acanthus leaf flanked by dogwood-like flowers (Figure 20). Anticipating other Boston-area carvers by many years, the Lamsons of the second and third generations routinely used lower-case letters and sometimes italics in their inscriptions. All of these conventions are present in Lawrence Toole's gravestone, which may be identified accordingly and with a reasonable degree of certainty as a Lamson product (Figure 21). Lending credence to the identification, the Lamsons crafted gravestones in their Charlestown, Massachusetts shop that still may be seen today along most of the eastern seaboard, from Nova Scotia to Georgia (Figure 22).[21]

Many New England merchants sent their ships to North Carolina to take on cargoes of lumber and foodstuffs intended for the West Indies or naval stores, hides, and tobacco for Great Britain.[22] Most of the manufactured goods they acquired returned to the more lucrative markets of the north, but certain items like fabrics, hardware, tools, and rum eventually arrived in North Carolina on subsequent ships. Southern cargoes were completed, or at least augmented, with such New England products as cheese, fish, candles, furniture, and gravestones. These commodities not only answered proven needs, but filled ships' holds destined to be occupied in turn by bulky, raw materials -- the real object of the voyages. Lawrence Toole's gravestone almost certainly left Boston as part of just such a cargo. It arrived in North Carolina, perhaps in the customs district known as Port Beaufort Town, and traveled via the Pamlico and Tar Rivers to its destination. Lawrence's brother-in-law Henry Irwin or his fellow Tarboro commissioner Aquila Sugg, both successful merchants, may have overseen the purchase of the stone. The detailed mechanics of such

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[20] The following characterization of Lamson gravestones is derived from Ralph L. Tucker, "The Lamson Family Gravestone Carvers of Charlestown and Malden, Massachusetts," *Markers - Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies* 10 (1993), pp. 150-217; Harriette Merrifield Forbes, *Gravestones of Early New England and the Men Who Made Them 1653-1800* (1927), pp. 40-49; and Diana Williams Combs, *Early Gravestone Art in Georgia and South Carolina* (1986), pp. 9-13, 26-27.

[21] Tucker, pp. 151 and 159; Combs, pp. 7 and 12.

[22] This brief profile of the New England - North Carolina trade is informed by Charles Christopher Crittenden, *The Commerce of North Carolina 1763-1789* (1936), pp. 73-74, 78-80; Merrens, pp. 87-88, 146-155, 160-162, 202; and John Bivins, Jr., *The Furniture of Coastal North Carolina 1700-1820* (1988), pp. 11, 13, 39-45, 96-103.

Figure 19. Gravestone of Zechariah Long (d. 1688), Charlestown, Massachusetts. An example of a stylistic type (called "imp stones" by Tucker) carved by Joseph Lamson. The skull in particular displays features that will distinguish products of the Lamson shop through most of the following century. From Ralph L. Tucker, "The Lamson Family Gravestone Carvers of Charlestown and Malden, Massachusetts," *Markers - Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies* 10 (1993), p. 164.

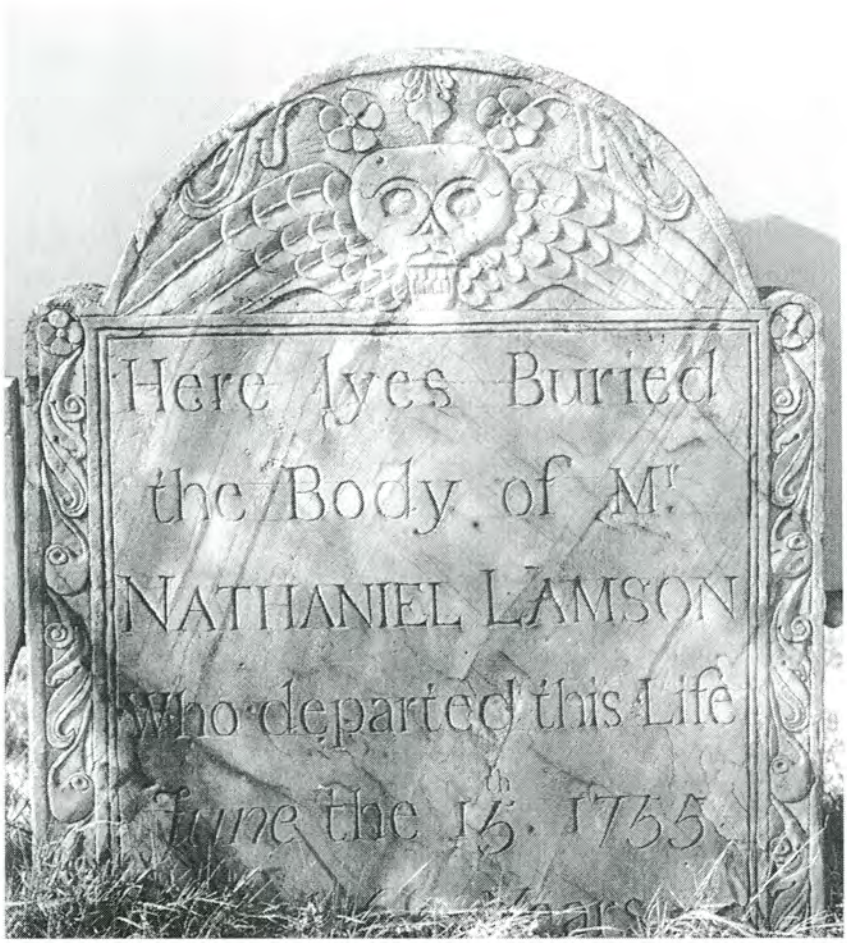

Figure 20. Gravestone of Nathaniel Lamson (d. 1755), Charlestown, Massachusetts. The motifs and conventions characterizing the second and third generation Lamson shop are evident in this example. It marks the grave of Joseph Lamson's son Nathaniel, also a carver. From Ralph L. Tucker, "The Lamson Family Gravestone Carvers of Charlestown and Malden, Massachusetts," *Markers - Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies* 10 (1993), p. 170.

Figure 21. Gravestone of Lawrence Toole (d. 1760), detail of tympanum. The hooked eyebrows, ogee upper lip, and pendant vegetation are typical of the mid-eighteenth-century Lamson shop. See also Figure 7 and compare with Figures 20 and 22. From B. M. Bass, Jr., Rogers Hall photographer, "A Shady Bluff on the River Bend," *Daily Southerner* (Tarboro) 17 January 1975.

Figure 22. Gravestone of Martha Peronneau (d. 1730), Charleston, South Carolina. The Lamson shop exported its work to every southern colony. From Diana Williams Combs, *Early Gravestone Art in Georgia and South Carolina* (1986), p. 11.

transactions require further study. It is certain, however, that New England carftsmen dominated the production of gravestones for the colonial South, a few as residents (principally in Charleston) but most, like the Lamsons, as exporters.[23]

The colonial gravestone trade has attracted little scholarly attention and awaits additional and more comprehensive exploration. An excellent masters thesis investigates the importation of gravestones to colonial Long Island (like the coastal South lacking in requisite stone) and offers several observations that may also apply to North Carolina.[24] Prospective buyers of imported gravestones apparently did not seek and choose specific craft shops based on geography or political ties, and probably not directly on social connections or religious concerns. Rather, the established trade network with which a buyer customarily interacted largely dictated the source, and often the design, of an imported stone. It is likely that the Toole family simply placed an order for a "fashionable" gravestone specifying only its inscription, and their local mercantile connections in Edgecombe County ultimately determined that they received a very fine, slate death's-head stone seemingly produced in the Lamson shop.[25] As participants in the emerging Anglo-American "consumer revolution" the Tooles knew that things like a teapot or a chair not only provided material and possibly aesthetic comfort, but also might be used to signify membership in (or aspiration to) "genteel" society -- especially if the pot was of silver and the chair part of a matched set.[26]

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[23] Combs, pp. 1-27; Frederick J. E. Gorman and Michael DiBlasi, "Gravestone Iconography and Mortuary Ideology," *Ethnohistory* 28 (Winter 1981), pp. 86-88, 91; Little, pp. 33, 49-55; and Tucker, pp. 151 and 159.

[24] Gaynell Stone Levine, "Colonial Long Island Gravestones and Trade Networks" (1978), pp. 9-10, 34-40 (see also her "Colonial Long Island Gravestones: Trade Network Indicators, 1670-1799" in Peter Benes, ed. *Puritan Gravestone Art II* (1979), pp. 46-57). The colonial gravestone trade is merely acknowledged in some gravemarker studies and rarely, if at all, mentioned in socio-economic histories. Besides Levine's thesis, only a handful of works address the trade in any depth, notably Gorman and DiBlasi (1981); Norman Vardney Mackie III, "Gravestone Procurement in St. Mary's County, 1634-1820," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 83 (Fall 1988), pp. 229-240; Elizabeth A. Crowell and Norman Vardney Mackie III, "The Funerary Monuments and Burial Patterns of Colonial Tidewater Virginia, 1607-1776," *Markers - The Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies* 7 (1990), pp. 103-138; and J. Daniel Pezzoni, "Yankees in Dixie: New England Settlement and Material Culture in the Tidewater South," *Pioneer America Society Transactions* 22 (1999), pp. 1-14.

[25] Little observes that local merchants received and processed orders for customized gravestones much as they did for other goods (p. 33), and Tucker notes that some merchants purchased unlettered stones for future sale (p. 172). In the eighteenth century the term "fashionable" described all manner of objects -- from ceramics to clothing to houses -- of a quality and appearance deemed consistent with the prevailing ideal of "gentility" or stylish refinement (Lounsbury, pp. 137 and 158). Two probable Lamson stones stand in Christ Churchyard, New Bern, and the products of a number of other New England carvers (William Codner of Boston and Josiah Manning of Windham, Connecticut for example) may be found in North Carolina church and family graveyards (Little, pp. 51-55). Other Lamson or Lamson-inspired gravestones from the mid-eighteenth century may be found in the Montford Point Cemetery in Jacksonville - J. Daniel Pezzoni, *The Architectural History of Onslow County* (1998), p. 158.

[26] The growing literature of eighteenth-century American consumerism is critiqued and the origins of the consumer revolution examined by Cary Carson, "The Consumer Revolution in Colonial

By rejecting the wooden railing and graveboard in favor of the carved headstone, the Toole family proclaimed -- perhaps self-consciously -- their relative wealth and, more importantly, taste and refinement.

Thus, the importing of Lawrence Toole's elegant gravestone resulted from an absence of local materials and craftsmen coupled with a desire for social display and the economic resources to make it possible. As suggested earlier, a buyer apparently did not select the design elements of a gravestone according to religious affiliation, if indeed the design ever was routinely subject to detailed consumer choice. The Tooles were Anglicans, but whether their commitment to the state church of England was other than typical is not known. Interestingly, a glimpse of Lawrence Toole's thinking is recorded in the diary of Reverend Hugh McAden, a Presbyterian minister, who in 1756 stopped at "... Mr. Toole's, on Tar River ..." and found him "... unhappy in his notions of unbelief."[27] Perhaps Lawrence Toole requested that a winged death's head appear on his gravestone or his family specified the motif as somehow appropriate, but both situations are merely speculative and ultimately unlikely.

There is no documentary evidence in either New England or the southern colonies of South Carolina and Georgia to support the selection of gravestone motifs based on specific religious dictates.[28] Rather, a kind of generic funerary iconography found widespread acceptance. The winged death's head was the established and predominant motif used on New England gravestones from the late-seventeenth century into the early-eighteenth century. Carvers, especially prolific exporters like the Lamsons, generally maintained a stock of stones complete but for the inscription, most of which, if not all, conformed to the prevailing, "one size fits all" iconographic pattern.[29] Lawrence Toole's gravestone is customized only to the extent of his name and death date.

British America: Why Demand?" in Cary Carson, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert, eds., *Of Consuming Interests - the Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century* (1994), pp. 483-697.

[27] G. W. Paschall, *History of North Carolina Baptists* (1930), vol. I, pp. 179-180. The date and description of McAden's journey through the Edgecombe County region strongly suggests that the Mr. Toole in question is indeed the Lawrence Toole who died in 1760.

[28] David D. Hall, "The Gravestone Image as a Puritan Cultural Code," in Peter Benes, ed., *Puritan Gravestone Art* (1976), pp. 28-29; Gorman and DiBlasi, p. 84. A significant percentage of the gravemarker literature focuses in great detail on colonial American funerary iconography, especially its connection to Puritan thought; for example see Allan I. Ludwig's now classic and often challenged study, *Graven Images - New England Stonecarving and its Symbols, 1650-1815* (1966). See also Little, p. 22.

[29] Tucker, p. 172 - inscriptions and epitaphs were sometimes carved by apprentices in the originating shop or other carvers when gravestones were acquired by merchants for venture sale. A craftsman's advertisement in the *South Carolina Gazette* offered "... letters to be cut in Tomb Stones..." (11 December 1736); John Bull from Rhode Island "... brought with him [to Charleston] a few [gravestones] already cut, fit for engraving ..." (19 January 1773) - quoted in Alfred Coxe Prime, *The Arts and Crafts in Philadelphia, Maryland, and South Carolina 1721-1785* (1929), pp. 310-311. Hall observes that this stockpiling of carved stones suggests that buyers were not accustomed to requesting any specific motifs or variations of the conventional iconography (p. 29). Forbes also comments on the practice of pre-fabrication and cites a written order directed to a carver, which states simply "... pray make for me Two Gravestones ..." (pp. 15-16).

Otherwise it bears a standardized image of mortality employed throughout the Anglo-American world. It also may reflect a more mundane consideration. By the 1740s and particularly in the Boston region the winged death's head had started to give way to the winged face or "cherub" as a preferred gravestone motif.[30] In the South the stones of New England origin began to reflect this iconographic shift some twenty years or so later. It may be that Boston area carvers like the Lamsons relegated their comparatively less fashionable products to an undiminished export market, both within New England and beyond. By 1760 Lawrence Toole's death's head stone might not have satisfied some northeastern consumers, but it remained a highly desirable item in more aesthetically conservative areas like coastal North Carolina.

The Late-Eighteenth Century Markers

The gradual supplanting of the death's head by the cherub as a dominant motif for Anglo-American gravestones was nearly complete by the time of the Revolution.[31] It is generally interpreted as reflecting a changing attitude towards death: from resigned awe to certainty of a serene afterlife. No stone in the Shiloh graveyard bears a cherub motif, but the revised concept of mortality may be read in several inscriptions. From roughly the mid-eighteenth century the conventional wording "Here lies ..." or "Here lies buried ..." was altered increasingly to "Here lies buried the body ...," differentiating earthly remains from an immortal soul. The gravestones of Mary Toole, first wife of Sabra and Lawrence Toole's son Geraldus, and Michael Hearne, husband of Sabra and Lawrence's daughter Mary, both dating to 1787, display the latter phrase (see Figures 8 and 11).[32] Illustrating the gradual adoption of the new philosophy is the appearance of "Here lies the body of ..." beneath the comparatively old-fashioned death's head on Lawrence Toole's gravestone (see Figure 7). The stones of Mary Toole and Michael Hearne, as well as those of Sabra Toole and her daughter Mary Hearne, the latter two dated 1786, are free of symbolic motifs and decorated only with simple, well-carved inscriptions (see Figures 8 and 11, 9 and 10). Study of coastal South Carolina and Georgia graveyards suggests that such "plain inscription" stones began to replace those bearing cherubs during the final decades of the century.

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[30] Edwin Dethlefsen and James Deetz, "Death's Heads, Cherubs, and Willow Trees: Experimental Archaeology in Colonial Cemeteries," *American Antiquity* 31 (April 1966), pp. 503-508. The following observation about the southern "motif replacement sequence" is made by Gorman and DiBlasi, p. 89.

[31] This and the following remarks about the evolution of funerary iconography and concepts of death are informed by James Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten - the Archaeology of Early American Life* (1977), pp. 69-71; Dethlefsen and Deetz, pp. 503-508; James J. Farrell, *Inventing the American Way of Death, 1830-1920* (1980), pp. 16-26; Gorman and DiBlasi, pp. 85-94; and James A. Hijiya, "American Gravestones and Attitudes Towards Death: a Brief History," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 127 (October 14, 1983), pp. 343-350.

[32] Genealogical information about the Toole family is summarized in Ruth Smith Williams and Margarette Glenn Griffin, *Bible Records of Early Edgecombe* (1958), pp. 290-297 and the Toole Family Genealogical Resources Page (http://www.sanfordtoole.atfreeweb.com). See Appendix A.

The decline of the death's head motif paralleled the increased use of sandstone and other limestones (freestone), and marble instead of slate. The four 1780s gravestones at Shiloh are of freestone, most likely imported already shaped and carved from a northern supplier. Though each strikes a slightly different profile, they all conform to the prevailing rectangular shape with curvilinear tops. The Sabra Toole and Mary Hearne markers are probably footstones, as they are carved with only the name and death date like the companion piece to Michael Hearne's headstone (see Figures 9, 10, and 11). While the Mary Hearne headstone has disappeared, that of Sabra Toole appears to have been relocated to Calvary Episcopal Church in Tarboro. In the first half of the twentieth century erosion of the riverside graveyard at Shiloh had claimed a number of stones, and the Calvary vestry consequently permitted Toole descendants to set two of the remaining markers into the brick wall, constructed in 1923, surrounding the churchyard (Figure 23).[33] In shape and lettering style the Sabra Toole stone at Calvary resembles Mary Hearne's at Shiloh, and its inscription begins "Here lies buried the [bod]y ...". The second stone relocated from Shiloh must be Lawrence Toole's footstone, as it bears only his name and death year and, of course, the companion headstone is clearly extant. Lamson footstones were as distinctive as their hooked eyebrows and usually displayed paired figs in the tympani.[34] Curiously, the tympanum of the stone set in the Calvary wall is occupied by a crude, imperfectly realized death's head. Gravestone carvers often delegated the lettering to apprentices (see n. 29), and perhaps the Calvary stone represents a similar instance of practice in executing figural work.

The Three Henry Irwin Tooles

Lawrence Toole's will was proved at the December 1761 court of Edgecombe County.[35] He named his wife Sabra, eldest son Lawrence, and Geraldus O'Bryan, husband of his daughter Elizabeth, as executors. While Sabra received "... the benefits of the Plantation where on I now live with all the stock of cattle, hogs, sheep, horses with all my household goods ..." plus three slaves, Lawrence, Jr. would assume full ownership of the property, after dividing the livestock equally with his two brothers, at his mother's death. Henry Irwin Toole and Geraldus Toole each received one of two additional plantations acquired by their father, as well as one slave. Four of Lawrence Toole's five daughters -- Ann, Jane, Mary, and Sabra -- inherited one slave each, and the fifth, Elizabeth Toole O'Bryan, was bequeathed the proceeds from selling a slave called Samuel

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[33] Members of the Toole family maintained strong ties with Calvary Episcopal Church from its incorporation in 1833. Among the original congregation were Arabella and Mary Toole, daughters of Henry Irwin I, and their husbands James West Clark and Theophilus Parker. Mary and Theophilus Parker's daughter Elizabeth married the clergy man and horticulturist Joseph Blount Cheshire, under whose leadership the present church building (completed 1868, William Percival architect) and landscaped grounds were established. The Cheshire's son, Joseph Blount Cheshire, Jr., became the fifth Bishop of North Carolina, as well as writer of local history (see n. 38). Nash, pp. 25, 29, 50 and 59. See also Appendix A.

[34] Tucker, pp. 178 and 186.

[35] Edgecombe County Will Book A, pp. 82-83 (December 1761); Edgecombe County Court Minute Book I, pp. 312 and 315 (December 1761). At his death, Lawrence Toole owned three plantations and twelve slaves.

Figure 23. Shiloh Graveyard stones at Calvary Episcopal Church, Tarboro. The Sabra Toole headstone (above) bears a perhaps erroneous date of 1780 (the corresponding footstone still at Shiloh is dated 1786). To its left is the presumed footstone of Lawrence Toole dated 1760 (below). The stones are set into the interior face of the wall, in the southeast corner of the churchyard. Photographed January 9, 2002

and money owed by a Mr. Mackmanus. Sabra appears to have acted as sole executor, though Geraldus O'Bryan provided security for her guardianship of six of her eight children.[36] Of the two remaining children, Elizabeth was married, and Lawrence, Jr. seems to have died.[37] Following Sabra's death in 1786, the home plantation, including the family graveyard, passed into the hands of her next eldest son, Henry Irwin, possibly in common with his younger brother Geraldus.

Henry Irwin Toole (I) served as a captain in the Continental Army, Edgecombe County representative to the North Carolina state assembly (1781), and member of the Tarboro town commission (1778, 1785).[38] He pursued a successful career as a merchant and planter, often in partnership with his brother Geraldus. In January of 1791 he died intestate, possessed of a number of town lots and rural properties, including "the old plantation on the Tar River." The county estate records reveal that Henry Irwin Toole's wife, Elizabeth Haywood Toole, became his administratrix. By 1800 his estate had been settled by sale and division of the proceeds among the widow and four children, as well as division of certain real estate held in common with Geraldus Toole between Henry Irwin's only son and his surviving brother. Elizabeth Toole changed her son's name from Lawrence to Henry Irwin (II) following his father's death, and it is he who inherited the home plantation.

Like his father, Henry Irwin Toole II represented Edgecombe County in the state legislature and became a locally prominent planter.[39] Though he owned and farmed land in neighboring Nash County, Henry Irwin II appears to have lived

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[36] Edgecombe County Court Minute Book II, pp. 12 (January 1753), 14 (April 1763), and 99 (April 1765). See also Appendix A.

[37] Williams and Griffin (p. 291) and the Toole Family Genealogical Resources webpage report Lawrence, Jr.'s death as occurring in 1764. His absence from records subsequent to his father's 1760 will and the ownership of certain properties by his brothers also suggest he did not live to inherit the home plantation.

[38] Biographical remarks about Henry Irwin Toole I are included in Jeremiah Battle's 1811 profile of Edgecombe County, reprinted in A. R. Newsome, "Twelve North Carolina Counties in 1810-1811," *North Carolina Historical Review* 6 (January 1929), p. 73, Gaston Lichtenstein, *When Tarboro Was Incorporated* (1910), pp. 5-6, and Joseph Blount Cheshire, *Nonnulla* (1930), pp. 15-16. Additional information appears in the Edgecombe County Court Minute Book III, p. 43 (August 1778); Saunders, vol. 10, pp. 186-187, 559, and 679; Clark, vol. 12, p. 264, vol. 17, p. 878, vol. 20, p. 293, and vol. 24, p. 176; Edgecombe County Record of Estates: 1783-1788, p. 311 (November 30, 1786); 1788-1790, p. 267 (May 1, 1790); 1790-1792, pp. 89-100, 113-114, 135 (August 1791), 169-170 (November 1791), and 352-354 (August 1792); 1792-1794, pp. 165-167 (February 1794), and 176 (March 1794); 1794-1796, pp. 16-17 and 37 (November 1794). Settlement of the Henry Irwin Toole I estate is summarized in Joseph W. Watson, *Estate Records of Edgecombe County, North Carolina 1730-1820* (1970), pp. 268-269 and David B. Gammon, *Records of Estates - Edgecombe County, North Carolina 1761-1825* (1989), vol. I, p. 96. See also Appendix A.

[39] This and the following observations about Henry Irwin Toole II and the home plantation are drawn from Cheshire, p. 16; Edgecombe County Will Book E, pp. 147-148 (November 1816); Grady L. E. Carroll, *Francis Asbury in North Carolina* (1964), pp. 143, n. 55 and 197; *Raleigh Register* 20 September 1816, p. 3, col. 5. See also Appendix A.

and died on the property established by his grandfather Lawrence Toole. The 1808 map of North Carolina by Jonathan Price and John Strother includes a Toole property ("Tool") on the river east of Tarboro, in the approximate location of the Shiloh graveyard (Figure 24). Geraldus Toole owned and lived on land adjacent to the original Toole homeplace, but as he had moved to Franklin County a few years earlier, it is likely Henry Irwin II's home which received cartographic identification. The *Raleigh Register* also suggested a homeplace residence for Henry Irwin Toole II by announcing his death in September 1816 "... at his plantation in the vicinity of Tarborough ...". Henry Irwin II married Ann Blount, and the couple had two children. The deaths of several infant sons inspired them to name their next male child Methuselah in hopes of his survival. Methuselah, later called Henry Irwin Toole (III), came into full possession of the home plantation when his father's lands were divided between him and his sister Mary Eliza in 1829.[40]

Henry Irwin Toole III married Margaret Telfair in November of 1829, a month before he acquired the home plantation.[41] He, his wife, and children lived in Pitt County, where Margaret died at "The Cottage" in 1848. Henry Irwin III, a planter known for his ability as a public speaker and advocacy of a somewhat unbridled political sectionalism, died in 1850 in Wilmington, where he edited a weekly newspaper, the *Aurora*. In 1831 he sold the "... Four several Tracts or parcels of Land lying in a body on the north side of Tar river adjoining the lands of Michael Hearn [Jr.] Geraldus Toole and others ..." that constituted the core of his great-grandfather Lawrence's holdings to his great-uncle Geraldus Toole.[42] A minor office-holder and highly successful planter in Edgecombe County, Geraldus Toole relocated to Franklin County, probably with his second wife Elizabeth King, and continued to prosper. One, if not the main reason for his purchasing the home plantation is revealed in a deed of gift recorded in 1833 concerning the "... Grave Yard ... on the bank of the river ...".[43]

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[40] Henry Irwin II specified that his wife Ann and uncle Geraldus Toole serve as executors of his estate; Theophilus Parker, husband of his sister Mary, eventually administered the estate and served as Methuselah's guardian. Edgecombe County Will Book E, pp. 147-148 (November 1816); Gammon, p. 96; Watson, pp. 217-218 and 269; Joseph W. Watson, *Estate Records of Edgecombe County, North Carolina 1820-1850* (1983), vol. II, pp. 217-218 (hereafter cited as Watson 2); and Edgecombe County Deed Book 19, p. 556 (December 9, 1829).

[41] This and the following brief remarks about Henry Irwin Toole III are based on *Raleigh Register* 12 November 1829, p. 3, col. 3; *The Tarborough Press* 22 July 1848; Cheshire, pp. 16-18; *The Tarborough Press* 11 January 1851; New Hanover County Will Book C, p. 522 (March 1851). See also Appendix A.

[42] Edgecombe County Deed Book 20, pp. 107-108 (February 28, 1831).

[43] Geraldus Toole's economic success is well illustrated by his ownership of eighty slaves in 1810, when his nephew Henry Irwin II owned twenty-one. United States Bureau of the Census, Third Census 1810, North Carolina, Edgecombe County, pp. 64 and 72. The deed of gift discussed in the next section is recorded in Edgecombe County Deed Book 21, pp. 29-30 (July 10, 1833).

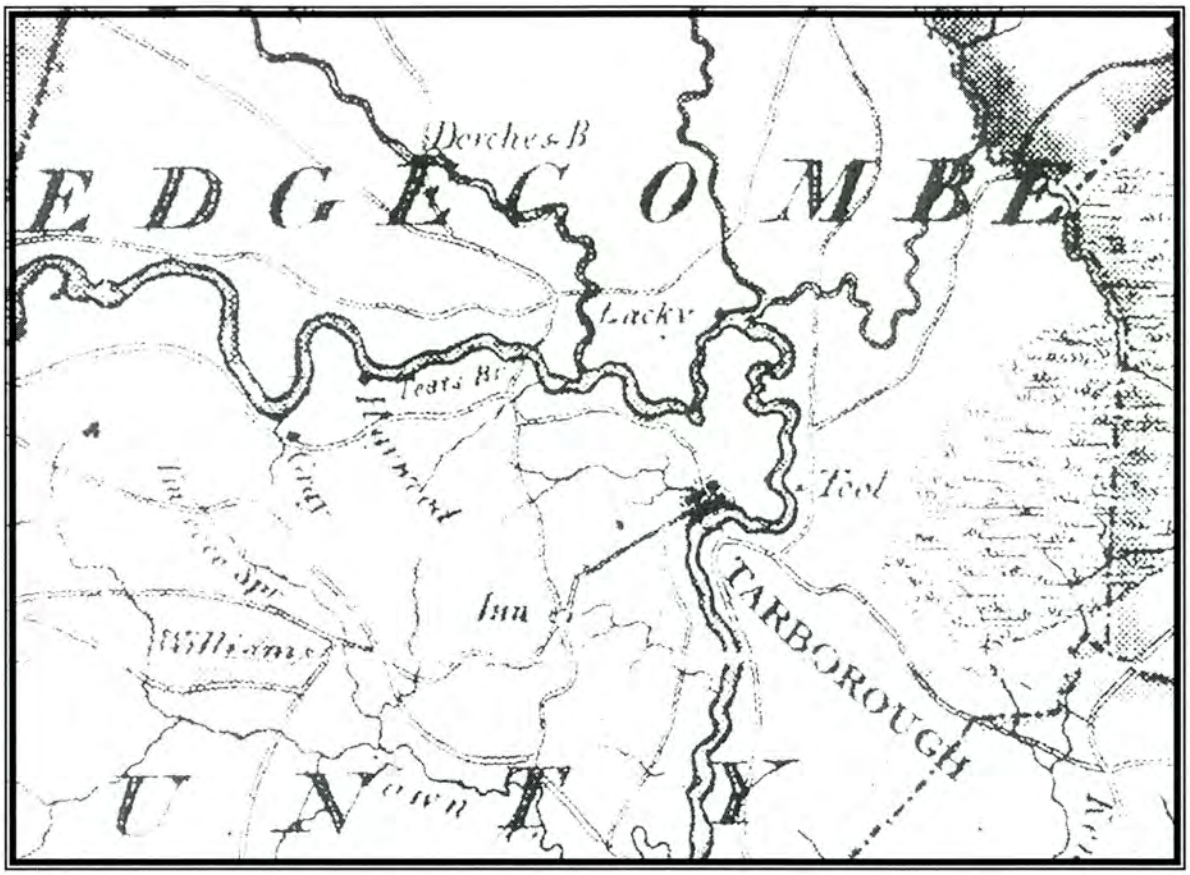

Figure 24. *... This First Actual Survey of the State of North Carolina ....* by Jonathan Price and John Strother (1808), detail. The cartographers identified a few individual properties, presumably the larger plantations, including that of "Tool" near Tarboro. Reproduced in William P. Cumming, *North Carolina in Maps* (1966), Plate IX.

Geraldus Toole and the "Cult of Memory"

Several times during the 1790s and early 1800s Geraldus Toole hosted the Methodist leader Francis Asbury when the preacher visited the Tarboro area. In February 1802 Asbury sought "Brother Toole's" hospitality once again, "...but the bird was flown -- our old friend had removed to Franklin county for his health: we stayed with Mr. Davidson, the steward of his estate."[44] As Asbury's journal entry indicates, Geraldus retained his interests in Edgecombe County, though resident elsewhere. Two years after purchasing the Toole home plantation, he took action to insure that at least part of the land would remain in family ownership. In 1833 he deeded approximately one acre for one dollar to ten of his relatives "... to be kept and used by them as a common Burial Ground for their several families and relations." The new owners were Geraldus' daughters Ann Eliza Robards, Amelia Ridley, Mary Toole, and Susan Irwin Toole; his nephew Michael Hearne [Jr.] and great-nephew Henry Toole [III]; Theophilus Parker, husband of his niece Mary Toole, James W. Clark, husband of his niece Arabella Toole, and Nathan Mathewson, husband of his late niece Margaret Hearne; and John Williams, husband of his great-niece Eliza Caroline (daughter of Margaret and Nathan Mathewson) (see Appendix A). The "family burial-ground" already contained a number of graves, including those of Sabra and Lawrence Toole, Mary and Michael Hearne, and Geraldus' first wife Mary, and both grantor and grantees "...feel a deep interest and are desirous of protecting and preserving it for similar purposes for themselves and their posterity - ...".

Geraldus Toole extended his feelings for the graveyard to the entire home plantation and expressed them in his will, written shortly before his death in October 1834. To his daughter Mary Lavinia Toole Littlejohn he left the Edgecombe County land on which he earlier resided, three other tracts, and "...my Shiloh plantation purchased of Henry Toole which last tract being highly prized for family recollection I desire to perpetuate it as long as possible to my own descendants ...".[45] Given the available documentation and his historical sensibilities, Geraldus may be credited with originating or, at least, perpetuating a formal name for the Toole home plantation.[46] In a codicil to the 1833 deed of gift Geraldus "...reserves to himself the privilege of Burial in the lot of Ground therein conveyed ...". His headstone, fallen and broken in two, and footstone survive in

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[44] Carroll, p. 197. Asbury's previous visits with Geraldus Toole occurred in December 1796 (p. 143), February 1799 (p. 157), and March 1801 (p. 187).

[45] Edgecombe County Will Book F, p. 168 (July 8, 1834). Geraldus specified that after Mary's death her children should inherit Shiloh. Geraldus' will contains the earliest documented use of "Shiloh" to identify the Toole home plantation. The October 17, 1834 issue of the *Tarborough Free Press* reported that "Mr. Geraldus Toole, one of our wealthiest and most respected citizens" died on October 9 (p. 3, col. 1). See also Watson-2, vol. II, p. 217.

[46] Shiloh, a town in ancient Israel, appears numerous times in the Bible as a place of sanctuary, worship, and justice. The Arc of the Covenant once resided there, and the word means "place of rest." In *Genesis* 49:10 Shiloh is also interpreted as denoting the Messiah. It was greatly favored by nineteenth-century Baptists and Methodists as a church name, and perhaps appealed to Geraldus Toole for similar reasons. *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* (1962), vol. 4, pp. 328-330.

the Shiloh Graveyard near the 1787 marker of his first wife Mary (see Figures 5, 13, and 14).

Geraldus Toole's headstone illustrates the next major motif to emerge following the death's head and cherub in American funerary art.[47] The urn-and-willow that occupies a central roundel at the top of the Shiloh marker began to appear on gravestones towards the end of the eighteenth century and became immensely popular and dominant into the 1850s (Figure 25). Urns had contained the ashes of the dead in ancient Greece and Rome, while willows were associated with weeping over things lost -- from Zion (*Psalms* 137) to unrequited love to an individual's death. Thus firmly based in the classical revivalism and literary tradition of the day, the motif also reflected a new emotionalism and emphasis on mourning and memory. Often accompanied by a weeping figure, usually female, the urn-and-willow also graced painted or embroidered mourning pictures, jewelry, and other accoutrements of an increasingly ritualized approach to death. Not only the central motif, but the drapery swag, oval inscription field, and "shadowed" lettering of the Geraldus Toole headstone and footstone were conventions of pictorial commemorative art. Just as the death's head on Lawrence Toole's gravestone did not represent any specific religious sectarianism, so too the urn-and-willow functioned as a universal symbol of mortality.

A few feet southwest of the Geraldus Toole headstone lies that of his sister-in-law Elizabeth Toole, the widow of Henry Irwin Toole I (see Figures 5 and 12).[48] The two stones are all but identical in size, material, and sculptural composition. Not surprisingly, they both bear the name of the same shop, Tingley (or S. Tingley, Jr. on Geraldus' stone) of Providence, Rhode Island. Gravestones continued to be luxury items in the first half of the nineteenth century, and most in the North Carolina coastal plain originated, as earlier, in New England. Many shops established agents, often cabinetmaker-undertakers, in the larger North Carolina towns, and the two Shiloh stones likely were obtained accordingly.[49] In design and content, including inscriptions beginning "In Memory of ...", both stones convey an elegance and philosophy fully in tune with Geraldus' desire to recognize and preserve his ancestral lands.

As noted earlier, in his will Geraldus Toole left the Shiloh plantation to his daughter Mary Lavinia Toole Littlejohn and after her death to her children. In October 1851 a petition for the sale of the 342-acre tract was filed in Edgecombe

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[47] The following summary account of the urn-and-willow motif and the "cults" of mourning and memory is informed by Combs, pp. 180-183 and 199-202; Dethlefsen and Deetz, pp. 503-504 and 508; Farrell, pp. 30-43; Little, pp. 24-25 and 179; and Hijiya, pp. 351-354.

[48] Geraldus' second wife was also named Elizabeth, but she died in 1857and is buried in Franklin County. Elizabeth Haywood Toole died October 12, 1832, as carved on her headstone in the Shiloh Graveyard. See Appendix A.

[49] Little, pp. 180-183. Little identifies a neo-classical tomb-table in Cross-Creek Cemetery, Fayetteville marking the grave of merchant and Providence, Rhode Island native Oliver Pearce (d. 1814) as signed by "Tingley Bros. Providence, R.I." (pp. 49-50 and 281).

Figure 25. Gravestone of Ephraim Symonds (d. 1808), St. James Episcopal churchyard, Wilmington, North Carolina. Urn-and-willow stones first appeared in North Carolina around 1800 (Little, p. 25). Here the new motif, oval inscription panel, and classical fluting are applied to a traditional slate stone with shoulders and tympanum. Later examples, such as those at Shiloh, are conventionally squared stones of freestone or marble. Photographed October 25, 2002.

County court on behalf of Mary's two young sons.[50] The court ordered a public sale of the land, and Henry Toole Clark emerged as the highest bidder. Geraldus' hope of maintaining Shiloh in family ownership remained intact since Clark was a great-grandson of Sabra and Lawrence and a grandson of Geraldus' brother Henry Irwin Toole (I) (see Appendix A).

Though trained as a lawyer, Henry T. Clark pursued agricultural and other business interests in Edgecombe County, as well as in Alabama and Tennessee. Indicative of his relative prosperity are his thirty-seven slaves and $24,500 real estate valuation reported in the 1860 federal census. While Clark may not have lived at Shiloh, the continuing prominence of the plantation is reflected by its identification by name on an 1861 map of eastern North Carolina (Figure 26). Clark was elected to the state senate in 1850, became speaker in 1860, and succeeded to the governorship in 1861 on the death of John Willis Ellis. He served as governor of the state of North Carolina for the first year of the Civil War, returned to the senate for one year in 1866, then retired to Edgecombe County.[51] In 1873 he offered Shiloh as security for two promissory notes, agreeing that if he failed to clear the debts the property would be subject to public sale. Clark died in 1874 without paying off the notes, and in 1876 his son Haywood purchased the land that had also been devised to him in his father's will.[52]

The Graveyard at Mid-Century

The neo-classical aesthetic and retrospective attitude displayed by so many early-nineteenth-century gravestones in eastern North Carolina persisted into the later 1800s, though with some variation. A single motif like the urn-and-willow gradually ceased to dominate, and monuments grew in size and complexity. Gothic arches, geometric boxes, classical columns, realistic lambs and doves, and Egyptian obelisks reflected not only the eclecticism of contemporary building design, but a heightened sense of the deceased as an individual. Monuments

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[50] Edgecombe County Deed Book 26, pp. 85-86 (October 1, 1851). The deed records the transfer of the property "known as the Shiloh tract," as well as the circumstances of the sale.

[51] This brief account of Henry T. Clark is drawn from William S. Powell, ed., *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography* (1979), vol. 1, pp. 374-375 and the United States Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census 1860, North Carolina, Edgecombe County, p. 1387. See also Appendix A. Henry T. Clark was the son of Arabella Toole, oldest daughter of Henry Irwin Toole I, and James West Clark, a state legislator, U.S. congressman, and chief clerk of the U.S. Navy Department in the Jackson administration. Henry T. Clark married his cousin, Mary, who was the daughter of Arabella Toole Clark's sister Mary and Theophilus Parker. James West Clark owned a plantation in western Edgecombe County, as well as a house in Tarboro, both of which may have become his son's residences at the elder Clark's death in 1843. Henry T. Clark built his own house in Tarboro in 1853. Called HILMA (after the first letters of his children's' names), it no longer stands. It is not known when the main house at Shiloh ceased to be occupied or when it disappeared. Arabella and James West Clark, as well as Mary and Henry T. Clark are buried in the Calvary Episcopal churchyard in Tarboro.

[52] The transfer of Shiloh from Henry T. Clark to Haywood Clark is recorded in Edgecombe County Deed Book 35, pp. 258-259 (July 10, 1873), Deed Book 39, pp. 338-339 (January 26, 1876), and Will Book G, pp. 451-453 (April 28, 1874).

Figure 26. *Colton's New Topographical Map of the Eastern Portion of the State of North Carolina ....* by J. H. Colton (1861), detail. Shiloh plantation appears just southeast of the Tar River, adjacent to the road to Tarboro established in the colonial era (now US 258). Published during the early months of the Civil War, the map focuses on roads, railroads, waterways, and coastal fortifications. From "Civil War Maps", *American Memory Historical Collections*, Library of Congress (http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/ammemhome.html).

still urged the living to remember, but often explained why through both text and form.[53] The Shiloh Graveyard contains two intact examples of this evolving approach to commemorative art.

Near the riverside edge of the Shiloh Graveyard stands the imposing, white marble obelisk dedicated "To the Memory of Susan Simpson Branch" (see Figures 5 and 16). Its inscription identifies the lady's husband, the date and place of her death, and her age. Also inscribed is a statement that her children were responsible for setting up her monument. Susan Simpson Branch was the grand-daughter of Elizabeth Toole, second daughter of Sabra and Lawrence Toole (see Appendix A). Her stylish marker, carved by S. Tingley of Providence, Rhode Island like those of her great-aunt and great-uncle a few feet away, and erected in an ancestral graveyard twenty-two years after her death, speaks of the desire of her children to perpetuate their mother's earthly identity, as well as express their continuing bond with her. It is possible that Susan Simpson Branch is buried elsewhere and her monument is, in fact, a cenotaph. Near the northwestern side of the Shiloh Graveyard is a less elaborate pair of head- and footstones that, nevertheless, resembles the Branch monument in intent. The white marble rectangle marking the grave of Leon A. Williams (d. 1868) is broke at its top, and only the lower edge of a central relief remains (see Figures 5 and 17). Inscribed below are the name, death date, and age of the deceased, as well as a Biblical verse and a fraternal order symbol. The Beatitude "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God" (*Matthew* 5:8) and the three chain links of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, like the biographical particulars carved on the Branch monument, are meant to convey information about Leon A. Williams, as well as elicit a certain response from anyone who might view his gravestone.

Leon A. Williams was the youngest son of Eliza Carolina Williams, the grand-daughter of Mary and Michael Hearne and thus the great-grand-daughter of Sabra and Lawrence Toole (see Appendix A). A Confederate veteran, Leon contracted tuberculosis and died at the age of 29 three years after the end of the war.[54] His father, John Williams, was a prosperous Tarboro merchant and farmer. The earliest known survey of Edgecombe County cemeteries, undertaken in the 1950s, discovered the "John Williams Graveyard," but failed to

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[53] Hijiya, pp. 354-357, speaks of a "monumental style" reflecting a growing defiance of death, a secular dependence on human memory for spiritual comfort. Little, pp. 61, 179-181, also notes the proliferation of motifs and forms, and observes that a preference of those with means for obelisks was evident in North Carolina by around 1850. See also Peggy McDowell and Richard E. Meyer, *The Revival Styles in American Memorial Art* (1994), pp. 5, 11, 18-24, 90-95, 126-133 and Kenneth L. Ames, "Ideologies in Stone: Meanings in Victorian Gravestones," *Journal of Popular Culture* 14 (1981), pp. 641-656.

[54] In addition to the genealogical sources noted in Appendix A, information about the Williams family was found in L. E. Norfleet, "The 'Woolard House'," [Tarborough] *Daily Southerner* 26 January 1938; Watson 2, p. 239; Stephen E. Bradley, Jr., ed., *The 1850 Federal Census - Edgecombe County, North Carolina* (1990), pp. 2, 84, 115; and United States Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census 1860, North Carolina, Edgecombe County, p. 1494.

observe the nearby Toole gravestones of the association with Shiloh plantation.[55] The survey recorded four markers. Those of Leon A. Williams (d. 1868) and Eliza C. Williams (d. 1886) (see p. 47) still survive, while those of John Williams (d. 1848) and another son John L. Williams (d. 1857) may be represented only by a broken and unornamented headstone base and an unrelated footstone. A similar survey conducted during the 1990s concentrated on the earlier stones at Shiloh and recorded a marker for Robert Donaldson (d. 1804) that has since disappeared.[56] The fluted column fragments and molded stone segments situated between the two groups of Toole and Williams gravestones may be the remains of a Donaldson monument, rivalling that of Susan Simpson Branch in scale, design, and content (see p. 10 and Figures 5 and 6). Just north of the Williams markers, NCDOT recorded a white marble stone bearing the initials "H.I.T." (see Figure 15). Apparently a footstone for Henry Irwin Toole, it may belong to either father (I) or son (II); the grandson (III) is probably buried in Pitt County or New Hanover County (see p. 35). Its material and emphatic proportions, especially when compared with the other Shiloh gravestones, argue for a nineteenth century date, and the footstone and its now-missing headstone may have been installed sometime after the death of either man. Regardless of its identity the solitary footstone and the lost Donaldson and Williams markers indicate that the Shiloh Graveyard is more populated that its current appearance suggests.

Industry and Obscurity

When Haywood Clark purchased Shiloh in 1876 the property included "a Water Grist Mill supplied by the Jones & Clark Canal."[57] The canal, probably that shown on the 1861 Colton map (see Figure 26), had been authorized by the state legislature in the 1820s as a means of draining Conetoe Swamp into the

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[55] Ruth Smith Williams, Margarette Glenn Griffin, and Hugh Buckner Johnston. *Tombstone and Census Records of Early Edgecombe* (1959), pp. 158-159.

[56] "Cemetery at Shiloh Mills, Tarboro, Edgecombe County, North Carolina," *Lines and Pathways of Edgecombe County* 1 (January 1996). The marker displayed a lengthy epitaph: "In Memory of Robert Donaldson, Law of Tarborough NC who departed this life 11th Feb 1804 aged 45 years Here doth lie/ As good a Father as could die/ Who when alive did vigor give/ To as much friendship as could live/ By Strangers was his descent bier adorned/ By Strangers is honoured and by his friends mourned/ Whatever was merited be gained/ And dead a grave in foreign realms obtained." A 1996 survey conducted by Monika Fleming and Cathy Stephenson of Edgecombe Community College does not include the Donaldson marker - North Carolina Cemetery Survey Records, North Carolina State Archives.

[57] Edgecombe County Deed Book 39, p. 338 (January 26, 1876). The following remarks about the canal and grist mill at Shiloh are based on materials in the "Canals and Drainage 1821-1912" folder, Edgecombe County Records, North Carolina State Archives; the 1855-1860 Account Book for the Shiloh Mill, Shiloh Mill Books, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina; and an 1832 agreement for building the mill, Folder 6 (1830-1839), Toole Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina. The Toole Family Papers are predominantly real estate documents, mostly copies of Edgecombe County deeds, wills, etc. An undated drawing, "H. T. Clark Platt of Shiloh & Grove Tract," identifies the canal, "Mill Branch," the main road southeast of the river (US 258); and "Tools Hole," the bend in the Tar that constituted the plantation landing and near which Lawrence Toole's house probably stood (Folder 15 - undated, Toole Family Papers).

Tar River. In the early 1830s Geraldus Toole built a mill on the canal, and Henry T. Clark operated the "Shiloh Mill" mentioned in the 1876 deed. The canal and mill were harbingers of the industrialization of Shiloh, specifically the graveyard vicinity, that occurred during the later decades of the nineteenth century. Haywood Clark and his wife Mary sold Shiloh in 1883, thus becoming the last members of the Toole family to own the land.[58] The new owner, L. L. Staton, not only continued the agricultural use of the four-hundred-acre tract, but constructed cottonseed oil mills and based a river steamship line on the property near Toole's Hole, the long-established plantation landing.

L. L. Staton was an owner and officer of the Farmers' Cooperative Manufacturing Company, later the Tar River Oil Company, manufacturers of cottonseed oil and related products such as seed cake and meal. Between 1888 and 1900 he sold four acres of his Shiloh farm to the companies as sites for oil mills (Figure 27). The companies also operated a number of steamships as the "Tar River Line." The *Beta*, *Tarboro*, and *Shiloh* regularly transported freight and passengers between Washington and Tarboro. By the 1920s the mills and the steamers had ceased to operate and the riverside acreage was returned to Shiloh by Staton's heirs in 1933. The boundary of the mill site ran "... to a dogwood at the corner of the graveyard, then with the graveyard wall ...".[59] More or less surrounded by intense commercial activity for twenty years or so, the Shiloh Graveyard was still recognizable and treated as an inviolable area. Nevertheless, other features of the property received attention in the 1931 Sanborn map of Tarboro (Figure 28) and 1938 state highway map of Edgecombe County.[60] Both show the tenant houses associated with the "Shiloh Stock Farm" and the relatively new buildings occupied by the "Shiloh Farm Implement Company."

Though Shiloh had passed out of Toole family hands, the presence of a gravestone dating to the Staton ownership suggests that the provisions of Geraldus Toole's 1833 deed of gift continued to be honored (see p. 37). Eliza C.

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[58] Edgecombe County Deed Book 54, pp. 588-590 (August 14, 1883). The property description mentions "Clark's Mill run on Bridgers Canal," an "old canal which is now dry," and a functioning "canal as cut."

[59] Edgecombe County Deed Book 324, pp. 4-5 (January 4, 1933). Transfers of the Shiloh parcels to the oil companies are recorded in Edgecombe County Deed Book 65, pp. 336-337 (April 7, 1888), Deed Book 99, pp. 28-29 (August 18, 1891), and Deed Book 101, p. 83 (April 4, 1900). L. L. Staton's will is recorded in Edgecombe County Will Book L, pp. 33-35 (February 11, 1921). *Branson's North Carolina Agricultural Almanac* for 1890 lists L. L. Staton as a farmer, merchant (drugs), and co-owner of the Shiloh Stock Farm (p. 275). In the 1896 *Branson's North Carolina Business Directory* L. L. Staton appears as the president of the Tar River Oil Company and is identified as a merchant (drugs) and physician (pp. 255 and 257). Information about the cottonseed oil companies and river steamers resides in the Allsbrook Local History Room vertical files and photograph collections at the Edgecombe County Memorial Library in Tarboro. Improvements to the Tar navigation during the 1880s and 1890s made such ventures possible and likely inspired transformation of the nearby Atlantic Coast Line Railroad Bridge to its present configuration (Patrick, p. 17).

[60] Bruce M. Stave, ed., *Fire Insurance Maps from the Sanborn Map Company Archives, Late 19th Century to 1989, North Carolina* (1991), microfilm, Tarboro 1931, p. 32; "Edgecombe County North Carolina" (1938), North Carolina State Archives.

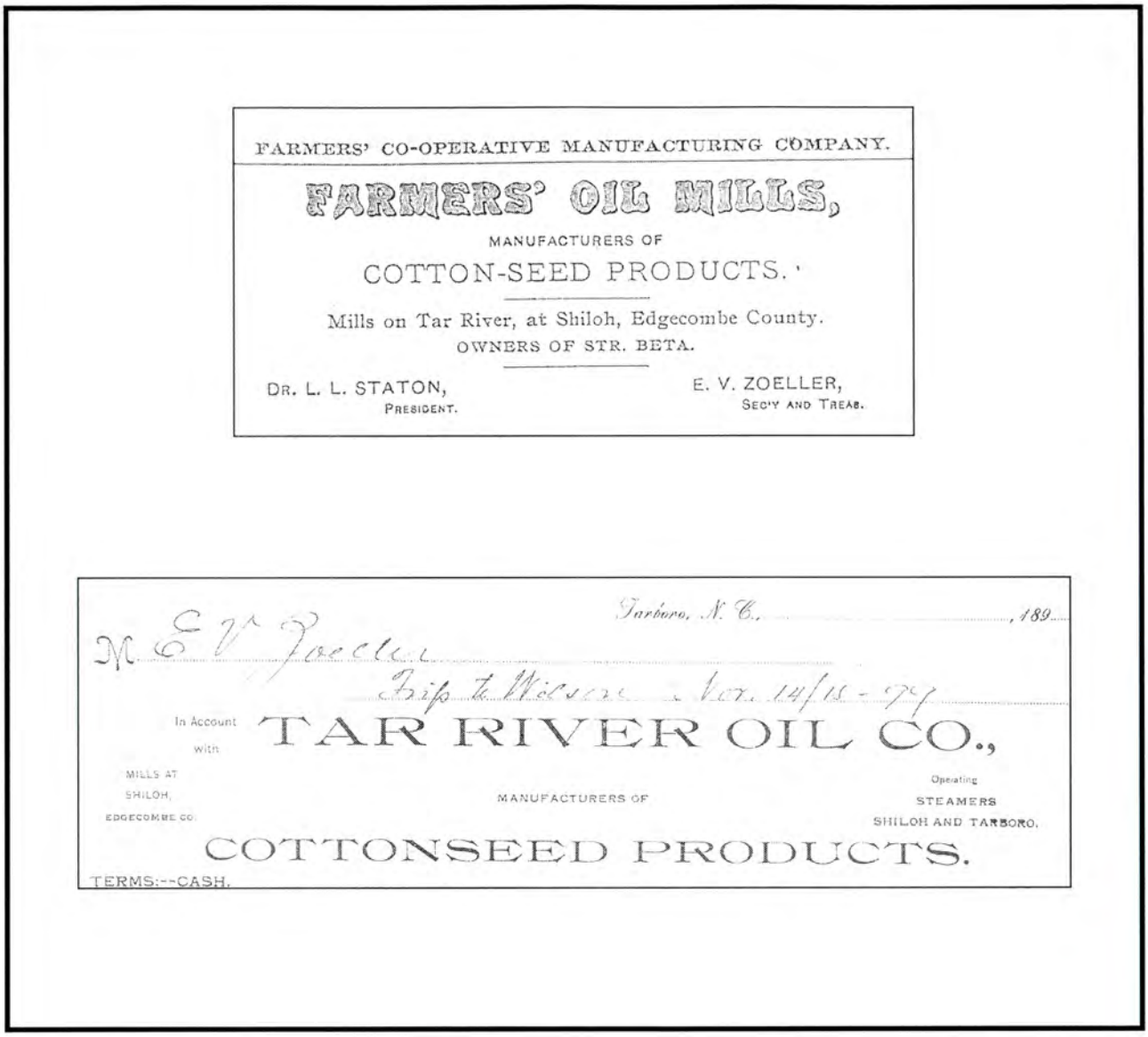

Figure 27. Industry at Shiloh. Details from the letterheads of manufacturies established adjacent to the Shiloh graveyard suggest the origin of the name "Shiloh Mills," by which the locality came to be known in the twentieth century. From the Allsbrook Local History Room collection, Edgecombe County Memorial Library, Tarboro.

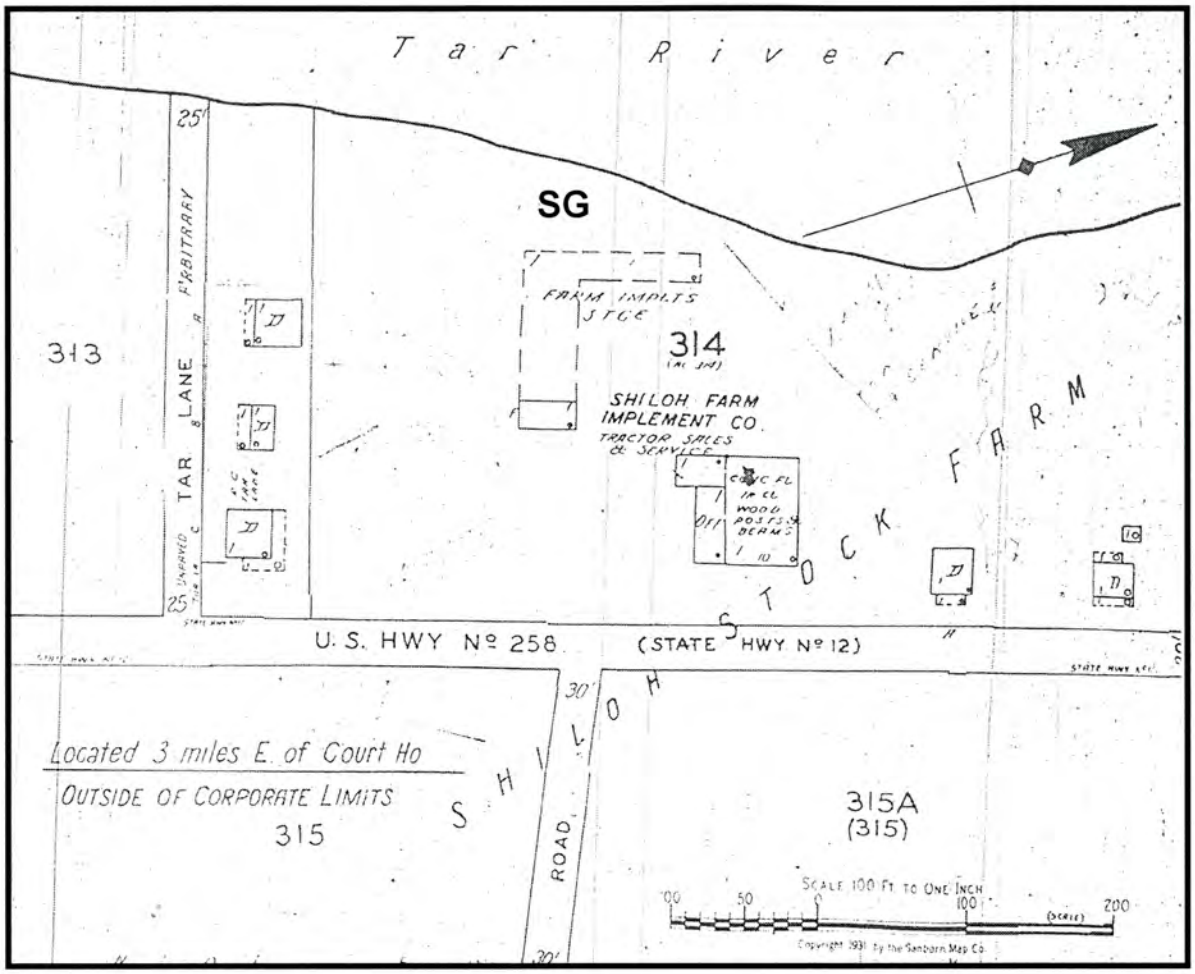

Figure 28. The Environs of the Shiloh Graveyard in 1931. Of sufficient importance to merit inclusion in the Sanborn map of Tarboro, the Shiloh Stock Farm also contained the Toole family graveyard (indicated by the "SG" added to the map). Still standing are the two commercial buildings (storage is ruinous) and two houses to the northeast. From Bruce M. Stave, ed. *Fire Insurance Maps from the Sanborn Map Company Archives, Late 19th Century to 1989, North Carolina* (1991), microfilm, Tarboro 1931, p. 32.

Williams, great-grand-daughter of Sabra and Lawrence Toole, died in 1886, and her fallen headstone and footstone are located near those of her son, Leon A. Williams (see Appendix A and Figures 5 and 18). A simple rectangle of white marble with a shallow, segmentally arched top and an equally minimal inscription, the headstone exemplifies yet another shift in the design and composition of American gravemarkers. Towards the end of the nineteenth century the so-called "cults" of mourning and memory began to give way to a less emotional approach to death and funerary custom. The unornamented gravestone bearing only a name and birth and death dates, like that of Eliza C. Williams, helped maintain a new distance between death and daily life, a kind of calculated lack of awareness that only intensified in the next century.[61] Both Williams markers also reflect the increasingly local availability of marble gravestones throughout North Carolina, due particularly to improvements in rail transportation during the 1880s and 1890s. A commercially produced gravestone still constituted a significant financial outlay, but had become obtainable for others besides the wealthy few.[62] The Eliza C. Williams marker is the most recently placed gravestone at Shiloh and may represent the final burial in the graveyard.

In 1943 the heirs of L. L. Staton sold "Shiloh Farm" to James H. Satterthwaite. The new owner died intestate in 1957, and the land was partitioned among his children. Redmond J. Satterthwaite received the parcel containing the graveyard, a 118.6-acre tract spanning US 258. Redmond's three children assumed ownership of the land in 1995 and formed a partnership, C. D. S. Land L. L. C., in the same year. Much of the land, especially south of US 258, has been developed for residential use, but the 19.45-acre tract that includes the graveyard appears to be partially under cultivation.[63] Throughout the Satterthwaite ownership the immediate environs of the graveyard have been occupied by a succession of tenant houses, a series of businesses in the farm equipment building (see Figure 35), and agricultural activity. Fragments of a wrought iron gate and a concrete slab are possibly all that remain of the graveyard wall that was standing in 1933 (see p. 44). Storms, riverbank erosion, and vandalism have beset the graveyard, but it has been skirted by a dirt road and path and allowed to transform itself into an island of dense vegetation. The Shiloh Graveyard has been the subject of occasional historical inquiry during the past fifty years; this report represents its most recent and intensive investigation to date.

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[61] Hijiya, pp. 356-361; Geoffrey Gorer, *Death, Grief, and Mourning* (1965), pp. 192-199.
[62] Little, pp. 180-181, 219-221.
[63] The Satterthwaite ownership is recorded in Edgecombe County Deed Book 409, pp. 427-429 (November 12, 1943); Deed Book 604, pp. 22-29 (April 4, 1958); Map Book 11, p. 37 (January 1958); Deed Book 940, pp. 440-442 (August 28, 1983); Plat S-107B (March 28, 1983); Estate File No. 90-E-207 (1990); Deed Book 1138, pp. 492-494 (January 24, 1995); Deed Book 1147, pp. 380-382 (June 6, 1995); Deed Book 1148, pp. 844-846 (August 7, 1995); and 2001 Tax Book, p. 211 (parcel 2968) and Tax Map 4748 (57-58-2968).

Evaluation. For purposes of compliance with Section 106 of the NHPA, the Shiloh Graveyard is considered eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. The site is eligible under Criteria A, B, C, and D, and Criteria Considerations C and D as significant both locally and regionally in the areas of art and social history.[64]

The Shiloh Graveyard is **eligible** for the National Register of Historic Places under **Criterion A (event)**. *To be eligible under Criterion A the property must retain integrity and must be associated with a specific event marking an important moment in American pre-history or history or a pattern of events or historic trend that made a significant contribution to the development of a community, a state, or the nation. Furthermore, the property must have existed at the time and be documented to be associated with the events. Finally, the property's specific association must be important as well.*[65] One of the earliest identified plantation graveyards in North Carolina, the Shiloh Graveyard is most directly associated with the social development of Tarboro and Edgecombe County and the evolving belief system and funerary tradition of the American South. As committed consumers of sophisticated memorial art, the prominent Toole family made a significant contribution to the cultural life of the region during the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. Individual markers in the graveyard, as well as the placement and internal spatial arrangement of the site as a whole reflect the importance and complexity of Anglo-American burial customs and memorializations.

The Shiloh Graveyard is **eligible** for the National Register under **Criterion B (person)**. *For a property to be eligible for significance under Criterion B, it must retain integrity and 1) be associated with the lives of persons significant in our past, i.e. individuals whose activities are demonstrably important within a local, state or national historic context; 2) be normally associated with a person's productive life, reflecting the time period when he/she achieved significance; and 3) should be compared to other associated properties to identify those that best represent the person's historic contributions. Furthermore, a property is not eligible if its only justification for significance is that it was owned or used by a person who is or was a member of an identifiable profession, class or social or ethnic group.* The site contains the grave of Lawrence Toole (d. 1760), one of the five founders and first commissioners of the town of Tarboro. The graveyard is the only surviving, above-ground component of his plantation and, besides the town itself, the only property that exists to represent his achievement and importance in the history of the locality and state.

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[64] Elisabeth Walton Potter and Beth M. Boland, *Guidelines for Evaluating and Registering Cemeteries and Burial Places* (1992), pp. 9-17.

[65] National Park Service, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* (1998), p. 12. All subsequent definitions of the criteria and criteria considerations are drawn from this source.

The Shiloh Graveyard is **eligible** for the National Register under **Criterion C (design/construction)**. *For a property to be eligible under this criterion, it must retain integrity and either 1) embody distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction; 2) represent the work of a master; 3) possess high artistic value; or 4) represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.* The Shiloh Graveyard contains good examples of the major styles of American funerary art, including a colonial death's head stone, as well as early-nineteenth-century "urn-and-willow" and later monumental stones. The 1760 slate death's head is almost certainly a product of the highly regarded Lamson shop in Charlestown, Massachusetts. The three most elaborate nineteenth-century markers were carved in the Tingley shop in Baltimore. The graveyard as a landscape feature is typical of those created on southern plantations, and its internal arrangement and surviving plantings are representative of late-colonial and nineteenth-century custom and practice.

The Shiloh Graveyard is **eligible** for the National Register under **Criterion D (potential to yield information)**. *For a property to be eligible under Criterion D, it must meet two requirements: 1) the property must have, or have had, information to contribute to our understanding of human history or pre-history, and 2) the information must be considered important.* Further investigation, especially archaeological excavation, of the Shiloh Graveyard is likely to reveal additional graves and perhaps markers, as well as other physical evidence of Anglo-American and possibly African-American burial practices. Excavation also promises to yield information about mortality and the environment in general in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Edgecombe County.

The Shiloh Graveyard is **eligible** for the National Register under **Criteria Consideration C (birthplaces and graves)**. *For a birthplace or grave of a historical figure to be eligible under Criteria Consideration C it must retain integrity and 1) meet one or more of the four Criteria; 2) be associated with a person of outstanding importance; and 3) be the only surviving property associated with his or her productive life.* Lawrence Toole, one of the founders of Tarboro, is buried in the Shiloh Graveyard, the only tangible link to his exceptional contribution.

The Shiloh Graveyard is **eligible** for the National Register under **Criteria Consideration D (cemeteries)**. *For a cemetery to be eligible under Criteria Consideration D it must retain integrity and derive its primary significance from graves of persons of transcendent importance, from age, from distinctive design features, or from association with historic events (Criteria A, B, and C).* The Shiloh Graveyard contains the grave of an individual of significant local importance, Lawrence Toole, one of the founders of Tarboro. Established in the mid-eighteenth century, the

graveyard is associated with the early development of the Tarboro region and includes one of the oldest surviving gravestones in North Carolina. The graveyard clearly expresses the burial customs and design principles of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries through its overall plan, landscaping, and individual markers.

The Shiloh Graveyard retains the qualities of location, design, materials and workmanship, and setting, feeling, and association that constitute its historical identity. While nothing else survives above-ground from the plantation to which it belonged, the graveyard occupies its original location relative to the Tar River and the road to Tarboro (US 258). The slate, marble, and freestone markers are unaltered, though some are weathered, fallen, and broken. The skill and artistry of the carver is evident in every stone, in the most elaborate motifs and the plainest inscriptions. The basic plan and internal layout of the graveyard are similarly unchanged, but some land and markers have been lost through erosion, damage, decay, and possibly relocation and theft. Only fragments of the masonry wall that once enclosed the graveyard survive, house trailers stand immediately to the northwest and commercial buildings to the southeast, and dense tree and brush vegetation envelops the gravestones. Nevertheless, the graveyard remains a defined, insular area, avoided rather than destroyed by the agricultural and commercial activities that have surrounded it. The historic purpose and appearance of the Shiloh Graveyard are clearly recognizable, its integrity largely the result of benign neglect.

Boundary. The National Register boundary for the Shiloh Graveyard is determined by the existing features that contribute to the significance of the site.

In the absence of remote sensing or excavation, the extent of the graveyard has been determined by surface examination. The size and placement of the graveyard is addressed only twice in the land records. The 1833 deed of gift defines an approximately one-acre parcel on the bank of the Tar River, running 162 feet southwest-northeast and 264 feet southeast-northwest (see n. 43). The 1933 deed concerning the former site of the Tar River Oil Company mill identifies a section of the graveyard wall, running 214.5 feet southwest-northeast and abutting the river (see. n. 59). The extra 50 feet or so may have been added after 1833 to accommodate the later graves of the Williams family and possible others. Besides the Tar River the features used to locate the graveyard are no longer recognizable. Its abandonment effectively returned the graveyard to the domain of the current landowner, and later deeds and tax records consequently do not record its bounds. The only section of the present

tax boundary that may be adopted for National Register purposes is the southwestern bank of the river.

If the northeastern boundary of the graveyard is constituted by the Tar River, its southeastern boundary (and hence its placement) is indicated by the gate fragment and concrete slab that probably delineate the 1933 wall (see Figure 5). The unpaved roadway at the southwest appears to be much closer to the graveyard than the "Tar Lane" shown in the 1931 Sanborn map (see Figure 28) and probably just misses the line of the erstwhile wall. Several house trailers occupy the ground immediately northwest of the edge of vegetation that fills the graveyard. These four features define and contain the area of surviving gravestones and other elements that contribute to the historical significance of the site. They also exclude those areas that once may have been part of the graveyard, but now appear to lack integrity through disturbance or destruction. The proposed National Register boundaries of the Shiloh Graveyard are illustrated in Figure 29.

Figure 29. Shiloh Graveyard Boundaries. The proposed National Register boundary for the site is shown in yellow. The blue line indicates the boundaries of tax parcel 2968 (Edgecombe County Tax Map No. 4748-57/58-2968, 2001). Base map is a USGS aerial flown in 1993.

PROPERTIES EVALUATED

AND

DETERMINED NOT ELIGIBLE

FOR THE

NATIONAL REGISTER

OF

HISTORIC PLACES

Figure 30. Property 1 - Eastlawn Memorial Garden Cemetery. The property has been determined not eligible for the National Register because it is neither historically nor architecturally significant. Photographed April 26, 2001.

Figure 31. Property 2 - Landfill shed. The property has been determined not eligible for the National Register because it is neither historically nor architecturally significant. Photographed May 24, 2001.

Figure 32. Property 3 - Tarboro Animal Shelter. The property has been determined not eligible for the National Register because it is neither historically nor architecturally significant. Photographed April 26, 2001.

Figure 33. Property 4 - Panola Heights Club. The property has been determined not eligible for the National Register because it is neither historically nor architecturally significant. Photographed April 26, 2001.

Figure 34. Property 5 - House. Main (west) elevation above and detail of northwest corner below. The property has been determined not eligible for the National Register because it is neither historically nor architecturally significant. Photographed May 24, 2001.

Figure 35. Property 6 - Tip Top Roofing. Main (south) elevation above and garage/sheds (looking north) below. The property has been determined not eligible for the National Register because it is neither historically nor architecturally significant. Photographed May 24, 2001 and April 26, 2001 respectively.

Figure 36. Property 7 - House and Outbuildings. Both views looking south. The property has been determined not eligible for the National Register because it is neither historically nor architecturally significant. Photographed May 24, 2001.

Figure 37. Property 8 - House. The property has been determined not eligible for the National Register because it is neither historically nor architecturally significant. Photographed April 26, 2001.

Figure 38. Property 9 - House. The property has been determined not eligible for the National Register because it is neither historically nor architecturally significant. Photographed April 26, 2001.

Figure 39. Property 10 - House. The property has been determined not eligible for the National Register because it is neither historically nor architecturally significant. Photographed May 24, 2001.

Figure 40. Property 11 - House. The property has been determined not eligible for the National Register because it is neither historically nor architecturally significant. Photographed May 24, 2001.

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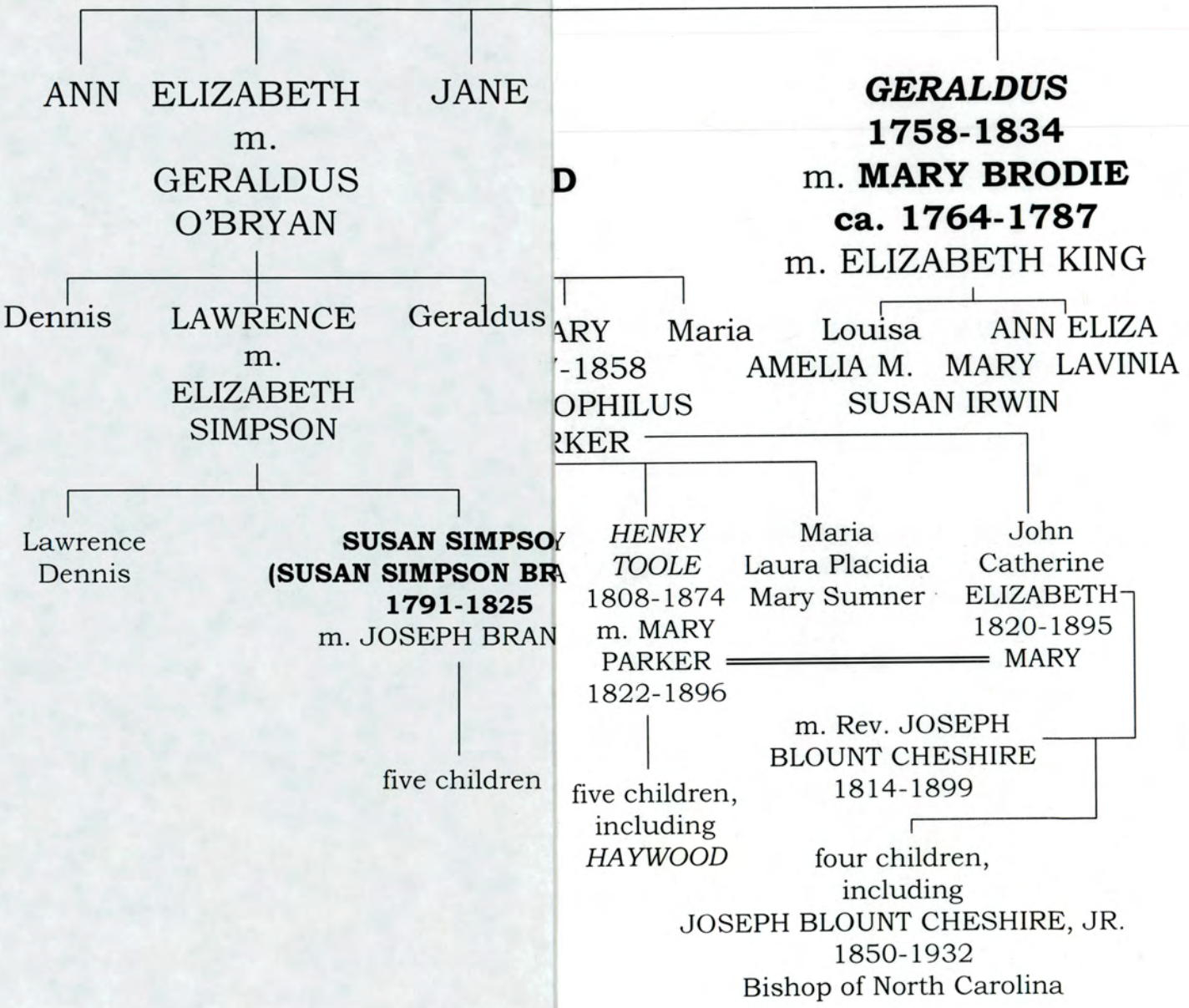

APPENDIX A. Sabra and Lawrence Toole[a] roperty, and in capitals individuals mentioned or discussed in the text of this report. Source*s of Edgecombe County, North Carolina 1788-1855* (1969) and *1855-1866* (n.d.); Ruth Sm*ombe County, North Carolina 1733-1868* (1958).

[a]The report).

APPENDIX

B

North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources

State Historic Preservation Office

David L. S. Brook, Administrator

James B. Hunt Jr., Governor
Betty Ray McCain, Secretary

Division of Archives and History
Jeffrey J. Crow, Director

July 24, 2000

MEMORANDUM

TO: William D. Gilmore, P.E., Manager
Project Development and Environmental Analysis Branch

FROM: David Brook for David Brook
Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer

RE: Extend SR 1537 (Daniel Street) from SR 1518 (Loop Road) to US 258 at NC 122, TIP No. U-3826, Edgecombe County, ER 00-10277

Thank you for your letter of June 21, 2000, transmitting the survey report by Vanessa Patrick concerning the above project.

For purposes of compliance with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act, we concur that the following property is eligible for the National Register of Historic Places under the criterion cited:

> Atlantic Coast Line (Norfolk Branch) Railroad Bridge is eligible under Criterion A for Transportation and Commerce as part of one of the earliest railroads in the country, Wilmington and Weldon, and because it encouraged and facilitated commercial growth in truck farming, prevalent in much of the post-Civil War South. The Atlantic coast Line (Norfolk Branch) Railroad Bridge is also eligible under Criterion C for Design/Construction as it displays all the distinctive characteristics of the deck plate girder railroad type with the less common addition of a swing span, and unusual component.

We do not concur that the Atlantic Coast Line (Norfolk Branch) Railroad Bridge is eligible under Criterion B for its association with Robert R. Bridgers, nor do we concur that it is eligible under Criterion D for its potential to yield information in engineering. The bridge is not eligible under Criterion B for its association with Robert R. Bridgers because it is not associated with his productive life as it was built in 1913, twenty-five years after his death in 1888. The bridge is not eligible under Criterion D as it is unlikely to yield further information on the construction of bridges of this type.

	Location	Mailing Address	Telephone/Fax
ADMINISTRATION	507 N. Blount St., Raleigh NC	4617 Mail Service Center, Raleigh NC 27699-4617	(919) 733-4763 • 733-8653
ARCHAEOLOGY	421 N. Blount St., Raleigh NC	4619 Mail Service Center, Raleigh NC 27699-4619	(919) 733-7342 • 715-2671
RESTORATION	515 N. Blount St., Raleigh NC	4613 Mail Service Center, Raleigh NC 27699-4613	(919) 733-6547 • 715-4801
SURVEY & PLANNING	515 N. Blount St., Raleigh NC	4618 Mail Service Center, Raleigh NC 27699-4618	(919) 733-6545 • 715-4801

Federal Aid # STP-1537(2) *TIP #* U-3826 *County*: Edgecombe

CONCURRENCE FORM FOR ASSESSMENT OF EFFECTS

Project Description:

On November 16, 2000 representatives of the

☒ North Carolina Department of Transportation (NCDOT)
☒ Federal Highway Administration (FHWA)
☒ North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO)

reviewed the subject project and agreed

☐ there are no effects on the National Register-listed property/properties located within the project's area of potential effect and listed on the reverse.

☐ there are no effects on the National Register-eligible property/properties located within the project's area of potential effect and listed on the reverse.

☐ there is an effect on the National Register-listed property/properties located within the project's area of potential effect. The property/properties and the effect(s) are listed on the reverse.

☒ there is an effect on the National Register-eligible property~~/properties~~ located within the project's area of potential effect. The property~~/properties~~ and effect(s) are listed on the reverse.

Signed:

Vanessa O. Patrick — 11-16-00
Representative, NCDOT — Date

Michael C Dawson — 11/16/00
FHWA, for the Division Administrator, or other Federal Agency — Date

Neil Montgomery — 11/16/00
Representative, SHPO — Date

Renee Gledhill-Earley — 11/16/00
State Historic Preservation Officer — Date

Federal Aid # STP-1537(2) *TIP #* U-3826 *County:* EDGECOMBE

CONCURRENCE FORM FOR PROPERTIES NOT ELIGIBLE FOR THE NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES

Project Description: Extension of SR1537 (Daniel St.) from SR1518 (Loop Rd.) to US258/NC122 (ALTERNATIVES F & H)

On JUNE 7, 2001, representatives of the

- [x] North Carolina Department of Transportation (NCDOT)
- [ ] Federal Highway Administration (FHWA)
- [x] North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office (HPO)
- [ ] Other

Reviewed the subject project at

- [ ] Scoping meeting
- [x] Historic architectural resources photograph review session/consultation
- [ ] Other

All parties present agreed

- [ ] There are no properties over fifty years old within the project's area of potential effects.
- [x] There are no properties less than fifty years old which are considered to meet Criteria Consideration G within the project's area of potential effects.
- [x] There are properties over fifty years old within the project's Area of Potential Effects (APE), but based on the historical information available and the photographs of each property, the property identified as **(List Attached)** is considered not eligible for the National Register and no further evaluation of it is necessary. Properties #1-11.
- [x] There are no National Register-listed or Study Listed properties within the project's area of potential effects.
- [x] All properties greater than 50 years of age located in the APE have been considered at this consultation, and based upon the above concurrence, all compliance for historic architecture with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act and GS 121-12(a) has been completed for this project.
- [ ] There are no historic properties affected by this project. (*Attach any notes or documents as needed*)

Signed:

Vanessa L. Patrick — 6.7.01
Representative, NCDOT — Date

Michael C. Bruza — 6/7/01
FHWA, for the Division Administrator, or other Federal Agency — Date

Claudia B. Brown — 6/7/01
Representative, HPO — Date

David Brook (ESG) — 6/7/01
State Historic Preservation Officer — Date

If a survey report is prepared, a final copy of this form and the attached list will be included.

Federal Aid # **STP-1537(2)** *TIP #* **U-3826** *County*: **Edgecombe**

CONCURRENCE FORM FOR ASSESSMENT OF EFFECTS

Project Description: Extension of SR 1537 (Daniel Street) to US 258 (Alternatives B-E, H)

On July 16, 2002, representatives of the

- **X** North Carolina Department of Transportation (NCDOT)
- **X** Federal Highway Administration (FHWA)
- **X** North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office (HPO)
- ☐ Other

Reviewed the subject project and agreed

- ☐ There are no effects on the National Register-listed property/properties located within the project's area of potential effect and listed on the reverse.
- ☒ There are no effects on the National Register-eligible property/properties located within the project's area of potential effect and listed on the reverse.
- ☐ There is an effect on the National Register-listed property/properties located within the project's area of potential effect. The property/properties and the effect(s) are listed on the reverse.

  There is an effect on the National Register-eligible property/properties located within the project's area of potential effect. The property/properties and effect(s) are listed on the reverse.

Signed:

Vanessa E. Patrick — 7-16-02
Representative, NCDOT — Date

FHWA — 7/16/02
FHWA, for the Division Administrator, or other Federal Agency — Date

Representative, HPO — 7/16/02
Date

Renee Gledhill-Earley for David Brook — 7/16/02
State Historic Preservation Officer — Date