

The Shifting Sands: A Study of the Maritime Cultural Landscape of New Bern, North Carolina

By

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The history of North Carolina's ongoing settlement and the process of developing a future is a fascinating part of the state's rich history. And New Bern, North Carolina had a strong maritime tradition and a unique history to study. While the state's population continuously expanded and shifted around, New Bern remained a strong port. When the American Revolution ended, New Bern survived despite long held grudges within the government. In fact, New Bern survives to the modern day, having changed and altered its appearance and landscape to remain active in North Carolina.

While New Bern changed to remain a relevant part of the state, its maritime cultural landscape survived and changed with it. New Bern's waterfront survived a population influx and eventual decline; it also survived two wars, an occupation, and an industrial revolution that altered the means of travel in the United States. The maritime cultural landscape has survived for so long and changed so many times in an effort to remain solvent. This thesis studies New Bern's maritime cultural landscape to determine the causes of change and to document the landscape before the waterfront changes again

The Shifting Sands: a Study of the Maritime Cultural Landscape of New Bern, North Carolina



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by

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Chapter 1:

Introduction

New Bern represents a significant maritime cultural landscape in North Carolina. A maritime cultural landscape is best defined by Christer Westerdahl (1992: 9) as the “human utilization (economy) of maritime space by boat: settlement, fishing, hunting, shipping, and its attendant subcultures.” According to maritime cultural landscape theory, this relationship between a society or city and the water becomes reflected in the landscape over time. New Bern’s relationship with the maritime world has existed throughout the city’s history. It began with the first settlers in 1710 and continued through three centuries as it changed over time to progress and modernize. In New Bern, the waterfront along the Neuse and Trent Rivers functioned as the primary maritime cultural landscape. This association is still reflected in the surviving maritime cultural landscape of the city. As New Bern developed, its citizens constructed infrastructure to utilize maritime resources. Maritime infrastructure included lumber mills, tar kilns, large wharves, an extended waterfront area, and even the dredging of the harbor. Over time some of the infrastructures decayed from neglect though some remain. This is important since, traditionally, most maritime cultural landscapes have not survived well.

As cities develop and grow over time, the maritime cultural landscape is frequently restructured or rebuilt to accommodate the current needs of a town. As such the evidence of maritime activity is often lost or destroyed during reconstruction efforts. In the case of New Bern, the loss of its maritime cultural landscape has not occurred completely. As the economy in North Carolina changed in the 1940s, New Bern’s maritime cultural landscape ceased to grow.

This lack of growth allowed some existing infrastructure to remain intact well into the twentieth century.

However, New Bern has undergone many changes in the past two decades, including a population growth. As the city's population increases and immigration continues from outside North Carolina, New Bern has started to encounter many changes to its maritime cultural landscape. The availability of valuable land for homes or marinas abounds in New Bern and many old structures have been purchased for future development. Much of this old landscape will likely be destroyed as a modern maritime cultural landscape is built.

The purpose of this thesis is to study New Bern's maritime cultural landscape and the changes that have occurred over the city's history before the landscape has been altered completely. This will help to determine what caused the changes to New Bern's maritime cultural landscape and why these changes occurred. Several questions will be examined. First, what factors brought about the changes in the maritime cultural landscape of New Bern and did the economic, societal, and technological transitions have any impact on these changes? Second, did the difference in infrastructural density along the waterfront occur because of significant reasons and why? Third, did New Bern's geographic location affect the city's maritime cultural landscape? Fourth, did maritime enclaves exist within New Bern, and if so, what happened to those enclaves? And fifth, does a maritime cultural landscape still exist within New Bern, and if so where is it and what is its nature?

Chapter two details the theoretical framework that is necessary to study maritime cultural landscapes. To understand the theory of maritime cultural landscape requires the incorporation of multiple complex theoretical ideas. For the purpose of this thesis, these theories will be brought together to help identify and examine the waterfront district through a dual tiered study

of the historical and archaeological records. Included in this chapter is the theory of cultural landscape as introduced by Carl Sauer (1963). This is important since it forms the foundation of cultural landscape theory and will be utilized in later theories which are included in chapter two. The theory of maritime cultural landscapes, as introduced by Christer Westerdahl (1992), is included to explain the importance of maritime cultural landscapes and the best means of studying them. Also of importance is central place theory (Christaller 1966: 21) which holds that an area's importance can be dictated by the geographic area it abuts. Several archaeological studies are included such as the Viru Valley (Wiley 1953), Strangford Lough (McErlean et al. 2002), and Lowell, Massachusetts (Mrozowski and Beaudry 1984). These studies are included to explain the progression of cultural landscape studies in archaeology. The accumulation of these projects will present the modern theory and the means of study that will be included in this thesis.

Chapter three discusses the methodology used for this thesis and the fieldwork performed as part of the thesis. This chapter will highlight the importance of maps for this thesis and discuss the limitations that occurred from a dearth of available maps. Furthermore, this chapter will note the importance and development of maritime enclaves that occurred. As New Bern grew, the maritime enclaves in the city shifted, expanded, and contracted throughout the eighteenth through the twentieth centuries. This information was included in a Geographic Information Systems map. These maps are important to delineate the development of maritime enclaves in New Bern over time.

Chapters four through seven contain an in depth study of the maritime cultural landscape starting in the 1710s and continuing throughout the city's existence. Each chapter covers a period along a varying timeline, which is divided up based on historical significance. Chapter

four covers the 1710s-1780s, the introductory years prior to the development of the United States. Chapter five outlines the 1790s-1840s, the period of growth and prosperity that New Bern underwent during the early years of the new nation. This period discusses the importance of burgeoning maritime trade networks and how the city expanded or changed its landscape as the population of North Carolina shifted. Chapter six covers the 1850s-1890s, which includes the massive expansion from the decade that preceded the civil war, the war itself, and the period afterwards when New Bern gained access to a large work force from nearby James City.

Chapter seven covers the 1900s to the present day. This period represented the slow reduction and unique change in the maritime cultural landscape as traditional maritime roles, such as sailors and ship carpenters, decreased for varying reasons. These chapters present each period through a decade by decade description and explanation of the changes that occurred along New Bern's maritime cultural landscape. Each chapter includes a description of influential factors that affected the maritime cultural landscape and includes a discussion on the development of maritime enclaves found in New Bern. Each chapter also includes a section on the archaeological evidence available for each time period. This section summarizes the relevance of archaeological surveys performed as it pertains to a particular time period. In addition, this section discusses the importance of the evidence found in the survey and how this reflected the maritime cultural landscape. This evidence is outlined for the information it recovered and how that information is relevant to this master's thesis. Finally, each of these chapters ends with a conclusion section that summarizes what happened to New Bern's maritime cultural landscape and presents the importance of the information as it pertains to this thesis.

Chapter eight represents a final summary of the evidence about New Bern's maritime cultural landscape and presents a summarization of the factors that caused the upheaval in New

Bern's maritime cultural landscape. This synthesis of the historical and archaeological evidence will answer the primary question presented by this thesis. In addition, it will answer the secondary questions and explain their significance to the overall thesis. Altogether, this thesis will determine which factors affected the maritime cultural landscape of New Bern. The research will note any outside factors that may have brought about change while also comparing the maritime participants' utilization of the land which affected the landscape. Furthermore, this thesis will provide a basis for the study of maritime cultural landscapes and maritime enclaves for future research.

Chapter 2

Cultural Landscape Theories and Their Importance

Introduction:

New Bern's maritime landscape has endured significant modifications during the city's history. Traditionally, a city's landscape supported the town's overall economic infrastructure. As North Carolina utilized New Bern as an import and export point for trade, the town altered the landscape to support the growing markets. Historically, the waterfront provided the town with a place to continuously expand and restructure. This constant expansion forced further changes along the waterfront through an increase in population density and competition for manufacturing space. The city altered the maritime landscape to provide space for the manufacturers in the most profitable areas while the people continued to expand the Trent waterfront. Some of these changes remain in the modern landscape and reflect the city's direction during its history.

Unraveling the development of a maritime landscape in dynamic urban centers such as New Bern is extremely difficult. The study of New Bern's maritime landscape requires several different theoretical concepts to understand the changes that occurred there. The theories of landscape archaeology, cultural landscapes, central place theory, and maritime cultural landscapes are useful to interpret the changes that occurred in New Bern's waterfront. These theories provide an in depth understanding of the human intent that transformed culturally occupied areas throughout history. This chapter will concentrate on these theories to provide proper definitions of the maritime landscape and the role it occupied in New Bern's history.

Preliminary Theories

The theory of cultural landscapes originated in the mind of geographer Carl Ortwin Sauer. In the early twentieth century Sauer outlined his ideas about American geography through his field research, in publications, and in the classroom. In articles Sauer defined landscape as, “An area made up of a distinct association of forms, both physical and cultural” (Sauer 1963: 321). Sauer postulated that landscape represented more than just the physical environment of an area. He suggested that the constant habitation of an environment left material culture evidence behind that outlines the societal objectives in that region (Sauer 1963: 322-323). This theory notes that the natural landscape exists, but that several factors can affect that landscape. Climate, vegetation, and culture are the strongest. The inclusion of these factors changes the natural landscape and creates something different. In the case of culture, it creates a cultural landscape. Sauer believed that the cultural shaping of a landscape left important impressions of a culture on the land. This idea acknowledged that the cultural aspects of human usage on the landscape imparted important information about a society and a region. Archaeologist James Deetz later noted landscape’s importance as, “It is the cultural modification of the landscape that forms the highest level of mediation between the natural and the cultural” (Deetz 1990: 2). Sauer’s unique theory revolutionized the study of landscapes in the 1920s through 1930s and impacted successive generations (Lewis 1983: 243).

As a professor at the University of California at Berkeley, Sauer taught his theory to the next generation of geographers. He imparted the need to study the landscape further to his students and encouraged them to continue this path of study (Lewis 1983: 244). This led to a sudden increase in landscape studies in the 1930s by his students and amateur geographers

(Lewis 1983: 244). Two of Sauer's pupils included John Kirkland Wright and Fred Kniffen. These two scholars became famous landscape geographers of the second generation who contributed to landscape studies through their own work (Lewis 1983: 245-246). This generation elaborated the cultural aspects of landscape. Together, this second generation perpetuated Sauer's theory and helped expand the study of landscape.

John Kirkland Wright worked as a librarian and professor from 1920-1956. His fame stemmed from his extended work for the American Geographical Society of New York (Lewis 1983: 246-247). Though limited in fieldwork, Wright wrote several essays that linked his idea to landscape studies. Wright once wrote that, "Only a moment's reflection is needed to bring to mind the immense importance of the study of man's effects upon the earth," (Wright 1952: 273). His first book, *Terrae Incognitae*, outlined his unique thoughts on landscape studies (Lewis 1983: 247). Wright suggested that geographers study how humans perceived the features in the common landscape (Wright 1952: 254-256). This idea introduced the variable that human perception affected the usage of landscape. This theory recommended that culturally, the human perception of the land could dictate societal reasons for landscape changes (Spencer-Wood 2002: 178-179). For example, this could occur when societies construct homes in specific areas around a socially accepted design. A housing district built in a certain region will price homes within a short economic range, which would attract people of similar social status through these economic limitations. This creates a social perception that is encouraged through the types of homes built within an area (Schein 1997: 662). Wright's work became an integral part of the cultural landscape theory that evolved with landscape studies from this era.

Fred Kniffen's role in landscape studies supplied the field with significant understanding for the role of cultural trends. Kniffen worked at Louisiana State University during the 1930s

through 1950s (Lewis 1983: 244). He wrote his first book in 1936, titled *Louisiana House Types*, where he noted his personal observations. Kniffen discovered a progression in housing development trends in the landscape outside Baton Rouge, Louisiana. His study tracked housing modifications from existing patterns which originated in the east in common styles of homes. These patterns shifted westward with population movements in America and created a landscape with several types of home that could then be tracked (Kniffen 1965: 551-552). This discovery in cultural trends supported Kniffen's belief in common cultural objects, such as homes, having the most significant meaning (Lewis 1983). These homes represented an attachment to the cultural origins of a family. His final works on the American trend of housing patterns noted that these *streams* of houses were a part of the cultural spoor phenomenon (Kniffen 1965). The populations that moved from the east built these homes as a reminder of their own culture. These records supported the idea that cultural material found on the landscape imparts information about a society.

By the 1950s, landscape theory had gained acceptance as a historical field of study (Ashmore and Knapp 1999). Historians applied this theory to wide areas of cultural significance. In Europe, vast regions of accumulated features such as farms, field systems, roads, and homes littered the countryside (Rippon 2004: 1-2). These archaeological features could provide observations on the societal outlook of a region not found in the historical record (Hoskins 1967: 31). Studies conducted in the English countryside by W. G. Hoskins recorded many cultural features and referenced them against the historic record. These studies noted that the historical landscape changed for variable reasons not always associated with economic or political causes (Rippon 2004). These changes include beliefs, food production, and land use efficiency.

Another important figure in cultural landscape studies is John B. Jackson. Jackson founded *Landscape* magazine in 1951 and later taught cultural landscape studies at Berkeley (Lewis 1983: 247). His work heavily influenced the formation of cultural landscape theory with his suggestions to examine all aspects of the landscape. Jackson argued that proper study required no focus on settings such as historic eras, urban, rural, economic, or agriculture. By studying the landscape first, he argued, researchers could understand the purpose of the landscape rather than judging it according to a preset bias (Jackson 1970: 46-48). Jackson recorded his research and ideas within nineteen years of *Landscape* magazine which encouraged future generations of cultural landscape scholars (Lewis 1983: 244-245).

These initial investigations developed the platform for geographic and cultural studies that led to the next wave in theoretical applications (Banning 2002). The rise in landscape studies and the cultural aspects within it brought about the evolution of two new theories on landscape (Lewis 1983: 249-250). In archaeology, the use of landscape archaeology and cultural landscape theory cropped up as useful devices for the study of societies that encompassed large areas. These two theories were rooted in the cultural geography of the mid twentieth century, though they quickly gained acceptance as tools in the field of archaeology (Deetz 1990: 2-3). The study of areas of human habitation for cultural changes to the land and the study of large-scale sites required the use of these unique mechanisms.

Archaeological Theories

Landscape archaeology theory originated as a study of the areas of human habitation beyond archaeological sites. Archaeologists used this theory in the late 1950s to study settlement patterns in the Viru Valley, Peru (Banning 2002: 4-5). Gordon Willey noted that the

widespread site distribution in the valley encompassed too large an area for normal archaeological means of study. Willey employed this new theory to study the entire valley and its broader aspects (Willey 1954). This helped to determine site functions and spatial importance of the cultural materials located throughout the valley. Willey incorporated aerial photos and drawings to document 315 sites (Anschuetz et al. 2001: 169). This study benefited from its application to an area that represented both the physical and cultural aspects of theory. Since Willey employed both in his study, this furthered interest in the relevance of these theories. The success of this study combined with Sauer's influential theory to encourage the concept of landscapes studies (Banning 2002: 5).

This thesis will utilize landscape archaeology to study New Bern's waterfront district. The extensive area that the waterfront encompasses prevents normal archaeological methods. The current occupation, construction, and planning along the waterfront precludes any significant excavation. The application of landscape archaeology helps to recreate and record historic changes to the waterfront without extensive archaeological excavation. Furthermore, previous studies of landscape archaeology have provided relevant data to use on New Bern's maritime landscape. These studies include projects in Annapolis, Maryland and Monticello, Virginia. Both of these projects employed landscape archaeology in similar methods to New Bern and presented this thesis with unique avenues of approach.

In the 1960s, archaeologists utilized landscape archaeology to study colonial resources in Williamsburg, Virginia, and Annapolis, Maryland (Leone 198; Beaudry 1996). These projects used the historical records to locate the remnants of colonial gardens, which were then excavated. This helped in the reconstruction of gardens to provide glimpses into the landscape management by these societies (Beaudry 1996: 4). Moreover, the study of the physical

environments in these areas also helped develop important spatial data on these societies (Schein 1997). Colonial societies in these regions practiced home gardening as a form of community participation that outlined several community characteristics (Anshuetz et al. 2001).

Archaeologists used these gardens to study the economic, gender, and social level roles in these colonial societies. The construction of elaborate gardens required extra labor and money. The wealthy elite of Annapolis spent large amounts of money to create luxurious gardens for ascetic appeal (Anshuetz et al. 2001). This attracted attention to these families and enhanced their role in society. New Bern underwent a similar buildup of homes along the Trent waterfront. In the 1740s, the infusion of merchants to the town created a wealthier class of individuals who attracted attention to themselves through home construction (Watson 1987: 125-126). This cumulated in the famous Tryon Palace, built by Royal Governor William Tryon to attract attention to the state. The shift in North Carolina's economic trade through New Bern ended this practice as the importance of this real estate led to more business related changes to the waterfront (Dill 1945a: 1-4).

Further landscape studies that benefited this thesis included the Monticello project. This reconstruction project in Monticello, Virginia used landscape archaeology on the home of Thomas Jefferson (Kelso 1990). This site encompassed a large twenty-acre estate on a remote mountaintop. The expansive amount of restoration required on the site forced archaeologists to use new tools. By the 1970s, the project had widened to include the entire estate because historical records failed to outline the plantation properly. Site work discovered several unmarked cultural features such as a road, the garden wall, and a pavilion (Kelso 1990: 15-17). In addition, the project found that Jefferson had constructed the plantation in a symmetrical pie shape divided into four wedges with the house located at the center (Kelso 1990: 21). This

project benefited this thesis as the sites are of comparable size. New Bern's waterfront is an expansive area that includes several lost or altered features that radiate outward from Union Point. The remnants of docks are all that remain of the town's wharf and a visual study has assisted in the comparison of the area with historic records.

This study also benefited from European landscape studies of the 1950s. European landscape scholars developed a term called *pays*, or areas that have unique identities (Rippon 2004: 17). New Bern's waterfront represents a unique *pay* situated around the economic landscape (Watson 1987: 127-129). This *pay* developed from the town's role as a maritime trade center and from the limited expansion available around the waterfront. This landscape remained clustered around the Neuse and Trent rivers for a majority of the town's history before it finally expanded across the Neuse (Dill 1945a: 12-15).

Modern landscape archaeologists examine not only the physical environment but also any aspects of human interaction with landscapes, including gender, social roles, and economic status (Anschuetz et al 2001). The study of these different cultural aspects broadens the understanding of a society and the environment in which it existed (Ashmore and Knapp 1990: 2). Recent studies in cultural landscapes provide excellent perspectives for this thesis. For example, this thesis benefits from a study in Massachusetts as it pertains to the economic role of the landscape.

The Bootts Mills Company constructed a small town around a cotton mill in Lowell, Massachusetts in the 1830s (Mrozowski and Beaudry 1990). The company chose the site for its landscape appeal. The company wanted a landscape that could support the profitable needs of the business. Construction of the town revolved around the profitable use of land (Weible 1984: 33). The company aspired to build a town around the factory complex, which incorporated all the buildings into an efficient design on the landscape. Called an industrial town, the company

assembled the worker's houses scattered throughout the town and based around important factory buildings, general stores, and the canal system (Weible 1984: 34). This focused the city around the cotton mills while ignoring comforts. This combination utilized the landscape to create large profits for the company. This design mirrored the waterfront district of New Bern. The town changed the landscape over time to reflect the economic needs of the market and state trade. The merchants removed any non-commercial waterfront plots along the Neuse River as the value of the land increased (Watson 1954: 124-125).

Further studies in cultural landscapes include the role of land use and change in farms of England (Mascia 1996). This study interpreted the changes in a farming landscape wrought by economic need. Research showed that over time the landscape shifted in economic efficiency and density (Mascia 1996: 148-151). As the farm's economic needs rose, the farmer operated his business more efficiently. This rise in economic efficiency led to an escalation in the density of the land use. The limited outward growth in the overall area forced an increase in the efficiency of land use on the farm (Mascia 1996). New Bern encountered a similar rise in efficiency and density along the waterfront district during the city's history. As the city grew the landscape expanded along the water before it reached a saturation point and then density increased as available land remained limited.

In addition, another study that benefits this thesis is one of city structure. Landscape historians have studied small towns based on the city's infrastructure and noted how the economic trends affected the town (Gilbert 1991; Lewis 1993). The examination of an urban landscape to determine its economic association with a city can interpret the past trends and explain why town construction occurred in certain fashions (Lewis 1993). A town constructed around a railroad facility and a cotton mill will reflect in the landscape as part of the city's

infrastructure. In the case of New Bern, a town constructed along the water may focus on the waterfront. City founders constructed New Bern around Union Point, but later growth focused along the waterfront as the town's economic importance remained water based (Green 1997: 3-5). New Bern's waterfront shifted from its agrarian beginning to become a maritime landscape, and this shift remains reflected in the landscape.

Maritime Cultural Landscapes

Maritime cultural landscape theory is the study of the cultural landscape as it pertains to or relates to the water (Westerdahl 1992: 3-4). This theory studies human's association with the water and the changes or alterations it creates on the landscape. This study focuses on the cultural aspects that survive in a maritime environment that can broaden knowledge of a society. Maritime societies that live along the coastline develop a co-existence with the water. These societies associate with the water as a means of economic trade, food production, transportation, entertainment, or even livelihood (Westerdahl 1992: 8). These maritime cultures then develop visible features that proclaim this association (Jasinski 1993). Maritime societies leave evidence on the landscape in artifacts and customs that portray the culture's perception of the water's importance. Societies construct these features on land and along the waterline. The importance of these features characterizes a society's association with the maritime landscape (Jasinski 1993: 8-9).

Christer Westerdahl introduced maritime cultural landscape theory in the 1970s as an obscure means of study for use in the maritime archaeological field. By the 1990s, this theory had gained popularity as an important tool in archaeology (Westerdahl 1992: 5). Westerdahl stated that, "The concept of maritime culture seems to be most profitably applied as a

comprehensive name for all those modes of thinking, customs, artifacts, and patterns of acting directly connected with a life at sea and dependent on the sea and its resources in a wide meaning” (Westerdahl 2003: 19). This theory received significant influence from cultural landscape theory (Westerdahl 1992: 2). Maritime landscape theory highlights a subset of the cultural landscape that can have a significant effect on a society. A maritime culture’s association with water can create unique characteristics of that society. The physical remnants of a culture are one aspect of study, but social, gender, economic, and belief structures can survive on the landscape as well (Jasinski 1993: 18).

The first practical uses of this theory began with physical studies of land in Europe and South America during the 1990s (Bell and Neumann 1997; Banning 2002; McErlean et al. 2002, Phillips 2008). Archaeologists employed this tool to study maritime artifacts, such as fish traps, and then expanded to include intertidal zones of known coastal cultures. The use of this theory in the discovery of coastal maritime cultures is an important part of modern archaeological studies (Jasinski 1993: 1-2). In the beginning, the study of fish traps and fish baskets focused on their importance to the cultures that created them. Archaeologists noted the different types of traps and found that styles were associated with different cultures (Godbold and Turner 1994). Maritime societies created these traps as a part of their interaction with the water and the study of them has provided substantial data about maritime cultures (Bannerman and Jones 1999).

In the 1990s, archaeologists performed an in depth study of the landscape of Bristol, England. This project highlighted the usefulness of maritime cultural landscape theory (Parker 1999). This study intended to search Bristol for maritime characteristics such as shipyards. The study strayed into the cultural formation of the port and noted the social aspects of the Mayor of Bristol and his influence while including a physical survey of the land. Bristol’s rich maritime

tradition and the affect it created on the landscape changes of the town provided a significant case study for maritime cultural theory (Parker 1999).

The first significant study of a maritime cultural landscape was conducted during the early 1990s at Strangford Lough. This region of Ireland's coastal intertidal zone represents a rich area of maritime culture occupied over a long period of time which underwent continuous changes (McErlean et al. 2002). The survey found that the inter-tidal zone in the Lough region was replete with material culture remains. The site contained the remnants of several mills, fish traps, wharfs, and a monastery (McErlean et al. 2002: 5-8).

The use of maritime landscape theory has expanded from these original studies to include many societal aspects. The role of belief systems in maritime landscapes has received interest from several archaeologists (e.g., McNiven 2003; Stewart 2011). Maritime cultures practice unique customs that associate with the water. These prevalent customs occur since the populations operate in a volatile environment. Some cultures develop a religious or spiritual relationship that associates the society with the maritime cultural landscape (McNiven 2003: 330-331). These relationships help to reflect the importance of that landscape. For example, the Saltwater People of Australia created hundreds of special names for reefs, channels, and inlets that were significant to their culture (McNiven 2003: 331). Societies have also developed unique practices to memorialize deceased individuals who identified with the maritime world. Maritime societies have constructed special monuments that signified an individual's relationship with the water. These burial markers include gravestones, cenotaphs, and memorials. Many maritime markers included strong symbols such as anchors and boats, while others include biblical verses that are related to the water. The construction of these monuments has also helped provide information in a maritime cultural landscape as it records the importance

of the water to a culture. By noting the number of graves and their significance with the maritime world, the social importance of the maritime cultural landscape is revealed (Stewart 2011).

This thesis will employ maritime cultural landscape theory to study the waterfront of New Bern. The unique development of the town's maritime landscape requires specific tools to study the remnants of the maritime culture that once operated there. Since New Bern identified with the water, for example during the American Revolution when John Stanley Wright operated a large force of privateers out of the port, this association requires study to understand the intricate nature of the waterfront. New Bern's role as a transitional point on the river supported the town's changes along the water.

Central place theory explains the importance of the town's position. Walter Christaller developed this theory in the 1960s. Christaller theorized that in a geographic region, select settlements would develop around important points (Christaller 1966: 14). These points concentrate around natural resources and transportation. These central places receive support from satellite settlements that channel the resources through the primary settlement (Christaller 1966: 37). Christaller suggested that these central places develop equidistantly apart from other places and that the growth of a central place is dependent upon the satellite locations that support it (King 1984: 108). These transportation points develop around cultural regions, geographic locations, and natural conditions (Westerdahl 1998: 2). This theory developed in Germany but quickly gained attention as a cultural phenomenon that spread worldwide (King 1984: 67). Christaller's idea gained acceptances in different studies that noted that primary settlements also operated as transportation points.

This theory is useful in the study of maritime landscapes because many cultures that dwell on the water also utilize it for transportation or trade (Westerdahl 1998). Maritime societies that developed around the water operated as either satellite locations or the primary locations in this theory. Traditionally central places colonize satellite locations and maintain a relationship that remains important to trade or transportation (Christaller 1966: 116). This relationship is important since it connects societies along the water and helps in understanding the development of cultural trends in a maritime environment. The ability to read the landscape and determine its relationship with a similar landscape is a useful tool in understanding the archaeological significance of a site.

Central place theory is an important part of this master's thesis since New Bern acted as one of the central places in North Carolina. Historically, New Bern operated as a central place in Eastern North Carolina during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The town developed originally on the old trading spot of a Native American tribe, which recognized the area as a transportation zone and had developed it for trade prior to European arrival (Watson 1954: 21-23). Von Graffenried's settlement plans developed from Lawson's suggestion that this spot was a known trading area in excellent position along a waterway. The construction of New Bern at the confluence of the Neuse and Trent Rivers placed the town in an ideal location to take advantage of future trade or travel that occurred upstream. In the 1740s, the town gained in population and organization to become a central place in the state. As the state's population shifted and trade increased down the Neuse River, New Bern's role in commerce dramatically increased. This created a situation that equipped the town for royal capitol status as the central place in the state (Dill 1945a: 17-18). The downward shift in the naval stores trade and continued population emigration removed the role of primary town from New Bern by the 1790s,

but the city remained important as an exportation point until the next century. After the 1880s, New Bern's importance decreased significantly and the title of central place shifted to Wilmington and Raleigh.

Conclusion:

The theoretical ideas emphasized in this chapter are very important in the study of New Bern's maritime landscape. The uniqueness of the town environment that created this landscape requires theoretical tools to study and record the changes that occurred. New Bern's waterfront strongly reflects the historical importance and personality that developed around the water. This landscape has changed significantly during the town's existence and these changes revolved around the city's economic and manufacturing needs.

The importance of New Bern's role is visible along the waterfront in the remnants that remain on the landscape. The lumber mills, warehouses, homes, and turpentine factories that cropped up along the waterfront characterize the town's identity with maritime commerce. The town's industrial area developed exclusively around the waterfront, which created an economic incentive to keep the maritime landscape for use in manufacturing or commerce. This integration with the trading networks along the water is reflected along the maritime landscape by the construction of commercial buildings along the water's edge to take advantage of transportation routes.

The maritime landscape ruins and remnants are still visible along the waterfront and are important to the study of the town. The landscape included several features that are also important, such as the shipyards, wharfs, warehouses, marketplaces, restaurants, and hotels that serviced the maritime industry that flowed through the town. Union Point and the waterfront that

connects to it are part of the maritime history of New Bern; the study of the landscape through theory provides a glimpse of the maritime life that existed throughout the town's history

Chapter 3

Methodology and Field Work

The methodology of this project includes three aspects: historical research, archaeological fieldwork, and the development of a geographic information system map. First, the historical research for this thesis includes an in depth investigation of the city's history through available sources. The focus of these sources included New Bern's waterfront and the surrounding maritime cultural landscape. This research focused on the alterations that occurred in the maritime environment and the general history of New Bern. Second, the archaeological fieldwork included field surveys of New Bern and the rivers that border it. This study initially formed part of a larger project that incorporated underwater sonar and magnetometer survey along the Neuse and Trent Rivers. Although the underwater data was not used for this thesis the data remains available for future researchers. Instead, the archaeological component of this thesis is based on a pedestrian survey on land that recorded cultural remnants of the maritime landscape. Third, this study developed several geographic information system maps, hereafter known as GIS maps. These maps outlined the shift in maritime enclaves across the landscape throughout New Bern's history.

Historical Research

The historical research for this study incorporated an examination of New Bern's historical record to determine what affected the waterfront and induced changes to the maritime cultural landscape. The focus of this research intended to identify the historic changes that happened along the waterfront and to combine this information with archaeological data. Initial research into the East Carolina University Joyner Library's North Carolina collection focused on

several factors that could potentially instigate cultural landscape changes. These factors included environmental, economic, social, religious, and infrastructural modifications.

Originally, this historic research investigated the possibility of environmental alterations as a key aspect of the cultural landscape changes in the town. New Bern has suffered from major hurricanes and a fire during the city's history. A study of the environmental factors uncovered two facts from this research. First, a dearth of historical records prevented an accurate outline of damages from environmental factors. Second, this research discovered that most environmental factors affected the maritime cultural landscape only temporarily.

While eyewitness accounts of hurricanes and fires exist in the newspapers or letters from the time, none of these accounts suggested a significant permanent effect on the maritime cultural landscape. The damage from environmental factors remained of minimal importance to New Bern as the townspeople quickly replaced or repaired damaged maritime infrastructure. The only significant modification from environmental causes resulted from the Great Hurricane of 1769, which flooded New Bern. This hurricane flooded the entire area and ruined several waterfront properties (Powell 1981a). Though the town suffered the loss of several ships and waterfront properties, the townspeople rebuilt quickly and in a similar fashion. The Great Hurricane of 1769 did affect the landscape for a short time period, but the reconstruction of the waterfront properties overcame the damage caused from the flood.

This research indicated that environmental changes rarely affected the maritime cultural landscape in any permanent fashion. Furthermore, research found no evidence suggesting that the maritime cultural landscape changed because of religious reasons. While churches abounded within New Bern, local churches did not purchase waterfront property or influence changes to the maritime cultural landscape anywhere in the historic record. Though New Bern received

societal support from religious organizations, the maritime cultural landscape did not reflect a relationship between religion and landscape change.

The most prominent aspects that affected New Bern's maritime cultural landscape were the economy, infrastructural modifications, and social factors. The waterfront shifted in different ways during the city's history as town residents altered the waterfront to meet their needs. As the town's population developed their culture around the maritime trade that dominated the waterfront, the economic and social aspects helped to shape the maritime cultural landscape.

After an in-depth study, this historical research focused on the economic trends the city underwent to understand the public's motivation for altering the landscape. The port of New Bern shifted its economic focus several times during the town's history. It originated as an agrarian production region that shifted to a naval stores economy, then to a regional marketplace, to transportation based economy, and finally to a modern tourist orientated economy. The examination of historic records helped to develop this interpretation of landscape changes. These records also benefited the archaeological study since it provided a cultural motive for the landscape changes. In addition, this thesis used this information to explain short range cultural trends that affected the maritime cultural landscape during the early years of New Bern's history, as the cartographic records and archaeological data failed to cover the town's entire history.

One challenge of the historic research is the lack of sources found within surviving newspaper articles. Newspaper articles rarely mentioned the town landscape or changes that occurred within. Instead, research found information primarily from stories which mentioned the construction of public or private infrastructure. This limited the effectiveness of newspaper articles for this study. Instead, the historic research utilized multiple libraries to piece together the available information on New Bern's maritime cultural landscape.

The North Carolina State Archives possesses a collection of maps specific to New Bern and provided regional maps of Craven County, the Trent River, and the Neuse River. These maps defined the outline of New Bern but were limited in number and only covered brief portions of the town's history. Research found several decades for which no maps existed and this limited the available geographic information of New Bern. Furthermore, maps focused on the county and outlying areas, with very few focusing on New Bern or the port infrastructure. This presented a lack of clarity for the waterfront prior to the 1860s outside of written records. These factors affected the definition of New Bern's maritime cultural landscape as very few map sources highlighted areas within the town that operated in the maritime environment.

Further research continued in the North Carolina room at East Carolina University's Joyner Library. The North Carolina room was very important for gathering information for this thesis. This archive contained a plethora of North Carolina newspapers, books, and journal articles related to New Bern. The abundance of secondary sources from this archive helped in the search for the few primary sources related to the maritime cultural landscape in the early decades. Research into the North Carolina collection helped to define the movement of New Bern's maritime cultural landscape and indicated the waterfront's cultural significance. The early study of New Bern's history began with Dr. Watson's *History of New Bern and Craven County*, which led to further inspection of the city's newspapers and journal articles for mention of any environmental changes to the waterfront.

These searches helped outline limitations on the agents of perceived landscape changes, specifically on the lack of importance of environmental factors and minimal findings on religious factors. Additional study of the town history suggested that research should include manmade changes of the river and waterfront to determine the role these may have had on the town's

maritime traffic. *The Journal of New Bern Historical Society* provided a starting point on the maritime aspects of the town, with heavy focus on the historical importance of the maritime traffic. Newspapers, copied on microfilm, mentioned few changes to the river that occurred beyond the town's immediate vicinity. This required further research into primary sources not found in the Joyner archives. However, the North Carolina collection had provided the first focus on the causes of landscape change.

Research trips to the North Carolina Underwater Archaeological Branch (UAB) became necessary to study the basic information for maritime projects that occurred within New Bern. The map collection at the UAB contained a conglomeration of the State Archives collection and several hand drawn shoreline maps. These shoreline maps outlined the expansion of Union Point from its original location to the modern equivalent. This suggested that the town has expanded the waterfront during its history and that the study of the current waterfront would lead to complications in the field. Since the town expanded into the river, the modern waterfront rests on backfill and would not provide significant evidence of the town's maritime history, barring extensive archaeological investigation. In addition, collected data from surveys and a student's unfinished thesis outlined most of the archaeological surveys done in New Bern. This information helped in the processing of data for the archeological aspect of this thesis.

A trip to the National Archives in Washington, D.C. helped in the study of federal government sponsored changes to the Neuse and Trent River. The Army Corp of Engineers conducted several projects in the Trent and Neuse Rivers which local newspapers did not cover. These government-funded projects dredged and expanded the two rivers several times between 1823 and 1911. These projects increased the potential for ship movement to New Bern and encouraged the development of trading networks upriver. River expansion projects helped

increase maritime traffic between New Bern, Kinston, Trenton, and Smithfield in the nineteenth century. This allowed New Bern to continue participation in the maritime trading networks and lengthened the city's time frame as a maritime cultural landscape.

Visitation to the Mariners' Museum in Newport News, Virginia allowed the study of older archive information on travelers who visited New Bern. Many of these sources included information specific to North Carolina, but few recorded any particulars about the city of New Bern or the landscape of the town. These sources primarily discussed first hand experiences on the environmental conditions of New Bern. Though a portion of this information discussed New Bern's shipping enterprises, it failed to note any landscape changes or increase of shipping to the town. Furthermore, research into the town's landscape changes from sociological changes were not found anywhere at this museum. The museum contained the *Travels of a Frenchman in North Carolina*, the story of an unnamed French nobleman who traveled through the Carolinas and into New Bern during the eighteenth century. The story discussed the limitations on river travel to New Bern and suggested the first limitations on river travel to the area. Specifically, it recorded that water depth limited the size of ships that could visit New Bern and the benefit of the town at the confluence of the Neuse and Trent Rivers.

The North Carolina Office of State Archaeology's library, located in Raleigh, and the Craven County Library in New Bern hold the complete collection of archaeological site surveys performed in the state. Research at both of these sites found archaeological details of projects performed in New Bern. The Craven County Library's Kellenberg Room, which focused on the history of New Bern, also contained historical sources specific to the town and the only intact copy of microfilm of the John Davis newspaper from 1759-1772. This archive helped outline New Bern's surviving history and added many secondary sources included in this thesis.

Map comparison

This thesis incorporates a cartographic collection of New Bern maps as part of the thesis study and for potential use in GIS maps. The collection and digitization of maps from the Craven County Library, the Sanborn Map Collection, and the North Carolina State Archives helped in the research of the changes in New Bern's maritime landscape. Maps of New Bern exist in abundance, but accurate and focused maps outlining the waterfront are few. Since this thesis attempted to compare the shifting shoreline and the landscape layout of the town, maps which provided focused contours of the town were needed.

The first map of New Bern was drawn in 1711 by John Lawson (Von Graffenried 1952). Though poorly drawn and lacking detail, it did present the general town layout as Lawson envisioned it. This map portrayed the town as a triangle centered on the confluence of the Neuse and Trent Rivers. The first accurate map of the city of New Bern came in 1769 from surveyor C.J. Sautheir. This map includes a very crisp outline of the town including roads and buildings. The Sautheir map supplied the starting point for New Bern's maritime cultural landscape reconstruction and helped in the GIS data collection as a means to compare addresses of maritime participants.

The next beneficial map included in this research was drawn by Colonel Jonathon Price in 1811 and redrawn in 1817. This Army Corp of Engineers map outlined the city's waterfront and noted the increased wharf construction that occurred from the 1780s to the early 1800s (Army Corp of Engineers 1903a). Sadly this map lacked town features and did not accurately present any significant maritime landscape changes that occurred after the Sautheir map. By the Civil War in the 1860s, maps became more prevalent. The 1864 Solon Allis map detailed the town of New Bern and the military construction that occurred during the war. This map also

presented the first expansion of the maritime landscape beyond New Bern as the recently created James City is introduced in 1863.

The Sanborn Map collection, a compilation of fire insurance maps, began including New Bern in 1885. The Sanborn Company redrew these maps every four to six years from 1888 onward. Sanborn maps are highly accurate, with the town divided into sections. These map sections outline the individual buildings and architectural features within New Bern. This helps in the determination of the maritime landscape because they show maritime infrastructure. However, sections of New Bern's waterfront are not recorded. The Sanborn maps are limited in use since the maps only record business or profitable enterprises and ignored private homes and structures along the town's periphery. Sections of New Bern are not drawn or are only highlighted along the edge of an existing section. The areas that qualify as residential or those sections that have houses within close proximity to companies are not mapped in the Sanborn Collection.

A second group of Army Corp of Engineer maps comes from a government dredging expedition from 1902. Major J. Kuhnigk drew the Kuhnigk maps of 1903 and 1907. These expedition maps outlined the waterfront and water depth of the Trent and Neuse Rivers. This helped interpret shipping travel since the expansion of water depth encouraged the town's maritime trading into the twentieth century. Research considered maps from other archives, but none of these maps provided the accuracy and focus needed for this thesis. A modern United States Geographic Service topographic map and a GIS map are included as part of this thesis, though neither of these maps provide the proper focus on maritime features.

Maritime Enclaves

This study included an in-depth research of historical records to discover potential maritime enclaves in New Bern. This thesis proposed to find the maritime enclaves within New Bern and study the movement of these enclaves during the city's history. In addition, this thesis intends to determine why this movement may have occurred and what relationship the maritime enclaves had with the cultural landscape.

A maritime enclave represents a section within a town or city whose inhabitants work in a maritime capacity. This capacity includes people who labor in the maritime field, companies who function as part of the maritime field, and family members who help support the employees and companies in some way. Historically maritime enclaves existed in different areas of New Bern over different periods of time. This section of the thesis is divided into two phases. The first phase collected historical data, as noted previously. The second phase included the positioning of names from the records and labeling these individuals according to a location within the city. To determine the limits of an enclave, this thesis outlined several requirements to signify an enclave.

First, the grouping of enclaves required an assumption of proximity through the census collection method. This study found that census employees did not record street addresses prior to the 1920s. This created a problem since without addresses, the proximity of homes had no known correlation. For the purpose of this thesis, the study assumed that census recorders utilized a pattern in their recording. In this case, the research supposed that a census worker worked along a street-by-street basis, visiting each house along that street before moving on to the next street. The pattern suggested that the first house would be within close proximity to the second house, and the second house would be close to the third house, etc. Therefore, for the

purpose of this thesis, it is assumed that maritime participants that lived within five houses of one another form an enclave.

Second, the practice of home renting and the division of town lots into quarters for houses meant that several individuals could live within close proximity. As many maritime participants lived within rented homes this meant that these individuals could move around with ease between census periods. Furthermore the number of homes built within town lots increased during New Bern's history. As the value of property increased the number of homes constructed within a town lot also increased. Where one house had traditionally resided on a town lot, four to five houses per lot was not unusual prior to the Civil War. The lack of recording of street addresses in the census mixed with the high number of homes in close proximity, two individuals could live on the same lot and be considered four 'doors' or 'families' from one another.

Third and finally, this thesis also incorporated a size limitation in conjunction with the determination of what quantifies a maritime enclave. Primarily maritime enclaves required a minimum of four maritime participants to qualify as an enclave after the 1840s. Prior to this, two participants qualified as an enclave. This limitation did not appear until the 1840s for a few reasons. Previous to the 1840s, the only historic record used to determine maritime enclaves was in *The Craven County Apprenticeship Bond's Records from 1748-1910*. The Apprenticeship Bond records provided insufficient information beyond the names of the Master, the Apprentice, and the occupation taught under the bond. The only way to establish location required finding the master within the historic records. This created a problem since very few apprenticeship bonds existed from 1748 to 1840. This limitation meant that many enclaves contained only two members: the master and the apprentice. For the purpose of this thesis, the research assumed that, if a master taught his apprentice a maritime skill, than he operated within the maritime

landscape and he might have other apprentices or family members working with him. Therefore, a maritime enclave of two would qualify prior to the 1840s Census records.

Research into census records also helped form the database for this thesis. However, the United States Census records from 1790-1830 did not contain enough information to be included in this study. Initially, the census only included the name, race, gender, and age of a citizen. In 1820, the federal government added occupation to the survey. These early records still remained insufficient since census records divided jobs into three categories: manufacturing, agrarian, or labor. In the 1840 Census records, the occupation data recorded information in an open space and designated this data according to a citizen's answers. This thesis studied the Census records from 1840-1930 and incorporated the information into an excel spreadsheet. This spreadsheet recorded the names of every citizen employed in a maritime occupation within New Bern, Bridgton, and James City. This methodology helped discover several maritime enclaves within New Bern, but failed to locate any within James City and Bridgton. The Census records for James City and Bridgeton did not include addresses of many citizens. This lack of information led to the interpretation of several potential enclaves that lacked attachment within their existing cities. This lack of geographic reference material prevented the inclusion of this information within the thesis GIS map.

The second phase employed the historic record to find locations for maritime enclaves. This phase employed the *North Carolina State Colonial Records*, local newspapers, and primary sources to locate the maritime participants. Since enclaves contained several members, this research attempted to develop locations for each participant. The Census records from 1880-1930 contained addresses. Limitations from these addresses occurred in the historic record because modern addresses do not always correspond to old addresses. This required the

comparison of old street intersections with modern street intersections to provide a more accurate location.

Archaeological Fieldwork

East Carolina University conducted an underwater survey of the New Bern waterfront in the summer of 2007 under the supervision of Dr. Larry Babits and Dr. David Stewart. This survey used side scan sonar and magnetometer to search the riverbanks of the Neuse and Trent Rivers for ships and other cultural material. It was hoped that the underwater survey would provide data that could be compared with and linked to sites investigated on land. Due to several factors, however, data from the underwater survey was never processed. In the end, it was decided to limit this thesis to elements of the maritime cultural landscape that exist above water. The underwater survey data, however, remains available to scholars interested in doing future studies in the area. Second, multiple pedestrian field surveys of the waterfront district recorded, through photography and note taking, the remnants of cultural artifacts that originated as part of the maritime cultural landscape.

Pedestrian survey methodology included a systematic survey on land to identify and record information about the past maritime infrastructure that still exists in the present landscape. This survey inspected waterfront locations to determine the extent of surviving maritime infrastructure and the significance of specific areas. Due to the increased costs of waterfront property and the changeover to private ownership, limited access to many sections of New Bern's waterfront hindered this survey. This fieldwork inspected four existing sites: Union Point, an abandoned lot at King Street and East Front Street, Jack Smith Creek, and Detective Smith Park. These four sites provided public access to former maritime cultural landscape areas.

On-site inspection of the sites included photography, sketches, and comparison to historical maps of the area. This fieldwork compared artifacts and cultural refuse to historic information about the area to determine the role it played in the landscape. This survey recorded the information for comparison and is included as part of Appendix 1 of this master's thesis. In addition, a random sampling survey of the town lots attempted to determine the modern character of New Bern's maritime culture. This survey inspected the town to find remnants of the maritime cultural landscape and record that information on a GIS map.

Problems occurred in the archaeological fieldwork from a limitation of access. Several lots in New Bern had visible archaeological material, but the denial of access prevented the inclusion of these sites in this thesis. Realmark Coastal Development LLC owns the ruins of the Newbern Cotton Oil & Fertilizer Mills and the Broaddus & Ives Lumber Company, located off Griffith St. and the Neuse River. Both companies operated in the early twentieth century and played a role in the maritime cultural landscape. Access to both sites have been forbidden due to legal issues. Figure 3.1 and 3.2 shows photos of the sites and the existing rails that are visible from Griffith Street.



FIGURE 3.1. Site of the former Newborn Cotton Oil & Fertilizer Mills (Photo 315 taken 1/23/2011 by Jeremy Eamick).



FIGURE 3.2. Rails that travel into the old Broaddus & Ives Lumber Company (Photo 317 taken 01/23/2011 by Jeremy Eamick).

In addition, the Barbour Boat Works facility was demolished in 2006. The Department of Cultural Resources planned an excavation of the site, but the survey has not been published as of 2011. This loss of an archaeological survey caused problems since the site was a significant part of the maritime cultural landscape. However, without that report, no archaeological information concerning this site could be included in this thesis.

GIS database collection

This thesis incorporated data from historical research and archaeological surveys into a GIS database in order to examine maritime enclave movement during New Bern's history. Census data and employment records supplemented the GIS database to provide a picture of the

town's maritime cultural landscape. Using a modern map of New Bern this database added the names and addresses of maritime participants as separate fields. This project divided a single map into four maps that cover the town's history within the four eras observed in this thesis.

Methodology Problems

The research for this thesis revealed several problems during the process. Available information in the historic records was limited in focus and rarely included the waterfront. This created a problem in determining a location with the geospatial reference of maritime enclaves. The archaeological surveys included in this thesis occurred with limited access in select areas. These surveys were also performed around existing infrastructures and residential homes which created a dearth of available data pertaining to New Bern's maritime cultural landscape.

The historic records of New Bern are inconsistent prior to the 1730s because the original settlers kept few records and lacked accurate maps of the town. Further problems occurred when land ownership changed hands from Von Graffenried to Thomas Pollack in the 1720s. This changeover led to the cancellation of preexisting land rents and the resale of town lots to new settlers. This created a problem in the determination of original ownership and any maritime cultural landscape changes that occurred prior to the 1730s.

Further developments in New Bern exacerbated the lack of information, as no accurate cartographic records existed prior to the C.J. Sautheir map of 1769. The first few decades of New Bern's history remained vague in connection with maritime landscape changes outside the mention of ownership takeovers or inheritance. These factors limited the ability to cover New Bern's history completely, though this thesis used the available information to determine some landscape changes in the waterfront. This lack of information occurred throughout the

eighteenth and nineteenth century as New Bern residents did not record changes along the waterfront. Instead, most maritime cultural landscape changes developed quietly or went unrecorded. Proper records of the town's waterfront remained vague and inaccurate until the late nineteenth century when the maritime transportation aspect of New Bern's history dominated the local economy.

Additional problems occurred during the development of information for GIS mapping. The maritime enclaves of New Bern actually number more than those recorded on the GIS maps developed for this thesis. For the purpose of this thesis, several unassociated maritime enclaves were not included in the maps. This happened because of the lack of geospatial points of reference, which meant that these enclaves could have existed anywhere within New Bern. This is significant since from 1850-1870, when census research found 19 maritime enclaves with no verifiable physical locale. The placement of these enclaves in any one area without correct physical location could have affected interpretation of the maritime cultural landscape. If five maritime participants lived within a four house proximity to a major participant with a known address, this allowed for the inclusion of these participants in one enclave. Major participants included merchants, doctors, ship builders, and individuals who operated within the maritime environment in the historic records. The inclusion of addresses helped in the determination of maritime enclaves since the exact location allowed for accurate placement on a map and determination of a maritime enclave's size.

Furthermore, the increase in house construction that occurred during the late nineteenth century shifted New Bern's cultural landscape as the density of homes increased. This occurred as individual town lots became divided into quarters which increased the number of houses. Prior to the increase in home density, the number of people that lived upon a street varied based

on the numbers of homes available. As homes multiplied, the separation between maritime participants could increase from four to eight or ten homes. Yet these maritime participants could have remained within their original homes. This potentially widened the proximity of maritime participants and left individual participants outside of maritime enclaves. Potentially, this could have decreased the number of maritime participants in the late nineteenth century.

Further problems occurred in the archaeological records. The archaeological record contained data for only a few areas of New Bern's maritime cultural landscape. Three surveys covered property that operated within the maritime cultural landscape of New Bern and only one survey covered the expanded waterfronts along Bridgeton and James City. The surveys performed along the maritime cultural landscape that abutted the waterfront found that many excavations included sterile soil. Sterile soil represents the inclusion of a new archaeological layer introduced during the town's occupied history. Since this soil resides primarily along the waterfront, it represents an area created incidentally by humans as part of the backfill that occurred along the waterfront. This soil has few if any artifacts and no association with the cultural landscape of the town.

For example, a Trent River waterfront excavation found evidence of early twentieth century structures atop this sterile soil (Hartley [1984].: 1-3). The excavation of four pits found the remnants of an old hotel, known primarily as the Gaston Hotel, which burned down in 1965. This site contained two feet of sterile soil above the hotel site in 4 excavated units. This large deposit of sterile soil could reflect the movement of the waterfront as it shifted farther into the rivers. Since this sterile soil occurred in several areas, the soil represents a potential shift in context that could affect archaeological evidence found in those areas. The inclusion of sterile soil along the waterfront has created an extension of the maritime cultural landscape in some

areas that broach further into the Neuse and Trent rivers. However, this buildup of soil may have overlapped existing maritime infrastructure or artifacts and removed the archaeological context. Since the Trent Waterfront excavation included the use of a backhoe to excavate the sterile soil quickly (Hartley [1984]: 2), the potential for loss of context exists in this archaeological data.

These limitations in available surveys hindered the ability to study landscape changes. Furthermore, the shift in New Bern's cultural landscape away from the maritime world in the twentieth century destroyed or altered many areas that once operated in the maritime landscape. These limitations required the use of all available resources as a dearth of archaeological information did not help the study of the maritime cultural landscape.

Chapter 4

New Bern's Maritime Cultural Landscape from the 1710s to the 1780s: The Beginning of a Central Place

Initial Decades: 1710—1720s

New Bern's maritime landscape began with its settlement in September of 1710 (Dill 1945a:16) by Christoph Von Graffenried and his business partner Franz Louis Michael. Together these men purchased 10,000 acres from the George Ritter Mining Company in 1709 under the Lord Proprietors (Saunders 1993a: 707). Von Graffenried purchased land between the Neuse and Cape Fear rivers for its mining rights (Von Graffenried 1920: 3). These Swiss entrepreneurs created the Ritter and Cie Company and gathered investors to support an expedition. The company planned to develop a colony in the Carolinas that would profit via trade with the West Indies and through mining.

Von Graffenried and Michaels gathered Swiss and German refugees from England to found the town. The colonization plan called for the immigrants to settle along a river farther south of Bath, North Carolina and Von Graffenried hired John Lawson to assist them. Lawson, a traveler and entrepreneur, supported the colonization effort of the company in exchange for property rights (Lefler and Newsome 1954: 50). Together Von Graffenried and Lawson took three shiploads of immigrants in the early summer of 1710 and landed at what is now Union Point on 10 September. The three ships contained 77 families of Swiss and German origin. These settlers represented migrants who moved to England in 1709 to avoid religious strife in their homeland and sought land in the new world (Rohrbach 2003: 7-8).

The expedition's landing area contained an occupied Native American village which doubled as a trading area for the occupants. Chattowke, the Native American tribe located at New Bern, sold the property rights to the settlers (Von Graffenried 1920: 53-64). The Native Americans vacated the immediate area although they retained cabins in close proximity to the Trent River as part of the agreement.

The settlement's location at the convergence of two rivers represented an ideal point for trade and transportation in the river basin. The junction of the two rivers, named Union Point by the settlers, acted as a transportation point between ocean and river traffic (Westerdahl 1993: 1). A transportation point is a geographic area where the means of transport are changed and goods shift to new transport to continue movement (Westerdahl 1998: 3). The Neuse River becomes shallower and narrower upriver from Union Point and the Trent River becomes much narrower upriver to the southwest. Lawson recognized the benefit of Union Point for its river access and claimed the land for the settlement of New Bern (Von Graffenried 1920: 226-228).

Lawson surveyed the settlement upon landing and sketched a layout of the proposed township with Union Point as the focal point. The town's landscapes stretched along the riverbanks as Lawson sectioned the town into lots for the settlers to purchase. This is readily apparent in the first map of New Bern, as seen in Figure 4.1. Graffenried signed contracts with the colonists for these units and dispersed the settlers along the waterfront (Sloatman 1954: 3). New Bern's early population included an industrious society of craftsman and farmers (Rohrbach 2003: 55-57). Von Graffenried accepted skilled colonists with the intent to become self-sufficient quickly. The craft positions of the settlers consisted of blacksmiths, locksmiths, sailors, a miller, a butcher, a weaver, saddlers, potters, millers, a surgeon, a physician, a schoolmaster, masons, carpenters and joiners.

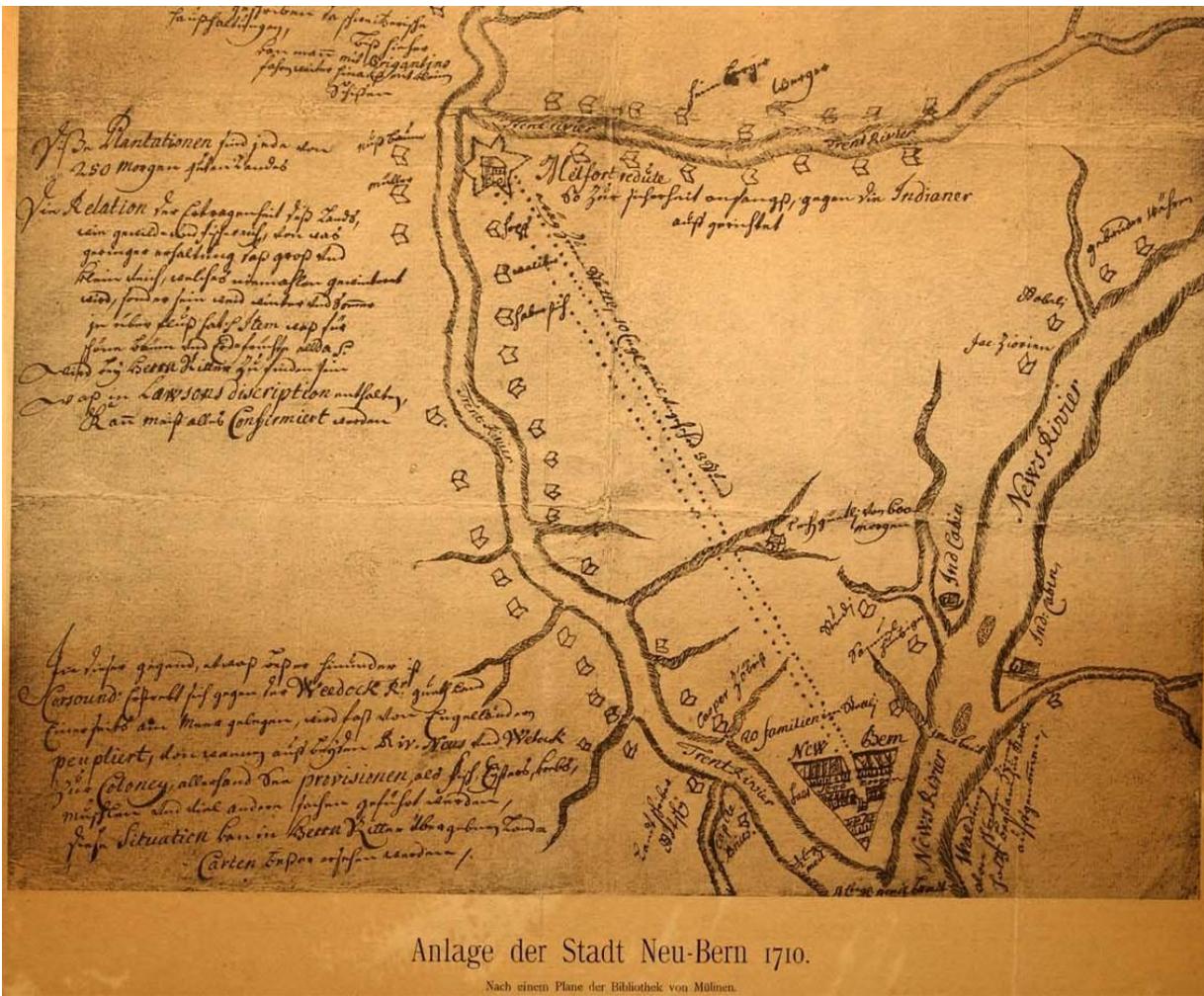


FIGURE 4.1. First Map of New Bern 1710 by John Lawson (Included in Von Graffenried 1920)

Lawson and Von Graffenried intended for Union Point to operate as the town center and the maritime connection for the settlement. The waterfront beyond Union Point remained primarily an agrarian area throughout the 1710s-1720s as a majority of the town's founders worked as farmers (Rohrbach 2003). Initial construction plans along the waterfront called for a courthouse and a mill (Von Graffenried 1920: 228). The first maritime construction occurred when the settlers built a wharf that extended into the Trent River near Union Point (Kirwan 1989: 5). Union Point became the original maritime cultural landscape of the town and the central place of the Neuse River basin shortly after the town's founding.

Problems prevented any significant growth in New Bern as the colony struggled after a Native American uprising. In 1711, the Tuscarora Native American tribes captured Von Graffenried and Lawson on a survey expedition (Von Graffenried 1920: 79). The Native Americans killed Lawson and incited the Tuscarora War. The war threatened the entire region of eastern North Carolina. The New Bern settlers panicked and withdrew to the town to defend themselves from Native American attacks. The constant threat of attack forced the settlers to abandon the town during this war. Von Graffenried attempted to resettle the colonists in Virginia for safety but failed to convince his financiers or the Governor of Virginia to provide land to his colonists. In the end, the colonists abandoned New Bern until after the war (Watson 1987: 41-44). In 1714, a few of the colonists returned to New Bern and resumed their lifestyle along the rivers.

Von Graffenried lost control of his New Bern properties shortly after the Tuscarora War. The lack of profit made from trade and the increased debt incurred by the colony forced Von Graffenried to sell his property rights to the town. Thomas Pollock purchased the 900 acres of New Bern (Von Graffenried 1920: 91-99). Pollock, an English merchant, lived on the Chowan River and did business with Von Graffenried during the town's colonization. Von Graffenried had borrowed heavily from Pollock to purchase food during the first few years of the colony (Saunders 1993b: 166-167). Pollock purchased the town in exchange for the debt that Von Graffenried owed him. Thomas Pollock remained in control as an absentee proprietor until his death in 1722. His tenure as owner remained as a quiet observer; he preferred to leave the settlers in place rather than cause problems (Bradley 2001: 2).

New Bern's growth followed the water's edge as immigrants moved to the Neuse River basin in the late 1710s-1720s. Union Point became a transport zone for immigration and trade

goods in the Neuse River basin. The reduction in water depth in the Neuse River north of New Bern prevented travel for most ocean going ships. Transportation that sailed upstream from New Bern depended upon the use of smaller more shallow drafted vessels incapable of sea travel; whereas New Bern's harbor allowed for ships of up to eight feet of draft and two hundred tons burthen to reach the town (*American Historical Review [AHR]* 1921: 737).

These geographic obstacles meant that New Bern became the transportation point of the Neuse River Basin. This led to the development of trade networks along the small creeks and rivers that abounded in the river basin. This meant that foreign goods and immigrants first traveled to New Bern before taking smaller ships upstream to new settlements. These factors allowed New Bern to develop into a focal point for trade in the Neuse River basin (Kirwan 1989: 16). The continued development of transportation networks in the rivers provided excellent areas for production of natural resources, primarily rice and meat from 1710s-1730s (Bicknell 1963: 7-8). This cycle of growth through the trade networks proliferated quickly in the late 1720s.

New Bern's maritime cultural landscape remained insignificant during the 1710s. The large amount of farmers living in or near New Bern and the few skilled artisans that remained after the Tuscarora War left the town with minimal trading options (Watson 1987: 21-22). Moreover the only trading fleets that visited New Bern traveled primarily from the New England colonies (*AHR* 1921: 738-739; Williams 1935: 176). This dearth of traffic stymied growth along the waterfront and left the town with minimal maritime trade participation.

Through the 1720s, New Bern had maintained the role of a small agrarian town with few maritime features (Brickell 1963: 5). Traveling historian John Brickell noted his view of New Bern in his journal: "New Berne is situated on the South-side of the Neuse River, with a pleasant

Prospect of that River: This Town has but a few individuals or inhabitants in it at present" (Brickell 1963: 8).

However, Thomas Pollock's ownership of New Bern led to increased growth and prosperity. Pollock used his authority as a Colonial Governor to appoint New Bern as the Craven County seat (Saunders 1993b: vi-viii). The designation as county seat created a need for an administration to run the local government. This act boosted the town's importance in the immediate area and attracted a county sheriff, judges, clerks, and tax collectors (Watson 1987: 22-28). The creation of government offices cemented New Bern's role as the central place in the region.

The death of Thomas Pollack in August of 1722 led to changes in New Bern. Pollock willed the town and surrounding area to his son, Cullen Pollock (Bradley 2001:13). Cullen discontinued his father's role as an absentee property owner, declared the original settler's contracts void, and demanded they leave New Bern (Saunders 1993d: 958). This created an extended court case as the settlers refused to leave (Saunders 1993d: 618). In 1728, Pollock won the case and forced the settlers from New Bern by the end of the 1720s. Cullen Pollock then re-divided the lots and sold them to English settlers. The new settlers purchased the waterfront lots first and the second colonization began in New Bern in the early 1730s (Dill 1945c: 319). The overall town structure remained similar to the original design. The houses constructed along the waterfront represented the most important real estate available in the town as the wealthiest colonists purchased land along the water and constructed maritime infrastructure to meet the shipping needs of the town (Watson 1987: 42).

The Landscape Blossoms: The 1730s

By the 1730s, New Bern controlled the regional markets and transportation routes of the Neuse River basin (Dill 1945d: 466-468). Furthermore the towns and villages situated along the Neuse and Trent Rivers now visited New Bern to obtain government services. This step as county seat boosted the economy of the area since it required ships to stop at New Bern for tax purposes and to handle government regulations.

This surge in prosperity paralleled the purchase of North Carolina by England in 1729. That monumental event shifted the governmental control of the colony to England and led to the employment of a Royal Governor who could affect the colony's growth. Prior to this, the Lord Proprietors assigned offices of government to select towns such as Port Beaufort. In the 1710s, Port Beaufort had operated as the seat of government offices in this region of North Carolina (Saunders 1993b: 454). With the insertion of the royal colonial government, Cullen Pollock's victory in his court case, and the emigration of the original settlers from New Bern, the power base shifted away from Port Beaufort. New Bern gained its authority as the county capitol enforced by the royal government, and this led to new growth for the city beginning in the 1730s (Dill 1946a: 49-51).

The role of county capitol created government offices that influenced the town's maritime culture. In the early 1730s, the tax collection office, county court, and sheriff offices moved to New Bern (Watson 1987: 22-24). These offices participated in maritime traffic as ship captains paid taxes, filed documents, and occasionally required the assistance of the law. This led to ships bypassing Port Beaufort and sailing to New Bern for government services (Dill 1945d: 465). Moreover, the increase in shipping traffic to the colony encouraged greater use of New Bern's marketplace. This led to county residents visiting the town to trade their goods.

These initial marketplace growths also lead to a wave of immigrants to fill the needs of the government and expand the town's infrastructure (Watson 1987: 22-26).

The immigration movement of the 1730s began with an infusion of government offices, followed closely by merchants and laborers (Saunders 1993c: 193). With prime land available along the city's waterfront, English merchants traveled to North Carolina to purchase these lots. This swell in profitable enterprises also encouraged laborers to move to New Bern and this helped stimulate the town's overall growth (Dill 1945d: 467). This population turnover quickly altered the town's landscape as the incoming merchants constructed business infrastructures such as wharves and warehouses. The influx of population led to improved government buildings, participation in infrastructure management, and improving the lifestyles of the citizens of New Bern (Watson 1987: 27).

New Bern still suffered from the location problems that hounded the rest of North Carolina. Edenton continued to house the colonial capitol during the beginning decades of the eighteenth century (Watson 1987: 33-35). Travel between the two towns took days by sea and weeks by land. The construction of roads between towns continued slowly in the colony and land travel remained hazardous. This created problems for state government officials who needed to appear regularly in the colonial capitol (Kirwan 1989: 5-8). Moreover, the new investment opportunities in New Bern failed to draw large amounts of immigrants to the area and the population remained small into the 1740s (Watson 1987: 37-51). These developments justified an improvement in the maritime landscape of New Bern as waterborne transportation became the primary means of travel for government service. The increase in maritime traffic to New Bern during the 1720s and 1730s stalled as the infrastructure failed to handle the maritime

needs. This promoted growth and expansion in the town as increased shipping along the river encouraged the development of maritime culture.

New Bern's maritime landscape grew in size as the waterfront became a staging area for the town's marketplace (Kirwan 1989). The merchant wharves concentrated along the Trent River waterfront. This placement occurred because of the greater water depth along the shoreline, which allowed for shorter wharves and easier ship access. The Neuse waterfront remained an agrarian phenomenon as maritime landscape construction remained minimal due to the shallow nature of the river. This depth problem required the construction of longer wharves and, later, dredging of the harbor to allow for ship access along the upper Neuse waterfront (Army Corp of Engineers 1903b).

In the late 1730s New Bern's maritime population entered into the naval stores trade. This industry had increased slowly starting in the mid-1730s. Originally, New Bern's agrarian nature and population problems had prevented the industry from advancing (Kirwan 1989: 28). However, the demand for naval stores had increased during the early 1730s and was followed by an increase in colonial trade. The necessity of a large labor force for the naval stores trade attracted immigrants and the town finally grew in population (Lore 1996: 5-10). The town population expanded alarmingly from fifty people to over forty families by the mid-1730s. This forced the town to expand quickly to meet the growing population needs. Naval stores were an important part of the eighteenth century maritime world. These stores include tar, turpentine, and pitch, three products produced through the harvesting of tree sap in various forms (Perry 1968: 510). These products were used on ships as caulking, sealing, and weather protection agents. The use of naval stores was vastly important to a world where trade routes depended on the water (Williams 1935: 169-171). Nations such as Great Britain gathered wealth from strong

navies. The inclusion of the American colonies under the power of Great Britain provided a great source of naval stores for the British Royal Navy.

New Bern prospered from its participation in the trade between the American colonies and England. An English act of government had stimulated the sudden growth in naval stores production in the 1730s and 1740s (Kirwan 1990: 24-25). The Royal Navy's dependence on naval stores to maintain its role as the dominant navy required a huge resource base. This dependency created a strong market in Great Britain for naval stores. Great Britain found this base of resources in the American colonies. The government passed the Naval Stores Bounty Act of 1705 to encourage this trade with the colonies (Williams 1935: 170-172). This act rewarded colonial traders with bounties for the export of naval stores to Great Britain. Merchants received three pounds per ton of rosin, four pounds per ton of tar or pitch. These bonuses benefited New Bern once the town started trading in naval stores. As the industry increased during the 1730s, trade with Great Britain followed until New Bern produced 60 percent of the naval stores shipped to England in the 1760s (de Nijs and Brigham 2004: 20).

With the increase in trade and population, the Neuse waterfront expanded into a maritime landscape. The area above Union Point along the Neuse River became a staging area for tar mills (Watson 1987: 44-48). These mills imported naval stores from the river basin and manufactured tar along the water. The placement of these mills stemmed directly from the river's use as a transportation route and the openness of the location. The Trent waterfront had expanded prior to the naval stores trade and had a developed waterfront. The northern edge of the Neuse waterfront still had a few homes and remained part of the agrarian landscape.

The 1730s expanded the profitable opportunities for New Bern, but it did not catapult the town into prominence. Three factors hindered the town's growth during the 1730s. First, limited

transportation routes continued to restrict town growth. This limitation affected the immigration movement in North Carolina as settlers continued to remain concentrated in the Northeastern region of the colony (Watson 1987: 54-58; Saunders 1993c: 528-529). The Royal government attempted to improve river navigation throughout the 1730s to boost maritime traffic to New Bern, but high costs prevented this from happening (Saunders 1993d: 240). Second, Edenton's role as the central place of North Carolina and as the colonial capitol remained pivotal in North Carolina's growth as New Bern attracted fewer immigrants until the 1740s. Third, river navigation remained hazardous compared to the Pamlico or the Atlantic Ocean, and not all of the merchant ships could access New Bern easily or safely (Brickell 1963: 7).

County Capitol, a Rise in Trade: 1740s-1750s

New Bern's maritime landscape grew during the 1740s-1750s due to several factors. First, New Bern's role as the region's central place became entrenched and expanded. Second, the naval stores industry produced greater profits. Third, New Bern developed support infrastructure that improved the town's image and attracted further development from outsiders. The combination of these three factors led to county population increase and led to expansion of the maritime cultural landscape away from the waterfront, which further assisted in the prosperity of New Bern.

The affirmation of New Bern as the regional central place helped the maritime cultural landscape grow. The 1740s-1750s began with a rise in trade that flowed through the town. New Bern merchants participated in trade networks between the West Indies and New England, sending naval stores, corn, wheat, flax, rye, oats, indigo, peas, hides, pork, beef, and potatoes (Watson 1987: 57-59). This occurred as the small increase in county population from the

previous decade led to increased resource production in the river basin. These resources then flowed through New Bern's market onto ships (Watson 1987: 42-55). This trade pattern cemented New Bern's role as the central place in the region and encouraged the marketplace growth that developed in the 1740s. New Bern's role as a central place encouraged further growth in the river basin and led to the establishment of satellite locations that depended upon the town's marketplace for trade.

Furthermore, the naval stores trade that began in the mid-1730s gained momentum from a drastic need for these resources (Williams 1935: 175-177). The Royal Navy required an abundant source of naval stores that the Neuse River basin could provide. Previously England had depended on the Baltic region to supply naval stores. The rise of political problems and war between the Baltic kingdoms of Finland, Russia, and Sweden led to an increase in the price of naval stores in the mid-1700s which hurt England (Williams 1935: 172-173). However as population increased in the American colonies, access to cheaper naval stores did as well (Watson 1987: 41-45).

This rise in the naval stores industry attracted immigrants to the Neuse River basin. The county's population increased as people traveled to New Bern to work in the forests (Watson 1987: 56-58). The benefits of developing along the riverbanks attracted immigrants from several countries. One unknown author suggested in his 1733 writings to the Scottish people about his thoughts on North Carolina:

The pine barren is worst, being almost all sand; yet it bears the pine trees, and some useful plants, naturally yielding good profit in pitch, tar, and turpentine. When this sort of land is cleared, which is done very easily, it produces for two or three years together, very good crops of Indian corn and pease; and, when it lies low, and is flooded, it answers for rice. Their low rich swampy grounds bear rice, which is one of the staple commodities. It is, as before reserved, that on the sides of the rivers, all the good timber, and large useful trees, are found in abundance; behind these stretches of good land the country is covered with pines and firs, from which tar, turpentine, and rosin are made,

and for which articles there is a fund inexhaustible for years (*North Carolina Historical Review* 1926: 611).

The availability of agrarian wealth encouraged immigration movements throughout the colony as the population density shifted from the northeastern edge to the southern region of North Carolina (Dill 1946a: 48-52). This immigration movement improved the Neuse River basin's overall population and led to further increases in regional importance as the satellite locations shipped resources through New Bern.

The demand for naval stores attracted merchants and immigrants together to New Bern or satellite locations located upstream. The naval stores trade prospered in New Bern from an abundance of hard woods and pine trees in the coastal region and the river basin (Williams 1935; Perry 1968). Smaller towns situated upriver participated in this trade by harvesting the trees for lumber, tar, turpentine, and pitch (Kirwan 1990: 20-23). These towns shipped the goods down river to New Bern for processing. The growth of turpentine mills and tar production facilities along the Neuse River expanded New Bern's waterfront and made the town into the chief market for production. The merchants of New Bern then exported these processed goods to foreign markets and imported slaves, rum, salt, and wine (Watson 1987: 58-59). The merchants traded these goods to the satellite locations upriver for more naval stores and foodstuffs. This circular trading practice survived through the dependable satellite locations and increased the town's wealth for the remainder of the eighteenth century.

As the region expanded and population increased, additional government offices opened to service the population (Watson 1987: 44). These offices attracted entrepreneurs from England and created an environment of profit as growth led to business opportunities. In the late 1740s, government growth led to the resurvey of the town and reconstruction of the roads (Dill 1945d: 469). Further expansion led to increased communications networks and infrastructure such as

improvements in the roads, bridges, and ferries in the region (Dill 1945d: 474-475). The advancement of the town infrastructure helped improve New Bern's image and attracted future expectations from Royal Governor Gabriel Johnston.

New Bern's significance grew due to the influence of Governor Johnston. Johnston governed North Carolina from 1734 until his death in 1752 (Crabtree: 35-36). Governor Johnston's role as the longest running royal governor of the North Carolina colony began with his suggested movement of the government offices. In the 1730s, New Bern's role as a central place received merit under Johnston. Governor Johnston recognized the importance of New Bern location in the future colony's growth and shared this concept with others. In a letter to the Lords of the Board of Trade, he stated, "That for the future the court of Chancery be held twice each year Viz. on the first Tuesday of December and first Tuesday in June at New Bern at present the most central place of the province where all the Members of Council shall be obliged to attend" (Saunders 1993d: 202-207). Johnston had discovered the importance of central placement for development of a region. The governor realized that New Bern's location at the confluence of two rivers and along a major river basin provided the perfect opportunity to take advantage of the colonial markets that would develop along the Neuse River. Johnston's first act moved the chancery court to New Bern in 1736 and strengthened the city government's role in the colony (Kirwan 1988: 5).

Governor Johnston then moved the colonial capitol from Edenton to New Bern in 1747. Johnston encouraged this movement since New Bern's place was centrally located between the Albemarle and Cape Fear regions (Saunders 1993d: 844). This decision catapulted New Bern into the position of the premier city in North Carolina. The town further prospered from the growth of more government buildings under Johnston (Crabtree 1958: 35-36). The residents of

New Bern took advantage of the sudden increase in trade that occurred and shifted its industry deeper into naval stores production (Kirwan 1988: 4). The maritime landscape on the Neuse River expanded with the growth of industry, as the residents replaced the farmland north of town with industrial buildings along the river (Watson 1987: 54-88). The Neuse shoreline directly above Union Point became the primary staging site for the naval stores trade (Sautheir 1769). Turpentine mills and docks nestled along the riverbanks to take advantage of water transportation routes. Furthermore, the Trent River underwent change with the addition of several wharves to accommodate increased shipping demands. The wave of merchants that moved to New Bern occupied the Trent waterfront and constructed wharves outside their homes (Watson 1987: 58-60). This buildup of maritime infrastructure continued for several years as incoming merchants operated businesses out of the warehouses and wharves near their homes.

This development of industries based on maritime trade led to the creation of maritime enclaves within the town. The constant visitation of mariners required that carpenters, merchants, and sailors reside in New Bern to service the ships (Watson 1987: 53-58). Vessels required repairs, water, victuals, replacement sailors, exportation products, and other supportive functions that New Bern then developed. These needs provided economic opportunities that New Bern residents handled. As the residents started working within the maritime cultural landscape, they became maritime participants. As the maritime infrastructure increased the number of maritime participants also increased. Eventually, maritime enclaves cropped up within and around this supportive infrastructure. These enclaves began with developments along the maritime landscape that abutted the water and shifted throughout the town's remaining landscape overtime. Initially, with the limited size of the town, the maritime enclaves formed around the waterfronts. This changed during the city's history as the enclaves shifted away from

the expensive waterfront properties and moved further into the city. This increased the size of the maritime landscape as the enclaves introduced a maritime atmosphere into sections of the city that did not border the waterfront.

New Bern suffered a setback in 1757 when Governor Arthur Dobbs moved the seat of government to Wilmington (Saunders 2003: 580). This shift in government hurt New Bern in the short term as the government employees and offices left town. The loss of the colonial government decimated a small portion of the town's population, but did not affect the majority. Many citizens remained employed in the naval stores industry, maritime trade, and agricultural production (Dill 1945c). The local economy continued to trade with its satellite locations and hold market for the region but the population immigration slowed for several years.

The Rise of the Colonial Capitol: 1760s-1770s

New Bern's participated in an era of vast growth and prosperity as several factors merged to improve the town's economy and altered the maritime landscape. The return of the colonial capitol to New Bern led directly to the reconstruction of the region's infrastructure. This reconstruction movement improved the town's maritime accessibility and networks. River improvements, road construction, wharf changes, and general town infrastructure improvements led to the town's expansion. These changes benefited New Bern's maritime landscape as increased traffic led to a continued rise in the importance of the town's maritime infrastructure while encouraging growth in the maritime sector.

Shortly after he took office in 1765, Royal Governor William Tryon returned the city's status to that of a colonial capitol, providing many benefits to the town (Powell 1980: 54-55). Governor Tryon recognized the city's importance in the region and the colony's development.

The governor believed that New Bern represented an excellent area for trade and that the city's location would contribute to future growth in the colony. His first observation to the Board of Trade stated the following,

I spent two months in a Tour thro' this province & am determined in my pinion that the public Business of it can be carried on no where with so much Conveniency and Advantage to far the greatest part of the Inhabitants, as at Newberne, a Town Situated on a Neck of Land at the Confluence of the Rivers Neuse & Trent" (Powell 1980: 55).

Once New Bern became the colonial capitol, the town needed improvements for the upcoming surge in trade, population, and transportation that would visit the port (Watson 1987: 118).

These developments began shortly after 1765.

The colonial government began to redevelop the transportation infrastructure around New Bern in the mid to late 1760s. The royal government attempted to improve river travel between New Bern and Port Beaufort with the construction of a more navigable route. These improvement plans called for increasing river depth in select areas and suggested the construction of a canal. The first canal plans endeavored to connect Harlow and Clubfoot creeks together (Saunders 2004a: 684-685). This canal would provide New Bern with a shorter navigation route to Port Beaufort and thus the Atlantic Ocean. This plan fell through in the late 1760s due to limited financial support for the project (Hinshaw 1948: 7). Further plans continued to call for improvements in the waterway throughout the 1760s-1770s. These plans included the removal of dams and clearance of debris from the water (Saunders 2004a: 974, 2004b: 767)

The poor condition of roads in the colony in the 1760s necessitated maritime travel. Governor Tryon noted the problem of decayed roads and poor travel when he toured the state in 1767. Wagon travel to Hillsborough from New Bern took over seventeen days to travel 130 miles, or 7 miles a day (Powell 1980: 578). This slowed communications and hindered the

governor's ability to provide organization. The improvements of roads toward the interior of the state required government funding, of which England provided very little. These problems only reiterated the importance of maritime travel. Waterways provided faster and safer means of travel than the traditional overland routes (Watson 1987: 131-132). This encouraged river improvements throughout the colony and benefited all of the coastal towns in North Carolina. New Bern prospered from its location along two rivers since the improvements to ocean access helped the town gain in prosperity.

Moreover, the combination of improved transportation routes to the town and population growth led to the ascension of maritime enclaves within New Bern during the 1760s. These enclaves, though few in number or size, had gained in strength during the previous decades but only became visible in the historic record by the 1760s. The original enclaves formed erratically throughout the maritime cultural landscape, usually in and around the homes of citizens. Adventurous townspeople such as Thomas McLin, Dr. Isaac Guion, Dr. Thomas Haslin, and Richard Ellis participated within the maritime enclaves as they also operated within the non-maritime cultural landscape (Apprentice Bonds 2011). These men accepted apprentices and taught them skills such as sail making, ship carpentry, and navigation. As citizens, these men prospered through the maritime trade of the town, many owning ships or even working on or around them. The following GIS map of New Bern shows the proportional data accumulated from the 1740s to the 1780s (Figure 4.2).

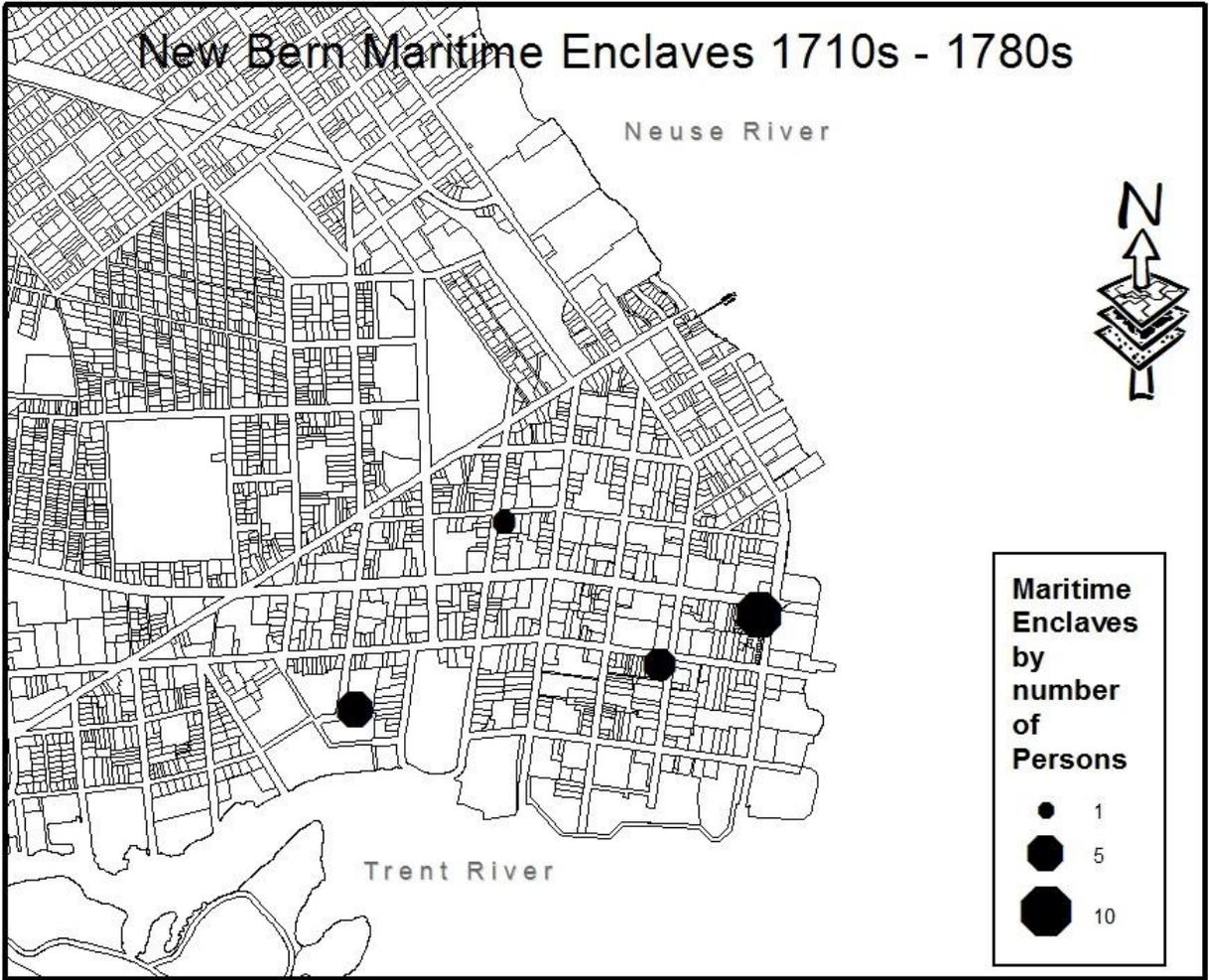


FIGURE 4.2. GIS Map: New Bern Maritime Enclaves from 1710s – 1780s (Created by Jeremy Eamick)

Figure 4.2 demonstrates the varying maritime enclaves, with the largest two in close proximity to the rivers. This relationship supports the data found during the time period (Apprentice Bonds 2011), when New Bern remained a small town that did not identify with the waterfront. In addition to these enclaves, two small enclaves existed outside of the town. These enclaves encompassed the homes or business of a ship builder and a ship owner. These men lived along the Neuse River and taught apprentices in their shops, but information about these subjects remained sparse. This information suggests that the maritime landscape remained fractured during the introductory era of New Bern from the 1710s-1780s. Since New Bern

residents did not identify the waterfront as the focal point of the maritime cultural landscape, maritime participants lived scattered throughout the town. Participants in the maritime culture lived in varied areas in and around the town, which left the maritime cultural landscape open for development.

While the town's economy remained grounded in forests and fields, the return of government offices helped the town expand further (Watson 1987: 63-65). Governor Tryon envisioned a town from which he could exert rule and began with the construction of Tryon Palace (Powell 1981a: 389). Tryon constructed the famous palace to create a place of government power and office from which to rule. This palace stood for the imperial nature of Great Britain and enhanced the town's role in the international community as an expanding port of importance (Watson 1987: 64). Tryon's palace represented a symbol of Great Britain and its placement along the Trent waterfront signified Britain's association with the water. The palace drew attention to the city and North Carolina from foreign observers who marveled at its beauty.

The economy of New Bern continued to prosper from agriculture and the naval stores trade through the 1810s. The naval stores trade gained in strength throughout eastern North Carolina during this time as the population took advantage of the local resources to enrich the area (Kirwan 1990: 31-33). By the 1770s, New Bern led the state in naval stores production and participated in significant trade with Britain. Governor Tryon noted the importance of this resource in his letters,

Lumber, a Considerable staple in this Port, exported to the West Indies, is returned in Sugars, Rum, and Molasses; Tar, Turpentine, and pitch is purchased by Bills of Exchange or returned for Goods imported.Of the Lumber exported, Plank and Scantlings are sawed in the mills. There are but few of these in the province (Powell 1981a: 139-140).

Agrarian production remained a strong secondary economic producer during this time. The region exported corn, rice, beef, pork, hides, cotton, indigo, and beeswax by the 1760s as staples

(Saunders 1993c: 717-724). This region shipped 32,805 bushels of corn in one month in 1763 (*North Carolina Magazine* 1764). Forested areas that were cleared for the influx of population led to increased agricultural production during these years. Local products such as pork, corn, and wheat persisted as exports to the West Indies. Tobacco never prospered in this area compared to other parts of North Carolina due to inadequate soil (Watson 1987: 124-127). The production of tobacco occurred, but New Bern remained outside its zone of influence. The town of New Bern gained further strength in the development of trade networks with the introduction of roads throughout the local area (Murphy 1815: 165). New roads connected the town to smaller villages not located along the rivers. This created more markets for imported goods and brought more agricultural produce to New Bern. By the end of the 1820s, New Bern's role as central place had made it the second largest city in North Carolina (Watson 1987: 182).

Governor Tryon envisioned a capitol of greatness; instead, the palace incited harsh feelings from the state populace (Powell 1981b: 835). The conflicting government issues between taxation and Parliament shifted the populace's belief in government. The tax hike used to pay for Tryon Palace created a revolt in North Carolina known as the Regulator War (Watson 1987: 66). Governor Tryon violently ended the war in Hillsborough in 1771, but anti-British sentiment remained. New Bern's status as colonial capitol lasted only a short time after construction of the palace and the Regulator War.

Many North Carolinians harbored dislike for New Bern because of its role in the colonial government. The outbreak of the American Revolution led to removal of the capitol from the town permanently in 1775 at the behest of outsiders. However, the American Revolution actually boosted New Bern's population and economy (Watson 1987: 141). The war brought opportunities for privateering and booty. The English threat against New England forced many

privateers to use New Bern as a base of operations. These privateers operated from the shipping complex of John Stanley Wright (Breytsprakk 1988: 33). The influx of privateers also brought shipwrights, carpenters, sailors, and merchants to New Bern. Local profits skyrocketed as captured ships brought to port were outfitted and sold. The years of the war amassed the greatest amount of wealth in New Bern's history. The town utilized the profits from privateering to develop vast wealth that offset the interruption of the naval stores trade with Great Britain (Morgan 1989: 86). This trade continued with other European countries, such as France, during the war so the output of naval stores never suffered. Furthermore, agrarian trade continued with the West Indies and the colonies. New Bern's economy experienced no adverse effects during the war; on the contrary, the town prospered greatly.

Revolution, the Loss of Capitol Status: The 1780s

The 1780s represented the end of New Bern's first era of maritime growth. The continuation of the American Revolution created an atmosphere of great wealth in New Bern. The town prospered as a privateer base during the war (Watson 1987: 100). The influx of wealth from captured vessels and merchants that flocked to New Bern increased the amount of wealthy maritime patrons that lived in town. The first significant change in the maritime landscape occurred in the summer of 1781 when English forces attacked New Bern. The English troops marched overland and burned John Stanley Wright's ship building complex (Kirwan 1989: 19). This shipping complex functioned as the headquarters for the fleet of privateers that operated out of New Bern (Watson 1987: 91). This damage to the immediate waterfront did not lead to a removal of the privateer fleet, though it hindered maritime operations briefly. Instead, these temporary establishments remained active in the maritime cultural landscape.

The end of the American Revolution created a power vacuum in New Bern. The victory over the English led to the development of new federal and state governments. The North Carolina state government decided to shift the role of state capitol from New Bern to Raleigh at the end of the American Revolution. This loss of capitol status affected the maritime landscape since it removed several prestigious government offices from the town (Watson 1987: 95-99). Though New Bern remained the county capitol and one of the major state ports, the loss of political status did affect town growth at the end of the eighteenth century.

The reduction in government offices did not permanently damage New Bern's population. The end of the revolution led to a shift in economic trade back to the original trade networks of the region. As the economy improved and stabilized, New Bern grew. As the new country prospered, population increased steadily within Craven County (Watson 1987: 166). New Bern's prosperity as a trading port and as the burgeoning maritime trades attracted immigrants to the area (Kirwan 1988: 6-7). The strength of the naval stores trade continued to affect the maritime cultural landscape as the Neuse waterfront expanded to include additional features for the trade.

Social Changes

The town underwent significant changes in the maritime aspect of society from the 1710s-1780s. The town originated as an agrarian village and ended the era as a wealthy maritime port. The societal changes that occurred during this era included a population shift. The sale of town lots to English settlers led to an exchange in the town population as merchants from England moved to New Bern while the Swiss and German settlers left the town (Watson 1987: 42). This changeover affected the growth of the town since the German settlers had

remained farmers and skilled craftsman that did not participate in the maritime trade, while the English utilized the water as a means of profit that drew immigrants to a growing market.

Further social changes that affected the landscape included the development of the first maritime enclaves within the maritime culture that lived in New Bern. Maritime enclaves played a great role in the social changes of the town. These enclaves housed families and participants within the cultural landscape. The development of the maritime enclaves attracted future participants to the town as the maritime industry provided employment opportunities. The ability to learn maritime skills and gain employment originated in several areas around Craven County during the 1730s. As New Bern expanded and the maritime cultural landscape grew, the focus of maritime participants shifted toward the town.

Archaeological Evidence

The archaeological evidence that survives from this period remains scant. Few archaeological surveys of New Bern exist. This problem is exacerbated by a maritime cultural landscape that was reconstructed several times during the city's history. The townspeople continuously restructured the landscape to meet the local needs. This reconstruction destroyed the original agrarian environment and later replaced the first evolution of the maritime environment. This loss of the physical evidence hinders a complete reconstruction of the town's maritime environment through any archeological evidence, especially from the 1710s-1780s.

Archaeological evidence from New Bern's history does exist from the surveys performed within the town. The focus of these surveys remained centered on areas that underwent construction. This limitation hinders the effectiveness of the evidence provided from these surveys since the information only covers a small area. The surveyed town lots did not cover areas of significance such as Union Point or the densely populated Trent waterfront. Instead,

survey evidence covered the entire history of New Bern, though the evidence that survived provided limited information on the maritime cultural landscape.

Archaeological projects in New Bern included a survey of the Motor Inn site, located at the corner of Pollack and East Front Street. Archaeologists excavated five trenches within this town lot. This lot functioned as a part of the town's cultural landscape for a majority of New Bern's history. Originally, the lot housed a tannery owned by Dr. Thomas Haslen after the 1750s (Garrow and Joseph 1985: 43).

The Motor Inn survey found that artifacts from the 1710s-1780s provided a brief picture of the maritime cultural landscape. This lot contained Native American ceramic sherds that dated from 1675-1750. These sherds present two possibilities. First, these sherds could represent cultural refuse from the Chattowke Indian village that lived in this area prior to the 1711 settlement of New Bern. Second, these sherds could also reflect a refuse pit from the first European settlers. The location of the lot just beyond the original town's boundaries indicates that the pit could have belonged to one of the farmers that lived on the edge of New Bern. The possibility of these sherds in a colonial pit would have required trade between the settlers and the Native Americans.

The survey found a lime vat that dated to the 1750s. This town lot had no structures prior to the Haslen Tannery, so the tannery probably constructed the vat as part of the manufacturing process. This vat contained lime, bark, and sand along the bottom layer of the container. The lime provides evidence that vat had been used as part of the tanning process. The Great hurricane of 1769 damaged the tannery and filled in the vat, along with the entire area that abutted East Front Street (Barnes 1998: 36). Haslen never recovered the lime vat due to the

damage inflicted from the hurricane. Instead, Haslen constructed a new vat in 1769 (Watson 1987: 162).

The Haslen Tannery participated within the maritime cultural landscape as the location reflected the dependence on the maritime trade routes. Haslen's tannery was built after the initial landscape changes from the 1730s and 1740s that created the first maritime cultural landscape of New Bern. The shift from agrarian landscape to a maritime landscape led to an expansion in the waterfront from farms to industrial facilities. This tannery, built in the 1750s, reflected this shift to industry along the waterfront as Dr. Haslen operated the tannery as a naval stores distillery and storage facility (Watson 1987: 162-163). Dr. Haslen employed apprentices within this building as he taught a future generation work within maritime professions (Apprentice Bonds 2011).

A second archaeological survey found evidence within the Rains House Survey. This survey studied the home of Gabriel Rains, a cabinetmaker who lived on Johnston Street in the post-Civil War era. The Rains house, a historic structure, moved to East Front Street in the 1990s (Espenshade 1990: 1-2). This archaeological survey inspected both the former site on Johnston Street and the new East Front Street site. The Rains survey found no evidence of the 1710s-1780s maritime cultural landscape. The East Front Street lot, located between Union and King Street, existed beyond the original town boundaries and operated as a farm prior to the eighteenth century. Artifacts found in the survey included fish scales, shell, bone, and the remains of a nineteenth century house. This lack of evidence remained consistent with the landscape of this era as the waterfront of New Bern did not expand to this area until the 1780s. The shallow nature of the Neuse River and the use of the Trent River and Union Point as the primary staging area for maritime trade that flowed through New Bern initially made the upper

Neuse riverfront unimportant. Instead, the operators of the maritime cultural landscape reused the original waterfront rather than expand into the northern edge of New Bern.

Conclusion

As New Bern's population increased and the town prospered during the 1710s-1780s the city's maritime cultural landscape expanded and changed significantly. After the town's founding, the cultural landscape shifted with the population infusion from the 1730s and 1740s. This development of the landscape created decades of growth as businessmen and immigrants merged with the maritime trade that visited the town. Furthermore, the creation of trade networks around the naval stores trade and agrarian production made New Bern the central place in North Carolina. The role of central place provided New Bern with ample resources and attracted investors and immigrants to the town. All these factors combined helped New Bern associate with the maritime cultural landscape which developed around the town's waterfront.

Chapter 5

New Bern's Maritime Cultural Landscape 1790s—1850s: Growth and Expansion of a Maritime Culture

The end of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century witnessed the continued expansion of New Bern's maritime landscape. Town and county growth continued as old markets returned and new markets prospered. This second period of New Bern's history introduced additional maritime trade practices such as steamship service as a means of travel and bulk material transportation. Furthermore, the increase in agrarian production in Craven County and the beginning of steady decline in the naval stores trade affected the development of the maritime cultural landscape of New Bern. The 1790s-1850s maritime cultural landscape reflected these changes as New Bern continued to operate as an important trading port into the 1850s and associated heavily with the maritime culture that prospered within the town.

Post Revolution, the Movement of a Capitol: 1790s-1800s

After the American Revolution ended in the 1780s, several substantial changes occurred inside the new North Carolina government that influenced New Bern. These changes happened because of an extended period of growth in the United States that began shortly after the war. The development of this new country into a functioning nation-state helped facilitate the extension and growth of New Bern's maritime cultural landscape. In the 1790s, the port towns of America returned to prominence as trade networks resumed. In North Carolina, the regional trade practices that supported the agrarian economy returned (Watson 1987: 92-94). The redevelopment of traditional trading networks meant a return to the regional dependence on port

towns such as New Bern, Wilmington, and Edenton (Johnson 1928: 372-373). For New Bern, this meant reestablished trade between the West Indies and New England (Watson 1987: 125-127). Moreover, North Carolina's dependence on maritime trade remained a primary economic factor for the state through the end of the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century (Murphy 1816: 1).

This continuation of maritime trade encouraged the entire state to remain associated with the waterways. Towns and settlements focused development around the maritime trading routes that crisscrossed the state (de Nijs and Brigham 2004: 23-24). This supported New Bern's position as a central place in the state since it benefited the town to continue to act as a regional marketplace (Christaller 1966; King 1984). Towns located upriver from New Bern continued to import and export goods through the town's marketplace (Watson 1987: 131-132). Furthermore, the Neuse River underwent changes to deepen its channel and increase traffic (Weaver 1903: 64). The construction of the Harlowe Creek Canal in 1795 connected the Neuse River to Port Beaufort and shortened the distance to the ocean. By the early 1800s, New Bern's cultural landscape had developed heavily along the rivers as infrastructure along the waterfront increased or expanded. The increase in infrastructure also created more occupational opportunities and encouraged immigration to Craven County (Tatham 1808: 364).

New Bern had prospered for decades from its relationship with the royal government (Powell 1981a: 515). New Bern's role as the capitol of the royal colony of North Carolina during a period of corruption and greed created strife against the town from the rest of the state's population. The revolutionists remembered this relationship and the corruption associated with the royal government. Therefore, the state founders moved the seat of government from New Bern to Raleigh in 1794 (Lefler and Newsome 1954: 244-245). This loss of position limited

New Bern's relationship with the newly created central government offices. However, this did not end the town's association with the Raleigh government office. The state government continued to situate government offices in New Bern. For example, the First Federal Court remained in New Bern until 1897 (McCotter 1996: 20-21).

In fact, the development of a new government in Raleigh led to growth in New Bern as the town remained the primary port for the capitol. Raleigh is located within the Neuse River basin, which created a transportation route between New Bern and the new capitol. Yet Raleigh suffered from the same problem that all settlements upriver from New Bern did. The Neuse River's depth decreased substantially north of Union Point, moving from eight to five feet deep (de Nijs and Brigham 2004: 23-24). This prevented deep drafted boat travel north of New Bern. Therefore, shallow bottomed vessels dominated the waterways between Raleigh and New Bern during the 1790s to early 1810s (Lefler and Newsome 1954: 300). With minimal road construction within the state until the middle nineteenth century, the easiest means of travel remained along the rivers (Gales 1819: 23). This symbiotic relationship continued for many years as the shipment of naval stores and agrarian goods through New Bern remained a staple of the maritime trade into the 1800s.

In the 1790s, the redevelopment of the naval stores trade affected New Bern's economy, which in turn kept the maritime cultural landscape in a state of flux and expansion. The need for naval stores remained a profitable trade in the world and North Carolina's access to these products encouraged continued trade through the 1790s-1800s (Watson 1987: 164-171). This trade quickly reformed after the American Revolution once the British blockade ended (Kirwan 1989: 18). The restoration of the naval stores trade helped New Bern reform trade networks with England, France, and the West Indies (Watson 1987: 125-127). By the mid 1790s, New Bern's

position as a town that exported large amounts of naval stores had returned (Watson 1987: 132). This restoration of a profitable and established trade attracted immigrants to Craven County and the Neuse River basin into the nineteenth century.

The reemergence of the naval stores trade and continuation of the town's government offices attracted an immigration movement into the county from the 1790s-1800s. By 1800, New Bern had gained population to become the largest town in the state (Watson 1987: 141). Naval stores and agrarian productions were labor intensive. The production of these products required workers to search the forest, manufacture on site, and take the product to a shipping point for shipment downriver (Outland 1996: 28). This attracted laborers and merchants alike as the profits developed around continued trade.

Agrarian production in the Neuse River basin increased steadily from the 1790s-1800s (Watson 1987: 138-140). This production benefited from the population increase in Craven County. As settlers purchased land and developed farms in the county, the amount of agricultural produce increased. A native of New Bern noted this shift in agrarian production when he wrote to Thomas Jefferson and said: "I learn, through the measure of the City, that our Sailors retiring to agricultural pursuits is already felt by those who rather have them impressed (Tatham 1808)." This labor movement hindered and helped the maritime trade networks of New Bern. The loss of sailors to retirement hurt the productivity of shipping while the increase in farm goods that shipped out of New Bern helped. This kept maritime participants employed and helped the region's participation in the maritime trade (Kirwan 1990: 28-29).

The combination of these factors helped expand the maritime cultural landscape around New Bern. The shift in population throughout Craven County, the return of the naval stores trade, and the return of the position of regional central place for the town all affected the town's

landscape. Expansion of the town and the maritime cultural landscape occurred in several areas. For example, as New Bern prospered, the importance of waterfront property reflected in the buildings along the water. The original boundaries of New Bern extended as the value of waterfront property increased (Watson 1987: 138). Areas that originally contained houses or gardens shifted as merchants purchased these lots to construct new warehouses, mills, and wharves along the Neuse River. This change in landscape forced the expansion of the waterfront during the 1790s-1800s as the necessity for water access raised property values.

These changes affected the town landscape as the maritime enclaves shifted with the rise in property values. Maritime enclaves shifted away from the traditional waterfront area and moved further into the town area. The increased property values along the waterways prevented the use of the waterfront lots for homes (Watson 1987: 146). The waterfront ceased to function as a residential area and shifted into a business area where companies developed. In addition, the town itself expanded outward as the population increase led to construction of houses along the town edge (Watson 1987: 141-142). This movement of the maritime enclaves away from the water helped expand the maritime cultural landscape of New Bern as the enclaves created pockets of maritime culture throughout the town.

Growth and Expansion: 1810s-1830s

The 1810s-1830s represented a period of steady growth and expansion within Craven County. The economic prosperity that dominated the previous half century stagnated as the production of naval stores within the county began to decline. This affected New Bern as the town's maritime cultural landscape did not expand during these years. Instead, this landscape maintained a similar size that adjusted with the population and technology changes during these

decades. The introduction of new services for maritime participants and a second war with England helped create landscape changes instead of growth.

The previous expansion of New Bern's waterfront is visible in Figure 5.1, a map from 1811. Drawn by Jonathon Price, the map accurately illustrates the growth in the maritime landscape during the past half century. From the 1760s to the 1810s several significant changes occurred in the waterfront. First, the Trent waterfront increased in density as the Trent side of New Bern's port housed more wharves than the Neuse side. The construction of these wharves encouraged the erection of warehouse facilities to store goods. This density did not extend into Lawson's Creek, which limited ship access due to its shallow depth. Second, the Neuse waterfront extended beyond the 1710s-1780s landscape formation and included the construction of wharves further along the waterfront (Watson 1987: 139). The increase in businesses built along the waterfront attracted more companies to the Neuse waterfront for river access. The Neuse waterfront became a manufacturing area which housed turpentine and tar distilleries along with warehouses to hold naval stores shipped from satellite locations. The development of this area helped create movement in the maritime enclaves as job opportunities extended away from Union Point and the Trent River docks and into the northern section of town.



FIGURE 5.1: Jonathan Price map 1811/1817.

The 1810s began with a second war with England from 1812-1815. The War of 1812, between the United States and Great Britain, positively affected New Bern's maritime cultural landscape. Privateer fleets returned to New Bern during this war as the confusion on the ocean allowed for the capture of plunder from foreign vessels. Privateer shipping attracted ship captains to participate in the defense of America. The capture of foreign ships provided lucrative ventures since the return of a captured vessel to port allowed for the sale of an entire cargo and the ship. Privateers, such as the *Snap Dragon*, operated with success from the port of New Bern for the extent of the war (*American Register* 1813). These actions reaffirmed New Bern's role as a maritime participant and a central place during this period. The influx of wealth to New Bern helped the town remain an active and thriving place throughout the 1810s.

However, the War of 1812 did not expand the privateer fleet out of the Carolinas as it did during the American Revolution. The lessened threat of English attack on New York and Philadelphia did not cause an exodus of ships into the protected North Carolina interior. This meant that North Carolina privateers earned less during the War of 1812 than during the American Revolution (Watson 1987: 122). In addition, the growth of Wilmington's port facilities led to competition with New Bern in shipping (*American Register* 1813; *Weekly Register* 1813). The privateer fleets that operated out of the state continued to capture ships and take them to port, but privateers started taking captured ships to Wilmington instead of New Bern (*Weekly Register* 1813). The benefit of a deep-water port with easy access to the ocean attracted many ships to Wilmington that previously operated from New Bern during the American Revolution. Consequently, not as many ships returned to New Bern in comparison to the previous war.

This reduction in the privateer fleets that operated out of New Bern limited the affect that the privateers had on the town's maritime cultural landscape. First, without a dramatic increase in shipping to the town, New Bern did not need to construct new facilities. New Bern already had the wharves in place to handle the increased shipping from the War of 1812. Though this did lead to a positive economic effect on the town's economy, it failed to alter the landscape in any significant way. Second, New Bern citizens did not benefit from a strong enough economic incentive to alter the maritime cultural landscape during the War of 1812. The shipping operations that developed around the privateer fleet were short-term solutions. The speed of this war only caused short term developments in New Bern that did not affect the maritime landscape (Watson 1987: 122-124). Third and finally, the War of 1812 disrupted maritime trade out of New Bern. This disruption forced the reformation of trade networks after 1815. The damage to the trade networks was easily repaired; but for a limited time, maritime trade suffered. The disruption and reformation of the trade networks took time and energy away from the development of the maritime cultural landscape during the 1810s-1830s.

The expansion of state infrastructure helped New Bern's growth during the 1810s-1830s. The state government constructed roads by the 1830s that connected New Bern to smaller towns away from the rivers (Lefler and Newsome 1954: 300-301). This connection of towns to New Bern developed new areas of trade as non-maritime transportation towns could participate in the marketplace (Watson 1987: 127-128). In addition, the government encouraged construction projects along the waterways and in New Bern, which attracted businesses. By the 1830s, the government established ferry services in several areas in the Neuse River basin. These ferries corresponded with road construction and helped connect New Bern with smaller towns in the region. Also, the Bank of New Bern controlled the flow of money and attracted the first

insurance companies. The Newbern Marine Insurance Company developed in New Bern by 1810 (*Carolina Federal Republic* 1810b). This helped expand the available trade networks to New Bern and encouraged the exportation of resources through the town while encouraging immigration to Craven County (*Carolina Federal Republic* 1810b). These changes benefited New Bern economically, but did not increase the size of the maritime cultural landscape.

The maritime cultural landscape did change during the 1810s-1830s with the introduction of a new maritime trade network. In 1812, the New Bern Steamship and Navigation Company introduced steam ships to the Neuse River (Johnson 1986: 15-16). Steam ships supplied the first passenger services between New Bern and Hampton, Virginia. Passenger service, the movement of human cargo, was a lucrative enterprise. Steamships traveled farther and faster than normal sailing ships. This meant that a steamship could move bulk goods and people easily. Passenger service was limited by several factors including the amount of space available, distance, and food aboard a ship. However, these services could still move larger amounts of people than a normal vessel. The speed of steamships reduced travel time, which limited the amount of food needed for passengers. Furthermore, the dependency upon the wind did not apply to steamships, which sailed directly to a destination (Johnson 1986). These factors made the movement of human cargo profitable.

With steamship service, the speed and range of maritime travel increased (Emmerson 1949). Steamships had shallower draft and did not depend on wind as a means of locomotion. This meant that steamships could travel in places that sailing ships could not. The poor river conditions and water depth in the Neuse River basin had limited the size of ships that sailed upriver. With the use of steamships, ship service extended upstream to Smithfield. This affected the maritime trade as larger capacity ships sailed upriver to operate in the trade networks. This

service increased the convenience of the travel to Raleigh initially, but the later introduction of railroads bypassed the water transportation system (Lefler and Newsome 1954: 370).

The North Carolina government attempted to improve river navigation along the waterways by offering grants to private companies that attempted to modify rivers within the state (Watson 1987: 274). This led to the creation of companies in New Bern to improve navigation along the Neuse River. The first company, the Neuse River Steamship and Navigation Company, attempted to find investors for several projects to improve navigation during the 1810s-1820s (Weaver 1903: 72-77). This led to the introduction of navigation companies in the 1810s that lasted beyond the 1850s. The navigation companies attempted to attract investors and promised to extend the accessibility of boats to Kinston or Smithfield and beyond. These companies did improve the navigation through to Kinston and thus expanded the trade networks, but only steamships could sail through to Smithfield.

By the 1830s, a fishing industry had developed in New Bern. With the abundance of shad, oyster, and bass in the rivers, private citizens started fishing to provide the town with an additional food source. This industry included whites and free blacks as participation only required a boat and fishing gear. By the end of the 1830s, the North Carolina fishing industry ranked as the second highest in the United States (Lefler and Newsome 1954: 373). This growing industry led to the development of districts within New Bern, as visible in Figure 5.2. For example, the Long Wharf district developed during the 1830s. This district, located along the northern side of Lawson's Creek, developed as a racially mixed neighborhood (Hatchet and Little 1994: 41). This neighborhood developed into a small part of the maritime cultural landscape as ethnic maritime participants settled into this area.

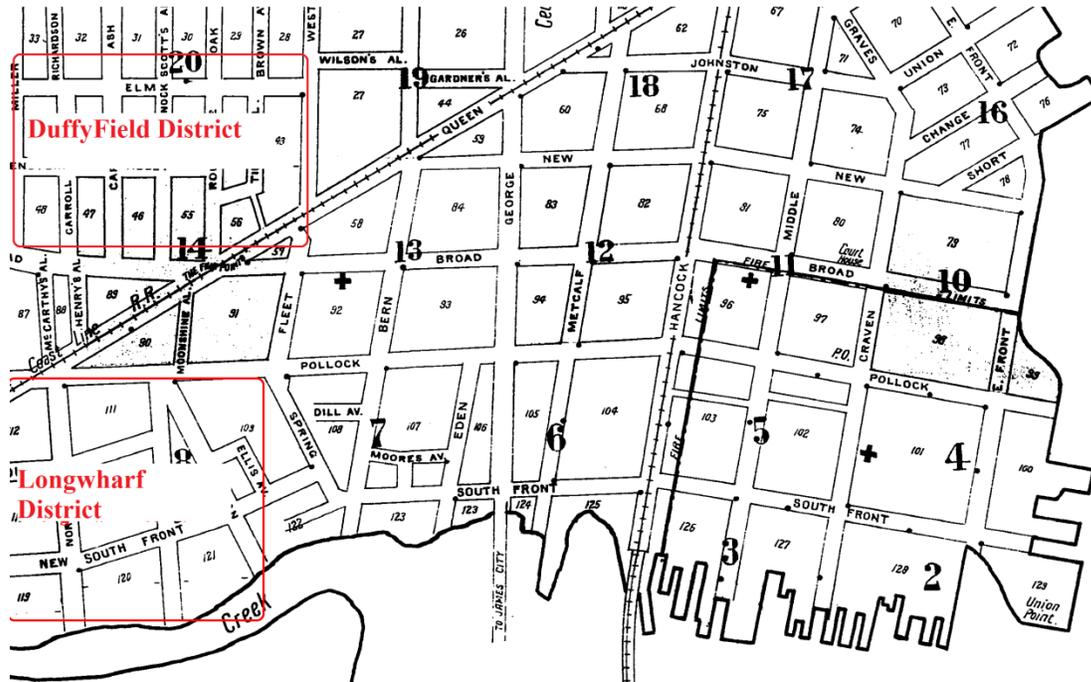


FIGURE 5.2: Sanborn Insurance Map November 1913 sheet 1: Included red outlines to identify two African American districts in New Bern.

New Bern continued growing during the 1810s-1830s, but Wilmington finally surpassed the town in population and maritime importance. New Bern ranked as the second largest city in the state by the 1830s (Lefler and Newsome 1954: 370). This reduction in stature occurred primarily from the movements of the state's central place region. Wilmington's faster access to the ocean and a deep-water port made the town an attractive place for investment, immigration, and trade (North Carolina Board of Agriculture 1896). Furthermore the development of the naval stores trade in the Cape Fear River basin attracted many merchants to Wilmington (Perry 1968: 515).

The rise of Wilmington and the increase in activity in the Cape Fear River basin corresponded with the reduction of the naval stores trade in the Neuse River basin. The naval stores trade began to decrease by 1805 as the immigration movement into North Carolina shifted away from Craven County (Perry 1968: 513). The availability of jobs in the Cape Fear region,

along with the growth in that economic area, limited the immigration movement that traditionally traveled to New Bern (Watson 1987: 255). As the population decreased in these areas, the production also decreased (Outland 1996: 31-32). This fall in the naval stores trade lasted through the 1830s as the population shifted throughout the state.

Introduction of New Industries: 1840s-1850s

The 1840s-1850s represented a period of limited change in the maritime cultural landscape. The introduction of steamship service into the Neuse River basin had extended the agrarian trade networks and helped the immigration movement throughout the basin. The rise in lumber production increased the value of an old industry that operated along the waterways and expanded maritime influence throughout the river basins (Kirwan 1990: 29-30). Yet, the conglomeration of these factors did not create growth in the maritime cultural landscape. The previous networks continued to remain solvent or declined incrementally as the state population shifted and grew while the development of new industries did not exceed the loss in revenue through other trade networks.

Agrarian production remained the staple market for river transportation. By the 1850s, agrarian production became the dominant trade from New Bern. This market replaced naval stores for importance as the majority of exported goods now included cotton, hides, leather, pork, salt, and corn (*New Era* 1857). Turpentine and rosin continued to be exported, but in smaller quantities than farm products. This trade modification affected the working population since part of the labor force shifted to farm work.

The lumber industry came to the region in the 1840s. An increased demand for wood from American markets and the remaining forest resources of the region combined to create a

new industry. The forests that survived the naval stores trade provided substantial lumber for this fledgling market (Watson 1987: 261-262). By the 1840s, ships transported lumber to the West Indies and new markets in South America. This is noted by newspaper articles such as this one, "The schooner select of New Bern, N.C., laden with pitch, pine lumber, naval stores, and Indian corn, sailed from New Bern, N.C. on the 28th of April 1841 on a voyage to South America..." (Moore 1960: 56). This new industry influenced the town's maritime landscape as the lumber companies purchased lots along the Neuse. These initially small companies created lumber mills and warehouse areas along the Neuse waterfront to take advantage of the available transportation routes (Kirwan 1990). The old manufacturing mills scattered along the Neuse waterfront had rotted and fallen into disuse over time. These new companies boosted growth and construction along the waterfront, replacing the old mills on the landscape. The growth of this industry stopped because of the Civil War in the 1860s.

The travel industry continued to grow during this period as steamer service expanded along the waterways. The New Bern Steamship and Navigation Company continued to operate steamships in the Neuse River basin into the 1840s. Steamship service helped extend the transportation of larger ships into Kinston and Smithfield (Johnson 1986: 22). This expansion of service provided Craven County with additional revenue as these smaller towns continued to ship products down river to New Bern. Steamship service upriver from New Bern used the new ships to ship bulk agrarian products and naval stores.

The steamship industry remained isolated in the Neuse River basin throughout the 1860s. Advancements in steamship technology extended the transportation routes along the water, but natural limitations prohibited further advancement (de Nijs and Brigham 2004: 23-24). The waterways remained hazardous to ship travel and too shallow beyond Smithfield. Government

efforts to expand river navigation occurred in the 1850s (Weaver 1903: 63-65). The state government created the Neuse River Navigation Company for this purpose in 1850-51. The government ceded \$50,000 for the project and created a committee to oversee the work. The company intended to clear the Neuse River and add locks and dams to encourage maritime travel upriver (Emmerson 1949). The first project costs drained the company's account, however, while a lack of further funding ended it completely. Steamship service continued on the Neuse and Trent, but river obstructions and ship draft still limited range during these years (Emmerson 1949). In addition, the construction of railroads in North Carolina also hindered steamship service. Railroads connected cities overland and decreased transport times between towns that were not located along the same waterway. Resource transportation cheapened with these advancements and this competition harmed steamship service on the rivers (Johnson 1986: 16-19).

The passenger industry blossomed beyond the Neuse River Basin as New Bern continued to alter travel service outside North Carolina. Service to Virginia, New York, and Baltimore developed quickly as this speedy service encouraged travel. Although this industry expanded and developed during this era, the maritime landscape did not grow initially from the travel industry. Steamship service did not require a change in the maritime landscape since these ships continued to operate using old maritime infrastructure (Kirwan 1989: 18). This reuse of existing wharves helped maintain the maritime cultural landscape as the increased service created employment on steamships that traveled the waterways. Nonetheless, this employment did not require residential access within New Bern and, by the 1840s, the sailors that had lived within the town limits now settled outside of town, but within Craven County.

A substantial expansion of the ship building industry occurred in the 1840s. Ship carpenters constructed facilities within New Bern for the repair and construction of small ships (Sloan 1971: 40). Several families operated these yards, such as the Sparrows, the Howards, the Robersons, the Robinsons, and the Pittmans by the 1840s (Watson 1987: 256-257). Limitations existed for the shipping yards of New Bern. Primarily, the water depth along the Neuse prevented the construction of large vessels. Instead, these yards built smaller ships useful in the river trade that frequented New Bern and helped in the repair of the larger ocean going vessels that visited the town. The construction of these facilities benefited the maritime cultural landscape since the companies created jobs within the maritime landscape to offset the loss of naval stores jobs. Furthermore these yards attracted laborers that lived within or created maritime enclaves. The shipping yards remained profitable enterprises throughout the 1840s-1850s, even against competition from the railroad networks that developed in North Carolina. Maritime trade continued to dominate the Neuse River basin and New Bern remained an important port during the 1840s-1850s.

Initial development of the railroad industry took many decades as the cost of construction competed with the preexisting river trade networks. This did affect the role of central places in North Carolina as the first railroads connected Raleigh and Wilmington, which attached the capitol with the largest port in the state and severely hindered New Bern's maritime prospects (Watson 1987: 262). This loss of travel service to Raleigh hurt New Bern as the removal of this network hurt the passenger services that had developed along the waterways. In the 1840s, New Bern remained a central place within the state and maritime trade sustained the town. By the 1850s, New Bern's long distance maritime trade had decreased while the coastal trade remained viable. This fall in profitability encouraged investors to construct a railroad to New Bern which

connected the town with the rest of the state. The continued rise in non-maritime travel services would compete with New Bern's maritime cultural landscape in later decades as the railroad would continuously hinder maritime traffic throughout the nineteenth century (Johnson 1986: 17-18).

Maritime Enclaves

New Bern's association with maritime trade had created an environment dependent upon the cultural landscape to support it. Maritime trading practices had developed during New Bern's history around the role of a central place for the Neuse River basin. As maritime trade networks continued to include New Bern, services that developed around the shipping industry grew in size. The number of maritime participants required to provide these services increased between the 1790s and 1850s, which corresponded with the Craven County's growth in population.

New Bern's maritime enclaves underwent significant changes during this period. First, the number of maritime enclaves increased from four to seven. The doubling of maritime enclaves reflected the local population's role in the landscape as the populace continued to support the maritime culture through employment. Second, the movement of the maritime enclaves throughout the city suggested that the rise in cost along the waterfront already affected the living cost for maritime participants. Third, the movement of the maritime enclaves away from the waterfront also reflected New Bern's growth during this period. As New Bern expanded and the city limits expanded inland, the maritime enclaves followed suit. The movement of the maritime enclaves suggested that the waterfront landscape had changed from a

housing area to commercial lots. In addition, the increase in maritime participants within low or non-valued homes reflected that more participants rented property.

The information found in Figure 5.3 and Table 5.1 was developed from the census records and the apprentice records. These records had limitations that affected the map’s quality. The apprentice records did not provide any information beyond the name of the individuals who participated in the master and apprentice relationship. Previously, research recorded that only 24 of the 60 participants in the 1710s-1780s era were associated with a location, whereas the 1790s-1850s had 170 participants scattered throughout the city. The maritime participants operated within 12 maritime enclaves, though historic research only geo-referenced seven of the twelve enclaves. Only 97 participants of the 170, roughly 57 percent, were associated with a location. Therefore, potentially five additional maritime enclaves housing 43 percent of the maritime participants existed somewhere within the New Bern landscape during the 1790s-1850s. These maritime participants varied in occupation as indicated in the table below.

Mariner or Sailor	Fisherman	Ship Carpenter	Sail Maker	Navigator or Pilot	Boatman	Ship Builder
91	15	32	19	7	3	3

TABLE 5.1. Maritime Participant Chart. This table signifies the different jobs in the maritime field and the number of participants in each during the 1790s-1850s.

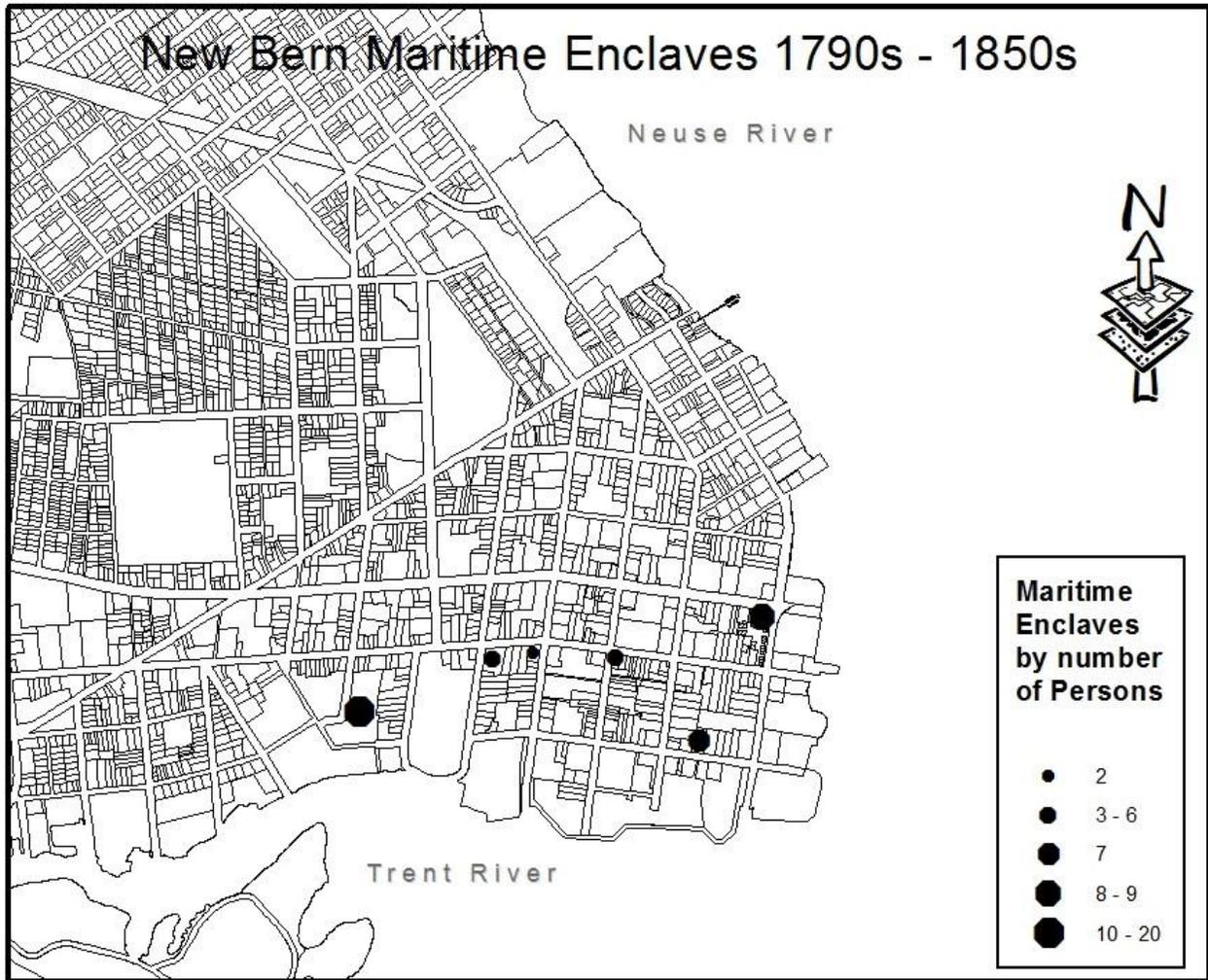


FIGURE 5.3. GIS Map: New Bern Maritime Enclaves from 1790s – 1850s (Created by Jeremy Eamick).

Social Changes

The 1790s-1850s represented a period of change in social aspects of the maritime cultural landscape. The rise in maritime participants signified a growth and expansion in the maritime landscape. As the town population increased, the development of social networks among maritime participants began. The previous generation of merchants that moved to New Bern were replaced by a generation of colonial natives that continued to utilize maritime trade. Furthermore, the continued immigration of maritime participants had developed a lower level

social group that worked within the landscape. This lower level social group included free African Americans and white people within the lower social class.

These groups did not develop the maritime cultural landscape, as maritime participants did not construct buildings that reflected their culture. The creation of cultural spore, as noted by Kniffen in the 1930s, happened when immigrants constructed houses similar to their culture (Kniffen 1965). The high cost of the waterfront and the previous development of the town had prevented immigrants from constructing buildings. Instead, these immigrants rented their homes within New Bern and a cultural spore did not develop. Furthermore, the continuous redevelopment of the town's landscape as the townspeople renovated according to their needs destroyed existing infrastructures. This hindered the survival of evidence of New Bern's cultural landscape as the population shift and the rise in industry developed separate social classes. The removal of a majority of this evidence obstructs the study of New Bern's maritime cultural landscape without archaeological survey.

Archaeological Evidence

Archaeological evidence survives that reflects the movement of New Bern's maritime cultural landscape. The original waterfront landscape had expanded north along the Neuse River and into the water. The original wharves began to gather fill along the waterline from hurricanes, flooding, construction, and ships sunk intentionally. This moved the waterline further from the original shore and caused problems in the existing infrastructure. This process also led to the expansion of the town wharves. Maritime participants extended the wharves by sinking ships or building larger wharves. This extension meant that existing maritime

infrastructure could exist away from the present day shoreline. Two archaeological surveys provided evidence of these waterfront changes: the Efird and Motor Inn Suite surveys.

The Efird Archaeology Survey excavated an area along the corner of Pollock and East Front Street, as visible in Figure 5.4. The survey found the remains of a steamship from the 1850s-1860s (Watts 1982: 3). This ship remained unidentified in the historic record, but archaeologists found the vessel buried a few feet from the modern shoreline. The burial of a vessel along the shore reflects a few possibilities. The vessel could have burned and sank, sank in bad weather, or the owner buried the vessel to create a wharf (Watts 1982: 4-5). This survey did not confirm any reason for the vessel's burial, but the potential use of the vessel as a tool for landscape change is important since the boat affected the landscape growth. The introduction of a vessel within the landscape creates some environmental effects which the maritime landscape must absorb as an extension of the land, the creation of a wharf, or the reduction in water depth as the boat becomes part of the river bottom.

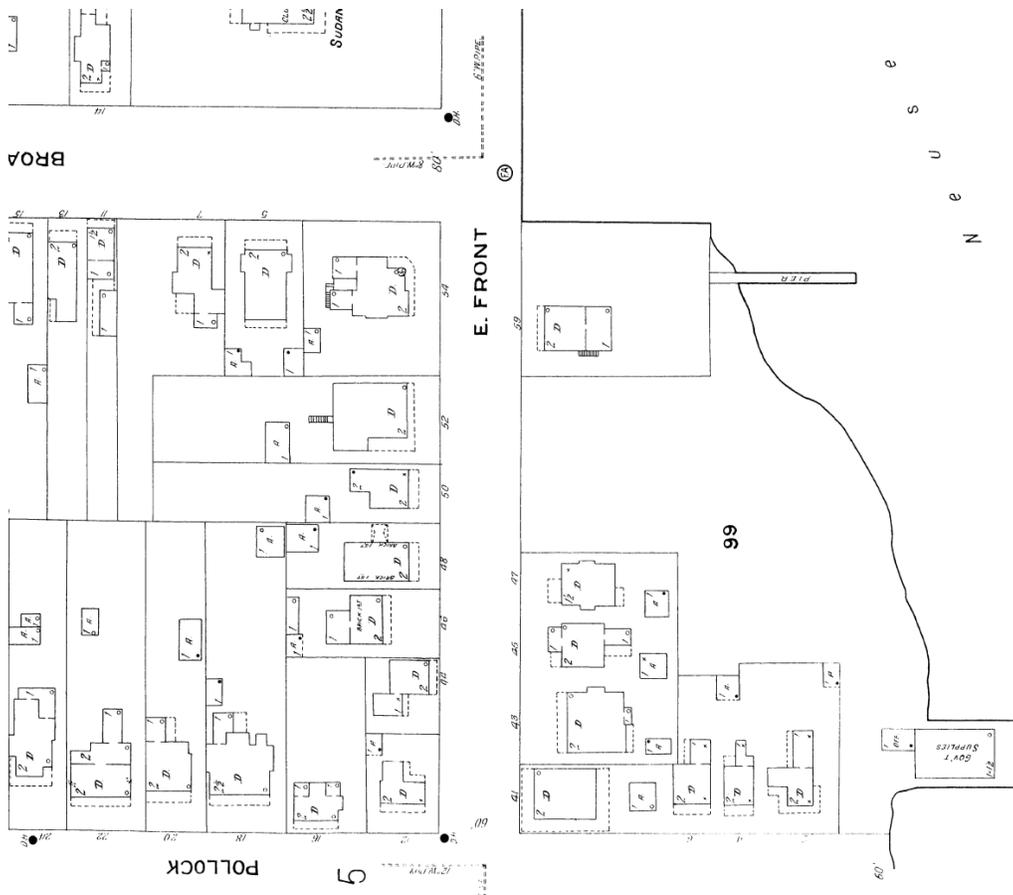


FIGURE 5.4. Sanborn Insurance Map August 1924, sheet 7: The area excavated during the Efir Archaeology Survey

The Motor Inn Suite archaeological survey found information from this period. The hotel's lot once functioned as part of maritime cultural landscape. The survey found buildings and landscape features within the excavated area that pertained to the maritime culture. The hotel lot, located along the Neuse waterfront, once operated as a tannery for a majority of the nineteenth century. This tannery, directly along the waterfront, contained a wharf that the tannery used. The lot also contained backfill within the tannery structure that suggest the area underwent improvements, possibly including the removal of existing structures (Garrow and Joseph 1985: 53). The removal of structures occurred when lot ownership changed hands in the 1820s and the new owners converted the site to a turpentine distillery. The E.B. Ellis Turpentine

Distillery survived into the 1890s and remained an active participant in the maritime landscape as it endured as part of the waterfront until it closed shop in the 1890s (Garrow and Joseph 1985: 61).

Conclusion

The 1790s-1850s represented an era of changes in New Bern's maritime cultural landscape. The boundless expansion of the past century ended as the continuous emigration within the state robbed New Bern of its population. Instead, the 1790s-1850s became an era of transformation as New Bern shifted its trading networks and created new services to remain a viable maritime trading place. The development of the steamships created interest in river improvement throughout North Carolina and benefited New Bern greatly. Furthermore, New Bern's role as the central place in eastern North Carolina survived the 1790s-1850s as trade networks continued to ship through Union Point. This continuation of the maritime cultural landscape encouraged future participation within New Bern, but led to problems during the second half of the nineteenth century.

Chapter 6

New Bern's Maritime Cultural Landscape 1860s—1900s: Strife, Transformation, and Reduction

New Bern's maritime cultural landscape underwent significant alterations during the second half of the nineteenth century. The continued relationship with maritime trade encouraged the town to remain strongly associated with maritime culture. The importance of maritime trade during the previous century had expanded New Bern's maritime cultural landscape beyond the original area and helped New Bern remain the second largest port city in North Carolina by the 1850s. The second half of the nineteenth century reflected New Bern's relationship with the maritime cultural landscape as the town struggled to alter the landscape around developing trends. The prosperous maritime trade networks that supported New Bern encountered problems from the Civil War, railroad expansion, and a population shift within North Carolina. These factors led to a restructuring of the town's maritime cultural landscape that affected its maritime enclaves.

Strife and Discord: the 1860s

New Bern began the 1860s as a prosperous port town for North Carolina. The traditional trading networks that consisted of naval stores, transportation, and agrarian production continued to flow through New Bern's marketplace in the early 1860s. These trade networks had begun to shrink during the previous decades as the state transportation infrastructure developed around the recently constructed railroad system in the 1850s (Watson 1987: 283). However the movement of bulk goods outside the state continued to operate along the waterways, which benefited New

Bern as the second largest port town in North Carolina (Kirwan 1989: 19). The maritime trade networks continued to utilize Wilmington and New Bern as trading points within their coastal regions. During the 1860s, New Bern remained the central place within the Neuse River basin and this helped the town remain important for maritime trade.

The importance of North Carolina's port facilities became apparent with the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861. The succession of the southern states had created a hostile situation that led to Confederate forces stationing at Wilmington and New Bern to defend these vital ports. In the fall of 1861, Confederate forces constructed forts along the Neuse River to protect New Bern from Union forces (Watson 1987: 374-377). The defensive works included Fort Thompson and the Croatan Works, constructed along the Neuse River below New Bern and extending up to ten miles downstream. These precautions did not succeed as Union forces attacked the town on March 14, 1862 (*Scientific American* 1862).

A Union army invaded and occupied New Bern after driving off the Confederate force (Wren 1990: 22). The invasion and occupation of New Bern frightened many local residents, who then abandoned the town by the summer of 1862 (Watson 1987: 375). This event devastated New Bern's traditional trade networks since the maritime participants that operated within the networks fled the town (Benjamin 1865: 17). This population emigration also affected shipping that visited New Bern since ships could not approach occupied New Bern. This disrupted the traditional trade networks that operated in the Neuse River basin since it prevented trade from flowing through New Bern (Benjamin 1865). Nonetheless the removal of the traditional trade networks did not significantly damage the maritime cultural landscape of New Bern until many years later as the Union occupation forces replaced the residents as

maritime participants. This development created new trade networks that helped the maritime cultural landscape remain active during the war (Watson 1987: 415-428).

The 1862 invasion of New Bern led to an influx of Union of troops in eastern North Carolina. New Bern became the focal point for Union forces as the largest town and port under Union control in North Carolina (Joseph 2001: 7). This development created a diffusion point between the port of New Bern and the rest of Union held North Carolina for supplies. Union supplies funneled through New Bern's facilities were redirected to occupation forces stationed throughout the state (Watson 1987: 394). This development did not require maritime landscape growth within New Bern as the facilities necessary to support the new trade networks already existed prior to the invasion. Instead, the Union occupation only maintained the existing maritime cultural landscape while attracting new residents to New Bern.

The continued operation of New Bern's port facilities and the protection of Union forces attracted a large population of escaped slaves (Colyer 1864: 6). The concentration of Union forces in New Bern created a situation of protection and employment for the escaped slaves throughout the south (Watson 1987: 402-404). By 1864, 7,500 escaped slaves lived in and around New Bern (Colyer 1864: 6). This assistance from the former slaves helped in the maintenance and operation of New Bern's maritime facilities. Prior to the Civil War, slaves had participated in the maritime culture of North Carolina as fishermen, pilots, and river sailors throughout Pamlico Sound (Cecelski 1998: 31-48). This development of trained slaves in the maritime occupations benefited New Bern as freed slaves flocked to the town. The addition of former slaves with maritime experience to New Bern helped maintain the waterfront and, eventually, created maritime enclaves. However, these new maritime enclaves remained within James City until the end of the Civil War. The accumulation of these developments discouraged

construction within the maritime cultural landscape during the Civil War and throughout the rest of the 1860s.

The occupation of New Bern and the shift in population during the Civil War helped the port facilities survive and the economy to thrive. This helped the maritime cultural landscape of New Bern to change; yet, it did not assist in growth along the physical landscape. Indeed, the physical landscape of New Bern underwent the least amount of changes during the Civil War. The military forces that occupied New Bern constructed defensive infrastructure in several areas along the waterfront and the edge of town. This construction of defensive bulwarks did not destroy or replace any existing maritime infrastructure along the waterfront (Joseph 2001: 7-10). The occupation forces used walls and artillery supports along the waterfront and on top of existing maritime infrastructure. For example, Figure 6.1 illustrates an artillery battery stationed on a wharf that jutted into the water. Similar changes did not significantly alter the maritime cultural landscape since such structures were removed easily after occupation ended.

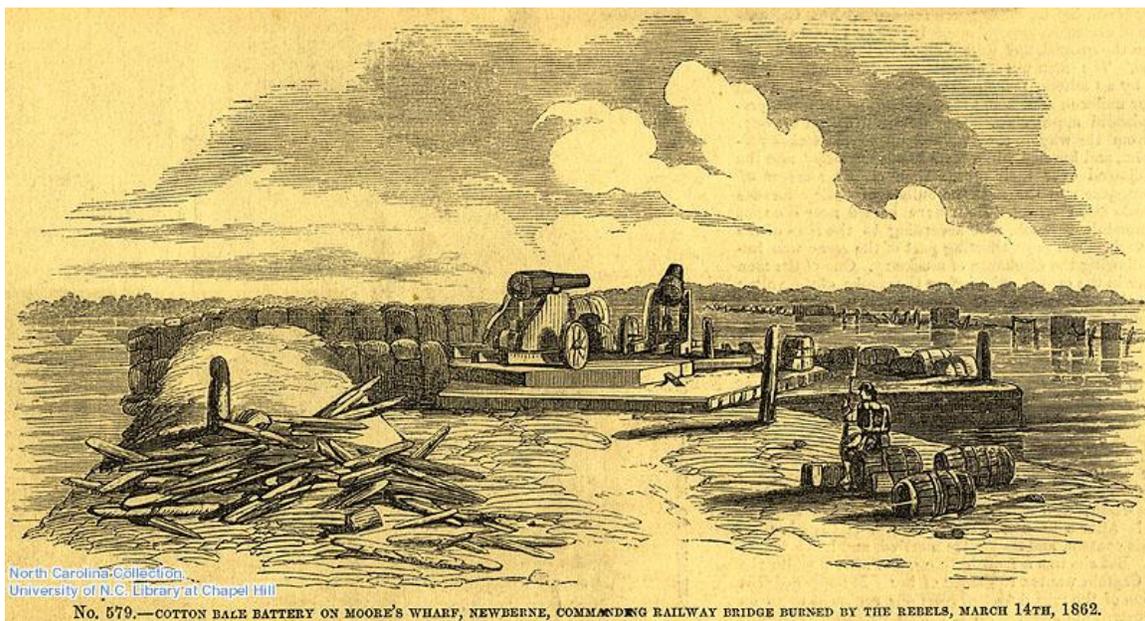


FIGURE 6.1. Artillery battery built on Moore's wharf (near the foot of Middle St), New Bern, North Carolina, 1862. Courtesy of University of North Carolina Library at Chapel Hill.

The only maritime cultural landscape changes that occurred from the 1860s happened around the port of New Bern. The accumulation of Union forces created a focal point for escaped slaves, which led to government assistance for the escaped slaves. The Union officer in charge of Negro Affairs in New Bern, Colonel Horace James, placed the large slave population in an unoccupied area that abutted the town (Watson 1987: 402), as visible in Figure 6.2. In 1863, Colonel James located the refugee camp across the Trent River from New Bern, along a sliver of land bordered on two sides by the Trent and Neuse Rivers (Mobley 1981:43). The refugee camp continued to grow in size during the war with the addition of more escaped slaves. This tent city eventually developed into James City, a predominantly African American town that had a symbiotic relationship with New Bern (Watson 1987: 402).

James City started in 1863 as a separate society from New Bern. The two cities developed a close interconnected relationship as New Bern operated as the hub of employment for the region while James City housed the labor force (Mobley 1981: 44-45). The two towns were connected by means of ferry service and the North Carolina & Atlantic Railroad that traveled through James City and into New Bern. Moreover, the movement of experienced maritime operatives to New Bern during the war created a skilled African American labor force for the maritime cultural landscape. By the end of the 1860s, residents from James City found work within the maritime infrastructure of New Bern and had incorporated themselves into the local landscape (Watson 1987: 447-448; Cecelski 1998: 141).



FIGURE 6.2. Solon Allis 1868 Map of Craven County. Showing relationship between New Bern and James City (Courtesy of the Kellenberg Room, New Bern-Craven County Library).

James City did not develop a significant maritime cultural landscape itself even though the town remained bordered by water on two sides and the people did work in the maritime world. As shown by Figure 6.2, the Union army constructed James City along the Trent and Neuse Rivers, but several important factors limited any development of a maritime cultural landscape.

First, a lack of infrastructure development occurred from an absence of economic interest. James City did not have investors willing to construct any maritime infrastructure initially. The town lacked wealthy citizens and therefore maritime infrastructure investments came from the federal government (Watson 1987: 450-455). Second, poor environmental conditions along the waterfront hindered physical landscape growth. The waterfront of James City consisted largely of marsh land and had not attracted expansion efforts from New Bern during the previous century. The necessity to drain the marsh prior to construction hindered

early efforts at development along the James City waterfront. Third, New Bern's maritime landscape competed with James City. The development of a maritime infrastructure in James City would have competed with New Bern's infrastructure for trade. New Bern's existing maritime infrastructure required no expansion or construction for continued use, whereas James City needed to develop maritime infrastructure to compete in the poor economic environment that followed the Civil War. This competition for resources did not attract investments to James City. After the Civil War, the surviving towns began to redevelop their old economic ties. The freedom of slaves hurt the traditional economy of North Carolina and the influx of freed slaves into James City created a town that depended upon federal support to remain viable and to expand (Mobley 1981: 45). These developments meant that New Bern's maritime infrastructure continued as the most active and economically viable source in the region, which prevented expansion of James City's maritime cultural landscape through the 1860s (Watson 1987: 447).

Transformation and Population Change: 1870s-1880s

The 1870s and 1880s represented a period of reformation and development in New Bern. The ravages of the Civil War had damaged New Bern's traditional trading networks and changed the native population. The maritime landscape participants and industries which New Bern had depended upon through the first half of the nineteenth century had changed because of the Civil War. By the 1870s, New Bern's residents expanded upon old trade industries such as fishing, lumber, and shipyards. These factors led to a redevelopment period in New Bern that began in the 1870s and lasted throughout the 1880s. New Bern's return to normalcy utilized a combination of old industries and networks to regain its status as a central place.

The 1870s began with continued population immigration to Craven County. The original residents of New Bern had begun returning to town in the late 1860s and this movement continued into the 1870s. The return of former residents led to the reconstruction of the town landscape (Watson 1987: 455-459). New Bern residents repaired homes and reformed the maritime infrastructure. In addition, the attraction of former slaves to James City helped in the town's reconstruction efforts. These movements created an abundance of cheap labor in New Bern as James City residents increased participation in the maritime cultural landscape during the 1870s. This abundance of labor attracted businesses to New Bern which helped in the redevelopment of maritime industries and the creation of lumberyards (Mobley 1981: 48).

The return of residents and the expansion of New Bern preceded the restructuring of the traditional trade networks of New Bern. The original networks had changed prior to the 1860s with the creation of the railroad, while the Civil War disrupted the remaining networks. The return of town residents led to a redevelopment of the traditional trade networks. New Bern developed trade networks that traveled through the town, but shipping no longer regularly stopped at the town docks, as recorded North Carolina newspapers,

Pollocksville is becoming quite a shipping point. Several lots of cotton have been shipped direct to New York, Baltimore, and Norfolk, by the Trent River Navigation Company, connecting with the Old Dominion Line at Newbern, with which through rates are made (Wilmington Star 22 October 1879).

The traditional agrarian networks reformed and continued to ship through New Bern. However, due to the drop in work force in the Neuse River basin, the naval stores industry declined after the Civil War.

Prior to the 1860s, slaves participated in the gathering and shipping of naval stores in North Carolina (Perry 1968: 515). With the end of slavery, the number of blacks that participated in the naval stores industry dropped dramatically. As the work force disappeared,

the production of resources shrank. This temporary decline eventually ended as the population movements in the 1870s created a labor force for naval stores. However, the naval stores industry in New Bern had changed during the Civil War. Ship construction methods did not use naval stores as much as previous decades. The use of metal on ships also changed the demand for naval stores. These factors led to a drop in demand for naval stores at a time when the production had decreased from a loss of labor. Thankfully, the return of other industries helped offset the reduction in the naval stores industry.

The resurgence in maritime growth during the 1870s led to a return of the ship construction industry to New Bern. Shipyards built in the 1850s and abandoned in the 1860s returned after the Civil War. The Civil War had disrupted the shipping industry in North Carolina as captured ships and lost capital created problems in maritime trade in the south (Watson 1987: 398). The return of the shipyards rebuilt the maritime trade fleets that frequented southern ports. The ship construction industry returned with Thomas Howard and Thomas Sparrow, two residents who constructed shipyards in the 1870s (Watson 1987: 404-410). New Bern businessmen constructed shipyards along the town's edge as the yards required space and access to the water. These yards operated best along the Neuse waterfront as the lack of dense infrastructure in this area allowed for the construction of yards such as the J.A. Meadows yard, built along East Front Street (Sloan 1971: 40-41), see Figure 6.3. These yards primarily bordered the northern edge of the town's Neuse waterfront, though shipyards did develop all along the waterfront as Thomas Howard constructed his yard along the Trent River near Union Point (Sanborn Maps 1888), visible in Figure 6.4. These yards built vessels primarily for river use such as steamboats and fishing craft, as noted in this newspaper article,

Yesterday evening a considerable crowd assembled in Howards' shipyard to witness the launching of the boat being built by Mr. J.M. Howard for the Neuse River navigation Company. The Kinston (steamboat) is 104 feet long, 19 feet 6 inches breadth of beam, 4 feet of depth of hold, and draws 2 inches forward and 13 aft. She will carry 250 bales of cotton. She is intended for the waters of the Neuse River (Willington Star 25 July 1882).

Yard size varied as access to resources limited the effectiveness of the yards. The return of the ship construction industry in the 1870s helped in the redevelopment of New Bern's maritime landscape as these yards provided opportunities for employment and attracted maritime workers to the town.

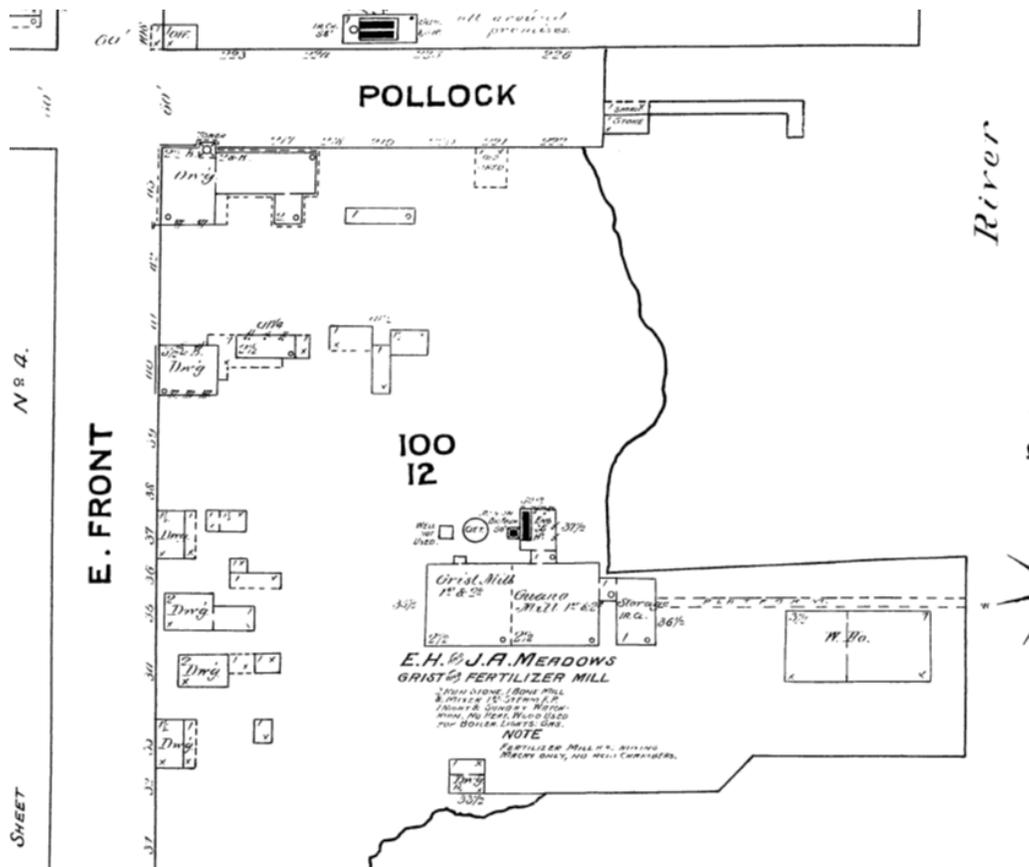


FIGURE 6.3. Sanborn Insurance Map May 1888, Sheet 5: Outlining the J.A. Meadows Grist mill, formerly the J.A. Meadows shipyard.

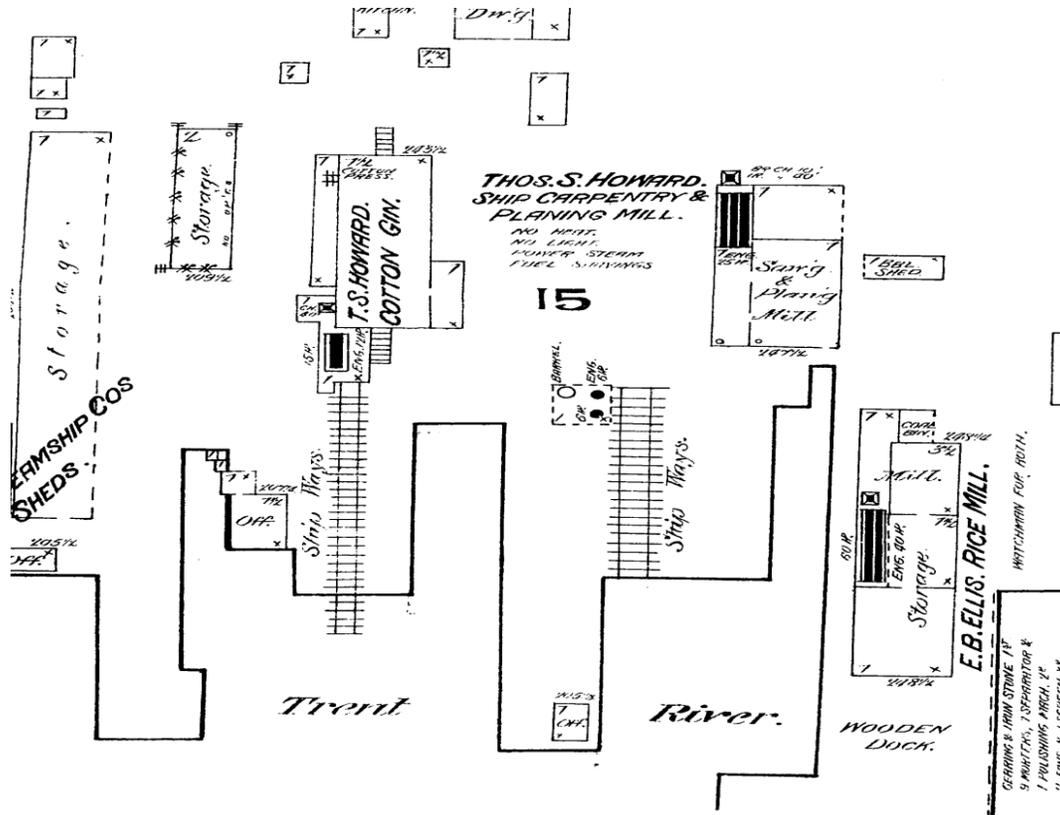


FIGURE 6.4. Sanborn Insurance Map April 1885, Sheet 3. Outlines of the former Thomas S. Howard shipyard, now labeled the Thos. S. Howard Ship Carpentry and Planing Mill.

As river navigation continued to improve, the addition of engines as a tool for shipyards shifted the focus of yards into the new business of marine railways (Lethem 1885: 84). Marine railways were shipyards structured around train tracks. Marine railways operated best with access to the water and with railway construction to help with vessel removal. These railways made it easier to move ships into and out of the water. Thomas Howard, a shipwright, constructed his marine railway yard in the early 1870s. Howard constructed two railways to handle up to 400-ton vessels for removal from the water, see Figure 6.4 (Lethem 1885: 81). The development of marine railways improved the effectiveness of shipyards in New Bern and helped these companies remain competitive. By the 1880s, marine railways had developed into a

staple in the maritime cultural landscape and remained so for the rest of the nineteenth century (Watson 1987: 488).

Ship construction and repair remained a part of New Bern's maritime economy from the 1850s-1900s. Construction yards outside of New Bern competed along the Neuse River and around North Carolina. Havelock, Wilmington, and Beaufort contained ship construction yards as the availability of railroad and ocean access attracted similar companies (Watson 1987: 526-528). Marine railways helped in the development of New Bern's maritime cultural landscape as the construction yards increased density along the Neuse River. The departure of the merchants, whom had traditionally lived along the waterfront, and redevelopment of the maritime infrastructure had shifted the town's maritime landscape further north along the Neuse River. The traditional infrastructure that developed along the Trent River disappeared in the 1880s as the Neuse waterfront developed into the most active area. This shift in the landscape focus to the Neuse waterfront left the Trent River open to later developments which helped the advancement of the local fishing industry.

By the 1870s, the fishing industry in New Bern remained a minimal aspect of the maritime culture landscape. Fishermen congregated outside of New Bern, but sold their products in the local marketplace. As the Trent waterfront redeveloped in the 1870s, the maritime infrastructure on the Trent River also changed. The Trent River waterfront developed into a fish market and a wharf system that operated along a lower socioeconomic order. The growth and development of James City attracted maritime participants with experience in the fishing industry (Cecelski 1998: 63). These participants continued to operate as fisherman and helped increase the size of the fishing industry within New Bern (Hanchett and Little 1994: 46). This development changed the Trent waterfront as the movement of merchants away from that

maritime cultural landscape allowed James City residents to operate along those wharves. This attraction to the Trent waterfront helped in the labor relationship of James City and New Bern. Maritime participants in New Bern were now expanding away from the traditional maritime enclaves located within city limits and developing ones outside of the town.

This increase in the fishing industry had a great effect on New Bern's maritime cultural landscape, as the influx of fishermen and fish peddlers helped expand the Long Wharf district in New Bern (Hanchett and Little 1994: 40-52). This expanded waterfront is visible in Figure 6.5, which presents the active fish market in the Long Wharf district in southern New Bern. The Long Wharf district, visible in Figure 6.6, abutted Lawson's Creek and housed a mixed ethnic population. This district attracted many maritime participants to New Bern and helped in the restructuring of the Trent waterfront into a public area rather than a private waterfront. This development is notable in the maritime enclave movements as new enclaves cropped up during this period; which are visible in Figure 6.8 on page 112. Furthermore, the expansion of the Trent waterfront also affected the Neuse waterfront with the construction of the Duffyfield district. Duffyfield, an African American neighborhood, originated off the Neuse waterfront district, directly west of the marine railways and lumberyards. This district also housed maritime enclaves, though these were not as large as those in the Long Wharf district. The development of these two districts and the continued growth of James City helped in the expansion of an old industry in New Bern, the lumber industry (Watson 1987: 258)



FIGURE 6.5. *New Bern, North Carolina: Founded by De Graffenried in 1710, Colonial New Bern to New Bern of Today.* 1905 Powell, Emma H., pg 31. This photo of New Bern's fish market shows the activity of the area and the population shift. Note the abundance of African Americans in this photograph.

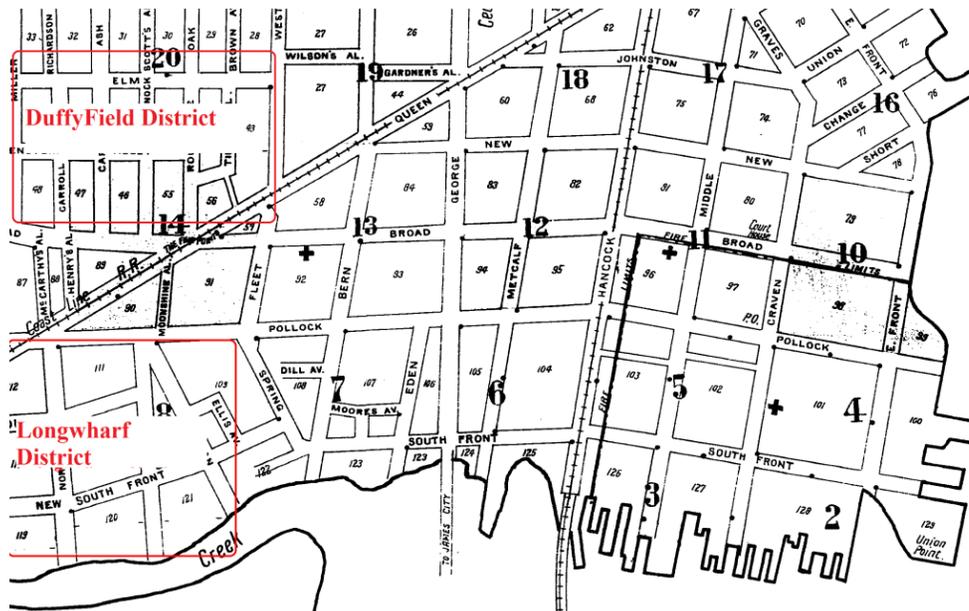


FIGURE 6.6. Sanborn Insurance Map, November 1913, Sheet 1: outlining the African American districts that were heavily influenced by maritime cultural landscape.

In the 1880s, New Bern continued to develop its maritime cultural landscape to meet growing population requirements. As the naval stores industry decreased in the Neuse River basin, the availability of a cheap labor force increased. The lumber industry had begun to develop in the late 1840s, but the Civil War had disrupted the industry severely. Furthermore, the fluctuation in Craven County's population prevented the industry's return until the 1870s as New Bern recreated itself. This created the need for new industries as labor existed in abundance and the river basin contained large timber resources. In the 1880s, the old lumber industry returned to and expanded quickly within New Bern (Watson 1987: 260). By the 1880s, new lumberyards had opened along the Neuse waterfront in New Bern (Havens 1886: 6).

The creation of lumberyards along the New Bern waterfront encouraged a rebirth of the lumber industry in the Neuse River basin that allowed New Bern's waterfront to redevelop into a new type of industrial landscape that created jobs for the local populace. Workers harvested trees in the river basin and sent the product downriver to new lumber mills constructed along the waterfront of New Bern. This enlargement of the Neuse waterfront industrial district continued throughout the 1880s as the available space in New Bern changed to lumberyards (Watson 1987: 521-522). A few lumberyards developed along the Trent River as the movement of the population created open space along the rivers (Sanborn 1883). These yards also provided services to the ship construction yards as wood remained an inexpensive resource. The Duffyfield district, located close to the new lumberyards, provided an ample work force for the lumber mills. This industry strengthened the maritime cultural landscape of New Bern as it transformed the maritime areas in town while creating new economic opportunities for the inhabitants.

The Reduction in Maritime Landscape: 1890s-1900s

During the 1890s and early 1900s, New Bern's population continued to change as the transportation industry altered over time. This affected the employment of steamships on the rivers and the availability of maritime work in New Bern. By the 1900s, New Bern shifted its maritime cultural landscape significantly with the introduction of more industries along the waterfront and development of new landscape outside the original town limits. This shift also represented the end of New Bern's role as a regional central place in North Carolina as the town ceased to function as a transportation point for the Neuse River basin. These combined factors led to a dramatic reduction in the maritime cultural landscape that hampered New Bern's existing relationship with maritime trade. By the early 1900s, New Bern's maritime relationship and landscape condensed in size and density to a shadow of itself.

By the 1890s, New Bern began to suffer from a shift in maritime trade. The traditional shipping networks that had attracted traffic to New Bern for naval stores, steamer service, and agrarian production had changed. Agricultural goods continued to be shipped through New Bern, but naval stores had decreased dramatically due to innovations in ship design and reduction in resources. Steamship service on the Neuse had declined in profitability by the late 1890s and the number of steamers in service dropped (North Carolina Business History 2014). Substitute trade networks that had developed to replace the traditional network did not draw adequate interest to New Bern. Lumberyards, fishing, and ship repair had developed as profitable ventures in the town during the 1870s. However, the shift away from maritime trade had decreased the importance of New Bern as a port facility in North Carolina (State Board of Agriculture 1898: 326).

By the 1890s, New Bern's shipping traffic had decreased dramatically despite dredging operations by the United States government. The federal government continued to improve river navigability from the 1880s to 1900s (Army Corp 1903a). However, New Bern still shifted away from the maritime economy as outside factors such as the railroad influenced change. In response to the shift, New Bern developed a manufacturing landscape that included a metal plate plant and cotton seed plants. The inclusion of these industries within New Bern forced a movement in the cultural landscape as the previously important maritime industries closed or relocated.

By the 1890s, New Bern's waterfront had begun to change significantly. The previous landscape that had developed around maritime trade had lost profitability. In the 1890s, the dependence on trade had diminished as the railroad industry interceded and connected New Bern to a vast transportation network (Watson 1987: 526). This attachment affected the maritime cultural landscape as existing industries altered to remain economically viable. The fishing and lumber industries remained active along New Bern's waterfront in the 1890s (Figure 6.7), but the ship construction industry experienced problems. Shipyards, such as the T.S. Howard Marine Railway, ceased to function in the late 1880s (Sanborn maps 1888). Surviving yards, such as the J.A. Meadows Marine Railway, moved to the Trent waterfront as the Neuse waterfront continued to change. These losses in the shipyards continued throughout the 1890s and 1900s as the need for shipping decreased and ship construction yards ceased to function.

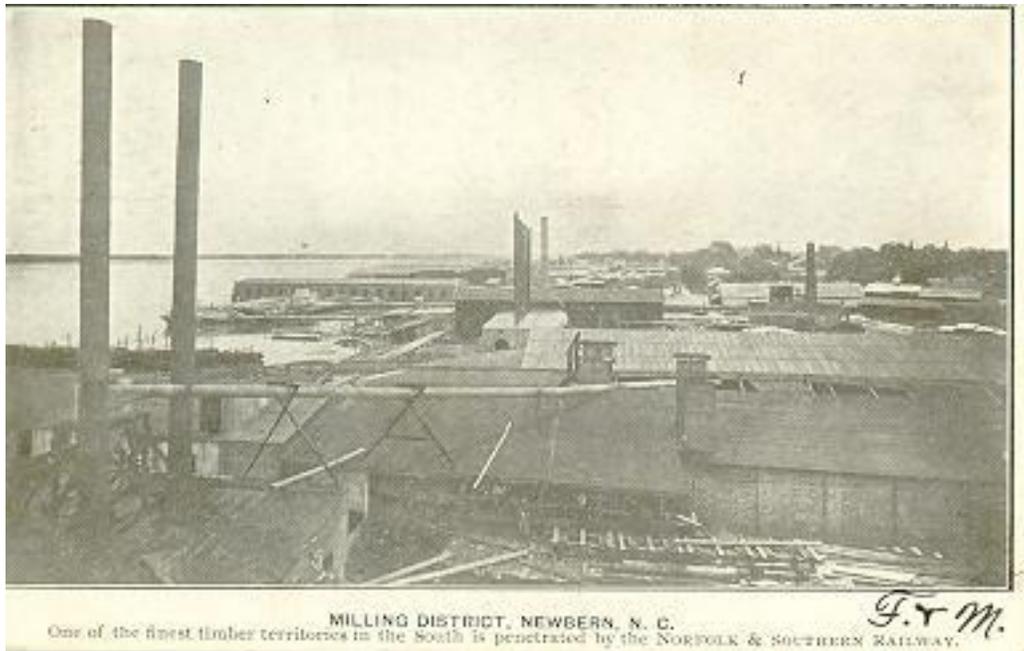


FIGURE 6.7. Picture of New Bern's mill district along the Neuse River, 1905. Property of Norfolk & Southern Railway's (Courtesy of Kellenberg Room, New Bern-Craven County Library).

The fishing industry remained active throughout New Bern as access to the water remained available to the entire population (Watson 1987: 520). This industry remained dominated by the African American; by the 1880s, 64 of the 99 registered fishermen in New Bern were African American (Census Records 1880). As oyster and fish canning companies established factories along the town's waterfront, the African American population remained the most active participants in the fishing industry. This shift in maritime participation helped workers from James City continue to operate in New Bern's maritime cultural landscape. In addition, the lumber industry remained active in New Bern during the 1890s. No single ethnicity dominated this industry as people from all backgrounds or ethnicities worked as laborers, timber rafters, and stevedores for the lumber companies.

By the 1900s, the Trent waterfront changed dramatically as the maritime infrastructure developed around the fishing and lumber industry. Oyster and fish canneries cropped up all along the Trent waterfront as the access to the fish markets attracted these companies. The

return of commercial wharves along the Trent River helped the development of the maritime cultural landscape along the Trent waterfront remain active, though industrial companies also moved into this area (Watson 1987: 524). Several non-maritime associated mills, such as two knitting mills, cropped up along the Trent waterfront by the early 1890s (Sanborn maps 1893).

The Neuse waterfront continued to operate as the industrial heart of New Bern. The landscape remained associated with the lumber industry as the shipyards departed town. These departures left spaces open for expansion along the landscape. The Neuse waterfront's relationship with maritime trade remained active as lumber was shipped down river by rafters and porters. Furthermore, steamships still operated until the early 1900s along the rivers and ships remained active in bulk resource transport along the Neuse (Watson 1987: 524). The Army Corp of Engineers dredged New Bern's waterfront to a depth of eight feet in 1898 and 1901 (Army Corp 1903b). These operations suggest that the waterfront remained viable; but the necessity for dredge work hinted that trade had declined. Previous government dredge projects had increased water depth to 14 feet to accommodate trade to the port facilities, whereas the 1901 project dredged only to eight feet because shipping to New Bern had decreased. The decline of New Bern's trade had occurred from a movement of the cultural landscape outside of town as the importance of the industrial sector began to override maritime trade.

The movement of the maritime cultural landscape began with a shift across the Neuse River. As the industrial landscape increased within New Bern, marinas and ship production facilities shifted across the water into James City and the new town of Bridgton. This new town, located on the east side of the Neuse River, began in the 1890s and immediately developed a maritime cultural landscape. Bridgeton progressed into a primarily Anglo American neighborhood. This ethnic separation dictated the difference between Bridgeton and James City.

Bridgeton developed around a higher level of social and economic class at a time of segregation between the races. This created an environment of acceptance for business creation in Bridgeton that did not exist within James City in the 1860s. This allowed for the quick expansion of the maritime cultural landscape which James City never developed.

The development of a maritime cultural landscape at Bridgeton occurred because of the shifting landscape of New Bern. As industries moved into New Bern's industrial districts, the maritime businesses moved to the closest area with maritime access. The region further north of New Bern did not provide adequate shipping access, but Bridgeton's waterfront did. Previously the shoreline of Bridgeton did not offer the depth needed for vessels to utilize it. As the size and draft of ships along the Neuse River decreased, Bridgeton became a viable option for maritime landscape expansion. By the 1900s, Bridgeton developed a maritime cultural landscape while New Bern had changed into an industrial district located along the waterfront. New Bern no longer had maritime enclaves near the waterfront and the town's maritime development had ceased. The maritime cultural landscape of New Bern had remained active, but decreased in importance as the town's economy shifted into a manufacturing landscape.

Maritime Enclaves

From the 1860s to early 1900s, New Bern's maritime enclaves spread out and expanded beyond the town's waterfront. This movement in the landscape happened because of several factors. First, town expansion increased the amount of homes available for maritime participants. As immigration to Craven County continued in the late nineteenth century, New Bern constructed new infrastructure to support population growth. This led to home construction beginning in the 1850s and continuing until the end of the century (Watson 1987: 518-519).

Second, the population shift in New Bern that occurred during and after the Civil War forced an increase in the number of maritime enclaves around New Bern. As the native population altered from an influx of African American immigrants, the settlement of these immigrants created new maritime enclaves in James City and southern New Bern. Furthermore, as the town population increased throughout the nineteenth century, the town borders expanded to accommodate growth. All of these expansions affected the maritime enclaves as the population shifts led to the development of areas such as the Long Wharf and Duffyfield districts. Third, the shift in maritime industries helped create job opportunities outside traditional maritime occupations. This led to increased job opportunities for a larger segment of the population. The addition of lumberyard workers, fishermen, and shipyard workers attracted an African American labor force into the maritime cultural landscape.

This continued development of New Bern's maritime enclaves affected the size and density of enclaves within the town. The number of maritime enclaves increased from eight in the 1800s-1850s to twenty-one in the 1860s-1890s. Figure 6.8 illustrates this increase in maritime enclaves. In addition, the average size of maritime enclaves decreased in the 1860s-1900s as maritime participants diffused into New Bern's expanded area. During the previous half century, the maritime enclaves had remained close to the waterfront near Union Point. However, by the early 1900s, New Bern's maritime enclaves had extended all along the town's waterfront and into the newly constructed residential districts.

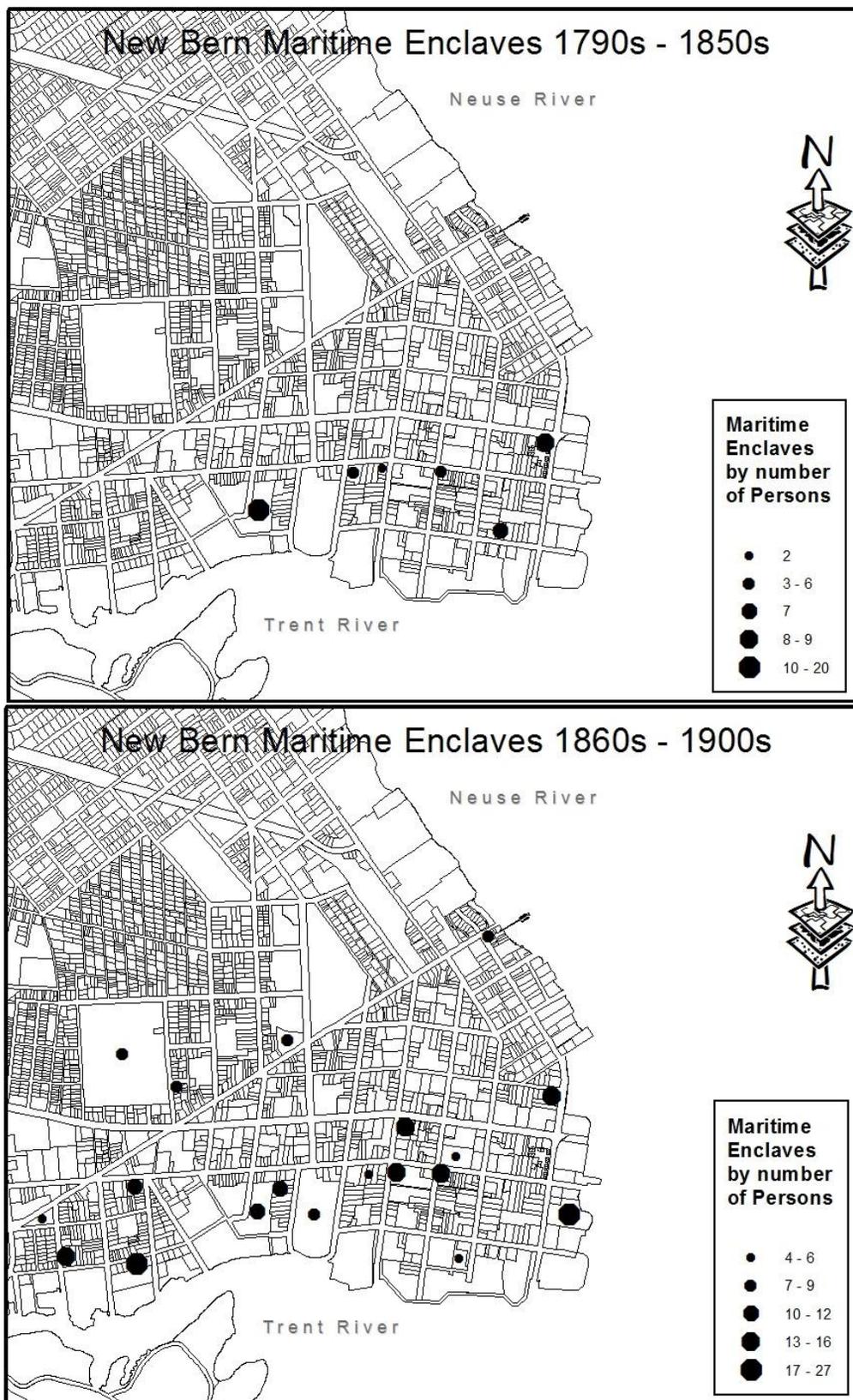


FIGURE 6.8. GIS Maps: Top map New Bern Maritime Enclaves from 1790s – 1850s. Bottom map New Bern Maritime Enclaves from 1860s – 1900s (Created by Jeremy Eamick).

The expansion of New Bern's maritime enclaves occurred for three reasons. First, New Bern's maritime infrastructure underwent significant changes in the 1850s-1890s. These changes created a host of maritime job opportunities attractive to the available labor force. The number of maritime participants increased from 91 in 1860 to 183 in 1870 and then to 200 in 1890.

Second, the introduction of the African American maritime participants increased between the 1860s-1870s. Of the 91 maritime participants in the 1860 census, fourteen members were African American, or roughly 15.4 percent. By the 1870 census, 99 members of the 183, or 54.1 percent of maritime participants, were African American. This shift occurred because of the immigration of African Americans to James City in the 1860s. This dramatic increase in the number of maritime participants helped the maritime enclave expansion after the Civil War and also benefited New Bern's maritime cultural landscape. Post-Civil War New Bern suffered through an economic rearrangement as the population changed and the economy reconstructed.

Third and finally, the inclusion of addresses in the census records, starting in 1880, allowed for the accurate placement of enclaves. Previously, maritime enclaves could be identified using a census record, but their exact locations could not be pinpointed. For example, the 1860 and 1870 census survey identified 21 maritime enclaves, but only nine were associated with physical locations. With the introduction of addresses to the census records, the number of maritime enclaves associated with a location increased. The 1880 and 1900 census survey found 19 maritime enclaves, of which 17 could be associated with physical locations.

Despite the increase in maritime enclaves during the 1860s-1900s, problems finding enclaves occurred in the survey of historic records. After the 1880s, the census records

presented difficulties in finding street addresses. New Bern modernized street and home addresses several times as the city developed, but these addresses do not always translate to modern addresses. In some instances, this requires the continued use of proximity to known locations as a means to determine enclave locations when they could not be geo-referenced. For example homes found in old alleys: the survey recorded this information on the known street that abutted an alley.

Further problems occurred in the newly developed towns of James City and Bridgeton. These towns never developed maritime enclave that could be associated with any definite physical location. The census records for these towns never included addresses for townspeople. This affected the interpretation of maritime enclaves, as with no physical location available for reference, no maritime enclaves could be included from the two towns. Though James City and Bridgeton did participate within the maritime cultural landscape and even developed their own waterfronts, the lack of this information hinders the results of the maritime enclave survey. Potentially, the maritime enclaves found along the Trent waterfront could actually represent James City residents included in the New Bern census at places of employment. The survey found no answer to this problem; therefore these enclaves remain associated with the Trent waterfront.

Social Changes

The largest impact the social aspect of New Bern had on the maritime cultural landscape pertained to the introduction of James City. After the Civil War, the creation of a predominantly African American town directly across the Trent River from New Bern created a unique relationship between the two towns. Socially, the influx of skilled African American maritime

participants into James City swelled the fishing industry. The employment of African Americans in maritime industries helped develop James City into a satellite location for New Bern. However, James City did not provide the normal economic resources associated with a dependent town. Typically, satellite locations funneled lumber and agricultural goods into New Bern for transportation or sale. In the case of James City, the town provided a labor force. This greatly influenced the maritime cultural landscape of New Bern as the newcomers to James City quickly began working within the burgeoning fishing industry.

New Bern's fishing industry more than doubled in size after the infusion of African American workers in the 1860s. The census records reflected this association with the fishing industry. In 1860, only 21 maritime participants worked in the fishing industry. All 21 members were all labeled as white. In the 1870 census, 32 of the 59 participants within the fishing industry were African American or of mixed ethnicity.

This relationship between the African American labor forces suggests that the transformation of the Trent waterfront occurred because of the influence of blacks from James City. The development of maritime industries along the Trent waterfront could be associated with the accessibility of James City's population. During the 1860s-1870s, canneries and lumber mills had begun operation along the northern edge of the Neuse waterfront. By the 1880s-1890s, the availability of cheap labor then attracted many companies to operate along the Trent waterfront. This is visible in Figure 6.9, as the Trent waterfront housed turpentine stills, lumber mills, and fish canneries by the 1880s. This relationship between maritime industries and James City helped in the transformation of the maritime cultural landscape along the Trent River from the 1870s to early 1900s. By the 1900s, the relationship between James City and New Bern remained strong.

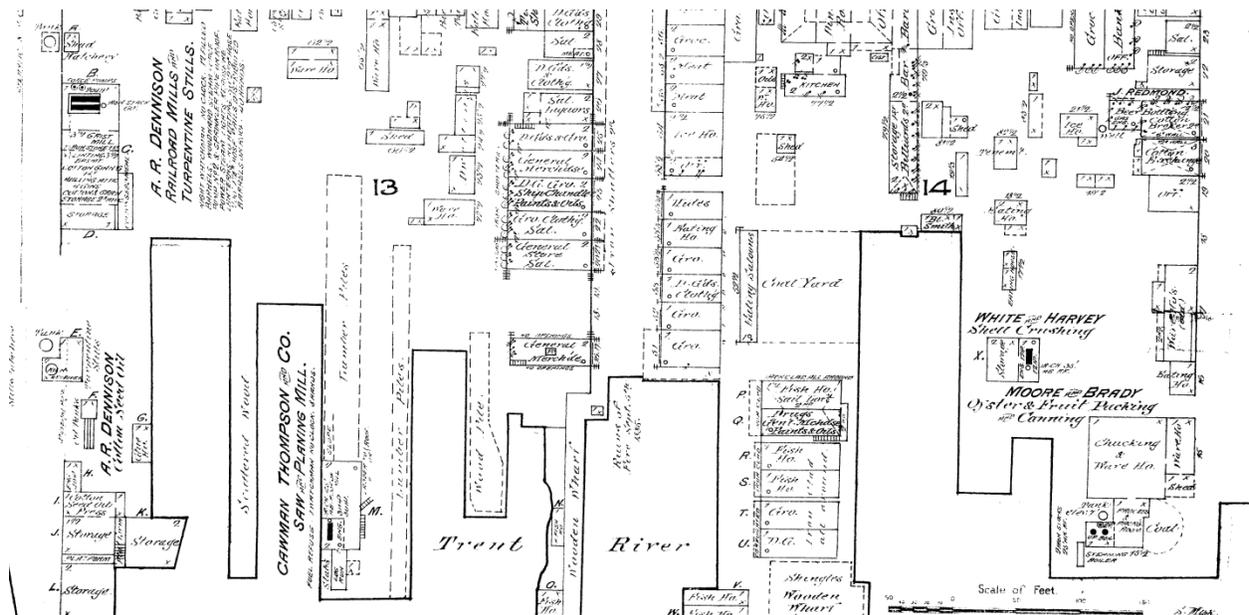


FIGURE 6.9. Sanborn Insurance Map April 1885, Sheet 3: Trent waterfront. The Moor cannery and the Cawmen Thompson Lumber mill, new maritime industries that developed along the Trent River.

Archaeological evidence

Archaeological material that survives from the 1860s-1900s includes several maritime features scattered along New Bern's shorelines. Research found further evidence of maritime features from an excavation and several surveys performed along the town's waterfront.

Research for this thesis required several phase I surveys of New Bern's surviving waterfront in publically accessible areas. The phase I surveys intended to illustrate the existing maritime infrastructure's purpose along the landscape. Nevertheless, limited access to the waterfront prevented a complete survey of the town's waterfront district and limited the phase I surveys. This accumulation of this information emphasizes the transformation of New Bern's maritime cultural landscape in the late nineteenth century.

The largest amount of archaeological evidence came from a 1985 excavation. The excavation of the Motor Inn site provided ample evidence from the 1860s-1900s as the site

examined the remnants of a lumber yard (Garrow and Joseph 1985: 3-5). The Motor Inn site, located on the corner of Pollock Street and East Front Street, abutted the waterfront for a majority of the site's history. Archaeologists excavated six trenches within the lot. Three of the six trenches revealed sawdust layers on top of hardwood floors (Garrow and Joseph 1985: 61). The evidence suggests that this wooden floor was constructed directly above the remnants of an old wharf (Garrow and Joseph 1985: 53-54). The historical records support this evidence as the lot operated as a tannery between the 1840s-1890s. In the 1870s, the S. Radcliffe Company purchased the lot and constructed a lumber mill. This information supports the theory of a shifting maritime cultural landscape as the town lot underwent reconstruction during the late nineteenth century, yet remained associated with maritime activity.

A second survey, performed by Tidewater Atlantic Research Company, found sunken ships in the Neuse River. This survey discovered three ships from the 1860s-1900s directly offshore from the Bridgeton shoreline. The first ship, a steamship dated to the 1870s, remained unidentified after the survey. The second ship was identified as a barge from the early 1900s. The third ship dated to 1868 and was identified as a centerboard schooner of unknown name (Owen 1999). Further research found no dates associated with the sinking of these ships or their use within New Bern.

This archaeological evidence supports the theory that the maritime cultural landscape of New Bern shifted across the Neuse River during the 1860s-1900s. The survival of three wrecks just off the shoreline suggests that no outside sources affected these vessels. The Army Corp of Engineers dredged the waterfront of New Bern from 1898-1902 to a depth of eight feet (Army Corp 1903a). These operations encountered no sunken vessels or support infrastructure in the dredging process around the New Bern waterfront. This indicates two important facts about

New Bern's waterfront. First, the constant growth along the waterfront had affected the waterline. As infrastructure remained centered along the waterfront, the shoreline accumulated silt buildup which shifted the waterline further into the rivers. This silt accumulation then covered up any cultural material close to the shoreline. This process had occurred long enough that, by the 1898-1902 dredge project, the removal of eight feet of material from the shoreline did not discover any shipwrecks or cultural material. The lack of infrastructure or wrecks found within the water that abutted the shore supports this idea.

Second, by the end of the nineteenth century, the maritime infrastructure of New Bern had begun to shift away from the traditional town waterfront. The increase in population and consistent density problems encouraged expansion of the maritime cultural landscape to the closest available areas. This maritime infrastructure, instead, shifted across the Neuse River into the new town of Bridgeton by the late 1880s. As the Bridgeton area became more active at the turn of the century, the appearance of three wrecked ships off the shoreline suggests that these vessels were not disposed of, but instead sank. The survival of three late nineteenth century shipwrecks indicated this shift and suggested that the Bridgeton waterfront continued to grow as barges and steamers operated off the local wharves.

Further archaeological evidence found along the New Bern waterfront exists in the form of surviving maritime infrastructure. Several phase I surveys performed from 2008-2009 found maritime landscape features along select areas of the Neuse River. These surveys did not discover any maritime features along the Trent River for several reasons. First, the Trent waterfront underwent extensive landscape construction in the twentieth century. Projects along the Trent River include the construction of a park and convention center along Union Point, a marina along South Front Street, reconstruction of Tryon Palace, and modern day construction

upon the old Barbour Boat Works facility. Second, residential construction along Lawson's Creek replaced the old wharves in the twentieth century. These newly constructed features have changed the old cultural landscape from its original maritime roots. This modern construction has created a unique shifting landscape that the city continues to modify to accommodate the tourist affiliated economy currently prevalent along the waterfront. These modern structures prevent the study of the old maritime cultural landscape as it has been completely removed or covered up along the Trent River. As such, the study of this maritime landscape remains possible only through historical records or more extreme archaeological investigation.

Archaeological evidence from the 1860s-1900s survives along the Neuse waterfront. The Neuse Lumber Company operated on King Street along the riverfront in the 1890s. The lumber company purchased preexisting infrastructure from the Blade's Lumber Company and expanded with the addition of two wharves along the edge of King Street, as depicted in Figures 6.10 and 6.11.

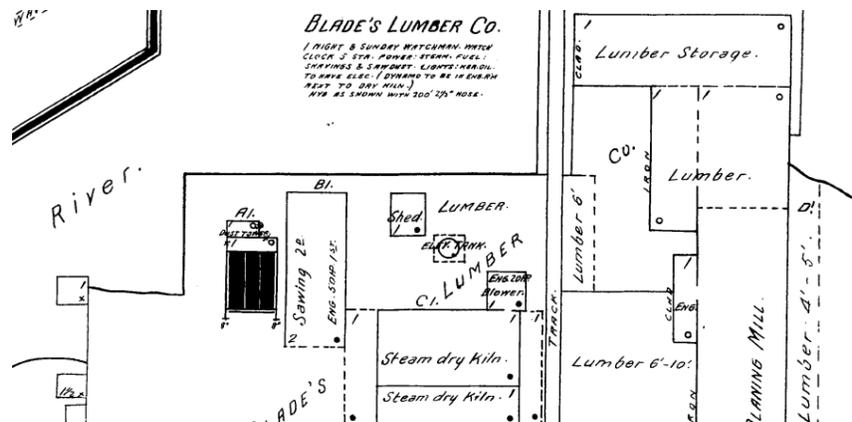


FIGURE 6.10. Sanborn Insurance Map May 1904, Sheet 8. Former Blade Lumber Co. property sold to the Neuse Lumber Company.

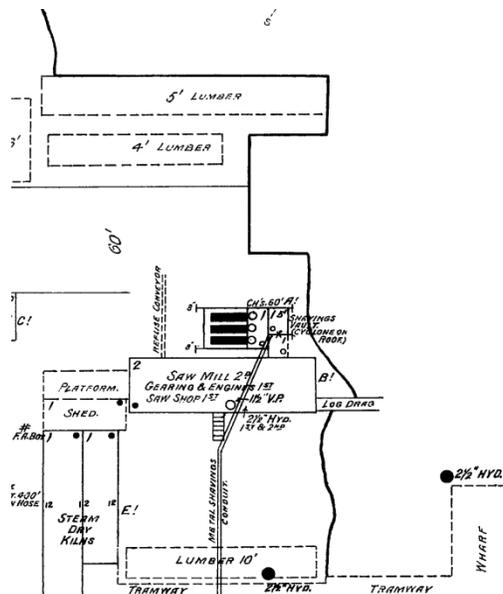


FIGURE 6.11. Sanborn Insurance Map September 1908, Sheet 17: New Bern, North Carolina, Neuse River waterfront.

Some surviving infrastructure remains visible from the shoreline in the form of pilings, as seen in Figure 6.12. These pilings have survived beneath the waterline and form an outline for a wharf structure. Furthermore, cultural material including bricks, concrete, upturned pilings, and corroded metal lies scattered throughout this area. This cultural material could represent two maritime features. First, it could signify the remnants of a sea wall. The King's Road lot remained continuously employed as a lumber yard or wharf until the end of the nineteenth century. The construction of a sea wall to prevent damage from high tides may have occurred. Second, this material could represent remnants of the railroad bridge located directly upstream of the lumber yard. This destruction of this railroad bridge in the twentieth century could have led to the formation of the cultural refuse found along the shoreline.



FIGURE 6.12. Photo of northern edge of pilings in the Neuse River. These pilings are located along King and Edgerton Street. These pilings are the remnants of the Neuse Lumber Co wharf, the southeastern corner (Photo130 taken 5/12/2008 by Jeremy Eamick).

Archaeological evidence is also visible from Union Point. Union Point has undergone heavy construction in recent years which has destroyed a lot of the maritime infrastructure located there. Heavily decayed pilings and wharf structures have survived the modern construction efforts and are visible from the shoreline. This infrastructure (Figure 7.13) operated as one of the first canning companies, the Moore and Brown Oyster Canning, in the 1880s. This company operated along Union Point until 1898, when it became vacant (Sanborn Insurance Maps 1898). Figure 6.13 illustrates this structure, which was part of the wharf system visible in Figure 6.14.



FIGURE 6.13. Photograph taken from Union Point Park, facing east. Pilings run parallel to the bank (Photo 23 taken 11/16/2007 by Jeremy Eamick).

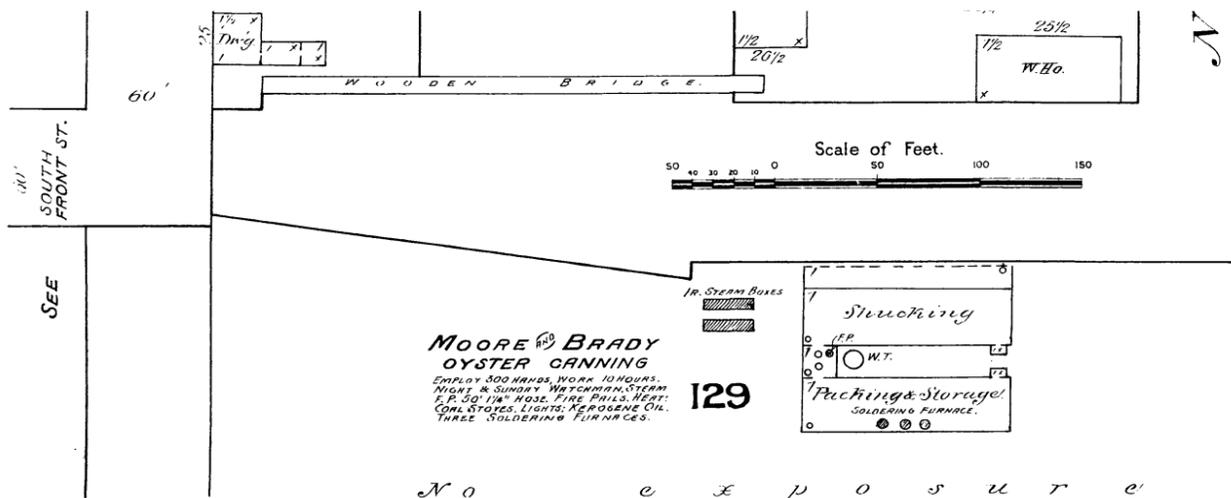


FIGURE 6.14. Sanborn Insurance Map May 1888, Sheet 5: This Moor and Brady Oyster Canning wharf, built right off Union Point and jutting in the water. The surviving pylons are still visible as noted in Figure 6.13

Conclusion

The maritime cultural landscape of New Bern underwent an era of strife and transformation during the 1860s-1900s. Post-Civil War reconstruction created an immigration problem that significantly shifted the town population's with an influx of African American citizens. This population shift helped create James City and later Bridgeton. These towns later participated in New Bern's maritime cultural landscape and eventually developed relationships that affected the landscape changes during this era. As international maritime trade in New Bern declined, new maritime industries developed, such as fishing, lumber, and ship construction, that helped the town's maritime cultural landscape survive through the end of the nineteenth century. However, the loss of New Bern's focus as a central place in North Carolina doomed the maritime cultural landscape as the shift in trade networks removed the bulk of the maritime trade. This shift in trade led to the movement of maritime infrastructure and transformed the waterfront into an industrial network. This new network did not depend on the traditional maritime participants from previous decades and changed the maritime cultural landscape. In the end, New Bern's shift away from maritime trade had ended the traditional maritime focus and changed the town permanently.

Chapter 7

New Bern's Maritime Cultural Landscape 1910s—Present: The Collapse and Restructure of Maritime Industries.

New Bern suffered a collapse of its maritime infrastructure during the middle of the twentieth century. The 1910s to the present symbolize the loss of many traditional maritime industries within New Bern. This restructuring and reduction of the maritime cultural landscape occurred as part of a movement away from maritime dependence in Craven County. This movement eventually diminished the maritime trade routes that New Bern had utilized for centuries and that helped shape its original cultural landscape. As maritime trade continued to diminish in New Bern, the town's dependence on the waterways decreased significantly. By the middle of the twentieth century the traditional trade networks had disappeared. This occurred because of expanded transportation networks, a transformation in the local maritime industries, and the movement of some maritime industries out of New Bern. These factors finally ended New Bern's dependence on maritime trade. This loss affected the maritime cultural landscape of New Bern as the area lost its relationship with the maritime world.

This restructuring of the maritime landscape reflected an expansion of industrial complexes during the early twentieth century. Industrial and manufacturing companies replaced the original waterfront districts. The inclusion of new mills, steam companies, canning factories, and marine railways expanded the town's waterfront during the 1900s-1920s. These developments later encouraged the inclusion of non-maritime companies, such as the vegetable canning and fertilizer industry, along the waterfront. These new companies represented the shift in the maritime culture of New Bern. These companies did not depend upon the maritime world for resources, but did utilize maritime trade routes. As these companies prospered, this created a

problem with the recording of the statistics for maritime participants. For example, within the Barbour Boat work facility, many employees operated under job titles such as boat builder, stevedore, carpenter, shipping clerk, and laborers. This meant that that many new job titles operated within the maritime world that did not reflect that influence. For example laborers and stevedores depended upon the local maritime trade for work, as they unloaded the vessels that docked in New Bern. Whereas fishermen traditionally operated on the water, laborers and stevedores remained active along the docks.

This led to the redefining of the term maritime. As the traditional role of maritime participants changed, the development of new jobs altered the socially accepted role of maritimers. As companies now organized into focused areas, some areas operated on the water while the rest did not. Yet, employees at a lumber mill could qualify as maritime participants. These employees continued to work in the maritime cultural landscape; they worked along the water, and therefore could continue to associate as maritime participants even if they did not sail on the water.

The loss of much of its maritime employers did not end New Bern's affiliation with the water. By the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, the town developed a new association with the water. The rise in the tourism industry led to an ongoing period of restructuring and redevelopment in New Bern which changed the traditional waterfront industrial district. Local businesses removed old factories and replaced them with restaurants, hotels, marinas, parks, and a recreation center. The new maritime cultural landscape of New Bern attracted a new type of maritime participant that provided services to water based tourists. As the town continued to develop around tourism, it helped the populace recreate a maritime identity as many service based companies associated with the water.

The 1910s-1930s

The 1910s-1930s represented a period of transformation within the maritime cultural landscape of New Bern. During this time, the cultural landscape changed as several industries moved to or within the town. For example, the fertilizer industry arrived in New Bern during the early twentieth century. These new companies participated in maritime culture through the use of maritime transportation networks. In addition, many of the traditional industries, such as fishing, lumber, and ship construction, underwent changes while remaining active along the waterfront. The agricultural industry also remained within Craven County, but waned as a maritime participant during this era. This occurred because the utilization of trucks or railroads as an alternative means of transportation decreased the agricultural industry's dependence on maritime transportation. By the end of the 1930s, New Bern's waterfront remained associated with the maritime cultural landscape, though the maritime participants within the landscape had changed in several forms.

Initially, the fishing industry thrived in the early twentieth century. However, during the 1910s-1930s, the fishing industry underwent significant changes. Research into the census records found that, in 1910, the fishing industry maintained operations with 44 percent of maritime participants living in New Bern working as fishermen. Previously, this industry had operated with 42 percent in 1900 and 49 percent in 1880. This continuation in fishing attracted support industries to New Bern such as the canning industry.

As a small manufacturing industry, the canning industry operated within the maritime cultural landscape. The canning industry utilized the abundance of fish as a food export and started within New Bern during the late nineteenth century (Havens 1886: 42-43). By the 1910s, the canning industry had incorporated vegetables into their manufacturing process and thus

expanded their available resource material. The New Bern Improvement Association noted the potential of the canning industry in the 1890s, when it recorded that,

Already one exceedingly enterprising firm has opened a canning establishment in the city of New Bern which gives employment to several hundred people. They also employ a large fleet of schooners and sloops in the business of gathering oysters. They are doing an extensive business and their arrangements are such that they can handle several thousand bushels a day (Havens 1886: 43).

Traditionally, this industry employed local fishermen and ship captains for fish and oysters which were then shipped out of New Bern via water (Havens 1886: 42-44). This close relationship with the maritime world continued throughout the 1910s-1930s as this industry adapted to the changes in New Bern. These companies constructed plants along the Trent waterfront in the 1890s-1900s, while later moving around New Bern and James City throughout the 1930s (NCDCP 1966: 66). Such locations provided these factories with easy access to resource materials and maritime trade routes. These factors allowed the canning industry to remain active in the maritime cultural landscape beyond the 1930s. However, this would cause problems once the fishing industry began to decline.

By the late 1920s, the fishing industry in New Bern had begun to decline drastically. Research in the Census records found that the number of fishermen decreased from 45 in 1910 to 19 in 1920 before stabilizing at 28 in 1930. These numbers represented a drop of 29 percent between 1910 and 1930. This decline reflects a dip in the fishing industry caused by the ongoing transformation of the town's waterfront. During the 1910s, oil, lumber, and fertilizer companies had purchased waterfront property within New Bern and constructed new factories along the rivers (Sanborn Insurance Maps 1913). This new construction reduced the availability of water access for the local fishermen to operate from. The loss of access affected the fishing industry as noted by the reduction in the maritime participants as fishermen. In the late nineteenth century,

fishermen had operated along the Trent waterfront (Sanborn Insurance Maps 1888, 1894, 1900; Watson 1987: 522-523). As publically accessible town lots disappeared, the fishermen became limited to only one pier along the Trent River (Sanborn Insurance Maps 1908, 1913). This pier is visible in Figure 7.1, and is located at the end of Middle Street and along Bells Alley.

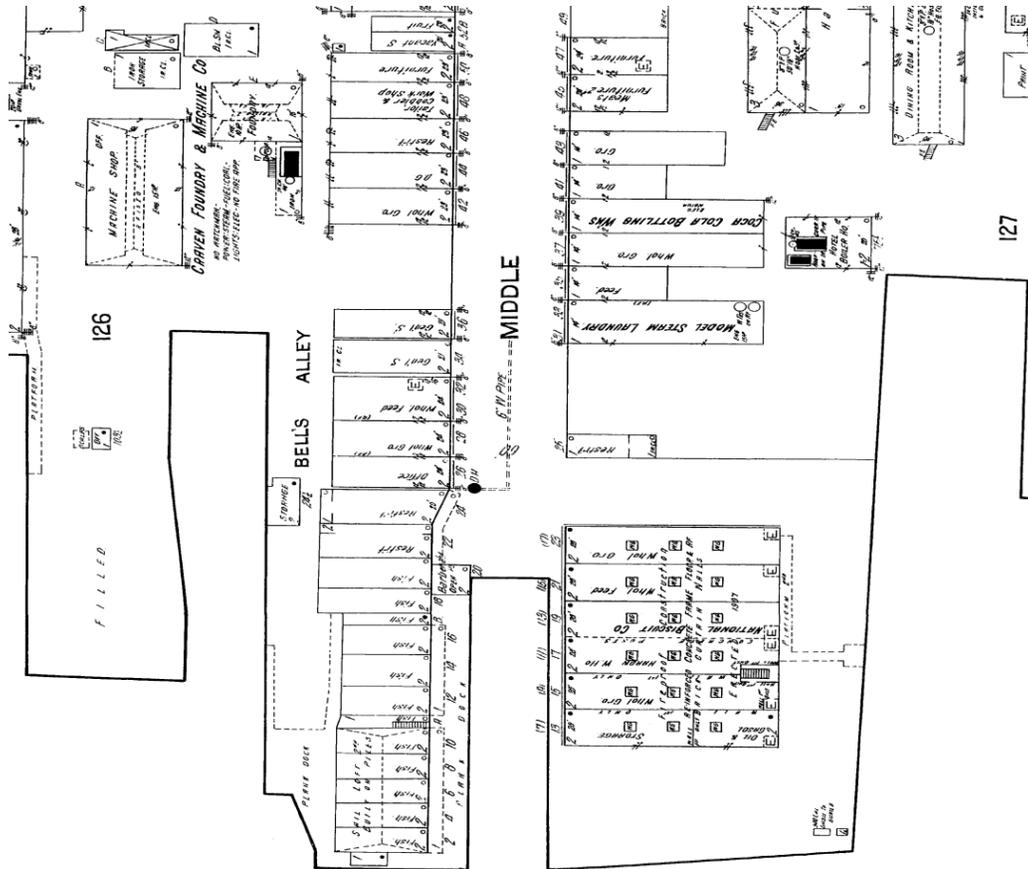


FIGURE 7.1. Sanborn Insurance Map November 1913, sheet 3. Map of the Middle Street wharf. This is the last publicly available water access in New Bern's waterfront.

By the 1920s, the fishing industry's presence within New Bern's maritime cultural landscape had decreased. Until the 1910s, fisherman had dominated New Bern's maritime enclaves. In the 1910 Census records, fishermen outnumbered their counterparts within four of the seven enclaves. By the 1920 Census records, no maritime enclaves included any fishermen. Instead, the fishermen of New Bern had diffused within the town landscape and no longer

comprised maritime enclaves. Though fishermen did return to maritime enclaves in the 1930 Census records, the number of fishermen did not outnumber the other maritime participants as had previously been the case. This movement out of the maritime enclaves may have included travel to areas outside of New Bern. Many fishermen could have moved to new homes along the rivers in Craven County. Since New Bern's waterfront district no longer offered open access to the fishermen, the maritime cultural landscape become a manufacturing landscape.

The transformation of New Bern's waterfront into a manufacturing district occurred from the attraction of new companies into town. During the early twentieth century, companies had constructed warehouses, mills, factories, and even a new shipyard along the town waterfront (Watson 1987). Since maritime transportation remained active in the 1910s, a majority of these newly constructed companies also formed part of the town's maritime cultural landscape.

However, some companies, such the chemical factory or the iron foundry, did not operate along the water (Havens 1886: 52). These two companies operated alongside railroads instead of along water transportation routes. This represented an important step in the ongoing transformation of New Bern's maritime cultural landscape. New Bern's waterfront district represented the prime economic area within the city, reflecting the town's traditional dependence on maritime transportation. Not since the original settlers had someone used the waterfront for non-maritime use. The introduction of these companies started the trend in non-maritime transportation use.

The rest of the companies constructed within New Bern's maritime cultural landscape remained associated with preexisting maritime industries. For example, several companies constructed new sawmills along the Neuse River (Sanborn Insurance Maps 1908, 1913). Lumber companies constructed four mills from 1908 to 1913. These mills all operated within close proximity to the lumberyards and, frequently, included a wharf system. Furthermore the

repair and construction of wharves allowed these new mills to maintain operation along the waterfront and encouraged the shipment of lumber, grain, and minerals along the water. This continued development of wharves and warehouses made the lumber industry the dominant maritime participant in New Bern.

The redevelopment of New Bern's maritime cultural landscape assisted in the continuously growing lumber industry. During the late nineteenth century, the lumber industry had constructed many sawmills along the waterfront. This construction effort meant that several lumber mills already existed along the waterfront by 1910. Research into the Sanborn maps found that the number of lumber mills that operated along the waterfront increased from six in 1908 to ten in 1913. This reflects a growth in the lumber industry that occurred in New Bern during the 1900s-1910s. The lumber industry remained an active participant in New Bern's maritime cultural landscape through the 1930s as the industry continued to use water transportation routes.

The inclusion of new lumberyards led to the reconstruction of unoccupied waterfront space and purchasing of warehouses along the river. This expansion represented the change in maritime jobs as the lumber industry employed many laborers to help along the waterfront. Furthermore, the Census records illustrate this redevelopment as the percentage of laborers that operated as maritime participants increased. During the 1900s-1920s, most laborers found employment with either the lumber or fertilizer industries along the waterfront. As activity within these industries increased, the number of maritime participants in New Bern also increased. This helped maintain the maritime cultural landscape of New Bern in the early twentieth century. Though the landscape shifted to an industrial area, the importance of the maritime participants remained.

Due to the influx of companies, old structures also underwent reconstruction during the 1910s-1930s. Companies purchased and reconstructed old buildings such as the Union Point Lumber Co., the Bishop Fertilizer Warehouse, and the Virginian & Carolina Chemical Co. These reconstruction efforts helped the maritime cultural landscape as the new infrastructure rejuvenated New Bern's waterfront. The reconstruction efforts that occurred during the 1910s-1930s truly benefited the town's landscape. First, these reconstructions helped maintain activity along the waterfront. Second, the abundance of jobs that new companies created attracted maritime participants and encouraged them to remain within close proximity to New Bern. This helped the local culture to remain associated with the maritime world.

The renovation of maritime structures also included the repair and reuse of waterfront warehouses. From 1908 to 1913, the number of warehouses along the rivers increased from six to eight. This reflects the increased activity in the industrial waterfront of New Bern as the town remained a small transshipment point in eastern North Carolina. Though transportation routes did not ship the percentage of goods that previously traveled through New Bern, nearby towns, such as Bridgton, James City, and Vanceboro, still utilized the town as a collection and transportation point. Bulk farm goods continued to travel through New Bern, keeping warehouse operations profitable. These changes in the waterfront continued to affect the local landscape as populace needs altered over time. The best example of this happened along the Trent River.

Originally, the Trent waterfront began along Union Point and followed the water to the beginning of Lawson's Creek. Over time, the area at the mouth of Lawson's Creek also developed small wharves used by the local fishermen alongside the Trent waterfront (Watson 1987: 523). This area provided fisherman access to the water in the late nineteenth century. However, by the 1910s-1930s, the area around Lawson's Creek changed. The constant

population growth of New Bern continued to create a need for housing throughout the city's history. By 1913, local entrepreneurs had dismantled the wharves around Lawson's Creek to accommodate the construction of houses along the water. This development of homes along the old waterfront district further outlines the ongoing transformation in the town's maritime cultural landscape. With the reduction of the fishing industry and the expansion in town population, home construction exploited the availability of unused lot space within the city. In fact, by 1913, homes had developed along Lawson Creek shoreline, as illustrated by Figure 8.2. These houses did not dominate the waterline in the 1910s; instead, a select few town lots included dwellings along German and South Front Street. These house lots would later expand in the 1920s and 1930s as housing continued to expand along the Trent River (Sanborn Insurance Maps 1913). Figure 7.2 illustrates the shift in landscape as the old Lawson Creek wharves are gone and town lots remain empty in this area.

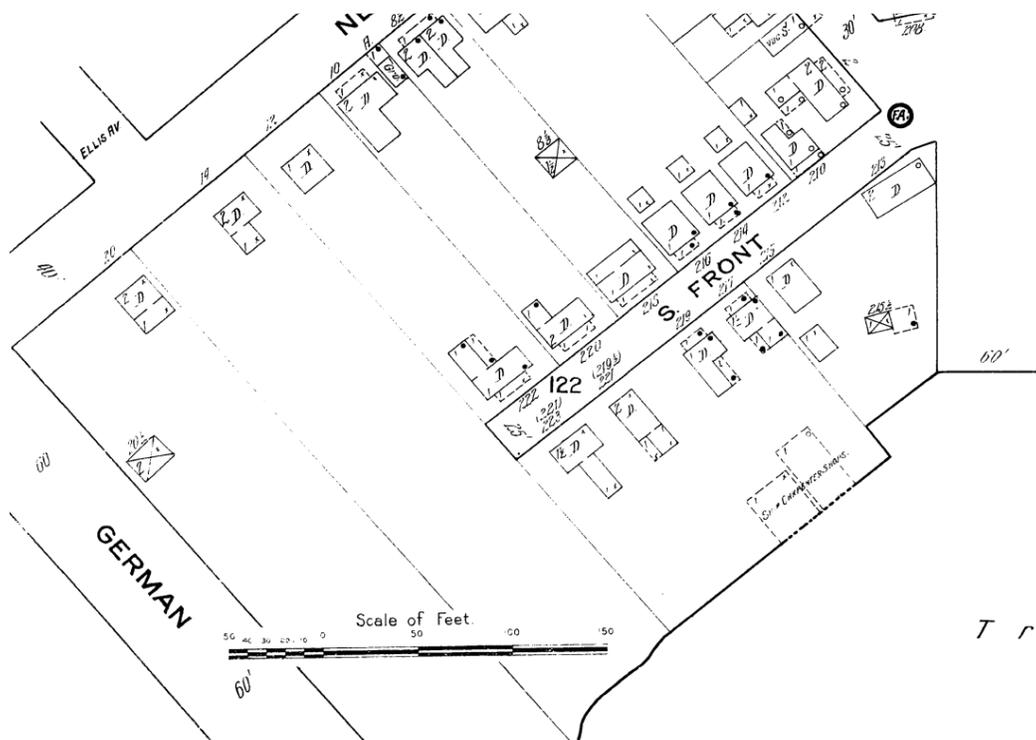


FIGURE 7.2. Sanborn Insurance Map November 1913, Sheet 7. The buildings drawn with addresses and D's represent dwellings.

The 1910s-1930s also represented a period of both growth and stagnation in the ship construction industry. New Bern began the 1910s with an active and healthy ship construction industry with companies like the Newport Corporation, J.A. Meadows Marine Railway, and the Starr-Bennett Company. These three operations built large steel river steamers or passenger vessels used primarily along the coast (*Wilmington Star* 1919). However, the Starr-Bennett Company and the Newport Corporation left New Bern during the 1920s. These companies moved to Wilmington because of the better port facilities and to avoid the shrinking maritime world of New Bern. This process began as the Newport Corporation started a new shipyard in Wilmington in the early 1920s before closing the New Bern shipyard (*Wilmington Dispatch* 1921). With the departure of these shipyards, New Bern's ship construction industry stagnated. The loss of the two largest marine railways damaged the local ship repair and construction industry as the J.A. Meadows marine railway remained a smaller operation. However, the

Barbour Boat Works, Inc. began in 1932 along the bank of the Trent River and rejuvenated the ship construction industry (Gibbons N.A.: 1). This new company operated as a government supported shipyard. The yard repaired or constructed small fishing ships to accommodate local maritime needs. Throughout the 1930s, the Barbour Boat Works also constructed military support vessels such as lighters, minesweepers, and barges (*New Bern Times* 1941).

This shift in the shipping industry did not help New Bern's maritime cultural landscape. The loss of two marine railways in the 1920s devastated the traditional maritime industry. Even with the development of the Barbour shipyard in 1932, the ship construction industry in New Bern had decreased significantly within the cultural landscape. In the 1920 Census records, 45 maritime participants worked in the shipyards of New Bern. In the 1930 Census records, only four maritime participants worked in shipyards. This massive decrease signified the movement of the ship construction industry away from New Bern. Furthermore, the loss of the two major marine railways to other river North Carolina towns, such as Wilmington, did not help the maritime cultural landscape. The movement of these facilities attracted vessels seeking repair services to Wilmington rather than New Bern.

Environmental factors did not help New Bern's ship construction industry as the town suffered from outside factors. The ship construction industry suffered because of river accessibility to New Bern. The Neuse River depth did not exceed 14 feet to New Bern. This limited the shipping construction industry to building vessels with a draft of less than 14 feet. Water depth also hindered access to New Bern from visiting ships, which meant that local shipyards had to operate with shallow drafted vessels (Hobbs 1930: 174). By contrast, the port of Wilmington benefited from deep river access and close proximity to the ocean. New Bern's ship construction industry lost customers to other ports and had to compete for local maritime

repair and construction. Consequently, as ship size increased in the twentieth century, ship service to New Bern decreased and marine railways shifted their industry to accommodate local needs.

The limitations in water depth did not greatly affect the agricultural industry in Craven County. Agriculture remained the staple industry in the Neuse River basin in the 1910s-1930s (Hobbs 1930: 70-71). The agricultural industry remained an active exporter through New Bern; however, this industry did not operate exclusively within the maritime world. Agricultural goods no longer traveled along the waterways by the 1930s (Hobbs 1930: 166-180). Instead, the railroad industry moved crops from New Bern and competed with maritime transportation routes. Crops continued to move downstream to New Bern as a transshipment point, but the railroad then moved the bulk of agrarian products out of New Bern (North Carolina Chamber of Commerce 1940: 16). This meant that the agricultural industry did operate in the maritime landscape as part of the short-term movement of product to a transshipment point.

The transformation in the maritime cultural landscape also affected the maritime participants of New Bern. Previously, maritime participants had operated within several traditional roles such as sailors or fishermen. With the reduction in the traditional maritime industries, these occupations decreased. As previously noted, the number of fisherman decreased from 77 members in 1900 to 28 members in 1930. In addition, the numbers of sailors had started to decrease by the 1910s. At the end of the nineteenth century, 27 percent of maritime participants worked as sailors. By the 1910s, only 20 percent worked as sailors. This number would drop off significantly as only eight percent of maritime participants worked as sailors by the 1920s.

The accumulation of the above factors had severely altered New Bern's maritime cultural landscape by the 1930s. Maritime trade no longer functioned as the only means of transportation of goods or people. With the destruction of the ship construction industry and the reduction in overland shipping costs, New Bern no longer qualified as a transshipment point. Furthermore, with the movement of many maritime industries away from New Bern, the dependence on waterways had decreased. Wilmington continued to operate as the primary port of North Carolina, as the deep-water accessibility became the most important aspect in North Carolina's shipping. In addition, ocean access to New Bern remained a slow and limited aspect of the maritime world. Though ships continued to operate along the rivers, the traditional trade networks ceased as the transportation industry expanded. This hindered New Bern as its economic role had changed enough to devastate the maritime cultural landscape.

The 1940s-1990s

New Bern had disappeared as a maritime entity by the 1950s and would remain inactive throughout the remainder of the twentieth century. During this time, many industries in New Bern ceased operating within the maritime cultural landscape. The economy of New Bern continued to change as new aspects of the economy provided profitable ventures. Therefore, while the manufacturing and agrarian industries remained active in New Bern's economy, the fishing and shipping industries eventually departed the city (NCCC 1940: 50-52). This departure worsened the role of the maritime cultural landscape as the transportation of goods ceased to use maritime routes in the 1950s.

This collapse did not happen immediately. For example, the fertilizer industry initially remained active in New Bern as a maritime participant. Five fertilizer companies continued to

operate within New Bern throughout the 1930s-1940s (NCCC 1940: 29). During the 1940s, water transportation routes remained the best means of transport for bulk goods, which the fertilizer companies depended upon. These companies continued to utilize water transportation routes to service the Neuse River basin and parts of Virginia (NCC 1940: 16). Also, during the 1940s, fertilizer companies employed barges on weekly runs to move their products. These barges shipped fertilizer throughout North Carolina and into the many farms that dotted the river basin (NCCC 1940: 29). New Bern remained an important transshipment point for the fertilizer industry through the mid-twentieth century. However, by the late 1950s, the fertilizer industry began to reduce activity within New Bern (NCCC 1958: 16). As fertilizer companies departed New Bern, the industry ceased to operate along the waterfront and left many abandoned factories. By the late 1960s, the fertilizer industry no longer operated within New Bern. This left the lumber industry as the lone major industry along New Bern's waterfront.

The lumber industry remained active in New Bern from the 1940s-1980s. This industry constructed sawmills along the waterfront during the early twentieth century and this abundance of industrial infrastructure remained active throughout the twentieth century. By the 1960s, the number of lumber mills increased from six to eleven situated around New Bern's waterfront (NCDCP 1966: 56). This industry employed 35 percent of New Bern's available work force in the 1940s-1950s, though the use of maritime shipping started to decline. This industry had shipped a majority of product along the rivers for most of the early twentieth century (NCCC 1940: 29). Timber was shipped from satellite locations upstream to New Bern's sawmills and then sent out to other destinations as a finished product. However, by the 1950s, no shipment of lumber occurred through the rivers when the means of transportation shifted to the railroads or

trucks (NCDCP 1966: 75). So, while the lumber industry remained active into the 1980s, its participation as part of the maritime cultural landscape ceased by the 1950s.

An important reason for the disappearance of the maritime cultural landscape occurred because of an expansion of the transportation industry. In Craven County, the transportation industry shifted dramatically during the 1940s-1950s. With the growth of railroad infrastructure and road networks, dependence on water transportation routes disappeared (NCDCP 1966: 53). In the 1940s, only the Carolina and Norfolk-Baltimore boat lines operated to New Bern (NCCC 1940: 16). These lines shipped fertilizer and passengers on weekly runs, usually to private firms along New Bern's waterfront. By 1958, no boat lines operated in New Bern, though the Seashore Transportation Company maintained a small inter-coastal fleet that shipped petroleum and minerals to New Bern (NCCC 1958: 49). By the late 1950s, the available work force employed in the transportation industry represented only 5 percent (NCCC 1958: 29). In addition, New Bern ceased to advertise maritime shipment routes by the 1950s and, instead, promoted the many truck, railroad, and aviation routes as an encouragement for incoming companies (NCCC 1958: 22). The development of three railroads and three highways into New Bern meant that the easiest means of transportation no longer used the rivers. This shift in the transportation industry reflected in the remaining industries that had operated along New Bern's maritime cultural landscape.

The agricultural industry remained active in New Bern during the 1940s-1990s. However, the introduction of truck transportation and increased access to railroads ended the dependence on water transportation routes (NCCC 1958: 16). The agricultural industry had remained strong in New Bern, though Craven County decreased as a top producer. By the 1990s, Craven County ranked lower than tenth in North Carolina's county production of

agricultural products (Craven County Board of Commissioners 1998: 61). This decrease reflected the growth of transportation routes as trucks allowed easy access to markets for farmers. Because of this access, farmers no longer used New Bern as a transshipment point. Instead, agricultural products were trucked to closer railroad facilities for shipment.

However, New Bern did continue to develop manufacturing facilities for canning companies in the 1940s. The canning industry increased in the 1940s-1950s as the manufacturing and processing of food became a staple industry within New Bern (NCDCP 1966: 53). In Craven County, the number of canning companies increased from four to eleven by the 1950s (NCDCP 1966: 54-56). Furthermore, this industry employed 21 percent of the available labor force in Craven County. This represented the second largest amount of laborers behind the lumber industry. This large work force represented more than just the laborers and machine workers. The most important aspect of the canning industry included its participation with the fishing industry. Canning companies required access to fish, oysters, and agricultural goods for processing. During the early twentieth century, these companies had started to employ local fishermen and developed small oyster fleets. This relationship remained active in the 1950s and beyond as the commercial fishing industry continued to prosper in and around Craven County.

By the 1950s, the commercial fishing industry had departed the township of New Bern. Fishermen no longer resided within the city and fish peddlers did not use the local wharves as a marketplace. Instead, by the 1950s, Havelock and Beaufort became the areas that functioned as fishing havens (CCBC 1998: 19-20). The movement of the fishermen from New Bern had begun during the 1930s and continued as water accessibility remained a problem along the waterfront. In fact, 15 percent of the available work force of Craven County worked as fishermen while no one found employment in this function within the township of New Bern by the 1960s (NCDCP

1966: 52). Fishermen, instead, worked outside of New Bern but continued to work with the canning industry as suppliers. This close relationship helped maintain the maritime cultural landscape of New Bern for a few decades as fishermen continued to visit the town. However, this relationship disappeared by the 1970s and beyond as the increase in transportation routes discouraged travel to New Bern. This meant that the canning industry eventually stopped operating within the local maritime industries, which ended the industry's relationship with the maritime cultural landscape.

The most active maritime participant in the cultural landscape remained the ship construction industry during the 1940s-1990s. In the 1940s, two shipyards continued to operate in New Bern: the Meadows Marine Railway and the Barbour Boat Works, Inc. (NCCC 1940: 16). The Meadows Marine Railway operated as a repair yard that serviced local fishing vessels into the early 1950s. This company remained active in the 1940s-1950s, but closed operations in the late 1950s (NCCC 1958: 16). The Barbour Boat Works, Inc., however, remained active into the 1980s before it closed down. This company operated as both a repair facility and ship construction yard. The Barbour shipyard employed the largest amount of skilled laborers in Craven County as it maintained 45 skilled workers (NCDCP 1966: 75). The company also constructed ships for the government, operating as a contractor for mine sweepers, lighters, and barges (Gibbons N.A.: 1-2). The Barbour shipyard also branched into the production of fishing and luxury ships in the 1960s, creating personal vessels that had gained in popularity.

A third shipyard came to New Bern in the 1970s. The Clark Boat Company moved to New Bern in 1974 and constructed a shipyard outside of New Bern along the Trent River near the city of Trent Woods. This company manufactured leisure sailboats and intended the New Bern plant to become the east coast office of a new wave of maritime participation. However,

the company only operated until 1984 before being sold to a rival shipyard, which transferred the facilities to Edenton, North Carolina (Robinson 2010:5). This leisure sailboat company had operated primarily in California during the late 1960s and early 1970s before expanding to New Bern in 1974 (Robinson 2010: 6). This company operated until 1984 when it was purchased by the San Juan Sailboat Company, which then moved the New Bern branch to a local factory in Edenton, North Carolina (Robinson 2010: 21). This company's appearance in New Bern's maritime cultural landscape represented the future of the town's maritime world. As a ship production facility that specialized in leisure sail boats, this attraction to the tourism industry did not develop a strong foothold in the 1980s to remain active in New Bern. The closing of the San Juan Sailboat Company and the Barbour Shipyard ended the ship construction industry in New Bern.

The introduction of luxury sailing ships by the Barbour shipyard occurred from a rise in the recreational use of the rivers in New Bern. In the 1950s, the rise in population had led to an increase in personal use of the waterways (NCCC 1958: 49-50). New Bern's populace used the rivers for swimming, boating, fishing, and water skiing. This recreational use of water attracted a new type of industry to New Bern that did not initially affect the cultural landscape. The tourism industry developed in the 1960s, but it did not affect construction in the waterfront. Instead, New Bern's populace used the abundant private access points to enjoy the water. By the 1980s, the tourism industry had increased further and public use of the water remained very active. This is noted as the percentage of money earned from tourism increased from 1980 through 1996 (CCBD 1998: 16). This increase in tourism led to the development of marinas and hotels in the 1990s. Tourism represented a future use of the cultural landscape as the waterfront of New Bern remained associated with the old industrial areas. Many former factories dotted the

waterfront, such as the lumberyards and fertilizer plants. As the city of New Bern attempted to develop an association with the tourist industry, local companies eventually replaced the old manufacturing waterfront.

2001- Present

The past decade of the twenty-first century witnessed a rebirth in New Bern's cultural landscape. The old maritime cultural landscape had disappeared during the mid-twentieth century from several factors previously mentioned. By the late 1990s, New Bern's waterfront remained littered with old factories and the remnants of wharves. With the rise in water recreation and a spike in waterfront property values, the rivers of New Bern again represented a valuable commodity. Waterfront lots became profitable as areas for new house and marina construction, which attracted jobs and residents to town. This led to a rebirth in the maritime cultural landscape of New Bern as the town once again associated with the maritime world.

The only maritime participants along New Bern's modern waterfront are the marinas and wharves recently built to accommodate the tourist industry. The previously active manufacturing districts no longer function and this has helped in the redevelopment of the town's waterfront. New companies have replaced many of the old factories, storage facilities, and open areas along the town's waterfront. In addition, the town has redeveloped a close association with the maritime world as it constructed new marinas and a civic center at Union Point. This led to expansion beyond the immediate waterfront areas as clubs and restaurants now participate in the maritime cultural landscape as part of the tourism industry. This landscape now exists along several waterfront areas around New Bern. For example, the local creeks around town have attracted clubs and small businesses as the cultural affiliation with the water rebounds. These

developments are important to the future growth of New Bern. As the tourist industry expands it attracts a population to the historical aspects of New Bern and renews the old maritime association with the water.

Maritime Enclaves

The maritime enclaves of New Bern disappeared in the early part of the twentieth century due to the loss of key maritime industries and the transformation of New Bern's waterfront. By the 1930s, New Bern's maritime participants had diffused throughout the town or departed completely, as noted in Figure 7.3. The fishing industry abandoned New Bern by the 1940s. The loss of waterfront access during the 1920s and an increase in the manufacturing areas around the waterfront limited access to New Bern's waterfront. By the 1940s, the fishing industry in Craven County had shifted downriver to Beaufort and Havelock. This departure is noted in the Census records where the number of maritime enclaves had decreased from five in 1920 to two in 1930. These enclaves also lost association with the fishing industry as fishermen no longer lived in maritime enclaves, instead having moved to other areas of town. This loss of such an important part of the maritime industry continued with the larger loss of the shipyards.

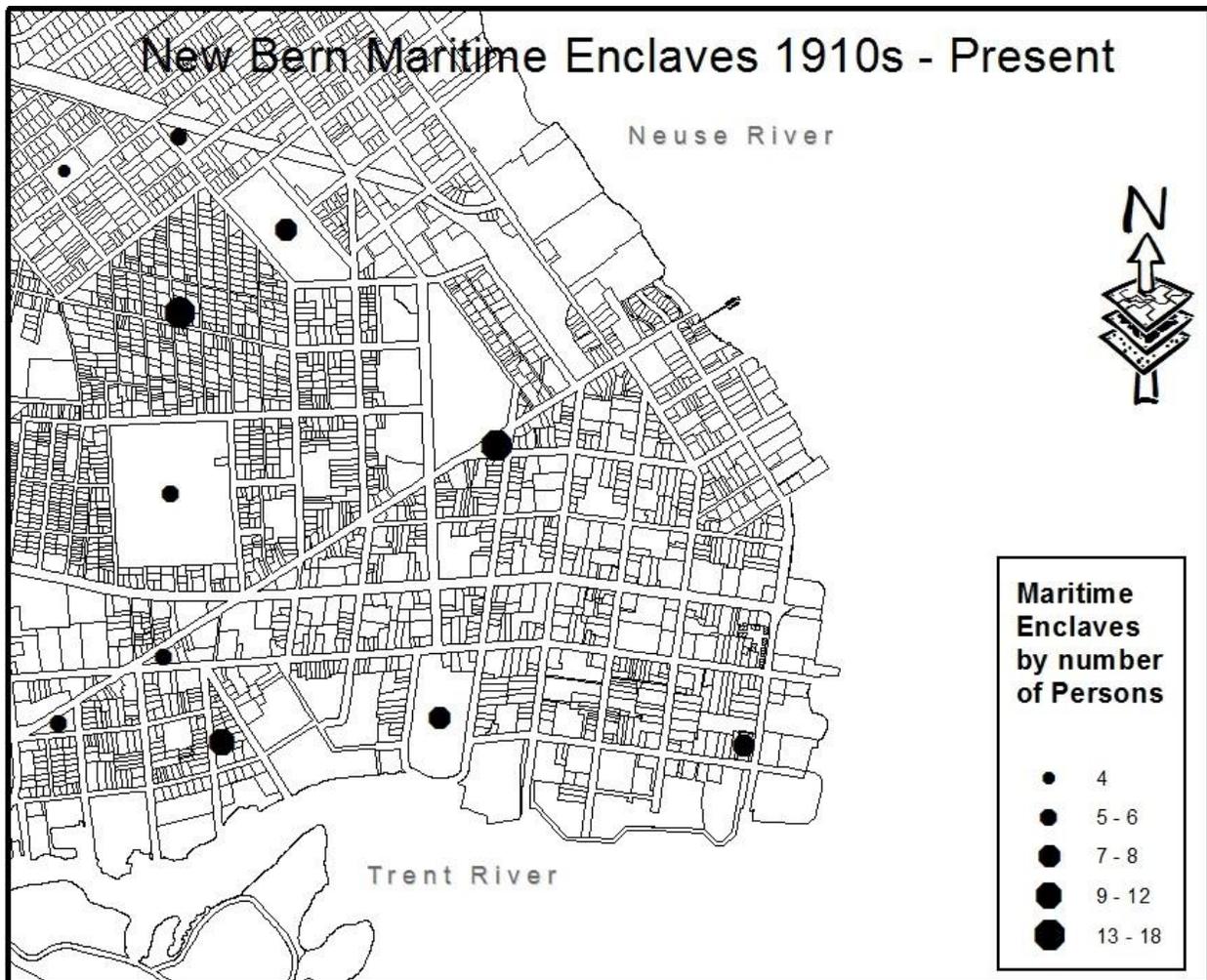


FIGURE 7.3. GIS Map: New Bern Maritime Enclaves 1910 – Present (Created by Jeremy Eamick).

The ship construction yards of New Bern largely departed the town in the early twentieth century. In the 1900s-1920s, three shipyards operated along New Bern’s waterfront. Shipyards represented an important aspect of the maritime enclaves as ship carpenters, stevedores, and steamboat engineers were employed as part of the industry. By the 1930s, only two shipyards operated in New Bern, and the Meadows yard had shifted away from ship production. This reduction in the ship construction industry also had an impact upon the maritime enclaves as these traditional jobs disappeared by the 1930s. Of the 61 maritime participants in the 1930

Census Records, only six were ship builders or carpenters. Furthermore, half of those six builders lived in Bridgeton and not one of the ship builders lived in a maritime enclave.

By the 1930s, the maritime enclaves consisted mainly of stevedores and laborers associated with the waterfront. The ability to track maritime enclaves ended with the 1930 Census records as further records will not be available for public consumption until after 2010. Moreover, the ability to track modern maritime enclaves does not exist for two reasons. First, the accessibility of transportation options in modern society hinders the accumulation of maritime participants in a single area. Cars and buses provide individuals the ability to live farther from their work environment than was possible in the early twentieth century. Second, the availability of products and communication inhibits the need to congregate with individuals from the same work environment. Previously, maritime enclaves developed as individuals gravitated to the enclaves for assistance in finding work. Modern maritime participants no longer need the assistance of an enclave to operate within their field. Maritime participants can choose to live in enclaves associated with religion, ethnicity, or monetary preferences. This means that the maritime enclaves of New Bern had disappeared by the 1930s and have not reappeared to this time.

Photographs taken in present day New Bern show the current non-maritime character of places that once operated as maritime enclaves. Figure 7.4 illustrates the southern edge of the modern Tryon Palace. This area once included several wharves and warehouses, but New Bern residents rebuilt the palace in the 1950s. The present site includes a stone wall and fence along South Front Street. The previous area is visible in Figure 7.5, a Sanborn insurance map of the area from 1913.



FIGURE 7.4. Corner of Tryon Palace grounds (wall) and South Front St, Trent River in background (Photo 306 taken 1/23/2011 by Jeremy Eamick).

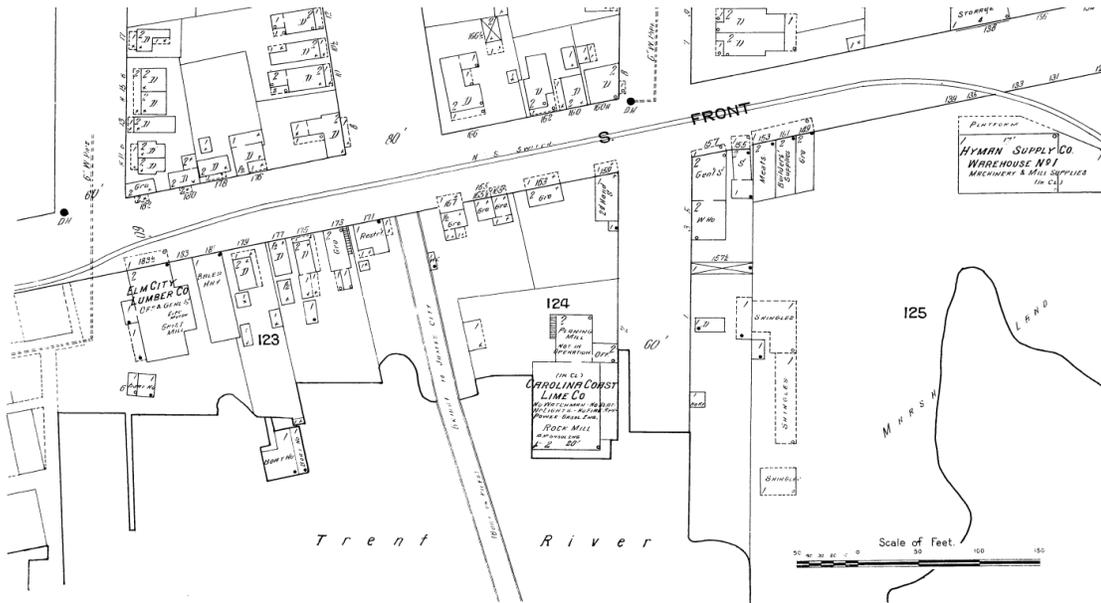


FIGURE 7.5. Sanborn Insurance Map November 1913, sheet 6: The area of New Bern before Tryon Palace was built in the 1950s.

Figure 7.6 shows the corner of Eden and South Front St. This area housed the old Long Wharf residential district and had maritime enclaves from the 1860s into the early twentieth century. This lot currently functions as a residential area with several brick apartments constructed across from the Trent River.



FIGURE 7.6. Corner of Eden and South Front Street (Photo 305, taken 1/23/2011 by Jeremy Eamick)

Figure 7.7 is New Bern's City Hall. This area operated as a residential area for a long period of New Bern's history. This lot housed maritime enclaves from the 1790s-1900s in the vicinity and the county jail during the early 1900s. The construction of government infrastructure during the twentieth century probably destroyed any archaeological evidence of the maritime enclaves that operated in this area.



FIGURE 7.7. New Bern City Hall, located at Pollock and Craven St at the northwest corner (Photo 309 taken 1/23/11 by Jeremy Eamick).

Archaeological Evidence

Archaeological evidence of the maritime cultural landscape changes survives in several forms from the 1910s to the present. The modern landscape of New Bern has preserved abundant cultural material in the form of infrastructure. This cultural material is mainly located along the waterfront in the areas that have not yet undergone reconstruction. However some archaeological evidence exists from surveys and excavations performed in New Bern. One such site excavation occurred at the Bellair Plantation (Little 1990).

The Bellair Plantation was an old farming area in the 1770s that underwent significant changes in the early twentieth century. Originally, this plantation existed north of New Bern and

outside the maritime cultural landscape. By the 1900s, New Bern had expanded north along the Neuse riverbank until it abutted the old plantation. In the 1910s, a canning company purchased the lot for development of a new factory (Little 1990: 27). This factory smoked herring until the 1940s. Located on Bachelors Creek just above the Neuse waterfront, the canning facility stored and processed fish (Figure 7.8). The site contained housing, the factory, storage units, and a small wharf into the creek. The limited accessibility of the creek prevented large ship access to the site, but it did allow for local fishermen to handle product delivery. The Bellair Plantation represented the transformation of New Bern's maritime cultural landscape in the 1900s. Redeveloped into a manufacturing area, it depended heavily upon local fishermen for transportation of product to and from the site.

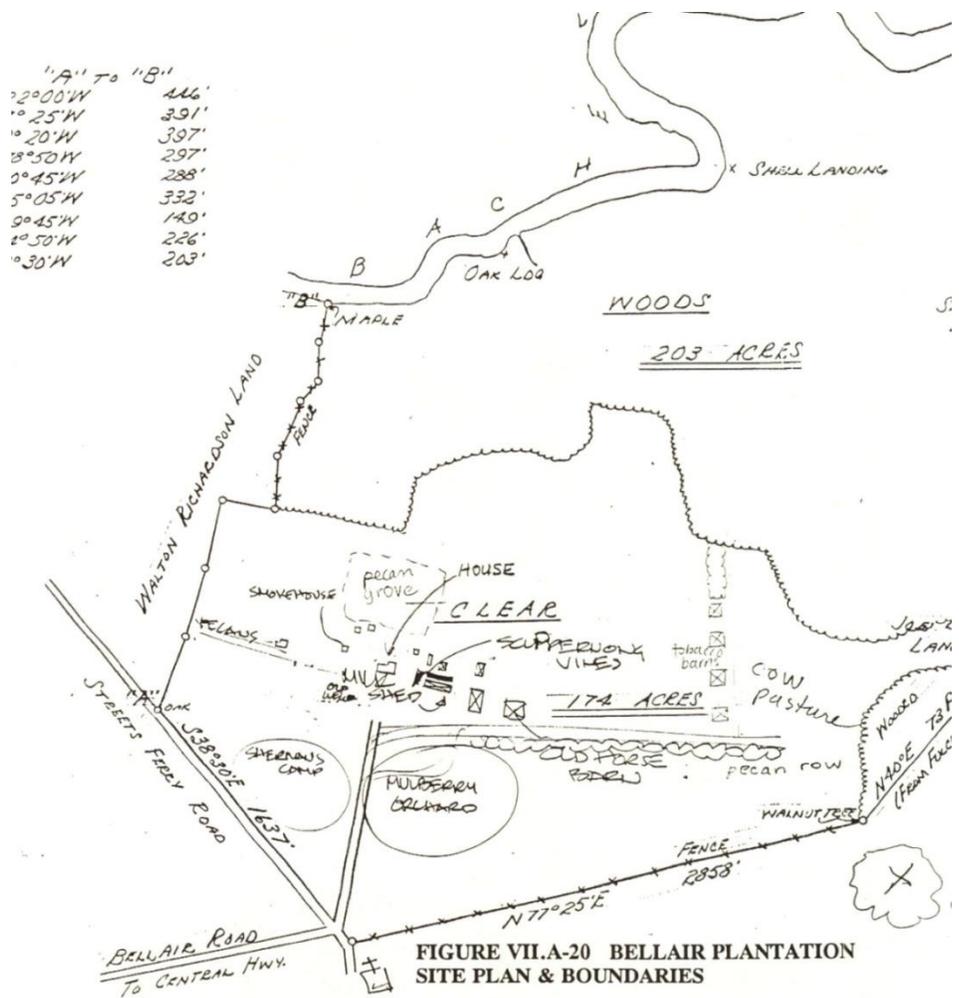


FIGURE 7.8. Illustration of Bellair plantation and boundaries (Little 1990: 26b).

Archaeological evidence also survives from an excavation on an East Front Street lot. The Stimson House, located between Union and King Streets, operated as a private residence for a majority of its history. An archaeological survey found fish scales, shell, bone, and brick in the house (Espenshade 1990: 70-78). The house burned in a 1922 fire that severely damaged a large section of East Front Street. This area may have undergone changes in the early twentieth century, but the damage from the fire destroyed any evidence of these changes. This house supports the theory that the maritime cultural landscape transformed in the 1910s-1930s. The Stimson house had remained a part of the local culture. However, after the fire in 1922, a lumber company purchased the lot to create a new yard.

An abundance of archaeological material was found during field surveys performed between August 2008 and December 2009. Survey work found cultural material in the water just offshore from the Donald M. Miller Memorial Park. This park is located along A Avenue and abuts the Neuse River. Miller Park stands upon the former home of the Rowland Lumber Company (Sanborn 1924). The company began operations during the 1920s and constructed a large facility with several wharves. Figure 7.9 illustrates the surviving infrastructure as recorded from the riverbank.

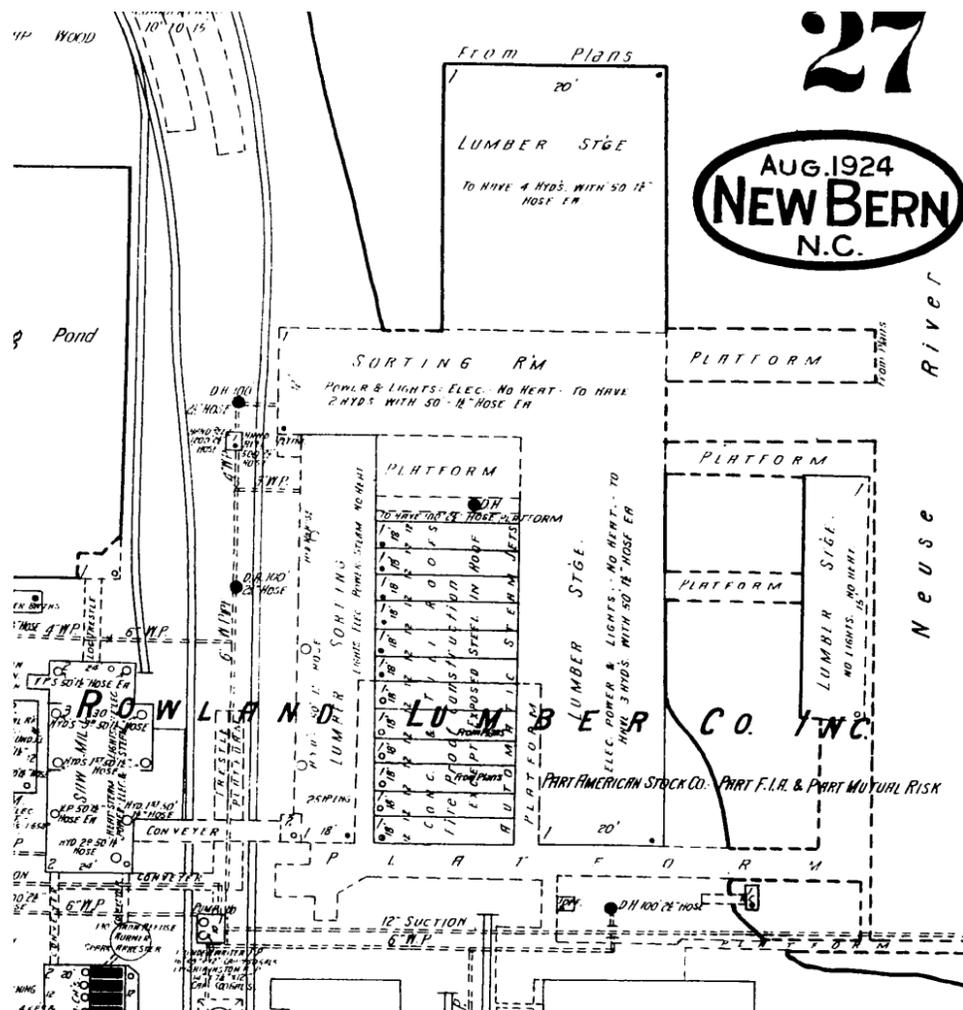


FIGURE 7.9. Sanborn Insurance Maps August 1924, sheet 27: Note the platforms constructed into the water that interconnect.

These wharves have survived as pilings that rise above the water and form the outline of some of the original wharves. The integrity of these pilings remains and some pilings still have the metal rivets or bolts used for attachment to additional structure. This suggests a recent construction in comparison to the decayed structures found along Union Point. The maritime infrastructure off Union Point dated to the 1880s; and the pilings have been eroded to below the waterline (Sanborn 1885 and 1888). More recent structures, such as Rowland Lumber wharves, remain visible above the waterline. Figure 7.10 illustrates this as a photo taken of the pilings from the shoreline.



FIGURE 7.10. North east facing illustration of pilings (Photo 26 taken 11/16/2007 by Jeremy Eamick).

Additional material found during a river survey in 2007 recorded potential archaeological material visible along the riverbanks along Griffith Street. This site housed the former John L. Roper Lumber Company and Fertilizer Yard. However, the current landowners forbid examination of the property and prevented the recording of any information concerning this area. This area is visible in Figure 7.11.

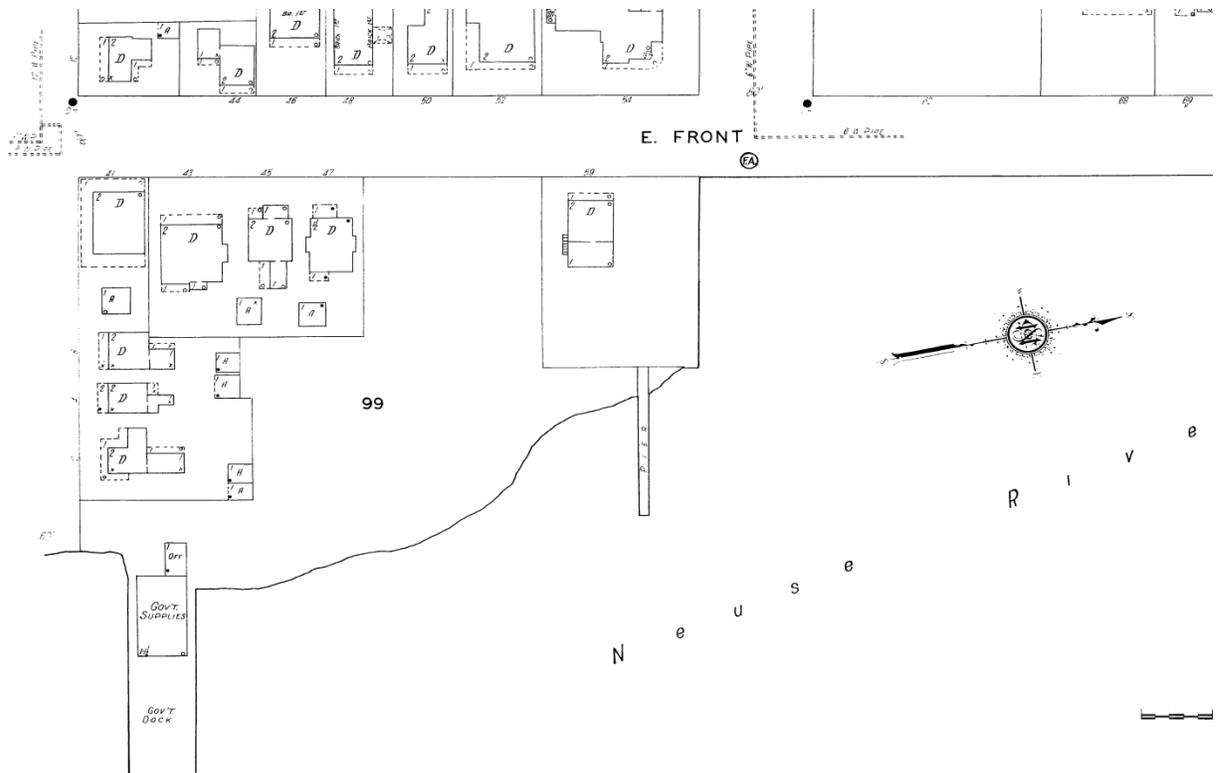


FIGURE 7.12. Sanborn Insurance Map January 1931, sheet 5. Pictured is area where the boiler was discovered, in the water along E. Front Street.



FIGURE 7.13. Boiler unearthed during dredging of Neuse riverbank. All context lost during removal, only pictures and measurements survived (Photo 137 taken 5/12/2009 by Jeremy Eamick).

In conclusion, the 1910s to the present represents a period of departure and restructuring of the maritime cultural landscape of New Bern. The twentieth century began with New Bern still dependent upon the water for most transportation. However, by the middle of the twentieth century, the water transportation of New Bern had disappeared and new transportation industries overtook the rivers. The introduction of trucks and trains initiated a restructuring in the maritime cultural landscape as the town developed businesses that no longer depended upon the water. By the 2000s, a new maritime cultural landscape had developed in New Bern. With a rise in the tourism industry and leisure boat use, New Bern once again became a town associated with the water. However, the town no longer depended upon the water for its sole economic means. Non-maritime industries remained active in New Bern. This has created a unique maritime cultural landscape that is no longer visibly separate from the traditional cultural landscape as the maritime participants and companies are not cloistered together. Though the modern maritime cultural landscape has diffused around New Bern, it does remain active along the town's waterfront.

Chapter 8

Conclusions

Many overriding factors caused the maritime cultural landscape of New Bern to change over time. Primarily, as the people developed varying needs, the maritime cultural landscape changed accordingly. When more space became a requirement, the town expanded along the waterfront. As new technologies developed, the maritime participants implemented the requirements for this technology. This constant change was important since it meant a continuous development of the maritime cultural landscape in New Bern. This continual development then attracted immigrants to New Bern which led to further changes in the maritime cultural landscape. This cycle of change encouraged the growth and prosperity of New Bern throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. However, several factors had a pronounced effect on the maritime cultural landscape changes in New Bern that were visible for this thesis.

Three factors presented the greatest amount of changes in New Bern's maritime cultural landscapes: economics, technology, and social aspects of New Bern. Economics presented the most visible change as the constant shift in business requirements led to competition for the town's waterfront. New Bern's waterfront remained the most important aspect of the town throughout its history. As new companies usually depended on maritime transportation routes, these companies frequently developed along the waterfront. These companies also remained active participants in the maritime cultural landscape during their existence, making them a constant, easily traceable feature on the New Bern waterfront.

Furthermore, the constant technological changes within the world affected the maritime cultural landscape as well. As shipping requirements changed and access to maritime

transportation followed suite, New Bern's maritime cultural landscape shifted to accommodate these changes. This is best reflected in the changes that developed outside of New Bern, such as the construction of canals and the dredging operations along the Neuse River. The introduction of new technologies to maritime companies helped this progression. The initial waterfront in New Bern operated with warehouses and naval stores industrial mills. Over time, the lumber and fertilizer industry overtook the naval stores industry and the waterfront changed to reflect this. Tar mills ceased to operate and lumber mills took over. Further changes occurred as ship technology changed. As steamship technology improved and the size of ships changed, many vessels started visiting other ports. The limitation of river depth made New Bern an unattractive port, while Wilmington became more attractive. Examples such as those above highlight the importance of technological changes to a maritime cultural landscape. The constant development of technology helped New Bern's maritime cultural landscape advance during the city's history.

Social changes remained active throughout New Bern's history, though these changes presented the least amount of evidence of their existence. As New Bern prospered over time, the strong business culture attracted laborers seeking employment. Initially, this represented sailors, carpenters, ship builders, stevedores, pilots, and navigators. Over time, laborers continued immigrating to New Bern under different job titles. This constant mingling of population created a problem in tracking the social changes to New Bern's maritime cultural landscape. The best method to track change developed from New Bern's maritime enclaves. As maritime participants continued to arrive in New Bern, they frequently lived in close proximity to other maritime participants and this allowed for these groups to be tracked. As changes continued in

the maritime cultural landscape, the maritime enclaves shifted in the landscape, which reflected the social changes in the landscape.

Further questions this thesis answered included the density of maritime infrastructures along the waterfront. New Bern's maritime infrastructure initially consolidated around Union Point. By the 1730s, New Bern had expanded its maritime cultural landscape by developing waterfront areas along the Neuse and Trent Rivers. The Trent waterfront expanded to Lawson's creek and then stopped advancing. This did not stop the growth along the Trent waterfront; instead, the area continued development and increased in density over time. This is important, since the Trent waterfront provided the maximum water depth for the port, whereas the Neuse River remained shallow and required extended wharves to use efficiently. This meant that the Neuse waterfront operated within the agricultural sphere, while the Trent waterfront utilized warehouses, mills, and shipyards. This did change as the density of the Trent waterfront prevented too many changes or increases in infrastructures, while the Neuse waterfront could expand. This is important, since New Bern's beginning maritime cultural landscape focused on the Trent waterfront and it remained the most densely populated area in the town for a majority of the town's history.

The question about New Bern's geographic location is also important to its maritime cultural landscape. New Bern developed into a central place in North Carolina. As a central place, New Bern became the focus of trade which helped develop a strong economy. This is important, since, had New Bern not been constructed at the confluence of the Trent and Neuse Rivers, then the town may have never gained the role from Port Beaufort. Such a loss would have led to the trading of goods outside of New Bern and this would have hindered the ability of maritime cultural landscape growth in the town.

The existence of maritime enclaves in New Bern developed dual answers as to the importance and existence of maritime sub-culture. First, maritime enclaves did exist in New Bern, as the research into the historic records found multiple sources to support this. Second, the maritime enclaves in New Bern moved around and either expanded or contracted during the town's history. Many maritime enclaves that initially developed along the waterfront shifted farther into the town. This occurred as the importance of the waterfront led to the continued development of maritime infrastructures along the shoreline. As New Bern developed the waterfront, the maritime enclaves moved farther back until the twentieth century, when the enclaves disappeared entirely.

As to the existence of a maritime cultural landscape in modern New Bern: does it exist and, if so, where is it? New Bern has started to develop a new maritime cultural landscape in the past few decades. Though not represented in a traditional area dominated by maritime participants, New Bern has erected several marinas along the Trent waterfront and intends to construct more along the Neuse waterfront in the future. This is visible in Figure 8.1 and 8.2. This continued construction has encouraged the development of a tourist based maritime cultural landscape in New Bern that is primarily focused on the importance of leisure. The people that have moved into the waterfront area live in modern sailing yachts or own them for personal use. This has helped the new maritime cultural landscape develop in the most prevalent place in New Bern, the waterfront. New Bern's maritime cultural landscape will remain in transition for years to come. As has happened throughout its history, the continued reconstruction of the old maritime infrastructures in New Bern will destroy the maritime cultural landscape while also creating a new one. As the demand for waterfront property increases in eastern North Carolina, New Bern may undergo an influx of immigrants, some of whom will become participants in the

maritime world. This cycle will assist in the redevelopment of the maritime cultural landscape and help New Bern cultivate an association with the maritime world once again.



FIGURE 8.1. Photo of New Bern from James City. Two marinas are visible, one in the foreground and one in the background (Photo 318 taken 01/23/2011 by Jeremy Eamick).



FIGURE 8.2. Photo of New Bern along Neuse River just north of Union Point. A new marina has been constructed along the building in the center and further marinas are planned just north of this area (Photo 17 taken 11/16/2007 by Jeremy Eamick).

The research included in this master's thesis will provide a basis for future research in the study of maritime cultural landscapes. The ability to study a maritime cultural landscape through the social world that affects it is an important part of understanding these landscapes.

Furthermore, the method included in this thesis to study the maritime enclaves of New Bern is not limited to a study of people who work within the maritime world. The information a researcher can recover from the historic records is dependent upon the questions a researcher asks. This comprehensive study of the maritime enclaves within the historic records will help in the future study of the social aspects of a maritime cultural landscape.

The process of studying maritime enclaves using the available historic records can be altered to accommodate more information. Defining a maritime enclave sets parameters about what would qualify for inclusion in the thesis. This thesis found information using the United States Census records and cross referenced names with other records to determine the existence of maritime enclaves in New Bern prior to the 1880s. The Census records are not the only means to study maritime affiliation. Other records can contain information concerning a person's role in a maritime cultural landscape. Tax records, wills, and family histories could all provide information about an individual that would highlight an association with the maritime world. Personal diaries and surveys could also outline a neighborhood's role in a maritime cultural landscape.

However, many problems can occur in the study of maritime enclaves. The limitation of available information and historic records will be a problem in any study. As the historic records can be fragmented in some cities, some information will not survive. This problem occurred in New Bern as very little information survived in tax records, wills, and family histories. This occurred primarily because many of the maritime participants did not leave wills or pay property taxes. As many participants rented homes or moved around New Bern, these people did not leave any ownership records. Also, records from outside major towns might not reflect information about the maritime enclaves. The James City census records, for example, did not provide any information concerning the whereabouts of maritime enclaves.

Future studies of maritime enclaves will include new records that will highlight an enclave location. As more records are discovered that highlight an individual's association with the maritime world, then more studies will use the census record to cross reference those people. Using the census record is important since it eventually includes the address of all participants,

which helps in the determination of maritime enclave locations. So, finding records of a family, who all operated as sailors, who are then found in the census, can help pinpoint a new location. It is important that future studies find new records or include complete records similar to those used in this thesis. The current limitation with the census records makes the inclusion of only this historic information inadequate for potential maritime enclave studies.

The study of the archaeological record was also a problem. Archaeology is difficult to perform in an urban setting. Several factors limit the ability to study archaeology in a city. The cost of excavation work, the time limitation to work in an area, and the problem with organizing work in a busy city are all factors that affect archaeological study. Also, working around an environment that is undergoing change limits the available areas to study the archaeological records. As the landscape is redeveloped in a city, the archaeological record is lost or damaged, and areas can no longer be studied. This limits the effectiveness of archaeological work in an urban setting.

Though none of this information will save the maritime cultural landscape of New Bern from redevelopment, this thesis will preserve a record of that landscape for future researchers. This is very important, since, in the maritime cultural landscape of many cities, the modern revitalization of the waterfronts may require future studies. New Bern will function as an example for the maritime cultural landscape studies of tomorrow.

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- 1711 Map of New Bern, drawn by John Lawson.

Price Map

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Appendix A: Kings Park

Site: 'Kings Park'. Site name NB01

Date: 5/12/2009

Location: Corner of King Street and Edgerton Street

Function: Small parcel of land owned by the City of New Bern and rented to local power company for use in power boxes. Rest of parcel is landscaped to function as a rest area for public use.

Description: Kings Park is an unnamed community area along the North side of King Street at the corner of Edgerton Street. The area has a small sandy 'beach' dotted with stones and a copse of trees along the northern edge that covers from the park edge to the waterline. The area is owned by the city of New Bern and is open for public use. Just north of the park is a privately owned apartment complex with a marina attached.



Figure A1.1. Photo of Kings Park beach and the northeast view of surviving pylons in the water (Photo 202 taken 5/16/2009 by Jeremy Eamick).

Appendix B: Union Point Park

- Site: Union Point Park. Site name NB02
- Date: 11/16/2007 and 5/16/2009
- Location: Intersection of East Front Street and South Front Street at the juncture of the Trent and Neuse Rivers.
- Function: Community Park area open to the general public
- Description: Recently developed park with brick boardwalk that borders the water at the junction of the two rivers (figure A3.1). The boardwalk along the Neuse waterfront ends at South Front Street. The waterfront directly above Union Point is a shallow beach with maritime infrastructure still visible (figure A3.2) Area landscaped during the construction of the park and all above ground cultural material removed.



Figure B1.1. Photo of Union Point, south facing toward the Trent River and parallel to the Neuse River (Photo 311 taken 01/29/2011 by Jeremy Eamick).

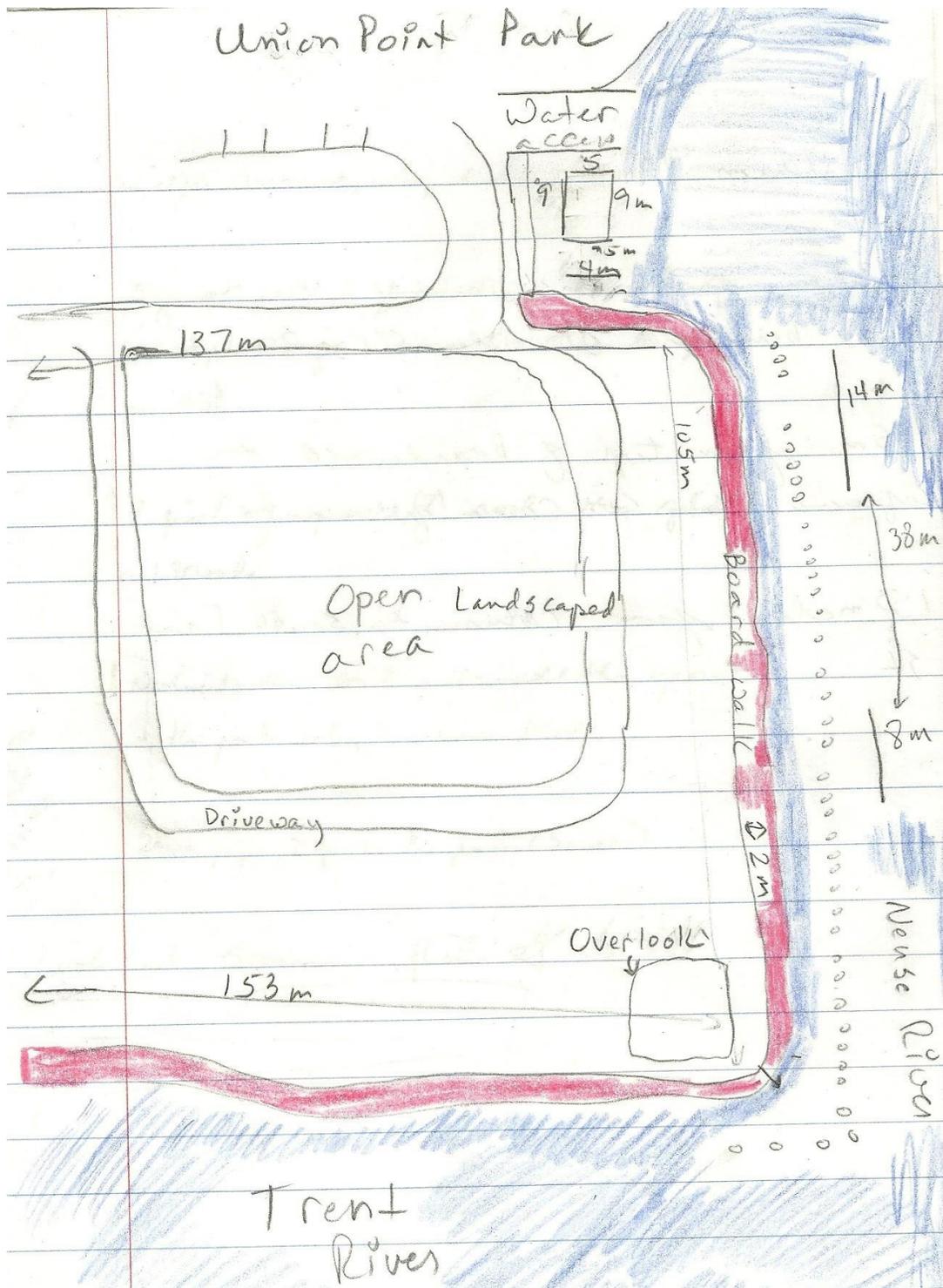


Figure B1.2. Hand drawn map of Union Point park. Notes the recent additions and general measurements (Map drawn by Jeremy Eamick)

Appendix C: Detective M. Miller Park

Site: Detective M. Miller Memorial Park. Site name NB03

Date: 11/16/2007 and 5/16/2009

Location: End of A Street along the Neuse River. Abuts the Maola Milk Plant.

Function: Community Park.

Description: The Detective M. Miller Memorial park is a small community park at the end of Avenue A that abuts the Maola Milk Factory along the Neuse River. Park faces east-northeast toward the Neuse River. This park is small, no more than 30 meters wide and 88 meters long. It is landscaped beginning at the end of A. Street and includes a 7 meter wide sand beach along the river. The lot south of the NB02 includes an extension of the maritime infrastructure along the water. This lot, 1108 Windley Street, is an overgrown town lot that is privately owned. That are remained inaccessible as contact with the owner never occurred. However work in and around the waterfront found discarded cultural material in the overgrown lot, which is 79 meters long. The entire area is the remnant of the New Bern Cotton, Oil, and Fertilizer Co. found in the Sanborn maps from 1904-1931. This area also housed the Pokamoke Guano Co. in 1908 and the Blades Lumber Co in 1904 directly south of the New Bern Cotton, Oil, and Fertilizer Co.



Figure C1.1. Photo of surviving pylons along Detective M. Miller memorial park. These pylons are the remnants of a wharf system used in the fertilizer and lumber industry (Photo 218 taken 5/16/2008 by Jeremy Eamick).

