Samuel W. Newell. A MARITIME HISTORY OF OCRACOKE INLET, 1584-1783. (Under the direction of William N. Still, Jr.). Department of History, November, 1987.

The purpose of this paper is to narrate the history of Ocracoke Inlet's maritime commerce from the inlet's exploration through the end of the American Revolution. Fragments of Ocracoke's history have been published by various authors in many works and articles. Noted historian Christopher Crittenden made numerous references to Ocracoke's importance in several articles and particularly in his work The Commerce of North Carolina, 1763-1789. This paper attempts to integrate the various descriptions into one narrative, which will show the evolution of maritime activities in North Carolina's most important commercial inlet.

It is widely believed the shoally waters of North Carolina's inlets, sounds and rivers retarded her commercial growth. While this, no doubt, had an effect, it is obvious that a respectible seaborne trade developed over time. This paper details events which occurred at the inlet, and also touches on many other subjects or issues which influenced the commercial prosperity of the ports served by Ocracoke thereby showing Ocracoke's role in the larger perspective of North Carolina's maritime affairs.

Ocracoke's influence is apparent from the earliest period of North Carolina's maritime history. Elizabethan explorers and colonists examined Ocracoke but found it too shallow and

dangerous for large vessels. After the near loss of a supply vessel, they embarked for an unsuccessful colonization attempt on Roanoke Island.

Ocracoke began to serve as a commercial outlet during the Proprietary Period. The search for farmland and forest resources had brought settlers to the Neuse and Pamlico regions shortly before 1715. At that time the colonial legislature felt the need to pass a pilotage law to facilitate trade. The following year Bath was proclaimed a seaport where vessels could exchange cargo and clear customs. These factors coupled with the shoaling of Roanoke and Currituck Inlets helped make Ocracoke increasingly convenient for vessels trading along the river front settlements.

In 1729, North Carolina became a royal colony and maritime affairs were administered by Crown officials. Royal Governors and the colonial assembly worked to encourage trade, although at times political disputes hindered progress. The scope of these efforts surpassed Proprietary measures and legislation was continually modified in response to need. Significant legislation allowed for a pilotage and navigational aids at Ocracoke and elsewhere, the creation of Portsmouth, Fort Granville and special taxes to pay for maritime projects.

Shipping and commerce expanded greatly during the Royal Period. Naval stores and agricultural products were exported in exchange for a wide variety of imports; particularly manufactured goods. Ocracoke was used by a majority of those

vessels trading with Beaufort, Bath, Roanoke and Currituck port districts. Information provided by Governor Arthur Dobbs in 1763 suggests that those vessels using Ocracoke tended to be smaller than those clearing Port Brunswick. Likely, more vessels used Ocracoke than Port Brunswick and its tonnage, at least for mid-century, was comparable to that of the Cape Fear.

Ocracoke remained an important supply route throughout the Revolutionary War. Privateers, letters of marque and commercial vessels brought cargoes through Ocracoke to serve both military and consumer markets. Continental naval vessels, as well, occasionally used the inlet. The inlets commerce declined gradually after 1779, but this was due to general economic conditions rather than those problems which had previously limited maritime trade. Ocracoke's inaccessability, combined with state sponsored defenses and British naval policy, kept the inlet open throughout the conflict.

A MARITIME HISTORY
OF OCRACOKE INLET, 1584-1783

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INTRODUCTION

Since the beginning of England's exploration of "Virginia", the long, narrow, sandy islands of North Carolina's coast have influenced the history and development of the region.

Currently called the "Outer Banks" these islands are defined by inlets connecting the Atlantic Ocean on the east with the sounds which extend in places as much as thirty miles westward toward the mainland. These inlets have shifted over time; some have closed entirely, new ones have opened, some have migrated along the islands and their depth continually changes due to the vagaries of weather and currents.

The ever shifting width and depth of these inlets hindered maritime activity. Only a few of the many inlets were deep enough at times to admit the passage of moderate sized vessels into the sounds. These inlets included Roanoke, Currituck, Topsail, and Ocracoke. Roanoke and Currituck were frequently used during North Carolina's early history but became too shallow to admit any but the smallest vessels by the 1730's. Topsail Inlet had achieved some importance by this time but poor transportation connections with the interior limited the growth of its commerce. With the exception of the region served by the Cape Fear River, much of the colony's commerce was channeled through Ocracoke Inlet. Ocracoke admitted by far

the largest amount of tonnage and was the most important inlet in the eighteenth century.

Ocracoke's history, as described here, is organized around time periods, beginning with European exploration. coke's discovery is mentioned in various accounts of the sixteenth century Roanoke voyages. However, Ocracoke, called Wococon, was unsuitable for the needs of America's English colonists who eventually settled at Roanoke nd to the northward and later in the Chesapeake area. By the 1650's a migration of colonists to North Carolina irginia marked a second phase of maritime activity. Lords Proprietors now governed the fledgling colony and ized a need for better trade. Although explorers soon covered the "boald and deepe" inlet called Wococon, it did not serve the needs of the settlers who were ntrated in the Albemarle region. Instead, shipping nued to use Roanoke and Currituck Inlets throughout arly part of the Eighteenth Century.

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By the 1650's a migration of colonists to North Carolina from Virginia marked a second phase of maritime activity. Eight Lords Proprietors now governed the fledgling colony and emphasized a need for better trade. Although explorers soon re-discovered the "boald and deepe" inlet called Wococon, it still did not serve the needs of the settlers who were concentrated in the Albemarle region. Instead, shipping continued to use Roanoke and Currituck Inlets throughout the early part of the Eighteenth Century.

After 1729, crown officials governed North Carolina and actively worked to address the problems which affected maritime activity. Ship captains, by this time, increasingly used Ocracoke as the inlet of choice. North Carolina's Colonial Assembly passed a number of laws designed to improve navigation and regulate trade. Such legislation was frequently influenced by the inherent problems of navigating Ocracoke Inlet and North Carolina's shallow sounds.

The factors which had previously hindered navigation enabled North Carolina to develop an extensive trade during the American Revolution. This trade was extremely important to the state's economy and was an important contribution to the military effort. War materiel, supplied both by commerce vessels and by privateers, passed through Ocracoke to North Carolina's numerous small ports. Although trade and supplies slowed during the war's final years, Ocracoke remained an open and "safe" inlet.

These four time periods effectively illustrate both changes in administration and the perspective through which maritime problems were viewed. Each period encapsulates noticeably different activities involving maritime traffic. Ocracoke's characteristics influenced both the circumstances affecting trade and attempted solutions to these problems.

CHAPTER I

European Discovery

Ocracoke Inlet today lies at approximately 35° 05' North latitude and available evidence indicates there has been an inlet in that area at least since the late sixteenth century.[1] French and Spanish seafarers knew of the North Carolina coast by the mid 1500's but it was only after the English arrived in 1584 that Europeans became aware of an inlet at a place called Wococon near the site of present day Ocracoke.

The early history of the English experience at Wococon is woven into the fabric of the Roanoke voyages. These were expeditions sent to the coast of present day North Carolina, between 1584 and 1590, directed and sponsored by Walter Raleigh, a member of the court of Queen Elizabeth I.[2] Explorations by John Cabot in 1497 gave the English a claim to settle in this part of the new world and Raleigh wished to establish a base in "Virginia" to support raids against the Spanish in the Carribean and as a settlement for tapping the area's resources.[3] The records of these voyages left by the ship's officers are vague at best and some may have been altered for various reasons before publication.[4] Therefore there is some variance among the interpretations of these accounts. Wococon's discovery and exploration involves the first two of Raleigh's expeditions.

The first expedition, dispatched in April, 1584, was an exploratory voyage consisting of two barks under the commands of Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe. These vessels, establishing a pattern followed by succeeding voyagers, first sailed to the Caribbean before proceeding northward to Virginia. Then, according to Barlowe's journal, land was sighted on July 4 and "wee sailed along the same, a hundred and twentie English miles, before we could finde any entrance, or river, issuing into the Sea. The first that appeared to us, we entered,...."[5] There is some disagreement among scholars as to the identity of this inlet. One claim places the inlet at "Trinitie Harbor" which once existed "about twenty miles north of Roanoke Island:...."[6] The most accepted theory suggests the explorers used an inlet called Port Ferdinando, once located at the southern tip of Roanoke Island.[7]

While this report clearly states that the explorers did not penetrate into the sounds until they reached the vicinity of Roanoke, there is another report that they first stopped at Wococon, about eighty miles southward. The story was told by one Richard Butler, a member of the 1584 expedition. He made a deposition in Spain some years later, claiming the explorers "disembarked in the central part of Florida at a place called Ococa, so named by the nature of the country. Twenty leagues further on, toward the northern part they disembarked again in another place, known to the English as Puerto Fernando, and to the savages as Ataurras." David Quinn cites these places as

Wococon and Hatarask and says, "We might take it that this (Wococon) represents the land sighted on 4 July, according to Barlowe, and there seems no reason to doubt Butler that a landing was made there...."[8] If this story is true then Wococon Island and presumably the inlet to its south were known to the explorers before they reached the inlet near Roanoke. However, the report makes no mention of any attempt to explore the inlet.

The English remained about six weeks around Roanoke Island, exploring, meeting the local natives, and recording information useful for future voyagers.[9] If the English did not know of Wococon, they now learned of it through Indian tales of earlier mariners shipwrecked on the banks. The natives related that about twenty six years earlier a group of "white men" survived a wreck and were assisted by Indians from the town of Secotan, about four days travel to the southwest of Roanoke. These sailors were reported to have stayed on Wococon, described in Barlowe's journal as "an out Island unhabited," where the Indians helped them prepare a makeshift vessel in an attempt to leave. The remains of this vessel were later discovered "cast aland in another Island adjoyning" with no sign of life.[10] It is possible that this description gave the explorers a clue that an inlet existed between Wococon Island and "another Island adjoyning".

In most respects this first expedition was considered a success. When the expedition left for England in late August

the officers carried an exciting report of the region's natural history and georgaphy.[11] The discouraging factor was the dangerous coastline. Barlowe reported that along the coast there were "a tracte of Islands, two hundred miles in length, adjoyning to the Ocean sea, and between the Islands, two or three entrances...."[12] The presence of the banks served notice of the shallowness of the sounds. In order to establish a successful base for operations against the Spanish or to service a colony, a good harbor was needed, so further exploration would be necessary.[13] The English now knew that a place called Wococon existed and may have deduced the presence of an inlet either by discovery or from native descriptions. If they did land at Wococon en route to Roanoke the record makes no mention of attempted exploration. The events of the next year's expedition imply the inlet was not investigated in 1584.

This second expedition was organized to establish a colony on Roanoke Island. Sir Richard Granville led seven small vessels from Plymouth harbor on April 9, 1585. The largest of these was his ship, the Tiger, a galleass of 160 tons.[14] The other vessels included the Roebuck, 140 tons; Lion, 100 tons; Elizabeth, 50 tons; the pinnace Dorothy, 50 tons and two other pinnaces.[15] The vessels were scheduled to visit the Caribbean islands first and then to proceed northward to Virginia. However, a storm scattered the flotilla shortly after it left England, sinking one pinnace.[16] The vessels never completely

regrouped although most of them eventually reached the Roanoke area.[17]

While in the Carribbean, Granville's ships became involved both in trading with and raiding the Spanish. The Tiger was the first vessel to arrive in the area and was joined on May 19 at St. John by the Elizabeth.[18] Here they built another pinnace to replace one lost at sea. Shortly thereafter, two Spanish frigates were captured and added to the force. Contact with the Spanish settlements enabled Granville to secure additional supplies for the Virignia colony and on June 7 Granville, with five vessels, left the West Indies en route to the Caicos, Bahamas and then toward Roanoke.[19]

During this voyage to Roanoke, Wococon Inlet was thoroughly explored. Indeed, its attempted use almost resulted in the expedition's ruin. This occurred when the vessels attempted to cross over into the sound by way of the inlet. Accounts vary concerning the details of the attempt. According to a journal kept during the voyage, the flotilla arrived on June 26 and the Tiger accidentally grounded three days later while passing through the inlet.[20] No mention is made of the other vessels fate. Another account suggests that the Tiger remained anchored offshore while the remainder of the flotilla grounded in an attempt to pass through. They floated free on the following tide. Strangely, on the following day the pilot Ferdinando decided to take the Tiger through. She grounded and for two hours was subjected to heavy pounding by the waves.

The crew feared her keel would be broaken and they would be forced to abandon her. Fortunately, she proved to be repairable when finally freed.[21] Her cargo of provisions such as corn, salt, meal, rice biscuits, and other essentials was soaked by salt water and mostly ruined.[22] This was distressing news for the colonists. Those supplies were to sustain them through the winter, and excepting the Elizabeth, no news had yet been received from the other vessels of the original fleet.[23]

One can only speculate why the expedition chose to enter the sound at Wococon when they could have proceeded to the entrance used the previous year.[24] Apparently, the leaders wished to explore this region of the coast and the use of Wococon was much more convenient than the inlet nearer Roanoke. There was also a need to locate an inlet which would admit larger vessels to a safe anchorage. Wococon may have appeared suitable although one would expect the pilots to sound the inlet before attempting to enter with the Tiger. Her grounding illuminated the inlet's hazards. While the vessel was being repaired, a reconnaissance was made of the surrounding area.[25]

Records show that the colonists carried out several explorations. On July 3, a group left for Roanoke to renew contact with the Indians. A party was dispatched to the mainland three days later while another group proceeded to Croatoan Island where they made contact with a number of men left twenty days previously by the Lion. Granville organized

an expedition which took three boats and the new pinnace and "Passed over the water from Ococon to the mayne land victualled for eight dayes in which voyage we first discovered the (Indian) townes of Pomioke, Aquascogoc and Secota, and also the great lake called by the Savages Paquype, with divers other places, and so returned with that discovery to our Fleet."[26] Upon their return on the 18th the explorers found the Tiger repaired.[27] Three days later the fleet put to sea for Port Ferdinando and Roanoke Island. There 107 colonists were finally settled with Ralph Lane as their governor.[28]

After the arrival of these settlers, the English showed little interest in Wococon or the nearby area. The inlet was too shallow to be useful so exploration was directed northward. An expedition into the Chesapeake region influenced a desire by the English to relocate there. However, the problems encountered by the colonists during much of the following year led them to abandon Roanoke and return to England with Sir Frances Drake after his visit in June, 1586.[29]

Several other voyages to Roanoke were organized under the patronage of Raleigh and his supporters. Granville returned in 1586 to find Lane's colony deserted. He left fifteen men to hold England's claim and returned home. The following year 110 colonists were deposited at Roanoke because the chief pilot and the sailors refused to continue to the Chesapeake, their original destination. Two relief vessels were dispatched for the colony in 1588 but never arrived, being preoccupied with

privateering. Another attempt was made in 1590 and after the usual efforts at chasing Spanish vessels, finally arrived at Roanoke to find the colonists gone.[30] The mystery of their fate has never been solved.

The 1590 voyage was Raleigh's last attempt at locating his Virginia settlement. It was also the only one of his expeditions since 1585 to linger in the vicinity of Wococon. The reports simply state that the crew stopped "on one of the Islands West of Wococon" to fish and take in water before proceeding to Roanoke.[31]

The shallowness of Wococon Inlet must have been a disappointment to the organizers of the 1585 expedition. The lack of a suitable harbor had a direct influence on the failure of Raleigh's plans to establish a base in the new world.[32] The next English attempt to found a settlement would be in the Chesapeake Bay area where good harbors were available. This occurred in 1607 with the establishment of Jamestown on the York River.

Since the Roanoke voyages the actions of nature have continued to alter the geography of the Outer Banks. One result has been that the vague records of these initial visits to the Banks by Europeans have been even harder to interpret. There is much variety in the interpretations of the routes and landings of the various expeditions. There does seem to be some general agreement that Wococon Inlet of Raleigh's time and today's Ocracoke Inlet are the same.

An accurate description of Wococon has been left to us by John White, governor of the 1587 colony who returned to England when the colonists were forced to disembark at Roanoke. He had formerly served as the artist and cartographer of the 1585 expedition and his map shows that parts of present day Portsmouth and Ocracoke Islands were combined at one time as Wococon Island.[33] Wococon Inlet defined its southern shore and, to the north, the smaller inlet of Port Granville was located.[34] Wococon Island was probably about fifteen miles long at the time of the explorations. Present day Ocracoke is located roughly seven miles north of the Wococon Inlet of Raleigh's time.[35] There is no mention of Wococon closing since the Roanoke voyages so the inlet's northern movement was probably one of gradual migration caused by changes in current and weather patterns which affect all coastal inlets. One may infer that Wococon then simply migrated to its present location. Over time the word Wococon probably was corrupted by various spellings including "Ococon, Ococok, Ococoke," to the present Ocracoke.

In general, the influence of Ocracoke Inlet during the 1580's explorations was a negative experience. The earliest references to the area were legends of shipwrecked mariners cast ashore when the inlet's existence was still unknown to Europeans. An attempted exploration of the inlet nearly wrecked the hopes of Raleigh's first colonists with the near loss of the Tiger. Ocracoke thus proved to be typical of the

other inlets along the coast, shallow and treacherous. Afterwards the interest of the Elizabethan mariners was focused northward in hopes of finding a more suitable location for settlement in the Chesapeake.

CHAPTER II

The Proprietary Period

The end of Raleigh's Roanoke ventures leaves a gap in Ocracoke's historical record. Although the settlement of Jamestown in 1607 reintroduced the English to the American coast, little mention of the inlet occurs in available records until well into the Proprietary Period. These earliest references simply relate to its description and land settlement in the inlet's vicinity. Later references show attempts to establish a pilot at the inlet, the presence of pirates and finally, at least by 1723, the presence of trans-Atlantic vessels there. Unfortunately, little conclusive evidence on commerce has come to light.[1]

In spite of the paucity of records, some inferences may be made about Ocracoke's early history from the available threads of evidence and developments in nearby areas. Possibly, as with Currituck Inlet, Ocracoke was used by Indian traders even before settlements were established in the vicinity of Pamlico Sound. With the arrival of these colonists, small vessels appeared to provide supplies, probably by-passing Ocracoke in favor of Roanoke and Currituck Inlets where they cleared customs. As the frontier continued to spread southward, the convenience of Ocracoke became increasingly apparent. Any trade between settlers along the Pamlico and points southward along the Atlantic seaboard would be inconvenienced by the

northward route through Roanoke and Currituck. More importantly, these inlets were becoming too shallow by the second decade of the eighteenth century to admit vessels safely. The passage of a pilotage law for Ocracoke in 1715 possibly reflects this increased importance. In 1716, Bath Town, a settlement on the Pamlico River, became designated as a port and since vessels using Ocracoke could then clear customs there, commerce in the inlet probably began to increase.[2]

In addition to legitimate commercial shipping, Ocracoke provided access for smugglers and pirates. As a frontier inlet, prior to the 1720's it was an ideal place to admit vessels wishing to unload cargoes before sailing to clear customs. Naturally, the records would be silent on this unless customs officials captured the culprits. Such accounts are recorded during the Royal Period.[3]

The use of Ocrocoke by pirates is well documented. Edward Teach, alias Blackbeard, frequented Ocracoke throughout 1718. The notorious Charles Vane and Stede Bonnet visited the inlet on at least one occasion and as late as 1727 an attempt to steal vessels in the inlet by would-be pirates from Bath was thwarted.[4]

Throughout most of the Proprietary Period Ocracoke's value as a commercial inlet was probably secondary to Roanoke or Currituck.[5] It was not seriously discussed as a potential port of entry or even as North Carolina's principal inlet until the early Royal Period. However, its increased importance toward

the end of Proprietary rule is reflected in its use by trans-Atlantic vessels as early as 1723.

The maritime history of Proprietary Carolina was directly influenced by the nature of the settlements and the quality of the inlets serving those settlements. From the beginning the economy was agrarian. The colony's commerce reflected this as small coastal vessels carried produce to other seaboard ports. A discussion of Ocracoke's role in North Carolina's early maritime history cannot easily be separated from this historical context. Such discussion necessarily involves the other important inlets and a general perspective of early maritime affairs as well as an understanding of the early settlement.

The earliest permanent settlers into "Carolina", as the region south of Virginia was called, were mostly migrants from the Virginia colony. These were primarily planters or small farmers in search of richer land along waterways near Albemarle Sound. Although this region had been partially explored by trappers and traders, it was not until the late 1650's that settlers began to arrive. These settlers concentrated in three regions; "west of the Pasquotank River, at the head of Currituck Sound, and west of the Chowan River." Together they formed the nucleus of what became known by 1663 as Albemarle County, as the colony of Carolina came to be called.[6]

As the Albemarle region began to fill, the population trickled southward.[7] Since waterways provided transportation

routes and frequently bordered prime farmland, settlers tended to locate near rivers. This southern movement had spread to the Pamlico area by 1690, the Neuse by 1706, and by 1713 the New River in present day Onslow County.[8] At the end of the Proprietary Period, two counties, Albemarle and Bath, were in existence. The section of Albemarle north of the sound had been divided into the precincts of Currituck, Pasquotank, Chowan and Perquimans; with Bertie and Tyrrell forming the rest of the county. Bath's precincts were Beaufort, Craven, Carteret and Hyde.[9] These political divisions represented the geographic area which exported produce through the Carolina inlets during the Proprietary Period.

It appears that Roanoke and Currituck were the most important inlets during the early Proprietary Period.[10] Their importance is emphasized by the establishment of customs districts in the areas they served. However, the shifting bars and channels and the increasing shallowness of the inlets prevented their use by large vessels. Their mention in colonial records contrasts sharply with the absence of references to Ocracoke, indicating that the latter was not used during the seventeenth century. In the earliest years, Currituck seems to have been the inlet of choice, probably being the first inlet used for purposes other than exploration. In 1643 part of a Virginia expedition to subdue hostile Indians entered Albemarle Sound through Currituck en route to the mouth of the Chowan River.[11] The expedition was successful and by

1654 "considerable activity among fur traders in the sound area about Roanoke Island" was reported. These traders were entering the sound through Currituck in small boats or sloops.[12] The establishment of permanent settlers in Albemarle seems to have promoted the use of Roanoke Inlet. As early as 1664 a Captain Whittie used this inlet to visit the fledgling colony.[13] The importance of Roanoke continued to grow throughout the late 1600's eventually surpassing that of Currituck.[14]

As time passed trade through the inlets increased and efforts were made to insure compliance with English customs laws. This was eventually accomplished by establishing two customs districts for the colony and hiring agents to inspect vessels using the inlets. Regulation efforts were being implemented by the 1670's although at first the only measures pressed were "a perfunctory signing of ships' papers and checking of bonds" by the governor. In 1674 the Plantation Duty Act of 1673 was imposed on the colony, requiring both a tax on exports and the establishment of a Customs Commissioner and a Surveyor of Customs at Roanoke. It seems this office was responsible for all vessels trading with the colony. Two officers were appointed to fill these positions but were replaced by Valentine Byrd in 1676. Byrd was assisted in his duties by a deputy collector who made collections "in lower parts of the country." Later, in 1677 a new Collector, Thomas Miller appointed Timothy Biggs as deputy collector for the

"upper parts of Albemarle Sound while Henry Hudson was chosen for .... the lower parts." So it appears that Currituck was administered under this system. In 1679 Biggs, now serving amid controversy as Comptroller and Surveyor General "maintained his office on Little River Point to handle vessels entering Roanoke Inlet while a deputy in Currituck handled the survey of those entering Currituck Inlet." In 1696 these inlets became separate districts. Customs agents were stationed at "Port Roanoke" which later became Edenton, to serve those vessels clearing Roanoke Inlet. It seems there was no fixed point of collection for Currituck.[15]

Although Currituck and Roanoke were the inlets of choice for early traders, it was due to necessity rather than any blessing of nature. In fact, these inlets were very treacherous but, for that matter, so were all others on the banks. Captain Whittie, upon his arrival in 1664 had this experience which, no doubt, was all too common among visiting vessels:

> .... such Vessels as shall arrive through Roanoke Inlett.... must always be of very small burthen. for although Capt. Whitties vessel this winter at her coming in found fifteen feet water, yet her going out she had but eleven feet and though she drew not eight foot water, struck twice of thrice not-withstanding they had beatoned the Channel and want out in the best of it, at full sea; so uncertain are all these Inletts.[16]

As the eighteenth century approached, the conditions at these inlets worsened. In 1710, a member of a commission sent

to Currituck Inlet to survey for the Carolina-Virginia boundary gave this description:

> Here I must remark that I am informed .... that within this forty years according to local inhabitants there was an Inlett about 6 or 7 miles to the Southward of this Inlett which was the main Inlett of Currituck being considerably deeper than this, and was distinguished from this by the name of Miesquetough Inlett the both were called Currotuck Inlett which Inlett is with within 30 years quite stopped up with dry sand and people ride over it."[17]

There are several theories about the rapid shoaling of these inlets during this period. According to Francis Xavier Martin, an early nineteenth century historian, a terrible storm struck the coast near the North Carolina-Virginia border in 1693. The storm was so violent that "It seemed to reverse the order of nature."[18] Francis Hawks, another historian says that because of the storm "Rivers before navigable, were stopped up; and in others channels were opened that were never before navigable."[19]

Another theory, by noted North Carolina Historian David Stick, attributes the shoaling to a different cause. He says:

> nature was playing one of its subtle pranks by gradually diverting the flow of river water from the east to the west of Roanoke Island. The result was that, instead of passing out to sea through Roanoke Inlet, more and more water was flowing into Pamlico Sound and then through Ocracoke Inlet to the Atlantic. Since the steady flow of water is what keeps these inlets open, the devestating effect of this change in currents was the eventual closing of Roanoke Inlet, and by the 1730's there was no direct reliable outlet

through the banks from the Roanoke Island area and Roanoke Sound.[20]

In spite of deteriorating conditions, Roanoke continued to be used throughout the Proprietary Period, at least by small vessels. Currituck Inlet closed around the end of this period although in 1713 a storm opened a new inlet a few miles to its south. It became known as New Currituck and was also used by traders entering Currituck Sound.[21]

The hazards of navigating these inlets sparked an interest in finding a more suitable passage even during the colony's earliest years. This effort led to the re-discovery of Ocracoke. In 1663 the Lord's Proprietors wrote Sir William Berkeley, Virginia's Governor, asking him to organize an expedition to search out an inlet they had heard of with "boald and deepe water in the latitutde of 34. which is near the rivers called the Newse and Pamplycoe.... and to make that discovery and some others into the sound, through which sound big greate ships may peradventure come to Chowan...."[22] There could be some question as to this inlet being Ocracoke. Latitude 34 would place the inlet at present day Carolina Beach, N.C. just north of the mouth of the Cape Fear River. However, the Proprietors should have known about the Cape Fear as there was considerable interest in settling that region at this time. In 1662 a group of New Englanders attempted a settlement but left after a few months stay. The following year the Proprietors were negotiating with a group of

Barbadians who were considering a settlement. They sent an expedition which explored the river, leading to a settlement in 1664.[23] However, if the proprietors had meant thirty five degrees North latitude then this would have placed the mysterious inlet at Ocracoke. Their description of this inlet being near the rivers Pamlico and Neuse, serving the sound leading to the Chowan River area, makes it seem likely that they were refering to Ocracoke.

A more specific reference makes it apparent the Proprietors knew of Ocracoke soon afterward. In 1665 a letter to Proprietor Sir John Colleton by Thomas Woodward, the recently appointed Surveyor of Albemarle, mentioned that there "is another Inlett at Wococok or Wococon which hereafter may serve for an other Government between this Albemarle and Cape Fear, if to your Honore it shall seem convenient."[24]

So, by 1665, the Proprietors had received some intelligence of Ocracoke Inlet's presence. However, they apparently were not impressed or remained ignorant of its potential use as Ocracoke was neglected in subsequent years.[25] If the "boald and deepe" inlet which the Proprietors had sought was Ocracoke then it would seem that Ocracoke could have been an alternative to the shallow northern inlets. Even if the Proprietors had in mind some other inlet, Woodward's statement indicated Ocracoke was usable. Furthermore, the relative stability of Ocracoke's channels is evidenced by similiar descriptions of the inlet throughout much of the eighteenth

century.[26] These points suggest that Ocracoke would have been a superior passage but yet was not used.

The neglect of Ocracoke by traders in favor of the northern inlets is probably due to several factors. Chief among these would be Ocracoke's distant location from trade centers.[27] The Albemarle colonists traded mostly with merchants from New England, Virginia, and Maryland during the early Proprietary years. There also seems to have been some limited contact with Charleston, Philadelphia, and Bermuda.[28] Since Ocracoke is over eighty miles southwest from Roanoke Island, this would add more than 320 miles to a round trip for northern vessels trading with the Albemarle region. Additionally, any vessels trading below the Chowan-Little River area still had to proceed there to clear customs. Finally, even if Ocracoke was deeper or more stable, large ships could not pass far beyond the inlet because of the shallowness of the sound itself. So only small vessels, chiefly shallops and sloops not exceeding sixty tons used the northern inlets, not simply because of the inlet's depth but due to shoals in the sound as well.[29]

It is difficult to determine Ocracoke's entrance into the world of commerce but it probably was first viewed by traders as a viable commercial passage between 1700 and 1715. The two main factors contributing to this were the rapid shoaling of the northern inlets, which made passage increasingly dangerous, and the spread of settlements along the coastal mainland south and west of Ocracoke. As these settlements grew, the increase

in local vessels would naturally mean an increase in traffic through the inlet.

The influx of settlers into the Pamlico Sound area provides some documentation on maritime activity. The area around the Pamlico River was first settled around 1690 with the County of Bath formed by the Lords Proprietors in 1696.[30] The settlement of this area brought settlers within the immediate vicinity of Ocracoke Inlet. Shortly thereafter, by 1706, settlers were locating along the shores of the Neuse River. Ocracoke Island was settled in 1706 by one Farnifold Green who petitioned the Assembly for permission to settle livestock "upon the Banks at or near Occacock Inlett...."[31] In 1710 a large settlement of Swiss and Germans was established at the conlfuence of the Neuse and Trent Rivers by Baron de Graffenreid.

The activities of de Graffenreid's colonists definitely show that Ocracoke was not used as a main commercial inlet despite obvious advantages and suggest that this was due to the seating of government in the Albemarle region. Graffenreid's first group of colonists landed in Virginia and made their way southward over land to Thomas Pollock's residence on the Chowan River in Albemarle County. Pollock, a member of the colony's Executive Council, sold them passage on some of his vessels through the sounds to the Neuse.[32] After this initial settlement, all communications seem to have been directed through the sounds, their supplies also being shipped along

this route.[33] Navigating through the sound, "which was very treacherous on account of the numerous shoals and shifting sand bars," proved a constant threat to their communications. In order to alleviate this problem, de Graffenreid and John Lawson, the Surveyor-General of North Carolina, attempted to explore the upper reaches of the Neuse River in hope of finding "if a better road to Virginia might not be made of the higher ground and thus save the dangerous voyages by way of Albemarle Sound...."[34]

It is interesting to note that de Graffenreid did not use Ocracoke to avoid the shoals of Albemarle Sound. John Lawson had only just published his book on North Carolina, a natural history treatise, in which he described Ocracoke in detail:

> Ocacok is the best Inlet and Harbour yet in this country; and has thirteen Foot at Low-water upon the Bar. There are two Channels, one is but narrow and lies close aboard the South-Cape; the other in the Middle, viz: between the Middle Ground and the South Shoar, and is but half a Cable's Length over, and then you are in seven or eight Fathom Water; a good harbour. The Course into the Sound is N.N.W. At High-water, and Neap-tides here is eighteen Foot Water;....[35]

Additional descriptions of Currituck and Roanoke show that this was the best route for any vessels trading with this area. Possibly a lack of experienced pilots prevented the New Bern colonists from using the inlet. The reasons are not stated in the de Graffenreid account.

During the Indian wars which followed shortly after de Graffenreid's arrival, Ocracoke was conveniently located to

channel any supplies or communications from South Carolina to the colonial forces fighting the Tuscarora. Yet it seems to have been by-passed in favor of the northern inlets. Between 1711 and 1713 two armies marched from Charleston, South Carolina to campaign in the Neuse and Pamlico River areas.[36] These armies received most of their supplies from the Albemarle settlements, apparently by way of the Carolina sounds. On at least one occasion a South Carolina sloop was dispatched to the Neuse but was detained by North Carolina officials. Presumably, the vessel first went to Albemarle before proceeding southward.[37] It therefore seems likely that any communications entering the colony were directed through Roanoke Inlet into Albemarle Sound. Ocracoke is not mentioned in the accounts of the campaign so its strategic advantage seems to have been ignored.

The Indian wars had a devastating effect on the lower settlements of North Carolina and trade was disrupted during this period. Although the records for any year during the Proprietary Period are incomplete, the total absence of any account of clearance at Port Roanoke between 1710 and 1715 probably reflects this disruption. Thomas Pollock, who became North Carolina's leader after Governor Hyde's death in September, 1712, stated in a letter to the Proprietors that trade was totally ruined "their being no grain or little or no pork this two or three years to sent out; so that what few vessels comes in can have little or nothing unless a little

pitch or tar...."[38] Renewed settlement and trade gradually returned after the Tuscarora's defeat in 1713.

The years between 1715 and the early 1720's marked the emergence of Ocracoke as an important inlet for commercial vessels. Documentation of traffic for this period is still non existent but the inlet's importance was recognized by the General Assembly in 1715. In that year a pilotage law for both Ocracoke and Roanoke was passed by the General Assembly. According to this law:

> .... The Governor .... shall commission and appoint two such persons as he shall think fitting and qualified to be Pilots the one for Roanoke the other for Ocacock Inletts which persons so nominated and authorized are hereby required constantly and dilligently to make it their business to search and find out the most convenient Channel at the several respective Inletts for which they are allotted Pilots and that the Pilot for Roanoke do stake and mark out the Channel from the Barr till it be past Croatan or Colleton shoals and keep the same constantly staked out And the Pilot for Ocacock is to see all vessels past the Shoals till they shall be in the open Sound and then to give directions for their sailing to the river such vessel or vessels shall be bound into.[39]

It is not known if the Ocracoke pilotage was designed to stimulate trade in the Pamlico region or whether it was passed in response to a petition by merchants needing guidance through the inlet. If a petition was presented in request for a pilotage, this would indicate some measure of commerce through the inlet prior to 1715.

The following year the town of Bath was designated a port-of-entry by the General Assembly.[40] As such, all vessels trading with the settlements below Albemarle Sound could market and receive cargoes there. Its designation as a port was made in response to a petition by local merchants in hope of stimulating Bath's growth into a large commercial center.[41] Bath's location near the mouth of the Pamlico River and close to Ocracoke resulted in the inlet becoming the most convenient passage for vessels serving the southern settlements.

There is some question as to when the first pilot arrived at Ocracoke. According to one source, in spite of the 1715 act, Ocracoke may not have received a pilot until 1734.[42] If true, it may possibly be attributed to the inlet's infrequent commerce. The 1715 act stipulated that pilots were to be paid according to the characteristics of the vessel being piloted. Specifically, the law stated that the pilot could:

> demand and receive of and from every such vessel that shall draw six feet water or under the sum of Thirty Shillings and for every foot above the some of Tenn Shillings more....

After one year of service the pilot would receive an additional thirty pounds from the government.[43] If few vessels used the inlet there would be less incentive for anyone to apply for the position.

Although it does not prove that pilots were present, events in 1718 show that there were mariners who, at least

claimed to know Ocracoke's intricate channels. In November, Virignia's Governor Spotswood sent two sloops with a complement of armed sailors to Ocracoke to apprehend the notorious pirate Edward Teach, alias Blackbeard, whose ship was reportedly anchored near the inlet. In order to reach Ocracoke, Spotswood hired two "Pilotts from Carolina" to accompany the sloops.[44] Apparently the sloops approached Ocracoke from the sound side of the banks instead of from the Ocean. A contemporary account states:

> This expedition was made with all imaginable Secrecy, and the Officer manag'd with all the prudence that was necessary, stopping all Boats and Vessels he met with, in the River, from going up, and thereby preventing any Intelligince from reaching Black Beard and receiving at the same time an Account from them all of the Place where the Pyrate was lurking;....[45]

In spite of the pilots' presence "it was no small Difficulty for this Gentleman to get to him, having grounded his Vessel, at least, a hundred times, in getting up the river...."[46] The government vessels also grounded during the course of the battle before bringing it to a successful conclusion with the death of Blackbeard and the capture of his ship and crew. The problems of getting near Blackbeard's vessel could reflect the pilots' unfamiliarity with Ocracoke. Still the fact that there were seamen who claimed a knowledge of the inlet indicates there had been some traffic at the inlet prior to 1718 which, in turn, suggests the presence of pilots.[47]

Two other points deserve mention in regard to Blackbeard's relationship with Ocracoke. It was rumored in 1718 that Blackbeard intended to fortify Ocracoke Island and make it a pirate haven, similar to one at Providence, West Indies. It has also been reported that Ocracoke was Blackbeard's base of operations for his piratical expeditions. Neither report was totally true.

Blackbeard probably first visited Ocracoke in January, 1718, en route to Bath where he took the King's pardon of amnesty from Governor Charles Eden.[48] However, it appears he soon returned to his illegal exploits and was sailing toward Honduras by March.[49] He did not return to Ocracoke until June, 1718 after which he once again took the King's pardon and settled in Bath.[50] Blackbeard remained in the area throughout much of the summer but by mid-August was once again at sea. Under the pretense of a trading expedition to St. Thomas, Blackbeard headed for Philadelphia but found that the governor of that colony had issued a warrant for his arrest. He then set sail towards Bermuda, robbing two English and a French vessel before capturing a second French ship loaded with cocoa and sugar. This prize he brought to Ocracoke claiming to have found her adrift without crew or papers. Governor Eden awarded Blackbeard the vessel and her cargo as a legitimate prize in accord with Admiralty law. Fearful that someone may recognize the vessel and report the truth of her capture, Blackbeard

claimed the vessel was leaky and took her from her Ocracoke anchorage to a place where she was burned and sunk.[51]

Blackbeard's arrival with the French vessel marked the beginning of his final stay in Carolina waters. He must have arrived in late August or early September. The French vessel was reported captured sometime in August and, according to court records, the pirate definitely arrived before mid September.[52] After Blackbeard's death charges were brought by one William Bell against four surviving members of Blackbeard's crew. Bell claimed he was robbed on the night of September 14 by Blackbeard and several members of his crew who boarded his periaugar while it was tied at a landing on the Pamlico River.[53]

Apparently, such petty incidents as this helped bring about Blackbeard's demise. Although Ocracoke may have been his favorite anchorage he still visited a number of areas along the Carolina sounds. At times his vessel was "lying at Anchor in the Coves, at other Times sailing from one Inlett to another, trading with such sloops as he met."[54] Blackbeard seems to have paid for the goods as fancy struck him. He apparently treated the local planters in a similar way--socializing and giving presents or intimidating for some favor. The local traders finally appealed to Governor Spotswood for help resulting in the November expedition which ended the pirate's career.[55] So, although Blackbeard did spend some time at

Ocracoke it was not necessarily a base of operations but merely a convenient anchorage.

It was during this last visit that rumors of Blackbeard's intention to establish a pirate rendevouz apparently spread. Sometime in September, 1718 Captain Charles Vane, another of the more notorious pirates, appeared on the North Carolina coast. Here he:

> went into an Inlett to the Northward, where he met with Captain Thatch, or Teach, otherwise call'd Black-Beard, whom he saluted (when he found who he was) with his great Guns, loaded with Shot, (as is the Custom among Pyrates when they meet) which are fired wide, or up into the Air; Blackbeard answered the Salute in the same Manner, and mutual civilities passed for some Days; when about the beginning of October, Vane took Leave and sailed further to the Northward.[56]

No doubt the presence of so many notorious desperadoes alarmed the more respectable merchants of the colony and the rumor of a pirate retreat may also have helped persuade Spotswood to take action.[57]

It has been commonly reported that North Carolina was a favorite haunt of pirates and no doubt many buccaneers cruised off the coast en route to such favorite hunting grounds as Charleston, South Carolina, or the Virginia Capes. Some accounts of piratical activities during the first two decades of the eighteenth century mention the Carolina inlets as popular hiding places but close examination fails to distinguish which inlets.[58] There is little evidence Ocracoke was frequented by pirates more than other inlets. No doubt

Blackbeard's death ended any speculation that Ocracoke was a safe refuge.[59]

In the first two decades of the eighteenth century Ocracoke was certainly not an important commercial inlet. However, its importance increased rapidly after that time. By 1723 comparatively larger vessels were appearing at Ocracoke than had generally used Currituck or Roanoke. One such vessel, the Parre Galley, weighed anchor in July of that year bound for England. The vessel was described as "plantation built and ... was of Burthen Sixty Tons or thereabouts loaded with Five Hundred and Ninety two barrels of Tarr for the aforesaid port of London."[60] This is significant for only large vessels would attempt the direct trans Atlantic route to Europe.[61] Those smaller vessels using Roanoke or Currituck were coastal traders which brought goods to North Carolina indirectly from Europe at inflated prices and carried exports to other colonial ports where they were then reshipped to England. The use of Ocracoke would enable North Carolinians to import directly from England reducing the price of imports. This recognition was shown at the beginning of the Royal Period by attempts to establish Ocracoke as an official port of entry.

CHAPTER III

THE ROYAL PERIOD: SHIPPING AND COMMERCE

North Carolina's 1729 transition from a Proprietary to a Royal colony heralded years of relative commercial growth and expansion in spite of the poor navigability of her inland waters. This obstacle to trade was addressed by a number of sessions of the General Assembly in efforts to provide some remedy. Although North Carolina ports never achieved the status of Boston, Philadelphia, or Charleston, some success occurred. As Christopher Crittenden pointed out:

> Most writers.... have laid too much stress on North Carolina's commercial handicapps, and have failed to note that in spite of them she succeeded in developing a trade of no mean proportions. The majority of the vessels of the latter part of the eighteenth century were so small that, even though they found it dangerous, they still did not find it impossible to put into North Carolina ports.[1]

The great majority of those vessels trading with ports on the Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds and their tributaries soon began to use Ocracoke as the best passage to and from the ocean.

Ocracoke established its commercial primacy among North Carolina's inlets as early as the 1730's. Governor George Burrington informed the Lords of Trade in 1731 that Ocracoke was the best inlet in the colony; that Currituck was "shut up and Roanock is so dangerous that few people care to use it but go round to Ocacock."[2] Burrington further illustrated the

inlet's importance by pressing to establish a central port with a customs collection at Ocracoke. The governor believed the colony's economy was suffering because there was no direct trade with England. Virginia and New England traders acted as middlemen bringing British and West India goods into North Carolina's ports in small sloops for sale at inflated prices. Goods which could not be hauled overland to Virignia markets were shipped out by these sloops at low prices. Burrington believed that the comparatively deep water of Ocracoke could facilitate a direct trade with England if a port was established, and eliminate these middlemen.[3] Also, with port status, vessels would enter and clear at Ocracoke before they entered the sound. This would inhibit the prospects of smuggling and eliminate the necessity of maintaining customs officials at various inland ports. Although Burrington's enthusiasm continued unabated and Governor Arthur Dobbs later also supported this idea, Ocracoke never became an official port under royal administration.[4]

Although the importance of Ocracoke can be stated in general terms, it is impossible to measure precisely the comparative commerce of the various inlets. While Ocracoke was the primary inlet, some small vessels continued to use Roanoke, Currituck and others.[5] The port records, incomplete at best, fail to note the inlet used by the various vessels. Therefore, vessels using Ocracoke might have cleared in any of the ports of the Pamlico-Albemarle area. For example, the port towns of

New Bern and Beaufort shared the commerce registered in the Port Beaufort custom's district. While Beaufort was served by Topsail Inlet, (currently known as Beaufort Inlet), New Bern largely received her commerce through Ocracoke.[6] Also, vessels using Port Roanoke could, depending on size, use either Currituck, Roanoke or Ocracoke Inlets. These facts complicate attempt at measuring the commerce of any particular inlet. Yet, the instability of the other inlets, the references to navigation problems contained in various historical sources and statements made by administration officials plainly show that the majority of the coastal commerce, outside of Port Brunswick, was shipped through Ocracoke.[7]

The tonnage passing through Ocracoke was regulated and inspected through the creation of port districts, each with one or more ports.[8] Vessels were required to clear with customs officials at those ports when entering or leaving the colony. Four of North Carolina's five port districts were served by Ocracoke. The fortunes of the ports within the districts were determined by market conditions and some grew at the expense of others during royal rule.

One important district served by Ocracoke was Port Roanoke, located in the vicinity of Albemarle Sound and Roanoke Inlet. Its chief town and seaport, now known as Edenton, was founded in 1722 and grew into importance as a trade center. Although Edenton contained 135 dwellings by the 1770's, it was

declining in comparitive importance to New Bern and Wilmington by the end of the Royal Period.[9]

Much of Ocracoke's commerce was en route to or from the Port Beaufort customs district which contained the seaports of New Bern and Beaufort. New Bern, founded in 1710 at the confluence of the Neuse and Trent Rivers, had begun to grow rapidly in the 1740's. By 1765 its population had increased to about 500 people and by 1777 it was a thriving seaport of 150 dwellings. The interior trade, brought to New Bern by road connections and the Neuse River, stimulated this rapid growth. Its designation as the permanent seat of government in 1765 also brought additional prosperity.[10]

The seaport of Beaufort, established in 1722, was located at the southern end of Core Sound and received its commerce through Topsail Inlet.[11] However, Beaufort had poor communications with the interior which caused it to languish, being surpassed in importance by New Bern in the 1760's.[12]

The Port Bath collection district was located between the districts of Port Beaufort and Port Roanoke. Bath, founded in 1705 and the earliest incorporated town in the colony, declined in importance after the middle decade of the eighteenth century and contributed less to Ocracoke's traffic than either Edenton or New Bern, although probably all of its seaborn commerce used that inlet.[13] Bath's location on the north shore of the Pamlico River gave it no particular advantage in attracting coastal trade and as the colony's population moved westward,

travellers began using more westerly routes which further restricted Bath's trade.[14]

The least important collection district contributing to Ocracoke's traffic was Port Currituck, located between Port Roanoke and the Virginia border. In the colony's early years this district was primarily served by Currituck Inlet. By 1755, however, the inlet was reported to have only six feet of water and so would be too shallow to admit any but the smallest vessels.[15] As early as 1736 Governor Burrington reported that the only reason vessels would use this inlet was for tobacco smuggling and that as a collection district Currituck was "insignificant and useless."[16] This is reflected by the absence of any principal port within the district or central point for collection of customs duties.[17]

A fifth port district of the colony was Port Brunswick, at Cape Fear. This district was outside of Ocracoke's influence but should be mentioned as it drew trade which otherwise would find an outlet through some other port.

Ocracoke and Port Brunswick were rivals in terms of commercial traffic during the eighteenth century. Port Brunswick, served by the trading centers of Brunswick Town and Wilmington, developed rapidly as an important commercial outlet because of the comparatively deep channel of the Cape Fear River.[18] Ocracoke's commerce compared favorably with Port Brunswick's due to the number of ports which sent traffic through the inlet. Although Port Brunswick could rival any one

of these ports, the combined shipping which used Ocracoke made Ocracoke the most important of the colony's commerical inlets.

A survey of shipping tonnage would easily establish the ranking of the various ports during the Royal Period. Unfortunately, the fragmentary customs records lessen the accuracy of any survey. However, Governor Dobbs' report to the Lords of Trade in 1755 provides some insight. Dobbs averaged the number of vessels clearing North Carolina's five port districts for a seven year period ending in 1754. During these years Brunswick averaged 98 vessels; Bath, 28; Beaufort, 79 5/7 and Roanoke, one hundred. Currituck cleared 18 vessels during the previous year.[19] This shows Port Roanoke to be the leading port in terms of number of vessels cleared, followed by Brunswick. All ports combined averaged 323 vessels.

Again, in 1763, Dobbs reported on shipping to the Board of Trade, stating that on the average 296 vessels were clearing annually. Port Roanoke led with 97 vessels, followed by Brunswick with 90 vessels.[20] As the following table shows, Brunswick led in terms of tonnage:

TABLE 1

North Carolina Shipping in 1763[21]

Port	Ships Cleared	Tons
Brunswick	90	4,830
Beaufort	73	2,740
Bath	30	1,163
Roanoke	97	3,052
Currituck	6	77

This cumulative average of 296 vessels is 27 vessels less per year cleared than the figure reported in 1755. Dobbs said this average "represents a medium of many years" so it is uncertain as to the exact years included.[22] However, if this represents the years since the 1755 report, we may conclude that shipping generally declined, at least in terms of number of vessels, during the way years, 1754-1763.[23] This decline is shown in figures from all ports except Bath so, naturally, Ocracoke's commerce would reflect this decline.

The figures from Table 1 also serve to illustrate Ocracoke's importance. It does not seem unreasonable to assume that Ocracoke may have shipped as much as seventy percent of the tonnage from the four districts she served. Using this figure, the tonnage shipped through Ocracoke would slightly exceed that of Port Brunswick and the inlet would have likewise admitted a significantly larger number of vessels.[24]

Both of Dobbs' reports show that Roanoke and Brunswick were the leading ports followed by Beaufort, Bath and Currituck. The prosperity and importance achieved by these ports naturally was a result of navigation conditions as well as export commodities which varied by region. A survey of North Carolina's exports illustrate the types of commodities shipped through Ocracoke and their relative importance.

North Carolina's exports during the Royal Period varied from those of earlier times more by volume than by nature. The exports were confined mostly to agricultural products (including livestock), naval stores, and wood products. During the early Royal Period the crops included tobacco, rice, indigo, Indian corn, peas, beans, wheat, flax and cotten.[25] Indian corn and wheat were the most important grains with tobacco being the most important non-grain crop.[26] Although these crops were being grown and exported prior to the Royal Period, rice and indigo did not appear until the 1730's and 1740's respectively.[27]

Again, the lack of records prevent any accurate survey of the volume of agricultural products passing through Ocracoke but some information is available from those ports which Ocracoke served. As Table 2 shows, Roanoke was the leading port in the exportation of Indian corn. This was in part due to the necessity of moving corn by water as it was worth less per ton than any other crops and the area served by Port Roanoke had an intricate system of water routes facilitating

shipment. Also, it appears likely that many small farmers each contributed small quantities of corn for export. If so, the relatively high population density of this region contributed to Port Roanoke's dominance for the years shown below.[28]

TABLE 2

Indian Corn Exported from North Carolina (In Bushels)[29]

Port	1753	1764	1768	1772	1771-1776
Currituck	.....	.....	1,190	3,600	.....
Roanoke	.....	.....	92,853	114,456	ca. 97,000
Bath Town	.....	.....	9,037	18,490	.....
Beaufort	.....	32,805	13,343	38,958	.....
Brunswick	.....	.....	966	1,238	.....
Total	61,528	.....	117,389	176,742	.....

Wheat was unique among North Carolina's crops in that it was grown almost exclusively for export.[30] Again, although it was more valuable than corn, water transportation seems to have influenced the regional exportation of wheat. Port Roanoke, once again, handled "almost all" of the wheat marketed for export.[31]

Tobacco was exported chiefly from the northern part of North Carolina. As the Royal Period progressed, tobacco production increased somewhat but it never achieved the importance of Virginia's and Maryland's crops as an export commodity.[32] It is difficult to measure the volume of tobacco

exported due to overland shipment into Virginia but it may have accounted for 20 percent of the colony's exports by 1775.[33] Probably because of the tobacco producing regions proximity to Port Roanoke, that port was the leading exporter of tobacco among North Carolina's ports for the years 1772 and 1773. Data are not available for previous years.[34]

TABLE 3

Tobacco Exported from North Carolina Ports (In Pounds)[35]

Year	All N.C. Ports	From Port Roanoke
1753	100,000	.....
1766	.....	.....
1767	.....	.....
1768	358,000	.....
1769	557,000	.....
1770	1,056,000	.....
1771	1,714,000	.....
1772	1,605,000	1,044,000
1773	.....	1,525,000

The production of rice and indigo was largely confined to the Cape Fear region although both crops had been grown as far north as Virginia.[36] Records show that some rice was exported through Port Beaufort although Port Brunswick had by far the chief share, about 98 percent. Indigo was also primarily a Port Brunswick commodity with about 89 percent of the total

exported through that port. However, as Table 4 attests, Beaufort's indigo exports surpassed Brunswick's in 1770. Port Roanoke also exported a small quantity.[37]

TABLE 4

Indigo exported from Southern Colonies (In Pounds)[38]

Roanoke	.....	40	180	.....	.....	.....
Bath Town	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Beaufort	.....	.....	326	.....	.....	.....
Brunswick	646	264	254	222	1,304	1,686
N.C. Total	646	304	760	222	1,304	.....
Va. & Md.	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,423	.....
S.C. & Ga.	.....	.....	.....	.....	777,000	.....

Livestock raising was also an important source of income to North Carolina during the Royal Period and before. Much livestock was exported by driving them overland into Virginia or other northern markets. Some beef and pork were salted for export by sea.[39] Information on these exports by port is not available but, Port Beaufort exported 4,731 barrels of salt port, 495 barrels of salt beef and 19,900 pounds of tallow in 1764.[40]

Additional items exported during royal administration included leather, hides, deerskins and fish. The export of raw

hides and calf skins was prohibited between 1748 and 1754 by the colonial government due to diseases which decimated the cattle population. In 1753 tanned leather, estimated at "1000 hundredweights," and 30,000 deerskins were exported.[41] Eleven years later Port Beaufort alone exported 11,305 pounds of skins.[42] North Carolina was also an important source of pickled fish. In 1768 North Carolina was a leader among the southern colonies and in 1772 led all colonies except New England in this trade to the Carribean.[43]

These figures illustrate the types and amounts of agricultural commodities shipped through Ocracoke. The port records fail to accurately reflect the total trade volume of any commodity as overland shipments diverted a large percentage to the markets in Virginia, South Carolina and elsewhere.[44] More reliable data of North Carolina's chief export, naval stores, are available. Unfortunately Ocracoke's volume of this traffic cannot be determined with accuracy although comparisons of the port records provide some indication of the traffic's extent.

Naval stores, used primarily in the shipbuilding industry, include tar, pitch and terpentine. England, with its long maritime tradition, had imported these products from northern Europe but in 1705, established a bounty to encourage production in her North American colonies.[45] North Carolina became the leader in this industry, producing 60 percent of

Ocracoke handled a large share of this export traffic. Calculations derived from Table 5 will show that, for the years 1768 through 1772, 70.8 percent of these exports passed through Ports Brunswick and Beaufort.[47] Brunswick alone handled 42.6 percent of the total volume leaving Beaufort with 28.2 percent. Roanoke shipped 19.4 percent and Bath, 9.8 percent. Since Roanoke, Bath and Beaufort contributed 57.4 percent to the export market, Ocracoke's share of this commerce was considerable, probably rivaling that of Port Brunswick.[48]

TABLE 5

Exports of Naval Stores From North Carolina Ports 1768-1772[49]

	1768		1769		1770		1771		1772	
Port	Number of barrels	% of N.C. total	Number of barrels	% of N.C. total	Number of barrels	% of N.C. total	Number of barrels	% of N.C. total	Number of barrels	% of N.C. total
Roanoke	21,702	17	22,254	20	19,533	19	21,682	17	15,538	24
Bath Town	11,078	9	6,080	5	6,736	7	13,104	10	11,316	18
Beaufort	31,652	25	31,221	28	23,276	23	29,118	23	27,082	42
Brunswick	63,265	49	53,524	47	52,425	51	63,223	50	10,379	16
Total	127,697	100	113,079	100	101,970	100	127,167	100	64,315	100

In addition to naval stores, wood products composed a substantial part of the export trade. These products ranged from such finished items as desks, tables, and chairs to simpler manufactures such as sawn lumber and shingles. The most important exports included sawn lumber, shingles and staves.[50]

Available statistics show that the majority of the staves and shingles were exported from the Albemarle ports with Port Roanoke the leading exporter.[51] Port Brunswick was the leading North Carolina port for the export of sawn lumber.[52] Port Brunswick provided about 73.8 percent of the sawn lumber for the years 1768-1772; Ports Roanoke and Currituck combined provided 55.8 percent of the shingles and 63.2 percent of the staves. The following table provides a ranking of North Carolina ports in terms of percentage of wood product exports.

TABLE 6

North Carolina Exports of Wood Products: Relative Importance of Ports 1768-1772[53]

Port	Sawn lumber - as % of all N.C. exports of sawn lumber					Shingles - as % of all N.C. exports of shingles					Staves - as % of all N.C. exports of staves				
	1768	1769	1770	1771	1772	1768	1769	1770	1771	1772	1768	1769	1770	1771	1772
Currituck	0	1	0	1	0	15	23	25	16	11	4	1	2	15	10
Roanoke	7	5	4	6	4	44	39	27	38	41	77	55	54	48	50
Bath Town	16	10	16	14	16	6	5	7	11	11	4	7	12	9	7
Beaufort	3	9	9	9	10	10	8	13	6	9	7	27	19	19	19
Brunswick	74	75	70	70	70	25	24	27	29	28	8	10	13	9	14
Total	100	100	99	100	100	100	99	99	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

As Table 5 shows, there was some regional variation in the distribution of wood product exports. This was due to various factors, including availability of slaves, spatial distribution of forest resources and availablility of transportation.[54] These influences would be reflected in the amount or kind of goods shipped through Ocracoke to various ports.

Ocracoke's exports, during the Royal Period, were bound for a variety of ports which may be divided into three groups: Atlantic Seaboard, West Indian and Foreign. The Navigation Acts of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries determined that such foreign ports would only include those under British control. A survey of the Port Roanoke records for the two years 1756-1757 was compiled to illustrate trade in these areas.[55]

The Atlantic ports included virtually all within British control. The records for 1756 and 1757 show Boston to be the port most frequently trading with Edenton. Boston received ten cargoes during that two year period while six were sent to Rhode Island, two to Philadelphia, and one each to Maryland, Salem, New York and Halifax. Although these records are far from complete they show that Ocracoke carried on an extensive trade with New England.[56] The absence of any recorded commerce with South Carolina and Virginia is probably due to lost records.

West Indian commerce was an important component of Ocracoke's commerce throughout the eighteenth century. During these same years Barbadoes received two cargoes and Jamaica

received one from Ocracoke. No doubt trade was much more extensive than the fragmentary records for these years show.[57]

Overseas trade composed the smallest element of Ocracoke's commerce. This was in part due to Ocracoke's hazards of navigation and the shallowness of the sounds which resulted in smaller vessels with slight drafts frequenting the inlet. Such vessels were more suited to coastwide trade. Additionally, the Cape Fear region dominated in the production of naval stores, a major overseas export. During 1756 and 1757 three vessels departed Port Roanoke for Liverpool, England, illustrating that Ocracoke was directly linked to overseas markets.[58]

Vessels returning from these ports carried a wide variety of imports into Ocracoke including manufactured articles, luxury goods and some varieties of foodstuffs. This is partially illustrated by Port Beaufort's imports for a one year period. In 1764 these included rum, molasses, brown and loaf sugar, wine, cider, salt, flour, iron, cheese, beer, bread, flax, and slaves.[59]

Manufactured goods were generally imported from England as local production of many articles was prohibited. In 1763 Governor Dobbs reported that £ 28,500 worth of English merchandise was being imported each year. However, the overland and coastal trade was of such proportions that this figure only represents one-third of the total English imports.[60]

In addition to the manufacturing restrictions, certain eighteenth century laws, principally the "Navigation Acts," imposed restrictions on shipping. All goods were required to be shipped in British or British-Colonial vessels, and all European goods had to clear from British ports before shipment to the colonies. Additionally, certain "enumerated" goods could be exported only to British or British-Colonial ports. Such restrictions, coupled with the desire by some merchants and shippers to avoid payment of customs duties, resulted in a degree of smuggling.[61]

The trade in contraband was one aspect of shipping and commerce which, naturally, would not be reflected in commerce records, but other reports are available which indicate its existence. Smuggling appears to have been more extensive in the colony's earlier years. It involved the importation of goods without payment of duties and the export of untaxed tobacco which was usually loaded after a vessel obtained clearance papers. Apparently, North Carolina's other exports were not worth the risk as smuggled commodities.

During the early years of the Royal Period, it seems Ocracoke and Currituck were centers of smuggling although, no doubt, it occurred elsewhere. The extent of this illegal traffic is not known but it was considerable enough for Governor Burrington to write to the Commissioners of Customs in 1736:

> Bath Town and Edenton being far from the Sea, and as there are many Islands and Rivers between the said Port Towns where the Collectors reside and the Inlets, Vessels come in and go out as the Masters have Opportunities to unload prohibited Goods, before they come to the Collectors to enter, and also take in Tobacco, after they are cleared; the Masters do not fail to make an advantageous use to the convenience, great quantities of good Tobacco the growth of North Carolina are yearly from thence exported by the New England shipping no Duty paid, and some ordinary made in Virginia that will not pass the Inspectors,...[62]

Apparently, Burrington was also including Currituck in his remarks on tobacco for he said that merchants shipping through that inlet "of late years could have no other inducement for making their voyages then to carry from thence Tobacco without paying the King's Duty."[63]

Since there were no customs officials at Ocracoke it must have been relatively easy for vessels to break cargoes there before proceeding to interior ports. Governor Burrington described one vessel from Guernsey which, in 1734, "loaden with French Wines, Brandy, Tea, Woollen and other prohibited Commodities came in at Ocacock, in the harbour the goods were put on Board a vessel belonging to the Country and sent thro Pamticough and Albemarle Sounds into Virginia and there delivered to some Merchants of that Country."[64]

A second incident occurred that same year when charges were brought against one Captain Husk, owner and master of the sloop Catherine, which had entered Ocracoke and anchored there. During a trial at Bath, it was alleged that some cloth and rum had been broken out of the vessel's cargo and carried in a

small boat to Teache's Hole, a small channel and anchorage near Ocracoke Island by one Kersey, the inlet's resident pilot, and several other men. Husk was away from his vessel during this incident but supposedly was to receive money from Kersey upon his return.[65]

One method employed to inhibit smuggling was to require captains to post bonds with port collectors listing items carried from the port and their destination. The captain was required to return a certificate, usually within twelve months, to prove that those goods had been unloaded at their destination. Failure to do this meant a fine of £ 1000.[66] Apparently these measures were successful for in 1764 Governor Dobbs reported to Lord Halifax that "We have had but three seizures in this Province in the nine years that I have been here...."[67] Dobbs did acknowledge that some northern port collectors were issuing clearance papers to a few vessels carrying illegal goods. However, since the papers were in order he was powerless to intervene.[68]

Smuggling became less of a problem over time as North Carolina emerged from its status as a frontier colony. The attention directed by crown officials at inhibiting smuggling and promoting trade coupled with the colony's natural economic growth placed maritime activity during the late Royal Period in sharp contrast with that of earlier times.

At the beginning of the Royal Period, North Carolina's maritime trade was carried in a few small sloops and schooners

which irregularly served the small riverfront settlements. By the end of the period, forty six years later, much of this trade was carried into several thriving seaports by significantly larger numbers of vessels. An energetic class of merchant-shippers prospered through a coastal and trans-Atlantic trade of significant proportions. The shoaling of Currituck and Roanoke Inlets caused Ocracoke to become the focal point of much of the state's seaborne commerce. However, Ocracoke's advantages were only relative. Navigation among the shoals and channels remained dangerous in spite of efforts by government and individuals to remedy the problems of navigation in North Carolina's inland waters.

CHAPTER IV

The Royal Period: Problems Affecting Trade

Although Ocracoke emerged as North Carolina's most important inlet during the Royal Period, it remained a dangerous rendezvous for commercial shipping. A number of natural problems were faced by captains attempting to enter and navigate through the sounds into the rivers. In addition to natural problems, the inlet was undefended throughout much of the period enabling enemy privateers to operate with impunity during the 1740's.

However, Ocracoke's increasing importance led authorities to focus on its inherent problems of navigation and attempt to provide remedies. Specifically, these problems included the presence of a bar of sand called the "swatch"; the shallow channels leading to the inland ports; the shifting shoals within the inlet and Ocracokes' exposed position to northeastern storms.

The "swatch" was a ridge or bar of sand which extended across the inside of the inlet and reduced water depth in the shipping channels. Since Ocracoke's outer bar was submerged under thirteen feet of water sizable vessels could enter the inlet's mouth, but they could only proceed about six miles before the water depth was reduced to eight feet. This effectively blocked passage of large vessels.[1] The swatch may not have been a hinderance during the early years of commercial

activity but became more of a problem later when larger vessels used the inlet.[2]

In addition to the swatch, vessels had to navigate the narrow channels which led from the inlet to New Bern, Bath, and Edenton. The channels were not uniform in depth but were crossed by shoals which further complicated passage. In 1755 Governor Arthur Dobbs reported that the channel leading to New Bern was "12 feet everywhere but in 3 narrow reefs, 2 of which are 9 feet deep and only forty yards over, and the other gradually shoals to 5 1/2 feet deep, and in 300 yards again deepens to 12 feet...."[3]

The problems posed by these barriers were solved by use of "lighters" or small vessels which received part or all of the larger vessel's cargo. The lightened vessels could then float over the shoals and proceed to port. These would return partly loaded and receive additional cargo after they passed the swash.[4] The largest vessels sometimes discharged all their goods at Ocracoke and waited in the roads for lighters to bring down their cargoes.[5] John Lawson mentioned this practice in reference to Currituck Inlet as early as 1709.[6] By the middle of the eighteenth century the practice was common at Ocracoke. As Dobbs mentioned to the Board of Trade; "all vessels drawing above 8 1/2 feet of water must now do so at great expense and delay."[7]

The delay for vessels at Ocracoke awaiting lighterage was not only expensive; it was also dangerous as the many

references to shipwrecks attest. Vessels were forced to anchor in the narrow channels or proceed past the swash to an anchorage near a large bar called Royal Shoal.[8] The inlet's three mile wide mouth and the low adjacent sand banks provided little or no protection for the anchored vessels from the ravages of storms and many were driven from the channels onto neighboring shoals.[9]

The three major channels used by these vessels seem to have been a continual feature of the inlet throughout the eighteenth century. Lawson mentioned the presence of two in his book A New Voyage to Carolina.[10] One, described as "narrow" and "close aboard the South Cape" was probably the same one later known as Wallace's Channel. The second was described as being "between the Middle Ground [Shoal] and the South Shoar and is above half a Mile wide." This was later called Ship Channel. A third channel called Teache's Hole was located to the northeast of Ship Channel and bordered Ocracoke Island.[11] Although Lawson made no mention of this channel, its existence was evidenced by the name ascribed it within a decade of Lawson's visit. Descriptions of Ocracoke's features over the next century show little change in these three channels. In 1755 Dobbs reported one channel, probably the one closest to Portsmouth, to be as narrow as three hundred yards.[12] At the turn of the century Ship Channel was still a half-mile in width as was Teache's Hole.[13]

The dangers of being caught in Ocracoke during storms is apparent by the various tales of disasters recorded throughout the Royal Period and later. In November, 1749, the Pennsylvania Gazette reported:

> we have most melancholly accounts of the late storm, or rather hurricane there in North Carolina, on the 7th and 8th of October last; scarce a vessel in all the country but what was either drove ashore or lost; ten vessels lying at Ocacock Inlet, outward bound, waiting for a fair wind, were all lost but one brig belonging to Boston; amongst which was Capt. Kellog, in a sloop of this port, entirely lost, and every person on board drowned; as also a schooner unknown, which was overset: .... Two of the vessels were drove over the bar by the violence of the gale, and lost about five miles to the northward of it: .... the water was drove up ten foot higher than it was ever known to rise before: and some vessels drove up into the low lands, so far as to render them impossible ever to be got off again.[14]

Two storms particularly destructive to shipping occurred in the early 1770's. The Virginia Gazette reported that a gale on September 1, 1772 resulted in the loss of three schooners, three sloops, one Brig, and five other "vessels". One schooner lost all hands, another was "drove to sea and not heard of again," and a third was simply described as "lost". The crews were saved from the other vessels with the exception of one craft which lost four people.[15] The following year the same paper reported that there were "15 sail of vessels at Ocracoke Bar mostly outward bound; all of which except one, were drove on shore or Lost. Indeed the greatest part of them is entirely lost, and a Number of Persons, some say near fifty,

perished."[16] While these illustrate the more severe disasters, there were numerous other incidents of wreckage reported in the newspapers of the period.[17]

Such destruction was not confined to Ocracoke Inlet as vessels in inland ports also suffered. One account in 1769 mentioned "Great Damage done to the shipping particularly at New Bern, where 6 or 7 vessels are said to have foundered at Anchors; .... all the vessels in Cape Fear River, except one sloop were driven ashore."[18] Still, such disasters serve to illustrate the problems caused by Ocracoke's narrow channels and shoals. The damage caused by such storms, no doubt, at least in part, stimulated efforts to improve navigation in the inlet and the sounds through internal improvement projects. Internal improvement objectives involved efforts to deepen channels, mark channels with beacons and bouys, and establish pilots. Other types of internal improvement may include the construction of a fort to protect Ocracoke's shipping and the creation of a commercial center at the inlet to facilitate transfer and storage of cargoes.

Government efforts to improve navigation may be traced through the various laws passed by the Colonial assembly. Attempts at aid began during the Proprietary Period with two notable laws passed in 1715 and one other passed 1723.

One 1715 act established a pilotage at Roanoke and Ocracoke Inlets, regulated their behavior and payment and addressed the problem of channel marking at Roanoke by

delegating that duty to its pilots.[19] These men were to mark the "Channel from the Barr till it be past Croatan or Colleton shoals and keep the same constantly staked out...." The pilot for Ocracoke was simply to "see all vessels past the Shoals till they shall be in the open Sound and then to give directions for their sailing...."[20] The idea of pilots having responsibility for channel marking continued until 1739. It is not known why Ocracokes pilot was free from such responsibility under this act. Possibly, at this early date the channels were adequate for the small vessels using the inlet.

Another act passed in 1715 established a "powder duty" to be paid by incoming vessels. The purpose of the act was to create a supply of ammunition for the colony's defense. Vessels were supposed to be taxed a fee payable in specie, bills or gunpowder. Governor Burrington remarked to the Board of Trade in 1731 that little ammunition had been collected as the fees were usually collected in bills.[21]

The issues of pilotage improvement and channel marking were again addressed by the Assembly in 1723. The result was legislation entitled "An Act for appropriating part of the Impost Duty on Vessels or powder money to beacon or buoy out the Channels from Roanock to Ocacock Inlet,...."[22] This act decreed that part of the powder money be used for navigational aid. Specifically, it appropriated ₤ 250 for lightering vessels over the shaols at Roanoke Inlet and "all the powder Money arising from Vessels trading in and to the County of

Bath" for "directing and assisting Vessels from Oackacock Inlet over the shoals, up to and out of the port of Bath, after such Method and in Such Manner" as thought proper. The act called for commissioners to appoint and supervise "Undertakers" who were, in effect, pilots. In addition to "directing and assisting" vessels, these "undertakers" were to use booms, buoys and beacons to mark the channels, where necessary, from the inlets to the ports. This act was to remain in effect for one year and replaced the 1715 act relating to pilots.[23]

These Proprietary laws mark the first efforts to improve the colony's navigation. As in later years such attention was spotty and remedies often inconsistently applied. While the powder money continued to be collected, after the 1723 act's expiration it was no longer applied toward navigational aid. Governor Burrington informed the Lords of Trade in 1731 that such efforts were "of late years shamefully neglected" and that the powder money was instead used to pay traveling expenses for assembly members.[24]

During the opening decade of crown administration the government was even less able to deal with problems affecting trade. This was due to a political embroglio between the assembly and the first two royal governors, which prevented the passage of much legislation. The conflict is first illustrated by the assembly session of July, 1733.

In Governor Burrington's address to this assembly he encouraged the members to consider the problems affecting

trade. Specifically, he wanted to exempt vessels arriving from Great Britain from paying the powder duty. During this session Ocracoke's commissioners presented a petition requesting that Ocracoke be provided with buoys and beacons. The assembly dealt with this issue by exempting all vessels from paying the powder duty, as this tax was extremely unpopular among merchant captains. The Ocracoke petition was held from debate until Bath's powder receiver could provide a financial statement. However, Burrington, angered at a dispute over quit-rent payments and the attempt to exempt all vessels from paying the powder duty, dissolved the assembly. The powder duty was continued but no navigational aides were funded.[25]

The trade issue was again addressed at the November, 1734 meeting of the assembly when a bill entitled an "Act for the better and more effectual encouraging and promoting the Trade of this Province" was introduced.[26] While this was being considered in the house a request by one Miles Gale to "undertake the pilotage at or near Ocacock" was presented.[27] Gale submitted "proposals for Buoying and Beaconing Ocacock Inlet" to the legislators but before a final decision was reached, the assembly was dismissed due to the arrival at Cape Fear of Burrington's successor, Governor Gabriel Johnston.[28] Once again, the legislature had failed to address internal improvements.

Governor Johnston's administration was similar to Burrington's in that both governors were interested in

promoting trade and both had problems with the assembly. In January, 1735 a bill was introduced to the legislature calling for "fortifying and beaconing and buoying out the several parts or Channels of this province" to be funded with the powder duty. However this was never enacted into law.[29]

In September, 1736 the issue was once again raised. This time the bill specifically mentioned Ocracoke by name and referred to improving navigation from the inlet to three ports; Edenton, Bath, and New Bern.[30] However, the governor was now embroiled in a dispute with the lower house over collection of quit-rents and dissolved the assembly before the navigation bill was passed.[31]

In March, 1737 Governor Johnston addressed both houses and urged that the powder money be appropriated toward navigational improvements. Again, he was forced to dismiss the assembly over the quit-rent issue before any such legislation could be approved.[32]

Finally, in February, 1739, the assembly was able to secure passage of a bill which provided navigation aids for Ocracoke.[33] Apparently, by this time navigation had become so hazardous that a petition was presented to the upper house asking for relief. One Robert Hewan "and others" submitted the petition "complaining that the navigation from Ocacock Inlet to the several Ports and Rivers in the Province is very dangerous..." and asked that the more dangerous places be marked.[34] The assembly therefore passed a bill entitled "an

Act for facilitating the navigation of the severall Ports in this Province and for buoying and beaconing the Channels leading from Occacock Inlet to Edenton, Bath Town and Newbern, and from Topsail Inlet to Beaufort Town, and for providing Pilots for the safe conduct of Vessels."[35] As the title implies the bill addressed both problems of pilotage and channel marking.

It seems the duties of pilots and those attending to the navigational markers had, by now, become seperate and distinct positions. This is implied by the wording of the titles of both the 1735 and 1739 bills.[36] Supporting this was a petition presented to Governor Dobbs in the 1750's by the son of Miles Gale who had applied for the Ocracoke pilotage in 1734. This petition requested payment of money owed to Gale by the legislature. Gale was hired after passage of the 1739 navigation bill "to purchase Buoys and Erect Beacons" for the channels leading from Ocracoke to New Bern, Bath, and Port Roanoke and for their relocation and maintenance.[37] It seems unlikely that, as Ocracoke's pilot, he would have the added responsibility of attending to the navigational aids for all three ports.

The success of the 1739 bill is an open question. Only a year later, in February, 1740, a petition by nine merchants and planters was presented to the assembly begging relief from the pilotage charges. They complained that although "many and large sums" had been paid since the act was passed "Navigation

is in no ways made better or Easier...."[38] The complaints continued and in response to these a Committee of Propositions and Grievances resolved in 1744 "that the payment of the Powder money and footage money hath not answered the end designed, the Vessels having paid more for pilotage to Pilots since that Law than before...."[39] Attempts to repeal the law in 1744 failed and in June, 1746, the Committee of Grievances once again found it unsatisfactory.[40] In spite of these criticisms the law received some government support as it was renewed at the end of its original six-year term.[41]

Apparently, by 1748 the navigation laws were officially viewed as a hinderance rather than a benefit to trade. In that year the 1739 navigation law and the powder duty were repealed.[42] Miles Gale, who had been appointed in 1739 for the maintainence of the navigational aids, was also dismissed due to "there not being a sufficient fund to pay him his Salery to that time for want of a Sufficient Number of Vessels comming into and having arrived at the Several ports...."[43] These actions effectively ended initial efforts to improve navigation and stimulate commerce.

The continued criticism of the 1739 navigation law may have been a factor in its repeal, but its value was soon placed in proper perspective. Four years later, in 1752, another navigation bill was passed apparently in response to difficult conditions endured by maritime traders.[44] The opening

paragraph of this law suggests that no recent attempt had been made to maintain navigational aids:

> Whereas considerable Injuries have frequently happened to divers Merchants who have sent their Ships and Vessels to Bath, Edenton, and New Bern, by Reason of the Badness of the Channels leading to the said Places, the Insufficiency and Neglect of Pilots, the Want of Staking out the said Channels, and Making the Navigation more easy; whereby the Trade of those Parts of the Province is greatly impaired:...."[45]

Included in the bill was an article which appointed commisioners to:

> contract with proper Persons, to examine from Time to Time, the situation of the Swatch, and to keep the same and all other Channels, leading from Ocracock Bar to Bath, Edenton and New Bern, well and sufficiently Staked out, and to erect Beacons at Ocracock, Beacon Island, Core Banks, and all such other Places as the said Commissioners shall think most convenient for the safety of Vessels."[46]

Commissioners were also directed to inspect markers, examine and certify pilots, publish maps showing markers and courses leading from Ocracoke, make reports to the assembly concerning their expenses, and give bond to insure their care in executing these and other duties.[47]

Under this new act the pilotage for Ocracoke was funded by a fee based on vessel draft which was considerably higher than that charged under the 1739 law.[48] Seperate fees were charged for pilotage from the bar into Beacon Island Road, and from the road to the various ports. An additional tonnage tax was required to defray the expenses of this law. This charge was

twenty shillings for vessels under fifty tons, thirty shillings for those of fifty up to 100 tons, and forty shillings for those of 100 tons or greater. This tax was collected by the customs officials in port.[49]

The expense of erecting navigational aids was divided among the various ports and managed by the port commissioners. Port Roanoke's commissioners were to pay two-fifth's and the commissioners for Ports Bath and Beaufort the remainder of the charges and expenses for those aids at the inlet. The costs and expenses of marking the channels were to be paid by the commissioners of the respective port.[50] In order to expedite the legislation's goals the commissioners of each port were empowered to borrow up to £ 100 "in order to enable them to have the said Channels Staked, and Beacons erected, as aforesaid, as soon as possible."[51]

The 1752 navigation law is significant because of its broad scope and the detail with which it addressed the problems affecting navigation at Ocracoke and in the sounds. Its success is evidenced by its longevity. This act continued in effect with minor changes until 1766 when it was replaced by a law of similar scope and content.[52]

A number of additional laws and amendments were passed from 1752 through 1770 attempting to improve navigation. Among those subjects which received periodic legislative attention was that of pilotage.

The early history of Ocracoke's pilots remain a mystery. Although the 1715 navigation law provided for a pilotage, there is only inferential evidence to suggest government pilots were actually attending vessels there during the next several decades. As mentioned earlier, Governor Spotswood hired "Carolina pilots" in 1718 who supposedly knew Ocracoke's channels. Trial records for 1727 mention that one Kersey was residing near the inlet -- possibly the same man who, after piloting a vessel through the inlet in 1734, was charged with smuggling goods from the vessel onto Ocracoke island.[53] Governor Burrington mentioned the availability of pilots in 1731 and in 1734 one Miles Gale applied to the legislature for the Ocracoke pilotage.[54] Regarding the absence of records or other references to pilots, it is likely that many vessels were guided through the inlet by members of their crews. Local residents may also have assisted, unofficially and perhaps illegally, in bringing vessels through.[55]

The increasing presence of commercial traffic at Ocracoke in the 1730's supports the probability of pilots being stationed at the inlet but, if so, no one knows where they resided.[56] There were at least a few people living at the inlet in the 1720's, apparently on the southern tip of Core Banks.[57] Supposedly, the pilots settled on Ocracoke Island.[58] If so, the settlement consisted of only a few houses. In the summer of 1741, Ocracoke inlet was occupied by Spanish privateers which preyed on commercial shipping, chasing one

vessel in the Pamlico River almost to Bath. According to the Pennsylvania Gazette, "they have burnt several Houses, and destroyed great numbers of Cattle." In addition, they established a tent town on Ocracoke Island. Except for the reference to the burned houses, reported by "several people who escaped," there is no reference to damage outside of that done to shipping.[59] If there had been a sizable community at Ocracoke, it seems there should have been some reference to its fate at the hands of the Spanish.

Gary Dunbar suggests there was a sizable community at Ocracoke by 1750.[60] However, this cannot be determined conclusively. The evidence was drawn from a report of Spanish mariners being harassed at Ocracoke by local residents.

The Spanish arrived about September 3 after a severe storm scattered a fleet of seven vessels bound from Havannah to Cadiz, Spain, driving one into Ocracoke Inlet.[61] The ship, a 500 ton Galleon named Nuestra Semora de Guadalupe, suffered the loss of her rudder and a mast and, thus disabled, remained at Ocracoke for some time.[62] Her cargo, consisting of "400,000 pieces of Eight, besides a great Quantity of Cochineal and Hides," inspired a group of "bankers" to attempt to plunder the vessel.[63] Governor Johnston thwarted this plan and, for diplomatic reasons, blocked an attempt by customs officials to seize the cargo although the Spanish were trading in violation of customs laws while anchored in the inlet.[64] The governor eventually summoned the warship Scorpion to aid and protect the

Spanish. The Scorpion later transported part of the Guadaloupe's cargo to Cadiz.[65]

The "bankers" who wished to plunder the Guadaloupe were never specifically described as Ocracoke residents. The account which mentions their presence at Ocracoke refers to them as "a people so called from their inhabiting near the banks of the sea shoar" and charges them with salvaging two other Spanish vessels "drove on the neighboring coast" by the same storm which damaged the Guadaloupe.[66] This could refer to a wreck at Cape Hatteras and one at Topsail Inlet.[67] Many "bankers" along this coast probably had little reservation about the propriety of seizing Spanish cargo due to Spanish raids committed during the 1740's.[68] Likely, those who threatened the Guadaloups traveled to Ocracoke after news of the ship's plight spread along the coast.

The actions of the Spanish during this incident also suggest that Ocracoke was only sparcely populated. During the vessels extended stay in the inlet, the cargo was unloaded and "housed" on Ocracoke Island under guard.[69] Any settlement there was small enough that the Spanish still felt secure in bringing the goods ashore instead of keeping them aboard the Guadaloupe.

The first conclusive evidence that pilots resided at Ocracoke is found in the navigation laws of 1766. One passage of this act mentions that pilots had petitioned for land on Ocracoke upon which to build homes and haul their boats, as

land "formerly assigned" for that purpose had been washed away.[70] The legislature agreed to appoint commissioners to lay off twenty acres for their use, and to evaluate the property and pay the present owners. Title to the property was held by the commissioners and lots were provided for licensed pilots so long as they were employed as pilots.[71]

Several adjustments were made in pilotage regulations between 1752 and 1770. It seems that pilots were occasionally negligent in executing their duties, so, to encourage better performance, a 1755 act fined any pilot £ 10 who did not attempt to attend any vessel requesting aid. The bill awarded the pilotage fee to the first pilot arriving at the vessel and, as further encouragement, allowed the pilot one-half the required fee even if the vessel's captain did not signal for assistance.[72] Additionally, the 1766 navigation law adjusted pilotage fees; lowering rates for shallower draft vessels going to Edenton while raising slightly those for New Bern bound vessels.[73]

However, these measures apparently did not have the desired effect and additional legislation was passed in 1770. By this time it had been determined that pilot's pay was "inadequate" and that their "negligence" was causing many vessels to be "detained" beyond the bar. Pilots were therefore granted four shillings per foot for vessels drawing under nine feet of water and five shillings for those drawing nine feet and over. Pilots whose services were refused were still paid

the full fee. Furthermore, if a pilot was detained aboard the vessel he received an additional two shillings six pence per day. Pilots who neglected to attend a vessel's signal paid a penalty of £ 20.[74]

The size of the pilot community throughout most of the Royal Period remains a mystery. Most likely, their numbers fluctuated with the volume of vessel traffic. Some indication of the size of the pilot community near the end of the Royal Period may be gleaned from a petition submitted to the legislature in 1773.[75] The petition complained of the presence of "a considerable number" of slaves and free men acting as pilots in violation of law. This was causing "Great Confusion and Irregularity" due to the "Insolent and Turbulent disposition and behavior" of these competitors. The petition requested that no future license be granted to free negroes or slaves and was signed by eight pilots who had "settled at Oacock Bar."[76]

Other navigational issues addressed after 1752 included tonnage fees and the powder duty. Tonnage fees continued to be used to defray the cost of navigational improvement. The fees charged under the 1752 act were continued until 1762 when the tax was reduced. The new rates required master's of vessels under fifty tons to pay six shillings; fifty to 100 ton vessels were charged twelve shillings and vessels over 100 tons were taxed twenty shillings. These significantly lower rates reflected the discontinued use of some channels. However, vessels

passing through Ocracoke for Ports Beaufort and Bath paid an additional six shillings for the cost of staking those channels.[77] Still, these rates were found to be too low and were revised upward in 1766.[78] The powder duty was reinstated in 1754 but was not an effective means of funding navigational aids as it had been in earlier years.[79] This was probably due to a renewed emphasis by the Crown on insuring the colony's security against attack, requiring the powder duty to be paid in kind.[80] This was amended in 1759. Funds were needed at this time to "mend the channel" and pay other navigational expenses for Ports Bath and Beaufort as the tonnage duty had failed to provide sufficient revenue. The powder and lead accumulated by Port Bath's duty was ordered sold to provide for its expenses. Vessels entering Port Bath and the Neuse river were ordered to pay the duty in proclamation money, instead of ammunition, at a rate of two shillings per ton. This amendment was to remain in effect four years.[81]

Although the powder duty was designed for the colony's defense, funds were occasionally used for another type of internal improvement, channel deepening. Governor Dobbs expressed enthusiasm about the benefits of channel improvement as early as 1755. After a visit to Ocracoke inlet he wrote to the Board of Trade outlining his proposed method for deepening the channel leading across the sound to New Bern and the potential benefits:

> .... for a moderate Expense that passage might be made 2 or 3 feet deeper than the swash, which all Vessels going up the three rivers must pass, which has only 8 or 8 1/2 feet water, when this Channel has 12 feet everywhere but in 3 narrow reefs, 2 of which are 9 feet deep and only forty yards over, and the other gradually shoals to 5 1/2 feet deep, and in 300 yards again deepens to 12 feet, which by piling that length about 150 feet wide for 300 yards and gradually widening it at each end, to increase the current of the tide betwixt the double row of piles, and breaking up the shallow surface of the hard sand with large Iron Harrows, and scooping up Part of it into Lighters, and carrying it away to a distant shoal, the current of the tide would increase thro' it and force the loosened sand away to the depth of the Channel which would improve the Navigation greatly by the addition of 3 feet water, by which means ships drawing near 12 feet water, could proceed with safety up to New Bern, Bath Town, and Edenton, without unloading or loading by lighters as all Vessels drawing above 8 1/2 feet water must now do at great expense and delay.[82]

Although it appears nothing ever came of this proposal, Dobbs' enthusiasm was shared by others. In 1758 the Commissioners of Navigation for Port Roanoke complained of the deteriorating conditions of the channels leading from Ocracoke and, after deciding "it was not practicable to amend the same" employed a "person of skill" to purchase "Utensils" and direct workers to improve the channel from Port Roanoke to Roanoke Bar. However, a shortage of funds led them to petition the assembly to appropriate the powder and lead duty to defray the expense as the tonnage duty was insufficient to meet the cost of dredging the channel.[83]

At best, channel improvement was only one part of a multi-facited effort to improve commercial activity through the Carolina sounds. A larger, more permanent scheme was

envisioned in the creation of a "maritime town" to provide facilities for those vessels forced to lighter their cargoes among Ocracoke's shoals.[84]

Portsmouth was created for this purpose by an act of Assembly in 1753. The town was located on the north end of Core Banks, which was the southern shore of Ocracoke inlet. Vessels stopped by the swash used the natural harbor near this shore as an anchorage while awaiting lighters.[85] The assembly believed that this was a proper site for the erection of "warehouses and other conveniences" to facilitate the storage and transfer of cargoes brought into the inlet, thereby lessening the time vessels were forced to wait in the inlet exposed to the danger of storms.[86]

In providing for the town's development, five commissioners were appointed to survey fifty acres "most convenient to the said harbor .... into lots of half an acre each, with convenient streets...." The lots were granted to settlers in fee-simple, upon payment of twenty shillings, proclamation money. Lot purchasers were required to build, within eighteen months, a house or warehouse at least sixteen by twenty feet or the property would revert to the commissioners.[87]

There seems to be some confusion concerning the success of Portsmouth's development during its early years. As late as 1795 a contemporary description noted that the town "does not appear to have ever been settled."[88] This was also the view

held by Christopher Crittenden, former director of North Carolina's Department of Archives and History. Crittenden once stated that Portsmouth as a town "never existed except on paper."[89] Most likely, the town did not achieve the rapidity of growth envisioned by its founders but it seems to have attracted some development as early as 1754. The Pennsylvania Gazette reported that a violent storm struck Ocracoke in late October of that year "which has done much Damage; the Town of Portsmouth at Ocricoke Bar was over flowed so that they went round it in Boats, most of the Store Houses received a Deal of Damage;...."[90] Furthermore, during the late 1750's Governor Dobbs referred to Portsmouth in some of his correspondence.[91] There is also evidence of a tavern's presence and of the sale of at least one deed before 1760.[92]

Portsmouth was established for the convenience of merchant captains needing storage for goods. In 1758, the legislature granted an added convenience by making Portsmouth a port of inspection for pork, beef, rice, flour, butter, indigo, tar, pitch, turpentine, staves, heading, shingles, lumber and deerskins. In 1764 the number of articles were expanded to include hemp, flax, flaxseed, and tanned leather.[93] Additionally, Governor Dobbs also suggested to British authorities that naval officers be stationed at Portsmouth to aid in discovering illegal imports.[94]

Directly related to internal improvements was the legislature's interest in establishing protection for the increasing commercial activity. This is shown through efforts to solicit Royal Navy warships during times of crisis and by increasing support for fortifications at key points along the coast, including Ocracoke. Such protective efforts were spurred by depredations committed by Spanish privateers throughout the 1740's.[95]

War between Spain and England, sometimes called the "War of Jenkin's Ear," erupted in 1739 and prompted numbers of Spanish privateers to leave Havannah and St. Augustine during the next nine years to raid British-Colonial commerce. The lure of North Carolina's shipping brought the Spanish to Ocracoke in the spring of 1741. After a successful cruise off the Virginia coast in April, at least two had moved into Carolina waters by May, capturing several vessels including two from Edenton.[96] By early July the Spaniards had found Ocracoke to be an ideal base to operations: they careened their vessels, established a tent town on Ocracoke Island and supplied themselves with fresh meet from the livestock which roamed the banks.[97] From this base they soon captured an additional two ships, three sloops and one schooner. Vessels at sea were not the only victims. One sloop was captured "about Ten Leagues up the sound within the bar of Ocacock" by the privateer's long boat during a calm.[98] Two of the captured sloops were taken into Teache's Hole while the two larger ships were kept at

anchor outside the bar. One of the Spanish privateers, probably the largest vessel, was described as a "high Stern Black Sloop, with about One Hundred Men on board, and a very heavy Sailor."[99]

Although two private vessels were being fitted out at Cape Fear to deal with the Spanish, they had fled before the month of July was far advanced.[100] One Captain Peacock, whose vessel was enroute to Wilmington and low on provisions, approached three vessels lying at anchor just outside Ocracoke bar. To his surprise the vessels weighed anchor and, fleeing, bore away to windward. He then saw that one vessel was the black privateer sloop and the accompanying vessels were a ship and a schooner which he assumed to be prizes. Peacock observed that the tents on Ocracoke were burned prior to the Spaniard's departure.[101]

Although this ended the use of Ocracoke as a privateer's base, the Carolina coast continued to receive their visits. On January 9, 1742 the South Carolina Gazette reported that a Spanish privateer had "lately" been on North Carolina's coast doing a great deal of "mischief" and had "taken two vessels off Okerecock...."[102] In order to stem the Spanish successes, the Royal Navy stationed the Swift, a armed Snow, at Cape Fear.[103] During the following June, the Swift engaged a Spanish brigantine off Ocracoke after a day's chase. The Spaniard escaped under the cower of darkness after shooting away the Swift's main and fore stays.[104] The Swift returned to

Wilmington for repairs and then continued to patrol the coast in search of privateers.[105] Whether the increased protection had any effect on clearing the coast of privateers is unknown but no other incidents were reported at Ocracoke until 1748.

The Privateers once again harassed the commerce off Ocracoke during the spring of that year. The Spanish brigantine, St. Michael, had captured eleven prizes within nine weeks after leaving Cape Francois; five of which had been cut out of Ocracoke inlet.[106] Another report mentioned that three vessels were captured at Ocracoke sometime prior to May 13, although these vessels could have been the St. Michael's victims.[107]

One factor which contributed to the success enjoyed by the Spanish was their ability, during the war's final years, to use Cape Lookout as a base of operations. Possibly the Spanish ignored Ocracoke in favor of Cape Lookout after discovering the capes many natural advantages. Cape Lookout formed a natural harbor wherein the privateers could ride securely at anchor between cruises. The Cape's conveniences were described in the Pennsylvania Gazette:

> It is as good and safe a Harbour as any in the World, secure from all Winds, and out of which you may get to Sea, even with the Wind that blows right upon the Land, in a Quarter of an Hour. The Privateers go there to wood, water and kill beef; so that a Man-of-War might be almost sure of taking a Privateer or two, besides a good Number of Prizes, any Time between this and the last of October.[108]

In addition, it was located but a few hours from Ocracoke or from Cape Fear and "almost within sight of Topsail Inlet...."[109] Ocracoke was particularly vulnerable because the low sandy islands failed to conceal the masts of ships anchored in the inlet, enabling the Spanish to sight their quarry from the sea.[110] Also, vessels approaching Ocracoke frequently sailed close enough to Cape Lookout to be spotted by any privateers lurking there.[111] Although the Pennsylvania Gazette made the previous reference to sending warships to the Cape, no evidence of such an expedition has been found. The paper attributed the apparent lack of effort to a fear of the Hatteras shoals.[112]

The hospitality afforded enemy vessels by the unprotected inlets and ports during this war was quite obvious. Shortly after hostilities ended in 1749 the General Assembly began to remedy this problem through the creation of coastal fortifications. They were to be built at Cape Fear, Topsail Inlet, Bear Inlet, and Ocracoke. Apparently the forts at Bear and Topsail Inlets were never completed although funds were allotted to begin construction.[113] At least no mention of any guns being placed there can be found. It has also been suggested that Ocracoke's Fort Granville was only partially completed.[114] However records indicate that the fort was serviceable and received at least part of its ordinance.

Initial efforts to fortify Ocracoke began with the legislation creating Portsmouth in 1753.[115] The last two

articles of this act appropriated £ 2000 for the construction of Port Granville and appointed seven commissioners to oversee the fort's completion.[116] In March, 1754, Matthew Rowan, president of the Governor's Council, wrote the Board of Trade that an additional £ 2000 was to be appropriated "to build and finish the fort at Ocacock Inlet...."[117]

Although funds had been appropriated to begin the fort, its construction was delayed. Governor Arthur Dobbs, whose arrival in 1754 coincided with the beginning of the Seven Years War, found a financially and militarily weak colony; one totally unprepared for defense. Dobbs warned the Board of Trade soon after his arrival that he required money appropriated for Ocracoke's fort to pay troops being raised for the war effort.[118] The colonial assembly supported his wishes and early in 1755, £ 2000 previously appropriated for Fort Granville were withdrawn to supply troops on the Carolina frontier and in Virginia.[119] Dobbs planned to repay the £ 2000 within three years by imposing a poll tax.[120]

Although this was a temporary setback for Fort Granville, Dobbs proved to be a strong supporter of the fort's construction and worked energetically to attend the colony's other military problems. He wrote the Board of Trade in January, 1755, pointing out the necessity of fortifying Cape Lookout to prevent its use by enemy privateers. He also described the colony's poor financial condition and requested the crown help defray expenses by allowing the colony to

garrison its forts with 100 men previously mustered for the British army.[121] The governor spent over four months during the first half of 1755 touring the colony in an effort to assess needs and oversee defensive preparations.[122]

In May, 1755 Dobbs met with the fort's commissioners at Portsmouth in order to decide the military installation's location.[123] Their decision was complicated by the severe erosion and alteration of the inlet's topography by recent storms.[124] They finally agreed that the fort was to consist of "a fascine Battery secured by Piles with 2 faces one to Secure the passage in coming down a Narrow Channel to this Harbor and the other to play Cross the Channel where it is not above 300 yards wide...."[125] A barracks was to be constructed behind the battery to protect against a rear assault and house the garrison. Dobbs planned that eight 18 pounders should be placed facing the channel leading from the bar. Twelve 12 pounders were to be emplaced on the side facing the harbor.[126] The governor believed that a garrison of forty men assisted by crews from anchored ships and local inhabitants would be adequate to man the defenses.[127] In mid-May Dobbs gave word for construction to begin.[128] As the war progressed, Dobbs intensified his efforts to meet the problems of defense. By August, 1755, the colony was in dire need of ordinances and military supplies of all kinds, including guns for the forts.[129] The powder duty had not yet provided sufficient

ammunition for defense and Dobbs wanted the crown to supply twenty barrels to meet immediate needs.[130]

Meanwhile, the work on finishing Fort Granville proceeded. On July 10, 1756, the governor wrote: "I went down about a Fortnight ago to see how far they had progressed, and I find the whole almost piled and filled, and the house ready to be framed, and as I propose it to be a fascine Battery, it will soon be ready."[131] Apparently the fortifications were completed by October, 1756 as Dobbs mentioned that troops were needed "to garrison our Forts and Batteries which are now in a state of defense...."[132] Yet after this, efforts to complete the work seemed to slow. As late as December, 1757 the Assembly passed a bill to "enable the Commissioners of Fort Johnston and Fort Granville to finish the said Fort and to erect Barracks for accommodating the troops in the same."[133]

While the work on the fort's structure was proceeding, the Crown was preparing to send part of the required ordinance. In July, 1756, Crown officials directed that munitions be sent to North Carolina. However, the ordinance did not arrive until sometime just prior to November, 1757.[135] The guns were sent to Fort Johnston, but the assembly expressed hope that "a part of which.... be applyed to the use of Fort Granville it being a place of the Greatest importance to the Trade of this Colony."[136]

Some military presence had been maintained at the inlet at least since October, 1755 for at that time a commander at Fort

Granville was granted by the legislature five shillings instead of two shillings eight pence "for his trouble in swearing the Masters of Vessels coming into Ocacock and giving certificate."[137] But the colonial government was still attempting a year later to persuade the Crown to provide troops to garrison the fort as well as the colony's other defenses.[138] Although the Crown did not send troops, there was a company of militia at Fort Granville by November, 1758.[139] The following month the legislature entered debate on the proper size of the garrison. The lower house opted for a company of twenty five men while the Governor's Council supported a larger garrison. The lower house finally agreed that the company would consist of a Captain, one Lieutenant, one Ensign, one Sergeant, one Corporal and forty seven privates.[140] The garrison was to be kept at this size for one year.[141]

This decision may have caused some political friction for shortly afterward the lower chamber reported allegations that both Forts Granville and Johnson were in "such ruinous condition that they are not defensible against the most inconsiderable Force of an Enemy."[142] The legislature attributed this situation to "Inattention of those who have been Intrusted to build those Fortresses, and the misapplication of the Money granted for that purpose...."[143] A committee was appointed to investigate and report on the conditions of the forts.[144] In December, 1759, the committee recommended dismissing these allegations as unfounded. Fort

Granville was reported as being "in a good situation to protect the trade." The committee further recommended the fort's completion and a continuation of its garrison.[145]

The actual strength of the fort probably never reached Governor Dobbs' design. In 1761 Dobbs wrote the Board of Trade that Fort Granville never received any cannon except "old ship Guns carried from Fort Johnston...."[146] This possibly was a reference to two six pounders brought there in 1758 by a Captain John Campbell.[147] However, apparently after Dobbs sent his report the fort received additional ordinance as one George Bell was later paid "for the Freight and Expence in bringing Eleven Guns from Fort Granville."[148]

As the war approached its end the garrisons in the forts were reduced.[149] In April, 1762 the legislature agreed to station twenty five men at both Forts Granville and Johnston for six months.[150] Later on, the garrisons were further reduced to five men and one officer for Fort Granville and one officer, ten men at Fort Johnston. Dobbs objected to this but the house replied that this presence was "a means to preserve the said Forts than to repel any Hostile attempts...." as the war was drawing to a close.[151]

Dobbs continued to press crown authorities for militia to garrison the forts even after the war's end. Dobbs had long argued that stationing custom's officers at Ocracoke would benefit revenue collection and suppress illegal trade. He hoped the crown would eventually agree to this and therefore,

maintaining a garrison at Ocracoke would help the officers enforce customs regulations. Dobbs apparently also perceived dissatisfaction among some subjects toward the colonial authorities. In his letter to the Board he added warnings of a "rising spirit of Republican Independency" in the colony and again requested two companies in January, 1764.[152]

Fort Granville was abandoned either in late 1764 or 1765. Dobbs requested in February that the assembly should "secure Fort Granville, until such time as his Majesty shall give Orders, how those Forts shall be Garrisoned by the regular Forces;...."[153] In March the assembly agreed that four men and one commissioned officer be stationed there and ten men and one officer at Fort Johnston.[154] In November another resolution reduced Fort Johnston's garrison to five men and one officer while requesting that the garrison at Fort Granville be discontinued "and the Commissioners.... Rent the House belonging to the Fort and apply the Money arising therefrom towards taking care of the Gunns etc, belonging to the said Fort,...."[155] The Council only concurred with the resolution "as far as relates to the appointment for Fort Johnston."[156] No further mention was made of Fort Granville by the assembly and its date of abandonment is uncertain. But Governor Tryon wrote to the Board of Trade in April, 1766 that "Fort Granville was never finished and what was done to it is now in ruins."[157]

Governor Tryon may have overstated the case in regard of Fort Granville's completion. The records indicate that the

batteries were constructed, some guns emplaced, and troops stationed at the site. Possibly, his observations reflect some inadequacy concerning the fort's armament as it apparently never received all the guns desired by Governor Dobbs.

In one respect Fort Granville's abandonment reflects the attitude with which the problem of Ocracoke's navigation was addressed. In the larger scheme of internal improvement it was a short term answer to the problem of coastal defense. Other problems of navigation, caused by the shoally sounds and shifting channels, were also approached with a short term perspective. Funds needed for channel improvement were always in short supply, being raised by taxes on vessels or through a powder duty. The cost of navigation improvement was an added burden on North Carolina's strained maritime economy.

The decade following Fort Granville's abandonment reflected the typical growth of a peacetime frontier economy. The naval store industry and agricultural exports expanded, and the seaports bustled with activity. Storms continued to take their toll of lives and commerce while seamen continued to pick their path among the maze of channels and bars of the inlet. But the approach of the American Revolution would change the perspective with which merchants viewed the North Carolina coast. The very problems created by the conditions at Ocracoke would serve in the colony's favor in the coming decade.

CHAPTER V

REVOLUTIONARY OCRACOKE

The Revolutionary War generally had a disruptive effect on commercial activity along the Atlantic seaboard, but yet throughout much of the conflict, the North Carolina ports served by Ocracoke bustled with activity. When commerce did begin to decline, it was in large part due to other factors rather than the logistical problems of navigating the inlet and sounds.

As 1775 waned maritime activity at Ocracoke and along the coast reflected the move toward war. Vessels were armed, munitions were imported, and trading activity in general increased. Since smaller craft could trade profitably as cargoes fetched increasingly higher prices, Roanoke, Currituck, and other shallow inlets admitted larger numbers of vessels.[1] Still throughout the war, Ocracoke remained the primary inlet for maritime activity.

A combination of factors contributed to Ocracoke's success. Geography may be considered a primary cause. Ocracoke was located far from British supply bases, making it difficult for British vessels to remain on station there. Additionally, the shoals within the inlet kept out the larger vessels of war while allowing smaller smuggling craft a relatively safe haven. The dreaded Diamond Shoals offshore made the blockade a dangerous assignment even for those British

captains familiar with the Carolina coastline. Conversely, rebel sea captains found Ocracoke to be advantagously located to the West Indies, only a few days distant with favorable winds.

British policy also helped insure Ocracoke's contribution to wartime commerce. The outer banks were virtually ignored in official British blockade plans during the war's first years. Reflecting the British attitude toward southern inlets, one British captain remarked that their influence "is not of so much consequence as one at first would imagine."[2] Although the trade conducted through Ocracoke was soon noticed, British Vice-Admiral Lord Richard Howe was unable to adjust his blockade to include Ocracoke until April, 1778.[3] The few British warships which did appear prior to this were vessels assigned to cruise along wide expanses of coastline, not specifically a particular inlet such as Ocracoke.

A third factor was the periodic occupation or blockade of the other major southern ports. British warships in the Cape Fear continually threatened Wilmington until late September, 1776. Although the port remained open until British occupation in January, 1781, it was not considered a safe port. British warships, which frequently patrolled this part of the coast, became increasingly effective after the fall of Savannah in December, 1778 and Charleston in May, 1789.[4]

These factors made Ocracoke an important avenue of supply for both the domestic market and the military as the British

naval blockade disrupted trade with northern ports and later, as campaigning armies ravaged the state. The inlet's presence encouraged the development of a bartering economy, allowing commerce to continue after the collapse of state and continental currency. Ocracoke was an important source of supply for Washington's army at Valley Forge during the winter of 1776-1777. Interestingly, the starving ill-clad soldiers of Nathaniel Greene's Southern Army received little military aid through Ocracoke in spite of the proximity of North Carolina ports to the southern military theatre.

Wartime conditions stimulated trade and led to a greater diffusion of trading points between Ocracoke and the interior. The major ports of Edenton and New Bern experienced a boom in activity, becoming exchange centers for commerce and storage and distribution centers for military goods. Continental agents came here to bargain for useful supplies brought by letters-of-marque and privateers and to conduct other business.[5] Here, as well as in the relatively minor ports of Bath and Washington, captured vessels were tried by Courts of Admiralty. Wartime activities gave some river landings the appearance of ports. Brigs sailed as far inland as Murfree's Landing on the Meherrin River or South Quay on the Blackwater River just above the Virginia line.[6]

The changing nature of Ocracoke's trade reflected the war's influence. Naval stores, provisions, tobacco and lumber products had been important pre-Revolutionary exports, but the

loss of British markets and blockade of northern ports disrupted old trading patterns and changed their relative importance. Although naval stores were "in great want of" in northern ports, only occasional references to their export are noted. Small quantities were also exported to such overseas ports as France, Spain and the non-British West Indies.[7]

The export of provisions was curtailed with the denial of British West Indies ports. In order to meet local wartime needs, government proclamation strictly regulated this commodity. These were, at times, eased in accordance to need. When two Bermuda sloops arrived in New Bern in February, 1778, Governor Caswell allowed them to leave with cargoes of pork and corn in exchange for their freight of salt.[8] The general ban on the export of corn and peas was lifted in July, 1781 but even before this an occasional cargo found its way to St. Martins, St. Eustatia or other non-British West India ports, along with some American continental ports and Madiera.[9]

Lumber exports became less important as the war progressed. Cargoes of lumber, shingles, staves and headings, shipped prior to and during the early war years later consisted mostly of the latter two products. One cargo, destined for the West Indies in July, 1776, consisted of 24,400 white oak staves, 52,000 red oak staves, 2500 white oak hogshead heading, and 50,000 shingles.[10] In 1776 and 1777, lumber, staves, and heading helped freight vessels en-route to Cadiz, Lisbon, Cape Nicholas Mole, St. Martins, and St. Eustatia.[11]

Tobacco became the most valuable wartime export, replacing the commodities which had previously dominated trade. Light in weight in proportion to value, its use increased rapidly after 1776.[12] Both continental and state governments used tobacco as a medium of exchange. Tobacco financed return cargoes for continental and state vessels, purchased cannon from abroad, and funded operating expenses for state armed vessels such as the Pennsylvania Farmer and the King Taminy.[13] Currency became nearly worthless as the war neared its end and tobacco became the only commodity with which the state could purchase arms.[14]

Ocracoke's exports were exchanged generally for mixed cargoes of consumer and military goods carried in vessels owned or chartered by the Continental Navy Board, the State, or private individuals. Several distinct patterns characterizing the import trade developed as the war progressed. Cargoes shipped during 1775-1776 frequently were composed of munitions, especially gunpowder from the West Indies. Salt, continually in demand, was frequently shipped from Bermuda until Congress, in response to Bermudian privateering, passed a resolution in 1781 condemning all trade with that colony.[15] Arms, munitions, clothing and other supplies from France arrived in quantity until 1779, when northern ports became more accessible to French vessels. St. Eustatius, a Dutch West Indies port, was a major arms supplier until closed by the British in 1781. Afterwards, other nearby ports, particularly Martinique, dispatched important shipments of arms to Ocracoke. These

general trends indicate that 1777-1778 were the peak years of Ocracoke's commerce. A more detailed description of the state's import trade show Ocracoke's importance to the state's wartime economy.

Ocracoke was an important avenue for the importation of gunpowder and arms during the war's early months. One British officer remarked that a great deal of "smuggling" had been conducted through the inlet at least since May, 1775.[16] Large amounts of ammunition were being imported by early 1776. In October, 1775 Virginia imported through Ocracoke 4,150 pounds of gunpowder from the West Indies.[17] In December of that year a vessel from St. Eustatius brought in 400 barrels, followed by another large shipment in January, 1776. A report in March, 1776 credits "five Tons more Powder imported into North Carolina...." One source estimates that 12,485 pounds had been imported into the state by the fall, 1777. This is probably a conservative estimate. Not all the gunpowder shipped into Ocracoke remained in North Carolina; some was destined for other states.[18]

Sizable quantities of salt, an extremely important commodity, were imported through Ocracoke throughout the war. Bermuda, although a British colony, was an important source. As early as October, 1776, the Continental Marine Committee requested Bermuda merchants to dispatch six salt-laden vessels to America with instructions for one to unload in Edenton. Bermuda's dependence on the American colonies for food imports

insured a continuation of this trade. Three Bermuda vessels arrived in February, 1778, followed by several the next month with salt to exchange for provisions.[19] When Congress passed a resolution in March, 1781 to cease trade with Bermuda, concerns were expressed that too little salt would be supplied to meet needs.[20]

Salt also was commonly carried in the mixed cargoes of dry goods, clothing and other munitions brought through Ocracoke in French vessels. France was the source of gunpowder dispatched to America from such West Indies ports as St. Eustatius, Cape Nicholas Mole, Martinique and Guadaloupe during the war's first two and one-half years. Direct trade between Ocracoke and France declined after 1778 because ports previously blockaded by the British became more accessible. The large French vessels could more safely navigate in these waters. Additionally, prior to 1780, French captains had no legal recourse under North Carolina law to recover deserted sailors. This was an added incentive for French captains to seek other ports.[21]

Frequently, vessels returning to Ocracoke carried valuable cargoes of rum, molasses, sugar and coffee from the West Indies.[22] These items were in high demand throughout the war. Rum, considered a necessary item by the military, was issued both to naval crews and continental soldiers.[23] It became particularly valuable as an exchange commodity near the war's end. In the summer of 1781, Edenton merchants described it as

indispensible to their trading ventures, as it was the "principle Article to purchase Tobacco of the Country." A 1781 inventory of supplies hoarded by Edenton merchants shows sugar, followed by coffee, to be the most common articles in storage.[24]

By 1777 these commodities were also being carried into Ocracoke from northern ports. Occasionally, New England ports had little to export except masts and spars. Vessels were then dispatched southward in ballast or with rum and sugar to purchase naval stores and agricultural produce for nothern consumption or the Indies trade.[25] Charleston was frequently the middle terminus of this three-way route, although Ocracoke did receive a share of the commerce.

The stream of vessels entering Ocracoke during 1777 and 1778 brought supplies crucial to the country's war effort. The British Fleet's blockade of the middle Atlantic coast forced Continental officials to look for alternate supply routes for Washington's army. In early December, 1777 Clothier General James Meese expressed appreciation for the supplies being shipped through North Carolina:

> We have just received very agreeable reports of very considerable supplies, being arrived in both the Carolina's comforting ourselves with the idea of relief from there. Indeed our ports in the middle states are so narrowly guarded and are so few in number that almost all our supplies must now come from the northern and southern states.[27]

This marked the establishment of a supply route through Ocracoke which possibly saved the Continental Army. In the winter months which followed, a large quantity of supplies were channeled to Washington's army at Valley Forge.[28] The volume of this commerce was so significant that Ocracoke has been referred to as "The most important inlet at the time of the Revolution" and "one of the most important channels through which were brought supplies for Washington's army."[29] Most shipments traveled from Ocracoke through the sounds, the Chowan and Blackwater Rivers, to the river port of the South Quay, Virginia. The importance of that port was illustrated by the presence of wharves and warehouses to handle the large flow of goods as well as shipbuilding facilities.[30] Supplies were then sent overland to Suffolk, across the James, York and Potomac rivers to Bladenburg, Maryland and up the Chesapeake Bay to Head of Elk. Wagons completed the journey into Pennsylvania.[31]

The British were well aware of Ocracoke's service to the Patriot cause. In December, 1775 Lieutenant Henry Mowat informed Vice Admiral Samuel Graves that he knew of "a vast number of Vessels belonging to New England now trading from different places particularly from the Dutch, and French West India Islands to a port in North Carolina, situated Nine or Ten Leagues to the Westward of Cape Hatteras, by name of Beacon Island, which lies a little way in the inside of Ocricock Bar;..." Mowat added "... there is no port on the continent so famous for smuggling;..."[32]

A similiar observation was reported by Samuel Cornell, a former member of the Governor's Council and ardent loyalist who returned to New Bern in December, 1777 to settle his private affairs. The port's shipping activities which he observed were passed on to Governor Martin who in turn informed Lord George Germain:

> The Contemptible Port of Ocracoke according to Mr. Cornell's information has become a great channel of supply to the Rebels while the more considerable Ports on the Continent have been watched by the King's Ships. They have received.... very considerable importations of the necessaries they most wanted for the purpose of carrying on their Warfare...."[33]

This document suggests that by December 1777 a large trade was being conducted through Ocracoke. In February, Governor Caswell wrote that the "distress of the soldiery for want of clothing is truly alarming...." and so he had purchased "4000 yards of wollen cloth, 300 blankets, 1500 yards of Ozenbrigs, some shoes and stockings" provisions, and other articles, part of which were shipped by South Quay. Some goods were also routed to Edenton where, by March, wagon trains were conveying the goods northward. Supplies of clothing continued to arrive in Edenton until May, 1778.[34]

The route established northward to South Quay and beyond also carried southward the trade of southern Virginia, adding to Ocracoke's importance. South Quay continued as an important military supply link as the war progressed. However, Ocracoke declined in its relative importance to Washington's army. By

the summer of 1778, French vessels were able to enter other Continental ports with important cargoes, relieving Washington's supply shortages.[35]

The condition of the southern army was another matter. Acute shortages of almost everything characterized the history of the southern army after the fall of Charleston in February, 1780. This defeat, followed in August, by the American army's rout at Camden, S.C., meant the loss of two armies, along with their equipment, wagons and baggage -- losses which could only be replaced with great difficulty.[36] Although much of the fighting between Lord Cornwallis' British troops and General Nathaniel Green's forces occurred in North Carolina, Ocracoke contributed less than might be imagined to the military effort.

Ocracoke's failure as a military supply source stems from several inter-related problems. These include a failure of state and continental currency, insufficient transportation, private competition for imported goods, and most importantly, a general decline in maritime commercial activity.[37]

The commercial decline was due to several factors. As previously mentioned, French traffic had been rerouted or suppressed because of desertion. One French official described the scarcity of vessels in 1780: "There was a time when they crowded into its [N.C.] harbors as much as circumstances would admit of it. Now there is scarce one, and (I say it with regret) there is very little pro-offered."[38] When St. Eustatius fell to the British in February, 1781, vast

quantities of supplies and a large number of ships were captured. No doubt this had a disruptive effect on Ocracoke's trade.[39]

Meanwhile, British privateers were disrupting commerce in the West Indies. When most of those privateers were driven off by Dutch vessels in the summer of 1781, Governor Burke was informed that "we may hope that the commercial gentlemen may be enabled to grant some necessary supplies to the inhabitants of this state."[40] Shortly thereafter a few vessels with military supplies did pass through Ocracoke.

An additional problem involved the issue of impressment. In June, 1781, the deteriorating military situation led Governor Nash to order the seizure of a quantity of supplies in storage at Murfree's Landing on the Meherrin River. Officers confiscated 2000 gallons of rum, 9000 "wt" of sugar, some coffee, almost 700 yards of canvas and a small quantity of ammunition. In September the government impressed about 245,000 pounds of tobacco from Pitch Landing, also on the Meherrin.[41]

The effect was disasterous. Merchants, fearful that their goods would be confiscated, ceased all trade near Port Roanoke. It was reported to Governor Burke that "The impressement at Pitch Landing and the destroying the tobacco at South Quay hath in their effect ruined the trade of this place for the present." Referring to the merchants the report continued ".... some were hurt, some disgusted and all confoundedly

frightened, so that ... they have ordered all the vessels to return to other ports. This prevents their being anxious about procuring Tobacco, knowing it may at any time be Impressed."[42] There was only one vessel fitting out for sea in Edenton harbor that August. Trade was later re-established when Governor Burke repudiated the impressment and returned some of the confiscated supplies.[43]

Although commercial activity is difficult to measure, it seems vessel traffic was, at best, irregular after mid- 1780. Several trading vessels and prizes passed through Ocracoke during that late summer and early fall. Another prize arrived in January, 1781 but afterwards trade seems to have slowed -- at least no military goods were arriving. The supply crisis was eased somewhat with the September arrival at Edenton of a brig from St. Croix. In October, a schooner arrived from Martinique with muskets and gunpowder, followed in December by the Industry and her cargo of military goods.[44]

In 1782, Ocracoke played a more significant role in supplying the army as shipments of military goods increased. A request in February by General Greene for spirits, coffee and sugar prompted Governor Nash to reply "we abound in all the articles you want except Rum which is scarce for the present...."[45] By now, shipments of pork and other supplies were also being dispatched through Ocracoke to Georgetown, South Carolina for the Continental Army.[46]

Still, during the critical months of late 1780 and 1781, the overall impact of the aid from such occasional arrivals was limited. The cargoes from the infrequent vessels were of little help to the troops due to purchasing and transportation problems. Worthless currency and a scarcity of wagons deprived the army of desperately needed supplies although port warehouses occasionally were well stocked. One example is illustrated in Governor Nash's response from New Bern to a request from General Horatio Gates in July, 1780:

> .... the resources of this Country are abundantly sufficient for the supply of the Army and the spirit of the People free to yield them on proper terms. P.S. We have a considerable quantity of Spirits, Coffee and other articles wanted and only wait til Waggons can be had to transport them.[47]

Most often, however, warehouses were not full and the irregularity of Ocracoke's commerce added to the confusion of procuring supplies.

Events surrounding the sale and distribution of supplies taken from two prizes at New Bern illustrate the problems of transporting supplies to the front as well as the general scarcity of goods in the fall of 1780. While cruising off Charleston, the privateer General Nash captured two valuable prizes, one of which carried a large quantity of various military supplies. These were desperately needed by General Greene's troops and although one source suggests their timely

supplies.[51] Possibly, this was due to the hurried attempt to dispatch supplies; more likely, there simply were not enough goods to meet demand. It seems the irregular arrival of vessels, shortage of wagons, and time lost in negotiating for goods hindered attempts at organizing an efficient system of supply.

These illustrations testify to the haphazard nature of North Carolina's coastal trade as a supply source. The supply system structured by General Greene and his staff provide final proof of this. The military command knew that "nearly all" the supplies needed by the southern army in its campaign against Cornwallis must arrive from the north. Wagons from Pennsylvania brought guns and other supplies while clothing came from Maryland and Virginia as Greene found the Southern states "unable to provide more than a trifling amount of the necessary materials, particularly clothing." These goods were transported through Virignia to supply depots at Hillsboro, Halifax, Tarboro, and Edenton. Water transport was utilized when feasible from South Quay and Edenton to Halifax on the Roanoke river. Plainly, Ocracoke's commerce was not relied on as an important means of supply.[52]

Although Ocracoke's commerce declined in military importance, the inlet's presence significantly aided the state economically. Ocracoke was the most important outlet for the produce of North Carolina's many small farms and throughout the war vessels brought goods for the consumer market. Coastal

merchants frequently engaged in both wholesale and retail trade and incoming cargoes often reflected their need for a wide variety of goods. Advertisements and cargo listings in the North Carolina Gazette illustrate this diversity and show that at least occasionally the consumer market was well stocked.[53]

Numerous prize vessels were sent through Ocracoke by privateers. Their cargoes, sold at auction, gave consumers an opportunity to negotiate the value of commodities. Prices were determined by the availability of goods. If large quantities of some item were available, prices would drop. Additionally, consumers benefitted because the government could not necessarily monopolize the purchase of goods. In July, 1781 a quantity of gunpowder and lead arrived in New Bern but before state officials could arrange a purchase, it had been sold, "mostly in small quantities and carried off."[54]

Ocracoke's commerce also helped the economy in other ways. Goods deposited in ports which Ocracoke served could be resold several times as they moved along the consumer chain. The benefits derived from the continual sale of an item is known as a "multiplier effect" as more money is generated for expenditure and investment than is measured in the originial cost of the commodity.[55] This enables the economy to grow. Eventually, when the state's financial paper became worthless, items brought through Ocracoke were used for bartering. This at times became commonplace and helped maintain the economy.

In recognition of the potential value of Ocracoke's commerce, the state legislature attempted to facilitate its trade as the war progressed. Legislative attention to Ocracoke's navigational problems involved those same issues addressed during the Colonial period. The hazards of Ocracoke were real and the need to address such problems important. Laws passed by the assembly dealt with channel improvement, navigational aids, tax rates, and pilotage.

Ocracoke's pilots proved to be difficult to regulate. Possibly the responsibilities and dangers of their job, aggravated by war, made them feel entitled to higher fees than the legislature was willing at first to allow. As time passed they became well aware of the influence they could collectively exert on commerce and used their monopoly to their advantage.[56] However, in the opening months of the war, they must have appeared patriotic enough, at least to some commercial interests, after a heroic raid against British privateers.

On April 14, 1776 two tory vessels approached Ocracoke with the intention of capturing any outward bound shipping. That afternoon Captain John Goodrich brought his six gun sloop, the Lilly, over the bar to capture the schooner Polly and the sloop Two Brothers. Later that evening Lieutenant John Wright brought the British ten gun sloop Fincastle into the inlet, took possession of the Two Brothers, and proceeded to sea. However, the Polly could not cross the bar in the falling tide and Goodrich remained to guard his prize. Unfortunately for

the tory privateer, a wind shift prevented its crew from putting to sea the following day.

The delay gave the pilots opportunity to organize. Around dawn on April 17, the sound of oars alerted the crew of the Lilly. Before Goodrich could organize a defense, twenty three men, led by one Benjamin Bonner, swarmed aboard his sloop, "sword in hand," out of four whaleboats which had carried them from shore. The capture of the armed sloop prevented any possibility of the Polly's escape and both vessels were taken to New Bern to be condemned by Courts of Admiralty and auctioned. The captors were allowed one third of the proceeds from sale of the Polly, her cargo, and all from the Lilly's sale after condemnation charges.[57]

In light of subsequent events, it appears the apparent patriotism of the pilots may have been tempered by financial opportunism. At any rate, their loyalty or patience with State authorities soon began to wane.

Problems with the pilots first came to the government's attention in December, 1776. Captain James Anderson, in charge of the state militia at Ocracoke, clashed with the pilots over some unknown issue and they formally submitted a complaint against him to the government. The assembly convened a committee to investigate but the results to this report are unknown.[58]

The pilots were not brought under the jurisdiction of the new state until late in 1777. On Christmas Eve, a pilotage act

was passed establishing rates, procedures for licensing and bonding, penalties, and other directives. In order to attract pilots, the act entitled them to receive payment even if ship captains refused their services. Pilots who refused to attend a vessel in need were fined £ 100 and unlicensed pilots were fined £ 50. This act was passed out of concern that "many Abuses may be committed" without such regulation.[59]

Possibly because of low pilotage rates, this measure caused resentment among the pilots. Only a few months later, in April, 1778 the legislature was forced to amend this act. The new law recognized that unlicensed pilots were bringing in vessels and suggested evidence of dissatisfaction in that vessels were being wrecked "by Ignorance, or with Design." Severe penalties were therefore imposed on piloting without a license. The law also noted that "Allowances made for piloting Vessels ... is found to be insufficient...." and granted pilots rate increases from thirty-three percent to fifty-six percent depending of vessel draft.[60]

However, the amendment failed to inspire any spirit of cooperation by the pilots who were gaining a reputation as "wreckers" or salvagers of wrecked vessels. In November, 1777 the master of the scow Diamond, which had been lost on Ocracoke bar, asserted that he had been "defrauded by the greatest part of the Cargo of said Vessel by some of the inhabitants at or near Ocracock."[61] Captain Willis Wilson, of the state armed galley Caswell, reaffirmed this opinion. He wrote to Governor

Caswell in May, 1778 that he had no pilot for his vessel, then stationed for the protection of the inlet, and others refused to pilot a French vessel waiting outside the bar. He continued, "This is not the first instance by many of the rascality of those men; every merchantman coming to this place experience it, and its clearly evident to me that they wish every vessel cast away, as they may plunder them." The Governor acknowledged this problem but felt helpless to do anything about it.[62]

One month later Wilson wrote the Governor that the pilots had formed an "association" and refused to pilot any vessels. They claimed they had no licenses and refused to apply for any as the rates set by the legislature were too low. Willis feared trade "will be hurt by the infamy of these people."[63]

Wilson's fears proved premature. Apparently, the pilots returned to their duties and the pilotage issue did not resurface until 1783.[64] Meanwhile, the legislature provided for other commercial services such as navigational aids.

Storms and shifting channels made channel marking at Ocracoke a continual necessity. Taxes were imposed in 1777 to pay for marking channels near the inlet and for erecting beacons and buoys. The naval officer at each port was authorized to receive a tax of sixteen shillings for vessels of fifty tons and less; vessels over fifty tons paid forty shillings. In 1780 this was modified to ten dollars for each vessel over twenty tons.[65]

Commercial vessels were not the only beneficiaries of the legislature's attempts to improve Ocracoke's navigation. Some Continental naval vessels, privateers, and many letters of marque passed through the inlet to refit or deliver prizes and goods at river ports.

One attraction Ocracoke held for privateer captains was its proximity to the West Indies. British vessels departing these islands with valuable cargoes made the Indies one of the two richest hunting grounds in North America.[66] Britain's failure to close Ocracoke, coupled with the concentration of blockaders to the northward, attracted out-of-state privateers and their prizes to the inlet. Local vessels were also fitted out as raiders. Ship owner John Wright Stanly of New Bern fitted out a number of privateers and in March, 1777 described conditions at Ocracoke in a letter:

> Ocracoke lying so contiguous to the Gulph of Mexico and so environed with Shoals may prove a safe port for your prizes and I believe no Market on the Continent at Present exceeds this Not only for Prize Goods but also for Prize Vessels....[67]

Although a large number of privateers apparently used Ocracoke, fragmentary records hinders an accurate assessment of their importance. While the names of only a fraction of the privateers which used the inlet have been located, these suffice to provide a description of their activity. Ocracoke's privateers ranged in size from the fifty-five ton

schooner Johnston, armed with four 2 pounder guns, to the twenty gun General Nash.[68] Large crews were generally shipped in order to man captured vessels. Among the larger local privateers were the Rainbeau, 100 tons, ten guns, twenty-five men; brig Fanny, 120 tons, ten guns, twenty-five men; sloop Eclipse, fourteen guns, forty men; brig Sturdy Beggar, fourteen guns, 100 men; sloop Heart of Oak, ten guns, fifty men; and sloop Lydia, twelve guns, fifty men. Some of these ships were able to earn unusually large profits. The Lydia and the Nancy, both owned by John Wright Stanly, captured prizes worth at least L 150,000. One prize alone was valued at L 40,000 sterling. Another successful privateer, the Bellona, sixteen guns, captured on one voyage a brig, schooner, sloop, and a small enemy privateer. Barry Frye estimates that between 200 and 250 vessels operated out of North Carolina waters to prey on British shipping. A testimony to their effectiveness is seen in correspondence between Major James Craig at Cape Fear and Lord Cornwallis in Virginia. A message, dated July 23, 1781 and written partly in code mentioned: "The present opportunity is very unsafe...." "I shall think myself fortunate beyond measure if this boat reaches your Lordship...." The message was intercepted "off Core Sound" by New Bern pilots.[69]

In addition to privateers, significant numbers of armed merchantmen, or letters of marque, also carried prizes through Ocracoke into the sounds and rivers. These vessels were

usually lightly armed and engaged primarily in trade but would attack a weaker enemy if presented an opportunity. It seems letters of marque were more common than privateers and by virtue of their dual nature as a commerce carrier and commercial raider, had a greater impact on the state economically.[70]

Continental naval vessels were also attracted to the relative security of Ocracoke. In October, 1776 the Marine Committee of the Continental Congress attempted to establish regular communications with North Carolina by the continental schooner Muskeeto. This small vessel was ordered to Edenton from Philadelphia with letters, official dispatches, and stores for continental troops. Orders were issued for the schooner to return with naval stores and other goods.[71] Continental captains were also aware of Ocracoke's convenience. John Paul Jones ordered a prize captain to carry the brig Active there early in 1777, although it was, instead, taken to Dartmouth. Captain John Barry of the continental brig Lexington was instructed by the Marine Committee in July, 1776 to send his prizes to Ocracoke. After a raid on New Providence, Bahamas, early in 1778, the continental sloop Providence escorted a sloop carrying freed American prisoners to Ocracoke. One of the more successful continental brigs, the Independence, struck Ocracoke bar in April 1778 and was lost.[72]

The continuing maritime activity attracted the attention of British and loyalist sea captains and a number of American

prizes were captured at or near the inlet. Early in the conflict, merchants and other influential citizens anticipated these raiders and urged protective measures. In February, 1776 William Hooper, a member of the Continental Congress, asked that impediments to navigation be placed near the various ports and troops organized to defend the seacoast.[73] The legislature responded and tried to establish defensive measures such as militia companies, armed brigs, and gallies in Ocracoke's defense. Possibly a battery was erected although there is no conclusive evidence of this.

Probably the earliest naval action at Ocracoke occurred in June, 1775 soon after Governor Martin fled from New Bern to Cape Fear and to the safety of a cabin aboard HMS Cruizer. Martin had earlier learned of preparation to send arms and ammunition from New York to loyalists in North Carolina. Fearful that the supplies would be sent undefended to New Bern where they would be confiscated by "the Mob" of rebels, he persuaded the Cruizer's captain, Francis Parry, to dispatch a force to Ocracoke to await their arrival. Parry sent a small armed schooner, the Royal Hunter, with an officer and seven men to await the supplies.[74]

Later activities caused alarm among coastal residents. In December, HMS Kingfisher, cruising between Ocracoke and Cape Henry, dispatched two of her tenders to Ocracoke. They arrived just prior to a sloop from St. Eustatius with a cargo of gunpowder and musket balls. The sloop, met by pilot boats,

unloaded her powder at sea and sent it "up the country before she was captured by the tenders and carried to Virginia.[75]

In addition to this raid and other activity, rumors further frightened the already jittery patriots. In February, 1776, New Bernians were alerted that the British were fitting out a vessel drawing only eight and one-half feet of water, enabling it to pass Ocracoke's swash and raid New Bern. That port's Committee of Safety promptly ordered that 100 men be mustered for its protection.[77]

The effect of this, plus fears of British raiders plundering the banks for livestock and supplies, led the General Assembly in April to pass a resolution establishing five independent companies for coastal defense. An Ocracoke company was to have a captain, two lieutenants, one ensign, four sergeants, four corporals, two drummers, one fifer, and sixty-eight rank and file. The troops were to receive the same pay as continental soldiers and, as an added incentive, were allowed to claim as prizes of war any of the enemy vessels they might capture.[78]

Captain James Anderson announced to the Council of Safety on July 12, 1776 that the Ocracoke company was completely formed. Shortly thereafter the Council of Safety appointed a paymaster, arranged to procure "Guns, Drums and Colors" for the company, and dispatched gunpowder and lead to Anderson from New Bern's magazine.[79]

Anderson then received his company's first instructions of duty. The council issued orders in late July requiring port commissioners to receive a cargo manifest from each departing vessel and for militia companies to detain any vessels which lacked clearance papers. The council also told Anderson to dispatch an officer and men to ship three cannon from Cape Hatteras to South Quay for use in the gallies under construction there.[80]

The Ocracoke company saw little military action during its tour of duty. In late July, 1777 Anderson's company was involved in the capture of William Brimmage, a loyalist leader, who had been active in the Edenton area. However, Brimmage broke his parole at Ocracoke and fled, only to be captured at Roanoke Island and carried to Edenton's jail.[81]

As time passed supply problems began to plague the Ocracoke company. In December, 1776 Soloman Sheppard replaced John Cooper as the company's commissary. The following May, John Williams was nominated for Sheppard's position but there is no record of his confirmation.[82] Possibly this turnover reflects inadequate financial support for the company. Either past bills for provisions were unpaid or the commissary was unable to pay market price for supplies. In September, 1777, the Council of State recommended the company be disbanded because of problems obtaining supplies. In December, the arms, ammunition and boats used by the company were turned over to the company's paymaster and the men discharged.[83]

In addition to militia, the Provincial Council voted in December, 1775 to prepare three armed vessels to defend the state's commerce. The state purchased one small, brig rigged vessel for each principal port. The General Washington, purchased in January, 1776 was fitted out at Wilmington; followed in February by the King Taminy at Edenton and the Pennsylvania Farmer at New Bern.[84] Aside from a failure to complete the General Washington's crew, the vessels were ready for service by October.

The Provincial Council originally intended to station the King Taminy and the Pennsylvania Farmer at Ocracoke. The General Washington was also ordered there by late October.[85] If either two of these three brigs had operated in concert, they probably could have provided a respectable deterrrent to enemy privateers. The Pennsylvania Farmer mounted sixteen guns, ten swivels and carried 110 men. The King Taminy, probably smaller, mounted twelve guns and ten swivels.[86] The General Washington's armament is unknown but was probably similar. However, it was fortunate no British vessels appeared during the winter of 1775-77, for the brigs did not remain at Ocracoke.

On October 1, the Pennsylvania Farmer was ordered to leave New Bern to intercept a Jamaica merchant fleet and the King Taminy was ordered to Ocracoke. However, for unknown reasons the Pennsylvania Farmer was soon forced back to New Bern "to heave down" and the King Taminy proceeded to sea as a

privateer. The General Washington apparently never left Wilmington.[87]

The protection given Ocracoke by the Pennsylvania Farmer and King Taminy was, at best, sporadic. They saw more duty as commercial transports, than guard ships. Even their service to the state in this regard was limited. After failing to intercept the Jamaica fleet, the Pennsylvania Farmer's crew was reduced to forty men and her battery was halved to accomodate freight for a December trading voyage. She returned from this voyage with needed supplies of salt, arms and ammunition, but her captain pocketed the proceeds from the cargo's sale and fled the state. Afterwards, the brig was reassigned as a guard ship at the inlet. In September, 1777 she was just outside the bar when three British vessels appeared. Although her armament had been increased to sixteen guns, the brig's captain refused to fight but retreated up the Neuse. Still, her presence along with that of an American privateer was credited with deterring the British from coming up the river to New Bern. Although she was again fitted out as a commercial vessel, the state attempted to sell her after March, 1778. Her subsequent history is unknown.[88]

The King Taminy, after returning from its unsuccessful cruise as a privateer, was sent to Edenton in January, 1777 for repairs. She made one voyage to the Indies for salt and was once again at Edenton by April. The state intended to send her to Ocracoke as a guard ship but this rumor prompted many of her

crew to desert in favor of a more lucrative future aboard some privateer or letter of marque. The governor was also told that she drew too much water to be effective in the shallows near the inlet. Reports that the brig was in disrepair and unfit to serve as a warship prompted the assembly to charter the vessel to Congress as a merchant ship. She was being loaded with tobacco for a trading voyage when she was detained and the agreement to sail for Congress cancelled. The King Taminy was employed as a state vessel from early 1778 until she disappeared from the records after July, 1780.[89]

The General Washington contributed even less to the war effort than the other brigs. This vessel was continually plagued by the inability of her commissioners to procure a crew and probably remained in Wilmington throughout her career. The state attempted to sell the vessel in February, 1778 but failed. The records show that several British prisoners were kept aboard the brig in April, but the vessel's subsequent history is unknown.[90]

The state's attempts to provide protection for Ocracoke during the war's early years were failures. The militia company apparently had no cannon and could have contributed little in defense against armed raiding vessels. There is no mention of any activity on their part when the inlet was raided in September, 1777. The armed vessels were poorly supplied, undermanned, and the King Taminy, in addition, drew too much water to be used effectively at Ocracoke. Also, the state

could not formulate a clear concept of military needs as shown by the brig's shift from guard duty to privateering or commercial ventures.

The potential for disaster, however, was lessened by the inability of the British to blockade the inlet effectively. Vice Admiral Richard Lord Howe was forced to retain the majority of his vessels for support of army operations to the north and for protection against American commerce raiders in the Carribbean. Those vessels left were plagued by insufficient crews, irregular supplies and too few repair stations.[91] There were "never more than fifteen ships allotted to blockade the entire Atlantic Coast from Maine to Georgia" during the 1776 campaign and those vessels could only obtain wood, water, and provisions at New York, Halifax or St. Augustine.[92] Although such problems continued to plague the British command, efforts were made by 1777 to stem the commercial traffic in North Carolina waters.[93] Still as the war progressed British successes were irregular.

Only two incidents occurred at Ocracoke in 1776 involving British vessels. The Lilly's capture in April was followed a few weeks later by the near capture of a schooner which crossed Ocracoke's bar just ahead of a closely persuing British frigate. The schooner "arrived at New Bern ... and brought in between 20 and 30 Guns, from 4 to 9 pounders, a Number of Small-Arms and a Quantity of Shot, which was taken from a Fort at Bermuda, in order to sell for Provisions...." The twelve

hour chase was so close that the guns mounted on the schooner's deck were thrown overboard in an attempt to lighten the vessel.[94]

The safety of North Carolina waters was noted elsewhere. During the summer of 1776 a Philadelphia trading firm informed an agent in Martinique that "Occracock Inlet in North Carolina is at this time the safest place along the coast."[95] The British also abandoned Cape Fear in September opening that river to commercial traffic for the first time since the war's beginning.

This respite ended in the spring of 1777. In accordance with a new British policy to station cruising vessels off the southern colonies, on April 5, 1777, the Brune and Merlin were dispatched to the coast of North Carolina. Meanwhile, the Camilla, returning from Antugua, was off Cape Hatteras. On April 6, she captured the Ocracoke bound brig Willing Maid from St. Thomas. After their arrival the Brune and Merlin played havoc with the off shore commerce. By May 9, they had captured and burned nine vessels between Ocracoke and Cape Fear.[96]

These vessels must have remained only a short time for no other prizes were reported taken near Ocracoke until September, 1777. The two brigs which appeared at that time were probably loyalist privateers. They had been active between Cape Hatteras and Cape Lookout "for some time past" in company with a sloop. An attempt was made to cross the bar, when one brig struck bottom and they retired to sea. Several days later, on

September 16, they crossed over and anchored in the lower road. The privateers were attracted by a large number of vessels in the roads, most of which escaped by fleeing up the sounds. At least one large French brig was captured and a sloop loaded with salt was driven ashore.[97]

This raid well illustrates the weakness of Ocracoke's defense. Although the Pennsylvania Farmer and two American privateers were between New Bern and Ocracoke they were still making preparations to sail as late as September 19. Governor Caswell aware of the threat posed by the British responded by offering to send militia to the coast. Realizing that additional armed vessels would also be needed to drive off the British, he prepared to summon ten pilots to New Bern for instructions on guiding any vessels which might be procured against the British. Before these measures were imposed, the British were gone.[98]

However, the patchwork defense engineered by Governor Caswell did not reflect a total lack of foresight by the government for preparations were afoot to supplement Ocracoke's naval defense. This involved the construction of two gallies which were to operate in Ocracoke's channels and the sounds.

The gallies' construction stemmed from a May, 1776 agreement between the governments of Virginia and North Carolina to construct two "armed vessels" at Virginia's expense which would operate "for the protection of the trade at Occacock...." Christopher Calvert, appointed by Virginia to

supervise the construction of the two new gallies, chose South Quay, Virginia, as the site of his shipyard.[99]

Building these vessels proved to be an arduous task as their construction was plagued with delays, labor and supply problems along with design changes. The keels of both vessels were laid in June, 1776 but it took two years for the first vessel, the Caswell, to be finished. Her sister ship, the Washington, took an additional year.[100]

The vessels were similiar in construction. The Caswell measured seventy-five feet in length, twenty-five feet in the beam, and was ten feet deep amidships. The Washington was slightly narrower, twenty-two feet abeam. Both were powered by a lateen rig and had twenty-four oar ports on each side. They were intended to carry twelve 9 pounder broadside guns in addition to four 24 pounder stern and bow guns. When the Caswell was finally prepared for duty in April, 1778 her complement was 145 men.[101]

Gallies were specifically designed to operate in shallow water and in comparison to other vessels were very maneuverable. If these gallies were armed as intended they would have been formidable and well suited for Ocracoke's defense.[102] However, the operations of the gallies, like the other defensive measures, were less beneficial than hoped.

Just prior to the arrival of the British at Ocracoke in September, 1777, the Caswell received orders to leave South Quay for Edenton where she was to receive her guns. In light

of the frantic efforts to provide a defense for Ocracoke, it is likely that efforts were redoubled to prepare her for duty. But other problems delayed her preparation for she was still at Edenton when the British struck again at Ocracoke in April, 1778.[103]

The attack began when thirty men in a four gun sloop decoyed a pilot boat across the bar. The captain forced the pilots to guide them into the inlet where they anchored, unsuspected, near a ship and a French brig. The British then commandeered the pilot boat, and, using it for cover, boarded and captured both vessels. A cargo of tobacco was taken from the ship, loaded aboard the brig and taken to sea. A salt laden sloop had the misfortune to enter at that time and was also captured.[104] No doubt it was this raid which caused Governor Caswell to remark to Joseph Hewes in Edenton: "Pray hurry down the Caswell. Great good is expected from her protecting the trade."[105]

The exact date of the Caswell's arrival at Ocracoke is uncertain but the vessel had been at her station for at least a short time prior to May 20, 1778.[106] Possibly her presence had the desired effect. Three loyalist privateers had arrived off the coast and had taken several prizes by mid May. The raiders were manning a sixteen gun brig and two ten gun sloops, one of which was commanded by John Goodrich, who had been captured in the Lilly at Ocracoke two years earlier. One of Lord Howe's warships, the Ariel, had arrived also. Cruising from Cape

Hatteras to Cape Lookout, she captured six vessels and caused two others to be burned between May 12, and June 8. However, these raiders did not attempt to cross into Ocracoke. On June 26, Captain Willis Wilson of the Caswell informed North Carolina's governor that: "The Enemy (one Ship, two Sloops and a Brig) take a peep at us every now and then, but are not disposed to venture in,..." Although the Ariel left in late June, the privateers ranged along the coast throughout much of the summer taking a number of vessels and small craft.[107]

The Caswell's tour of duty at Ocracoke and in the sounds was for the most part uneventful as British activity again declined after July, 1778. The following December, Governor Caswell ordered the galley to search for vessels attempting to export provisions in defiance of the governor's embargo. Several cruises were made to Edenton, where, on one occasion the Caswell carried a number of cannon back to Ocracoke to be used for Fort Hancock at Cape Lookout.[108]

The lack of military activity was probably fortunate for this vessel also was plagued with a number of problems which compromised her usefulness. In June, the Caswell was sent a tender, but the vessel was in such poor condition that the governor offered Captain Wilson an apology. Problems of shipping enough men, a hinderance from the beginning, continued to worry the Caswell's captain. Irregular pay by the state was partly to blame. Referring to the Caswell's crew, Wilson once remarked that it was fortunate the galley was "laying at a

place [Ocracoke] where they can't well run away, otherwise I expect she would have but few hands left...."[109]

Problems with Virginia over the expense of fitting out and maintaining the vessel became acute as that state's commerce rerouted through the Chesapeake and other ports. Virginia's Governor Thomas Jefferson offered to sell the galleys Washington and Caswell to North Carolina in June, 1779. If the State was uninterested they would be disposed of. However, he shortly thereafter informed Governor Caswell that the Caswell's bottom had been eaten out by worms and the vessel had "sunk at her station." Jefferson was either mistaken or the Caswell was raised for there is reference to her being "laid up" in 1780 and her "materials, Stores, and men" removed to the Washington.[110]

The Washington's history remains vague. The scanty records make no mention of deployment. After North Carolina refused the Virginia governor's offer to purchase the Washington she was transferred in the summer of 1779 to Hampton Roads.[111]

North Carolina's lack of interest in purchasing the Washington is especially curious in light of subsequent events. Only a few days before Virginia offered to sell the galley the British returned to Ocracoke, this time in the largest force yet observed.

On June 19, the pilots sighted a ship, a sloop and a schooner at the bar, followed the next day by two brigs. When

the British spied an Edenton bound vessel in the inlet, the schooner crossed the bar and gave chase for several miles. This action alterted observers and Adam Gaskins, an Ocracoke pilot, dispatched a hurried warning to New Bern officials adding that the brigs "we expect will come in every minute." He concluded, "Be upon your guard, for I expect their intention is to plunder New Bern." This prompted a good deal of defensive preparation. However, the feared attack never materialized. The schooner broke off the chase and returned to sea because of the advancing night.[112]

It is worth noting that neither of the galleys are mentioned in any accounts of this raid. The Caswell was presumably sunk and the Washington must have been at some distant location. Regardless, the legislature felt some additional protection was needed at the inlet.

This protection was provided by an independent company of militia. Support for this was prompted by another attack at Ocracoke that summer. In late July, Gaskins presented a petition to the governor asking that a company of militia be formed at Ocracoke to protect the inlet and local property. The legislature agreed citing "singular bravery" by Gaskins's men "in attacking and taking a number of armed boats with their Crews, Persons that were attempting to cut out some vessels then laying in the River...."[113] On November 10, the legislature formally created the company of twenty five men, "to be composed and Officered of the Inhabitants of

Ocracoke...." The troops were allowed the same pay and provisions as the soldiers at Fort Johnston. In addition, they were allowed four cannon, 18 and 24 pounders, which were at Edenton. The records do not indicate if the cannon were ever transported or if the company again saw action.[114]

Apparently, no other raids occurred at Ocracoke after Gaskin's militia company was formed. Yet, British galleys and small craft conducted a number of raids into Albemarle Sound through Roanoke and Currituck Inlets. The records imply that on one occasion, in October, 1780 two galleys cruised southward through the sound and exited through Ocracoke although there is no mention of any captured prizes.[115]

One last threat occurred in April, 1782 when General Nathaniel Greene sent intelligence of an impending British raid. Four vessels mounting forty guns and 250 seamen were reportedly fitting out in Charleston for an attack on Beaufort and Ocracoke. Governor Thomas Burke contracted Count de Rochambeau, commanding French naval forces in the Chesapeake, and begged for assistance. He was "nearly certain" the attack had already occurred at Beaufort. Burke then contacted General Richard Caswell, the former governor, requesting him to raise 500 militia to defend New Bern and sent similar orders for Edenton's defense.[116]

Burke's worries were unfounded, however, as the feared raid never occurred. This was fortunate as Burke's pleas received little support. The House of Commons suggested "the impropriety of embodying the Militia...." Rochambeau sent word he was blockaded by a superior force and offered a mild rebuke saying: ".... it is with active Militia only, that it can be hoped that the coast can be protected from all the little depredations which may be done by an armament of so little strength."[117]

This incident serves to illustrate that even by the war's end Ocracoke was not strong enough to provide any security for its commerce. As late as August, 1782 the state was still attempting to hire and arm private vessels for harbor defense. The previous year a bill was passed authorizing that two armed vessels and two armed galleys be fitted out for the protection of Ocracoke and the sounds. However, nothing apparently ever became of these measures.[118]

In a larger perspective, Ocracoke's defenses failed as a result of factors which the state was unable to remedy. Supplies for armed forces were irregular at best, communication and travel was slow, naval vessels were weakened by deserting crews, and especially near the war's end, currency was worthless. These problems were further complicated by lack of any clear comprehensive plan for defense. The construction of a fort at Ocracoke could have provided a measure of security but this was never attempted although a few

guns were possibly dispatched for this purpose in 1779.[119] Armed vessels could have helped but the many problems associated with their procurement and deployment compromised their effectiveness. In short, Ocracoke's commerce ultimately was left to fend for itself.[120]

The natural defenses of Ocracoke coupled with British weaknesses resulted in Ocracoke's surprising success as a commercial inlet during the war.[121] Significant amounts of munitions were imported through it during the early years, directly aiding the military effort.

The inlet's continued accessibility provided a foundation of support for the state's economy by the importation of both consumer and military goods. The fact that privateers were an effective influence in a war of attrition gives Ocracoke added importance to the Revolutionary War effort.[123] Large numbers of privateers as well as some continental vessels used the inlet as they dispatched prizes to the state's ports or entered to refit.

In one other sense the state benefited significantly by Ocracoke's importance in the war. The conflict brought about important changes in North Carolina's mercantile establishment.[122] Some merchants left for England; others simply lost their fortunes to the vagaries of warfare. Yet others like John Wright Stanly of New Bern became very wealthy from their trading ventures. Those who survived benefited from the new web of trading routes and contacts developed by

Ocracoke's expanding commerce. This new class of merchant-shippers would serve to help strengthen the state's economy as the state emerged from the ravages of war.

SUMMARY

Ocracoke's maritime history through 1783 could be summarized as men's struggle to overcome problems imposed by nature. These problems of twisting, shifting channels, shoals, and storms, have been a continual factor influencing the relative economic prosperity of the colony and later of the state. It is, perhaps, symbolic that the first European experience at Ocracoke resulted in near disaster with the grounding of the Tiger. This illustrates all too well the dangers to vessels which later attempted to trade in North Carolina waters.

Such dangers hindered North Carolina's maritime trade and in part caused her to lag behind colonies with deep water ports. Nevertheless, a coastal trade developed during the colony's early years which soon expanded to include West Indies and later, to European ports. The majority of these vessels were small sloops and schooners, although other, larger types of vessels were represented. Vessels as small as five tons navigated from North Carolina's inlets to northern coastal ports. Although vessels of 120 tons or larger were occasionally present at Ocracoke during the latter part of the century, many vessels were probably between thirty to forty tons.

Although it was the best inlet, Ocracoke's use did not lessen these dangers. However, the development of settlements

in the vicinity of Ocracoke and the establishment of a customs collection at Bath in part helped make Ocracoke a convenient inlet for the traffic which had previously used the northern inlets. The relatively deep water of Ocracoke also allowed larger vessels to use the inlet and helped establish direct contact with England. These vessels could anchor in Beacon Island Roads within the inlet, and transport part of their cargo by lighter over the swash and other shoals to settlements across the sound.

Contemporary with Ocracoke's emergence as a commercial artery to the interior waters was the dying gasp of piracy and the more gradual suppression of smuggling. Coastal North Carolina's isolation coupled with a weak government were two factors which allowed a brigand such as Blackbeard to sail with impunity in the sounds and rivers. Edmund Randolph characterized North Carolina as a pirate haven and Blackbeard's exploits added credence to this image, but it seems the reputation was unfairly applied. Smuggling was more of a problem to colonial officials during the colony's early years. However, increasing attention by colonial officials apparently led to its successful supression within several decades after North Carolina became a royal colony.

Other problems addressed by colonial officials met with mixed success. These included problems of navigating the inlets and sounds and incentives to stimulate trade. A series

of legislative acts were passed by the colonial assembly to improve navigation at Ocracoke and elsewhere. A pilotage law was passed in 1715 and periodically was revised in response to needs. Other bills provided for marking channels, buoying and beaconing the inlets, and creating a supply of ammunition for defense. Expenses were met through special taxes charged vessels using the inlet. Additionally, schemes were envisioned for dredging the channels leading from Ocracoke. Governor Dobbs considered using iron "harrows" to break up shoals and allowing the tides to flush away the loosened sediment. Efforts were also made to dredge the Roanoke Inlet channel. However, these schemes were unfulfilled.

In addition to these efforts at improving conditions, officials worked energetically to stimulate commerce. Governor Burrington saw Ocracoke as a natural port of entry which, if fortified, would provide a convenient refuge for commercial vessels. Governor Dobbs also realized this advantage and set in motion the construction of a fort there and promoted the creation of Portsmouth, a "maritime town" for the convenience of vessels needing to unload and take on cargoes at the inlet. Although Ocracoke never became a port of entry under royal administration, Portsmouth did become a port of inspection for export commodities.

The exports shipped through Ocracoke reflected the agrarian nature of the colony. North Carolina was a leading

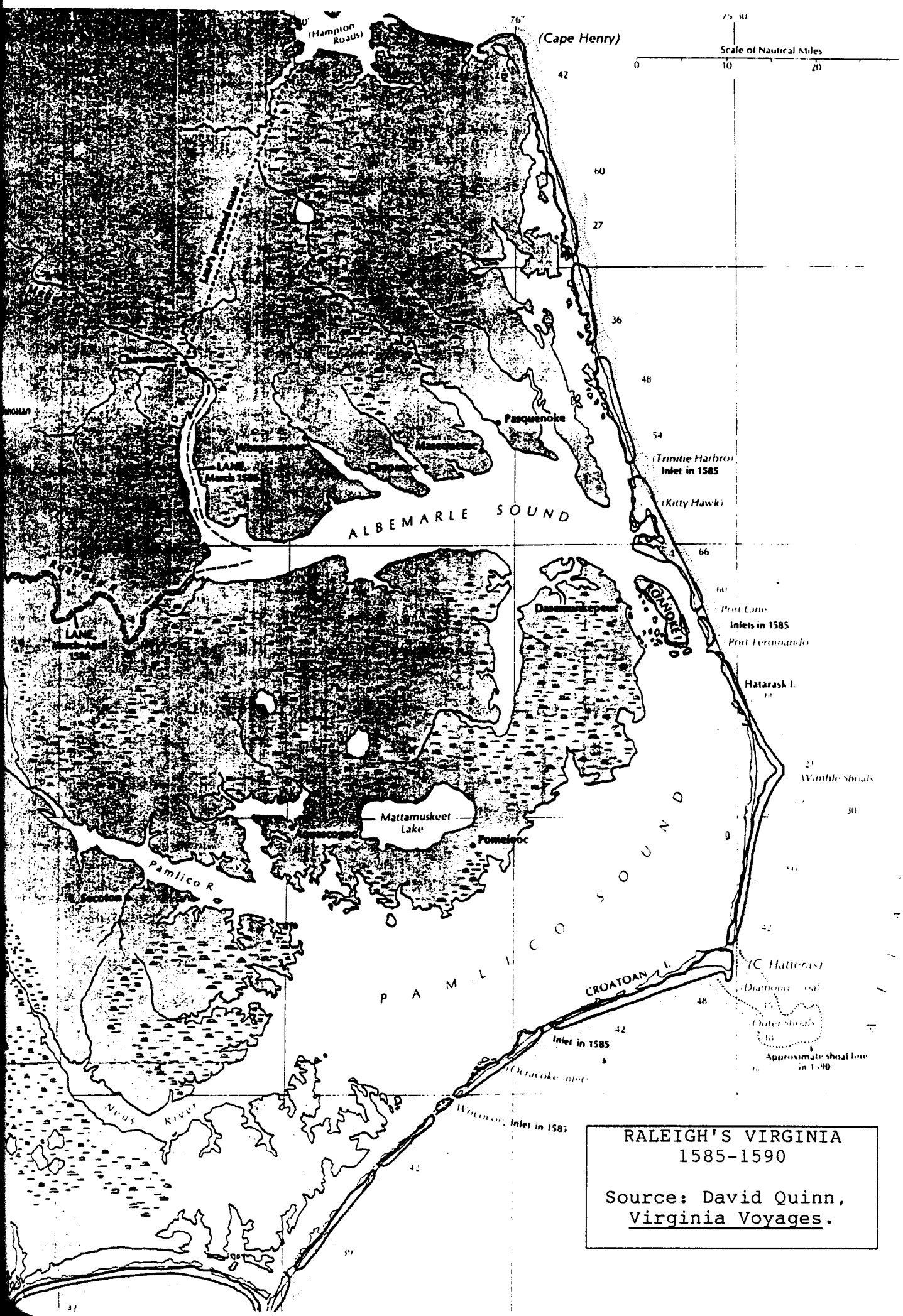
exporter of naval stores and large quantities of such forest products as shingles, staves, and headings were also shipped through the inlet. Other primary exports included tobacco, corn, livestock, fish, leather, and skins. Such products were shipped to a number of Atlantic seaboard ports, West Indies and British-European ports.

During the American Revolution, Ocracoke was extremely important to the state's economic survival. Valuable cargoes were shipped through Ocracoke to such ports as New Bern, Edenton, Bath and Washington as well as to the southern Virginia river port of South Quay. Commerce was especially brisk during the war's early years. The British, in large part, ignored Ocracoke in favor of concentrating their vessels near the large deep water ports in the northern states. The only serious threat to the shipping at Ocracoke was an occasional raid by small British or Tory vessels. The actual damage committed by these raiders was slight, although their threats prompted state authorities to strengthen the inlet's defenses. These included the organization of militia companies, construction of gallies, and the fitting out of armed state owned vessels. These measures achieved limited success. Generally, such factors as shallow waters, shoals, and the inconvenience of maintaining a blockade proved to be the best defense for those vessels within the inlet and sounds.

It is not surprising that Ocracoke was the conduit for the majority of North Carolina's shipping outside the Cape Fear

River. Inspite of its dangers it still was the safest inlet on the coast and therefore was used by most of the small river ports' traffic. Ocracoke's commerce during mid-century probably equaled Port Brunswick's due to the volume of this traffic. The 1763 report submitted by Governor Dobbs to crown officials suggest that vessels using Ocracoke were generally smaller than those trading in the Cape Fear. This is reasonable considering the rivers greater depth. Port Brunswick cleared far more annual tonnage than any of the other ports. Yet the percentage of vessels which used Ocracoke probably gave the inlet equal status in terms of tonnage and a greater proportion of total vessel traffic.

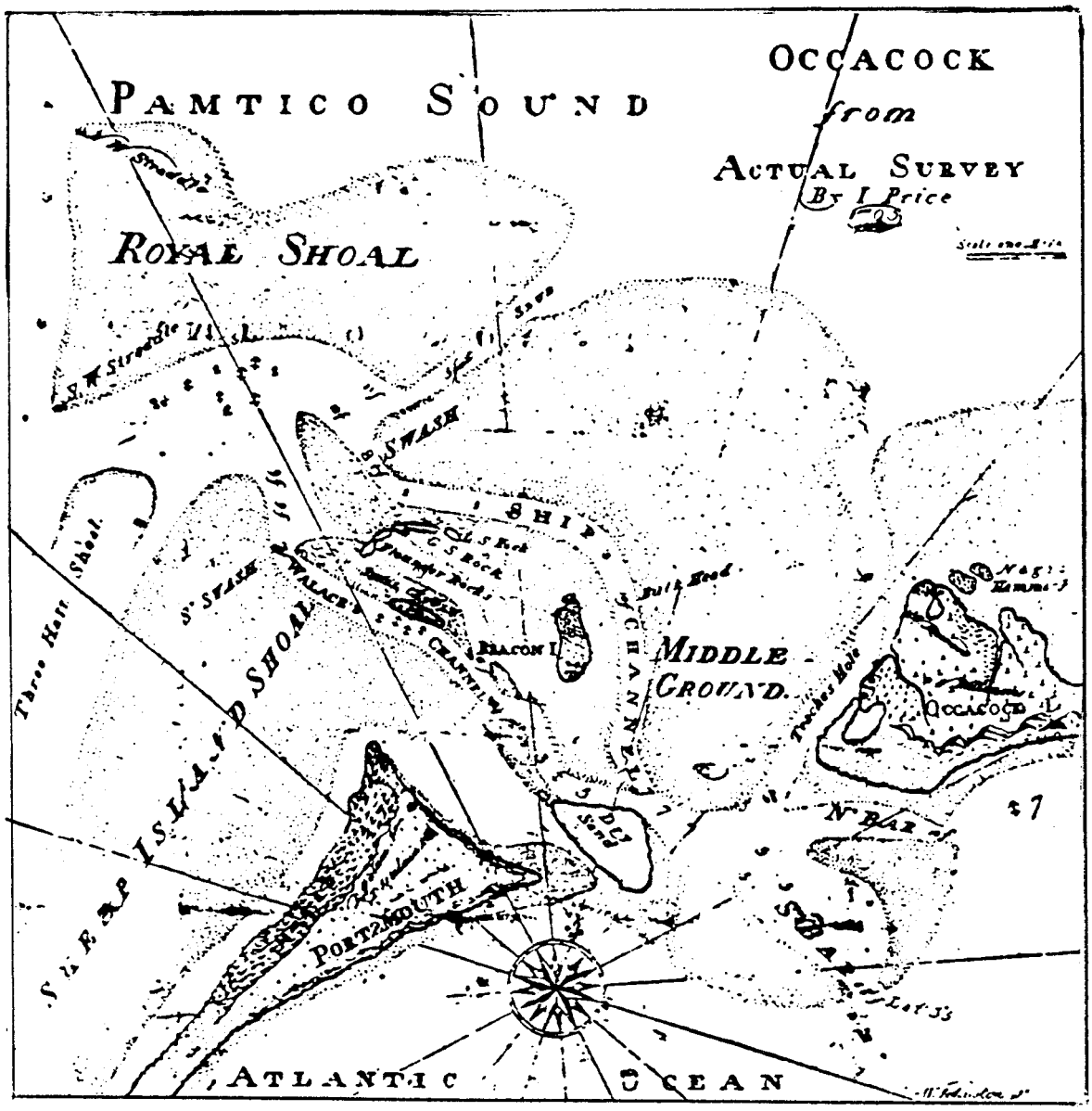
Ocracoke remained the primary commercial inlet in part due to governments inability to improve conditions created elsewhere by nature. Attempts to dredge channels and reopen inlets were failures. However, such lessons were lost on later generations. During the nineteenth century such projects were again attempted with little success. Even today attempts to stabilize the shifting shoals remains a controversial issue.



RALEIGH'S VIRGINIA
1585-1590

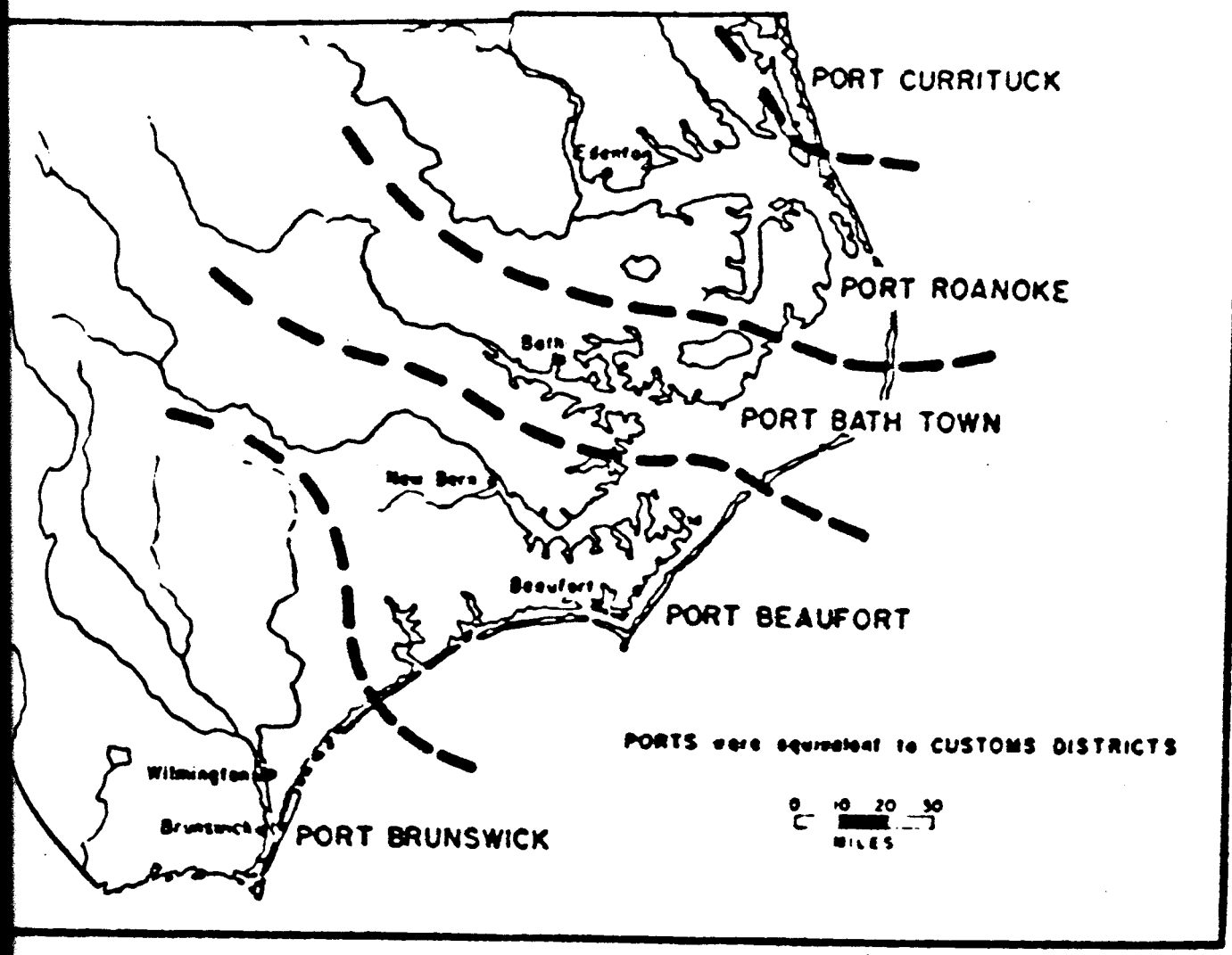
Source: David Quinn,
Virginia Voyages.

Ocracoke Inlet (1795)



Source: Jonathan Price, "A Description of Occacock Inlet and Its Coasts, Islands, Shoals, and Anchorages."

PORTS OF COLONIAL NORTH CAROLINA



Source: H. Roy Merrins, Colonial North Carolina in the Eighteenth Century

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

[1] Jonathan Price, "A Description of Occacock Inlet and Its Coasts, Islands, Shoals, and Anchorages," (New Bern: Francois X. Martin, 1795). Reprinted in North Carolina Historical Review, III, (January-October, 1926), 625, hereinafter cited as Price, "Occacock Inlet".

[2] Elizabeth granted Raleigh a charter in 1584 authorizing the discovery and occupation of lands not already held by "any Christian Prince....". See Hellen Hill Miller, Passage to America (Raleigh, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1983), ix, hereinafter cited as Miller, Passage to America.

[3] Michael Foss, Undreamed Shores (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973), 23, 64, 75, hereinafter cited as Foss, Undreamed Shores.

The area of the New World where Walter Raleigh was commissioned to explore and settle was named "Virginia in honor of Queen Elizabeth. According to David and Allison Quinn the use of the term was conferred between December, 1584 and March 25, 1585. See David B. and Allison M. Quinn, Virginia Voyages from Hakluyt (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 133 note 2, hereinafter cited as Quinn, Va. Voyages.

The term referred to land between Cape Fear and Cape Henry from 33° 50' N to 36° 56' N latitude. See Foss, Undreamed Shores, note on 146.

See also David B. Quinn, The Roanoke Voyages, (2 Volumes, London: Hakluyt Society, 1955), I, ix.

[4] Quinn, Va. Voyages, xvi.

[5] Quinn, Va. Voyages, 1-2.

[6] Samuel A'Courte Ashe, History of North Carolina, 1584-1783, (Greensboro: Charles L. Van Noppen, 1925), 25; Quinn, Va. Voyages, 133.

[7] Quinn, Va. Voyages, 132, 133; Gary S. Dunbar, Historical Geography of the North Carolina Outer Banks, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1958), 8, hereinafter cited as Dunbar, Historical Geography. Dunbar claims that David Stick and C. W. Porter support the view that Trinitie Harbor was the most likely landing site.

[8] David B. Quinn, England and the Discovery of America, 1481-1620, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974), 255, 256,

hereinafter cited as Quinn, England and the Discovery of America.

[9] Foss, Undreamed Shores, 140.

[10] Quinn, Va. Voyages, 9, 136 notes 7, 8, 9, and map, 176. The Indians also told of a shipwreck on another part of the banks with no survivors. See Quinn, Va. Voyages, 6, 135 note 5, 6.

[11] Foss, Undreamed Shores, 140-141; Quinn, Va. Voyages, 1-12.

[12] Quinn, Va. Voyages, 11.

[13] Foss, Undreamed Shores, 141.

[14] Foss, Undreamed Shores, 147, 149; Dunbar, Historical Geography, 9. The exact size of the Tiger is unknown. Miller lists its tonnage at 200. See Miller, Passage to America. 66.

[15] Miller, Passage to America, 66; David L. Corbitt, Explorations, Descriptions and Attempted Settlements of Carolina, 1584-1590, (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1953), 27, hereinafter cited as Corbitt, Explorations, Descriptions and Settlements.

[16] Foss, Undreamed Shores, 149.

[17] Miller, Passage to America, 66.

[18] Foss, Undreamed Shores, 149.

[19] Miller, Passage to America, 68-72.

[20] Quinn, Va. Voyages, 17.

[21] Miller, Passage to America, 72.

[22] David B. Quinn (ed.), New American World, (5 Volumes, New York: Arno Press, 1979), III, 287; Foss, Undreamed Shores, 151; Miller, Passage to America, 72; Samuel Eliot Morrison, The European Discovery of America, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), 640. Hereinafter cited as Morrison, European Discovery of America.

[23] Miller, Passage to America, 72.

[24] Morrison, European Discovery of America, 638.

[25] Quinn, Va. Voyages, 18. The "Anonymous Journal of the 1585 Voyage" which is reproduced in this volume makes reference to several ship's boats passing "from Ococon to the mayne land...." One may infer that the larger vessels never did pass through the inlet and most likely remained outside Ocracoke's bar. Quinn's explanitory note 6 on page 140 supports this view. Samuel E. Morrison also agrees although he refers to this inlet as modern day Whalebone Inlet instead of Ocrocoke. See Morrison, European Discovery of America, 644.

[26] Quinn, Va. Voyages, 17-18. This narrative mentions each of the above expeditions.

[27] Quinn, Va. Voyages, 140 note 6.

[28] Foss, Undreamed Shores, 152, 153.

[29] Foss, Undreamed Shores, 155, 160.

[30] Dunbar, Historical Geography, 9-10. Dunbar quoted Quinn in Roanoke Voyages as noting 110 colonists. However, Quinn gives the number as 115 in Va. Voyages, xxiii.

[31] Quinn, Va. Voyages, 122-123, See also Corbitt, Explorations, Descriptions and Settlements, 129.
There is some question as to the exact location of the landing. The description of the geographic features at the landing site does not match with their reported latitude of 35°N. This latitude would place them in the vicinity of Wococon. However, Quinn reports that their description would place them closer to the Cape Lookout area (34° 40'N). See Quinn, Va. Voyages, 171 note 9.

[32] After 1590 Raleigh ceased his attempts to locate the colonists of 1587. It was to his advantage to leave the fate of the colony in question. He had been granted a monopoly on Virignia plantation rights and so long as he could claim to have a colony, no one else could infringe on his title. See Foss, Undreamed Shores, 146; Dunbar, Historical Geography, 11.

[33] Dunbar, Historical Geography, 9.

[34] William S. Powell, North Carolina Gazeteer, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968), 540, hereinafter cited as Powell, Gazeteer.

[35] David B. Quinn, The First Colonists, (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, 1982), map between pages 175 and 176. Quinn also supports the notion that Ocracoke and Wococon are the same, mentioning that in 1585 Granville's "attempt to bring a large vessel into a promising inlet (at Ocracoke) brought about

the grounding of the Tiger...." See this volume, page ix. Other sources which cite Wococon as Ocrocoke include Ashe, History of North Carolina, 29; Dunbar, Historical Geography, 113 note 33.

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

[1] Occasional early proprietary references to Ocracoke or Wococon as it was then called may be found in the Colonial Records of North Carolina. The earliest description of navigating the inlet found by this writer was published by John Lawson in the 1709 edition of A New Voyage to Carolina. These records and documentation concerning the other points mentioned here are detailed in ensuing pages.

[2] Lords Proprietors to Governor's Council and Assembly of North Carolina, August 1, 1716 in William L. Saunders (ed,), The Colonial Records of North Carolina, (10 Volumes, Raleigh: Josephus Daniels, Printer to the State, 1886-1890), II, 235-236, hereinafter cited as NCCR.

[3] The smuggling problem was of some concern to Governor George Burrington. See Governor Burrington to the Commissioners of Customs, July 20, 1736, NCCR, IV, 170.

[4] Documented accounts of piratical activity at Ocracoke may be found on pages 29 through 33 of this paper.

[5] This conclusion is based on the lack of references to Ocracoke in NCCR, the fact that vessels were forced to clear customs at Port Roanoke, and that the majority of the population was concentrated in the Albemarle area.

[6] Lindley S. Butler, "The Early Settlements of Carolina," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, LXXIV, (January, 1971), 26, 27, 28, hereinafter cited as Butler, "Early Settlement."

[7] Only rough estimates are available for North Carolina's population during this period. The number of people living in Albemarle in 1682 is estimated at between 2000 and 3000, described as "a larger population than that of the settlement around Charleston in South Carolina." See Coralie Parker, The History of Taxation in North Carolina During the Colonial Period, 1663-1776. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1928), 83-84, hereinafter cited as Parker, History of Taxation. In 1716 the population was about 8,000 but had increased to about 36,000 by the end of the Proprietary Period. Parker, History of Taxation, 88-89.

These settlements were confined to an area within fifty miles of the seacoast. See Charles Raper, North Carolina, A Study in English Colonial Government, (London: MacMillan Company, 1904), 26, hereinafter cited as Raper, English Government.

[8] "Prefatory Notes," NCCR, I, x-xi.

[9] Francis L. Hawks, History of North Carolina, (2 Volumes, Fayetteville: Hale and Sons, 1858, Reprint Company, Spartanburg, 1961), II, hereinafter cited as Hawks, History of N.C.
New Hanover County had also been formed in the Cape Fear area by this time. The ports of Brunswick and later Wilmington served this area and so it is without the scope of Ocracoke's influence.

[10] This is inferred from several letters found in North Carolina Colonial Records concerning smuggling and the collection of customs duties. Both Currituck and Roanoke Inlets are mentioned. There is no mention of Ocracoke.
See Timothy Biggs to Robert Holden, February 4, 1679, NCCR, I, 318; Edmund Randolph to His Magesty's Customs Commissioners, November 10, 1696, NCCR, I, 467.

[11] Butler, "Early Settlement," 22; Herbert R. Paschal, "Proprietary North Carolina," unpublished dissertation, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1961), 57, hereinafter cited as Paschal, "Proprietary, N.C." Paschal gives the date as 1646. This may be the earliest documentation of a specific North Carolina inlet being used prior to 1650 and since the Raleigh voyages. There were a number of explorations after Jamestown was settled but the records fail to show the exact routes followed.

[12] Paschal, "Proprietary N.C.," I, 53; "Letter from Mr. Francis Yardly to John Farrar, May 8, 1654, NCCR, I, 18.

[13] "T. Woodward to Sir John Colleton," June 2, 1665, NCCR, I, 99.

[14] Roanoke Inlet continued to be used throughout the Proprietary Period. However, shoals hindered vessels attempting to use Currituck. Lawson says that only vessels drawing less than three feet of water could enter the sound beyond the inlet. In 1710 one writer said it was easier to move goods from Virginia to North Carolina by way of the Chowan River than by Currituck because of the shoals.
See John Lawson, A New Voyage to Carolina, Hugh Talmage Lefler (ed.), (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967), 70-71, hereinafter cited as Lawson, New Voyage; Mr. Maule to Edward Hyde, August 29, 1710, NCCR, 731.

[15] Paschal, "Proprietary N.C.", 486, 488, 493, 507, 513-514; George Burrington to the "Commissioners of His Majesty's Customes," July 20, 1736, NCCR, IV, 169.

[16] "T. Woodward to Sir John Colleton," June 2, 1665, NCCR, I, 99; Samuel A'Court Ashe, History of North Carolina, (2 Volumes, Greensboro: Charles L. Van Noppen, 1925), I, 91. The

exact date is not clear as "this winter" could refer to 1664 or 1665. Ashe gives the date as 1664.

[17] Philip Alexander Bruce, (ed.), "Boundary Line Proceedings," 1710 Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, V, (July, 1897), 11.

[18] Francis X. Martin, The History of North Carolina, from the earliest period, (2 Volumes, New Orleans: A.T. Penniman and Co., 1829), I, 195.

Guion Griffis Johnson, author of Ante-Bellum North Carolina, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937) considers Martin's work to be generally inaccurate. An attempt to find the references from the sources mentioned by Martin proved fruitless. For Johnson's criticism see Ante-Bellum North Carolina, 817.

[19] Hawks, History of N.C., II, 270. Hawks used Martin as a source for this information.

[20] David Stick, Dare County: A History, (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1970), 12.

[21] Dunbar, Historical Geography, 41, 129 note 43.

[22] "A Letter to Sir William Berkeley," September 8, 1663, NCCR, I, 54.

[23] Lawrence Lee, The Lower Cape Fear in Colonial Days, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965), 31-40.

[24] "T. Woodward to Sir John Colleton, June 2, 1665, NCCR, I, 99-100.

[25] Although the Proprietors now knew of Ocracoke, they may not have been aware of its usefulness. They had problems receiving information from their new colony. In 1676, the Proprietors instructed the Governor and Council "to send us an exact account of how many foot there is at low water in your severall Inlets, what safety there is when a shipp is in and where she may doe best to unlade and take in Commodities for this has bine so concealed and uncertainely reported as if some persons amongst you had joyn'd with some of New England to engross that poore trade you have and Keepe you still under hatches." See "Instructions Given By Us The Lords Proprietors of Carolina Unto The Governor And Councill Of That Parte Of Our Province Called Albemarle," November 21, 1676, NCCR, I, 232.

[26] Although there were some topographical changes near the inlet's mouth, the main channels at Ocracoke seemed to remain relatively stable throughout most of the eighteenth century.

Comparisons between Lawson's 1709 description and a survey by Jonathan Price, published in 1795, show much similarity in regard to channels. See Dunbar, Historical Geography, 130 note 46; Dobbs to the Board of Trade, May 10, 1755, NCCR, V, 343; Price, "Occacock Inlet," 623-633; Lawson, New Voyage, 71.

[27] Dunbar supports this reasoning. See Dunbar, Historical Geography, 130 note 46.

[28] Port Roanoke, Customs House Papers, 1682-1760, Box 13, Treasurer's and Comptroller's Papers: Ports, Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, hereinafter cited as Port Roanoke Port Papers.

[29] Later, larger vessels did use Ocracoke as a port. They would discharge part of their cargo into smaller vessels at the inlet and then could proceed over the shoals by virtue of their shallower draft. This probably was not practical at first because of the small and scattered settlements. A survey of the Port Roanoke Port Records, although incomplete, mentions no vessel larger than sixty tons clearing during the Proprietary period. Hawks claims no vessel exceeding eighty tons cleared during a twenty year period; the records may have been more complete at the time of his research. Since Roanoke Inlet's depth lessened over time, larger vessels could not have used the inlet during later years. See Hawks, History of North Carolina, II, 270.

[30] "Prefatory Notes," NCCR, I, x-xi; Meeting of the "Palatines Court," December 9, 1696, NCCR, I, 472.

[31] "Minutes of the Executive Council," November 2, 1706, Records of the Executive Council: Colonial Records of North Carolina, Robert J. Cain, (ed.), (7 Volumes, Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1984), VII, 6, hereinafter cited as Records of the Executive Council: North Carolina Colonial Records, (Second Series). Of these seven volumes, the first six are entitled North Carolina Higher Court Minutes.

See also "Papers of the Executive Council," November 2, 1706, Records of the Executive Council: North Carolina Colonial Records, (Second Series), VII, 410.

[32] Vincent H. Todd and Julius Goebel, Christoph von Graffenreid's Account of the Founding of New Bern, (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, State printers, 1920), 226, hereinafter cited as Graffenreid, New Bern.

[33] Graffenreid did make use of one vessel to trade with the "South Islands" (West Indies) but there is no mention of the use of Ocracoke. See Graffenreid, New Bern, 287, 389.

[34] Graffenreid, New Bern, 75.

[35] Lawson, History of North Carolina, 64-65.

[36] These "armies" were composed of North Carolinians, South Carolina militia and their Indian allies. A third army was dispatched from South Carolina in 1713 but was recalled. For an account of both campaigns see: Mabel L. Webber (ed.), "The Tuscarora Expedition: Letters of Col. John Barnwell," The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine, IX, 42-50, hereinafter cited as Webber, "The Tuscarora Expedition;" Joseph W. Barnwell, "The Second Tuscarora Expedition," The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine, X, (January, 1909), 30-36.

[37] A survey of Colonial Records of North Carolina revealed numerous references to supplies being sent from Chowan to the Neuse area. Additionally, several South Carolina vessels were employed to bring communications and supplies to Albemarle from Charleston. Although it seems illogical that Ocracoke was not used, it appears this was due to the need for vessels to clear customs at Little River and to bring dispatches to government officials in the Albemarle area. It was apparently easier for vessels to enter by sea through Roanoke Inlet than to enter at Ocracoke and navigate the shoally sound northward. It seems supplies were then sent southward "round to Neuse" through the sound as one official refers to the "difficulty and tediousness of the passage from this Country to Pamlico and Neuse."
See Lieutenant Woodhouse and Thomas Johnson to Thomas Pollock, October 3, 1712, NCCR, I, 878; "President Pollock to the Governor of Virginia," October 5, 1712, NCCR, I, 880; "Foster's Instructions," December 28 (?), 1712, NCCR, I, 899; Thomas Pollock to Governor Craven, February 27, 1713, NCCR, II, 20; Letter from Thomas Pollock, February 27, 1713, NCCR, II, 22; Letter from Thomas Pollock, June 25, 1713, NCCR, II, 53; Thomas Pollock to Edward Bellenger, September 1, 1713(?), NCCR, II, 62-63; Webber, "The Tuscarora Expedition," 50.

[38] "A True Copy of A Letter To The Lords Proprietors Dated Sept. 20, 1712," NCCR, I, 873-874.

[39] "An Act for Settling and Maintaining Pilots at Roanoke and Ocacock Inlett," 1715, Walter Clark (ed.), The State Records of North Carolina, (16 Volumes, Winston and Goldsboro: M.I. and J.C. Stewart, Printers to the State and Nash Brothers, Printers, 1895-1905), XXIII, 40, hereinafter cited as NCSR.

[40] Proprietary proclamation of Bath as a seaport, August 1, 1716, NCCR, II, 236-238.

[41] Proprietary proclamation of Bath as a Seaport, August 1, 1716, NCCR, II, 236-238: "Letter To The Governor of North Carolina," August 1, 1716, NCCR, II, 239. Bath Town never achieved this growth and remained a small settlement.

[42] Dunbar, Historical Geography, 21.

[43] "An Act for Settling and Maintaining Pilots at Roanoke and Ocacock Inlett," 1715, NCSR, XXIII, 41.

[44] Governor Spotswood to Lord Cartwright, February 14, 1718, NCCR, II, 325.

[45] Charles Johnson, A General History of the Pyrates, from their first rise and settlement in the island of Providence, to the present time, (London: T. Warner, 1724. Ultrafiche reproduction on file at East Carolina University, Greenville, N.C.,) 80, hereinafter cited as Johnson, History of Pyrates.

[46] Johnson, History of Pyrates, 80.

[47] Robert Lee claims that Maynard's vessels approached Ocracoke from the sea instead of through the sounds, arriving at Ocracoke on the evening of November 21. Maynard waited until the morning's high tide to enter the inlet and attack as he was "unfamiliar with the channels and shoals" of Ocracoke. If true, this would seem to contradict Spotswood's reasons for hiring the Carolina pilots unless they did approach through the sound. See Robert Earl Lee, Blackbeard The Pirate: A Reappraisal Of His Life And Time (Winston-Salem, D.F. Blair, 1974), 113, hereinafter cited as Lee, Blackbeard.

[48] Lee, Blackbeard, 28-30. Lee also says that Blackbeard "undoubtedly had been to Bath before" his January visit because of his familiarity with the colonists and waters of the area.

[49] Shirley Carter Hughson, The Carolina Pirates and Colonial Commerce, 1670-1740, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1894), 69. Reprinted 1971, The Reprint Co., Spartanburg, S.C., hereinafter cited as Hughson, Colonial Pirates.

[50] Lee, Blackbeard, 56-62.

[51] Lee, Blackbeard, 78-84.

[52] Lee, Blackbeard, 199-200. Lee says Spotswood fixed the date of the French vessels capture as August 22, 1718.

[53] "Minutes of the Executive Council," May 27, 1719, Records of the Executive Council: Colonial Records of North Carolina, (Second Series), VII, 85.

[54] Johnson, History of Pyrates, 77.

[55] Johnson, History of Pyrates, 77-78. Lee suggests that these appeals were few and Spotswood wished to terminate the pirates for his own reasons. See Lee, Blackbeard, 90, 91, 107.

[56] Johnson, History of Pyrates, 145.

[57] Lee, Blackbeard, 90.

[58] Typical of such accounts is a reference to a Captain Lowther who, after a hard fight, proceeded "to get into an Inlet somewhere in North Carolina, where he staid a long while before he was able to put ot Sea again." See Johnson, History of Pyrates, 362. Also see references to Captain Whorley in Johnson, History of Pyrates, 377; and Captain Hall in "Earl of Craven to Lords of Trade and Plantations," May 27, 1684, Calendar of State Papers, J.W. Fortescue et. al. (eds.), (44 vols., London: Public Records Office, 1898), XI, 642.

[59] The years between 1698 and 1718 have been called the "Golden Age of Piracy" because of the large numbers operating near the Americas. It was estimated there were 1500 pirates off the American coast in 1717. See Johnson, History of Pyrates, 59.

By 1718 efforts by authorities had crushed most of the pirates; at least 49 of whom were tried and executed in November and December, 1718, at Charlestown alone. See Lefler and Newsome, North Carolina: History of a Southern State, (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1963), 71.

The last reported incident of piracy at Ocracoke occurred in 1727. A small group led by John Vidal of Bath, captured three vessels. The robbers themselves were soon apprehended and three men, Vidal, Edward Coleman, Thomas Allen, and a woman, Martha Farley were sent to Virginia for trial. Vidal was subsequently pardoned. Farley was acquitted and the others were executed. See Introduction to North Carolina Higher Court Minutes: North Carolina Colonial Records, (Second Series), Robert J. Cain, (ed.), (7 Volumes, Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1981), VI, 110.

[60] The records for Port Bath, which would receive much of the commerce through Ocracoke, have been lost so we cannot judge if the Parre Galley is typical of the vessels using Ocracoke during the 1720's. This account is preserved because the vessel sprang a leak and sank "about 15 or 16 leagues ESE of Cape Henry" and so the crew, after being rescued, had to testify in court to that effect. See "Protest", July 24, 1723 in Papers of the Executive Council, Records of the Executive Council: North Carolina Colonial Records, (Second Series), VII, 531.

[61] Small vessels generally did not attempt trans-Atlantic voyages due to their limited cargo space and the increased time for crossing compared to that of larger vessels. Market forces also played a role in the absence of trans-Atlantic vessels at North Carolina ports. According to an authority large trans-Atlantic carriers would have difficulty disposing of their cargos in an area with a small scattered population. Conversation with Gordon P. Watts, Jr., Director, Underwater Research, East Carolina University, Greenville, N.C., October 15, 1987.

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

[1] Charles Christopher Crittenden, The Commerce of North Carolina, 1763-1789. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936), 9, hereinafter cited as Crittenden, Commerce of North Carolina. According to Crittenden, vessels of 250 tons could enter into Ocracoke. Most trading vessels of the period were of 300 tons or less. Most vessels using Ocracoke were sloops and schooners, primarily involved in the coastal trade. Brigs were commonly used in the West Indies trade and other, larger vessles occasionally appeared although these were more frequently found in the Cape Fear and were involved with trans-Atlantic commerce. Vessels as small as five tons are mentioned in the Port Roanoke records. The data supplied in Table 1 indicates that vessels using Ocracoke at mid-century averaged between thirty and forty tons. Christopher Crittenden found similar ranges for sloops and schooners using data from the 1780's. See Port Roanoke Port Papers, Box 13; Christopher Crittenden, "Ships and Shipping in North Carolina, 1763-1789," The North Carolina Historical Review, VIII, (January, 1931), 1-5.

[2] Governor Burrington to the Lords of Trade, September 4, 1731, NCCR, III, 210. This shows that most of the trade entering the sounds already was routed through Ocracoke. This trade would rival that of the Cape Fear. Crittenden claims that Port Roanoke alone "succeeded in building up a surprisingly large commerce, rivalling that of the more favored Cape Fear." See Crittenden, Commerce of North Carolina, 42.

[3] Governor Burrington to the Duke of Newcastle, July 2, 1731, NCCR, III, 155, 156. Burrington described Ocracoke as having "a good harbor and water sufficient for 300 Tunns."

However, the northern traders continued to play an important role in colonial Carolina commerce. See Donald Eugene Becker, "North Carolina, 1754-1763: An Economic, Political, And Military History of North Carolina During the Great War For The Empire," unpublished dissertation, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina , 1971), 88, hereinafter cited as Becker, "N.C., 1754-1763."

[4] Governor Burrington again reminded the Board of Trade in 1732 and 1733 of the advantages of establishing a port and customs collection at Ocracoke. See Burrington to the Lords of Trade, February 20, 1732, NCCR, III, 336; Burrington's representation of the state of North Carolina, January 1, 1733, NCCR, III, 430; "Burrington's Address to the House of Burgesses," November, 1733, NCCR, III, 622.

Later, Governor Arthur Dobbs also voiced enthusiastic support for this idea. See Dobbs to the Board of Trade, February 8, 1755, NCCR, V, 333.

[5] Crittenden, Commerce of North Carolina, 43, note 19.

[6] Becker, "N.C., 1754-1763," 81. Beaufort recieved about 10 percent of the commerce of Port Beaufort customs district. See also Crittenden, Commerce of North Carolina, 42.

[7] This will be shown in the discussion of navigation laws and commerce records. Only Wilmington could be considered a rival to Ocracoke in terms of commercial shipping.

For purposes of illustration it will be presumed that Ocracoke shipped as much as 70 percent of the combined commerce of Ports Beaufort, Bath, Roanoke, and Currituck. This is admittedly an arbitrary figure but, yet, reasonable. As noted, Ocracoke shipped 90 percent of Port Beaufort's commerce and was the closest and safest outlet for Port Bath. The amount of commerce from Port Roanoke is less certain but the documented expenses of marking the channel from Ocracoke to Roanoke compared to that of the Roanoke Inlet-Port Roanoke channel indicate the heavy use of Ocracoke by Edenton bound vessels.

[8] Becker, "N.C., 1754-1763," 80.

[9] Harry R. Merrins, Colonial North Carolina in the Eighteenth Century, (Chapel Hill: University of North Craolina Press, 1964), 147, hereinafter cited as Merrins, Colonial North Carolina. Much of the following information concerning North Carolina's eighteenth century maritime trade was taken from Merrins. His extensive research on this subject is well documented and sufficiently covers the topic. Replication of this research would be beyond the scope of this paper.

[10] Merrins, Colonial North Carolina, 149-150.

[11] George Burrington to the Commissioners of Customs, July 20, 1736, Saunders, NCCR, IV, 170.

[12] Merrins, Colonial North Carolina, 154-155.

[13] The commerce tables cited herein show Bath to be a minor contributor to Ocracoke's total commerce. This is also reflected by the town's lack of growth.

[14] Merrins, Colonial North Carolina, 154.

[15] Becker, "N.C., 1754-1763," 85; Dobbs to the Board of Trade, January 4, 1755, NCCR, V, 315.

[16] Governor Dobbs to the Commissioners of Customs, July 20, 1736, NCCR, IV, 170.

[17] Crittenden, Commerce of North Carolina, 42. Crittenden says the customs officers of Currituck "moved about from place to place." See also Dobbs to the Commissioners of Customs, July 20, 1736, NCCR, IV, 170. Paschal, "Proprietary North Carolina," 520. According to Paschal, Port Beaufort handled Currituck's collection as early as 1724.

Although the inlet was shallow there was some traffic, particularly in the colony's early years. Dunbar reports that the inlet "enjoyed a modest commerce up the time of its death," in 1828. However, it is not clear if Dunbar is referring to the entire life of the inlet or only to the Federal Period. See Dunbar, Historical Geography, 26.

[18] Merrins, Colonial North Carolina, 150.

The trade of the Cape Fear was prosperous from the beginning. In 1731, Governor Burrington said "The trade of this Government is now miserable except at Cape Fear River,..." Governor Burrington to the Lords of Trade, July 1, 1731, NCCR, III, 154. In 1744 Matthew Rowan, the former Surveyor General of North Carolina described the Cape Fear as a place "where the greatest Trade of this Province is carried on ...." Matthew Rowan to Governor Johnston, March 9, 1744, NCCR, IV, 695.

Governor Burrington wrote the Lords of Trade in 1731 that vessels drawing twenty two feet of water could enter the Cape Fear river. This probably was an exaggeration as was his report of vessels entering Ocracoke drawing eighteen feet and Topsail inlet admitting vessels of twenty foot draft. See Burrington to the Lords of Trade, September 4, 1731, NCCR, III, 210.

Christopher Crittenden cites sources which give ten and eighteen foot depths at the Cape Fear bar. He believed the descrepancy was due to tides. Crittenden, Commerce of North Carolina, 3, note 4.

[19] Becker, "N.C., 1754-1763," 87. Abstract of Shipping and Tonnage from Governor Dobbs to the Board of Trade, February 8, 1755, NCCR, V, 314. Apparently, Currituck's figure does not represent an average but seems to be the number of vessels cleared during one year ending January 1, 1755.

[20] Becker, "N.C., 1754-1763," 87; Prefatory Notes, NCCR, V, xliii.

[21] This table is taken from Becker, "N.C., 1754-1763," 88. See Becker for information on sources. See also Arthur Dobbs to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, February 23, 1763, NCCR, VI, 968.

[22] Arthur Dobbs to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, February 23, 1763, NCCR, VI, 968.

[23] Becker, "N.C., 1754-1763," 87.

[24] This gives Ocracoke an annual average of 4,922.4 tons and 144.2 vessels cleared compared to Port Brunswick's clearance of 4,830 tons and ninety vessels.

[25] Prefatory Notes, NCCR, III, xv.

[26] Merrins, Colonial North Carolina, 109, 111-113, 120.

[27] Merrins, Colonial North Carolina, 125.

[28] Merrins, Colonial North Carolina, 109-111.

[29] This table is taken from Merrins, Colonial North Carolina, 109. See Merrins for sources.

[30] Merrins, Colonial North Carolina, 111-112.

[31] Merrins, Colonial North Carolina, 116. Merrins notes that in 1972, 85 percent of the 13,400 bushels shipped out of North Carolina's ports were handled through Port Roanoke. See Merrins, Colonial North Carolina, 230, note 39.

[32] Merrins, Colonial North Carolina, 120.

[33] Becker, "N.C., 1754-1763," 92.

[34] Merrins, Colonial North Carolina, 120.

[35] Table 3 is taken from Merrins, Colonial North Carolina, 120. Merrins notes that the figures for 1768 may be inaccurate. See page 120 for this and for sources.

[36] Merrins, Colonial North Carolina, 126.

[37] Merrins, Colonial North Carolina, 126, 127. Concerning indigo, Merrins says over 80 percent was exported through Brunswick. The actual percentage calculates at 88.9 with given figures.

[38] Table 4 is taken from Merrins, Colonial North Carolina, 127. See Merrins for sources.

[39] Prefatory Notes, NCCR, III, xv; Merrins, Colonial North Carolina, 134, 135, 138.

[40] The North Carolina Magazine or Universal Intelligencer, September 28-October 5, 1764, hereinafter cited as N.C. Magazine: Merrins, "Changing Geography of North Carolina," 211-213. According to Merrins, livestock by-products such as butter and cheese were also exproted but not in large amounts.

[41] Becker, "N.C., 1754-1763," 96. As another example of the size of this trade, Port Beaufort exported 404 hides and 18,732 pounds of tanned leather in 1764. Becker, "N.C., 1754-1763," 97.

[42] N.C. Magazine, September 28-October 5, 1764.

[43] Becker, "N.C., 1754-1763," 97.

[44] Becker, "N.C., 1754-1763," 79. Referring to a 1752 source, Becker said that in addition to livestock "most of North Carolina's tobacco was taken to Norfolk or Suffolk."

[45] Merrins, Colonial North Carolina, 89.

[46] Merrins, Colonial North Carolina, 86.

[47] Table 5 is taken from Merrins, Colonial North Carolina, 96. Percentages are obtained by adding each port's yearly percentage and dividing by number of years.

[48] If one considers 70 percent as the amount of commerce shipped through Ocracoke from the three ports, the Ocracoke provided access for 40 percent of all naval stores shipped during this five year period.

[49] See Merrins, Colonial North Carolina, 90-91 for additional commodity information and sources. Merrins excludes Port Currituck because of its insignificance in the naval store trade. Naval stores refer to pitch, tar, and terpentine.

[50] Becker, "N.C., 1754-1763," 99; Merrins, Colonial North Carolina, 93. Merrins identifies the term "sawn lumber" as planks or boards; "staves" as pipe staves, barrel staves, hogshead staves, heading and hoops. See Merrins, Colonial North Carolina, 94.

[51] Merrins, Colonial North Carolina, 94. It should be noted that large scale production of shingles did not occur in North Carolina until the 1750's. See Merrins, Colonial North Carolina, 105.

[52] Merrins, Colonial North Carolina, 96.

[53] Table 6 is taken from Merrins, Colonial North Carolina, 95. See Merrins, Colonial North Carolina, 94 for source material.

[54] Merrins, Colonial North Carolina, 107.

[55] A survey of vessels and their cargoes were taken from the Port Roanoke Papers, Box 13. A total of forty vessels are listed in the customs recrods for 1756 and 1757. Dobbs stated that Port Roanoke cleared an average of ninety-seven vessels annually. This shows that many records are missing. Nine of the vessels surveyed are of unknown destination.

[56] Port Roanoke Papers, Box 13.

[57] Port Roanoke Papers, Box 13.

[58] Port Roanoke Papers, Box 13.
The ports mentioned herein are by no means the only ones visited by vessels carrying goods from Ocracoke. They are only used to illustrate the various regions visited by vessels trading through that inlet during the Royal Period.

[59] North Carolina Magazine, September 28-October 5, 1764.

[60] Becker, "N.C., 1754-1763," 88.

[61] Becker, "N.C., 1754-1763," 82.

[62] Governor Burrington to the Commissioners of Customs, July 20, 1736, NCCR, IV, 170.

[63] Governor Burrington to the Commissioners of Customs, July 20, 1736, NCCR, IV, 170.

[64] Governor Burrington to the Commissioners of Customs, July 20, 1736, NCCR, IV, 170.

[65] Port Roanoke Papers, Box 13. The records do not give the final outcome of the case.

[66] Port Roanoke Papers, Box 13. Vessels trading overseas were sometimes given longer periods to return their certificates.

[67] Governor Dobbs to Lord Halifax, January 14, 1764, NCCR, IV, 1021.

[68] Governor Dobbs to Lord Halifax, January 14, 1764, NCCR, IV, 1021.

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

[1] Charles Christopher Crittenden, "The Seacoast in North Carolina History, 1763-1789," The North Carolina Historical Review, VII, (October, 1930), 437. Other references give various depths. Price established the bar's depth at 18 feet, Attmore mentions fourteen feet and Governor Burrington referred to Ocracoke being accessible to ships of sixteen or eighteen foot draft. See Price, "Occacock Inlet," 627; Governor Burrington to the Lords of Trade, September 4, 1731, NCCR, III, 210; William Attmore, Journal of a Tour to North Carolina, (The James Sprunt Historical Publications, XVIII, Chapel Hill, 1922), 12, 13, hereinafter cited as Attmore, Journal of a Tour.

[2] Lawson made no mention of the swatch but in reporting to the Lords of Trade in 1731, Burrington mentioned that Ocracoke was "a safe harbor, but shoally afterwards" and large ships could load and unload there. This description may refer to the swatch. See Lawson, New Voyage, 71-72; Titles of Acts Passed at Little River (1715/16) with Governor Burrington's Remarks, (no date), NCCR, III, 184.

[3] Dobbs to the Board of Trade, May 10, 1755, NCCR, V, 344.

[4] Price, "Occacock Inlet," 629, 630.

[5] Crittenden, "Seacoast in History," 438.

[6] Lawson, New Voyage, 70-71.

[7] Dobbs to the Board of Trade, May 10, 1755, NCCR, V, 344.

[8] Price, "Ocacock Inlet," 629, 630, 631. This report was originally published in 1795. It is uncertain whether other anchorages existed in previous years. The topography of the area changed somewhat in the Royal Period. Price points out that two islands, Sheep Island and Gale Island, had disappeared over time and a sand bar called "Dry Sand" had stabilized enought to allow vegetation to begin and that Ocracoke Island had by now become a peninsula. In 1755 Governor Dobbs also mentioned changes in the inlet, referring to severe erosion from storms. It is possible that the "harbor" at Portsmouth referred to by Dobbs was located adjacent to Portsmouth on Core Banks. Price mentions a "boat channel" along Core Banks and his map suggests the possibility of a road off the end of Portsmouth Island. However, Price makes no mention of vessels using this as an anchorage. Even if vessels did anchor there they still would remain exposed to the fury of storms. See Dobbs to the Board of Trade, May 10, 1755, NCCR, V, 343; Dobbs to the Earl to Loudoun," July 10, 1756, NCCR, V, 596.

[9] The width of the inlet apparently fluctuated during the eighteenth century. In 1755, Governor Dobbs reported the inlet to be as wide as four miles. The inlet possibly narrowed shortly after this and again began to broaden by the Revolution. Price reported the inlet to be three miles wide by 1795. See Dobbs to the Board of Trade, May 10, 1755, NCCR, V, 343; Wilson Angley, "A History of Ocracoke Inlet and the Adjacent Areas," Unpublished paper on file with the Underwater Archaeology Branch of the Division of Archives and History, Fort Fisher, N.C. (1984), 25; Price, "Occacock Inlet," 627.

[10] Lawson, New Voyage, 71.

[11] Teache's Hole is described in Price's pamphlet. See Price, "Occacock Inlet," 628.

There were other minor channels mentioned by Price. Small intricate channels extended behind the banks from Ocracoke toward Hatteras; a small channel between Shell Castle Shoal and Beacon Island Shoal was used by lighters as an anchorage. A channel called the Five Foot Slue was located between Royal Shoal and Middle Ground Shoal and carried small craft from Ship Channel northward into Pamlico Sound. It is not known if these were in use during the Royal Period. See Price, "Occacock Inlet," 626, 628, 629.

[12] Dobbs to the Board of Trade, May 10, 1755, NCCR, V, 343.

The vague description prevents identification of this channel. It may have been the one later called "Wallace's Channel," or Dobbs may have been referring to one closer to Portsmouth which was not mentioned by Price.

[13] Price, "Occacock Inlet," 628.

Of the three channels mentioned here, the first two carried the bulk of Ocracoke's commerce. The channel described herein as Ship Channel was used most frequently during the first half of the eighteenth century with the channel later known as Wallace's Channel becoming the most frequently used after the 1750's. See Wilson Angely, "A History of Ocracoke Inlet," 24.

[14] Pennsylvania Gazette, November 23, 1749.

[15] North Carolina Items from the Virginia Gazette, 1771-1776, Bound volume on file with the Division of Archives and History, (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission, 1903), 134, hereinafter cited as Virginia Gazette Items.

[16] Virginia Gazette Items, 186. This storm occurred November 1, 1773.

[17] Selected examples may be found in the following sources: North Carolina Items from the South Carolina Gazette, Bound

volumes on file with the Division of Archives and History, (4 Volumes, (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission, 1903), II, 116, hereinafter cited as South Carolina Gazette Items; South Carolina Gazette Items, III, 59; North Carolina Items from the South Carolina and American General Gazette, 1766-1780, Bound volume on file with the Division of Archives and History, (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission, 1903), 164, 165, 213, hereinafter cited as South Carolina and American General Gazette Items; Pennsylvania Gazette, November 2, 1753; April 5, 1753; June 6, 1754; October 31, 1754; May 29, 1755; April 4, 1765.

[18] South Carolina Gazette Items, III, 302.

[19] "An Act for Settling and Maintaining Pilotts at Roanoke and Occacock Inlett," 1715, NCSR, XXIII, 40-41.

[20] "An Act for Settling and Maintaining Pilotts at Roanoke and Occacock Inlett," 1715, NCSR, XXIII, 40-41.

[21] Titles of (the 57) Acts Passed at Little River with Governor Burrington's Remarks, 1715/16, NCCR, III, 184.

[22] "An Act for appropriating part of the Impost Duty on Vessels or powder money to beacon or buoy out the Channels from Roanoak to Ocacock Inlett, and several other things, to facilitate the trade and Navigation in this Government," 1723, NCSR, XXV, 194.

[23] "An Act for appropriating part of the Impost Duty on Vessels or powder money to beacon or buoy out the Channels from Roanoak to Ocacock Inlett, and several other things, to facilitate the trade and Navigation in this Government," 1723, NCSR, XXV, 194, 196.

[24] Burrington to the Lords of Trade, July 1, 1731, NCCR, III, 154; Burrington's remarks concerning "An Act for Settling and Maintaining Pilotts at Roanoke and Occacock Inlett," NCCR, III, 184.

[25] Burrington's Address to the Assembly, July 4, 1733, NCCR, III, 542; Petition of the Commissioners for Bouying and Beaconing Ocracocke Inlett and Channel, July 7; 1733, NCCR, III, 573-574; Speaker of the House's Reply to Governor Burrington, July 11, 1733, NCCR, III, 551. Edward Mosely, Speaker of the House, said the powder duty had "loudly been complained of by the Traders of this Province" and since the Indian wars were now over, the fee was unnecessary. Governor Burrington to the Assembly, July 18, 1733, NCCR, III, 561.

[26] House reading of "An Act for the Better and more effectual encouraging and promoting the Trade of this Province," November 9, 1734, NCCR, III, 638.

[27] Miles Gale to Lower House of Assembly, November 9, 1734, NCCR, III, 638.

[28] Proclamation of Governor Johnston's arrival, November 13, 1734, NCCR, III, 643.

[29] "An Act for appropriating the Powder money towards fortifying and beaconing and Buoying out the several parts or Channels of this province and for imploying of pilots," January, 31, 1735, NCCR, IV, 89.
This bill was not mentioned among the list of bills signed into law by the Governor. See Acts endorsed by Governor Johnston, February 28, 1735, NCCR, IV, 154-155.

[30] "A Bill for an Act for facilitating the navigation of Several parts of this Province and buoying and beaconing the Channels leading from Ocacock Inlet to Edenton, Bath Town, and Newbern and for providing sufficient Pylots for the safe conduct of vessels," October 10, 1736, NCCR, IV, 240.

[31] October 12 session of the General Assembly, October 12, 1736, NCCR, IV, 241.

[32] Governor Johnston's address to the General Assembly, March 4, 1737, NCCR, IV, 272.

[33] List of bills presented to Governor Johnston for approval, March 6, 1739, NCCR, IV, 408.

[34] Petition of Robert Hewan, February 8, 1740, NCCR, IV, 384.

[35] Meeting of the Upper House, February 13, 1739, NCCR, IV, 361; List of bills presented to Governor Johnston for approval, March 6, 1739, NCCR, IV, 379.

[36] The 1735 bill was entitled "an Act for appropriating the Powder money towards fortifying and beaconing and Buoying out the several ports or Channels of this province and for imploying of pilots," Meeting of the Upper House, January 31, 1735, NCCR, IV, 89.
The 1739 act reads "An Act, facilitating the Navigation of the several Ports of this Province and for Buoying and Beaconing the Channels leading from Ocacock Inlet, to Edenton, Bath-Town and New Bern, and from Top-sail Inlet, to Beaufort Town, and other Ports and Inlets within the said Province herein mentioned; and for providing sufficient Pilots for the safe

conduct of Vessels." See Chapter IV of "Laws of North Carolina," 1738, NCSR, XXIII, 127. The date of this law's passage is given as March 6, 1739 in Colonial Records. See List of bills presented to Governor Johnston for approval, March 6, 1739, NCCR, IV, 379.

[37] See "Petition of Miles Gale, son of Miles Gale, Esquire," no date, Governor's Office Papers, Miscellaneous Council Papers, 1756-1760, G.0.110, (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History). There is no mention of the father becoming a pilot.

[38] Petition of Several Masters, Owners of Vessels and Others...., February 16, 1740, NCCR, IV, 506-507. The petition lists the rates charged as five shillings per draft foot for every vessel going to Roanoke and two shillings six pence per draft foot for vessels bound to New Bern, Bath or Beaufort.

[39] Resolution of the Committee of Propositions and Grievances, November 29, 1744, NCCR, IV, 745.

[40] Bill for "repealing the act Intitled an Act for facilitating Navigation," February 25, 1744, NCCR, IV, 724, 725.

[41] Lower House amendment to the Navigation Bill, March 5, 1739, NCCR, IV, 405. Before passage, a clause was added giving the bill a six year term. Since the Committee of Propositions and Grievances found it unsatisfactory in 1746, it was still in effect at that time and not officially repealed until 1748.

[42] This law was entitled "An Act for granting unto his Majesty the Sum of Twenty One Thousand Three Hundred and Fifty Pounds.... and for repealing the several laws herein mentioned." See Chapter X of "Laws of North Carolina," 1748, NCSR, XXIII, 296.

[43] "Petition of Miles Gale, Son of Miles Gale, Esquire," (No Date), Miscellaneous Council Papers, 1756-1760, Governor's Office Papers, G.0.110, Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.

This shows that the powder money was insufficient to meet needs. The legislature had agreed to pay Gale £ 1000 yearly. His son's petition alleged that the father was still owed L 239.15.10 Virginia currency by the government.

[44] "An Act for facilitating the Navigation of Port Bath, Port Roanoke, and Port Beaufort," NCSR, XXIII, 375.

[45] "An Act for facilitating the Navigation of Port Bath, Port Roanoke, and Port Beaufort," NCSR, XXIII, 375.

[46] "An Act for facilitating the Navigation of Port Bath, Port Roanoke, and Port Beaufort," NCSR, XXIII, 375.

[47] "An Act for facilitating the Navigation of Port Bath, Port Roanoke, and Port Beaufort," NCSR, XXIII, 375-377.

[48] Although no copy of the 1739 law was found, the petition submitted in 1740 listed the footage rates. These rates increased from two shillings six pence to six shillings per draft foot for vessels traveling from Beacon Island Road to Bath, New Bern or Beaufort; vessels traveling to Roanoke with drafts over six feet had their rates increased from five shillings to twelve shillings per draft foot. For a more complete comparison see the "Petition of Several Masters, Owners of Vessels and Others....," February 16, 1740, NCCR, IV, 506-507; "An Act for facilitating the Navigation of Port Bath, Port Roanoke, and Port Beaufort,"1752, NCSR, XXIII, 376.

[49] "An Act for facilitating the Navigation of Port Bath, Port Roanoke, and Port Beaufort," NCSR, XXIII, 375-376.

[50] "An Act for facilitating the Navigation of Port Bath, Port Roanoke, and Port Beaufort," NCSR, XXIII, 377.

[51] "An Act for facilitating the Navigation of Port Bath, Port Roanoke, and Port Beaufort," NCSR, XXIII, 378.

[52] The 1752 law was renewed in 1757 and 1762. See An Act to revive an Act for facilitating the Navigation of Port Bath, Port Roanoke, and Port Beaufort, 1757, NCSR, 475; An Act to amend and further continue an Act, intituled An Act for facilitating the Navigation of Port Bath, Port Roanoke, and Port Beaufort, 1757, NCSR, XXIII, 588.

[53] Deposition of Jonathan Howard, August 16, 1727, High Court of Admiralty Records, Public Records Office, London, England, copies of which may be found in British Records Collection, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, H.C.A.1/99,8731, hereinafter cited as British Collection.

[54] Governor Burrington to the Lords of Trade, September 4, 1731, NCCR, III, 210; Miles Gale to Lower House of Assembly, November 9, 1734, NCCR, III, 638.

[55] The Navigation Laws of 1715 and 1723 do not forbid masters from entering the inlet without pilots, nor do they force masters to pay for unrequested pilotage as do later laws. Possibly it would be illegal for unlicensed individuals to guide vessels as the laws require licensed pilots to post bonds and pay for any damages incurred as a result of their efforts.

Additional evidence indicates that there may not have been a pilot at the inlet in 1727 and that local vessels, at least, were probably piloted by their own crews. The Williamsburg trial records of one John Vidal and his group of would-be pirates who were captured at Ocracoke attest to this. One witness testified at the trial that the master and owner of a certain vessel at Ocracoke was an "excellent pilate." This master and, later, the witness were forced to attempt to carry the vessel through the inlet against an unfavorable wind. If a pilot was at the inlet functioning in this official capacity, it seems he would have been sought to perform this duty. See depositions of Jonathan Howard, Roger Kenyon and others, August 16, 1727, British Collection, H.C.A.1/99.

[56] Dunbar, Historical Geography, 130, note 52.

[57] In 1727 Josias Whitehouse and his wife lived at the inlet. Records suggest the presence of others along with the aforementioned Kersey. See Depositions of Michael Griffin and Roger Kenyon, August 16, 1727, British Collection, H.C.A.1/99.

[58] Dunbar, Historical Geography, 24.

[59] Pennsylvania Gazette, September 17, 1741. It is not stated that these houses were at Ocracoke.

[60] Dunbar, Historical Geography, 24.

[61] Thomas Child's narrative of the "Proceedings in North Carolina in America relating to the Spanish Wrecks in the year 1750," February 25, 1752, Saunders, NCCR, IV, 1300. The Pennsylvania Gazette mentions that the storms occurred in August. See Pennsylvania Gazette, September 6, 1750.

[62] The ship was at Ocracoke at least forty days. The entire length of her stay is a mystery for no mention was found as to the Guadaloupe's fate. See Gabriel Johnston to the Duke of Bedford, May 2, 1751, NCCR, IV, 1309.

[63] Gabriel Johnston's "Account of five Ships of the Spanish Flota put on Shore on the Coast of North Carolina by the great storm August 18, 1750," September 18, 1750, NCCR, IV, 1308.

[64] Thomas Child's narrative of the "Proceedings in North Carolina in America relating to the Spanish Wrecks in the year 1750," February 25, 1752, NCCR, IV, 1300-1301; Governor Johnston to the Duke of Bedford, November 18, 1750, NCCR, IV, 1308.

[65] Letter to the Duke of Bedford, June 4, 1751, NCCR, IV, 1310.

The Scorpion remained on station at Ocracoke from October 16 until November 2, 1750. She then returned to Cape Fear and left on December 10 for Cadiz. See "Abstract of the Proceedings of the said sloop [Scorpion] between the 11 Sept^{r} 1750 and 24 June, 1751." Admiralty Papers, Public Records Office, London, England, copies of which can be found in the British Records Collection, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, A.D.M. 7/572 file X76.3586.1.

The Spanish did not succeed in saving all the cargo. Part of the galleon's crew had become "Mutinous" and had loaded "106 Chests of money and thirty Bags of Cochineal" on board two "North Country Sloops whose Masters were intirely Strangers to them...." with the intention of going to Virginia. See Governor Johnston's "Account of the Spanish Wrecks on the Coast of North Carolina," no date, NCCR, IV, 1306.

The sloops, shortly thereafter, attempted to escape to sea with the cargo. One ran aground and was captured; the other's escape prompted the dispatch of two armed schooners in search. See the petition of Don Juan De Bonilla, NCCR, IV, 1306-1307; Governor Johnston's "Account of the Spanish Wrecks on the Coast of North Carolina," November 17, 1750, NCCR, IV, 1307-1308. About five months later it was reported that some of the crew from the escaped sloop were captured in New Jersey and committed to jail. No mention was made of the cargo's recovery. See Pennsylvania Gazette, April 11, 1751.

[66] Thomas Child's narrative of the "Proceedings in North Carolina in America relating to the Spanish Wrecks in the year 1750," February 25, 1752, NCCR, IV, 1300.

[67] Governor Johnston's "Account of five Ships of the Spanish Flota put on Shore on the Coast of North Carolina by the great storm August 18, 1750," September 18, 1750, NCCR, IV, 1305.

[68] Thomas Child's narrative of the "Proceedings in North Carolina in America relating to the Spanish Wrecks in the year 1750," February 25, 1752, NCCR, IV, 1300-1301.

[69] Governor Johnston to Mr. Abercromby, September 18, 1750, NCCR, IV, 1304.

[70] "An Act for facilitating the Navigation of Port Bath, Port Roanoke, and Port Beaufort, 1766," NCSR, XXIII, 670.

[71] "An Act for facilitating the Navigation of Port Bath, Port Roanoke and Port Beaufort, 1766," NCSR, XXIII, 670. However, the commissioners appointed for this purpose were negligent and, by another act passed that same year, were once again instructed to execute this duty. See An Act to amend an

Act, intituled, An Act for facilitating the Navigation of Port Bath, Port Roanoke and Port Beaufort, 1766, NCSR, XXIII, 746.

72 "An Act to amend an Act, for facilitating the Navigation of Port Bath, Port Roanoke, and Port Beaufort, 1755," NCSR, XXIII, 438.

73 "An Act for facilitating the Navigation of Port Bath, Port Roanoke, and Port Beaufort, 1766, NCSR, XXIII, 668; "An Act to amend and Continue an Act, For facilitating the Navigation of Port Bath, Port Roanoke, and Port Beaufort, 1770, NCSR, XXIII, 826, 827.

74 "An Act to amend and Continue an Act, For facilitating the Navigation of Port Bath, Port Roanoke, and Port Beaufort," NCSR, XXIII, 827.

75 Petition of the Ocracoke Pilots to Josiah Martin, 1733, NCCR, IX, 803.

76 Petition of Ocracoke pilots to Governor Josiah Martin, 1773(?), NCCR, IX, 803-804.

77 "An Act to amend and further continue an Act intituled An Act for facilitating the Navigation of Port Bath, Port Roanoke, and Port Beaufort; passed the Thirty first Day of May, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Fifty two, for Five Years," 1762, NCSR, XXIII, 588-589.

78 The rates were increased to ten shillings for vessels of fifty tons and under; twenty shillings for vessels over fifty tons but less than 100, and thirty shillings for vessels of 100 tons and over. In addition, vessels entering Ocracoke or Roanoke Inlets bound for Port Currituck paid the above rates to the collector at Port Currituck but the money was applied for staking and beaconing the channels in the Roanoke customs district. See "An Act to amend an Act, intituled, An Act for facilitating the Navigation of Port Bath, Port Roanoke, and Port Beaufort," 1766, NCSR, XXIII, 745-746.

79 "An Act for granting to his Majesty a Duty on the Tonnage of Ships and other Vessels Coming into this Province, for the purposes therein mentioned," 1754, NCSR, XXIII, 401-402.

80 In 1761 an act was passed "to ammend and Improve the Navigation from Currituck Inlet through the District in Currituck County, to Albemarle Sound." Under this act the powder and lead paid in Port Currituck was to be sold and a tonnage duty imposed in its place. Crown officials in England contacted Governor Dobbs and described this as "improper and impolitic" and "inconsistent with Those Instrictions which have

been given from time to time....requiring.... a Tonnage duty on Powder payable in Kind without any Commutation." See "An Act to amend and Improve the Navigation from Currituck Inlet through the District in Currituck County to Albemarle Sound," 1761, NCSR, XXIII, 544; Letter to the King from the Lords of Trade(?) concerning three North Carolina acts, February 17, 1762, Governor Arthur Dobbs Papers, 1754-1765, Governor's Papers, Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[81] "An Act to enable the Commissioners of Port Bath and Port Beaufort to amend the Navigation, and other Purposes," 1759, NCSR, XXIII, 506-507.

[82] Governor Dobbs to the Board of Trade, May 19, 1755, NCCR, V, 344-345.

[83] "Bill to enable commissioners of Port Roanoke to amend Navigation of said Port," 1758, General Assembly Session Records, 1709-1766, Box 1, (Division of Archives and History, Raleigh). It is not know if these funds were ever appropriated.

[84] "An Act for appointing and laying out a town on Core Banks, near Ocacock inlet, in Carteret county, and for appointing commissioners for compleatig (sic) the fort at or near the same place," 1753, NCSR, XXV, 252-253.

[85] It is not known exactly where this harbor was located. It may have been the anchorage near Royal Shoal mentioned in Jonathan Price's 1795 description of the inlet. See Price, "Occacock Inlet," 625-633.

[86] "An Act for appointing and laying out a town on Core Banks, near Ocacock inlet, in Carteret county, and for appointing commissioners for compleatig (sic) the fort at or near the same place," 1752, NCSR, XXV, 253-254.

A detailed description of Portsmouth's founding is provided in Kenneth E. Burke's, "The History of Portsmouth, North Carolina," Unpublished Masters Thesis, University of Richmond, 1958, hereinafter cited as Burke, "Portsmouth."

[87] "An Act for appointing and laying out a town on Core Banks, near Ocacock inlet, in Carteret county, and for appointing commissioners for compleatig (sic) the fort at or near the same place," 1752, Clark, NCSR, XXV, 253.

The property was originally owned by John Kersey and the money collected by the commissioners was paid to him as reimbursement. Burke, "Portsmouth," 11.

[88] Price, "Occacock Inlet," 627.

[89] Crittenden, Commerce of North Carolina, 5-6.

[90] Pennsylvania Gazette, October 31, 1754.

[91] Governor Dobbs to the Board of Trade, May 10, 1755, NCCR, V, 343; Governor Dobbs to the Board of Trade, December 27, 1757, NCCR, V, 946; Burke, "Portsmouth," 14.

[92] Burke, "Portsmouth," 14-15.

[93] "An Act to Regulate the Inspection of Pork, Beef, Rice, Flour, Butter, Indigo, Tar, Pitch, Terpentine, Staves, Heading, Shingles, Lumber and Deerskins," 1758, NCSR, XXV, 378; "An Act to prevent the Exportation of Unmerchantable Commodities," 1764, NCSR, XXIII, 639.

[94] Governor Dobbs to the Board of Trade, December 27, 1757, NCCR, V, 950; Governor Dobbs to Lord Halifax, January 14, 1764, NCCR, VI, 1021.

[95] General Assembly's Address to Governor Gabriel Johnston, Feb. 19, 1740, NCCR, IV, 479; Governor Dobbs to the Board of Trade, October 31, 1756, NCCR, V, 639.

[96] Pennsylvania Gazette, May 28, 1741; South Carolina Items, I, 172. It is unclear whether these vessels were captured off Ocracoke or Roanoke Inlet.

[97] South Carolina Items, I, 171, 173.

[98] South Carolina Items, I, 173.

[99] South Carolina Items, I, 173.

[100] South Carolina Items, I, 173.

[101] Pennsylvania Gazette, September 17, 1741.

[102] South Carolina Items, I, 190.

[103] South Carolina Items, I, 195, 205.

[104] South Carolina Items, I, 202.

[105] South Carolina Items, I, 202.

[106] Pennsylvania Gazette, June 2, 1748. This vessel was also active off the Pennsylvania and Delaware coasts where it was sometimes known as the Clinton. Apparently, the captain, Vincent de Lopez, gave to various captured crews different names for his vessel. The brigantine carried 14 carriage guns, six and four pounders. Her crew, numbering 160 men, was composed of Spanish, English, Irish, "many mulattoes, and some Negroes."

[107] Pennsylvania Gazette, June 9, 1748.

[108] Pennsylvania Gazette, June 9, 1748.

[109] Governor Dobbs to the Board of Trade, January 4, 1755, Saunders, NCCR, V, 316.

[110] Governor Dobbs to the Board of Trade, January 4, 1755, Saunders, NCCR, V, 316.

[111] Governor Tryon wrote Lord Hillsborough in 1769 that "Cape Look-Out Bay has provided a place of anchorage in former wars for the enemy's privateers from whence they could discover all ships directing their course for Ocracoke Inlet, and easily if the wind was fair, slip out the bay and intercept them." See Governor Tryon to Lord Hillsborough, April 24, 1769, NCCR, VIII, 30.

[112] Pennsylvania Gazette, June 9, 1748.

[113] William S. Powell, (ed.), The Correspondence of William Tryon and Other Selected Papers, II, 1768-1818, (Raleigh, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, 1981), 474, hereinafter cited as Powell, Tryon Papers.

[114] Burke, "Portsmouth," 12; Dunbar, Historical Geography, 24.

[115] It has been noted in this paper that Governor Burrington earlier supported the idea of fortifying Ocracoke but nothing came of his proposal.

[116] "An Act for appointing and laying out a town on Core Banks, near Ocacock inlet, in Carteret county, and for appointing commissioners for compleatig (sic) the fort at or near the same place," 1753, NCSR, XXV, 254. This act was passed April 12, 1753; See Bills assented to by Matthew Rowan, President of the Governor's Council, April 12, 1753, NCCR, V, 53.

[117] Matthew Rowan to Board of Trade, March 19, 1754, NCCR, V, 109.

[118] Dobbs to the Board of Trade, december 19, 1754, NCCR, V, 155-156.

[119] Amendments to the bill granting aid to His Majesty during General Assembly session, January 6, 1755, NCCR, V, 268-269; Dobbs' assent to General Assembly bills, January 14, 1755, NCCR, V, 309; Dobbs to the Board of Trade, February 8, 1755, NCCR, V, 333.

[120] Dobbs to the Board of Trade, February 8, 1755, NCCR, V. 333.

[121] Dobbs to the Board of Trade, January 14, 1755, NCCR, V, 315-316. Possibly to make this request more attractive, Dobbs pointed out that these troops could assist the revenue officers and the surveyors of the King's lands. However, the British government never sent the requested troops.

[122] Letter from Governor Dobbs, August 25, 1755, NCCR, V, 419.

[123] Dobbs to the Board of Trade, May 10, 1755, NCCR, V, 343.

[124] Dobbs to the Board of Trade, May 10, 1755, NCCR, V, 343.
Dobbs said the inlet's opening had increased from two to four miles in width and Beacon Island was "one half washed away and become only a dry Sand at low water....."

[125] Dobbs to the Board of Trade, May 10, 1755, NCCR, V, 343.
Dobbs' intention in using piles was to raise the battery "5 feet above the usual spring tides...." See Dobbs to the Earl of Loudoun, July 10, 1756, NCCR, V, 596-597.

[126] Dobbs to the Earl of Loudoun, July 10, 1756, NCCR, V, 597.

[127] Dobbs to the Board of Trade, May 10, 1755, NCCR, V, 343; Dobbs to the Earl of Loudoun, July 10, 1756, NCCR, V, 597.

[128] Dobbs to the Board of Trade, May 19, 1755, NCCR, V, 344-345.

[129] Letter from Governor Dobbs, August 25, 1755, NCCR, V, 419.

[130] Letter from Governor Dobbs, August 25, 1755. NCCR, V, 419.

[131] Governor Dobbs to the Earl of Loudoun; July 10, 1756, NCCR, V, 596.

[132] Governor Dobbs to the Board of Trade, October 31, 1756, NCCR, V, 639.

[133] Meeting of the upper house, December 3, 1757, NCCR, V, 878; Bills assented to by Governor Dobbs, December 14, 1757, NCCR, V, 888.

[134] Excerpt from the Board of Trade Journals, July 7, 1756, NCCR, V, 651.

[135] Colonial assembly's address to Governor Dobbs, November 23, 1757, NCCR, V, 891. The assembly requested that Governor Dobbs thank the King for the artillery sent by crown officials.

[136] Colonial assembly's address to Governor Dobbs, November 23, 1757, NCCR, V, 891.

[137] Amendment to the "Bill to prevent the spreading infection distempers etc...," October 11, 1755, NCCR, V, 514.

[138] Governor Dobbs to the Board of Trade, October 31, 1756, NCCR, V, 639.

[139] Meeting of the Governor's Council, November 26, 1758, NCCR, V, 994. On November 26, 1758 one Joseph Ryall, described as "one of the soldiers belonging to Fort Granville," gave a legal deposition against one James Jones, Esquire, during a Governor's council meeting in Edenton.

The company stationed at Fort Granville was under the command of Captain Charles McNair. Dobbs to the Board of Trade, December 20, 1758, NCCR, V, 968.

[140] Upper house objections to the aid bill, December 16, 1758, NCCR, V, 1027; Amendments to the aid bill, December 18, 1758, NCCR, V, 1031. One company each was raised for Forts Granville and Johnston. The troops were funded by a three shilling, one pence poll tax for 1760 which would repay the £ 4000 allotted by the government for the two companies. See Powell, Tryon Papers, 475.

[141] See Governor Dobb's report to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations entitled, "The Colony, Its Climate, Soil, Population, Government, Resources, Etc., (no date), NCCR, VI, 615.

[142] Report on Forts Johnston and Granville, read in the lower house, December 19, 1758, NCCR, V, 1084.

[143] Report on Forts Johnston and Granville, read in the lower house, December 19, 1758, NCCR, V, 1084.

[144] Report on Forts Johnston and Granville, read in the lower house, December 19, 1758, NCCR, V, 1084.

[145] Report of the Committee to review Fort Granville, December 13, 1759, NCCR, VI, 158-159.

[146] See Governor Dobbs' report to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations entitled, "The Colony, Its Climate, Soil, Population, Government, Resources, etc., (no date), NCCR, VI, 615.

[147] Reports of the Committee of Public Claims, November 13, 1762, NCCR, VI, 741-742. Campbell applied to the Committee of Public Claims for payment in November, 1762. The sum calculated for payment was £ 58.2.8 which included four years interest. This would indicate the guns were procured in 1758.

[148] George Bell's receipt for transporting ordinance, November 16, 1762, Military Papers, Box 1, 1747-1779, Treasurer's and Comptroller's Papers (Division of Archives and History, Raleigh).

[149] Governor Dobbs reported to the Board of Trade in 1761(?) that the company of men stationed at Fort Johnston had been reduced to twenty during the previous two years. He further ordered the company to be reduced to "Two men and a gunner." See Dobbs' report entitled "The Colony.... Resources, etc., (no date), NCCR, VI, 615.

However, he was willing to increase the garrison if the crown would pay for the troops. See Dobbs' report entitled "The Colony,.... Resources, etc.," (no date), NCCR, VI, 616. No mention is made of Fort Granville's company.

[150] Lower house resolution concerning Fort Granville and Fort Johnston, April 28, 1762, NCCR, VI, 831; Concurrence of upper house with the fort resolutions, April 29, 1762, NCCR, VI, 833.

[151] Arthur Dobbs to lower house, December 10, 1762, NCCR, VI, 958; John Ashe to Arthur Dobbs, December 10, 1762, NCCR, VI, 959.

[152] Governor Dobbs' report to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations entitled, "The Colony, Its Climate, Soil, Population, Government, Resources, etc., (no date), NCCR, VI, 616; Governor Dobbs to Lord Halifax, January 14, 1764, NCCR, VI, 1021; Governor Dobbs to the Board of Trade, March 29, 1764, NCCR, VI, 1028.

Specifically, Dobbs said "it is humbly hoped that His Majesty will establish an Independent Company in this Province of 100 men to garrison these Forts, and to assist the Revenue Officers in preventing an illicit Trade, and to protect if necessary the Surveyors to resurvey His Majesty's Lands when encroached upon, and to prevent Frauds in the receipts of the Quit rents."

[153] Dobbs' speech to the General Assembly, February 4, 1764, NCCR, VI, 1090.

[154] Resolutions concerning Forts Johnston and Granville, March 10, 1764, NCCR, VI, 1148-1149.

[155] Resolution concerning Forts Johnston and Granville, November 28, 1764, NCCR, VI, 1254-1255.

[156] Resolution concerning Forts Johnston and Granville, March 10, 1764, NCCR, VI, 1148-1140.

[157] Governor Tryon to Board of Trade, April 30, 1766, NCCR, VII, 203.

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

[1] Barry Frye, "Privateers and Letters of Marque in North Carolina During the American Revolution," MA Thesis, East Carolina University, 1980, 13, hereinafter cited as Frye, "Privateers and Letters of Marque."

Commercial activity is also shown by the presence of privateers. Accounts of their activity may be found in: "Saml Jarvis to Governor Caswell," November 16, 1778, NCSR, XIII, 285; North Carolina Gazette, July 17, 1778.

[2] "Captain Andrew Snape Hammond to Hans Stanley," September 24, 1776, Naval Documents of the American Revolution, William James Morgan (ed.), (9 Volumes, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1965-1987), VI, 974, hereinafter cited as NDAR.

[3] Ira D. Gruber, The Howe Brothers and the American Revolution, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1972), 293, hereinafter cited as Gruber, Howe Brothers. Vice Admiral Howe did send cruisers to the North Carolina coast in April, 1777, but this was not a reflection of official policy specifically targeting Ocracoke as in April, 1778.

[4] William N. Still, Jr., North Carolina's Revolutionary War Navy, (Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1976), 3, hereinafter cited as Still, Revolutionary Navy; "Will Pasteur to Governor Abner Nash," September 8, 1780, NCSR, XV, 78.

[5] Other governmental agents continued to conduct business at the ports, fulfilling many of the regulatory functions which existed before the war. As Crittenden said, "The machinery created to enforce commercial regulations was similar to that of the Colonial period." See Crittenden, Commerce of North Carolina, 121.

[6] "Lt. Col. H. Murfree to Gen. Sumner," December 5, 1781, NCSR, XV, 666-667. Murfree agreed to ship tobacco in the brigantine Joseph from Murfree's Landing to St. Thomas. He also referred to another vessel loading there which had been built at Winton, N.C.

[7] "Narrative of Captain Andrew Snape Hammond," April 6, 1776, NDAR, IV, 686; Crittenden, Commerce of North Carolina, 131.

[8] Governor Caswell to James Coor, February 10, 1778, North Carolina Administrative Records, Records of the States of the United States of America, William Sumner Jenkins, (ed.),

(Library of Congress, 1949), E.2b, reel 1; hereinafter cited as RSUS.

[9] Crittenden, Commerce of North Carolina, 132; "An Account of Ships and Vessels Taken as Prizes of War, By His Majesty's Ships and Vessels Under the Command of Vice Admiral Young at Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands, and in the Seas Adjacent, Since the Last Account Transmitted the 30th September Past," December 9, 1776, NDAR, VII, 428; "Journal of HMS Hind," March 18, 1777, NDAR, VIII, 149.

[10] "Journal of the North Carolina Council of Safety," July 3, 1776, NDAR, V, 903.

[11] Crittenden, Commerce of North Carolina, 132; "Captain Roger Wells, R.N., to Philip Stephens," August 21, 1776, NDAR, VI, 559; "North Carolina Memorial to the Continental Congress," December 23, 1776, NDAR, VII, 580; "A List of Prizes Taken, and Vessels Retaken by His Majesty's Ships Under the Command of Sir Peter Parker," January 11, 1777, NDAR, VII, 926; "Journal of HMA Hind," March 18, 1777, NDAR, VIII, 149.

While these specific ports are mentioned, it does not preclude the possiblity of other ports being involved in American trade.

[12] Crittenden, Commerce of North Carolina, 132; "John Adams to James Warren," April 6, 1777, NDAR, VIII, 282.

The value of tobacco was recognized early in the war.

[13] For example, a valuable cargo of salt, molasses, rum and dry goods was financed with Edenton tobacco on a continental account in September, 1777. See "Willig, Morris and Co. to William Bingham," September 14, 1776, NDAR, VI, 826-827.

Salt was traded for tobacco to help freight the Pennsylvania Farmer. See "Charles Bonafield to Gov. Caswell, March 4, 1778, RSUS, E.2b, reel 1.

For reference to King Taminy see Robert Smith to Governor Caswell, July 19, 1777, Governor Richard Caswell's Letterbook, 1776-1779, Bound Volume on file with North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.

One hundred fifty pounds of tobacco were to be paid by the state of Virginia for each one hundred pounds of iron cannon shipped to Edenton in 1778 on the Holy Heart of Jesus. See Robert Smith and Thomas Benbury to Governor Caswell, November 19, 1778, RSUS, E.2b. reel 1.

[14] R. Bignall to Governor Martin, October 18, 1781, RSUS, E.2b, reel 2.

[15] Wilfred Brenton Kerr, Bermuda and the American Revolution: 1760-1783, (Archon Books, 1969, reprinted from 1936 Edition, Princeton University Press), 91.

[16] "Lt. Henry Mowat, R.N., to Vice Admiral Samuel Graves," December 9, 1775, NDAR, III, 20.

[17] George M. Curtis, III, "The Goodrich Family and the Revolution in Virginia, 1774-1776," The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, LXXXIV, (January, 1976), 57.

[18] London Chronicle, January 3, 1776, NDAR, III, 472; "Elbridge Gerry to James Warren," March 6, 1776, NDAR, IV, 198; Orlando W. Stephenson, "The Supply of Gunpowder in 1776," American Historical Review, XXX, (January, 1925), 277, hereinafter cited as Stephenson, "The Supply of Gunpowder."
For example, in May, 1776 "500 wt." of gunpowder belonging to Maryland arrived in New Bern. See "Maryland Council of Safety to the North Carolina Council of Safety," May 25, 1776, NDAR, V, 258.

[19] Marine Committee to Henry Tucker and Thomas Godet, October 10, 1776, Charles O. Paulin (ed.), Out-Letters of the Continental Marine Committee and Board of Admiralty (2 Volumes, New York: Naval History Society, 1914), I, 29, hereinafter cited as Marine Committee Out-Letters; North Carolina Gazette, March 13, 1778, and "Petition of Henry Hinson," December, 1780, NCSR, XV, 219; "Gov. Caswell to James Coor, Esqr, N.O.," February 5, 1778, NCSR, XIII, 28; "Gov. Caswell to Mr. Thomas Ogden," February 10, 1778, NCSR, XIII, 38.

[20] "Gov. Thos. Nelson, Jr. to Governor Burke," August 10, 1781, NCSR, XV, 598.

[21] North Carolina Gazette, October and November 21, 1777; Alonzo Thomas Dill, Jr., "Eighteenth Century New Bern: Part VII, New Bern During the Revolution," The North Carolina Historical Review, XXIII, (July, 1946), 351; Stephenson, "The Supply of Gunpowder," 279; "Dixon and Hunter's Virginia Gazette," April 6, 1776, NDAR, IV, 570.
Evidence of the desertion problem appears in the March 13, 1778 issue of the North Carolina Gazette. The captain of the Ferdinand, then anchored at Beaufort, offered a $25.00 reward to anyone capturing a French sailor more than twelve miles from the ship. Measures passed by the assembly came too late to correct the problem. See also Crittenden, Commerce of North Carolina, 129, 130.

[22] Two vessels with such cargoes, probably returning to Ocracoke, were captured by HMS Maidstone on December 20, 1775.

The sloop Penelope which had cleared Port Roanoke was returning with molasses; the schooner Happy, which had departed from Bath, was returning with molasses and sugar. In January, 1776 the Maidstone captured another vessel enroute to North Carolina from Cape Nicholas Mole with sugar, molasses and coffee. See "Copy of a case with the Opinion of the Attorney General and the Honorable Richard Welch, Esqr.," March 28, 1776, NDAR, IV, 555.

[23] Still, Revolutionary Navy, 9, 15; "Col. Joseph Leech to the Council of State," January 2, 1781, NCSR, XV, 418.
Continental troops had a right to a "gill" of rum per day. See "Capt. Ptolemy Powell to Gov. Caswell," June 20, 1779, NCSR, XIV, 133.

[24] "Lt. Col. Murfree to Abner Nash," July 10, 1781, NCSR, XV, 521; "Return of Rum, Sugar, Coffee, Canvass, Oznabrigs, Paper, Powder, Lead and Steel, Impressed for the service of the United States," July 10, 1781, NCSR, XV, 524.

[25] "James Warren to Samuel Phillips Savage," February 15, 1777, VII, NDAR, 1208; "Massachusetts Board of War to Emanuel Pliarne," April 16, 1777, NDAR, VIII, 351-352.

[26] References to voyages, vessels, and their cargoes are found in the following: "Massachusetts Board of War to Captain Amos Rider," March 5, 1777, NDAR, VIII, 33; "Massachusetts Board of War to Captain Nathaniel Stone," January 22, 1777, NDAR, VII, 1015-1016; "Committee Report to the North Carolina Provincial Congress," December 18, 1776, NDAR, VII, 516.

[27] "James Meese to Richard Caswell," December 5, 1777, RSUS, E.2b, reel 1.

[28] Crittenden, Commerce of North Carolina, 151.

[29] Charles O. Paullin, the Navy of the American Revolution, (Chicago: Burrows Brothers, 1906), 455; Crittenden, Commerce of North Carolina, 151.

[30] John Crump Parker, "Old South Quay in Southampton County," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, LXXXIII, (April, 1975), 166.

[31] Crittenden, Commerce of North Carolina, 151,

[32] "Lt. Henry Mowat, R.N., to Vice Admiral Samuel Graves," December 9, 1775, NDAR, III, 20. Mowat was in command of the armed vessel Canceaux. His report originated with the mate of another vessel who claimed to have visited Ocracoke on eight voyages and had viewed the "smuggling" seven months earlier.

[33] Samuel Cornell and John London to Governor Caswell, December 4, 1777, RSUS, E.2b, reel 1; Richard Caswell to Samuel Cornell and John London, December 20, 1777, RSUS, e.2b, reel 1; "Gov. Josiah Martin to Lord George Germain," January 23, 1778, NCSR, XIII, 367-368.

[34] Richard Caswell to General Washington, February 15, 1778, RSUS, e.2b, reel 1; Richard Caswell to Colonel John Williams, March 23, 1778, RSUS, E.2b, reel 1; Richard Caswell to Michael Tillege, May 4, 1778, RSUS, E.2b, reel 1.

[35] Paullin, Navy of the American Revolution, 455; Crittenden, Commerce of North Carolina, 151; Thomas Craike to Governor Caswell, June 9, 1778, RSUS, E.2b, reel 1.

[36] Phillips Russell, North Carolina in the Revolutionary War, (Charlotte: Heritage Printers, 1965), 170, hereinafter cited as Russel, North Carolina in the Revolutionar War.
After Camden Governor Nash wrote: "We had expended upwards of twenty millions of dollars on this army. We had drained every source and exhausted every fund in purchasing tents, wagons, horses, arms, ammunition, provision, spirits, sugar, coffee, camp equippage of every kind, in short everything appertaining to any army; and in a single half-hour all is completely lost, and the army in a manner annihilated."

[37] All these issues are reflected to some degree in the sale of prize goods captured by the General Nash. It is not known how severely private competition for goods hurt the military. Since prize cargoes were auctioned, naturally the highest bidder would benefit. On one occasion the private sector absorbed all available gunpowder from a captured cargo before military purchasers could obtain any. See "James Coor to Governor Burke," July 25, 1781, NCSR, XV, 572.

[38] Le Chevelier D'anmours to Governor Caswell, April 12, 1780, RSUS, e.2b, reel 2.

[39] For an account of St. Eustatius's role in the war see J. Franklin Jameson, "St. Eustatius in the American Revolution," American Historical Review, VIII, (July, 1903), 683-708.
At least one Edenton merchant partly attributed a considerable financial loss to St. Eustatius' capture. See letter from Chas. Johnston to Governor Burke, August 11, 1781, RSUS, E.2b, reel 2.

[40] John Campbell to Governor Burke, September 5, 1781, RSUS, E.2b, reel 2.

[41] "Lt. Col. T.B. Ashe to Brigadier General Sumner," June 1, 1781, NCSR, XV, 469-470; Major H. Murfree to General Sumner, June 9, 1781, NCSR, XV, 475; H. Murfree to Governor Nash," June 8, 1781, RSUS, E.2b, reel 2.

The British burned South Quay in mid July, 1781. See "Lt. Col. H. Murfree to General Sumner, July 22, 1781, NCSR, XV, 560.

Pitch Landing, a depot about four miles up river from Murfree's Landing, was described in July, 1781 as "a place of considerable trade." In 1787 it was incorporated as Pitch Landing but declined as a town as near by Murfreesboro grew. See "Lt. Col. H. Murfree to General Sumner," July 22, 1781, NCSR, XV, 560; William S. Powell, North Carolina Gazeteer, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968), 387.

One hogshead of tobacco generally weighed 1000 pounds. About 135,000 pounds of this tobacco belonged to nine merchants or their firms. See "Return of Tobacco Impressed at the Pitch Landing by His Excellency Gov. Burke's orders," September 10, 1781, RSUS, E.2b, reel 2.

[42] Robert Smith to Governor Burke, August 9, 1781, RSUS, E.2b, reel 2.

[43] Governor Burke to Colonel Davie, August 31, 1781, RSUS, E.2b, reel 1.

[44] Alexander Lillington to Governor Burke, September 15, 1781, RSUS, E.2b, reel 2. In September Lillington said that the army needed everything except provisions but "It is needless for me to send to New Bern for these articles or any other for we are sure not to be supplied."

For references of arrivals from September through December, 1781 see: James Campbell to Governor Burke, September 5, 1781, RSUS, E.2b, reel 2; R. Bignall to Governor Martin, October 10, 1781, RSUS, E.2b, reel 2; R. Bignall to Governor Martin, December 4, 1781, RSUS, e.2b, reel 2.

[45] Nathaniel Greene to Thomas Burke, March 18, 1782, RSUS, E.2b, reel 2; Thomas Burke to General Greene, April 12, 1782, RSUS, E.2b, reel 2.

[46] John Watts, Jr., Commissary Agent for the Continental Army to Governor Burke, February 28, 1782, RSUS, E.2b, reel 2; Alexander Martin to Governor Burke, January 31, 1782, RSUS, E.2b, reel 2.

[47] Russell, North Carolina in the Revolutionary War, 128.

[48] "Prefatory Notes," NCSR, XV, viii.

[49] "Col. R. Cogdell to Governor Nash," September 4, 1780, NCSR, XV, 68-69; "Major William Blount to Major General Gates," September 24, 1780, NCSR, XIV, 644-645; "Col. Stephen Drayton to Maj. Gen. Gates," September 25, 1780, NCSR, XIV, 649-651; "Maj. William Blount to Maj. Gen. Gates," September 5, 1780, NCSR, XIV, 591-592.

[50] "Major William Blount to Major General Gates," September 24, 1780, NCSR, XIV, 644-645; "Joseph Clay to Maj. Gen. Gates," October 23, 1780, NCSR, XIV, 706.

[51] "Gen. Edward Stevens to Major General Gates," November 24, 1780, NCSR, XIV, 753; "Surgeon J.B. Browne to Major Gen. Gates," November 25, 1780, NCSR, XIV, 756.

[52] Dennis Michael Conrad, "Nathaniel Greene and the Southern Campaigns, 1780-1783," (Unpublished Dissertation, Duke University, 1979), 25, 31-32, 88, 90; Erna Risch, Supplying Washington's Army, (Washington, D.C.: Center of Military History, 1981), 326, 371.

[53] Crittenden, Commerce of North Carolina, 99; North Carolina Gazette, February 20, 1778, and May 29, 1778.

[54] "James Coor to Governor Burke," July 25, 1781, NCSR, XV, 572.

[55] Frye, "Privateers and Letters of Marque," 73.

[56] The influence exerted by the pilots is implied in several instances. As noted below, a pilotage law was amended after several months when it appeared that pilots may have intentionally damaged some vessels while under their supervision. This amendment apparently did not placate the pilots who later entered into an "association" and refused to guide waiting ships. See "An Act to amend an Act, intituled, An Act to regulate the Pilotage of Cape Fear and Occacock Bars, and the Rivers leading from the same to Brunswick, Wilmington, New Bern, Bath, and Edenton," 1778, NCSR, XXV, 167-168; "Capt. Willis Wilson to Gov. Caswell," June 26, 1778, XIII, NCSR, 171.

[57] References to Goodrich's raid and capture may be found in these sources: "James Iredell to Joseph Hewes," April 29, 1776, Don Higgenbotham, (ed.), The Papers of James Iredell, (Two Volumes, Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, 1976), I, 356, hereinafter cited as Iredell Papers; "Report of a Committee of the North Carolina Provincial Congress Upon the Conduct of Insurgents and Suspected Persons Now Prisoners in Gaol," May 10, 1776, NDAR, V, 39-40; Resolution of the Provincial Congress concerning the Lilly, April 25, 1776, NCSR, X, 542; "Journal of the North Carolina Provincial Congress,"

April 30, 1776, NDAR, IV, 1345-1347; "Extract of a Letter from North Carolina Dated Halifax the Twenty-Second of April, 1776, NDAR, IV, 1209; "Journal of the Virginia Convention," June 4, 1776, NDAR, V, 372-373.

There are minor discrepancies among the various accounts.

Benjamin Bonner, who led the Ocracoke force, shortly thereafter became the lieutenant of a militia company stationed at Ocracoke. See "Journal of the Provincial Congress at Halifax," April 29. 1776, NCSR, X, 546-547.

[58] Journal of the Provincial Congress, December 16, 1776, NCCR, X, 971.

[59] "An Act to regulate the Pilotage of Cape Fear and Occacock Bars, and the Rivers leading from the same to Brunswick, Wilmington, New Bern, Bath and Edenton," 1777, NCSR, XXIV, 124-128, hereinafter cited as "An Act to regulate the Pilotage...."

[60] For a comparison of rates, see "An Act to regulate the Pilotage...," 125, and "An Act to amend an Act, intituled, An Act to regulate the Pilotage of Cape Fear and Occacock Bars, and the Rivers leading from the same to Brunswick, Wilmington, New Bern, Bath, and Edenton," 1778, NCSR, XXIV, 167-168.

[61] "Senate Journal," November 25, 1777, NCSR, XII, 140.

[62] "Capt. Willis Wilson to Governor Caswell," May 20, 1778, NCSR, XIII, 132-134; "Gov. Caswell to Capt. Willis Wilson, ship Caswell, Ocracoke," May 26, 1778, NCSR, XIII, 138.

[63] "Capt. Willis Wilson to Gov. Caswell," June 26, 1778, XIII, NCSR, 171.

[64] Another pilotage act was passed in that year. See "An Act for facilitating the navigation, and regulating the pilotage of the several ports of this State," 1783, NCSR, XXIV, 502-508.

[65] "An Act to regulate the Pilotage...," 127; "An Act to regulate and ascertain the Officers Fees therein mentioned," 1780, 314-316.

[66] Frye, "Privateers and Letters of Marque," 75. Frye claims Nova Scotia was the best hunting area but had the disadvantage of being near British naval activity.

[67] "John Wright Stanley to Nathaniel Shaw, Jr.," March 20, 1777, NDAR, VIII, 160.

[68] "Genl. W.H. Harrington to Major Genl. Gates," November 23, 1780, NCSR, XIV, 748; "Proposal for Commission for the North Carolina Privateer Schooner Johnston," June 25, 1776, NDAR, V, 743.

An unnamed privateer of thirty five tons is mentioned in the May 15, 1778 issue of the North Carolina Gazette.

In searching for names of privateers, the major sources include: Naval Documents of the American Revolution, North Carolina State Records and the North Carolina Gazette.

[69] Frye, "Privateers and Letters of Marque," 70, 83; North Carolina Gazette, September 11, 1778; William Caswell to Governor Burke, July 31, 1781, RSUS, E.2b, reel 2.

[70] Frye, "Privateers and Letters of Marque," 20, 22.

[71] "Journal of the Continental Congress," August 30, 1776, NDAR, VI, 365; Marine Committee to Lt. Thomas Albertson, October 1, 1776, Out Letters of the Marine Committee, II, 17, 18.

[72] "Captain John Paul Jones to Joseph Hodges," January 12, 1777, NDAR, VII, 937; "Marine Committee of the Continental Congerss to Captain John Barry," July 2, 1776, NDAR, V, 878; North Carolina Gazette, February 13, 1778.

The Independence had made a number of trips to the West Indies. Details of her wrecking have not been found but her guns and "Sundry other things" were salvaged. One reference suggests her guns helped arm Fort Hancock at Cape Lookout. See Dr. Cottineau to Richard Caswell, May 12, 1778, RSUS, E.2b, reel 1; Marine Committee to Captain John Young, May 6, 1778, Out Letters of the Marine Committee, I, 237.

[73] "William Hooper to Samuel Johnston," February 6, 1776, NDAR, III, 1151-1152.

[74] "Josiah Martin, Governor of North Carolina, to Lord Dartmouth," June 30, 1775, NDAR, I, 788-792, 792 note; "Captain Tobias Furneaux to Philip Stephens," March 29, 1776, NDAR, III, 723; "William Hooper and Joseph Hewes, North Carolina Delegates in the Continental Congress, to Peter Van Brugh Livingston, President of the Provincial Congress of New York," July 8, 1775, NDAR, I, 842.

[75] "London Chronicle," January 3, 1776, NDAR, III, 472; "Journal of the Proceedings of the Provincial Council," December 21, 1775, NCSR, X, 354.

[76] One other incident occurred to remind the people of Ocracoke and the ports that an active enemy was on their

doorstep. The sloop Peggy was captured by HMS Syren at "a Place called the Frying Pan." A prize crew was to take the vessel to Cape Fear but a gale forced her into Ocracoke where she was recaptured by her original crew. See "Proceedings of the Committee of Safety at New Bern," February 22, 1776, NCSR, X, 462-463.

77 "Minutes of the New Bern, North Carolina, Committee of Safety," February 15, 1776, NDAR, III, 1309.

78 "Journal of the North Carolina Provincial Congress," December 11, 1776, NCSR, X, 546-547. The chief officers were: James Anderson, Captain; Benjamin Bonner, First Lieutenant; James Wahob, Second Lieutenant and John Brag, Ensign.

79 "Journal of the Council of Safety held at Halifax," July 21, 1776, NCSR, X, 687. John Eason "of Carteret County" was appointed paymaster.

80 "Journal of the North Carolina Council of Safety," July 26, 1776, NDAR, V, 1236; "Journal of the Council of Safety, held at Halifax," July 21, 1776, NCSR, X, 687.

81 "Rob. Smith to Gov. Caswell," July 31, 1777, NCSR, XI, 551; "Major D. Barrow to Gov. Caswell," August 4, 1777, NCSR, XI, 555.

82 "The Journal of the Provincial Congress of North Carolina," December 20, 1776, NCSR, X, 978; "The Journal of the Provincial Congress of North Carolina," December 22, 1776, NCSR, X, 989; "Senate Journal," May 9, 1777, NCSR, XIII, 99.

83 "Resolution of the Council of State," September 2, 1777, NCSR, XXII, 927; "Journal of the House of Commons," December 9, 1777, NCSR, XII, 359.

84 "The Journal of the Proceedings of the Provincial Council," December 21, 1775, NCSR, X, 352; Still, Revolutionary Navy, 6.

85 Still, Revolutionary Navy, 6; "Journal of the North Carolina Council of Safety," October 21, 1776, NDAR, VI, 1356.

86 Still, Revolutionary Navy, 6.

87 "Journal of the North Carolina Council of Safety," October 1, 1776, NDAR, VI, 1095; "Commissioners Appointed to Fit Out the Brig Pennsylvania Farmer to the North Carolina Council of Safety," October 1, 1776, NDAR, VI, 1096-1097; "Commissioners for Fitting Out the Brig King Tammany to the

North Carolina Council of Safety," October 18, 1776, NDAR, VI, 1356; Still, Revolutionary Navy, 19.

88 "Journal of the North Carolina Provincial Congress," December 11, 1776, NDAR, VII, 453; Still, Revolutionary Navy, 20, 21, 23; North Carolina Gazette, September 19, 1777; Joseph Leech to Governor Caswell, September 17, 1777, RSUS, E.2b, reel 1.

89 "Joseph Hewes to Governor Richard Caswell," April 4, 1777, NDAR, VIII, 272; Robert Smith to Governor Caswell, July 19, 1777, Governor Richard Caswell's Letterbook, 1776-1779, 129-130; Still, Revolutionary Navy, 19, 20, 23.

90 John Forster to Richard Caswell, June 8, 1777, Governor Richard Caswell's Letterbook, 1776-1779, 96, 97; Still, Revolutionary Navy, 14, 23.

91 Gruber, Howe Brothers, 81, 102, 139, 202. See also "Vice Admiral Richard Lord Howe to Phillip Stephens," March 31, 1777, NDAR, VIII, 232.

92 Gruber, Howe Brothers, 136, 139. In addition to provisions, repair materials were also in short supply from delayed store ships. Concerning this Howe wrote in March, 1777: "The Want of those Stores, but of Cordage more especially becomes now so considerable, that it will greatly affect the Employment of the Cruising Ships." See "Vice Admiral Richard Lord Howe to Phillip Stephens, March 31, 1777, NDAR, VIII, 230.

93 Gruber, Howe Brothers, 201.

94 "Connecticut Gazette," May 10, 1776, NDAR, V, 30-31.

95 "Willig, Morris and Co. to William Bingham, Martinique," July 21, 1776, NDAR, V, 1205-1206.

96 "Vice Admiral Richard Lord Howe to Commodore William Hotham, HMS Preston," December 23, 1776, NDAR, VII, 569; "Vice Admiral Richard Lord Howe to Phillip Stephens," April 8, 1777, NDAR, VIII, 295.

The Camilla had been stationed off Charleston with the Perseus. On February 21 both vessels entered Antigua with a number of prizes. See "Edward Rutledge to Robert Morris," Janaury 23, 1777, NDAR, VII, 1029; "Journal of HMS Camilla, Captain Charles Phipps," February 20, 1777, NDAR, VIII, 1029.

The Brune was a thirty two gun frigate carrying 220 men. The Merlin was reportedly a twenty gun vessel. See "Disposition of Vice Admiral Richard Lord Howe's Fleet in North America," January 15, 1777, NDAR, VII, 964.

97 "Joseph Leech to Governor Caswell," September 17, 1777, NCSR, XI, 623; North Carolina Gazette, September 19, 1777.

98 The two privateers were the brig Sturdy Beggar, fourteen guns, 100 men, and the sloop, Heart of Oak, ten guns, fifty men. See North Carolina Gazette, September 19, 1777; also "Governor Caswell to Captain John Nelson of Craven Militia," September 20, 1777, NCSR, XI, 775; "Governor Caswell to John Williams and William Burgess," September 20, 1777, NCSR, XI, 775.

99 "Resolution of the Provincial Congress," May 9, 1776, NCSR, X, 572; "Minutes of the Virginia Committee of Safety," June 6, 1776, NDAR, V, 405; Still, Revolutionary Navy, 7, 9.
The terms of the construction agreement for the galleys are confusing but it appears North Carolina was at least partly responsible for supplying equipment and helping with crew payment and vessel maintenance.

100 Still, Revolutionary Navy, 9, 10.

101 Still, Revolutionary Navy, 7, 17.

102 By comparison, Virginia built a fleet of river galleys for defense of her inland waters. These vessels were only slightly smaller than the Caswell, measuring seventy one feet on the keel with a twenty foot beam. Yet, they carried two guns, eighteen pounders, and were manned by a crew of fity men. See Charles B. Cross, Jr., A Navy for Virginia, (Yorktown: Virginia Independence Bicentennial Commission, 1981), 22, hereinafter cited as Cross, A Navy for Virginia.

103 Robert Armistead Stewart, The History of Virginia's Navy of the Revolution, (Richmond: Mitchel and Hotchkiss, 1933), 20.
The Caswell was delayed for at least a short time by insufficient bread and round shot. See "Capt. Willis Wilson to Gov. Caswell," May 20, 1778, NCSR, XIII, 132-133.

104 "Disposition of John Adams," April 18, 1778, NCSR, XIII, 95-96; North Carolina Gazette, April 10, 1778; The British sloop which raided the inlet was named Ranger.
According to the Gazette, this privateer had captured vessels off Ocracoke on previous occasions.
John Adams was made captain of a prize captured at Beaufort several days later and dispatched to St. Augustine. The vessel ran ashore during a gale at Cape Fear, and Adams, along with several others were captured. These were the prisoners confined aboard the brig General Washington at Wilmington. See "Thomas Bloodworth to Gov. Caswell," April 20, 1778, NCSR, XIII, 94.

[105] "Gov. Caswell to Joseph Hewes," April 21, 1778, NCSR, XIII, 101.

[106] "Capt. Willis Wilson to Gov. Caswell," May 20, 1778, NCSR, XIII, 132-133.

[107] North Carolina Gazette, May 15, and July 17, 1778; Still, Revolutionary Navy, 24; "Willis Wilson to Governor Caswell, June 26, 1778, NCSR, XIII, 138-139.

[108] "Journals of the Council of State," December 1, 1778, NCSR, XXII, 939; "Governor Caswell to Capt. Willis Wilson," December 3, 1778, NCSR, XIII, 311.

[109] "Gov. Caswell to Capt. Wilson," June 20, 1778, NCSR, XIII, 181; "Capt. John Easton to Gov. Caswell," September 13, 1778, NCSR, XIII, 217.

On December 2, the Caswell's crew received their pay which was seven months in arrears. See "Governor Caswell to Capt. Willis Wilson," december 2, 1778, NCSR, XIII, 311.

[110] "Gov. Th. Jefferson to Gov. Caswell," June 22, 1779, NCSR, XIV, 126; "Gov. Th. Jefferson to Gov. Caswell," June 20, 1779, NCSR, XIV, 136; Still, Revolutionary Navy, 28; "The Petition of Capt. Hance Bond," December, 1780 (?), NCSR, XV, 221. Bond was the Captain of Marines on board the Caswell.

[111] Cross, A Navy for Virginia, 32.

[112] "Adam Gaskins to R. Cogdell and others," June 20, 1779, NCSR, XIV, 125; "R. Cogdell to Gov. Caswell," June 22, 1779, NCSR, XIV, 127-128; "Col. Thos. Bonner to Gov. Caswell," July 2, 1779, NCSR, XIV, 138-139.

[113] "Council Journal," July 30, 1779, NCSR, XIV, 334.

[114] "Senate Journal," November 10, 1779, NCSR, XIII, 901-905.

[115] "Gen. Thomas Benbury to Gov. Abner Nash," October 22, 1780, NCSR, XV, 128-129; "Rob. Smith to Governor Abner Nash," October 23, 1780, NCSR, XV, 129.

For references to galley raids see: "Jean Blair to James Iredell, October 22, 1780, Iredell Papers, II, 109; "Jean Blair to Hannah Iredell, "April 17, 1781, Iredell Papers, II, 254-255; "Charles Johnson to James Iredell," May 28, 1781, Iredell Papers, II, 249; "Isaac Gregory to Governor Burke," March 31, 1782, RSUS, E.2b, reel 2; "Chas. Johnston to Gov. Burke," August 11, 1781 RSUS, E.2b, reel 2; "Governor Martin to General Gregory," August 29, 1782, NCSR, XVI, 706.

[116] Gen. Greene to Brig. Gen. Sumner," March 30, 1782, NCSR, XVI, 575; "Gov. Thomas Burke to Count de Rochambeau," April 16, 1782, NCSR, XVI, 593-594; "Gov. Thomas Burke to Gen. Caswell," April 16, 1782, NCSR, XVI, 594; "Gov. Thomas Burke to Gen. Gregory," April 16, 1782, NCSR, XVI, 595.

[117] "To Gov. Thos. Burke, Esq. from House of Commons," April 20, 1782, NCSR, XVI, 290; "To Gov. Thos. Burke from Count de Rochambeau," April 24, 1782, NCSR, XVI, 298-299.

[118] "Governor Martin to General Gregory," August 29, 1782, NCSR, XVI, 706; "An Act for protecting and securing the navigation of Ocacock Bar; and the Sounds and Rivers communicating therewith, and other purposes," 1781, NCSR, XXIV, 402-404.

[119] Some writers claim a fort was built at Ocracoke during the Revolution. Walter Clark, editor of the State Records of North Carolina and Norman Delaney author of "The Outer Banks of North Carolina During the Revolutionary War" both support this view. However, no records have been uncovered by this writer to indicate a fort's existance. Apparently Delaney had mistakenly located Cape Lookout's Fort Hancock at Ocracoke. Clark's references occur in the prefatory notes to several volumes of State Records.

For references by Clark see "Prefatory Notes," NCSR, XII, iv and "Prefatory Notes," NCSR, XIII, iv. For Delaney's original source see "Gov. Caswell to Robert Smith, Esq.," December 2, 1778, NSCR, XIII, 311 as cited in Norman C. Delaney, "The Outer Banks of North Carolina During the Revolutionary War," The North Carolina Historical Review, XXXVI, (January, 1959), 13.

[120] Crittenden, Commerce of North Carolina, 125. Commerce did receive some limited protection from batteries mounted at inland harbors.

[121] Crittenden, Commerce of North Carolina, 123.

[122] An Account of the effect of the war on North Carolina merchants may be found in Crittenden, Commerce of North Carolina, 140-148.

[123] Frye, Privatters and Letters of Marque," 7.

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