Fred M. Mallison. OCRACOKE AND PORTSMOUTH ISLANDS IN THE CIVIL WAR. (Under the direction of Dr. Mary Jo Bratton) Department of History, September, 1994.

The purpose of this thesis is to relate the events of the Civil War on the North Carolina coastal islands and on the surrounding waters. Although no battles raged on the islands, they were occupied by soldiers all during the war, first Confederate, then Federal. The allegiance of the Bankers was divided, with Union sentiment strongest on the northern Banks, but with most islanders hoping to remain neutral. The thesis seeks to show that the Ocracokers and Portsmouthers were more inclined to the Confederacy. This view is supported by the appended rosters, although admittedly incomplete, which were compiled showing men joining each side. Even on these islands, a majority of the men took no active part in the war.

The economic history of the war must begin much earlier than 1861 in order to show the cause of the great prosperity on the islands in the pre-war decades and the reasons for the initial decline of shipping through Ocracoke Inlet. At war's end, trade and commerce were dead. The thesis also shows the means of recovery from war's desolation.

The recovery of the islanders, partly from revived shipping and recovery on the main and partly from new ventures of their own, came during the post-war decades. The changes and improvements are traced nearly to the end of the century.

Ocracoke's population grew as the people made the most of their new opportunities. Portsmouth, sadly, continued to decline, as conditions on that island were not conducive to recovery.

The thesis ends with a description of the very first signs on Ocracoke of what life would be in the twentieth century.

OCRACOKE AND PORTSMOUTH ISLANDS
IN THE CIVIL WAR

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INTRODUCTION

It was a good land. "We smelled the fragrances a hundred leagues away, and even farther when they were burning the cedars and the wind was blowing from the land." Thus, Giovanni de Verrazzano, sailing for the French king in 1524, described the coast of Carolina. He identified the shores with such pleasant names as Forest of Laurels and Field of Cedars.[1]

Sixty years later, Arthur Barlowe smelled it, too. He reported to Sir Walter Raleigh, "We found shoal water which smelt so sweetly and was so strong a smell as if we had been in the midst of some delicate garden . . ."[2]

It was a sweet and goodly land, well worth wars and fighting. The Englishmen who settled it first fought to take it from the Indians. They fought invading pirates and Spanish privateers and they fought the Mother Country twice for control of their new land. As the years rolled past the mid-nineteenth century, another war loomed, a war that proved to be far greater and bloodier than previous American wars.

The purpose of this paper is to chronicle the Civil War years of Ocracoke and Portsmouth Islands. The military and naval history will be detailed, and the lives and sentiments of the civilian islanders, more elusive facts to the researcher, will be deduced from records and from remembrances.

Called simply the sand banks by the early settlers, the

chain of barrier islands sweeps down from the Virginia Capes in three graceful arcs. The first arc, convex toward the ocean, reaches Cape Hatteras and turns southwesterly. The next arc of the chain, slightly concave, was called Raleigh Bay on early maps. It includes the islands of Ocracoke and Portsmouth. The third arc, also concave, stretches to Cape Fear.

The sandy beach, the berm, supports no plant life until its level rises above the high tide line. Hardy, salt tolerant sea grasses grow herein increasingly thick on the dune line farther from the sea. Inland from the berm appear shrubs and small trees, growing larger in the center of the islands and on the sound shore. Live oak trees, red cedars, and a few pine trees give shade and protection on the sound side, the inhabited part of the islands. Both Ocracoke and Portsmouth are narrow, generally only a few hundred yards wide, but each widens to about two miles on the end adjacent to Ocracoke Inlet. Here are located Ocracoke Village and Portsmouth Village.[3]

From the masthead of a ship, the ocean beaches, glowing white to beige in the sun, look remarkably the same as they looked in the 1860s, thanks to their preservation by the National Park Service. Portsmouth, uninhabited since 1971, is frozen in the time of the late nineteenth century.

On Ocracoke, the white lighthouse still points to the heavens, and a few roofs peek through the live oaks and

yaupon. If the mind's eye can erase the water tower, one obtrusive high-rise motel, and the four-wheel drive vehicles on parts of the beach, the 1860s look is retained here, too. (Map I shows the coast as surveyed in 1865.)[4]

The early English settlers used the Indian names for the islands, adapting them to European tongues. Haterask became Hatteras, Waccocon became Ocracoke, and the southernmost of the three was called Core Banks after the Coree Indians. The string of islands, then as now, is broken by the waterways called inlets that are actually outlets for the nearly immensurable volumes of water that flow down the rivers to the sea. These inlet/outlets shift according to natural laws that are unpredictable. Modern hydrogeologists can explain much, though not all, of the inlet action, but so could experienced pilots during the Civil War, as we shall see. According to the hydrogeologists:

> Inlets are among the most interesting areas of change on the North Carolina coast. Permanent inlets exist only in the southern half of the coast at the mouths of rivers. Even there, the channels are constantly changing in response to the action of the waves, winds and tides on the Outer Banks, inlets are only temporary, formed by the surge of storm waves across the bar. We know from historical records and old maps that more than two dozen inlets have existed at various times on the Outer Banks, although only six are still open. The inlets on the Outer Banks seem to go through a natural cycle of birth, change and death. Whether this takes two hundred years or a few weeks is determined by factors we do not yet fully understand. Inlets may also change position, migrating along a barrier island shoreline if the accretion rate is greater on one side than the other.[5]

Only Ocracoke Inlet has remained the same during recorded history. As other inlets closed, shoaled, moved, or new ones opened, Ocracoke Inlet came to be recognized as the best ingress between Cape Fear and Chesapeake Bay. Its worth was noted by John Lawson as early as 1709. He stated, "Ocacock is the best inlet and Harbour yet in this country; and has thirteen foot of lowwater upon the Bar." Lawson described the two channels through the inlet, with compass courses to sail and depth of water over the inner bar. He calculated the latitude at 35°8'.[6] (Loran gives 35° 6 min. 30 sec. N)

As maritime traffic increased through the inlet, settlers moved to the islands, and by 1715, Governor Charles Eden and the General Assembly of the colony addressed the problem of pilots at Ocracoke Inlet. Realizing that "the Trade and Commerce of this government is likely to decay very much through want of Pilots," the proprietary government enacted laws appointing pilots and regulating their duties, pay, and fees.[7] Later, colonial governments allotted land on Ocracoke Island for pilots to build houses and haul out their boats. Ocracoke Village was first called Pilot Town by the English. Portsmouth developed in a similar way, though more officially. In 1753 the Colonial legislature passed an act to appoint commissioners and lay out a town to be named Portsmouth.[8] The reason for the choice of an English rather than an Indian name remains obscure.

Though Ocracoke Inlet was the best of the lot, it was too shallow for large vessels, and the "Swash," an inside bar across the channel, was an additional hazard to ships. The whole coast was dangerous, but the mid-section was particularly so with Diamond Shoals off Cape Hatteras threatening from the north and Frying Pan Shoals clawing up from the south, both traps for shipping even out to sea.

The Carolinians consoled themselves with the belief that if navigation of their coast was troublesome to them, it would be even more hazardous to invaders and would protect the state from seaborne enemies in wartime. This assumption, though often true, was fallible.

If the War of Independence brought few enemies to Ocracoke or Portsmouth, it brought vastly more trade in friendly ships. All manner of commerce increased, especially imports of arms and munitions. The geographical formation of the islands invited the transit of friendly ships and repelled those of the enemy, as had been predicted. According to one observer,

> Ocracoke was located far from British supply bases, making it difficiult for British vessels to remain on station there. Additionally, the shoals within the inlet kept out the larger vessels of war while allowing smaller smuggling craft a relatively safe haven.[9]

Ocracoke was an important gateway for supplies for General George Washington's Army at Valley Forge. France

shipped arms and munitions directly on large vessels intended to be unloaded by lighters from Portsmouth. When the British blockade allowed, French ships sailed directly to American ports with deeper water. Most of the trade, carried in schooners and brigs, could sail across the sounds. Initially, naval stores and timber were the chief exports, but tobacco, still a medium of exchange, soon became the most important cargo. Imports, besides arms and munitions, included large quantities of salt and such valuable cargoes as rum, molasses, sugar, and coffee. Most of the Carolina trade was with the French and Dutch West Indies. Salt was sometimes imported from British Islands in exchange for pork and corn under special license issued by the British navy and the state government. Ocracoke was the most important outlet for the produce of North Carolina's many small farms; and throughout the war, vessels brought in goods for the consumer market.[10]

If the struggle for independence was a booming and profitable war for Ocracoke and Portsmouth, the second conflict with Great Britain, 1812-1815, was troublesome and less profitable. While ruling the waves elsewhere, Britannia had acquired considerable experience in shoal-water, small-boat operations. Ocracoke was open to invasion by the right sort of expedition.

Instead of harboring smugglers, the North Carolina sounds became havens for privateers, a condition the Royal

Navy could not abide. In May, 1813, a British schooner, flying American colors, captured four Ocracoke pilots, withdrew, and returned in two days to sieze a sloop. Alarm spread to the mainland, bringing out the militia in several river ports. In June, 1813, the British came in force with the right sort of expedition. Rear Admiral Sir George Cockburn, who had ravaged the shores of Chesapeake Bay, sailed his squadron to Ocracoke Inlet. He brought two large frigates, several schooners, and numerous small boats and rocket craft.

The swarm of ships' boats and barges rushed the inlet. Rockets streaked to the two American ships at anchor, which were boarded and captured. The privateer brig Anaconda, having just returned from a successful cruise, had sent her valuable cargo to Edenton. Consequently, Cockburn captured only the brig and crew along with the schooner Atlas. The British ships had been sighted in time for the revenue cutter to secure the customs house records and money and flee to New Bern to spread the alarm.

The British landed on Ocracoke where they wounded one man who tried to escape in his boat. The Royal Navy carried off several hundred cattle and pigs and sixteen hundred chickens, paying for them according to the Briton's estimate of a fair price. Customs collector Thomas Singleton reported that the British paid only half enough and that they also looted private houses. Admiral Cockburn decided

not to attempt crossing the sound with his smaller ships and withdrew from Ocracoke. He was commended by his superiors for his "Zeal and Alacrity."[11]

Cockburn's invasion spurred the Americans to further efforts at coastal fortifications. During the winter of 1814-15, six hundred men ordered to build a fort on Beacon Island had a sick list of two hundred suffering from prolonged exposure in mud and water.[12] The war ended before the fort was completed.

The people of Ocracoke and Portsmouth profited from the maritime traffic during the wars with England despite the loss of livestock in 1813. The islanders looked forward to continuing properity after the war, which came with a manyfold increase in shipping. Other great changes came during those decades, not all of them beneficial.

CHAPTER I

BETWEEN THE WARS

After the Peace Treaty of Ghent ended the War of 1812, the industrial revolution clanked along with increasing velocity and power, but with little initial effect on the two islands. Its offspring, the transportation revolution, however, after a slow start, had an enormous impact. The advent of steam navigation wrought changes throughout the coastal region. Steam-propelled vessels soon dominated the commerce of the narrow upper rivers, and steam tow-boats hauled more traffic through the old Dismal Swamp Canal. Though the coastal and West Indian trades were still carried under sail, Ocracoke Inlet pilots witnessed more frequent passage of steam boats.

As an aid to navigation of the inlet, a wooden lighthouse had been erected on Shell Castle Island around 1800. Shell Castle, once a thriving mercantile and lightering center adjacent to Portsmouth, had lost its importance because of shoaling. Wallace's Channel, the deep waterway leading from the inlet to the open sound and the Neuse River, flowed close by Shell Castle Island. It began to fill with sand about 1820. The light tower was destroyed by lightning in 1818. Congress appropriated funds in 1820 to build a new lighthouse and again in 1822 appropriated more money. A masonry tower, sixty-five feet tall, was constructed in 1823 on Ocracoke, and is still in service today.[1]

In 1806, Portsmouth became the site of a federal project when Ocracoke Inlet was declared a port of entry and James Taylor was appointed the first collector of customs. The collector was authorized to draw government funds to pay for the care of sick and disabled seamen. Little was done until the next collector, Joshua Taylor (or Tayloe), was able to attract a physician to Portsmouth in 1828. Collector Tayloe rented a small house for the first hospital.[2]

Ships and seamen passed through the inlet in increasing numbers, for the state had left its "Rip van Winkle" period and the mainland was booming in naval stores and other forest products. One study of shipping records of the period states:

> "Naval stores were the most important single export in North Carolina from its earliest days until after the Civil War."[3]

A patented lamp fuel, camphene, was developed in the 1830s, using turpentine, wood alcohol and camphor; consequently, the use and price of turpentine climbed. From 1835 through the 1840s, according to James Cox's study:

> ". . . turpentine literally provided new fuel for the North Carolina economy and the upward trend in shipping."[4]

The bulk of the shipping passed through Ocracoke Inlet. The Committee on Commerce of the United States Congress reported in 1842:

> Ocracoke Inlet is the outlet for all the commerce of the State of North Carolina from the ports of Newbern, Washington, Plymouth, Edenton, and Elizabeth City, and the whole extent of the country for

> many miles around them; . . . more than two-thirds of the exports of the State pass out to sea at this point. . . . one thousand four hundred sail of loaded vessels pass through the aforesaid inlet in the space of twelve months, bound to various ports. . . . (it is) not uncommon to see from thirty to sixty sail of vessels at anchor in the roads at a time.[5]

The future looked rosy for the people of the islands, especially the pilots. Then nature intervened.

In 1846, there occurred a geographical change that could be attributed to an act of God. It was a new inlet, or rather two of them. Old Hatteras Inlet, shallow and little used, had begun to close in 1755. In subsequent years, it filled completely with sand, connecting Ocracoke to Hatteras. The new Hatteras Inlet of 1846 was created eight miles to the northeast, making Ocracoke a separate island again, but longer than before. Oregon Inlet, a pre-1585 waterway that had been sand-closed for many years, was re-opened by the 1846 storm. These three, Hatteras, Ocracoke and Oregon inlets, named in descending order of their importance in 1861, remain in use today. New Hatteras Inlet proved to be deeper than both Ocracoke and new Oregon inlets. Though the change was not immediate, maritime traffic began to divert from Ocracoke to Hatteras, a serious loss for Ocracoke and Portsmouth.[6] (Map II shows inlets throughout recorded history.)

The next year brought good news for Portsmouth, though not good enough to compensate for the loss of inlet traffic.

Though the United States Congress had appropriated $8,500.00 in 1842 for a new hospital building, it was not completed until 1847. It was a substantial two-story building with a fireplace in each large room, a water supply, and separate quarters for the hospital physician and a medical student.[7] (Plate Number 1 shows the architect's drawings of the building.)[8] The fact that the plan and the elevation differ in some details indicates that more than one plan was submitted to the government, giving the officials some choice in matters of style and finish.

A second geographical rearrangement occurred in the years between the wars, this one an act of man. The Dismal Swamp Canal, chartered in 1790 to join Albemarle Sound and Chesapeake Bay, could no longer handle the increased traffic of the mid-nineteenth century. The old canal, twenty-one miles long, used seven locks to maintain an elevated water level. Operating the locks required a vast supply of water from a reservoir, which gave out in dry weather. When it was dug, no means existed to dig a sea-level canal through the mass of roots and pre-historic stumps and logs that underlay the Dismal Swamp. Steam engines made a new canal necessary and provided the means to dig it.[9] Work began on the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal in 1855, a sea-level canal with only one lock used to control the tides.

Edmund Ruffin, the touring scientist, was impressed by the steam dredges. He described "the enormous beam with an

iron scoop . . . that made it seem as if it was the manual labor of a thinking being of colossal size and inconceivable physical power."[10]

The new canal opened in 1859. During 1860, the first full year, 116 steamers travelled through the canal and 393 schooners, the vessels most used in the coastal and West Indian trade. Counting small sloops, barges, and open boats, the total was 999. During 1861, there were 671 steamers and 1,139 schooners, with the total count of 2,524.[11] Much shipping was diverted from Ocracoke Inlet even before war came and the traffic became military.

The census records for each decade show signs of growth, but also signs of economic decline. The census records for the half-century, 1800-1850, show a steady increase in the islands' population, with Ocracoke overtaking Portsmouth in 1830.[12]

	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850
Ocracoke	137	209	344	490	531	536
Portsmouth	246	387	382	411	400	505

The 1850 census records show details of the islanders' numbers and occupations. The categories of occupations are tabulated below for each island. The marine hospital and the customs office brought occupations to Portsmouth not duplicated on Ocracoke, though otherwise the categories were similar. Since Portsmouth and Ocracoke were in different counties, the census takers were different. Consequently,

the occupational categories differ in some cases.

1850 Carteret Co.[13] Portsmouth		1850 Hyde Co.[14] Ocracoke	
Occupations:		Occupations:	
Pilot	27	Pilot	34
Mariner	34	Seamen	18
Boatmen	4	Boatmen	1
Carpenter	4	Fishermen	5
Merchant	5	Merchants	2
Farmer	2	Clerks	2
Teacher	1	Mechanics	7
Physician	2	Laborers	46
Customs Officer	1	Lighthouse Keeper	1
Total Population:	505	Total Population	536
388 Free, 117 Slave		432 Free, 104 Slave	

One Portsmouth resident of 1850 is worthy of special mention. Otway Burns, Tar Heel hero of the War of 1812, was listed, apparently living in the marine hospital, with the mournful comment of "dotage."[15] The Ocracoke census showed one occupation unique to that island, that of lighthouse keeper.

The 1860 census figures allow interesting comparisons to be made with those of 1850. The eighth census of Portsmouth yields complete information on the island, but the Ocracoke census is deficient in many respects.

As the number of pilots is indicative of inlet traffic, the fact that Ocracoke and Portsmouth together had sixty-one pilots while Hatteras had only eleven shows few ships were transiting New Hatteras Inlet by 1850. In 1860, with the new inlet well known and the new Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal opened, the count was far different. Ocracoke Inlet

listed twenty-seven pilots, while Hatteras had increased to thirty-five.[16]

1860 Carteret Co.[17] Portsmouth		1860 Hyde Co.[18] Ocracoke	
Occupations		Occupations	
Pilot	7	Pilot	20
Mariner	52	Mariner	58
Fishermen	80	Fishermen	1
Mechanic	2	Carpenters	4
Farmer	3		
Teacher	2		
Clerk	1		
Physicians	2		
Lightboat Keeper	2		
Customs Officer	1		
Seamstress	7		
Domestic	41		
Total Population: 445 Free, 117 Slave	562	Total Listed: 385 Free, 103 Slave	488

The 1860 census for Portsmouth lists occupations for females for the first time, showing the categories of domestic and seamstress as well as two female school teachers. Another new listing was lightboat keepers, the men in charge of the floating signal light anchored to mark the channel to Beacon Island inside the inlet. The listings give a complete picture of the islanders' work.

Some statistics should be significant in the coming war. There were 104 males of military age, eighteen to forty-five years, and thirty boys age fourteen to seventeen, who would come of age during the war. There were also forty-four men and women aged fifty-eight and older. These people were ten years or older in 1812 and could be expected to have some

recollection of war and invasion, and the collective memory would have some effect on the Portsmouthers' behaviour after the 1861 invasion.

The 1860 census for Ocracoke is flawed by incorrect or missing township designations. Ocracoke Island was listed between Swan Quarter township on the mainland and Hatteras Island, but some of the tally sheets in this range are labeled both "Ocrico" and Swan Quarter and some have no township designated. If the unlabeled pages contained known Ocracokers or pilots, they were counted as Ocracoke. Some Ocracokers known from other sources and some known occupational categories, such as lighthouse keeper and minister, were listed nowhere, suggesting that some pages were lost by the census taker. The 385 count of white population is obviously not complete, although the slave census is probably correct. On the census rolls extant there were seventy-seven white males of military age and nineteen boys of fourteen to seventeen. There were also thirty-two men and women of sufficient years to have war memories of 1813.

The farmers listed on Portsmouth, and there were a few on Ocracoke also according to family histories, were probably stock raisers. Edmund Ruffin noted some agriculture on the northern banks, but for Ocracoke, Portsmouth, and Core Banks, he spoke chiefly of cattle raising. He reported that the inhabitants cultivated some few garden vegetables, but no grain or other field culture. Ruffin observed cattle

and sheep in the marshes of the islands and noted that the rearing of horses "of the dwarfish native build" was very profitable.[19]

The islanders' occupations, their places of abode, and their names are all recorded facts, but their political beliefs are not listed, and national politics was trending to war. In 1860, the political climate in the state was uncomfortable, for the old parties were fragmented into divers splinter groups.[20] Even in early 1861, the state was still unionist. When the General Assembly provided for a referendum on holding a secession convention, the Convention Act was defeated in the voting on February 28.[21] The delegates selected in each county for the convention that was not held provide a means of assessing local secessionist feeling. Carteret County, including Portsmouth, elected conditional Union delegates, as did Beaufort, Washington, Currituck, and Hertford. Hyde County, which included Ocracoke, was unconditional Union along with Bertie, Chowan, Perquimans, Pasquotank, Camden, and Gates. Pitt County sent divided delegates. Onslow, Craven, Martin, and Tyrrell voted for secession. The counties surrounding the sounds were predominately pro-Union.[22] This condition would prevail until April, 1861, when President Lincoln called for troops to coerce the seceding states. Tar Heels declined to fight other southern states, so North Carolina joined the Confederacy.

CHAPTER II

FIFTEEN WEEKS

There was nothing unique about the Pearl, a centerboard schooner of 247 tons, nor her cargo of white oak barrel staves under hatches and a deck cargo of sawn lumber. Neither was her voyage from New Bern, North Carolina, to the British West Indies unusual. Dozens of similar vessels made similar voyages from North Carolina ports each month. What was new and unique was her flag, for the Pearl flew a preview of the Stars and Bars on March 5, 1861. Shipping with Captain Bob Robbins and his regular crew were two boys, C.H. Beale and John Hall, who had made the flag:

> At our main topmast we had unfurled the first Confederate flag that ever kissed the breeze of the Atlantic, so we claim and believe. The design of this flag was adopted in Montgomery and telegraphed throughout the country. . . . The design of this flag was a blue field with seven stars and the red and white bars and was made of oil calico.[1]

On March 9, the Pearl crossed Hatteras bar and three weeks later reached the island of Antigua. The Antiguans greeted the flag with curiosity and courtesy, but some captains of New England fishing schooners jeered. When the boys hoisted their flag on a pole ashore for display, it was torn down and destroyed by a mob of local Negroes incited by the New Englanders. Beale and Hall, undaunted, had a new flag made of bunting by some friendly English ladies. The Pearl spent several more weeks in the Caribbean selling her timber and loading a new cargo for the voyage home. She

showed the flag in other English, French, and Danish islands, meeting a friendly reception in them.

Fully loaded, homeward bound, the Pearl made her landfall at Hatteras in early July, where she stood off and signalled for a pilot. Through the captain's spyglass, the boys picked out more flags like the Pearl's, with the Stars and Bars streaming over two forts on the island. However, Captain Robbins picked out a steamer bearing down on them flying the Stars and Stripes. When the steamer fired a gun, Captain Robbins crowded on sail and out-ran the steamer in the brisk wind to enter Ocracoke Inlet. Here the pilot, Captain Midyette, explained that the war had started and all ports were blockaded. The Pearl proceeded to New Bern to unload her cargo and release the boys to tell their adventures.[2] More ships flying Confederate flags were at anchor or steaming in the sound and soldiers drilled and labored on the islands.

In the Pearl's absence, the state had entered wholeheartedly into the war.

> The State of North Carolina, more than a month before passing the Ordinance of Secession, took possession of the forts at Beaufort and below Wilmington and immediately after its passage began the defenses of the island sounds by the construction of forts at Hatteras and Ocracoke Inlets, and by the purchase of several small steamers, which were converted into gunboats.[3]

The instant navy the state needed for control of local waters could be created from civil craft, passenger

steamers, tug boats, and merchant vessels. The naval race in the sounds began early.

There was no time to build new ships. Purchasing agents sought suitable vessels in the rivers, in the canals, and in Chesapeake Bay.

The first vessel bought by the state's agents was the fine, fast passenger steamer J.E. Coffee. She was a 207 ton side-wheel steamer on the Norfolk-Eastern Shore run. She was renamed the Winslow and was outfitted at the Gosport navy yard under the direction of Commodore Williams T. Muse. The Winslow was armed with a thirty-two pounder gun and a small brass rifle, and dispatched to the North Carolina Sounds.[4]

Next came the Beaufort, formerly the eighty-five ton steam tug Caledonia, of Edenton.[5] She was purchased in New Bern and armed with one gun. The little Beaufort was a tough as well as a lucky ship and served the south all through the war.[6]

The buildup of the sounds' flotilla continued with the Ellis, a steam tug mounting two guns,[7] and the Raleigh with one gun.[8] Several of the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal Company's tugs were requisitioned, starting with the Junalaska of seventy-nine tons, which received two guns.[9] Most of the little vessels, the "Mosquito Fleet," congregated around Hatteras and Ocracoke Inlets.

The state's soldiers came, too. Engineer officers with

work gangs began to fortify Hatteras Island and to strengthen Fort Macon. Someone in authority remembered 1813 and commenced erecting a fort on Beacon Island before fighting started, not when it was ending as in 1815.

The first troops on Portsmouth Island were the advance party of the Washington Grays of Washington, N.C., who landed in mid-May. An ensign, two sergeants, two corporals and ten men comprised the party. One of the sergeants, a most unusual recruit, kept a journal which he later incorporated in his extensive memoirs.[10]

Sergeant William H. von Eberstein came of a noble German family with a military heritage. The sergeant's father had soldiered for both the Prussian and the British Crowns. Young von Ebertein broke with tradition and went to sea. Starting as midshipman in an East Indiaman, he progressed through navigator, mate and captain in various types of ships and in all the world's oceans. He was in several battles, and on his one voyage in a slave ship, engaged a pursuing British brig, and shot away her topmast.[11]

While on a brief vacation in New York, von Eberstein met an old shipmate who commanded a trading schooner. He accepted his old friend's invitation to sail with him to his home port of Washington, North Carolina. As he liked the country, von Eberstein decided to stay and command one of the numerous vessels in the West Indies trade. He became enamoured of his landlady's niece, Miss Annis Harding. At

first rebuffed by Miss Harding's parents, who did not approve of "that foreign sailor," von Eberstein persevered and won her hand. Thereafter, he was a permanent resident of Washington and Chocowinity, North Carolina.[12]

When war came, von Eberstein gave no reason for joining a local volunteer company instead of using his vast sea-going experience. The Washington Grays were designated heavy artillery, making his knowledge of great guns invaluable.

Sergeant von Eberstein consistently performed duties far beyond his nominal rank throughout his Confederate service. He seemed to be the de facto commander of the advance party, though Ensign Cowell was its nominal head. The sergeant's memoirs described their departure for the war:

> On the day of our departure our Detail was assembled and formed in front of the dwelling on Main Street of Samuel R. Fowle where we were presented with a beautiful boquet (sic) accompanied by a very appropriate speech from Miss Martha M. Fowle. After which headed by the old colored Fifer Dennis, to the air or tune of "Who'll be King but Charlie," we moved off . . .[13]

The advance party boarded the schooner Petral, owned by Samuel R. Fowle, and set sail for Portsmouth Island. Led by Sergeant von Eberstein, the troops unloaded the schooner by carrying their stores on their shoulders and wading through waist-deep water. Unloading took all night and most of the next day and was a "very arduous duty." The soldiers seized

the marine hospital, stood sentry at the gates, and awaited the arrival of the rest of the company.[14]

Ocracoke, Portsmouth, and Hatteras Islands were under Confederate jurisdiction for just fifteen weeks. During week one, Monday, May 20, 1861, North Carolina seceded from the Union. On that same day, the Washington Grays were officially mustered into state service and were presented their colors by the ladies of the town. The Grays boarded the steamer, Post Boy, to cross the sound and garrison Portsmouth. The work of fortifying Beacon Island, the dot on the map in the center of Ocracoke Inlet, progressed faster with additional men. Building material, arms, supplies, even water, had to be brought from the mainland ports. A procession of steamers and schooners began, growing as the weeks passed.

Week two, May 26-June 1, brought the first in a series of successes for the Mosquito Fleet. The N.C.S. Winslow steamed out Ocracoke Inlet to look around. She sighted and captured the brig Lydia Frances of Bridgeport, Connecticut. The brig was laden with sugar from Cuba and bound for New York. A few days later, the Winslow brought in the bark Linwood, which was carrying coffee from Rio de Janerio to New York.[15]

During this week, also, the soldiers and the Negroes, sweating on Beacon Island, were presented the sight of a visiting general. Brigadier General Walter Gwynn, North

Carolina State Troops, landed on the island. In a letter dated May 30, he reported to Governor John W. Ellis:

> . . . I then proceeded to Ocracoke Inlet, where I found a battery in process of construction on Beacon Island, where now probably five guns are mounted, and in a few days twelve more will be mounted, and will be sufficient to prevent the passage of vessels. It will be necessary to station troops in Portsmouth with a field-battery and some siege guns for the effectual protection. The next I went to Hatteras Inlet.[16]

General Gwynn had previously ordered ten thousand two-bushel bags for Fort Macon.[17] The Beacon Island fort needed a supply also, for sandbags were the sensible way to build a fort on a sandspit.

Week three, June 2-8, brought continuing work, but no new activity at the fort. The week was marked by continued success of the Winslow, which captured another prize, the schooner Willet S. Robbins, and sent her to New Bern.[18]

Week four, June 9-15, and week five, June 16-20, saw little activity by the navy other than a few supply vessels. Army activity increased as transports disgorged reinforcements for the Washington Grays, according to Sergeant von Eberstein:

> After sometime - a few weeks - several companies came down and joined us at Portsmouth, two from the North Counties and one from Greenville Pitt County. We were then organized into the 7th North Carolina Volunteers (later designated as the 17th) - Col. Martin. We did patrol duty on Portsmouth our men took turn and turn with the companies to garrison Beacon Island where Fort Ocracoke as the Yankees called it was situated. I was detailed to drill the different companies in Artillery drill. Whilst at Portsmouth we had quite a pleasant time fishiing, crabing, clamming and oystering -

> nothing much to do but drill and keep guard. Whilst there we captured a schooner that came off the Barr from the West Indies. Col. Martin put me on board and gave me orders to get underway and proceed to New Bern and to deliver her up to the authorities there which I accomplished with the crew detailed for that purpose from the sailors which had volunteered in the Washington Grays.[19]

Nobody on Portsmouth Island felt the need to rush fortifications, or the sense of urgency that would come after active fighting. Instead of pleasant "fishing and crabing," the troops could have been digging and building, though the guns General Gwynn had ordered had not been delivered yet.

One civilian, soon to visit the island, had a particular interest in the new companies. She was Miss Martha Matilda Fowle, the same young lady who presented the bouquet to the Washington Grays' advance party. She noted in her journal:

> The Washington Grays were ordered to Portsmouth where were soon sent the 'Tar River Boys' from Greenville. 'Hertford Light Infantry', Cap't Sharp. 'Morris Guards', Cap't Gilliam, from Plymouth and Cap't Leith's company from Hyde.[20]

The Mosquito Fleet grew and gave chase during week six, June 23-30. The Winslow again was foremost. She captured the chartered transport Transit, which was returning home to New London, Connecticut after resupplying the United States forces at Key West. The Transit, a schooner of 193 tons, valued at $13,000, was taken into New Bern.[21] The Winslow also captured a brig, the Hannah Balch, only to discover she was a Confederate vessel with a Yankee prize crew aboard.

The Winslow released her crew and sent the vessel on to her destination, Savannah.[22]

Week seven, June 30-July 6, was a good one for Winslow. She took the schooner Herbert Manton of Barnstaple, Massachusetts, loaded with sugar and molasses and valued at $30,000.[23] The schooner Pearl with her eye-opening cargo of coffee and sugar was welcomed home during the week.

When the prize schooners Herbert Manton and Transit were auctioned by the New Bern court in August, they sold for $5,000 and $2,960, respectively. Their chronometers sold for $77.50 and $92.50. The newspaper editor gave the opinion that the ship prices were low and the instruments, worth two hundred dollars, sold very cheap.[24] Perhaps supply exceeded the demand for such items, a condition increasingly rare in the Southern Confederacy as the war endured.

Week eight, July 7-13, was prizeless. Winslow's prize crew boarded the schooner Charles Roberts off Ocracoke bar, only to learn she was Confederate with a cargo of West Indian molasses for Wilmington. Winslow could do no less than escort her there. Next Winslow captured the schooner Priscilla and sent her to New Bern. Here, Priscilla's captain proved her Baltimore ownership and she was allowed to proceed.[25] On July 9, the naval propeller Beaufort was commissioned at Norfolk, Lieutenant R.C. Duvall commanding. After taking aboard powder, shot, and other equipment, she proceeded through the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal for the

North Carolina sounds. Beaufort's first station was Oregon Inlet, but later in July, she steamed to Ocracoke.[26]

Week nine was a quiet time for the ships, with no new prizes. For the soldiers, infantry drill continued on the sand flats of Portsmouth and the coast artilleryman's drill for great guns in the batteries that had been completed. There was still much work to be done on fortifications.

In the north, reactions to the Mosquito Fleet's captures began to bubble and boil. The collector of the New York Customs House wrote Secretary of the Treasury Salmon P. Chase:

> . . . to Beaufort, Wilmington and New Bern or Ocracoke, the entrance is almost unobstructed, and no blockade has been enforced or even announced. Every day vessels are passing in or out of these ports, carrying whatever cargoes they choose . . . vessels are fitted out, armed and sent from Ocracoke to capture coasters and whatever other craft they may fall in with. These shore privateers do not wait for letters of marque, but act without even the semblance of authority. They find no difficulty in taking their prizes into their unblockaded ports.[27]

Collector Barney assured Secretary Chase his information was reliable and included a telegram from the collector at Newport reporting the brig Mary E. Thompson of Searsport, Maine, was robbed by a southern privateer. Chase forwarded the letter and enclosure to Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles who sent it to Flag Officer Silas Stringham, commanding the Atlantic Blockading Squadron.[28] Commodore Stringham had no one to whom he could pass the buck.

On Monday of week ten, Lieutenant J.W. Alexander took command of the NCS Raleigh. Raleigh was another former Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal towboat converted to warship, and armed with one thirty-two pounder gun. She joined the sound squadron.[29] Two new vessels, privateers, joined the flotilla this week. The Mariner was a small screw-steamer from Wilmington, Captain B.W. Berry, and mounted one six-pounder rifle and two twelve-pounder smooth bores. She captured one prize, the schooner Nathaniel Chase on July 25. On that same day another new arrival, the Gordon towed in her first prize. This was the brig William McGilvery of Bangor, Maine, laden with molasses. The Gordon was a fast side-wheeler, formerly a packet of the Charleston-Fernandina line. She mounted three guns described as "very fair pieces of ordnance," and carried a crew of fifty. Gordon's next prize, the schooner Protector from Mantanzas, Cuba, was to delight many people. She carried a cargo of lucious tropical fruit.[30]

Week eleven, July 28-August 3, was a busy one. The Confederate supply effort was increasing daily. The ship Beaufort anchored off Ocracoke's old swash on July 29. A portion of the Beaufort's log survives, giving a detailed account of ship movements for the next two weeks, through week twelve. Early on July 30, a swash pilot boarded Beaufort to move her to Wallace's Channel opposite Portsmouth. The Confederate Army steamer Post Boy arrived from

New Bern bringing a document for Captain Duvall from the Confederate Secretary of the Navy. It may be surmised that the document dealt with the status of the Mosquito Fleet, as the ships were transferred to Confederate service about this time. On July 31, Beaufort picked up a pilot and took a look outside the inlet. On her return, she sent a party ashore to set up a signal station in the Ocracoke lighthouse. Next day, the new lookout station "signalized" a man-of-war steamer to the southward.[31]

The strange warship proved to be Mariner which anchored near the fort, followed by C.S.S. Edwards, another armed tug, soon to be renamed Forrest. On August 3, Beaufort's log reported C.S.S. Teaser, another gun-boat from tug-boat, getting up steam and standing out of the inlet behind Beaufort. They sighted Gordon and a schooner outside and the supply ship Col. Hill.[32]

Across the sound and up the Pamlico River at Washington, Martha Matilda Fowle packed her writing kit along with her clothes. She wrote:

> In August, Father's health not being good, I accompanied him on a short trip to Hatteras in the schooner Minot, then commanded by Mr. Jarvis. We enjoyed it very much. We had an abundance of tropical fruit taken in prizes brought in by the privateers.[33]

The Outer Banks were recognized as healthful places to visit to escape the danger of miasmas rising from mainland swamps in hot weather. Most families rented houses from the

islanders, as few of them had a private schooner as both conveyance and quarters. Miss Fowle, a daughter of one of Washington's "first families," could have taken such a trip only if chaperoned by a parent or other close relative. The schooner Minot was owned by her father. She was to meet other ladies of similar station and intent on Portsmouth Island. Though health was the stated reason for the voyage, an additional reason was social. The towns of the main had become very lonely places with most of the young men gone. Hence, if they could do so in a seemly manner, the young ladies followed the flag. Indeed, so much traffic developed between Washington and the islands that Captain B.F. Hanks put his steamer, Col. Hill in service making regularly scheduled voyages to haul all the parcels and passengers awaiting passage.[34]

On August 4 of week twelve, the lighthouse made confusing signals, causing all ships to go outside, then signalled a man-of-war in sight which brought them back in. Beaufort again sent a party ashore to re-instruct the signalmen and to re-rig the halyards for more distinct display of the flags. C.S.S. Ellis, Commander W.T. Muse, arrived at Ocracoke in the evening. On August 5, the privateer York made port and the Gordon returned. Sadly, the log keeper observed, "No chance for the Beaufort as long as these fast steamers are here." Gordon and Winslow were the fastest ships present. On the fourth, too, Gordon had brought in

two schooners, the Henry Nutt with logwood and mahogany, and the Sea Witch of New York with another cargo of tropical fruit from Baracoa, Cuba. The traffic grew even heavier. Beaufort's log recorded various ship movements. Confederate steamers Post Boy, Curlew, Albemarle and the schooner Crinoline called at Portsmouth. The schooner Isabella Ellis discharged gun carriages at Beacon Island.[35] The buildup in the sounds continued and in the north plans were made for future fighting.

The planners in Raleigh, Richmond, and Washington, D.C., studied the same problems. The importance of controlling the North Carolina sounds was as apparent and urgent to the United States as their defense was to the Confederate States. The sounds of the state were viewed by Union naval officers as "safe and commodious anchorages," protection against Atlantic storms. Most important, the sounds could become a base from which the inland communication of the Confederacy could be disrupted, and they were the "back door" to Norfolk and the lost Navy Yard.[36]

The prizes captured by the Confederates, while a bonus to the south and an annoyance to the north, were not at first a major consideration. The extent of northern reaction to these losses was unanticipated. The anguished howls of insurance companies paying multiple claims joined the roars of underinsured ship owners. The din was committed to paper. Five presidents and one secretary of maritime

insurance companies banded together to write U.S. Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles on August 9:

> . . . He (the writer's informant) heard that eighteen privateers were out: three were at Hatteras Inlet - York, Coffee and Gordon . . . We would respectfully request a careful consideration of the above narrated facts. The loss of property is and has been very heavy. The BTM (the brig, B.T. Martin) and her cargo alone were worth $60,000.[37]

The economic pressure in the north continued to rise. In the south, into the center of the nest of privateers, the serene cruise of the schooner Minot continued. Martha Matilda Fowle and her father sailed to Portsmouth after a few days at Hatteras. The influx of civilians visiting the island demonstrates the support offered by the people at home to the volunteer soldiers at their wartime post. Apparently, many young ladies convinced their parents that a sea voyage was necessary. Miss Fowle's papers describe the visitors:

> We stopped at Portsmouth on our return and were joined by Mary, Magg, Anna Marsh and Mattie Telfair. Helen and Laura Shaw came down also. Clara Hoyt, Kate Carraway and Sallie Howard, and there were many other ladies in the house. Here we spent two weeks very pleasantly and formed some agreeable acquaintances, of whom I would mention Lieuts. Perry and Moore of the Hertford Light Infantry. Lieut. Perry fell in love with Mary at first sight and there commenced his attentions to her.[38]

Weeks thirteen and fourteen were rife with ship movements. On August 13, the Gordon anchored in the roads and departed next morning. The Winslow arrived, anchored, then

sailed for Hatteras escorting the steamer Col. Hill and the schooner Crinoline. On August 14, the Beaufort stood out the old swash channel for New Bern, from whence she returned on the 22nd and coaled from the schooner Alexina. On the same day, C.S.S. Ellis was engaged in freeing the inlet's lightship, aground on the swash. The Ellis hauled her off on the 23rd and anchored her outside the swash.[39]

On the morning of August 20, the Winslow brought in the last of the prizes, the steamer Itasca. Prizes had become rare. "In the meantime, the Confederates, unaware that their day was drawing to a close, continued their forays."[40] Few merchantmen flew the United States flag. Many were laid up for lack of cargoes and many had transferred their registry. Most of the ships overhauled were flying British colors. "After her two captures on the fourth, although remaining almost continuously at sea, the Gordon saw only two enemy merchantmen and they were under convoy of men-of-war."[41]

On the islands, Sergeant von Eberstein noted more Confederate troops arriving from neighboring counties:

> . . . Captain James Leith with a company raised in Hyde County, and Captain James Swindell, with a company which was raised in Chocowinity, were ordered to join the Seventh Regiment at Portsmouth to Colonel Martin, which they did so. They were sent to garrison the fort on Beacon Island, for the defense of Beaufort.[42]

Sergeant von Eberstein was given a new task, more consistent with his ability, which he was happy to perform,

though he was not promoted to a rank consistent with his new responsibilities:

> As the ordnance officer on Beacon Island, a Lieutenant Brantley, having been removed from his office for drunkenness and bad conduct, at the investigation of Col. Morris the Chief Engineer of the Battery, Col. Martin ordered Cap't. Sparrow to send me forth to take and occupy Lieut. Brantley's place. I then proceeded to take charge of the heavy guns on the Battery and all ordnance. I was also to instruct Leith & Swindell's company in artillery service.[43]

The two newest and greenest companies needed instruction in artillery service, but the Confederate commander at Portsmouth made a grievous mistake in assigning them to garrison the main fort. As would be proved, the two new company commanders were the least warlike of any in the Portsmouth garrison. The Confederate commander was distracted by a problem with another company. The Tar River Boys had mutinied because of dissatisfaction with their officers. Sergeant von Eberstein, who was peripherally involved, reported: ". . . there was one unpleasantness which happened while we were there. The Greenville company mutinied at the time I was on Beacon Island." Some lines in the manuscript are unclear, but the sense of them was that a gunboat was called upon to help quell the mutiny:

> . . . Confederate gun boat in the roadstead commanded by Cap't Cook a brave naval commander . . . got so high he (Captain Cook) received orders to train his guns upon the House where that company was quartered. I also at the fort received the same orders and I trained two ten inch Columbiads upon the same house, and waited for the result, finally volunteers were called for to go arrest the mutineers, the Washington Grays volunteered."[44]

There were other witnesses to the affair who wrote their observations. Miss Fowle inscribed a more personal view of the mutiny:

> . . . A mutiny broke out in the camp of the "Tar River Boys," Cap't. Johnson. In this company Howard Wiswall and John Boyd were orderly and 2nd sergeant. They seemed to possess more influence over the men than any of the other officers. It seemed that the officers were tyranical, especially Lieut. Green. The men were dissatisfied and threatened to mutiny. Howard knew of this and used his influence to soothe them, but they did mutiny and claimed Howard and Mr. Boyd as their leaders; a mistaken sense of honor led these young men to stand by the men. It was a serious affair and at one time it was thought force would have to be used, but after many arguments from Capt. Muse and others, Howard was persuaded by father to lay down his arms and the others followed his example. The prisoners were confined and a court marital called, which was sitting at the time when orders came for them to go to Hatteras.[45]

Sergeant von Eberstein, thinking like a sea-captain, did not concern himself with reasons for the mutiny. If the Tar River Boys did not surrender, he was prepared to blast them into submission with ten-inch guns. Martha Matilda Fowle thought they had ample reason, but poor judgment. She was anxious to excuse Sergeants Wiswall and Boyd. A third source gives the best explanation of the Tar River Boys' mutiny. William Augustus Parvin, a "sailor-boy" in the Washington Grays, left a memoir of resounding title, telling of service at Portsmouth, capture at Hatteras, and escape from prison in Boston Harbour. Private Parvin declared patriotism was the reason for the mutiny.

> We were getting along fine until the Battle of Bull Run and then everybody wanted to go to

> Virginia and there was so much dissatisfaction in the Company that Capt. Sparrow made a speech that if they wanted to go to Virginia they would have to go in the Confederate Army for the war. . . . They (the company) had an election and 100 of 112 voted for the war . . . After our company had an election Captain Johnson's company wanted to have an election and Capt. Johnson would not let them . . . The company had a mutiny and part of them wanted to go in for the war and have Howard Wiswall as their captain . . .[46]

Miss Fowle and her father returned home on August 21, with most of the other ladies. The wives and daughters of the soldiers tarried. On August 27 the privateer Gordon sighted "ten ships in the offing, which were supposed to be United States vessels. Seven of them appeared to be steamers and three sailing vessels. Captain Lockwood thought it best to give such an assemblage a wide berth, and stood for a southward cruise.[47] According to C.S.S. Ellis's log, the Gordon came in from sea at 2:20 PM and went to sea again at 2:30.[48] It was not seemly for privateers to fight men-of-war, and certainly not the enemy's main battle squadron, and that is what approached Hatteras on that August day. The Gordon foamed out the inlet and steamed hard for home. The "Happy Time" for the privateers was over.

One further vessel deserves mention before the Yankee fleet arrived. This was an Ocracoke schooner, the Paragon, partly owned and captained by an Ocracoker. She slipped unperceived through the inlet on a date not stated, but in the early weeks of the war. The story of the Paragon, as told by the captain's son, has an authentic ring.[49]

According to the younger Williams, Captain Horatio Williams was aboard his coasting schooner Paragon in Charleston harbor when the war began. The port authorities forbad him to leave, saying they might need his ship and the Yankees would get him if he ventured outside. He determined that the Charlestonians were not going to get the Paragon and neither were the Yankees. Captain Horatio Williams waited for the right night. It soon came: moon dark, gusty wind, drizzling rain, and even some fog. He retrieved his crew, Jeb and Tom, hoisted anchor and sails. Silently they left Charleston harbor, hearing an occasional gun boom, and put out to sea. The gray dawn revealed no land and no ships. Williams headed north and completed his plans as he steered for Ocracoke Inlet. Not needing a pilot, he conned the Paragon through the inlet, past Ocracoke anchorage, and across Pamlico Sound. When Tom and Jeb questioned him, he told them he was keeping the Paragon safe from the war.

Captain Horatio Williams had been captain of Paragon less than a year, just since Jobey Wahab had decided to take a job ashore. Wahab had built Paragon in 1838. He had framed her with live oak and red cedar cut on the island, and planked her with good white oak cut up the Roanoke River. And there, he told Tom and Jeb, was where they were going.

Captain Horatio Williams sailed up the Roanoke to where the water was dark, deep, and fresh. He and Tom and Jeb removed the sails and spars and hid them ashore. They sank

the Paragon, traveled overland to Washington, and boarded a fishing sloop for Ocracoke. Live oak, red cedar, and good white oak last longer than the life of man when submerged in fresh water. Neither Yankees nor Confederates would have the Paragon. She would be neutral.[50]

The Paragon was in safe storage, the privateers were gone, but the Mosquito Fleet and the forts were left to fight the Yankees. And the Yankees were coming in force.

Impelled by the need to eradicate the privateers, the need for bases on the southern coast, and above all, the necessity for a northern victory to counterbalance the Confederate victory at Bull Run, the Union government reacted swiftly. The weapon ready at hand was the old navy, ships the young Confederacy could not hope to equal at the time. The navy had been preparing for some weeks. The concentration was completed by August 25 when a small infantry detail from the army boarded the transports. On August 26, the expedition, commanded by Commodore Silas Stringham, sailed from Hampton Roads bound for the North Carolina coast.[51]

Commodore Stringham's flagship was the big steam frigate Minnesota, mounting one 10-inch Dahlgren smooth-bore gun, twenty-eight 9-inch Dahlgrens, and fourteen 8-inchers. Next came Wabash, a similar frigate with similar armament, and the side=wheel steam frigate Susquehanna mounting twelve 9-inch Dahlgrens and two 150-pounder Parrott rifles. The

older sailing frigate Cumberland was there, armed with twenty-two 9-inch guns, one 10-inch and one 100-pounder rifle, as well as the steam sloop Pawnee with eight 9-inch guns and the screw schooner Monticello with one 10-inch Dahlgren. The ex-revenue cutter Harriet Lane and the tug Fanny accompanied the large vessels. There were two troop transports, Adelaide and George Peabody carrying the 860 soldiers commanded by politician and Major-General Benjamin F. Butler.[52]

The fleet arrived off Hatteras Inlet on the evening of the 26th of August, anchored, and prepared to bombard the forts and land troops. The guns mounted in the two Confederate forts were fewer and of smaller bore than those mounted on any one of the large naval vessels. The bombardment lasted through August 29 before the outranged and overwhelmed forts surrendered, even though they were reinforced by soldiers from Portsmouth.[53] The sound of the guns was heard in Portsmouth.

Captain Thomas Sparrow, commanding the Washington Grays, was also camp commander on Portsmouth Island. He told the story of events on the island, beginning with the first news of the federal fleet and the fast exit of the privateers:

> The privateer steamer Gordon ran into the inlet some time in the afternoon and put David Ireland and two others of the crew on the shore. They reported in camp, the appearance of a fleet of United States steamers, seen off Hatteras, after they left that inlet. This news corresponded with

> a letter previously received by Captain W.T. Muse of the Navy, giving news of the expedition.[54]

According to Captain Sparrow, some officers on Portsmouth Island rejoined their units at Hatteras as soon as word of the battle was received. Certain measures were undertaken at Beacon Island, which was reinforced by at least one man.

> Captains Lamb and Clements were at Portsmouth from Hatteras attending a court-martial. These gentlemen expressed their desire to return to their commands at Hatteras that night. I detailed privates Wm. H. Hanks and Woodley to take the steamer M.E. Downing to carry them . . .[55]

> During the afternoon I went to Fort Ocracoke with Lieutenant-Colonel G.W. Johnson, Major H. A. Gillam, . . ., and took with me Sergeant William H. von Eberstein to assist in defence of the fort, and to act as Ordnance Officer. He went immediately to work preparing cartridges and putting things in order.

August 27 was otherwise a normal day of drill and fatigue details, even though a dull rumble of gunfire was heard when the wind was right. A fast courier vessel changed the tempo the next day, as Sparrow related it:

> August 28, Wednesday. I rose and dressed at reveille and went on drill with the company . . . Colonel Martin had sent a dispatch ordering all the forces at Ocracoke to Hatteras and requesting me to go. (I had been released from service in the Seventeenth Regiment, and was expecting orders to . . . Virginia). I at once gave orders for the men to get breakfast, prepare two days' provisions, pack their knapsacks, take tent flys and prepare to embark . . .
>
> The Washington Grays, forty-nine in number, exclusive of commissioned officers, were in line, uniformed and equipped at 10 o'clock. I marched to the wharf, and embarked them for Hatteras, on the schooner Pantheon.

> The Morris Guards, Tar River Boys, and Hertford Light Infantry, embarked in other vessels.[56]

All the soldiers rushed to the forefront of the battle except a few camp guards and special details, and saving the two companies on Beacon Island. The court-martial had been expunged by battle. Portsmouth's native population observed the exodus and worried. The troops landed at Hatteras endured a night and a day of heavy shelling before being surrendered to the Union navy, though General B.F. Butler tried valiantly to take credit for the navy's victory. The Yankee foothold was strong. The Outer Banks were slipping from Confederate control. Much depended on Fort Morgan, or Fort Ocracoke as it was generally called.

Fort Ocracoke was nearly complete, though stores were lacking. As late as week twelve, August 12, Captain Sparrow forwarded a list of "absolute needs" for Fort Ocracoke to Major John D. Whitford, the state's Ordnance Officer. The list was compiled by Sergeant von Eberstein and asked for much; from paint, brushes, and turpentine to gunners' tools, shot and shell, and ten thousand pounds of powder. He also ordered tangent sights for each of the fort's guns, carefully specifying the weight of the guns to ensure that the tangent sights fit the curve of the guns breeches. The sight requisition gives the best estimate of the number of guns in the fort. Besides the two 10" Columbiads previously mentioned, there were two 8" Columbiads, three 8" howitzers,

and ten 32 pounders, a total of eighteen medium to heavy guns. The sergeant also ordered ten new barbette gun carriages and one good spy glass.[57]

The enclosed 1852 survey map of the inlet (labeled Map III) locates Beacon Island between Ocracoke and Portsmouth. The arcs drawn centered on Beacon Island show average ranges of the artillery pieces.[58]

As the old navy's large vessels could neither enter the inlet nor come close enough inshore to smother the fort with shellfire as at Hatteras, the next phase of the Union invasion would not be easy. Even though the Mosquito Fleet had steamed north to Hatteras, the guns of Fort Ocracoke stood a good chance of smashing any invaders entering Ocracoke Inlet. Sergeant von Eberstein related the "battle" of Beacon Island, which was fought in the mess room after the officers of the garrison heard of the surrender at Hatteras.

> When Captains Leith and Swindell heard of this, they called a conference of their officers, to be held in a big house which was on the island and which they used as officers quarters and mess room. I was invited by Captain Swindell and the officers to take part in the deliberation, which invitation was as Ordnance officer, being in charge of artillery, and Mr. Henry Brown the engineer of the works. We accepted . . .[59]

Captains Leith and Swindell next made the shocking proposal that the fort be evacuated before the next morning, as resistance to the Yankees was useless and they should all be captured. Sergeant von Eberstein was appalled at the suggestion. He remonstrated against evacuation as force-

fully as a sergeant could against captains. He explained that the Yankees must come in small vessels and that the island could be reinforced from New Bern. Even though Henry Brown, the engineer, and Lieutenants Frederick Harding and Henry Harding of Swindell's company supported him, he was overruled by Captains Leith and Swindell and the rest of their officers. Captain Swindell seized two schooners at Portsmouth, one for each company, and immediately scrambled the soldiers aboard and shoved off for the mainland. Von Eberstein called it "the most cowardly evacuation ever known . . . a complete disorderly thing."[60]

Von Eberstein, Brown, and four Negro workmen were left in the fort. Six men would not make a crew for even one great gun, much less defend a fort. Instead, they did their best to destroy and burn and otherwise dismantle the fort. They sailed for New Bern to report the fort's evacuation and its partial destruction to higher headquarters. The sergeant, still fuming, noted:

> We departed for Newbern. I took Capt. Swindell's flag with us. I would not disgrace it by leaving it there . . . and thus he abandoned the Flagg that had been presented to him to defend and which he had promised to do with the best of his ability - even with his lifes blood. A more cowardly act I never knew.[61]

Thus ended week fifteen and Confederate control of the islands. New Bern headquarters ordered the final evacuation of Portsmouth. C.S.S. Ellis towing a schooner performed the task of carrying off the camp guards and few remaining lady

visitors from Portsmouth. One of Ellis's officers, in a letter to the Dispatch newspaper of Washington, N.C., reported: "After finding the fort had surrendered and that we could be of no possible use, we left for Ocracoke to take on board the sad and weeping wives of the officers, now prisoners, and shall proceed to Washington, N.C."

Martha Matilda Fowle saw them land at Washington: "It was indeed a sad sight to see the remnants of those fine companies which we had so lately admired. I was affected almost to tears when I saw Lieut. Perry at the head of only six men."[63]

An additional evacuation, or more accurately, a mass-migration, occurred at Portsmouth. One historian wrote:

> . . . the people of Roanoke Island were rather indifferent about the outcome of the War and just wanted to be left alone. But it was not so with the Portsmouthers. As has been shown earlier, they had a very keen financial interest in the maintenance of slavery, if not the Confederacy. With the abandonment of the fort on Beacon Island, the entire city of Portsmouth was evacuated for the duration of the War by the entire population, save one poor woman. She, too, earnestly desired to go, but while others were fleeing, she was compelled to remain, according to tradition, she was too fat to get through the door. However, when everyone returned after the War she stated that she had been very courteously treated by the Yankees.[64]

Historian Kenneth Burke was correct in his description of the evacuation of the island, but incorrect in the reason for it. The Portsmouthers did not abandon their homes for the preservation of slavery, nor did they leave because of

remembrance of 1813, though both things may have had some small influence. The islanders left because of a condition more contagious than plague, faster spreading than fever. It was panic. They had witnessed the panic on Beacon Island, the "complete disorderly thing." They had seen Captain Swindell's frenzied commandeering of the schooners. They had heard rumors of disasters at Hatteras and, finally, they observed the evacuation of the weeping wives and the camp guards.

They panicked themselves and fled in whatever boats were left to wherever they could go. As we shall see from later reports, the islanders began to drift back home in a few weeks,though some stayed away for the duration of the war. The Ocracokers, farther removed from the scene, did not panic. Only a few Ocracokers left their island.

Naval action in the area was diminished, but continued. The big ships of the Federal navy returned to the Chesapeake, but smaller steamers of both sides patrolled the sounds. Guns flamed as battle flared wherever the two sides collided. The sounds became a "no-man's water" during the fall and winter months.

CHAPTER III

GUNS IN THE SOUNDS

The large steam-sloop U.S.S. Susquehanna came back to Ocracoke for a few weeks to patrol the coast outside the inlet. The Union Army continued a slow troop buildup on Hatteras. Brigadier General John F. Reynolds was sent to take command after B.F. Butler went north to reap glory from his imagined conquests. Seven more companies of Hawkins' Ninth New York accompanied General Reynolds, as did the promise of Major General John E. Wool, commanding at Fort Monroe, to send more men when transports were available.[1]

After the battle at Hatteras and the "shouting and the tumult died," the small ships came back to Ocracoke-Portsmouth waters. Cautiously they steamed, keeping a sharp lookout for enemy vessels. The first to arrive was a Confederate steamer.

C.S.S. Albemarle had been attached briefly to the Mosquito Fleet; but because of her age and condition, she had been relegated to service as an army supply vessel. The Albemarle docked at Beacon Island where her captain inspected the half ruined fort while her crew hoisted aboard the two big 10-inch Columbiads, the most valuable guns in the fort. The captain surveyed the beach at Portsmouth, but did not land. Wheeling around, her paddles flailing, she steamed for New Bern to deliver the guns and for Captain Roberts to file a three-page report to Major John Whitford,

the Ordnance Officer.[2]

The next visitor was from the Union Navy. Commander S.C. Rowan, aboard U.S.S. Pawnee, dispatched the steamer Fanny under command of Lieutenant J. G. Maxwell, Pawnee's executive officer. Lieutenant Maxwell was ordered to inspect the abandoned defenses of Ocracoke Inlet. He sailed on the morning of September 16, towing Pawnee's launch loaded with more men. Captain Chauncey of the Susquehanna agreed to cooperate from outside the inlet and to send four boats carrying Marines to join Maxwell's force.[3]

Lieutenant Maxwell reported the fort on Beacon Island as entirely destroyed, partly by the Confederates, the rest by his men. He described the fort as well made of earth-covered barrels of sand with a large bomb-proof shelter enclosing a magazine in the center. The gun carriages had been burned and the gun platforms partly burned. Maxwell's men completed the destruction by torching the remains and breaking the trunnions off the guns.

Lieutenant Eastman, in the launch, visited Portsmouth and disabled four guns. Eastman reported most of the people had left, and the few remaining "seem to be Union men and expressed satisfaction at our coming." Eastman did not mention the fat lady. Maxwell reported no entrenchments nor guns at Ocracoke and stated that the few pilots and fishermen who had fled had returned. Lieutenant Maxwell also advised that the lightboat used to beacon the channel past

Beacon Island was fired and set adrift to sink in the inlet. Maxwell's force returned safely to Hatteras on September 18.[4] A correspondent of the Illustrated London News evidently accompanied the Beacon Island expedition to sketch the fort and the Fanny as shown in Plate II. The next voyage of the Fanny was less successful.

Colonel A. R. Wright, commanding Confederate troops on Roanoke Island, received intelligence that a federal ship was steaming alone along the sound shore of Hatteras. He contacted Commodore Lynch of the Mosquito Fleet who led three steamers in a search for the intruder. The flagship Curlew, the Junaluska, and the Raleigh caught the Federals off Loggerhead Inlet. Loggerhead was a shallow waterway, ignored by both commercial vessels and cartographers, very close to New Inlet.[5]

The quarry proved to be the Fanny with a new captain and a crew partly composed of army artillerymen. She was laden with munitions, army stores, and new uniforms for the Twentieth Indiana Regiment. The Confederates opened fire, the Fanny replied, but when a shell from the Curlew's long 32-pounder rifle burst on her deck, the Fanny hauled down her flag. There was jubilation in the Mosquito Fleet at this, their first capture of an enemy warship. There was jubilation, too, in the Third Georgia Infantry when they warmed themselves that winter in new blue overcoats from the Fanny's stores. The capture encouraged the Confederates to

send ships back into Pamlico Sound adjacent to Ocracoke and Portsmouth.[6]

There were other foreign visitors besides war correspondents. The Stars and Bars was joined by the French tri-color. Both the French and British governments dispatched warships on intelligence-gathering missons. The foreign vessels usually called at major ports with well charted harbors, but a French ship was attracted to Ocracoke Inlet by reports of battles there. She was the sidewheel steam corvette Prony of His Imperial French Majesty's Navy. Avid for information, the Prony's captain approached a little too closely and grounded.

The Confederates reached the stricken ship first. The log of C.S.S. Ellis, after noting strong gales and dragging anchors, stated on November 5:

> At 1:30 P.M. came to anchor in Wale's (Wallace's) Channel at Ocracoke, at which place we discovered a French man-of-war on shore. At 2:30 P.M. the C.S.S. Curlew and Albemarle went out to rescue them which they succeeded in doing . . .[7]

The Confederate ships operated from inside the sound. The Federal fleet, steaming outside in the ocean, also reported "a terrible gale of wind . . . on the 3d instant."[8] On the fifth instant, the naval commander at Hatteras Inlet received a report that two enemy steamers were outside the inlet to the southward. He dispatched five steamers to capture them. "They did not discover the enemy but instead the French side-wheel steamer of war Catinet, ashore inside

the bar at Ocracoke."[9]

U.S.S. General Putnam and Ceres arrived at Ocracoke Inlet together. The Ceres was the first to speak with the French, when she took aboard a French lieutenant from one of the French ship's boats that had rowed out from the bar. The lieutenant informed Ceres' captain that his ship was the corvette Prony, not the Catinet, and that his captain hoped to get her off by jettisoning the guns, ammunition, and coal.[10]

The senior naval officer from Hatteras, Lieutenant R.B. Lowry, arrived in U.S.S. Underwriter, sent the smaller ships back to Hatteras in the worsening weather, and remained on station. Underwriter stood off and on, straining and leaking in the heavy seas, unable to close the French ship. The Prony fired signal guns and distress rockets during the night. Lieutenant Lowry decided the safety of his ship required him to return to harbor. He tried to explain in his after-action report:

> It was only after the profound conviction at 7:30 a.m. this morning, that I could do nothing to aid the stranded Frenchman, that I bore up for this harbor and abandoned him to the attention of the rebels. The sea was running too high to permit me to approach within several miles, and the safety of my own vessel became a subject for serious consideration. . . . If the rebels rescue the crew of the Frenchman, or save the vessel, and after treating them with interested kindness cause them to be returned to France, the event may have a most important bearing upon our political questions.[11]

Lieutenant Lowry condemned the rebels, who, because of

their "insane barbarity," had extinguished all the lights along the coast, forgetting for the moment who had burned the Beacon Island lightship. The "barbaric rebels" would view the political questions much as Lowry had done.

On November 6, vessels of the Mosquito Fleet reached the Prony. C.S.S. Curlew and Albemarle rescued the entire crew and their baggage. C.S.S. Winslow, steaming hard to assist them, ran afoul of the wreck of the lightship and holed herself so badly she sank in the inlet. The Confederate steamers Beaufort and Ellis rescued the Winslow's crew and salvaged what they could from her wreck. All that remained above water of both the Prony and the Winslow was burned.[12]

The Ellis carried the officers, men and baggage from the Prony to Norfolk under a flag of truce and delivered them into the care of the French Consul. The irate commander of the Prony, Captain N. de Fontanges, complained to Flag Officer L. M. Goldsboro, U.S.N., in Norfolk, that the Union ships had not responded to his distress signals.[13]

The Confederates publicized the rescue as Lieutenant Lowry and others had feared. Captain de Fontanges sent his thanks to Colonel Singletary, "Commandant of the District of Portsmouth." It was published in the Norfolk, Virginia, Day Book and copied by other newspapers, including the New Bern Daily Progress. De Fontanges lauded the Confederates thus: ". . . I cannot forget such services; and you may be certain

that the government of the Emperor shall know the persons to whom France owes the safety of 140 of her sailors . . ." Leon Misano, the Vice-Consul of France, also wrote in like vein.[14]

Two more wrecks littered the channels of Ocracoke Inlet. More were to come. The staff of the Secretary of the Navy's office in Washington, even before the battle of Hatteras, had considered the problem of the North Carolina inlets, and decided to close all but one. Hatteras Inlet was chosen to remain open after the capture of the Confederate forts that commanded it. Some naval officers recommended Ocracoke Inlet remain open as an alternate route after the Confederates abandoned Beacon Island, but in mid-September Gideon Welles issued firm orders to close Ocracoke also.[15] Commander H. S. Stellwagen in U.S.S. Monticello assembled twenty-two old schooners loaded with stone at Hatteras for blocking all other inlets and canals.[16] Considerable correspondence passed between various naval officers and the admiral concerning how and exactly where to sink the schooners. The solution was to sink the blockships across the inner bar, the swash, as the locals called it.

One letter from Jacob Westervelt, pilot of the Ceres, with Thomas Smith, pilot, concurring, sounds remarkably like a late twentieth-century geologist/hydrographer. After pointing out the volume of water flowing through the inlet, he predicted that any blocking attempt by sunken vessels

would not last thirty days. He cited examples and concluded ". . . from my experience and knowledge of the bottom, which is shifting sand, I deem it entirely impractical."[17] Admiral Goldsborough was weary of discussion. He wrote the commander at Hatteras: ". . . What the department wishes is to have its orders executed if possible. I attach, myself, but little consequence to the opinions of pilots or other persons . . ."[18] And so it was done. On November 15 Lieutenant William N. Jeffers, commanding Underwriter, reported that three schooners, chained together, were sunk athwart the channel in nine feet of water.[19]

The war had not entirely left the Outer Banks. In early October occurred the inconclusive skirmishes on Hatteras known as the Chicamacomico Races between the Third Georgia and the Twentieth Indiana Regiments. Across the sound in Hyde County, companies B, F, and H of the newly organized Thirty-Third North Carolina were assembled and recruiting men. In mid-October, at least thirty Ocracokers crossed over and enlisted. Included were a half dozen boys under the age of eighteen. A few Ocracokers living in Forsythe County came back to Hyde to enlist.[20]

Some Portsmouthers, too, enlisted in the Confederate service in those early weeks, though they are harder to identify than their Ocracoke neighbors. There are some Ocracokers today with a keen sense of their heritage who are able to add to the written records, but such people are not

known from Portsmouth. With the dispersal of all its inhabitants, any Portsmouth family history has become both diffused and diluted.

One prominent Portsmouth resident lost no time in joining the Confederacy. Doctor Spiers Singleton, Superintendent of the Marine Hospital, left with his wife and three small children for the mainland. In November, 1861, he accepted a commission as surgeon of the 36th North Carolina regiment and served all through the war at Fort Fisher.[21]

A comparision of the census rolls of military-age Portsmouthers with the rosters listed in Manarin's North Carolina Troops yields matching names of probable Confederates. The names are included in an appendix with those from Ocracoke.

Other regiments were forming in the eastern counties, but few were destined to serve within the state. Most would go to Virginia. Meanwhile, the action at Hatteras changed from military to political.

A rump political convention was organized on Hatteras by two strange characters. The Reverend Marble Nash Taylor had been sent to the island by the Methodist-Episcopal Church Conference. Charles Henry Foster was a displaced New Englander who had edited a newspaper in Murfreesboro, N.C., and had tried by various stratagems to break into North Carolina politics. The alleged convention, a handful of persons claiming to represent forty-five counties, proclaimed Marble

Nash Taylor provisional governor of the state. The new "governor" called for an election, enabling the same convention to elect Charles Henry Foster as their Representative in the United States Congress. Neither man was recognized by the federal government. Taylor dropped out of public view, but Foster persisted in attempts to gain office, either political or military. Foster became well known along the banks and from New Bern to the sea, as we shall see.

The Union tried military recruiting on the banks. Urged by Colonel Rush C. Hawkins of the Ninth New York, who believed Union sentiment was strong in the eastern counties, the Lincoln government authorized formation of a company to garrison the forts at Hatteras.[22] Fifty or sixty men were gathered on the island and organized as Company I, First North Carolina Union Regiment. The expected recruits from Union men on the mainland failed to materialize. Most of the "Buffalos," as the Confederates called the Unionists, preferred to loot isolated houses than to fight.[23]

Federal officials, disgusted with both North Carolina politics and enlistments, turned again to a military solution, one previously recommended by many officers. It was successful, as the Union dispatched sufficient forces by the Burnside Expedition to ensure victory.

Brigadier General Ambrose P. Burnside had organized a "Coast Division" containing as many men as he could find

familiar with small craft, and had assembled a fleet of shallow-draft steamers, similar to the Confederate Mosquito Fleet. The expedition rounded the Cape on January 13, 1862, and stood off Hatteras Inlet until the ships could enter.

While Burnside's ships were being buffeted by strong gales and angry seas, Colonel Singletary in C.S.S. Albemarle made one last trip to Portsmouth on January 22. Singletary reported the island completely covered with water, but the people determined to defend themselves. Clearly, some of the Portsmouthers had waded home again after the mass exodus of early September. The colonel talked to:

> A Mr. Samuel Tolson, a Mr. (John) Williams and others who had been applied to by the directors of the fleet to act as pilots, and those gentlemen assured him the fleet is at Hatteras, numbering about 175 vessels and represented that their force is 30,000 strong. The Portsmouth fishermen further said the Yankees were 'very anxious to get pilots for Croatan Sound and the rivers'.[24]

Albemarle steamed for New Bern with the news. Burnside continued battling foul weather and lost several ships, but by February 5 his fleet was through the inlet and anchored in the sound. Burnside steamed north for Roanoke Island with more than thirteen thousand men and sixty-seven ships.

Confederate Brigadier General Henry A. Wise commanded two small North Carolina regiments and Wise's Legion, along with elements of two Virginia regiments - not quite fifteen hundred men. He was supported by the seven steamers of the Mosquito Fleet plus the armed schooner Black Warrior. The

conclusion was foregone. Roanoke Island was taken and the Mosquito Fleet died a few days later in the battle of Elizabeth City. Ocracoke and Portsmouth were largely isolated with Federal control of the sounds.

General Burnside crossed the sound with his ships and men. After a hard fight on March 13 and 14, he captured New Bern.[25] In turn, Washington, Plymouth, Edenton, and the rest of the river ports were occupied. The isolation was nearly total. The only communication with the mainland was by the furtive routes of smugglers, night crossings, and landings up creeks and hidden harbors. Portsmouth's last tenuous connection with the southern banks was severed by the Union capture of Beaufort, Morehead City, and finally Fort Macon on April 25.[26] Ocracoke and Portsmouth were no longer attached to the Confederacy.

CHAPTER IV

OCCUPATION 1862 and 1863

General Burnside's invasion resulted in Federal control of the North Carolina coast from the rivers and inlets of Onslow County north to Virginia, with the Navy cruising outside the banks and both army and navy gunboats steaming the sounds and rivers. Federal troops occupied the mainland from New Bern to the sea, and Federal enclaves formed around the fortified river ports. The river shores and the fringes of the sounds were Federal territory within the range of the steamers' guns. Federal territory was to be stable for the next two years, but it was not static. The Union Army's enclaves swelled or shrank as the opposing armies raided, attacked, or counter-attacked. The Outer Banks, "the precious stones set in a silver sea," to borrow from Shakespeare, remained firmly set in Federal control.

General Burnside selected New Bern as headquarters, where he established his military government. Troop returns for April, 1862, showed three divisions plus one brigade present for duty in the Department of North Carolina, with a strength of 16,528 soldiers present.[1]

Though the military government was firmly set and functioning, President Abraham Lincoln believed the appointment of a civilian as military governor, who would work closely with the military authorities, was the best procedure. Lincoln believed such a governor would improve the chances of detaching North Carolina from the Confederacy. He looked

for the right man. He would have to be a better choice than Marble Nash Taylor.

In early April, 1862, Edward Stanly, city and county attorney of San Francisco, received a telegram from Secretary of War Edwin N. Stanton, appointing him military governor of North Carolina and inviting him to come to Washington at once to confirm the appointment.[2] Stanly, a former Whig congressman from New Bern, North Carolina, embarked by steamer via Panama for New York and Washington. After consultations with Secretary Stanton and President Lincoln, he received his commission on May 19 and took ship for New Bern, N.C., where he arrived on May 26.[3]

The next day, Governor Stanly conferred with General Burnside. The general reported to Secretary Stanton that he had "consulted fully" with the governor and their views were "remarkably coincident." But their views soon began to diverge. Stanly disagreed with Burnside's policies of opening schools for Negroes and refusal to return fugitive slaves to their owners.[4] Governor Stanly, in his plan to lure erring Tar Heels back to their allegience to the United States, wanted to proceed, as far as possible, according to the ante-bellum laws of the state. As he saw it, the old fugitive slave laws were not in conflict with Federal law, as the Lincoln government had not yet announced a policy on abolition or emancipation.

Governor Stanly's program of restoring trade in the

occupied areas was of greater economic importance than slavery to the Outer Banks, which had few farmers, but many unemployed mariners. Stanly issued authorizations to ship owners to trade within the sounds and rivers and to certain residents of Washington and Newbern to ship timber and naval stores to the West Indies via Hatteras. The shippers were instructed to bring back salt, a necessity for preservation of meat and fish. The governor issued his permits not only to those who took the oath of allegience, but to some who declined, but would sign an oath of neutrality. This novel instrument was invented by Governor Stanly.[5] The licenses given to shippers involved Stanly in disputes with Union naval officers and eventually with Rear Admiral S.P. Lee, Commander of the North Atlantic Blockading Squadron. When the dispute was referred to Washington, D.C., for resolution, the authorities there backed Admiral Lee.[6] The trading permits also conflicted with the instructions given another Federal appointee recently arrived in the state.

The New Bern newspaper announced in early June that a new customs collector had been appointed for Beaufort. He was John Addison Hedrick.[7] Hedrick's correspondence contains a great deal of information on customs duties and special taxes collected on a growing maritime trade through Beaufort, a trade which was approved by military and naval authorities. The letters also contain much more, which, if not properly called gossip, was certainly local news and

personal views. The first letter describes Hedrick's arrival in New Bern on June 9 and his voyage, including "considerable trouble getting in at Hatteras Inlet."[8]

Unlike the issues of slavery and shipping, Governor Stanly and the military commanders were in complete agreement on the need to raise a volunteer regiment of troops from among the Unionists in the eastern counties. Stanly received authorization to recruit the troops and to commission their officers. The volunteers were to be paid, subsisted, and commanded by the department commanders as were other Federal troops, but they were to serve only within the state, usually within their respective counties.[9] Thus, was formed the First North Carolina Union Volunteer Regiment. There was still a remnant of a volunteer company at "Hatteras Bank" from the 1861 recruiting, but for the new companies an intensive recruiting effort was planned. News of the First Union brought another official to Newbern, a man still hungry for office. Charles Henry Foster, the failed Hatteras convention congressman, appeared at the military government headquarters. President Lincoln had appointed him a recruiting officer for North Carolina troops with the rank of captain.[10]

Recruiting for the new regiment had been conducted heretofore by regular military officers, but its pace was slow. The Newbern Progress of May 1, 1862, reported the Union people of Washington and Beaufort County had raised a

portion of a regiment. "Capt. E. E. Potter, USA, is to be Colonel and John A. Ressness of Washington, Lt. Col."[11] Captain Charles Henry Foster commenced his new job with zeal and energy. By late summer, he had selected several men to serve as recruiting sergeants and had begun to hold public meetings throughout the Union occupied counties. The Progress described Foster as "a persevering and energetic man" and announced that he would run for a seat in congress.[12] Foster never lost sight of political opportunities.

Foster's latest opportunity, the First Union, never formed as a regiment nor marched in review behind banners, fifes and drums. The companies formed were stationed in the towns of origin. Companies were raised in Newbern, Beaufort, Washington, Plymouth, Elizabeth City, Winfield on the Chowan River, and on Hatteras Bank. These companies consisted of garrison troops, second-line troops, though some of the companies performed well in certain of the army's battles and marches. No company was organized at Ocracoke or Portsmouth, though detachments were sent to the islands for special duties. However, the Federal government did not leave a military vacuum at Ocracoke Inlet.

Major General John G. Foster, General Burnside's successor in command of the Department of North Carolina (no kin to C.H. Foster), reported to Secretary Stanton on August 7, 1862:

> The health of the troops is as good as reported in my last. The hospital at Portsmouth is ready to

> receive patients, and some invalids are at present being removed there, and in a short time I expect to have the greater part of my sick at the general hospitals at Beaufort and Portsmouth on the seaboard.[13]

Nor did the First Union's recruiters neglect the islands. The Progress reported that a large number of citizens of Portsmouth, N.C., assembled in the church on the afternoon of September 19, 1862. The Reverend William C. Whitcombe, chaplain of the hospital, opened with a prayer, after which Mr. C. H. Foster spoke at length on the hopelessness of the rebel cause and the sure success of the Union. The oration concluded with a resolution offered by Foster, that the people would cheerfully cooperate in the organization of the First Regiment of Union Volunteers. That night, the Progress continued, a similar meeting was held in the meeting house at Ocracoke, with at least a hundred men outside who were unable to obtain admission. Foster made the same speech and asked for the same pledge of support. The paper's reporter predicted that Portsmouth would furnish at least twenty Union volunteers.[14]

The islanders may not have rallied to Foster's standard according to John Hedrick's next letter. Foster, Hedrick wrote, had gone to the Banks with his recruiting sergeant to get enlistments and did not return until Monday. He missed several other appointments in the Beaufort area. "He was so offended about something that he would not come to the hotel

to get his dinner. I understand he was angry with the Secessionists, and was going to Newbern to get orders to punish them."[15] Hedrick jeered at Foster's claim of having influence with President Lincoln and labeled his recruiting speeches as "more forerunners of his campaign harangues."[16]

The Marine Hospital at Portsmouth continued to expand its services. A newspaper article of early October, 1862, quoted, "Wm. C. Whitcombe, Chaplain of the U.S. Hospital at Portsmouth as announcing that 136 patients had been accomodated since August, representing ten different regiments. Not a death occurred among the military and only one among the islands four hundred inhabitants."[17] Assuming the paper's figures were accurate, most of the islanders had returned.

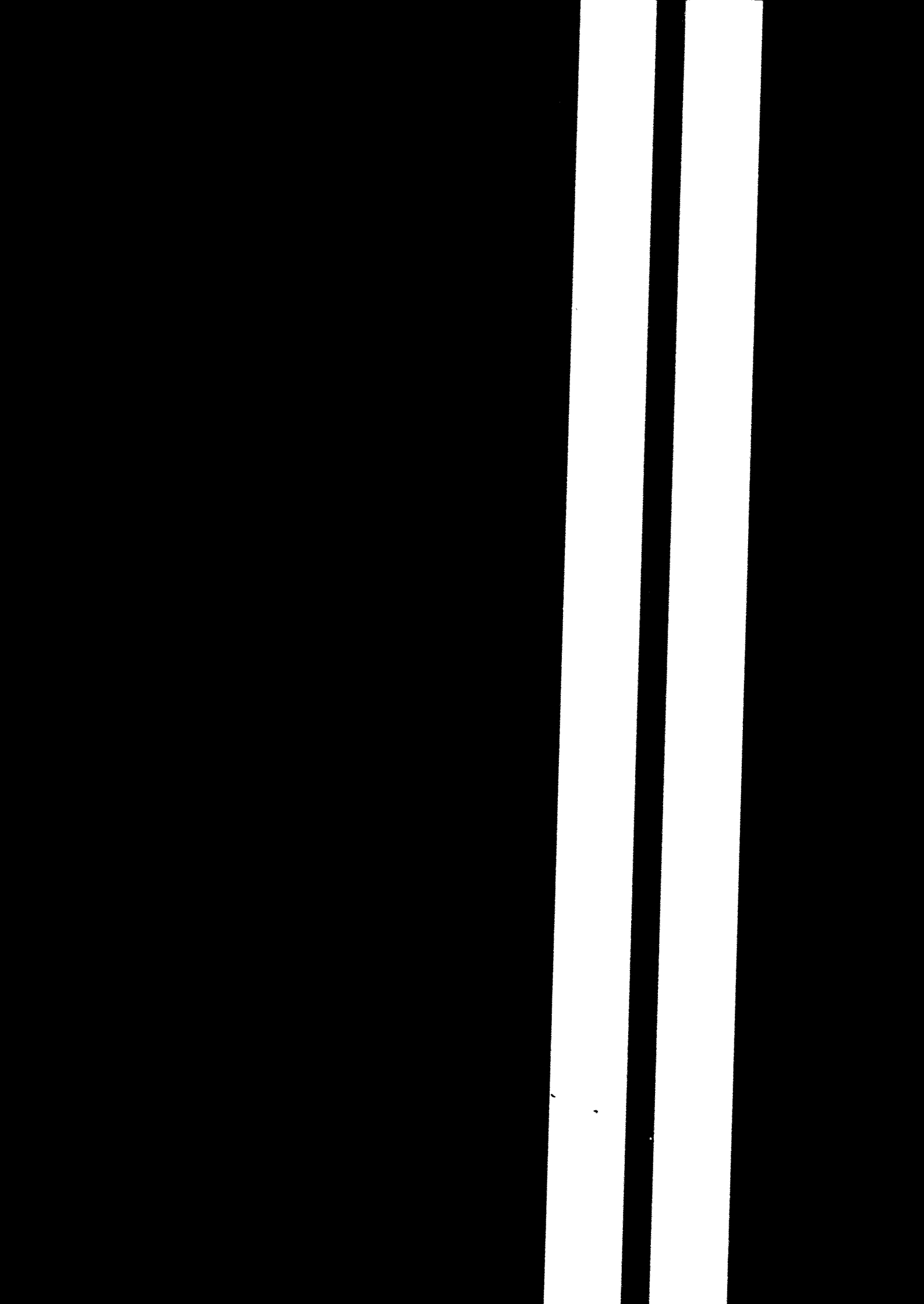
In a subsequent issue, the newspaper stated that the Reverend Mr. Whitcombe furnished more interesting statistics on the numbers of inmates, "which it may be best, for prudential reasons, not to publish to the world."[18] If military censorship was applied, it lapsed in another article in the same issue of the paper, for it reported the arrival at Portsmouth of the steamer Allison carrying thirty-five additional patients to the hospital under the care of Dr. Hall Curtis of Boston.[19]

Medical personnel and military guards at Portsmouth made up a growing United States presence. It was not so across the inlet on Ocracoke, for only sporadic visits by military or naval patrols were mentioned. The lighthouse

was apparently unlit and unmanned as no mention of it appears in official reports until much later in the war.

A few Confederate soldiers returned home to Ocracoke after the battle of New Bern in March, 1862. One such soldier was Robert Howard, a youth of seventeen who had enlisted the previous October in Company F of the 33 North Carolina Infantry. The regimental roster carries him as AWOL after March 14, 1862. Howard family history differs slightly. Private Howard, according to oral history, rejoined his company after the battle of New Bern and marched with the regiment in Branch's brigade to Virginia. He was wounded in the fighting around Chantilly and returned to Ocracoke on a wound furlough. After recuperation, "he took ship at Springer's Point for Mexico. He came home after five years."[20] Springer's Point is located near Ocracoke Inlet and is adjacent to Teach's Hole Channel, a likely departure point for a foreign voyage. Howard's ship somehow passed through the inlet supposedly blocked by stone schooners.

Other information suggests that Ocracoke Inlet was again navigable. The Senior Officer, Sounds of North Carolina, Commander H. K. Davenport, reported on October 1, 1862: "The Granite has been employed in blockading Ocracoke Inlet and in cruising Pamlico Sound."[21] The sloop Granite would keep station at Ocracoke Inlet, relieved periodically for a re-supplying at New Bern, and would be transferred only when a crisis arose on the mainland.



Recruiting continued on the mainland for the First Union Regiment. John Hedrick wrote to his brother that an old man named Congleton, sixty four years old, had been one of the first to enlist. Congleton was a strong abolitionist and had run for state office on the Free Suffrage ticket. He was also an admirer of Captain Foster. In this letter, Hedrick referred to C. H. Foster as the Humbug Foster, a title he was to use thereafter. Hedrick also offered an explanation of the epithet Buffalo as applied to the Unionists in general throughout North Carolina and to soldiers of the new Yankee regiment:

> The men look first rate in their sky blue pants and dark blue coats and caps on. I believe that they make a better appearance than the Yankee soldiers do. Their uniforms make them appear so large that the people call them the "Buffaloes." I think they like to be called buffaloes. They go around in gangs like herds of buffaloes.[22]

Hedrick's next letter reported two local schooners had returned from the West Indies laden with molasses, sugar, and salt. These vessels sailed under his license from Beaufort as commercial shipping was not allowed to use other inlets. Hedrick reported nothing new on the Humbug Foster except that northern newspapers mentioned him as a political candidate in the state.[23]

As a fitting way of ending the first year's occupation of the islands, the ever-active Chaplain Whitcombe "observed Thursday, Nov. 27, as a day of Thanksgiving and Praise" in a

service held for soldiers and civilians in the church on Portsmouth.[24] Later in the month, the chaplain held services on the Sabbath, December 14, on the long neglected island of Ocracoke. He addressed a mass of men, women, and children who "thronging the ancient meeting house, listened attentively to the first sermon they have heard for more than a year and a half" The writer underestimated Ocracoke's population, giving it as about three hundred inhabitants.[25]

The same issue of the Progress grandly made the claim that for the first time in history a stove was used on December 7 for warming the Portsmouth church. The stove had been placed there by Dr. Loren H. Pease for use of both islanders and inmates. The paper also noted the arrest and imprisonment of Robert Wallace of Portsmouth for threatening the lives of hospital officials,including John M. Spear, Esq., the Hospital Steward. The article predicted it would "go hard with the prisoner (Wallace) when he was tried."[26]

Under a heading "New Light Houses," the paper noted that Captain Benjamin Lawrence, formerly of the Ordnance Department, was keeper of the light, which "is distinctly visible during the day at this Island, while its cheering light gleams with peculiar attraction during the darkness of the night. It is about six miles from Portsmouth." The lighthouse mentioned was probably that at Cape Lookout, though the distance is incorrect, because Ocracoke lighthouse was also described. "We are also blessed with another

Light House, Ocracoke some five miles away, the prospect from the summit of which is the best in all this region."[27] No keeper was identified for Ocracoke lighthouse.

December, 1862, was busy with both politics and recruiting in occupied North Carolina. Governor Stanly had ordered an election to be held on January 1, 1863, to select a representative for the Thirty-Seventh Congress from the old second district. Only four counties of the district were under Federal jurisdiction, with the remaining seven still in the Confederacy, but both President Lincoln and Governor Stanly considered representation in Washington an important step in bringing the state back into the Union. Stanley had selected Jennings Pigott, a former Whig state representative, as his candidate. Charles H. "Humbug" Foster was an unannounced candidate, who recruited and politicked at the same time.[28] Foster finally declined the nomination for congress as Free Labor candidate when he concluded an agreement with Federal authorities to raise a second North Carolina Union regiment. If successful, he would be commissioned the regiment's lieutenant-colonel.[29] Foster's supporters, led by old Abraham Congleton, did not give up. After Jennings Pigott won the election, forty-five members of Company F in Beaufort and thirty-six members of Company G in Newbern, petitioned the congress not to seat him.[30] The two companies were partially successful in their

new role as political action committees. The House Committee of Elections denied Pigott a seat and ignored Foster.[31]

There were enough men in the first ten companies of the regiment to make their presence felt throughout Union-held territory. The Buffalos were concentrated on the seacoast and the banks. They constituted the most numerous Federal force and were active in recruiting any civilians or ex-Confederates.

James Warren Day, a young man from Cedar Island, experienced their forceful recruiting. Day and his nephew, Bosh (Abshia) Styron, carried Bosh's sick mother, Amelia Styron, to Portsmouth to the hospital. They shoved off for Portsmouth in Day's spritrigged vessel and entered Mrs. Styron in the Marine Hospital. While returning to their boat, they were captured by Yankee soldiers led by a Sergeant Styron. The sergeant told the young men he was sending them to Hatteras where they would enlist in one of the First Union's companies.

James Warren Day and Bosh Styron were put in their own boat under guard and started to Hatteras. A sudden squall ripped the sail and broke the sprit, doing enough damage that they had to put back into Portsmouth. Sergeant Styron met them and informed them they were going to Hatteras next day, notwithstanding being cold, wet, and in a damaged boat. That night the Cedar Islanders managed to repair the sail and sprit and escape from Portsmouth. James Warren Day, a

guitar player and ballard singer, composed a song about their experience. It has been handed down by his descendants and begins thus:

> Now gather round me men and boys,
> I'll have you all to know
> I won't be drug to Hatteras
> By no damn Buffalo.

The last two lines, carried as a refrain in succeeding verses, expressed most bankers' opinion of the Buffalos.[32]

Customs Collector John Hedrick set sail for Portsmouth in March, 1863. He had been notified that a vessel was stranded between Ocracoke and Hatteras Inlets. He first landed at Portsmouth where he found that the wrecked vessel was from the West Indies with a cargo of sugar and molasses, and was ashore on Ocracoke. Voyaging next to Ocracoke, he discovered the wreck four miles from Hatteras Inlet, and was told her cargo had been removed and sold. Surely, a little of the short and long sweetening remained with the war-deprived Ocracokers either as wages or tolls. As no mention was made of salvage, the ship must have been a loss. Hedrick determined the duties on the cargo would amount to about nine hundred dollars and reported same to the Secretary of the Treasury so the money could be collected from the registered owners.[33]

John Hedrick's letters enumerate increasing amounts collected on import duties and even larger amounts collected on something called Internal and Coastal Intercourse. All

trade was controlled by Federal officials in mid-1863, as Governor Stanly had resigned early in the year and the governor's office, again run by the military, no longer issued trading permits.[34] Hedrick named two new Special Treasury Agents, Messers. Carpenter and Wills, who had just been sent to the state. Carpenter, he reported, was taking in thirty or forty dollars per day for permits to fishermen. It was certainly a new departure for an Outer Banks fisherman to buy a permit to set his nets - if he bought it. Hedrick still reported on C. H. Foster and awarded him a new title, "The Swindler C.H.F."[36]

Humbug Swindler Foster had "stuck up posters calling for volunteers in this state," Hedrick wrote, and had intensified his recruiting methods. "The way deserters and refugees are treated is to put them in prison until they are willing to volunteer in the Union Army."[37] Brother Benjamin Hedrick apparently doubted what his brother had told him, for John, in a later letter, expanded his description of recruiting. He stated he "did not know how long the refugees were kept in prison, but he did know they were let out when they enlisted in the First Union. The army also paid them bounties for enlisting and agreed to care for their families. "When a refugee comes in," he said, "all the Buffaloes get after him, and before he knows what he is about, he has joined the regiment. It reminds me," he continued, "of my old Davidson College days when a new fresh

comes."[38]

A perusal of the service records of the First and Second North Carolina Union Regiments yields an increasing number of the soldiers sent to Portsmouth and Ocracoke in 1863. This increase does not signify just the greater use of the hospital, for it had been active since May, 1862. Rather, it indicates the growing strength of the First Union as its companies filled up and the growth of the newly formed Second Union. The service records show approximately twenty-five soldiers of the regiments were hospitalized in Portsmouth during June, July and August, 1863. Some were transferred from the military hospitals in Beaufort and New Bern and some were sent from the small company hospitals in the occupied towns. Few fatalities were noted on the records, suggesting that Portsmouth was most often used for convalescent patients.[39]

Even more Buffalo soldiers were detailed to the islands for guard and special duties. Though no company was stationed on either island, nearly seventy men, almost company strength, were detached from their regular companies for special assignments. The transferred men served island tours of varying lengths, though most served on through 1863. Examples of those transferred were Sergeant Jas. Luton of Company H of Hatteras Bank and Corporal Benjamin Pendleton of Company D at Washington. Both men arrived in Portsmouth in September after being released by exchange as Confederate

prisoners. Among those detached for specific duties were Privates Andrew Robbins and T.J. Mason, both of Company B of Washington, who served as nurses at the Marine Hospital. Private Joseph O'Neal of Company H was specifically assigned as guard at the Ocracoke lighthouse in June, 1863. He was still doing guard duty at Ocracoke and Portsmouth in April, 1865. Private John B. O'Neal, Company H, joined Joseph on Ocracoke in May, 1864, as a lighthouse guard.[40]

The increased presence of the First Union soldiers on the Outer Banks indicates that the Buffalo regiment's soldiers were gradually replacing the department's regular Northern regiments as garrison troops. Some detachments of the Northern regiments still remained along the coast and visited the islands at times.

The oral history passed down through the generations at Ocracoke Island describes one such Union Army detail, regiment unknown, that visited Ocracoke. Captain Horatio Williams, formerly of the schooner Paragon, had become farmer Horatio Williams. He cultivated truck crops, raised hogs, and ran cattle on the island's range. He supplied the local demand and was occasionally able to ship pork and beef across the sound for sale on the mainland. He was not neutral in the war - he was still a Southerner - so he did not deal with the occupying forces. He avoided Union soldiers as much as possible and had not been "drug to Hatteras by no damn Buffalo." The Federal soldier who

caught Horatio Williams was a lieutenant sent to buy cattle and leading a sergeant and a squad of soldiers. The lieutenant's purpose was buying, not recruiting, so he merely informed Williams that the army needed some of his cattle.

Horatio Williams answered, "I don't sell to Yankees."

The lieutenant told Williams that he was authorized to buy cattle and pay a fair price. If the owner would not sell, the lieutenant said, he had authority to take the cattle.

Williams repeated, "I don't sell to Yankees. If ye' git'em, ye'll have to take'em." He wheeled around and stalked away.

The lieutenant kept his temper as he directed his sergeant to have the men cut out and halter six of the best beeves. Mrs. Martha Williams, Horatio's wife, had witnessed the confrontation.

Miss Martha addressed the Yankee, "You heard what the captain said. He won't sell to you. If you can pay, leave the money under that ballast rock by the porch." She pointed to it.

The lieutenant, a fair man, did leave the greenbacks under the rock. Mrs. Martha Williams, her patriotism tempered with pragmatism, waited until the Yankee left, picked up the money, and went into the house. When or whether she told the captain, oral history knoweth not.[41]

Thus, the two dreary years of occupation passed. On

Ocracoke, there were sporadic visits by Union Army patrols and ration parties, perhaps an occasional appearance of a small herd of Buffalos, recruiting or just checking on the civilians. A stranded schooner was a noteworthly event and the rare calling of a trading schooner was a great event. On Portsmouth, the Union garrison guarded the hospital, camps, and barracks. Patients entered the hospital, patients were discharged and left the island, mostly soldiers, but an occasional civilian. The Union Navy's presence was felt, too. Naval vessels steamed past at sea on their way to join the various blockading squadrons. Inside, smaller vessels entered Hatteras Inlet and steamed past the islands as they headed for mainland ports.

The sloop Granite continued to guard Ocracoke Inlet. She cruised the sound near Ocracoke and Portsmouth or anchored in one of the channels adjacent to the inlet. There were more small ships, gunboats, and supply ships than ever before in the sounds, all busily steaming here and there. A distant observer might have been reminded of water-bugs skittering across the surface of a pond. Commander H. K. Davenport, the Senior Officer in the Sounds of North Carolina, reported the Granite at Ocracoke on October 15, 1863.[42] She was still there on November 30, but had cruised to Hatteras to have her bottom cleaned by December 15. However, both U.S.S. Hetzel and the Commodore Hull called at Ocracoke in December.[43] In January, 1864, the

Hetzel anchored at Ocracoke while the Granite was still at Hatteras. By February 23, the Granite, clean-bottomed, was back at Ocracoke.[44]

In Virginia, both armies were in winter quarters. The battle fronts were quiet, a condition which was to affect eastern North Carolina.

CHAPTER V

1864 OCCUPATION THREATENED

On January 2, 1864, General Robert E. Lee reported to President Jefferson Davis:

> The time is at hand when, if an attempt can be made to capture the enemys forces at New Berne, it should be done. I can now spare the troops for the purpose, which will not be the case as spring approaches. . . . a large amount of provisions and other supplies are said to be at New Berne. . .[1]

Upon the president's approval, the attempt was made. General Lee selected thirteen thousand men and recommended North Carolina's Brigadier-General Robert F. Hoke to command them, as such an attack had been suggested previously by Hoke. The Richmond government selected Major-General George E. Pickett to command the expedition with Hoke as his second-in-command. Commander John Taylor Wood was ordered to lead a naval force of fourteen cutters on the Neuse River.

The plan to recapture New Bern nearly succeeded, but Pickett botched the battle by poor coordination of his forces. Hoke's part in the attack was successful as was John Taylor Wood's naval action. Wood and his men captured and destroyed the U.S.S. Underwriter before withdrawing upstream to Kinston. The Confederate troops also withdrew to Kinston where Pickett boarded a train for Richmond, leaving Hoke in command of the troops.[2]

The Underwriter's captain, who was killed defending his ship, was former pilot, Jacob Westervelt, the man who had so

annoyed Admiral Goldsborough with his accurate predictions about closing Ocracoke Inlet. Among the prisoners captured by the Confederates were fifty-eight men of the First Union Regiment, including a number of former Confederate soldiers who had deserted and enlisted in the Union regiment. They were recognized in Kinston and promptly tried before a military court. Twenty-two convicted deserters were hanged.[3] News of the executions quickly spread through the ranks of the First and Second Union Regiments. Some northern newspapers spoke of "murder" in referring to the event, though one soldier of a Massachusetts regiment considered the Federal government at fault for allowing enemy deserters to enlist. Most southerners thought the punishments were just.[4]

The Federal commanders in the state considered the Confederate threat as very serious indeed, but the sighs of relief vented when the Confederates withdrew were short-lived. General Hoke immediately began to plan a new campaign for his force. He selected the town of Plymouth on the Roanoke River as his target because of a new promise of naval assistance. Commander J.W. Cooke, CSN, had a nearly completed ironclad ram, the Albemarle, up the Roanoke River, and promised to aid General Hoke in the attack whether or not the ram was finished.[5] The result of the combined operations of the Confederates is well known. Hoke and Cooke swept down like wolves on the fold to capture Plymouth and sink or drive away the Federal ships in the river.

General Hoke marched his little army south and laid siege to Washington, which he expected to fall without a battle. Sure enough, Brigadier-General Innis N. Palmer, commanding at New Bern, ordered Brigadier-General Edward Harland to evacuate Washington after removing or destroying army supplies. The evacuation was disorderly, with much plundering and pillaging of the citizens of the town by the departing troops. The flames from a burning supply depot spread, aided by drunken arsonists among the troops who had been engaged in destroying a supply of rum. Nearly half the town burned.[6]

General Palmer's next superior officer in the chain of command was Major-General John J. Peck, but Peck had been relieved of his command on April 19, 1864, the day Plymouth fell. Palmer succeeded Peck in command of the District of North Carolina and reported directly to none other than Major-General B. F. Butler.[7]

On April 18, Palmer informed Butler that he had sent all the transportation he could raise to Washington, including schooners to bring away the contrabands. He stated further:

> The First North Carolina Union Regiment is here (Newbern) they have with them some 300 women and children. I shall make the best use of them I can, but these Carolina regiments are a great drag upon us at such a time as this.[8]

Company dated June 6, 1863, when the company was forming in Washington, lists forty-three soldiers and 105 dependents.[9] The evacuation of Washington and other outlying garrisons continued as General Palmer regrouped his forces. Palmer notified Colonel J. Jourdan, commanding at Beaufort, that he would get the First North Carolina and some other troops very soon. He also advised Jourdan, "Don't let your people get stampeded."[10] Nevertheless, a stampede developed among the Buffalos, both civil and military, in the Federal held areas of North Carolina. By early May, the crisis was past for the occupying power, though the Federal commander would not realize it for some weeks. General Palmer in New Bern saw only Hoke's Confederates, victorious at Plymouth and Washington, massing outside the town. Commander Davenport in the sounds had received intelligence that the ironclad monster Albemarle was ready to fight her way through to New Bern and repeat her exploits at Plymouth. Naval officials in Washington, D.C., too, were nervous about the North Carolina sounds. Assistant Secretary of the Navy G.V. Fox wired John Ericsson asking if the monitor Tecumseh could be lifted by "camels" (floats or pontoons) enough to cross a bar with eight feet of water, a bar such as the swash in the inlets.[11] Captain Melancton Smith was removed from his ship, the big, new monitor Onondaga, and sent to the sounds to coordinate the naval forces, assist Commander Davenport, and make contingency plans.[12]

The intelligence gathered was correct. On May 5, the Albemarle met and fought Davenport's sound squadron. Though several of the Union vessels were severely damaged, Albemarle was forced to retire to Plymouth to make repairs. Her armor was not pierced, but one gun was damaged and her smoke stack was shattered, which lowered the draft in her boiler firebox and caused steam pressure to drop. Anything that would burn with a low draft, including the ship's combustible comestables, even her supplies of butter and bacon, were heaved in the furnace.[13] As Albemarle steamed slowly home, wafting the aroma of frying bacon in her wake, surely she was leaving the sound's best smelling naval battle.

At about the same time that Albemarle fought, General Hoke near New Bern received an urgent message from General P.G.T. Beauregard in Virginia ordering him to break off battle immediately and march to Goldsboro to entrain for Virginia. He was needed to hold the line at Petersburg.[14] Thus ended the nearly successful Confederate offensive to recapture eastern North Carolina. On the other side of the battle lines, Union redeployment and the stampede continued.

On May 10, General Palmer ordered eight companies of the First Union with the men's dependents transferred to Beaufort. Only the two companies at Hatteras Inlet remained at their original posts. Palmer shifted his regular regiments so as to consolidate them in his main body at New Bern. The Massachusetts Heavy Artillery companies marched out of

Fort Macon as men of the First Union assumed the duty.[15] Palmer explained to Colonel Jourdan at Beaufort that he was sending the six hundred men of the eight companies to the coast where "they imagine they are safe at all times from capture. Col. McChesney will see that the families of his regiment are made comfortable."[16]

A few days later, General Palmer reported the reorganization of his troops directly to the secretary of war, as he had been notified General B. F.Butler was not available. Palmer referred to his "North Carolina troops" thus:

> The North Carolina troops I considered useless unless they were placed at some point where they could consider themselves secure from capture, as the execution of the Carolina troops at Kinston had very much demoralized the whole of them. They would have been useless to General Butler, and I have placed them all in the Sub-District of Beaufort, where, as they feel secure, they will, I hope, become reliable.[17]

John A. Hedrick, in his newsletter to his brother, commented on the throngs of newcomers: "three flatloads" of Buffalo wives and children brought to Beaufort. He noted that all of the soldiers seemed more panic stricken than even the citizens.[18] A subsequent letter stated that four companies of the Second Union and about the same number of the First were in Fort Macon. In a statement more applicable to the British Raj than a North Carolina customs office, he added: "So you see we are guarded by native troops."[19]

The navy continued to evacuate "native troops" and

civilians from the threatened areas. Most of the refugees first went to New Bern or Beaufort, but some sought refuge even farther from the fighting. Lieutenant Henry Eaton, commanding U.S.S. Louisiana, reported to Commander Davenport on June 5 that he had on board nineteen men and women and twenty-two children destined for New Bern and Portsmouth Island.[20] Apparently, the Outer Banks, distant from the battles of the mainland and guarded by both the army and navy, were considered the safest place of all.

Some chose Ocracoke as a refuge. Young Josephus Daniels, as he wrote in later years, remembered being carried by his father and mother to Ocracoke "far from the scenes of war." The elder Daniels, though a Union man, had worked in the Confederate shipyard at Wilmington some two years before returning to the New Bern-Washington area to enter the mercantile business. He had evidently pre-selected and rented a cottage at Ocracoke before Washington was evacuated by Federal forces. He then returned to New Bern. The exact time Mrs. Daniels and her children took refuge on the island is not clear, but since Mrs. Daniels told of incidents during the great fire, they probably left after the Union evacuation. Mrs. Daniels related her efforts to save her mahogany table from the fire and the chase after a plundering Union soldier who had stolen her last ham. "She followed the thief amid the lurid flames and compelled its (the ham's) return." Young Josephus, his

younger brother, Frank, and Mrs. Daniels crossed the sound in company with their friends, the McDaniel family, and "quite a number of Washington families." Josephus' brother, Charles Cleves Daniels, was born at Ocracoke on September 23, 1864.[21] Undoubtedly, there were many others who sought safety on the banks, but no records were kept of civilian passengers during those trying times, so only a few are documented in memoirs.

After the alarms caused by Hoke's campaign died away, General Palmer made a careful survey of his district, with particular attention paid to the Outer Banks. He reported both to the Adjutant-General and to Major-General Butler on May 31, 1864. He wished to call attention, his letters said, to "the condition of affairs at Hatteras, N.C." He stated that beach erosion had partially destroyed Fort Clark. He recommended that Fort Clark be abandoned and its guns be removed to "the fort at Portsmouth, or the fort on Beacon Island." He requested the War Department's approval to garrison the new fort with men from Hatteras, leaving only Fort Hatteras to protect that inlet. He asked that the Ocracoke light be "established" and the inlet channel be bouyed as had been done at Hatteras. "Ocracoke Inlet has now become quite as good if not better than Hatteras Inlet," and the Ocracoke harbor is "infinitely better."[22] No mention was made of wrecks in the inlet.

The navy also was concerned with Ocracoke Inlet.

Captain Melancton Smith had reported to Admiral S. P. Lee that U.S.S. Miami would be useful at Ocracoke Inlet, since the Granite was again at Hatteras. Captain Smith received orders to resume command of the Onondaga, but just before leaving he sent a memorandum dated June 27 to his replacement in the sounds. He advised Commander W. H. Macomb: ". . . A vessel ought to be stationed at Ocracoke Inlet, as there is nearly as much water on that bar as at Hatteras. The commanding general intends placing a force there also."[23]

Neither the Adjudant-General nor General Butler made any immediate reply to Palmer's request for approval of his plan. The navy had sufficient vessels in the sounds to approve Commander Macomb's recommendations. The steamer Bombshell took station at Ocracoke Inlet while the Granite guarded Hatteras Inlet. On July 30, Macomb reported the Bombshell leaking so badly at Ocracoke that she had to go to New Bern for repairs.[24] The navy's chief concern in the sounds during the summer and fall of 1864 was Albemarle watching. The ironclad lay at her wharf in Plymouth repaired and waiting. Union launches and picket boats scouted up the Roanoke River, gunboats patrolled the river's mouth and Albemarle Sound.[25] The Navy's secondary concern was controlling the trading vessels on inland waters. Civilian maritime traffic had halted during the period of alarm, but it revived when no disasters immediately threatened Union control. Both gunboats and schooners again began skittering

across the sounds as in 1863 and early 1864. As it had during Governor Stanly's administration, the Union navy mistrusted the trading permits issued by other Federal offices.

Commander Macomb asked Secretary Gideon Welles for guidance in this matter. In a letter date July 7, 1864, he asked:

> I respectfully request the Department to inform me whether persons having permits from the special agents of the Treasury are to be allowed to trade without the military lines.
>
> I have reason to believe that many such persons are violating their permits. I have taken the liberty to forward this direct to the Department, so that the persons awaiting the decision may not lose time and money.[26]

Secretary Welles endorsed the request with the generalized comment, "I know of no authority that transcends the law and regulations on this subject. Trade and free communication are inconsistent with blockade."[27]

The special treasury agents mentioned in Macomb's letter were also identified in a John Hedrick letter previously cited. They were stationed in each of the occupied river ports to issue permits and to collect fees and taxes, in addition to other duties. No special agents were stationed on the Outer Banks. There had been several of the treasury agents stationed in Washington up to the time of General Hoke's campaign. The chief agent at this time was Ulysses H. Ritch, a former shipbuilder for the Confederacy.

Ritch had reassessed his allegiance after Federal forces occupied the eastern counties.[28] Captain Ritch was visiting Union headquarters in New Bern at the time of the Federal evacuation of Washington. He took ship in New Bern and steamed hard for Washington to remove his family, possessions, and office.[29] He then joined the Buffalo stampede, but left his papers behind. Some of his documents pertained to Portsmouth and Ocracoke.

Benjamin F. Gautier of Washington applied to G. H. Vanderhoel, Treasury Agent of Washington, for a special license on September 11, 1863. He received a permit to use the schooner Friends for one month to make "a trip from Portsmouth and Hyde County . . . within our military lines for the purpose of procuring vegetables, poultry, eggs, fish, clams, fruit, chickens, mutton & c to Washington Markett for sale."[30] William T. Dixon was awarded a similar permit by W. P. Ketcham, local agent, to purchase "apples, corn and oysters" in Hyde County and Portsmouth.[31]

An Application and Affidavit for Special License was filed in February, 1864, with Special Agent U. H. Ritch by John W. Dudley of Portsmouth in Carteret County. Dudley received permission to purchase:

> At Portsmouth-Carteret County-Wysocking and Juniper Bay in Hyde County . . . and to transport therefrom to Washington New Berne & Beaufort by way of Pamlico River Core Sound & Neuse River the goods, chattels, wares and merchandise named and described as follows, viz: corn-eggs-pork-poultry and other supplies.[32]

Included in the same folder is a bond for five hundred dollars in favor of the United States, signed by John W. Dudley, Josephus Wallace of Washington, and Augustus Dudley. John W. Dudley appeared in the 1860 census as a boy of thirteen. Augustus Dudley, twenty-eight years old, was listed as a merchant. Both were included in the household of old Doctor Samuel Dudley, seventy, former physician in the Marine Hospital.[33] Both agriculture and animal husbandry revived on the islands as mainland markets reopened. Fishing had never ceased. The Dudley family had the initiative to join the entreprenuers who traded in produce during the war.

Some of the Permits to Purchase and Sell filed in the Washington office were issued by John A. Hedrick's customs office in Beaufort. A trader rejoicing in the name of Benjamin Franklin was granted one month's permission to engage in "marketing at Ocracoke, New Berne and Washington, N.C. in Schooner 'Ohio'." Franklin's permit was renewed for one month on February 5, 1864, by Agent W. P. Ketcham of Washington.[34]

Littleton Potter with the schooner Traverse received permission from the customs office to deal in fish, oysters, clams,and poultry in a four-county area. His permit was further endorsed by Francis Josselyn, Acting Master of the guard ship Commodore Hull, who checked his papers on October 13, 1863.[35]

The navy was even more dedicated to checking trading schooners during the summer and fall of 1864 than they had been previously. C.S.S. Albemarle made Union soldiers and sailors nervous. They were suffering varying degrees of what Admiral David Porter, far removed from the sounds, was to dub "ram fever." Nevertheless, the gunboat captains were energetic and both Confederates and traders were affected. Five trading schooners were captured in Pamlico Sound in June and carried into port where they were held until their papers could be verified.[36] All five were released later. In July, the gunboat Lockwood raided up Pungo River in Hyde County where she captured three schooners, only one of which had sails and anchors, and six dugout canoes, besides a quantity of cedar shingles.[37] Such was the warfare in eastern North Carolina while great battles were fought on other fronts.

On August 1, Brigadier-General Godfrey Weitzel, Chief Engineer of the Department of Virginia and North Carolina reported on the only action resulting from General Palmer's plan to garrison the fort on Beacon Island. Engineer Lieutenant W. R. King announced he had completed repairs on Forts Clark and Hatteras at Hatteras Inlet. "I have been engaged in repairing the scarp of Fort Hatteras and constructing . . . a seawall along the beach . . . to prevent the waves from breaking across from sea to sound . . ." between the forts.[38]

In the north, war weariness was increasing, brought about by the high Federal casualties suffered in Virginia and by the apparent static positions of both Grant's and Sherman's armies. Southerners were surprisingly optimistic in most of the Confederacy. In eastern North Carolina, the Albemarle was fighting - fit again - and New Bern might even be captured without a battle.[39] There were exceptions to the optimism. In Washington, the few citizens left amid the ashes could only hope for better times. The refugees crowded in rented houses at Ocracoke and Portsmouth worried about their kinfolk at home and wanted to rejoin them.

In October, more troubles developed. Yellow fever broke out in New Bern, killing Unionists and Confederates alike. John Hedrick wrote that he was well, but all the clerks in Heaton's office and his assistant were sick. In a subsequent letter, he estimated that about a thousand people had died, mostly in New Bern. He named several doctors, surgeons, army officers, and officials who were victims of the black vomit.[40] The fever did not spread to the Outer Banks and no mention was made of sending fever patients to the Marine Hospital. The epidemic ended with the advent of cold weather.

In late October, the Confederates suffered a shattering blow. Federal Lieutenant W. B. Cushing and his launch's crew torpedoed and sank the Albemarle. Cushing and some of his men escaped with their lives to be feted as heroes in

the north. In North Carolina, hopes for a southern victory were sunk with the ironclad.

December, 1864, temporarily brought new hope to the Confederacy, the state, and the eastern counties. The Federal army and navy's attack on Fort Fisher, after a bombardment of "stunning violence" on Christmas Day, was repulsed. The battle was reported as a great victory throughout the Confederacy.[41] The jubilation would be short lived.

CHAPTER VI

THE END AND THE BEGINNING 1865

The new year began in North Carolina as the old one had ended, with a Federal attack on Fort Fisher. This second attack in mid-January was more ferocious than the first and was successful. The Federal army in Virginia continued its bloody assault on the Army of Northern Virginia, while General W. T. Sherman's "bummers" ravaged their way into South Carolina. Little time was left for the Southern Confederacy, though no immediate change was apparent in the eastern counties.

Rear Admiral David Porter reported to Secretary Welles that seventeen naval vessels patrolled the North Carolina sounds, including U.S.S. Iosco, newly armed with eleven-inch Dahlgren guns.[1] On February 28, General Palmer in New Bern ordered all of the First Union Regiment, which now included the Second North Carolina Volunteer Regiment, to concentrate at Morehead City and Beaufort. Company H from Hatteras was "ordered up" to rejoin the rest of the regiment.[2] Company H, which had been stationed at Hatteras since its inception in 1861, was but a skeleton formation in early 1865 due to special transfers. Individual service records of the soldiers show approximately forty-five additional men were detached for "special guard duty" at Portsmouth and Ocracoke. Most of them remained on guard around Ocracoke Inlet through June when they were mustered out.[3] No reason was recorded

for this increased guard detail nor do the transfers appear in any special orders from headquarters. Whatever the reason, General Palmer managed to reinforce the islands as he had attempted to do in 1864.

When General Palmer issued his "Special Orders No. 59" in February, 1865, which combined the men of the Second North Carolina with the older and larger First North Carolina Union Regiment, he was continuing a plan of General B. F. Butler. In late 1864, Butler had, in effect, decapitated the regiment. He had cashiered Lieutenant-Colonel C. H. Foster for inefficiency as an officer and had temporarily banished him from the state. Unionists close to ex-governor Stanly applauded Butler's actions.[4]

With the seventeen well-found steam gunboats cruising the sounds and with no Confederate warships left, the Union Navy felt secure enough to relax trade regulations. Admiral Porter directed Commander Macomb to allow loyal persons to take out farm products whenever they wished.[5] The easing of the requirements for trading permits was welcomed on the islands as on the mainland, though there were few schooners readily available for increased trade. Most of the vessels that had escaped capture or destruction had been laid up in creeks and upper rivers for several years. Time and capital would be required to fit them out again. The farm produce had to be hauled by small sloops, canoes, and even old periaugers. Many of the special trade permits issued by the

treasury agents were for various dugouts and canoes.[6]

In early March, General Sherman's troops crossed into North Carolina and by late March, Federal troops were in Goldsboro awaiting supplies from Beaufort. Soldiers and work gangs from New Bern toiled on the railroad, repairing war damage.[7] On April 17-18, Major-General W. T. Sherman and General J. E. Johnson met to settle the terms of an armistice and surrender. Following suit, Major-General J. M. Schofield, commanding the Department of North Carolina, stated the terms of surrender for all Confederate troops in the eastern counties. The senior southern officer present, Colonel J. N. Whitford, accepted the terms and the fighting ended.[8]

The clangor of the muskets ceased, the roar of the guns stilled. The armies prepared to go home. Most of the Union soldiers in the state marched west and then north to entrain for the nation's capitol and a grand victory parade. The few regiments remaining near the coast settled down in their old quarters to wait for the transport steamers.

The Fifth Rhode Island Artillery, which had garrisoned the Banks early in the war and had held the lines around New Bern for nearly three years, was typical. The artillerymen fretted in the forts waiting for the steamer Ellen S. Terry, which at last arrived on June 30. The author of the Fifth's regimental history described their last look at "the low, forest covered shores, now fading in the gloom," and the

"mingled tenderness and sorrow for comrades whom no earthly reveille would ever awaken." Of the voyage up the coast he stated, "hope, joy, hilarity even marked the demeanor of all," in spite of the snail-like boat. "The reception of the Fifth was one continued ovation" as the regiment debarked in Providence.[9]

The First Union Regiment mustered for the last time on June 27, 1865, at New Bern. Here all companies, including the special detachment from Portsmouth, were paid off and discharged.[10] The ex-soldiers were permitted to travel by military transportation if any was available, but no special steamers were chartered. The men were on their own again.

There was that other army - the defeated army. Confederate soldiers came home too. They came in ones and twos, sometimes in scattered coveys, trudging the long miles from their last camp. They brought home with them only "the satisfaction that proceeds from the consciousness of duty faithfully performed.[11] General Lee's farewell had words for them to cherish. Weeks and months elapsed before all the survivors returned. Some came home to ashes and desolation, some to abandoned farms, but some returned to intact homes and joyful families.

The soldiers from the islands were more fortunate than many of their compatriots across the sound, for their homes and families were intact, though worn by four years of military occupation. War damage was minimal, but the people of

Ocracoke and Portsmouth faced a future even more bleak than that of the mainlanders. Gone were the days when forty sail anchored inside the Ocracoke swash awaiting a fair wind, and gone were the years when fourteen hundred vessels exited the inlet. Even if civilian trade revived, the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal would attact a huge share of it. (Table I in the appendix shows the post-war increase in vessels using the canal.)[12] Revived trade was of the greatest importance, but the immediate problem at war's end was putting aside wartime hatreds.

One Union naval officer commented on the problem. On May 3, 1865, Ensign James H. Kerens, commanding the gunboat Henry Brinker, reported on conditions among the inhabitants of Washington, North Carolina:

> On my arrival there I found great animosity between the loyal inhabitants (Unionists) and those who had evacuated previous to the capture of the place by our forces in 1862, but have since returned, opening stores and trading under the guise of loyalty. I closed their stores and found great quantities of cotton stowed away belonging to unloyal people.[13]

Ensign Kerens further stated that one "strong secessionist" returned bringing his furniture and a load of cotton without permission. Kerens immediately seized the cotton.[14] His high-handed actions undoubtedly fueled the animosity he observed.

There was some ill-will on both sides, the natural result of a long and bloody war. Wishes for vengence

smoldered in the minds of some who had lost loved ones in the fighting, but such feeling was usually short-lived. The islanders, because of their contacts through ships and mariners, were less insular than many mainlanders. Four years of Union occupation had also made the transition to peacetime easier. There was less hate in the hearts of the soldiers than of the civilians, for the soldiers had formed a mutual respect for each other. Only a few years after the war, Union veterans began to visit former battlefields.

Two men of the Forty-Fourth Massachusetts Regiment toured the battlegrounds and graveyards of eastern North Carolina. On the train near Kinston, they met a former captain of the Confederate Cavalry who said he was "right glad to see us," as he pointed out features of the country. It was the same in all the places the two New Englanders visited:

> The visit was exceedingly interesting. Those who had been in the Southern Army were particularly cordial, and anxious to do all they could to make our trip agreeable. All were hospitable, and hoped that more of the boys who wore the blue in North Carolina would pay them a visit.[15]

The men of the Twenty-Seventh Massachusetts Regiment marched and fought in every campaign in eastern North Carolina, from the Outer Banks to Plymnouth in 1864 and ended the war in Virginia. Some of these veterans visited the battlefields and met some of their Confederate opponents at Drewry's Bluff. A regimental association was formed in 1872

and at a subsequent meeting, Colonel Shurtleff of the Forty-Sixth Regiment, gave a "vigorously applauded" speech:

> He pointed out the fact that the Drewry's Bluff struggle was a gallant one on both sides, and remarked that the hearts of the soldiers on both sides reach out toward each other today, and those of the whole American people beat as one, if politicians and demagogues will only leave them alone.[16]

Continued animosity was an expensive emotion in the post-bellum South. Times were too hard to waste energy on anything but working toward recovery. Any residual animosity was soon to be directed toward "carpetbaggers" and Radical Republican officials. The feeling of former Confederates for Buffalos was more of an antipathy and it was long lasting, reaching into succeeding generations. There were a few government jobs to be filled immediately after the war and these naturally were awarded to the Unionists or Buffalos, extending the antipathy.

All through his correspondence with his brother, Customs Collector John Addison Hedrick, expressed interest in filling vacant positions. Patronage was important to them. A new customs officer for Ocracoke-Portsmouth was the first significant position to be filled after the war, and John Hedrick wanted to select the new man. The appointment would be made in Washington, D.C., and the Hedrick brothers had the requisite influence.

The Hedricks were not Buffalos. This term, as used in

eastern North Carolina, applied to those who refused allegiance to the Confederacy and avoided service on either side and to those who joined the Union Army later in the war. The Hedricks were pre-war Unionists from Davidson County. Both brothers were graduated from the University of North Carolina and Benjamin Sherwood, the elder brother, after attending Harvard, was appointed a professor at UNC in 1854. After his opposition to slavery was published in 1856, he was dismissed from his chair at the university. During the war, he was chief examiner of the chemical department of the Patent Office and Professor of Chemistry at Georgetown University. He had the attention of some Republican legislators, though his influence waned when he advised moderation after the war.[17] All during his tenure at Beaufort, John Addison had recommended local people for various government jobs such as tax collectors, special treasury agents and assessors. He recommended his friend, Ulysses Ritch, the nimble treasury agent, for promotion after the Buffalo stampede from Washington, N.C., in 1864.

In July, 1865, John Addison Hedrick heard that a J. S. Taylor had been appointed collector of Ocracoke, but could not find anyone who knew him. Some Ocracoke and Portsmouth people told him it was supposed to be Colonel Jas. H. Taylor. Ritch did not know him either. Hedrick wanted his former assistant, R.W. Chadwick, to have the job.[18] In his next letter, he mentioned Stephen F. Willis as an excellent

choice for collector, but still pushed for Chadwick. He had also heard that Homer Styron of Hatteras Bank was recommended by Ritch. Hedrick saw nothing remarkable about Styron and further stated, "I have generally found those Hatteras people to be lazy, wrecking, lyeing no account fellows . . . ." A better choice than a Hatteraser, he said, would be old Dr. Dudley of Portsmouth, who would probably last a few years longer.[19] In August, John Hedrick heard that Chadwick had indeed been appointed, though he now thought Chadwick deserved something better. The next letter announced that Chadwick was intending to move his family to Portsmouth.[20]

Hedrick's final news of the Portsmouth collector was written in 1867, when a letter notified brother Benjamin Sherwood that F. A. Hall, "the nephew of Mr. Creecy of the Treasury Department," had succeeded Chadwick as Deputy-Collector and Inspector. John Addison said he had never met Hall, but thought he made a mistake in "bringing his mistress with him to his new field of labor."[21] Hopefully, Deputy-Collector Hall and his lady friend enjoyed their visit to the seashore, but their stay was short. Later in 1867, the customs offices were reorganized in districts and the Portsmouth office was abolished. The new Pamlico District had its office in New Bern.[22] There were a few other Federal positions to be filled on the islands.

The Post Office at Portsmouth was established in 1840

with Samuel W. Chadwick as the first Postmaster. In 1860, Wilson F. Piver, a forty-two year old pilot, was Postmaster. Piver had been appointed in 1857 and held the job until the fall of 1865. Piver may have been politically suspect because he was Confederate Postmaster for fifteen weeks. Most Federal positions were filled anew after the war, and Piver was replaced by Jeremiah Abbott, who remained until February, 1868. Abbott was not listed on the 1860 census of Portsmouth, but appeared on the 1870 census as coming from the State of Maine. In February, 1868, the Postmastership was returned to a native Portsmouther, John W. Hill, who was followed by another native, Oscar F. Rue, in 1869.[23]

The Ocracoke Post Office was also established in 1840. In 1855, Daniel Tolson was appointed Postmaster and served until 1866, when a new man took the job. Abner B. Howard, an Ocracoke native, served until 1869. He was listed on the 1870 census as a retired grocer thirty-eight years old. He was followed by Sidney E. Howard, who was Postmaster until 1873. Research fails to reveal the political beliefs of either of the Howards.[24]

There was another Federal office on Ocracoke Island, that of Lighthouse Keeper. Lighthouses, lightboats, buoys, and beacons were under the control of the Lighthouse Board, a division of the Treasury Department. Although the Chairman of the Lighthouse Board was usually a former naval officer, the Board had no connections with the Navy nor the

army. The Lighthouse Board marched to its own drummer. In 1860, the Board ordered a new lantern installed in Ocracoke Lighthouse to replace the "4th order Fresnel fixed light" that had been in service since 1854. The next report of the Board was in 1862 which stated the tower was standing, but the lens and lantern had been removed. With the island back in Union hands, the Board had the lighthouse "refitted and re-exhibited" in 1863.[25] The light evidently was not illuminated permanently at this time, as General Palmer requested that it be done in 1864 at the same time he asked to have the inlet reopened.

The Lighthouse Keepers during the war years were Board appointments. Thomas Styron was keeper from 1853 to 1860, when William J. Gaskill was appointed in August of 1860 to serve two years. When the Board again resumed control of the lighthouse, Enoch Ellis Howard was named keeper at a salary of $560 per year. Howard remained keeper for thirty-five years. All three of these men were native Ocracokers.[26]

The lighthouse "re-exhibited" after the war, the two Post Offices resumed their services, but not so with the Marine Hospital. When the soldiers and sailors left Portsmouth, the doctors and nurses left, too. The Marine Hospital never reopened. Part of the vacant building was used for temporary government offices in the post-war years, but it never again housed a hospital. It is possible that

part of the building was used as a private clinic, as old Doctor Samuel Dudley was still practicing medicine on the island after the war. The long-enduring doctor was still there in 1870. He had practiced medicine at Portsmouth since 1829. The Marine Hospital building burned in 1894. Only the brick cistern now marks its site.[27]

One young Portsmouther had witnessed the soldiers come and go and had observed the convalescents and the Buffalos who guarded them. He kept away from them and plied his trade, for he was a fisherman and had been a mariner. He needed work after the war and that is why he sailed to Elizabeth City at exactly the wrong time, mid-April, 1865.

Samuel Tolson may not have noticed the startled looks he drew from a group of Union officers as soon as he landed, but he did notice the squad of soldiers with fixed bayonets who seized him, arrested him, and threw him in jail. They did not treat him gently. They charged him with the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, because he fitted the published description of John Wilkes Booth in appearance, in statue, and even to identical shoe and hat sizes. Some other Portsmouthers tried to convince the Federal officers that he was not Wilkes Booth, but the Yankees would not listen. They finally released Tolson when they learned the real assassin had been caught.

Uncle Sam Tolson lived to be ninety years old and fished all his life. He never went to Elizabeth City again.

It is doubtful if any of the Bankers went hungry during the war years or during the lean years of reconstruction. With the islanders' extensive gardens, stock raising, and the fruits of the sea, there was plenty of food, though little money. Recovery was to come from the sea around them.

CHAPTER VII

RECONSTRUCTION AND RECOVERY

The sea, the sound,and the wealth of fishes were the salvation of the Outer Banks after the war. As long as people had lived on the islands, there had been fishermen among them. The coastal Indians fished from the islands and the earliest English colonists learned from them which local fish were best. In 1663 Peter Carteret, agent of the Proprietor Sir John Colleton, found his best source of revenue was oil from cast-up whales, not grapes nor tobacco. Upon realizing what they had, the Lords Proprietors declared that "Whales, Sturgeons and all other Royal Fishes in the Sea, Bays, Islets and Rivers" belonged to them.[1] Ocracokers and Portsmouthers fished all through the years up to the Civil War, but fishing was not their sole occupation. Historians of the Outer Banks have carefully pointed out that "the typical Banker was a man of many talents." He might have engaged in stock-raising, piloting, freight-hauling and fishing.[2] The occupations listed in the census might show what the Banker was doing at the moment or what the census taker chose to write down. According to David Stick, a historian of the Barrier Islands:

> The one certain thing is that full realization came to most Bankers at the time of the Civil War that the seafood in the nearby waters represented a vast source of potential income, with the result that the three-quarters of a century or so between then and World Ward II might be described as the great era of commercial fishing on the Banks.[3]

The increase in the numbers of fishermen listed in the decade of the 1860s is best shown by a comparison of the census. Though the categories may not be strictly accurate, the figures do portray great changes.

	FISHERMEN	
YEAR	PORTSMOUTH	OCRACOKE
1850	4	5
1860	80	1
1870	37	38

The vast increase of fishermen in Portsmouth for 1860 indicates that misfortune had come to Portsmouth earlier than Ocracoke. Portsmouthers listed in 1850 as boatmen, mariners, or pilots had converted to fishermen. Many youths, too young to have an occupation in 1850, were all classified as fishermen in 1860.

The decline of Portsmouth actually began long before the war. Portsmouth's problems commenced in the decade 1820-1830 when Wallace's Channel shoaled and the mercantile and lightering center on Shell CastLe ceased operations. In 1830 Portsmouth's population dropped below Ocracoke's and increased more slowly thereafter. Shipping shifted to the Teach's Hole channel near Ocracoke which was a far better anchorage than the sound around Portsmouth. Sergeant von Eberstein described the problems of landing in Portsmouth's

shoal waters when he led the advance party of the Grays ashore.

The first venture in post-war fishing was the taking of a lowly fish, not even good to eat, the menhaden. Tar Heels called them fatbacks. The fish were valuable for oil and fertilizer, and a menhaden industry was just developing in New England as the war broke out.[4] The first North Carolina menhaden-processing plant was established on Harker's Island in Carteret County in 1865 and operated until 1873. Northern capital was required to build processing plants, and several firms became interested in the area. The Quinnipiac Fertilizer Company of New Haven, Connecticut, sent a group of fishermen to investigate the possibilities of Roanoke Island. Local fishermen drove the strangers away after wrecking their weirs.[5]

Another company, the Excelsior Oil and Guano Company, established a processing plant at Portsmouth in 1866. Excelsior's venture was evidently a large plant, for the United States Fish Commissioner estimated its value at thirty thousand dollars compared to the five thousand dollar value assigned to four other plants erected in the state in the post-war years. The management brought in enough New England fishermen to teach the local people the use of purse seines, which had proven to be the best nets for catching menhaden in northern waters. Neither resentment nor resistance was reported on the part of the Portsmouthers. In

spite of Excelsior's efforts and the islanders' willingness to work, the plant was not a success, and closed in 1869. The North Carolina coast was too rough and storms too frequent for outside fishing and the sounds were too shallow for efficient use of the purse seines. The menhaden industry has continued in the Beaufort-Morehead City area to the present day. There it is possible to fish the ocean deeps with purse seines.[6]

There were other fishes in the sea and the most important one economically for the Outer Banks was the mullet. A writer stated in 1871:

> This species is the most abundant of the locality and affords sustenance and employment to thousands of persons on the coast of North Carolina. . . . The numbers taken are simply enormous, sometimes as many as 500 barrels being secured at a single haul. . . . Not less than 12,000 barrels of mullet were captured on the coast of North Carolina Friday, September 22, 1871.[7]

Mullet were truly life-savers for the Bankers of those years and they were both savory and saleable. Mullet, like shad and herring, could be salted or smoked without losing their flavor, an important consideration in the days before refrigeration. The fish were gutted, split, and scored, then washed in the waters of the sound before salting and packing in barrels for shipment. In 1879 the state standardized the size of salt fish barrels, requiring them to be twenty-five inches stave length with a head diameter of thirteen inches. Later the law was amended to allow half-size

kegs for salt fish. Cooperage works also joined the list of recovering industries. The standard fish barrel held one hundred pounds of fish which sold for $2.75 to $3.50 by 1880.[8]

Many of the salt mullet were bartered with farmers across the sound. The fish were shipped via trading schooners whose captains got a share of the proceeds. The usual rate of exchange was five bushes of shelled corn for one barrel of mullet.[9] A significant number of the mullet fishermen came from the mainland. They built temporary camps on the beaches and joined the islanders in fishing as a way to add to their incomes.[10] No friction was reported between the visitors and the islanders, as there were mullet enough for all.

The mullet packed on the islands early gained a reputation for quality. "The reputation of 'Portsmouth' mullet was mostly a matter of tradition and was due in great part to the care the Portsmouth fishermen took in cleaning and preparing them for market."[11] Ocracoke "corned mullet" were no less desirable in the mainland markets. They have been sold locally, though in dwindling supply, up to the present day. According to one ancient fisherman, the secret of good flavor in a mullet, fresh or corned, was to "break the fishes' neck as ye' pull him out the net, and bleed him." The Outer Banks knew the secret.

In the late 1860s and early 1870s the pound net was

introduced into Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds. With the advent of this cheaper and more efficient means of catching fish, shad fishing became of primary economic importance.[13] Though herring were also caught in vast quantities, they brought a much lower price than mullet, while shad commanded the highest price. Shad, like herring, must spawn in the fresh water of the upper rivers. They enter the inlets in the spring, pass across the sound, and ascend the rivers. The early shad fisheries were pound nets which were eventually set so thickly that they almost barred the passage of the fish to the spawning streams. Control by the state became necessary to maintain an open channel for the fish. Even with fishing restrictions, shad filled many a pound net and many a poor Banker's pockets.[14]

Varied kinds of fish were taken by the islanders besides fatback, mullet, and shad. Gray trout, spot, butterfish, croakers, mackerel, and sometimes sturgeon added to the fisherman's catch. Fish were not the only harvest of the sounds. That ancient reptile, the turtle, a gourmet's delight, commanded the highest price per pound of any of the sea creatures. The diamond-back terrapin first came into economic prominence in 1849 when J. B. Etheridge of Bodie Island sold 4,150 of them for $750. They were marketed by local fishermen until World War I when the supply was depleted. The terrapins were most plentiful in Pamlico and Roanoke Sounds and their favorite breeding grounds were the

Roanoke Island marshes and those on the western shore of Pamlico Sound.[15] Turtle catchers from the Outer Banks had the opportunity to repay the calls made upon them by mainland mullet fishermen.

Shell fish also added to the islanders' income. Ocracoke was the center of commercial clam production. In 1877 a cannery was moved from Elizabeth City to Ocracoke and operated for several years until the supply dwindled. The plant employed fifty people in raking and packing clams and another fifty part-time clammers. A second clam factory was established in 1898 by J. H. Doxsee, who canned whole clams, clam chowder, and clam juice. Again the supply of clams gave out after several years. Some of Doxsee's labels proclaimed the clams originated at Islip, Long Island.[16]

Oysters have always been an important product of the Outer Banks fisheries. The extensive Indian shell mounds demonstrate the native American's fondness for oysters. During the early years of the state's history, most of the sounds were covered with natural oyster beds which were taken first by hand and then by tongs. Oyster tongs were long-handled scraper-grabbers similar in action to post-hole diggers. Increased post-war oystering led to a decrease in the natural beds by the 1880s. The state again was forced to regulate the trade and passed a law in 1882 banning the use of heavy oyster dredges, leaving tonging as the legal method. Maryland and Virginia oystermen, having nearly

depopulated the Chesapeake oyster beds with heavy dredging, invaded North Carolina in the 1890s. Another war between the states nearly resulted until North Carolina regulated the invaders. Portsmouth became the hub of oystering during the 1880s.[17]

Neither crabs nor shrimp obtained any market during those years of recovery, but any other marine creature on the land, in the sea, or in the air that could be sold was harvested. A considerable demand developed after the war for waterfowl, but market hunting was largely confined to the northern banks.[18] Sports hunting also increased at the same time, requiring guides, housing, and supplies. Though most sports hunters came to Currituck Sound, some hunted the southern banks. Seafood could fill the stomachs and wallets of the Bankers, but their spirtual welfare also needed reconstruction.

The congregations and the church buildings on both islands survived the war, but with empty pulpits even after the war ended. The Methodist Church suffered the same schism as did the country and split into two branches, the northern and the southern Methodist churches.

There is a paucity of local church records, understandable when one considers that the Ocracoke church building has been demolished by storms twice since the Civil War and the Portsmouth building once. The two churches formed the Ocracoke-Portsmouth charge and shared a minister.

The pre-war pastor, the Reverend A.R. Raven, flew from the islands in 1861 "because of Civil War conditions that threatened his safety." During the war the two churches were occasionally served by Union army chaplains as has been noted. It was not until 1869 according to Ocracoke records, or 1867 by Portsmouth recollections, that a new pastor arrived. The Reverend George E. Wyche was appointed in whichever year to the charge by the Methodist Episcopal Church South. The Ocracoke congregation has had a pastor ever since without interruption. In 1883 the original Methodist Episcopal Church re-established a congregation on Ocracoke called Wesley Chapel, thus giving the Ocracokers the choice of two branches of Methodism. The two were combined in 1937 and in 1943 the congregations erected a United Methodist Church building out of the two old ones.[19] The Portsmouth church stands empty today, perfectly preserved, a memorial to the village's past.

With the bulk of the shipping transferred to Ocracoke many years before, and the new lighthouse built at Ocracoke in 1823, Portsmouth had little chance of recovery after the war.[20] The downward trend accelerated post-bellum. Ocracoke was larger, had more high land, and a better harbor, so the trend was inevitable.

The Federal government commenced several post-bellum installations on the Banks that offered employment, but few were for Portsmouth. The first Federal project was the

restoration of the lighthouses, which were all damaged and war-worn. New iron stairs were installed in the Cape Lookout tower in 1867, while preliminary work was begun on a new Cape Hatteras lighthouse. Construction continued on this, the largest brick lighthouse in the world, until completion in December, 1870. Men and materials were moved up the Banks to Bodie Island to build a new tower, completed in 1872, and thence to Currituck Beach to complete one in 1875. All these projects provided jobs for islanders willing to move temporarily to the site.[21]

The United States Lifesaving Service expanded its operations, and in the 1870s seven new stations were constructed on the North Carolina coast. The work continued into the next decade. In 1883 a Lifesaving Station was built on Ocracoke, near Hatteras Inlet. A few years later a station was built at Portsmouth.[22]

One small Federal installation in 1876, a Weather Bureau Station, was located in the old Marine Hospital building, and operated there until 1885.[23] One of the last of the Portsmouth residents remembered that the government operated a telegraph office in the hospital building after the hospital closed.[24] Another Portsmouther, the last resident to leave the island, offered happier, though wistful, recollections: ". . . Jesse Babb played violin for the square dances. They danced at the hospital in the old days . . . ."[25]

The economic recovery of the islanders depended not just on their own efforts, but in large part on the recovery of the mainlanders. Work for mariners would come from revived shipping and shipping would come from the mainland. As the Outer Bankers first turned to the sea, the mainland people turned to the forests. Timber and naval stores were the answer, cotton and corn would help.

In the first years of peace there were no exports reported from the river ports of Washington and New Bern. For the period December, 1867, to July, 1868, the new Pamlico Customs District exported the pitiful total of twenty barrels of tar and six bushels of apples.[26] A general statement of the exports of the Pamlico District for five years shows, besides the eight dollars worth of apples:

900	bushels of Indian corn	900.
23	barrels of rosin and turpentine	50.
358	barrels of tar and pitch	685.
1,025	gallons of spirits of turpentine	564.
	lot iron and steel products	45.
5,300	pounds of lard	704.
320,000	board feet lumber and scantlings	5,262.
3,255	M shingles	10,309.
	Shooks, staves and headings	4,940.

These were the total exports for the period from what had been consistently active ports, vying with each other for second place after Wilmington.[27] Recovery would not come yet from exports, but the reviving coastwise trade would help.

The forests of the eastern counties were extensive and the demand in the North for forest products strong.

Shingles had been a staple product of the region in pre-war years, so shingle making was one of the first trades to revive. Shingles were manufactured by one or two men from the farm house or work crews from the manor house. In 1869 an excursion of business men from Norfolk, Virginia, bent on luring more shipping to their hometown, reported a stock of "two million perfect shingles" at one collection point.[28] W. B. Rodman, owner of vast farms and forests, in a letter to his wife discussed his venture into shingle making. Rodman wrote from the legislature in Raleigh: "From 250,000 shingles, I ought to clear at present prices about $1100. over all expenses These undertakings must go on."[29]

A market for sawn timber developed after the war, creating opportunities for those few able to exploit them. One such man was a young Confederate veteran named Eugene M. Short of Washington, N.C. Short bought a small saw mill and turpentine distillery on the edge of town. His mill prospered when he was able to ship lumber to northern and foreign markets.[30] Another young man from the other side had the same idea as Short. Edward D. Springer of New Jersey served as an Ensign on a Union gunboat in Pamlico Sound. He viewed with great interest the noble stands of timber along the creeks and rivers his gunboat cruised. He returned home in 1865, engaged the interest of his brother Willdin and his father Samuel, and made plans for the family's future. All three came south and in 1866 formed the firm of Edward D.

and Willdin Springer. They settled in the village of South Creek and built a saw mill.[31] The Springers bought their first timber land in 1866.[32] There are page after page of listings in the index of the county deed books showing Springer land acquisitions through 1914. The Springers were not "carpet baggers," for if they brought a carpetbag, it was full of their own money. Other towns in the eastern counties had similar saw mills and timber operations. One thing more was necessary for economic recovery of both Bankers and mainland dwellers. Shipping was the keystone in building for recovery.

Samuel R. Fowle of Washington, the same ship owner whose schooner transported the Washington Grays' detachment to Portsmouth in 1861, had a few schooners left at the conclusion of the war. He also had pre-war contacts in Northern cities. The firm of S. R. Fowle was not necessarily the largest in the area, though it was the largest in Washington. New Bern may well have had more ships at sea than other towns, but all the river ports had ship owners and shipping firms.

At war's end, S. R. Fowle bought a large schooner which had been sunk since early in the war. She was the C.A. Johnson, the property of Augustus Dudley of Portsmouth. At the beginning of the war, Dudley had "laid the ship up" at the shipyard of Ulysesses H. Ritch, a poor choice. Union soldiers removed the spars and tore out the mainmast for flagpoles, breaking holes in the vessel as they did so. She

sank during the next storm. Dudley submitted a claim against the United States government for damages to his ship and for merchandise sold the Marine Hospital at Portsmouth for which he was never paid. Dudley filed his claims many years after the war.[33] Fowle paid $150 for the wreck, raised and repaired her, and put her in service carrying cotton and timber to New York. The C.A. Johnson made monthly voyages, almost as regular as a steam packet, until she was wrecked on Hatteras Bar in July, 1872. Fowle cleared approximately five thousand dollars each year on the ship.[34] She provided a nice profit for her owner, markets for local products, and jobs for mariners.

Fowle also chartered the schooners of independent owners when necessary. When Horatio Williams heard of this and realized the demand exceeded the supply of schooners, he told himself the time was right for resurrection. He was probably tired of farming.

What Horatio Williams did was to contact his co-owner for approval and help. Jobey Wahab had died and his son and heir, Henry, was running a cotton gin at Germantown across in Hyde County. Williams and Henry Wahab, with a few well-chosen helpers, sailed up the Roanoke River to the Paragon site. The captain's son, Horatio Williams, Jr., continued the account:

> They had to pontoon her with barrels until her decks were above water. They pumped the water out of her with hand pumps. . . . It was quite a job, too. . . . she was just about as good as

> ever. And that canvas my father buried was still in good condition. . . . They sailed the Paragon right down the Roanoke and put her in trade again.[35]

They put her in trade under charter to the S. R. Fowle Company. The old shipping notices show that Fowle dispatched to New York in August, 1866,, a schooner laden with five hundred barrels of tar. She was the Paragon, David Gaskill, Master.[36] Gaskill, an Ocracoker according to the census, was sailing the Paragon for her two owners.

The Paragon and Captain Gaskill continued to sail out of Washington and often appeared in the "Ship Arrivals" column of the newspapers. She was noted in June, 1867: "Schooner Paragon, Gaskill, from Wilmington with mds. to J. B. Willard."[37] About this time, Williams and Wahab sold the Paragon to Tilmon Farrow. Captain Horatio Williams again went to sea in the Ocracoke schooner Annie Wahab.

The Fowle firm began to run the steamer Old North State to Norfolk hauling cotton.[38] From New Bern the steamer Louise Moore, Wallace, Master, also plied a regular New York run carrying cotton, naval stores, and timber.[39] Other shippers were dispatching their vessels on the New York run. The firm of Jos. Potts of Washington allied with Zophar Mills of New York advertised: ". . . the schooner Mary Louisa, Captain Gaskill, is now on her way to New York and will continue to run regularly between this port and New York."[40] The same issue of the newspaper and subsequent ones advertised that the old Washington firm of John Myers and Sons

had managed to recover their steamer Cotton Plant, which had been seized by the Union navy in 1865. The Cotton Plant resumed her pre-war schedule of thrice-weekly trips between Washington and Tarboro, hauling passengers and freight. Local shipping increased apace with the coasting trade. Typical was one "Marine News" column:

> Schooner Friend, Abbott, Master, from Portsmouth with Fish.
> Schooner Helen Jane, Emery, Master, Cedar Island Oysters and Fish.[41]

With every additional vessel in use, more mariners could leave fishing and gardening. The revival of trade continued into the next decade. New Bern advertised that the "Pioneer Transportation Co. will inaugurate a new line of steamers between New-Berne and Norfolk," thence to various northern cities and ending in Boston. Another firm, B. L. Perry, Agent, announced that the steamers Jos. A. Gary, Hackensack, and Commerce were forming a five-day line to and from Baltimore.[42]

John Myers and Sons added to their river and sound shipping during the 1870s. The steamer R.L. Myers, Captain William Augustus Parvin, one of the Washington Grays at Portsmouth, plied the Tar River. She was joined by the Edgecombe, the Beaufort, and the Annie Myers.[43] S.R. Fowle added the large schooner Nellie Potter to the New York route along with the newly rebuilt C.A. Johnson. By 1874-1875 the Fowle ships Caroline, Captain David Gaskill, and the Nellie

Potter, Captain Edward Farrow, were engaged in the lucrative West Indian trade. The two schooners freighted timber and shingles to Guadaloupe, St. Vincent, and in 1876, to Barbados.[44]

The ninth United States Census of 1870 shows a more significant and reliable division of occupations on the islands than the incomplete 1860 census of Ocracoke or the 1860 Portsmouth census with its heavy listing of temporary fishermen.

1870 Carteret County Portsmouth		1870 Hyde County Ocracoke	
Occupations		Occupations	
Pilot	9	Pilot	9
Mariner	37	Seafaring	56
Fisherman	38	Fisherman	38
Keeping House	57	House Keeping	73
Domestic Servant	10	Servant	2
Store Clerk	2	Merchant	1
School Teacher	2	School Teacher	1
Brick Mason	1	Seamstress	1
Ship Carpenter	1	Carpenter	1
Grocer	1	Miller	2
Gardener	1	Laborer	3
Physician	1	Legislator	1
Light House Keeper	2	Light House Keeper	1
Asst. Light House Keeper	2		
Without Occupation Male	2	No Occupation	1
Without Occupation Female	34	Retired	3
Dwelling Houses	60	Dwelling Houses	71
Vacant Houses	4	(None listed vacant)	
Total Population	341	Total Population	368
White 335, Colored 6		White 361, Colored 7	

The population of each island was smaller than in 1860, due in large part to the loss of the slaves. Only a few of the Freedmen stayed on either island. Portsmouth also lost

110 white citizens in the decade of the '60s, with 148 males and 187 females remaining. This inbalance helps to account for the thirty-four grown females listed as without occupation. Perhaps a sufficient number of the males who had migrated would come home to propose marriage. The count of pilots decreased, but the total number for both islands, fifteen, was greater than Hatteras Inlet's nine. This condition, due to temporary shoaling at Hatteras Inlet, did not last. The 1880 census showed twenty-six pilots at Hatteras and none at Ocracoke.[45]

The thirty-eight fishermen of each island continued the increasingly busy fisheries. The mariners and seamen, outnumbering the fishermen, reflect the rejuvenation of maritime trade. One occupation, that of miller, had not appeared on the two previous censuses. There had been windmills on the islands since 1790 when one was constructed on Portsmouth by Blount and Wallace, the Shell Castle entrepreneurs.[46] Three windmills were said to be in use at Ocracoke at the end of the nineteenth century.[47] The revival of milling was probably the result of increased farming during the war and the growth of the mullet-corn exchange of the post-bellum period.

Several personalities figure prominently in the 1870 census. The long-enduring Dr. Dudley, now eighty years old, was still the island physician. Robert Wallace, who was reported in prison in 1863 for assaulting officials of the

military hospital, was free and listed as a mariner. Across the inlet at Ocracoke, Horatio Williams, ex-farmer, had gone to sea. Young Robert Howard had returned from Mexico and was a seafarer. He was married with two children, the eldest a two-year old daughter. The Howard family history previously related was confirmed by the census.

In general, the 1870 census confirmed the economic progress reported from other sources. Maritime trade continued to increase. In 1872 the Myers family sold their shipping interests to the Old Dominion Steamship Company. John Myers and Sons resumed their old trade of shipbuilding while representing Old Dominion as Washington agent.[48] The Old Dominion Steamship Company organized a Carolina Sounds Division and dispatched the new steamer Olive, built in 1869, to run from Norfolk to Washington and New Bern. Other ships were added as the traffic proved profitable, with the Pamlico, the Newbern, and the Vesper steaming the Carolina sounds in a few years. Old Dominion continued to increase the size of the Carolina Sounds Division in the 1880s and into the 1890s.[49]

S. R. Fowle added schooners to the profitable trade with the West Indies. In 1880 the schooner Cora was built for Fowle in Farrow's shipyard in Washington, and sailed in the trade until she was sold at the end of the century. Surviving rosters of the Cora's crew contain many familiar names. In a voyage commencing April 20, 1886, the Cora

sailed with the ubiquitous David Gaskill as Master. Her crew consisted of:

B. Gaskill, age 30
Franklin W. O'Neal, age 26
Ephriam Williams, age 21
John W. O'Neal, age 23
John Gaskill, age 21[50]

All of the crewmen are listed on the 1870 census for Ocracoke and the ages correspond exactly except for John Gaskill. Perhaps his age was listed wrongly, or perhaps he was another John Gaskill. The Cora's crew on subsequent voyages show Ocracoke and Portsmouth names, but, with the same family names occurring on all the Outer Banks and over on the mainland shore, it is difficult to be sure of a seaman's origin.

The 1880s finally proved the truth of Jonathan Price's statement made in 1795. Writing of his survey of the inlet and the islands he noted: "This healthy spot is . . . the resort of many of the inhabitants of the main."[51] Nags Head was developed much earlier than Ocracoke. Residents of the northern counties began to build summer cottages at Nags Head in the 1830s and a hotel was built in 1838, which was thriving in 1849. Hotels, boardwalks, dancehalls, and a beach railway were added, the expansion continuing up to the Civil War.[52]

Full recovery from the Civil War was not to come for many more years, but by the 1880s conditions had improved enough that residents of the eastern counties were able to

spend more money on pleasure and recreation. Mainlanders again began to build summer houses on the Outer Banks. Two young soldiers, for example (and not quite selected at random), served in the Washington Grays on Portsmouth and liked what they saw of the islands. On July 20, 1885, W. C. Mallison bought one acre of land from W. S. Bragg and others. The land cost sixty-five dollars.[53] Seth Bridgeman had bought his lot a few years before and built a house that stands today. Bridgeman's house has a uniquely successful ventilation system said to have been copied from an example he saw in the West Indies.[54] Also attracted to Ocracoke was the former Federal naval officer turned lumber magnate. Edward D. Springer bought three hundred acres of land near "Teache's Hole" from Henry W. Wahab, paying seven hundred dollars.[55] So well received were the Springers at Ocracoke that the land has since been called Springer's Point.

Ocracoke was attracting new summer residents and planning new sources of income. The population was expanding while Portsmouth's continued to shrink. Comparative population figures for all of the Outer Banks communities show the trend to the end of the century.

Townships	1870	1880	1890	1900
Portsmouth	341	222	204	150
Ocracoke	368	400	466	548
Hatteras	673	821	906	987
Kennekeet	599	631	793	842
Nags Head	1000	1104	1296	1884
Atlantic	320	332	504	393
Total	3301	3510	4169	4804[56]

The full development of Ocracoke as a resort began in 1885 when the Ocracoke Hotel was built, near where the present Coast Guard Station stands. A group of businessmen, seeing the need, erected the hotel with Moses Fowler as the first hotelkeeper. An old photograph shows an extensive, two-story building topped with a tower on a many-gabled roof. The entire building was wrapped around with a two-level verandah. The hotel's first year was so successful that the building was enlarged the second year.

The Old Dominion Steamship Company, also anxious to fill a need, put two more steamers in operation in the sounds. They were the fine, big steamer Ocracoke and the new steamer Hatteras, which made regularly scheduled voyages between Washington, New Bern, and Ocracoke.

The Ocracoke Hotel survived the devastating hurricane of 1899 with the loss of some roofing and verandah, but its "goose was cooked" in 1900. Mr. Credle, one of the owners, with a boat captain as guest, were cooking a goose on top of a Wilson heater. The two cooks left the stove unattended while they rushed to the boat to fetch some pepper. They returned to find the hotel in flames.[57]

Other hotels, other summer residents would follow. The closing years of the Gilded Age presented a preview of Ocracoke a century later.

CONCLUSIONS

The Ocracokers and Portsmouthers, dependent on shipping and seafaring, were in economic distress even before the Civil War began. The shift of shipping to other routes left them ill-prepared for the war which was an economic catastrophe for them. The islands suffered little war damage, but the islanders lost their livelihoods.

The Bankers' conversion to commercial fishing and their willingness to learn new methods and to employ new equipment speaks well for their work ethic. Fishing became the permanent occupation of approximately half the work force and employed the other half until maritime trade was revivied. The growth of the lumber business and the revival of the demand for naval stores and farm products nourished the people of the mainland. The resurgent shipping business benefited both sides of the sound.

The islanders, because of their maritime contacts, were more nationalistic in their outlook than were the states-righters across the sound. This made it easier for them to forget wartime animosities when peace came and to devote themselves to recovery. Even so, they were inclined to the Confederacy, the Ocracokers particularly, as the rosters of soldiers demonstrate. It is harder to determine the Portsmouthers' attitudes with so little family history remaining. The dense Union occupation of Portsmouth left no room for southern sentiment to develop. It is safe to say that

family histories remember Confederates better than Buffalos. More islanders joined the Confederate service than the Union, but a great number remained neutral, possibly neutral with a southern slant, as was Horatio Williams.

Considerable space has been given to the First North Carolina Union Regiment, possibly more than the regiment deserved from a strictly military viewpoint. However, it was the Union Regiment most visible on the Banks and the unit most islanders joined who opted for the northern army. Men joined the regiment for varied reasons, from the sincere belief in Union and abolition of "old man Congleton" to the self-serving motivation of C. H. "Humbug" Foster. Most of the men probably enlisted seeking security for their families. The Federal government practically ran a welfare department for First Union dependents.

The improved conditions of the decades of the 1870s and 1880s are shown from newspapers and shipping records. The decline of Portsmouth's population at the same time Ocracoke's was increasing presents a sad contrast. The Ocracoke of the 1880s was just beginning the modern age on the Banks, the age of bridges, state-run ferry boats, paved highways, and year-round tourists.

The Ocracokers have weathered adversity, wars, occupation, storms, and depressions. They will learn to profit happily from today's conditions, resist over development,

and retain the charm of the old island while enjoying the new one.

From across the inlet, Portsmouth appears much as it did a century ago. Houses are visible among the trees, but no Bankers. There is a small airstrip on the island, or visitors may take ship at Ocracoke to land on Portsmouth. The vessel is commanded by a pilot, not a Charon. Portsmouth is not a city of the dead, but rather a village sleeping, with life suspended.

The National Park Service has restored many of the old houses, the church, and the Coast Guard Station. The Dixon/Salter house has been restored and furnished as a visitor's center. Some of the old houses shelter Park Service personnel and the Coast Guard Station houses Park Service headquarters. Other houses are restored and leased to private persons. The church, staunch, neat, and well maintained, is still used at times. Occasionally descendants of Portsmouthers return to the altar of their forefathers to be married. A visitor today will have no trouble imagining the old church piano rejoicing with wedding music as a happy wedding party marches in and out.

The Marine Hospital is long gone, but its site is plainly marked by the large brick cistern of the hospital's water system. A visitor with enough imagination can hear something here, too. By the timeless acoustics of such places, much like the sound of the sea heard in a conch

shell, an intent listener may hear, faintly, faintly, Jesse Babb playing fiddle for the square dance.

A trip to Portsmouth is worthwhile.

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APPENDIX A

SOLDIERS FROM OCRACOKE

This list of Soldiers from Ocracoke was compiled by Ms. Ellen Fulcher Cloud, who combined her unequalled knowledge of Ocracoke's history and families with Manarin's rosters of North Carolina Troops, 1861-1865.

COMPANY H, 33RD REGIMENT

Ballance, Holloway, Private.
Resided in Hyde County, enlisted Oct. 17, 1861. Present and accounted for until March 14, 1862. Absent without leave. Re-enlisted in the Co. Sept. 20, 1863. Present and accounted for until captured at or near Gravel Hill, VA. on or about July 28, 1864. Confined at Point Lookout, Maryland, Aug. 5, 1864. Transferred to Elmira, NY, Aug. 8, 1864. Died at Elmira on Nov. 7, 1864 of "Pneumonia."

Ballance, William R., Private.
Resided in Hyde County, enlisted Oct. 17, 1861. Mustered in as Private. Present and accounted for until captured at New Bern on March 14, 1862. Exhanged at Aikens Landing, James River, Va. on Aug. 5, 1862. Returned to duty prior to Nov. 1, 1862. Present and accounted for until wounded in the right arm at Gettsburg, Penn. July 3, 1863. Returned to duty in Sept-Oct. 1863. Promoted to Corporal on March 1, 1864. Reduced to ranks on Dec. 15, 1864. Present until he deserted on or about Feb. 24, 1865. Confined at Washington, DC, Feb. 17, 1865.

Bragg, William B., Private.
Resided in Hyde County where he enlisted Oct. 17, 1861. Present and accounted for until March 14, 1862, when he was reported absent without leave.

Farrow, Isaac Littleton, 1st Lieutenant
Resided in Hyde County where he enlisted on Oct. 17, 1861. Mustered in as 1st Sergeant. Appointed 3rd Lt. on Dec. 25, 1862, and tranferred to Co. I of this Reg. Promoted to 1st Lt. Aug. 1, 1863, and transferred back to this Co. Present and accounted for until killed at Wilderness, Va. on or about May 5, 1864. He was a "brave and gallant soldier." He was "Always at the Port of Duty."

Farrow, Wilson Tilmon, 1st Lieutenant
Resided in Hyde County. Appointed 1st Lt. on Oct. 16, 1861. Present and accounted for until he resigned March 14, 1862. Reason he resigned not reported.

Fulcher, Josephus, Corporal.
Resided in Hyde County. Enlisted Oct. 17, 1861. Mustered in as Corporal. Present and accounted for until March 14, 1862, when he was reported absent without leave. Dropped from the rolls of the Co. prior to Nov. 1, 1862.

Garrish, Benjamine J., Private.
Resided in Forsyth County. Enlisted in Hyde County at age 17 on Oct. 17, 1861. Present and accounted for until wounded in the left thigh at Grimes Mill, Va. June 27, 1862. Reported absent without leave in Nov.-Dec. 1862. Dropped from the rolls of the Co. in March-April 1864.

Gaskill, Robert W., Private.
Born in Hyde County and resided in Forsyth County where he was by occupation a "mariner" prior to enlisting in Hyde County on Oct. 17, 1861. Present and accounted for until Nov.-Dec. 1862 when he was reported absent without leave. Reported absent wounded in Jan.-Feb. 1863. Place and date wounded not reported. Returned to duty prior to Sept. 1, 1863. Present and accounted for until he deserted on or about Feb. 26, 1865. Confined at Washington, DC, March 1, 1865. (Co. records dated January 1865 give his age as 19).

Gaskill, William, Sergeant
Resided in Hyde County where he enlisted on Oct. 17, 1861. Mustered in as Sergeant. Present and accounted for until killed at Cedar Mountain, Va., Aug. 9, 1862.

Gaskins, Edmond D., Sergeant.
Resided in Hyde County where he enlisted on Oct. 17, 1861. Mustered in as Corporal. Present and accounted for until captured at New Bern on March 14, 1962. Declared exchange at Aikens Landing on Aug. 5, 1862. Promoted to Sergeant on Sept. 6, 1862. Returned to duty prior to Nov. 1, 1862. Died in hospital at Staunton, Va. Dec. 2, 1862 of "larynigitis" and/or "pneumonia."

Gaskins, George, Private.
Resided in Forsyth County and enlisted in Hyde County on Oct. 17, 1861. Present and accounted for until he deserted on or about Jan. 22, 1862.

Howard, Ambrose J., Private.
Resided in Hyde County where he enlisted on Oct. 17, 1861. Present and accounted for until March 14, 1862 when he was reported absent without leave.

Jackson, George W., 1st Sergeant.
Resided in Hyde County. Enlisted on Oct. 17, 1861. Mustered in as Private. Promoted to Corporal in Jan.-Feb. 1863. Promoted to Sergeant in March-April 1863. Wounded in the right thigh and captured at Chancellorsville, Va. May 3, 1863. Hospitalized at Washington, DC. Paroled at Old Capital Prison, Washington, June 15, 1863 and transferred to City Point, Va. where he was received on June 30, 1863 for exchange. Returned to duty in Sept.-Oct. 1863. Promoted to 1st Sergeant on Nov. 1, 1863. Present and accounted for until killed at Wilderness, Va. May 6, 1864.

Jackson, Henderson F., Private.
Resided in Hyde County. Enlisted Oct. 17, 1861. Present and accounted for until he deserted on or about Jan. 22, 1862.

O'Neal, Benjamine, Private.
Resided in Hyde County. Enlisted Oct. 17, 1861. Present and accounted for until captured near Greenville on Nov. 24-25, 1863. Confined at Point Lookout, Va. where he was received on April 30, 1864, for exchange. Returned to duty.

O'Neal, Christopher, Jr., Private.
Resided in Hyde County. Enlisted age 44 on Oct. 17, 1861. Present and accounted for until March 14, 1862, when he was reported absent without leave. Returned to duty in March, 1863. Present and accounted for until transferred to Confederate States Navy on or about April 3, 1864.

O'Neal, Francis W., Private.
Resided in Hyde County where he enlisted Oct. 17, 1861. Present and accounted for until March 14, 1862, when he was reported absent without leave. Returned to duty in Sept.-Oct. 1863. Deserted to the enemy on or about Feb. 24, 1865. Confined at Washington, DC, Feb. 27, 1865.

Spencer, Andrew S., Private.
Resided in Hyde County. Enlisted Dec. 8, 1861. Present and accounted for until April, 1862. Dropped from rolls prior to Nov. 1, 1862 "for long absence."

Spencer, David H., Private.
Resided in Hyde County. Enlisted Oct. 17, 1861. Died Jan. 1, 1862. Place and cause of death not reported.

Styron, Elijah, Private.
Enlisted in Hyde County, age 20, Oct. 17, 1861. Present and accounted for until March 14, 1862, when he was reported absent without leave.

Williams, Tilmond Farrow, Private.
Resided in Hyde County. Enlisted at age 16, Oct. 17, 1861. Mustered in as Private. Captured at New Bern March 14, 1862. Declared exchangaed at Aikens Landing on Aug. 5, 1862. Reported absent in hospital through Oct. 1862. Returned to duty Nov.-Dec. 1862. Present and accounted for until wounded in thigh and hip at Chancellorsville, Va., May 3, 1863. Promoted to Sergeant Sept.-Oct. 1863. Promoted to 1st Sergeant July 22, 1864. Reduced in ranks on Dec. 15, 1864 by sentence of court martial. Reason he was court martialed not reported. Captured by the enemy on or about Feb. 24, 1865. Confined at Washington, DC, Feb. 27, 1865. (NC pension records indicate he was shot in the right thigh and left heel as a result of the explosion of a shell. He suffered a fractured skull and his left eye was "almost destroyed" at Chancellorsville.

COMPANY F, 33RD REGIMENT

O'Neal, John, Private.
Resided in Hyde County where he enlisted Sept. 9, 1861. Present and accounted for until he died in hospital at Gordonsville, Va. May 29, 1862, of pneumonia.

O'Neal, John M., Private.
Resided in Hyde County. Enlisted Sept. 9, 1861. Present and accounted for until wounded in the right thigh and right thumb at Fredericksburg, Va., Dec. 13, 1862. Right thumb amputated. Reported absent, wounded through Dec. 1862. Deserted Jan. 1863. Listed as deserter through Feb. 1864. Reported absent on furlough May-June 1864. Reported absent, sick during July-Oct. 1864. Returned to duty in Nov.-Dec. 1864. Present and accounted for until paroled at Lynchburg, Va. April 13-15-, 1865.

O'Neal, William W., Private.
Resided in Hyde County where he enlisted on Sept. 9, 1861. Present and accounted for until he died at Winchester, Va., Oct. 12, 1862, cause of death not reported.

Additional Ocracoke soldiers listed in Selby and Others, Hyde County History and in Manarin's North Carolina Troops:

Gaskill, William B., Private.
Enlisted on or about May 1, 1862. Never reported for duty and was dropped from rolls subsequent to June 30, 1862.

Howard, Alonzo.
Resided in Hyde County where he enlisted on Oct. 17, 1861 in Co. H, 33rd Regiment. Deserted on Jan. 22, 1862. (age on 1860 Ocracoke census was 19).

Jackson, James G.
Resided in Hyde County and enlisted on Sept. 9, 1861 in Co. F, 33rd Regiment. Discharged on Jan. 10, 1862. Reason not reported. (Listed as age 18 on 1860 Ocracoke census).

O'Neal, Christopher, Private.
Farmer born in Hyde County prior to enlisting at age 17. Enlisted May 1, 1862 in Co. B, 17th Regiment, for the war. Present and accounted for through Oct. 1864.

APPENDIX B

OCRACOKE SOLDIERS IN THE FIRST N.C. UNION REGIMENT

This list was compiled by comparing the partial index of the First N.C. Union Regimental individual soldiers' records with the incomplete Ocracoke census of 1860. The list is possible, maybe probable, but not certain.

Census data is noted first, followed by regimental data.

O'Neal, George, age 30, Mariner.
O'Neal, George J., Pvt. in Company H, Hatteras Bank. Doing guard duty at Ocracoke Lighthouse in 1863 and special guard duty at Portsmouth and Ocracoke in 1864 and 1865.

O'Neal, Jessie, age 23, Mariner.
O'Neal, Jessie J., Pvt., Company H, Hatteras Bank.

O'Neal, Joseph, age 24, Pilot.
O'Neal, Joseph, Pvt., Company H, Hatteras Bank. Special guard Ocracoke 1864.

O'Neal, Thomas, age 42, Pilot.
O'Neal, Thomas, Pvt., Company H, Hatteras Bank. Detached for special guard at Ocracoke and Portsmouth in 1865.

O'Neal, Warren, age 27, Mariner.
O'Neal, Warren, Pvt., Company H, Hatteras Bank. Detached for special guard at Ocracoke and Portsmouth in 1865.

O'Neal, William, age 22, Mariner.
O'Neal, William P., Pvt. in both Companies H and I at Hatteras Bank. (There was also an O'Neal, William B., who served as Sergeant in Company H and was promoted to Lieutenant in 1863).

Scarborough, Bateman, age 38, Mariner.
Scarborough, Bateman, Pvt., Company H, Hatteras Bank.

Simpson, A.W., age 21, Pilot.
Simpson, Alpheus W., Sgt., Company I, Hatteras Bank.

Styron, James, age 41, Mariner.
Styron, James E., Pvt. and Sgt. Enlisted in Company I on Hatteras Bank in July, 1863.

APPENDIX C

CONFEDERATE SOLDIERS FROM PORTSMOUTH

This list was compiled by Mrs. Carolyn Burke of the BHM Regional Library. Mrs. Burke collated the males of military age listed on the 1860 Portsmouth census with the names listed in Manarin's North Carolina Troops of the regiments recruited along the coast. As the regimental rosters list counties of origin and not townships and not age, the matches are uncertain. Unusual given names or distinguishing occupations make identification more certain. Little Portsmouth family history survives to help.

In the following list, the census data is noted first, followed by the regimental data.

Singleton, Spyers, age 40, M.C. Hospital Supv.
Singleton, Dr. Spiers. Appointed surgeon Nov. 16, 1861, of the 36th Regiment N.C.T. (2nd Regiment N.C. Artillery) assigned at Fort Fisher. Present or accounted for throughout the war. Captured at Fort Fisher Jan. 15, 1865. Paroled and exchanged on March 5, 1865 in Virginia.

Burgess, Zephiniah, age 19, Mariner.
Burgess, Zephiniah, Corporal. Enlisted in Carteret County October 18, 1861 for 12 months. Mustered in as Corporal. Transferred to 1st Company H, 40th Regiment N.C.T. (3rd Regiment N.C. Artillery) in April, 1862.

Roberson, William, age 21, Mariner.
Roberson, William M., Private. Enlisted in Carteret County January 27, 1862 for twelve months in 1st Co. G, 36th Regiment N.C.T. Roll for October 31, 1861-March 31, 1862 carries him with the remark: "Absent within the enemies lines."

Roberts, David, age 23, Mariner.
Roberts, David W., Private. Born in Carteret County, farmer, and enlisted at age 26 on May 25, 1862 for the war in Co. H (Topsail Rifles), 10th Regiment N.C.T.

Captured at Fort Macon April 26, 1862, paroled and exchanged Aug. 1862. Deserted October 31, 1862.

Roberts, John, age 19, Mariner.
Roberts, John S., Corporal. Enlisted in Carteret County ctober 12, 1861 for twelve months in 1st Co. G, 36th Regiment. Mustered in as Corporal. Died at Harkers Island Jan. 14, 1862. (No Roberts, John, on 1870 Portsmouth Census).

Roberts, Samuel, age 22, Mariner.
Roberts, Samuel C., Private. Enlisted in Carteret County December 30-31, 1861 for twelve months in 1st Co. G, 36th Regiment N.C.T. Roll for October 31, 1861-March 31, 1862 carries him with the remark: "Absent within the enemies lines."

Rose, Joseph, age 45, Fisherman.
Rose, Joseph, Private. Enlisted in Carteret County Nov. 7, 1861 for twelve months in 1st Co. G, 36th Regiment N.C.T. Roll for October 31, 1861-March 31, 1862 carries him with the remark: "Absent on furlough near New Bern when it was taken."

Styron, Ambrose, age 21, Mariner.
Styron, Ambrose J., Sergeant. Enlisted in Carteret County October 12, 1861 for twelve months in 1st Co. G., 36th Regiment N.C.T. Mustered in as Sergeant. Transferred to 1st Co. H, 40th Regiment N.C.T. (3rd Regiment N.C. Artillery) in April, 1862.

Styron, W., age 30, Fisherman.
Styron, William S., Sergeant. Enlisted in Carteret County October 12, 1861 for twelve months in 1st Co. G, 36th Regiment N.C.T. Mustered in as sergeant. Transferred to 1st Co. H, 40th Regiment N.C.T. in April, 1862.

Styron, James, age 19, Fisherman.
Styron, James N., Pvt. Born in Carteret County and enlisted at age 20, June 19, 1861 in Company H, 10th Artillery, N.C.T. Died at Fort Macon December 15, 1861 of pneumonia.

APPENDIX D

PORTSMOUTH SOLDIERS IN THE FIRST N.C. UNION REGIMENT

A comparison of the 1860 Portsmouth census with the partial index of the First Union Regiment yields some matching names. information from the soldiers' individual records, when available, is quoted. Census data is shown on the first line, followed by military data. These were possibly Portsmouth soldiers, not certainly.

Daniels, Thomas, age 23, Fisherman.
Daniels, Thomas, Pvt., Company B. (organized in Washington, N.C.) Det. 1864.

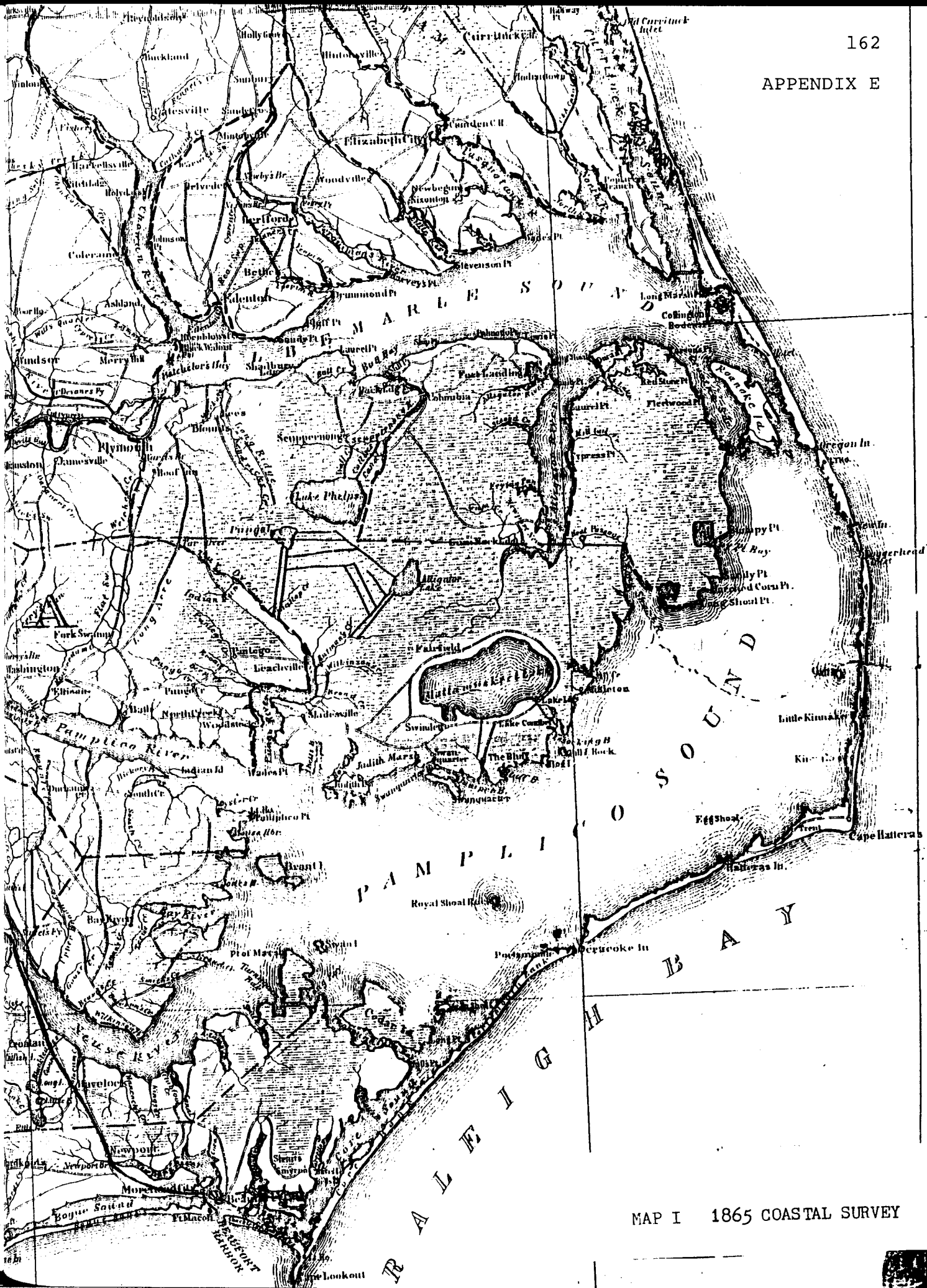
Lupton, Joseph, age 36, Fisherman.
Lupton, Joseph, Pvt. Company F (organized in Beaufort, N.C.) Promoted to Cpl. Tranferred to Navy in 1864.

Mason, James, age 35, Fisherman.
Mason, James. Enlisted at Beaufort. Assigned to Company H, Hatteras Bank.

Roberson, James, age 21, Mariner.
Roberson, James E., Pvt. Co. F (Beaufort).

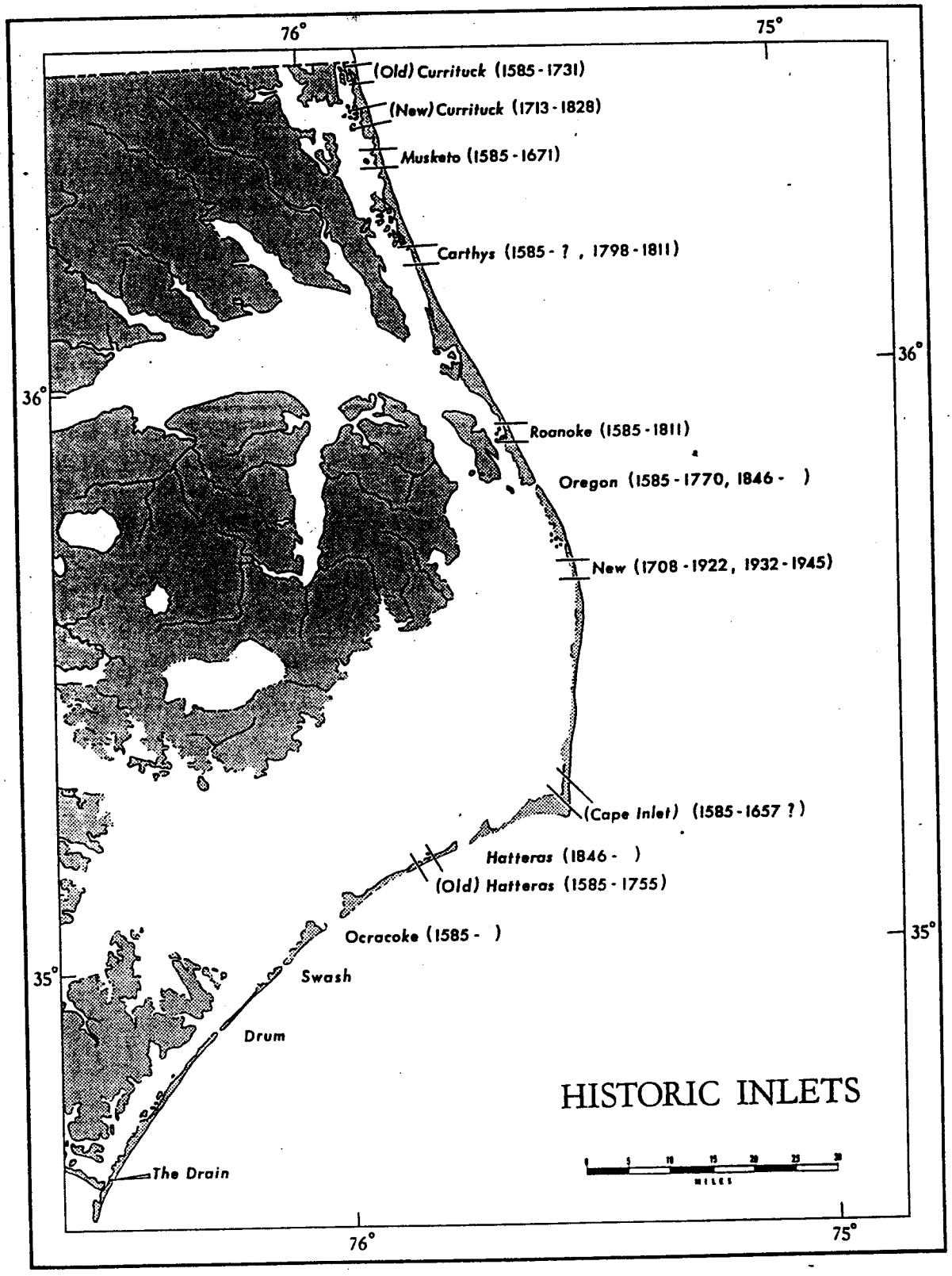
Styron, James, age 19, Fisherman.
Styron, James E., Pvt. & Sgt. Enlisted June, 1863 in Co. I, Hatteras Bank. (See Styron, James N. as Confederate soldier, which seems likelier choice, as ages check).

APPENDIX E

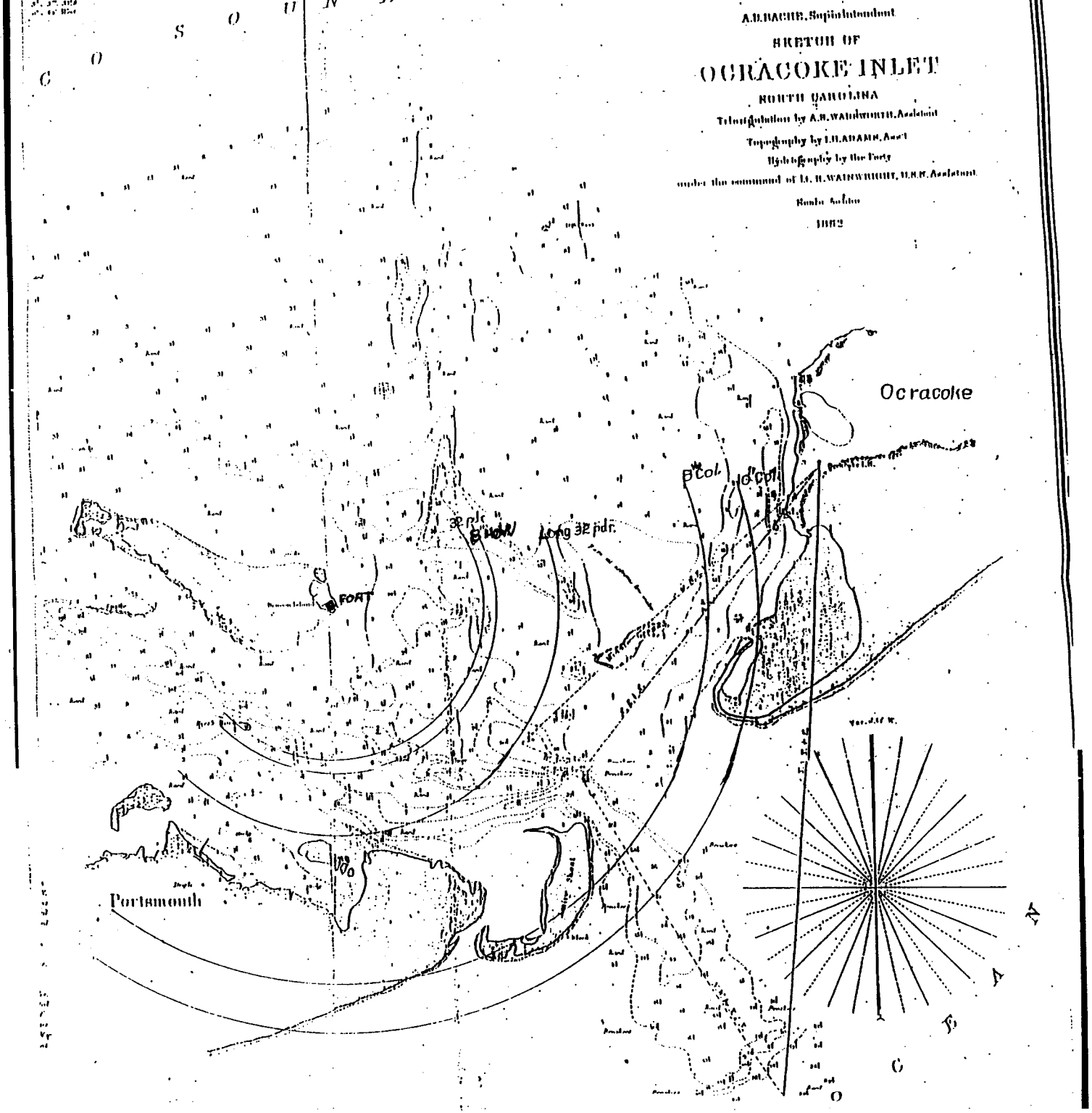


MAP I 1865 COASTAL SURVEY

APPENDIX F



MAP II NORTH CAROLINA INLETS


A.D.BACHE, Superintendent
SKETCH OF
OCRACOKE INLET
NORTH CAROLINA
Triangulation by A.R.WAINWRIGHT, Assistant
Topography by I.H.ADAMS, Asst
Hydrography by the Party
under the command of Lt. R.WAINWRIGHT, U.S.N. Assistant
Scale 1:40000
1862
Ocracoke
Portsmouth
FORT
Long 32 pdr.
B'Col.
O'Col.

—Statement of vessels passed through the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal, 1860 to 1881

Year	*Steamers*	*Schooners*	*Sloops*	*Barges*	*Lighters*	*Boats*	*Rafts*	*Total*
1860	116	393	29	67	248	136	10	999
1861	671	1,139	74	153	300	179	8	2,524
1862	453	192	88	69	275	188	—	1,265
1863	377	62	71	16	292	125	—	943
1864	953	24	15	124	96	174	5	1,391
1865	1,300	266	190	122	79	602	3	2,562
1866	1,062	739	302	256	338	921	18	3,636
1867	1,112	907	358	313	763	761	29	4,243
1868	1,093	944	442	381	778	1,066	26	4,730
1869	1,093	752	398	297	950	1,077	36	4,603
1870	1,487	859	437	167	911	486	35	4,382
1871	1,659	941	555	183	1,030	483	49	4,900
1872	1,667	1,070	523	158	752	553	85	4,808
1873	2,075	1,380	592	225	886	469	152	5,779
1874	2,214	1,607	654	338	937	411	122	6,283
1875	2,408	1,837	722	340	697	425	73	6,502
1876	2,463	1,719	720	292	639	260	113	6,206
1877	2,376	1,626	508	344	587	277	123	5,841
1878	2,627	1,759	640	226	661	243	171	6,327
1879	2,798	1,615	569	334	552	379	186	6,433
1880	3,209	1,537	392	496	570	362	288	6,854
Total	33,213	21,368	8,279	4,901	12,341	9,577	1,532	91,211

Source: T. C. Purdy, "Report on the Canals of the United States," p. 20.

TABLE I ALBEMARLE AND CHESAPEAKE CANAL TRAFFIC

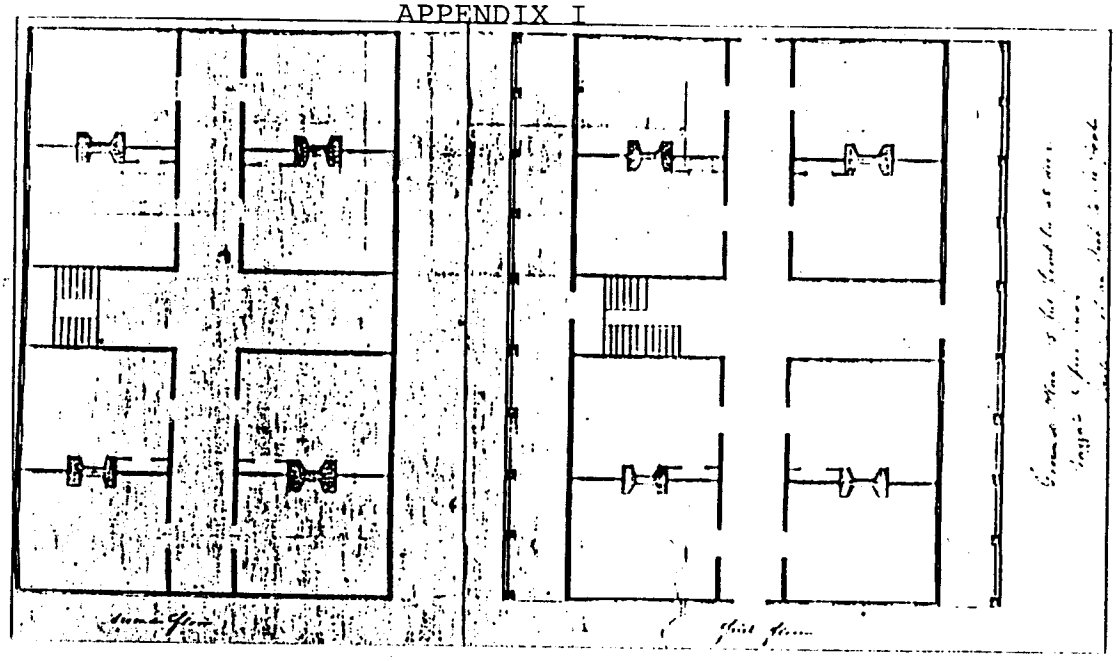


Figure 2. One of the plans submitted to the Department of Treasury for the United States Marine Hospital at Portsmouth, completed in 1847. Note fireplaces in each room.

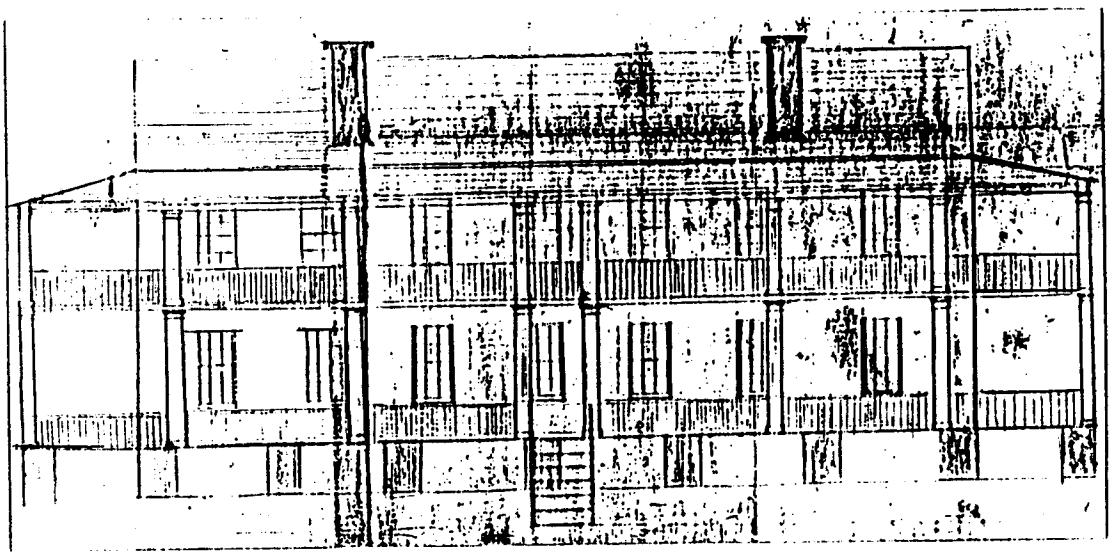
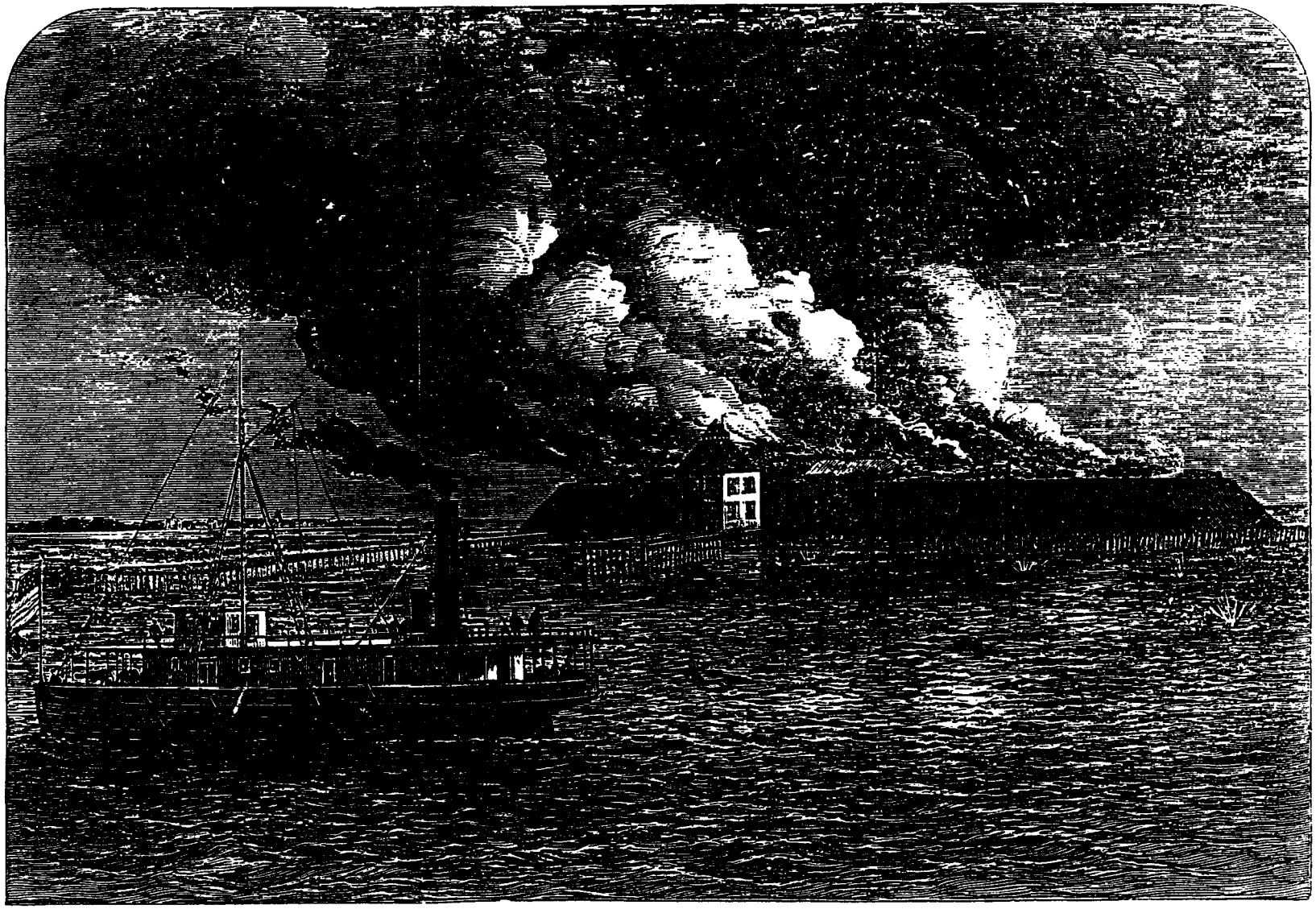


Figure 3. Side elevation of plan in figure 2. Note the substantial piers supporting the structure, which protected the lower floor from sea water (a frequent visitor to buildings on the island during storms) as well as the columned "piazzas" (porches).

PLATE I U.S. MARINE HOSPITAL AT PORTSMOUTH, N.C.



THE WAR IN AMERICA :—FORT OCRACOKE, ON BEACON ISLAND, NORTH CAROLINA, DESTROYED BY FIRE ON THE 17TH ULT. BY THE FEDERALISTS.

PLATE II FORT MORGAN AND USS FANNY

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Seventh Census, 1850 Hyde County MICF-M432, Roll 653.
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