

THE PIRATES OF THE PAMLICO:
A MARITIME CULTURAL LANDSCAPE INVESTIGATION OF THE PIRATES OF
COLONIAL NORTH CAROLINA AND THEIR PLACE IN THE STATE'S CULTURAL
MEMORY

by

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During this period (1663-1730), North Carolina was a poor colony in the British Empire. The landscape provided ample opportunities for pirates to establish operational bases. Besides Edward 'Blackbeard' Teach, numerous others—such as Henry Every and Charles Vane—roamed the colony. This study shows that colonial North Carolina was used as a pirate haven, due to the geographical, socio-economic, and political influences that affected the colony. Through the lens of the maritime cultural landscape, various tangible and intangible remains were identified reconstructing the places of the pirates. Overlaid maps of pirate locations and colonial settlements suggest the pirates had varying degrees of interactions (i.e. trade, marriage, social gatherings) with the local populations. Investigations of the urban landscapes as contemporary community spaces, in addition to serving as a historic pirate haven, reflect the collective pirate memory manifested in place and street names.

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by

Allyson Genevieve Ropp

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CHAPTER I: Introduction

Like a ghost on the wind
He comes from the sea,
And trembles the foe
Like a storm on the lee.

With swashbuckling swagger,
And a Jolly Roger laugh.
He flies the black flag
On a whalebone staff.

He has a black-patched eye
And a ring in his ear,
And on his wind-burned face,
A crusty-grizzled beard.

With a bone-cold glare
And a sneer on his lip,
He has a cannon by his side
And a cutlass in his grip.

With a thunderous blast
From his cannon's might,
He shivers the strong
And cripples their fight.

He takes what he's lost
And turns it to gold,
For he's crafty and shrewd
And he's fearless and bold.

He's dashing and daring,
A fierce buccaneer,
For the sight of his plunder
Pales many with fear.

The poem above, *Ghost on the Wind* (Lockamy 2005), was written for the East Carolina University Pirates to inspire their athletes, spark their fan base, and strike fear in the hearts of their opponents. Yet, the poem offers more than that as it speaks to North Carolina's history of piracy and its continual prominence of pirates and pirate lore throughout the coast and much of

the state today. The pirate Lockamy creates is the stereotypical image, inspired most likely by Edward “Blackbeard” Teach himself. It also speaks to the true pirate spirit that many pirates during the Golden Age had. This included being crafty and shrewd, fearless and bold, daring and fearful. They were sharp men behind the mast, but could not be at sea constantly. This is when they sought places, such as North Carolina, to hide away, careen their vessels, and occasionally attempt to begin a new life away from piracy.

Piracy in North Carolina often refers to one man, Blackbeard. Yet, others also used the colony as a base of operations. Officials throughout the British Empire continually referred to the colony, before and after Teach’s death, as a haven for pirates (Rogers 1718; Governor and Council of South Carolina 1718a; Johnson 1724:70-90; Midwinter 1732:21-28). Numerous pirates sailed in and around the colony, using it both as quick hide out and a permanent base of operations (TABLE 1). These pirates interacted with the colonists they met, which was often crucial to the success or failure of their operations. These men and women traded with the colonists, took lovers among them, attempted to hide with them, and integrated into their society. The interactions during the colonial period between colonists and pirates manifested themselves in the tangible and intangible archaeological remains as well as the cultural memory of today’s North Carolinians. Although the tangible remains are limited, the intangible remains reflect the perception of a strong connection to piracy in North Carolina. The combination of the history and the archaeology help reinforce the cultural memory pirates’ hold in the minds of North Carolinians.

TABLE 1. Pirates of Colonial North Carolina (Author 2015; data gathered from Johnson 1724, Midwinter 1732, Carey 1825; Rankin 1960, Zepke 2000).

Name	Ship Name	Active Period	Location in NC
Henry Every (Avery)	<i>Fancy</i>	1694-1696	Unknown inlet
John Redfield	<i>Adventure Galley</i>	1695-1700	Cape Fear River, Masonboro Island
Edward “Blackbeard” Teach	<i>Queen Anne’s Revenge, Adventure</i>	1716-1718	Topsail Inlet, Bath, Ocracoke
Stede Bonnet	<i>Revenge (Royal James)</i>	1717-1718	Topsail Inlet, Bath, Cape Fear River
Charles Vane	<i>Lark, Ranger</i>	1716-1719	Cape Fear River, Ocracoke
Richard Worley		1718-1719	Unknown inlet
George Lowther	<i>Gambia Castle, Happy Delivery, Ranger</i>	1721-1724	Unknown inlet
William Fly	<i>Elizabeth</i>	1726	Cape Hatteras

This study links the historical and archaeological evidence of the legacy of piracy with the memory of current North Carolinians. There were three primary research questions. While two focused on the social interactions between pirates and colonists, the other explored the manifestation of piracy in today’s cultural memory. The time frame of the historical questions was the period of the Lords Proprietors, 1665-1729, which overlaps with the period of the Golden Age of Piracy.

1. How and to what extent did pirates interact and engage with the colonists in Colonial North Carolina?
 - Recreation
 - Religion
 - Labor
 - Family and marriage
 - Business transactions
 - Health supplies
 - Slave trade
 - Food and consumer goods purchase

- Criminal penalties or incarceration
 - Burial or cremation
2. What factors made certain colonial towns and geographic areas attractive as pirate havens colony?
 - Physical environment
 - Sounds, rivers, creeks, outer banks, sea islands
 - Politics
 - Weak or strong government infrastructure
 - Local warfare, colonial disruption or skirmishes
 - Trade route proximity
 - Social structure and demographics
 3. What are the types and volume of landscape signatures that reveal cultural memory of piracy in North Carolina today?
 - Streets
 - Restaurants
 - Pubs
 - Accommodations
 - Statues
 - Mascots
 - Festivals

These links between colonists and pirates provide an understanding for the current cultural memory of piracy in North Carolina. Although pirates could be colonists, and colonists could be pirates, for the purposes of this analysis they are separate entities. The objectives laid out for this thesis help provide a fuller understanding of piracy in North Carolina, both in colonial times and in present day. This thesis offers tangible and intangible evidence to understand North Carolinians attachment to the image of the pirate as a symbol of their history and the social dynamics of their existence in the state's past. This study is meant to not only expand the history pirate-colonial interactions, but also explore new methods for studying piracy through different data sets.

Methodology

The methodology utilized to study piracy in North Carolina was two fold. First, historical research provided a basis to understand life as both a Colonial North Carolinian and as a pirate, and linked the two together showing the pirate locations in relation to the colonists. Second, previous archaeological remains both known pirate sites and settlement sites were examined, and the cognitive remains of pirates in the colony and cultural memory today gathered through fieldwork was analyzed using ESRI ArcGIS.

Historically, a variety of primary and secondary sources were examined regarding life in Colonial North Carolina and the pirates that came through the colony. *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, the *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies*, Charles Johnson's *A General History of Pirates* (1724), and the trial records (Cowse 1718; Edwards 1726; Carey 1825) of captured pirates provided the primary source basis for both colonists and pirates alike. These resources, when combined with the numerous secondary sources concerning piracy and Colonial North Carolina, provided the basis for understanding the areas each inhabited, their actions in the colony, the reasons for coming and thriving, and initial thoughts about the interactions each group had with one another.

Previous archaeological research was also examined, particularly concerning 31CR314 in Beaufort Inlet. This site is associated with Teach, as it is his flagship, *Queen Anne's Revenge*. Preliminary research into colonial settlements and other locations of pirate inhabitation were examined for overlap and signature patterns, or artifacts that are commonly found at similar sites around the world, were developed for these locations based on artifact signatures found on terrestrial pirate encampments throughout the world (Hatch 2006; Hartnett and Dawdy 2013).

Intangible remains and the cognitive aspects of piracy were also examined through geospatially projects zones of pirate activity. These consisted of both historical remains that aided in creating the maritime cultural landscape the pirates utilized during colonial times, as well as current toponyms, or place names, and memorials that support the construction of a cultural memory of piracy in the state. The search area for such remains and markers was limited to the area east of NC-17 (FIGURE 1). This arbitrary line was used as a constraint to make the project feasible in the sense of time. The line also was chosen due to the historical research showing that both pirates and colonists typically lived east of this line.



FIGURE 1. Map of search area denoted by black line along NC-17. The search area was to the right of this line (Author 2016; Cole 2016).

Collecting this data began with searching Google Maps and various web sites concerning tourism and trade in the area. This information was entered into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet, which included its descriptive location, county, connection to piracy, type of site it was, a description of its location in the colonial sphere, and its connection to a colonial settlement

(APPENDIX A: Cultural Memory Database. Each location was visited and a Universal Transverse Mercator (UTM) location was taken with a Garmin Rino 655t Global Positioning System set to WGS84 (World Geodetic System 1984) and pictures were taken with a Canon PowerShot SD 1200 IS digital camera. This information was also recorded into the database. Some locations were unable to be visited due to inaccessibility and time. The latitude and longitude coordinates were gathered in Google Maps and converted to UTM using a conversion website developed by Montana State University (Montana State University 2016).

These points were imported to ArcMAP 10.2 for projecting on a digital map. The points were classified and grouped by the three categories—type, pirate connection, and colonial geographic location. These three maps were analyzed based on their distribution and density to see areas of memory in relation to one another and piracy. The pirate connection maps were overlaid with maps showing the spheres of influence of the various pirates to see the relationship between the historical records and the cultural memory locations. The overlaying was done using Adobe Photoshop. Maps showing the locations of colonial settlements and the spheres of influences of the pirates were also created to analyze the potential for interaction between pirates and colonists.

Literature Review

Because of their life outside the norms of society, pirates have garnered the attention of scholars. Historians have undertaken the task to study their place in the Atlantic World (Rankin 1969; Rediker 1981; 1987; Lane 1998; Babits 2001; Rediker 2004; Cordingly 2006; Butler 2007; Konstam 2008; Leeson 2009; Kuhn 2010; Dawdy and Bonni 2012). Archaeologists have attempted to find any evidence of their lives at all (Overfield 2002; Ewen and Skowronek 2006;

Hatch 2006; Kelleher 2013; OPage 2014; Ewen and Skowronek 2016). In the broadest sense, Marcus Rediker has provided some of the most comprehensive works on the Golden Age pirates. His *Villains of All Nations: Atlantic Pirates in the Golden Age* (2004) details almost every aspect of a pirate's life at sea. He outlines an egalitarian nature of control on board as well as the division of plunder and labor across the ship that was influenced by the greater sense of community and equality on board. Rediker, however, rarely discusses the pirates' interactions with people on shore, beyond raiding parties and hangings. His lack of acknowledgment leaves a hole in the understanding of their lifestyle because these men were spending their divisions and getting more supplies from land more than their plundering, particularly as the eighteenth century progressed.

As of late, many scholars have been exploring piracy and the American colonies. Many of these works explore both the political connections between pirates and the colonial officials and the influences of piracy upon the formation of the British Empire (Earle 2003; Benton 2005; Burgess 2009; Bialushewski 2009; Swanson 2011; Peters 2013; Burgess 2014; Hanna 2016). In *Pirate Nests and the Rise of the British Empire, 1570-1740* (2016), Mark Hanna examines the effects of piracy on the colonial hinterlands of the British Empire. He surmises that pirates helped the colonies with trade and support until they could develop legal trading practices of their own. Douglas Burgess Jr. examines the relations between pirates and colonial officials in *The Pirates' Pact: The Secret Alliance between History's Most Notorious Buccaneers and Colonial America* (2009). Burgess asserts that colonial officials and their pirate relationships reflected the distinct differences between the mother country and the colonies which allowed the colonies to develop civil disobedience leading to the American independent spirit

Others have focused on writing biographies of pirates (Rankin 1960; Pendered 1975; Ritchie 1986; Zepke 2000; Woodard 2007). Hugh Rankin is one scholar who examines pirates' lives in a biographical way. His first work was *The Pirates of Colonial North Carolina* (1960). This work looked at those pirates who came specifically to North Carolina. The work is limited, however, as it only mentions the two most famous pirates that came to the colony, Edward "Blackbeard" Teach and Stede Bonnet. Terrance Zepke wrote a work similar to Rankin's. Zepke's *Pirates of the Carolinas* (2000) explores all the pirates who came to both North Carolina and South Carolina. This expanded view of piracy in the Carolinas moves away from talking solely about Blackbeard and Bonnet and incorporates the rich history of piracy in the colony. Neither of these works really comments on the nature of their interactions and engagements with the colonials, nor do they cite the sources from which their information came. This limits their use as sources for research purposes.

Still others have examined the reasons pirates came to the Carolina colony. Cheri Molter's thesis "Colonial North Carolina: A Safe Harbor for Pirates" (2014) focuses strictly on the nature of the colony and the factors that allowed for pirates to thrive. She does not make reference to specific pirates except Blackbeard. Although her work provides an interesting look into the nature of the proprietary colony, the lack of evidence relating to the pirates who came is interesting since she is talking about pirates in the colony.

Archaeological works on pirates are slim. *X Marks the Spot: The Archaeology of Pirates* (2006) and *Pieces of Eight: More Archaeology of Piracy* (2016), edited by Russell Skowronek and Charles Ewen, provide a compendium of work focusing on piracy and archaeology around the world. The overall nature of the articles in the anthologies is more narrative than analytic of the various projects, hinting at some overall themes of piracy and the difficulties in finding

pirates in the archaeological record. Heather Hatch drew conclusions from sites in her thesis, “Arrrchaecology: Investigating Piracy in the Archaeology Record” (2006). This thesis examined land remains at places linked to piracy in hopes of finding a land signature. She identified that sites related to piracy have a high concentration of tobacco related artifacts, some high status goods and a large number of multipurpose wares (Hatch 2006:118). Courtney Page looked for a signature of piracy among assemblages from wrecks linked to piracy. Her thesis, “Going on the Account: Examining Golden Age Pirates as a Distinct Culture through Artifact Patterning” (2014), uses *Whydah* and *Queen Anne’s Revenge* artifacts to show the goods and materials on the vessels that reflect piracy. Page found that it is nearly impossible to tell the difference between pirate, naval, and merchants ships of the eighteenth century (Page 2014:104). Michael Overfield, in his thesis “Search for *Adventure*” (2002), attempted to expand the presence of pirate archaeology in North Carolina by searching for *Adventure*, the second ship Edward Teach lost in Topsail Inlet in 1718 with *Queen Anne’s Revenge*. Using remote sensing technologies, Overfield searched the inlet and proposed areas for future searches for the missing pirate vessel. While archaeological work has been conducted on piracy, connecting pirates to land and sea and finding their place in the record has not.

The common trend among all these sources, whether they be archaeological or historical, is the distinct lack of conclusions drawn about the interactions between pirates and people they encountered. Although the previous research provides a good background, the lack of analysis about colonial interactions opens an area for further research. Much of the previous archaeological research focuses on the physical remains of piracy. The works do not take into account cognitive remnants of piracy nor do they fully acknowledge the different legends and stories that accompanied piracy.

The Golden Age of Piracy

Piracy is a tradition as old as sailing, as groups made a living from plundering traders in the Ancient Mediterranean to make a life of their own. The piracy that developed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries consisted of hundreds of pirates, and is the most famous period of all. This period, 1690-1730, became known as the Golden Age of Piracy. This piracy extended from the Caribbean Sea and the North American Atlantic seaboard to the Indian Ocean and the African and Indian coastlines. This breadth of work area allowed hundreds of pirates to thrive. Pirates formed an egalitarian world supporting one another and each man had a voice for their freedom during a time of empires and expansion (Rankin 1969:18-21, 28; Rediker 2004:29-30, 33, 65-66).

During the entirety of the Golden Age, many pirates sailed off the eastern seaboard of the North American colonies. Not only were they searching for ships to raid as the major sea lanes followed the continent, but they were also looking for new places to hide and trade their goods. Colonies, such as Carolina, Pennsylvania, New York, and Rhode Island, developed reputations for welcoming pirates. As colonies developed legitimate trade, their dealings with piracy came under scrutiny and soon only North Carolina was left. At the time of the pardon, pirates were still welcomed into the colony with open arms (Rogers 1718; Governor and Council of South Carolina 1718a; Johnson 1724:70-90; Midwinter 1732:21-28).

This world the pirates created disrupted the trade of all nations, including the British Empire. After years of being raided and losing profits, merchants finally requested the government to step in and stop them. The British Crown offered a pardon in 1717. It stated that the Crown,

[promises, and declares], that in Case any of the said Pyrates, shall on or before the 5th of September, in the Year of our Lord 1718, surrender him or themselves, to one of our Principal Secretaries of State in Great Britain or Ireland, or to any Governor or Deputy Governor of any of our Plantations beyond seas; every such Pyrate and Pyrates so surrendering him or themselves, as aforesaid, shall have our gracious Pardon, of and for such, his or their Pyracy, or Pyracies, by him or them committed before the fifth of January next ensuing (Johnson 1724:33).

The pardon effectively brought about an end to the large number of pirates in the empire.

Although piracy continued after the pardon was passed, the most famous and notorious pirates disappeared with the pardon. The majority were caught and killed by the different local governments under the supervision of the Crown (Rediker 2004:282-283; Cordingley 2006:205-206).

Thesis Outline

This thesis proceeds as follows: Chapter two discusses the theoretical framework used to examine the maritime cultural landscape and cultural memory of piracy in North Carolina. Addressing the framework of the maritime cultural landscape, this chapter focuses on blending the maritime cultural landscape and cultural memory parameters to achieve the means to analysis a transient group of people and their mark on the state's history and memory.

Chapter three explores the environmental, economic, social and political conditions of the proprietary colony of North Carolina. It argues that the colony lacked the means, accessibility, and attention to become an important and well settled colony. These features, therefore, allowed the colony to fall behind its neighbors and attract a certain breed of people, the pirates.

Chapter four identifies eight specific pirates within the colony. Each individual life of pirate and crew is narrated and their individual locations within the colony are noted. The second half of the chapter addresses the locations of the major colonial towns, and their surrounding

areas. Identifying the actions of each pirate and varying colonial communities provides the basis for further discussion later.

Chapter five outlines the evidence of the maritime cultural landscape utilized by pirates in Colonial North Carolina. This includes geographical features, trade routes, archaeological evidence, and historic naming practices. The chapter also discusses the varying forms of cultural memory found throughout the search area, both cultural formations and institutionalized communications.

Chapter six investigates the findings of the two previous chapters, attempting to bring together the historical and archaeological evidence with our modern connection to piracy in our naming practices. This chapter highlights any areas of overlap between colonial settlements and historic pirate locations to provide a discussion of the interaction between the two parties. It also provides analysis of the cultural memory of today with the pirate locations of the past to determine whether our memory of pirates is historically based or an agent of tourism.

Chapter seven summarizes the research of the thesis and propose future archaeological research for piracy in North Carolina. This chapter emphasizes a new framework for looking at piracy.

CHAPTER II: A Web of Theories, Combining Maritime Cultural Landscapes and Cultural Memory for Pirate Studies

Defined as “the order we put facts in,” theory allows archaeologists to understand the reasons their job is conducted and provides explanation for interpretations of the work (Johnson 2010:2). The complexities in even defining theory makes determining a theoretical framework a difficult task for each individual project. In the course of conducting a project for a topic with limited physical archaeological remains and a strong modern-day presence, such as piracy in North Carolina, the use of multiple theoretical approaches allowed for a new understanding from the remains.

This study utilized maritime cultural landscape theory and cultural memory theory to gain a deeper understanding of the trends of piracy and pirate memory in North Carolina. The first, maritime cultural landscape, provided a broad means of looking at the archaeological record to connect not only life on land to life at sea, but also physical remains to cognitive remains. The second, cultural memory studies, joined the past to the present to evaluate historical events and people and their relationship to current people and cultures. By combining these ideas, the research questions proposed were able to be examined in this study.

Maritime Cultural Landscape Theory

The idea for the maritime cultural landscape approach came from the work of Christer Westerdahl in the early 1990s. He defined the maritime cultural landscape as “[signifying] human utilization (economy) of maritime space by boat: settlement, fishing, hunting, shipping, and its attendant subcultures, such as pilotage, lighthouse and seamark maintenance” (Westerdahl 1992:5). In essence, the idea combined “physical aspects of landscape and seascape

to analyze the culture of maritime peoples within a spatial context, while retaining the recursive culture-nature relationship of landscape study” (Ford 2012:4). The complexities of the maritime cultural landscape theory made it difficult to classify certain studies as a maritime cultural landscape study. This section attempts to define an effective maritime cultural landscape study.

Westerdahl’s theory stemmed from landscape theory. Developed by geographers in the 1920s, landscape theory allowed “researchers to accommodate, if not integrated, different theoretical perspectives” (Anschuetz et al. 2001:159). Carl Sauer defined the landscape as “an area made up of a distinct association of forms, both physical and cultural” (Sauer 1925:300). Because the landscape approach focused on both the physical and cultural, many different interpretations can be pulled out by the individual or culture. Sauer’s more detailed definition was,

The cultural landscape is fashioned from a natural landscape by a cultural group. Culture is the agent, the natural area is the medium, the cultural landscape is the result. Under the influence of a given culture, itself changing through time, the landscape undergoes development, passing through phases, and probably reaching ultimately the end of its cycle of development. With the introduction of a different—that is, alien—culture, a rejuvenation of the cultural landscape sets in, or a new landscape is superimposed on the remnants of an older one (Sauer 1925:46, quoted in Anschuetz et al. 2001:164).

This definition reflected the connection between the physical and the cultural. The result of this connection left marks on the environment allowing archaeologists to study their meaning and develop interpretations based on these remains. In the 1950s, W.G. Hoskins stressed the empirical analysis of the landscape, viewing it as documents because the settlements are written into the land through history, archaeology, and geography (Johnson 2010:197).

From these early landscape theories based upon Sauer’s work, the idea of the cultural landscape theory evolved. This theory focused on two different pieces of evidence. First, it identified the landscape as a material object or the “tangible scene.” Second, it stated an

existence of a common linking factor (Schein 1997:661). As time progressed, geographers and archaeologists started to use cultural theories to interpret the link between landscapes and cultural practices. These perceptions, as Gosden and Head discussed, connected the conceptual and the physical. This inspired a much larger interest “in the spatial form of human culture” that linked the spatial, economic, and social structures. The link allowed archaeologists and geographers to study social processes from the physical transformation of the landscape (Gosden and Head 1994:113-115). The changing ideas led to an approach where “landscapes [were a] world of cultural product and represent the record of dynamic processes of human interaction with their environments...[providing] a framework for assessing sources of behavioral variability in the archaeological records and allow observations in context beyond the limits of the physical boundaries” (Anschuetz et al. 2001:191).

At the same times the landscape and cultural landscape theories were developing, the field of maritime archaeology was changing from a ship-based study to a large understanding of the worlds ships sailed in. As maritime archaeologists began studying societal interactions, Westerdahl developed his idea of the maritime cultural landscape to explore the connections between the land and sea. The definition, mentioned earlier, was redefined to include more than just physical remains, as general landscape theory had done. To the traditional archaeological evidence, Westerdahl added cognitive evidence, centers of activity, and trade routes. The evidence traditionally used for maritime cultural landscape studies includes shipwrecks, land remains, traditions of usage, the natural topography, and place names of islands, sailing routes, and other associated places (Westerdahl 1992:7-11).

The development of the maritime cultural landscape has been labelled as a “reaction against the particularism within archaeology underwater” (Tuddenham 2010:6). With its

beginnings during the period of major changes in the theoretical focuses of archaeology between processualism and post-processualism, this approach pushed against the typical underwater focus of shipwrecks in the ocean. The maritime cultural landscape included remains of maritime culture from both land and sea and everything in between. The introduction of such an idea allowed the field to move toward “a more holistic understanding of the relationship between sea and land” (Tuddenham 2010:8). The complexities of the theory have created numerous different opinions on its uses and applicability to traversing the divide between the land and the sea. The common argument against the theory is that it does not bridge this gap, because the specific maritime orientation sorts the focus from other landscapes (Tuddenham 2010:14).

Since the 1990s and the formation of maritime cultural landscape theory, numerous researchers have conducted maritime cultural landscape studies (Duncan 2006; Ford 2009; Fitzhugh et al. 2012; Halligan 2012; Lusardi 2012; Schulz et al. 2012; Watts et al. 2012; Freire 2013). Some have successfully used this approach to reconstruct historic maritime landscapes based on variety of evidence types of both physical and cognitive origins. The most compelling studies of maritime cultural landscapes include Brad Duncan’s work in Queenscliffe Australia (2006) and Ben Ford’s work on Lake Ontario (2009). Duncan uses a variety of sources, including archaeological sites and local histories, and means, such as GIS technology, to study the archaeology of non-indigenous communities living in Queenscliffe. He concluded that the community in Queenscliffe accessed both land and sea equally, manipulating both, which reflected social interactions between people in the society (Duncan 2006:viii-ix). Ford’s study explored the nature and distribution of archaeological sites along Lake Ontario and examined how the sites were influenced by environmental, political, and cultural factors. Ford concluded that the landscape spans across generations and these generations have affected the formations of

such landscapes (Ford 2009:7). These examples, and the numerous not listed, provide evidence in understanding how to conduct effective maritime cultural landscape studies and how these studies can reach across time and place.

Toponymical Research

An important feature of the maritime cultural landscape approach is the study of place names, or better referred to as toponymical studies. Toponym research focuses solely on place names attempting to understand their origin and meaning for a particular culture and the cultures that created the names. There are two uses of this field of research. The first use allows researchers to identify “earlier spoken languages, and hence societies resident, in a region through the preservation of their place names into later times when other languages had come to be spoken in their place” (Ehret 1976:14-15). This use recreates the linguistic and cultural history of an area. This reconstruction aids in understanding changes over time in specific areas and the ideas cultures deemed important. The second use studies specifically the meanings behind place names. Place names, at some point in their history, “had some specific reference either to a feature of the place, or to an event that occurred thereabout, or to a person or thing associated with the place” (Ehret 1976:15). Similar to the first use, this focus emphasizes the history behind the area and the importance of memory and culture to the people that named it. Place names refer to geological and climatological actions, features on the surface created by human activities, and a variety of small natural and vegetative features (Randall 2001:4). In essence, naming practices can be applied to all features of life.

Within the following study, the second use will be more useful than the first use. The second use is applicable to Westerdahl’s definition of place names. He concluded that place

names were “of the utmost importance” and “every possible material remnant is indicated by place names, such as wrecks, stray finds from wrecks, harbors, and their installation and ballast sites...[and] shipyards, boat-building and repair sites and their resource areas” (Westerdahl 1992:9). Place names also allow for the analysis of “cultural politics...and the social and political relations” of the time period in which the names were given and who was allowed to participate in the practice (Alderman 2015:209). These names reflect the past traditions of certain areas, people associated with such industries, and other events that occurred. The names can be found anywhere, ranging from roadway and waterway names to businesses and other building structures to geographical features in the areas. The role of toponymical studies in landscape studies allows for comparisons and connections to other data sets. Because they draw from a wide range of fields, place names extract the regional uses necessary for defining a landscape (Duncan 2006:56).

In recent years, studying naming practices has become of interest to scholars in an attempt to learn about culture’s past (Gammeltoft 2004; Conedera et al. 2007; Nash 2014; Alderman 2015). Joshua Nash (2014) explored the naming practices of Norfolk Island. He concluded that the names reflect the social memory of the people and links to ecological aspects (Nash 2014:141). Derek Alderman (2015) examined the naming practices across the United States pertaining to the Civil Rights Movement. Alderman resolved that by changing names to reflect important members or events from the Civil Rights Movement justice has been offered to the African American community for the tragedies they suffered during slavery and following emancipation (Alderman 2015:234). These, and other studies, such as *Geographical Issues on Maritime Names: Special Reference to the East Sea* (Raper et al. 2010), have provided different uses for studying toponymns independently and in conjunction with larger landscape studies.

Cultural Memory Theory

Cultural memory denotes a particular understanding of a past held by a group of people in any given context. The concept was first developed by Jan Assmann in the 1980s to provide an understanding for cultures remembering certain events and people. Assmann defined cultural memory as “the outer dimension of human memory” which embraces memory culture and reference to the past (1992). The concept was further defined as something similar to an institution. The collective nature of a past was “exteriorized, objectified, and stored away in symbolic forms,” that were supported by centers of learning and artifacts (Assmann 2008:110-111). These are the formative ideas that make up the theory of cultural memory.

The ideas have been expanded upon by Assmann himself and others trying to understand the complexities of memory and culture. Unlike other forms of collectives and communicative memory, cultural memory relates to a fixed point, a fateful event (or multiple) which is retained in cultural texts and monuments and established institutions. These events are known as “figures of memory” (Assmann and Czaplicka 1995:129). Through these connections, cultural memory bonds the memory of individuals and the social and cultural context that surrounds those memories (Erl 2008:4). These associations link peoples across time and space as they share the same history and ideology. Assmann and his successors have defined certain specifics concerning cultural memory. The following table outlines the important aspects of cultural memory that aid in understanding the aspects of history that become defined by societies and cultures as to be figures of memory (TABLE 2). These facets aid in formulating and transforming specific events into figures of memory. They become institutionalized through their stories, monuments, remembrance days, and other rituals and events.

TABLE 2. Characteristics of Cultural Memory (Assmann and Czaplicka 1995:130-132; Assmann 2008:117).

Characteristic	Definition
Concentration of Identity	Stores the knowledge from which a group defines and comprehends its unity; defining identity in both terms of unity and otherness
Capacity to Reconstruct	Constructs and relates past events to contemporary events through numerous means
Formation	Creation of a clear meaning to develop institutionalized heritage
Organization	Creation of texts and memorials that aid in continuing communication with the figures of memory
Obligation	A system of values and levels of importance develops from the established group image
Reflexivity	Practice-reflexive: reflects itself in rituals; self-reflexive: reflects individual ideas of each group member; reflexive in its own image: reflects the self-image of the group
Content	Mythical history; events in the absolute past
Forms	High degree of formation; ceremonial communication
Media	Mediated in texts, icons, dances, rituals, and performances of various kinds; classical or otherwise formalized language
Time Structure	Absolute past, mythical primordial time, 3000 years
Participation Structure	Specialized carriers of memory, hierarchically structured

Cultural memory manifests itself in many different ways and studies have explored the various means through which cultures remember, present, and preserve their past. Although there are many studies about cultural memory among numerous cultures (Smith 2005; Lewis 2009; Porr 2010; Marcotte 2011; Brandellero et al. 2013), Jeanette Rodríguez and Ted Fortier’s work in Latin America is most compelling (2007). Their work highlights numerous means of displaying religious memory and remembrance practices across various different Latin American cultures. In examining these cultures, the authors came to the conclusion that cultures have a determination to remember particular aspects of their past and preserve those for future generations. They argued “cultural memories establish place, legitimacy, and voice” for marginalized groups (Rodríguez and Fortier 2007:111). These same conclusions can be reached

for any group, regardless of marginality, as cultural memory offers a voice for disseminating information across groups and times for preservation.

Connecting Theories

These different theories can be intertwined to create an archaeological and social study for a variety of different investigations. These theories are already similar to one another. Evidence of cultural memory can also be used as evidence of the maritime cultural landscape. The remains that make up the archaeological record can become institutionalized in museums, history books, and rituals throughout a culture. An example of these theories in coordination with one another is Madeline Fowler's thesis on shipwrecks, naming practices, and memory in Port MacDonnell in South Australia (2011). With the purpose of examining the impact of shipwrecks on the community, Fowler explored shipwrecks, stories of their existence as ships and sites, and their memorialization in Port MacDonnell. She concluded that shipwrecks and their communities are intrinsically linked and impact one another in defining places and connections to the community (Fowler 2011:90).

In the following study, the theories addressed above are combined to garner a deeper understanding of pirates. Because pirates pose such an elusive group in the archaeological and historical record, a study of them requires a variety of different means to find their remains. A few studies have developed signatures that can, along with any shipwrecks in the area, be the physical evidence in the maritime cultural landscape (O'Sullivan 2003; Hatch 2006; Hartnett and Dawdy 2013). The history can lead to their places. In those places, there may be places names associated with their presence or with general pirate culture, as suggested by Connie Kelleher's study on Irish pirates (2013). Other research can provide evidence of major trade routes and

careening areas, and areas of limited population and accessibility. These would indicate places pirates would seek to be near for privacy and trade purposes. The same evidence that constructs the maritime cultural landscape creates the foundations for institutionalization and remembrance for the cultural memory to set hold, particular in the societies these men resided in. In places, such as the Bahamas, naming practices, museums, geographical features, and festivals all retell the history of the pirates in the islands, and retain them as cultural memory of the people (The Bahama Tourist Office 2016). Pirates provide an intriguing set of people to study with these theories because of their complexities, yet this combination of theories provides a different means to do so.

By using these theories in combination to study pirates in North Carolina, new information can be learned about their presence and involvement in the colony. New questions, such as the ones answered in this study, can be examined through the variety of evidence. The theories provide a variety of ways to determine data sets that can be used to study a marginalized and limited group of people and their impact on future generations. The theories, because of their similarities, can easily be combined to create such a study. The maritime cultural landscape with a focus on toponymy and cultural memory studies each offer the means to defining and interpreting a variety of data sets necessary to understanding a singular group of marginal people, their relationship to those around them, and their connection to current generations hundreds of years removed from their existence. This study developed a means for combining different theories together to obtain new information and expound upon previous research concerning piracy in Colonial North Carolina. Before delving into the pirates and their landscape, the colony itself needs to be addressed discussing the reasons the colony was desired by pirates.

CHAPTER III: The Early Tar Heel State, Conditions for a Pirate Haven

In 1704, the Reverend John Blair made his way from England to North Carolina for the first time. He ministered to the people in hopes of bringing the corrupt colony to God. Following his arrival, he recounted the dangerous nature of traveling through the colony:

There are mighty inconveniences in travelling there, for the roads are not only deep and difficult to be found, but there are likewise seven great rivers in the country, over which there is no passing with horses, except two of them, one of which the Quakers have settled a ferry over for their own conveniency, and nobody but themselves have the privilege of it (Blair 1704:600).

As the nature of environment proved too difficult, Reverend Blair stopped continuously. Preaching, however, was problematic because of the lack of concentrated people. Blair stated that it took between ten and twelve weeks to minister through a single precinct. Blair also described the nature of the Pamlico colony, stating that “beside a pond of five miles broad, and nothing to carry one over but a small perryauger, there are about fifty miles desert to pass through, without any human creature inhabiting in it” (Blair 1704:603). The size and remoteness of the Pamlico (also known as Pamlico) became a defining feature in the colony and played a major role in dictating travel in the colony. The size of the colony, the difficulties in travel, and the limited population made Blair’s life and mission hard. His experiences in North Carolina reflected the harsh nature of the physical environment, which in turn affected the rest of life in the colony. The environment dictated settlement, travel, and the overall society of the colony formed.

Blair’s account of early eighteenth-century colonial North Carolina shows the strains the environment played on every facet of colonial life. It dictated the colony’s formation and structure. Other travelers and colonists expressed similar difficulties with the nature of the colony (Fox 1672; Edmundson 1676; Walker 1699; von Graffenried 1708; Lawson 1709a;

Dennis 1711). Still others provided a different view of the colony, as a plentiful land that could support the British Empire. John Lawson, a naturalist and founder of Bath Town, believed in the strength and capabilities of a North Carolinian colony (1709a). The numerous different feelings about the Colonial North Carolina reflected the variety of people of the colony and their own opinions about their new homeland.

In its early days, North Carolina more closely resembled the perceptions of Blair. It was a sprawling populated, poor backwater colony. Difficult to navigate, the landscape limited trade and immigration to the colony with the outside world. Due to the dangers of navigating the landscape, the economy suffered dramatically restricting trade to a small scale with the surrounding colonies and illegal ventures. The lack of a significant cash crop and large scale trade network made the colony less attractive for the Lords Proprietors. They did not provide the colony with much guidance or decent leadership. The limited spread-out population size dictated the economic and political trends of the colony (Lawson 1709a:86-95; Camp 1963:1-2, 6-7; Butler 2007:6-11 McIlvenna 2009:13-14; Molter 2014:77). The different aspects of life in Colonia North Carolina fostered a place for individual pirate growth and the development of a pirate haven.

Founding of the Carolina Colony

While Colonial North Carolina did not officially form until 1663, explorers and settlers had traversed its dangerous coastline for over a century before. In the early sixteenth century as the Spanish were expanding their New World Empire, they explored the future Carolina colony. Two Spanish ships in 1520 landed north of present day Savannah (McCrady 1901:41). The

Spaniards never attempted to settle in this new area, but they marked the first incursions into the Carolina colony.

In 1524, four years after the Spanish expedition, the French under Giovanni Verrazzano landed near the 34-degree north latitude at the Cape Fear River. Almost forty years after Verrazzano's expedition into the Cape Fear area, the French settled there. In 1562, Jean Ribault led a company into the area and established Fort Charles, near present-day Charleston, South Carolina. They abandoned Fort Charles and the Spanish eventually destroyed the remains, discouraging further encroachment into the land granted by the Treaty of Tordesillas (McCrady 1901:43, 47-48).

At the same time as the Spanish and French were vying for power in the New World, the English were breaking into the colonization efforts. The English, inspired by the writings of the Hakluyt family, saw colonization as an opportunity to spread English dominance and Christian religion, and seek new ways to trade and expand their sphere of influence (Hakluyt and Hakluyt 1585). Under Sir Walter Raleigh with aid from Queen Elizabeth I, the English formed their own colony in the Carolina region. These Roanoke voyages, as John Lawson later described, were the "first settlement of this Country" (Lawson 1709a:68). The first expedition arrived in July 1584 under the command of Captains Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe. The two captains described their journey in a letter to Queen Elizabeth I. Upon sighting land, the expedition experienced difficulty in crossing through the inlets stating that:

When we first had sight of this country, some thought the first land we saw to be the continent: but after we entered into the Haven, we saw before us another mighty long Sea: for there layeth along the coast a tract of Islands, tow hundredth miles in length, adjoining to the Ocean sea, and betweene the Islands, two or three entreances: when you are entered betweene them (these Islands being very narrow for the most parts, as in most places sixe miles broad, in some places less, in fewe more) then there appeareth another great Sea, containing in bredth in some places, forty, and in some fifty, in some twenty miles over, before you come unto the continent (Amadas and Barlowe 1584).

The description provided by these discoverers inspired Raleigh to send further expeditions to the area in hopes of colonizing for the future.

In June 1585, Sir Richard Grenville and Ralph Lane led a colonization voyage past the “Cape of Fear” anchoring in Roanoke (Grenville 1585:4). Grenville and Lane quickly abandoned this settlement attempt. Two years later, in 1587, a second colonization voyage set sail. The colonists landed safely and established a settlement on Roanoke Island. Quickly, they realized they were running dangerously low on supplies. John White, their elected representative, returned to England seeking more supplies (White 1587:10-11). White, due to England’s military engagements with Spain, did not return to the settlement until 1591. On the island, he found “no man, nor sign that any had been there lately, not yet any fresh water in all this way to drink” (White 1591:13). The colonists were gone, and the Roanoke voyages had failed to establish a successful colony in the Carolina region. Not only did the explorers find the land and waterways difficult to navigate, but also that they lacked the necessities for survival in the area.

These early failures did not mark the end to colonization attempts in the area. The next attempt came in 1629. King Charles I granted the “lands in the parts of America betwixt one & thirety & 36 degrees of northerne latitude inclusively placed...neither inhabited by ours or the subjects of any other Christian king, Prince, or state” to Sir Robert Heath, the Attorney General of the Crown (Charles I King of England 1629:5) (FIGURE 2). Heath planned to colonize the area, but struggled. He intended to sublet the land to all, including French Protestants. Heath’s charter, however, limited land ownership in the colony to followers of the Anglican Church (Charles I King of England 1629:6; Doyle 1882:440). The limited population pool Heath could draw from made it difficult to sell land, as the English adherents of the Anglican faith

remembered the failures of the Roanoke Colony. The stigma of those failed expeditions complicated Heath's plans causing his colonization efforts to falter.



FIGURE 2. Map of the Carolina Colony, drawn by John Lawson in 1709 (Lawson 1709b).

In 1663, King Charles II revoked Heath's charter. He granted the same land to eight men: Edward, earl of Clarendon; George, duke of Albemarle; William, earl of Craven; John, Lord Berkeley; Anthony, Lord Ashley; Sir George Carteret; Sir John Colleton; and Sir William Berkeley. The charter gave these men total control over the land. Their only restriction required the laws of the colony to be "agreeable to the laws and customs of this our realm of England" (Charles II King of England 1663:20-33; 1665:112). Their control, particularly in the northern half of the colony, was tumultuous since people had already claimed sections of land. The land on the Virginia border caused much trouble, as Virginians moved south seeking plantations of their own claiming the land as their own. Similarly, others claimed they had been granted land under Heath and their contracts had not yet expired in 1663 (Lawson 1709a:69; Ashe 1925:59, 68-69). The problems the Lord Proprietors faced in the early years tested their resolve to care about lands on the far side of the Atlantic. Although they hoped the colony would provide them with monetary gains, they soon realized running a colony required time, effort, and large monetary investments.

Physical Environment

The single most important influential factor that dictated the development of Colonial North Carolina was the physical environment. The colony's environment made it difficult for traders and settlers to get in or out, challenging for politicians and merchants to invest in the colony, and increasingly a struggle to attract acceptable and noted settlers. The coastal plain consisted of sounds, low-lying sand ridges called barrier islands, and six rivers that emptied into the sounds. The passages, or inlets, between the islands and the waters on both sides of them

contained shallow waters, shifting sand, and treacherous currents, earning the area the title of “Graveyard of the Atlantic” (Camp 1963:2-3).

The most distinct features of the landscape were the barrier islands. These islands separated the ocean from the sounds. The islands protected the mainland from harsh weather, but they also created devastating shoals and traps that wreaked havoc on shipping. Lawson described the area as follows:

This part of Carolina is faced with a Chain of Sand-Banks, which defends it from the Violence and Insults of the Atlantick Ocean; by which Barrier, a vast Sounds is hemm'd in, which fronts the Mouths of the Navigable and Pleasant Rivers of this Fertile Country, and into which they disgorge themselves. Thro' the same are Inlets of several Depths of Water. Some of their Channels admit only of Sloops, Brigantines, small Barks, and Ketches; and such are Currituck, Roanoak, and up the Sound above Hatteras: Whilst others can receive Ships of Burden, as Ocacoak, Topsail-Inlet, and Cape-Fair (Lawson 1709a:69).

The islands offered protection, but also limited arrivals to the colony. A large expanse of water separated the inlet from the mainland, leaving them mainly uninhabited. The islands exhibited an extremely hazardous environment and dictated the comings and goings of many merchant vessels.

The inlets between the islands created the ship traps. They differed greatly in depth, some allowing merchants and some not. The Currituck and Roanoke Inlets were both about ten feet deep. These inlets were easily piloted into Albemarle Sound and access to the northern county of Albemarle (Lawson 1709a:68). This county traded with small fishing boats from New England and illegal traders that willingly ventured into the sound (Holden 1707:663). Hatteras and Ocracoke Inlets were in the middle of the colony. Although both were deep, about seven to eight fathoms each, they were the furthest from the mainland (Lawson 1709a:71). This distance caused many problems because of the shallow waters of the sound (Camp 1963:11). These inlets were used by Bath merchants, once the town became a port in 1715 (Ashley et al. 1716:237). Further

to the south was Topsail Inlet with a depth of seven feet. Very few used this inlet, as few colonists lived in the area.

Between the ports and the inlets stretched the Albemarle Sound in the north, the Pamlico Sound in the middle, and the Core Sound towards the south. The sounds connected the Atlantic Ocean to the mostly navigable rivers of the colony. Extremely difficult to cross, the sounds had their own wind patterns that affected the crossing vessels. There were also shoals that trapped vessels. These bars were only two fathoms at low tide. The dangerous nature of the inlets and shoals in the sounds required pilots to navigate the vessels into the colony. This affected trade patterns, as merchant lost time and money waiting for pilots to navigate the shoals (Lawson 1709a:71).

The shoals in the inlets were not the only danger. The worst shoals were the ones that existed off the coast in the oceans. Numerous different vessels wrecked on these shoals that were impossible to see and impassable even when the pilots knew their way. In 1700 *Friends' Adventure*, under the control of Michael Cole, failed "to get into N. Carolina by reason of a sandbank washed up at the going in." Lucky enough to get stuck off the bar, Cole backtracked and made his way to Virginia. (Council of Virginia 1700). Others were not so lucky. In 1718, Edward "Blackbeard" Teach's flagship, *Queen Anne's Revenge*, and another sloop ran aground at Topsail Inlet. These ships were lost and sank into the sands (Spotswood 1719a:325). Although Teach lost his ships, no one died during the event. George Livingson's son and privateer crew were not so lucky. In 1720, they boarded a long boat off Cape Hatteras, and no one heard from them (Board of Trade 1720). The dangerous waters that were created by the inlets and the shifting shoals beneath the waters created these incidents and many others. These dangers deterred merchants from coming to the colony for fear of losing their trade goods and lives.

One port in the southern part of the colony was decent for trade. The Cape Fear River functioned as a main port of call for the colony (Lawson 1709a:73). The region had initially been settled in 1666 following the charter. It was abandoned in 1667 and not settled again until 1725 (Hutchinson 1667:161; Mavericke 1667:161; Ashe 1925:80, 213). This abandonment reflected the lack of trade through the Cape Fear region, although suited for larger vessels. North Carolina's lack of economic strength and political interest from the proprietors stemmed from the dangers of the entering the colony. Although the soil produced a variety of tradable goods, the inlets and waterways kept merchants at bay and limited the economic prowess of colonial North Carolina.

Economy

Because of its natural hazardous environment, Colonial North Carolina faced an economic deficiency. The colony produced neither a cash crop nor a large combination of goods to bring the same level of importance as other colonies. This did not mean the colony lacked tradable goods nor the means of creating a self-sufficient colony. Upon his arrival in the colony, John Lawson commented on the "easy and pleasant life" that existed there. Lawson outlined the numerous resources available in the colony to make it a self-sufficient and decent colony. The land was "barren of Pine, but affording Pitch, Tar, and Masts." The variety of meat available, both domestic and wild, and produce available were very diverse. The colonists also engaged in fishing, whaling, and the Indian trade in the area (Lawson 1709a:86-89). Lawson, however, never mentioned a staple crop. Although the colony clearly had a variety of exports, none of the crops allowed for the creation of a productive and dominate economy for the colony and the empire.

The colony attempted to mimic other colonies with a large cash crop. With a similar climate to Virginia, the colonists grew tobacco. One planter, Zachariah Gillam, exported 889 hogsheads of tobacco between 1676 and 1697 (Gillam 1679:322-323). North Carolina tobacco, however, was not as lucrative or desirable as tobacco from Virginia. Of a lower quality, the colonists struggled to ship out their tobacco (Spencer 1680:313). The reason came from “the illness of ye harbours” causing the “Northern part of Carolina [to vent their commodities] ...either by Virginia where they paid duty to ye Government or to New England who were the only immediate Traders with them” (Spencer 1680:287). This made tobacco a relatively small item in the overall colonial economy. Governor Francis Nicholson of Maryland in 1697 stated that “the low price of tobacco [and its quality in Carolina] has obliged many of the planters to try their fortune elsewhere” (Governor Nicholson 1697).

Other economic ventures included farming and animal husbandry. The colonists produced “Indian corn, wheat, oats, rye, tobacco and rice” (Camp 1963:7). These food stuffs provided the colonists with a sustainable means of living. Many colonists also raised farm animals, such as cattle and hogs. Again, these items helped with the self-sustainability of the colony. The large presence of water in the colony turned many of the colonists into shipbuilders and sailors (Gordon 1709:711-712; Camp 1963:7-10). The combination of these economic ventures may have provided with the colonists with a means to self-sustainability, but left them lacking in many goods necessary to survive. The colonists, because of the complexity of their physical environment, limited trade options, and social feelings, willingly participated in illegal trade.

Illegal trading in the colony included smuggling and piracy. Smuggling was not necessarily an illegitimate occupation in the colonies, as it provided a means to obtain goods

unavailable through trade with the mother country (Hughson 1894:53). Smuggling only became illegal when it was caught. In 1697, a case arrived at Whitehall stating that the customs official in Albemarle discovered that “8 or 900 Hogsheads together with sundry other European Goods seized as illegally imported to the value of 1200£ sterling” (Parliament 1697:255). Edward Randolph noticed the same trend. In 1696, he noted that small trading vessels, including pirates, frequently visited Roanoke Inlet (Randolph 1696:467). Five years later, in a report of the proprietary colonies, many colonies were reproached as places of refuge and retreat for illegal traders (Board of Trade 1701:541). The reason North Carolina brought in such traders came from their unstable money and lack of legitimate trade. The illegal trade brought in more money than the items they were legally trading.

A descendant of Isaac Jackson, an original member of Bath Town, commented on the role of pirates and illegal traders in the colony. The pirates and other smugglers “were the bringers of goods to a poor, very isolated part of the world” (Jackson in Norris 2003:137). Colonial North Carolina was a poor and isolated part of the world. The colony relied on small traders, including pirates, to goods “imported thither from foreign parts contrary to law (Stamford et al. 1701:536). Colonists took to smuggling, breaking their cargos onto smaller ships in the inlets to avoid the custom officials (Dunbar 1958:23). The colonists themselves created a self-sustaining life. Lawson viewed North Carolina as a place that “any Person, with a small Beginning, may live comfortably, and not only provide for the Necessaries of Life, but likewise for those that are to succeed him; Provisions being very plentiful, and of good variety, to accommodate genteel House-keeping” (Lawson 1709a:92). These features created a small economy that did not provide for the Empire, leaving North Carolina a poor and backwater colony.

Politics

The 1663 charter from King Charles II granted to eight men total control of a large expanse of land. The charter stated that they could “make, create, and constitute, the true and absolute lords and proprietors of the said province...saving always the faith, allegiance, and sovereign dominion, due to us” (Charles II King of England 1663:22). This all-encompassing power allowed the Lord Proprietors to create counties, appoint governors and other officials in their absence, and make laws that were in line with English laws (Charles II King of England 1663:23-24). Their charter made Carolina one of the few colonies in the English America to have a proprietary government.

The entire Carolina Colony initially had a single governor. Beneath the proprietors, the appointed governor lived in the colony and ruled over everyone. From the start, separate government in Albemarle County answered directly to the proprietors (Lords Proprietors 1667:165-175). The colony consisted of four settlements—one on the Albemarle Sound, two around the Cape Fear River, and one at Charles Town between the Cooper River and the Ashley River (Doyle 1882:441). These areas were not continuously settled, in particular the Cape Fear settlements. Samuel Mavericke noted in 1667 that “the plantations at Cape Feare [were] deserted” as the colonists were under distressing circumstances (Mavericke 1667:161; Hutchinson 1667:161). This vast area of spread settlements and the diverse populations of people living throughout the colony made it rather difficult for any single governor to control and maintain a semblance of order.

The proprietors soon realized that governing an extremely large and diverse colony was a daunting task. They decided to establish two separate governments in the northern half and the

southern half (Lords Proprietors 1663:49). Sir William Berkeley and the rest of the Lords Proprietors defended their reasoning behind creating two different governments. Beyond the overwhelming size of the colony, the population differences between the two halves, including religious beliefs, made them incompatible and uncontrollable as one (Doyle 1882:443). In 1669, the Proprietors passed the Fundamental Constitutions. This officially created separate counties, each with a local government that acted independently of one another (Lords Proprietors 1698:852-858). In 1710, the Proprietors officially split the colonies into North and South Carolina with two separate governments (Lords Proprietors 1710:749-750). The split allowed for two separate governments to form two very different colonies.

Although the differences between the two halves were numerous, the main reason they politically split was the types of people settling in each half. The southern half was primarily settled by colonists from Barbados, seeking a new place to have their sugar plantations (Modyford and Colleton 1663:39-42; McCrady 1901:114; Wood 1974:14). Not only were these men overly wealthy, they also had their own political agendas that were brought with them to the mainland. The men in the northern half did not have the same profitability or drive. This population consisted of poorer people, who did not care about politics nor did their politicians care about them. Reverend Blair noticed that the poor people have “a governor who does not in the least countenance them in this business, but rather discourage them” (Blair 1704:602). The colony by 1696 only had “no regular Government” (Randolph 1696:467). This indifference on both the part of the colonists and the governors in the north caused the political environment to become stagnant and reflected a lack of effort from the Lords Proprietors. The scattered population and the differences among these people led them to control their own colony. The proprietors showed no interest in creating a politically successful colony in a location that had

never sustained a colony before. North Carolina's inability to create a politically strong unit stemmed from the scattered population and uncaring overlords.

Social Structure and Demography

The social setting of Colonial North Carolina came from the population demographics. Unlike other colonies, the people were primarily poor seeking freedom and asylum for numerous reasons. The majority of the settlers were freed indentured servants from Virginia and South Carolina trying to find unowned land, and a large number of runaway slaves from neighboring colonies. Mixed within these groups were Quakers seeking religious freedom (McIlvenna 2009:20). William Gordon described the colony as filled with "few or no dissenters in the government but Quakers, who have been always been the greatest sticklers against, and constant opposers of the Church" (Gordon 1709:708). Although the colonists attempted to mimic the mother country, the social institutions differed starkly because of their lack of wealth and influence.

Settlements in North Carolina were spread out across the land. Edward Randolph in his accounts about the colony noted that there were "only sixty or seventy families" spread out across the land (Randolph 1696:467). Although there are accounts of over 15,000 inhabitants by 1710, the colonists were so separated that an accurate count was undeterminable (Butler 2007:11). The distances made the colonists very isolated, the way many of them wanted it. When they did get together, the interactions were often difficult, and occasionally unruly. Colonel Robert Quarry observed that the colony was nothing "but anarchy and confusion...they will, it may be, meet once or twice in a year under the pretence of exercise, when their business is

wholly to be drunk” (Colonel Quarry 1702). One colonist, who left North Carolina, described the colony as follows:

For having removed myself from North Carolina here in the borders of Virginia, because I would not live under a government I knew was altogether illegal, I have therefor earnestly wished for your Honour’s arrival... [to heal so] that they [the colonists] may never more be in danger to be insulted and trodden down by Quakers, Atheist and Deists, and other evil disposed persons (Pollock 1710:731).

These problems most likely stemmed from the lack of towns. Because of their distances from one another, gatherings were important affairs to bring people together. But the gatherings as described by Quarry brought out the worst in the people, making people feel insulted by those who did not agree with them. This deficiency allowed the colonists to conceal themselves from the controlling eye of the government (McIlvenna 2009:14). These distances provide an explanation for Quarry interpreted North Carolina’s society as an anarchy, and the other descriptions of the colonists. The lack of a significant social entity, like a town, showed the desires of the people to live in solitude.

Not all the colonists in North Carolina were seeking to live in solitude. Lawson went to great lengths to illustrate the civilized side of the colonist. He attempted to paint them as self-sustaining men. At the same time, he pointed out that the colony lacked certain aspects of civility. He requested that certain items be imported to the colony, for use and merchandise to sell to the Indians. These items included, but were not limited to, guns and ammunitions, linens of common and rich quality, clothes for men and women including six shilling hats, and wigs (Lawson 1709a:86, 94). Even Lawson realized it needed greater civility and English influence, particularly after engagements with the Indians.

Lawson’s civilized society materialized shortly before the breakout of the Tuscarora War. The Tuscarora Indian War broke out in 1711 between the colonists and the natives, primarily

around the Pamlico River (la Vere 2013:17). When the war ended in 1715, almost all the settlements had been completely devastated. One colonist sent a letter to the Lords Proprietors discussing the effects of the war. He stated that “the people of this county are greatly impoverished: them at news and Pamlico having most of their houses and household goods burnt, their stocks of Cattle, hogs horses, &c, killed, and carried away and their forts” (Pollock 1712:873). The entire population had been ravaged by the war, leaving many to increase their illegal activities to earn their livelihood. By the mid-1710s, the colonists of North Carolina were living frugally without aid or intrusions by the Lords Proprietors. This provided a large opening for pirates to come into the colony.

The colony saw an assortment of people of different religious and socio-economic status and small communities scattered throughout a large stretch of land. The lack of large settlements and poor population influenced the make-up of the colony. In the 1690s, the only substantial settlements were situated in the Albemarle region. Yet pirates were already making their presence known throughout the northern Carolina colony. By 1684, the Lords in Whitehall passed an order against pirates, because Carolina had been receiving pirates and privateers in great numbers (Nicholas 1684:348-349; Craven 1684:347-348). Regardless of the orders coming from Whitehall, pirates continued to arrive.

Colonial North Carolina exhibited a backwater environment that made it difficult for the colony to develop as others around it did. The reasons for this backwater nature included barrier islands and sounds that wreaking havoc on shipping. This kept merchants from risking their profits on trade with the colony. Economically, there were different tradable goods that had the potential to make the colony profitable. But it did not prosper, due to a lack of interest and a cash crop. Politically, North Carolina held little interest in the eyes of the proprietors because of the

lack of a wealthy economy and interested colonists. The politics intertwined to create a society more receptive to the economic benefits of piracy connections than other colonies. Made up of primarily poor farmers, runaway slaves, and religious escapees, these people were less encumbered by political structures and controls than other colonies. They were also a rambunctious group of people seeking freedom and solitude. These different features opened the front door for the pirates to succeed in engaging with a willing market. The pirates and colonists that made the colony their home will be explored in-depth in the next chapter, as each pirate history within the colony is outlined as well as the situations of each colonial settlement.

CHAPTER IV: The Pirates and the Colonists—a Balancing Act

Piracy provided a means of life for colonists in the backwater colony of North Carolina.

At the same time, the colonists provided a safe haven for those who brought life to them. A descendant of a Bath Town colonist described this stating,

we are descendants from those wild fellows the folks of North Carolina lived by the goodness of pirates and many claim ancestries to them. Those ‘sea dogs’ were the bringers of goods to a poor, very isolated part of the world [that] when Blackbeard’s reign of tyranny was near an end, he told a group of his young pirates ‘to disperse and lose themselves among the fields and the wood and people to marry among the people and survive’ (Jackson in Norris 2003:137).

These two groups of people created a symbiotic relationship allowing the colony to thrive as it faced difficult times through trading by legal means.

Yet was this relationship as well connected as the citizens of Bath believed? Did the pirates land in areas which allowed them to trade openly with the colonists, or did they seek out places of solitude? Were these pirates also considered colonists? This chapter explores eight well-known pirates that came to the colony whose stories can be corroborated by the historical records. It also examines the various towns and settlements that sprang up across the colony at the turn of the eighteenth century. In weaving these two peoples together, a full view of life in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century in Colonial North Carolina can be gleaned along with their exchanges, if any, with one another.

The Pirates

As the natural and created environment of Colonial North Carolina provided a place for a haven, pirates exploited these opportunities. These men and women came from all walks of life

and levels of society to a place that welcomed them (Randolph 1696:467 Rogers 1718; Rediker 2004:260-261; Cordingley 2006:14-16). Various pirates moved through the colony over a series of thirty years. These pirates sought a refuge in this backwater colony. The colony provided a dispersed population and numerous resources to either refit and resupply or to make a new life (Butler 2007:6-11; McIlvenna 2009:13-14; Molter 2014:9). The protection the colony offered allowed these men and other pirates the opportunities to survive and interact with the colonists as they saw fit. These men primarily stuck to the coastal areas, around the Cape Fear and the middle of the colony between Beaufort and Ocracoke (FIGURE 3). These areas provided the necessary goods and protection for the pirates and they made their lives there.

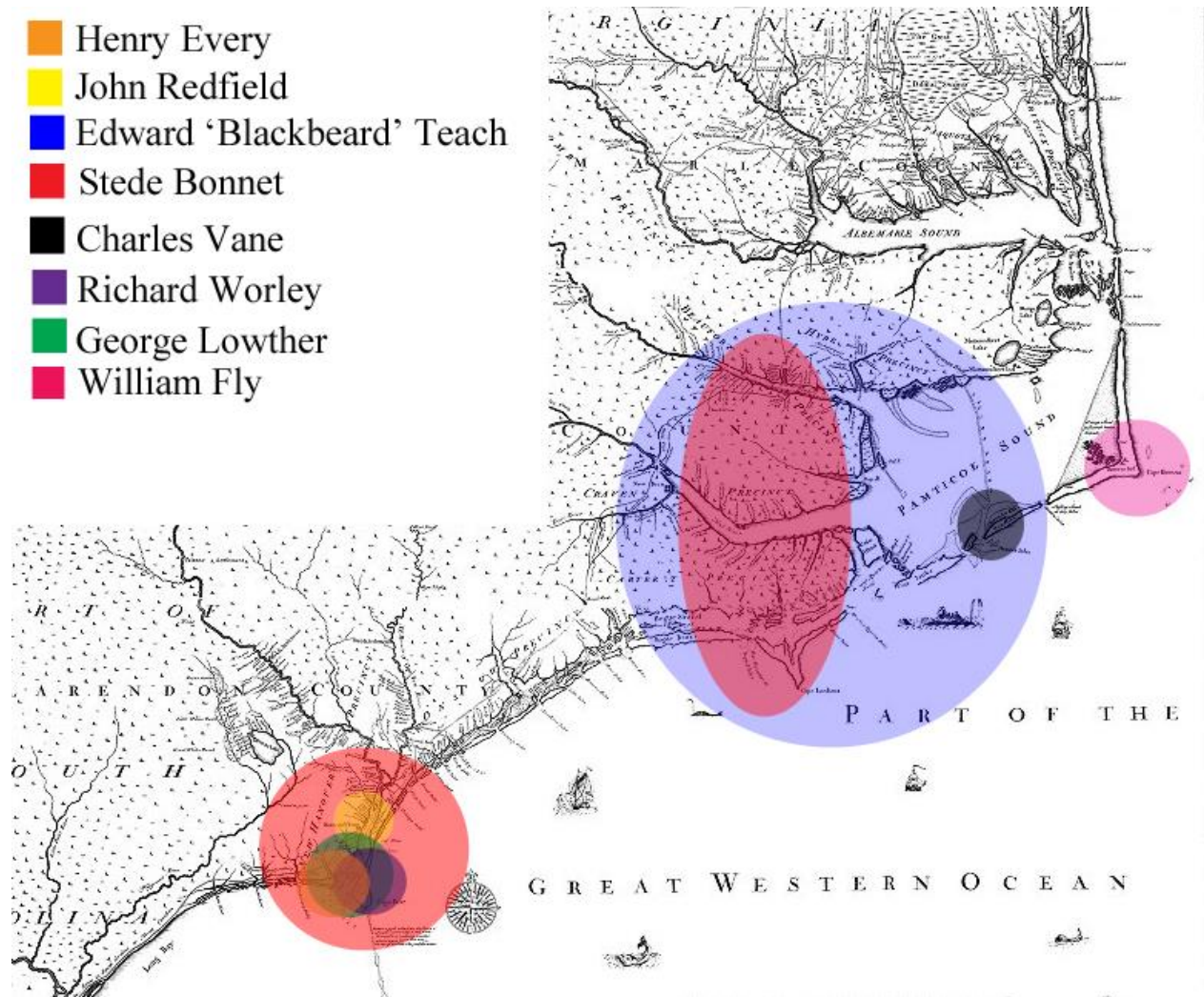


FIGURE 3. Map of Colonial North Carolina showing the locations of areas of pirate influence of the eight major pirates that came to the colony. The color references are indicated in the key in the upper left corner of the map. These areas of influence come from the historical records and the probable courses of travel. Note: the Cape Fear pirates are slightly exaggerated to show the different pirates in the area (Author 2016; map Moseley 1733; data gathered from Dann 1696, Cowse 1718, Johnson 1724, Edwards 1726, Midwinter 1732, Carey 1825, Hughson 1894, Howell 1908, Zepke 2000, Butler 2007).

Henry Every

Captain Henry Every (sometimes Avery) began his pirate career in the 1690s, marking the start of heavy piracy in the Indian Ocean. After capturing “one of the Great Mogul’s own ships... carrying with them rich offerings to present at the shrine of Mahomet” as well as “their

slaves and attendants, their rich habits and jewels, with vessels of gold and silver, and great sums of money,” Every and his men made their way back to the Americas and eventually to England (Johnson 1724:51; Midwinter 1732:8). Accounts vary of the locations that Every stopped on his way back to England. Johnson reported that “they touch’d at several parts of America, where no person suspected them; and some of them went on shore, and dispersed themselves about the country, having received such dividends” (1724:54; Midwinter 1732:12). John Dann described more specific landing sites. In his deposition, he testified that after receiving protection from Governor Nicholas Trott in Providence, the crew split. Some proceeded with Every to England, while others chartered a vessel to Carolina (Bridgewater et al. 1696:475; Dann 1696). Every likely suggested that they should reside north of Charles Town, near the Cape Fear, to avoid capture and prosecution. Besides being more protected than the open port of Charles Towne, Every had grown up in the Carolina colony and knew his way around the complicated coastline of the northern area (Midwinter 1732:4). Every’s knowledge of Carolina provided him the means to suggest the waters of North Carolina.

John Redfield

Not much is known about John Redfield. The historical records make no mention of him as a pirate or a person. Redfield, however, is a part of the North Carolina pirate history through legend. According to legend, Redfield was one of Captain William Kidd’s most trustworthy sailors. On Kidd’s journey north to face trial, he stopped and buried treasure in the Cape Fear area near Masonboro Inlet (Howell 1908:10; Moore 1956:38-39). Redfield stayed behind to watch over the chests. If after five years, he had heard nothing from Kidd, he was allowed to dig up one chest and use the proceeds. The same went for the next five years, when he was allowed

to do the same with the second chest (Howell 1908:10-12; Moore 1956:39, Zepke 2000:136).

Although there is limited documentation of Redfield's life in North Carolina, one document may refer to Redfield. In a letter to Secretary Vernon, Governor the Earl of Bellomont discussed Kidd and the treasure he acquired on his voyages. He told the Secretary about Carolina and that "4 or 5 very rich Pyrats were come to Charlestown... and they had 2,000 pieces of gold, 3,000 pieces of eight, and a great quantity of jewels" (Earl of Bellomont 1701). Other colonial officials make note of more of Kidd's men hiding in the Carolina province, though those locations are unknown (Hughson 1894:46). After learning of Kidd's execution, they likely relocated to Charlestown (Howell 1908:32; Zepke 2000:138).

Edward "Blackbeard" Teach

Edward Teach, more commonly referred to as Blackbeard, is the pirate most intimately linked to Colonial North Carolina, creating various legends throughout the coast. Teach first sailed into the colony in June 1718. Eight days after leaving Charlestown and refusing to take the King's pardon, Teach arrived at Topsail Inlet, where his flagship, *Queen Anne's Revenge*, and another sloop ran aground. He left part of his crew and sinking ships on the deserted shoals and sailed straight to Bath Town to take the pardon from Governor Charles Eden (Spotswood 1719b; Johnson 1724:74-75; Midwinter 1732:24; Rankin 1969:93, 112-113). Given certain concessions, Teach took up residence on Plum Point just outside of town for a reformed life. Governor Eden bequeathed him a vessel, presumably *Adventure* (Johnson 1724:75). In Bath Town, he married a young girl of sixteen, Mary Ormond (Johnson 1724:75; Lee 1965:74; Whedbee 1989:8). Another legend claimed Teach courted Martha Piver, promising her a magnificent home between Smith

Creek and Green Creek on the Neuse River as a wedding gift, which never came into fruition (Whedbee 1989:10-11).

Teach soon returned to the sea. Capturing prizes, he returned to Bath Town with the goods, sharing them with Governor Eden and Secretary Tobias Knight (Spotswood 1719b; 1719c; Virginia Council 1719; North Carolina Council 1719; Johnson 1724:76). During the same time, he and his crew took up residency on Ocracoke Island. After Teach captured several vessels, including two French sloops off Bermuda and local fishing vessels in the rivers of North Carolina, Governor Alexander Spotswood of Virginia grew concerned for the safety of his colony. Aware that Teach and his crew were using Ocracoke Island as a base of operations, Spotswood sent two sloops, *Pearl* and *Lime*, under the command of Lieutenant Robert Maynard to apprehend him. Maynard engaged Teach in Ocracoke Inlet in November of 1718. The battle ended with Teach's death and his crew's capture. Following the battle, Spotswood redistributed Teach's goods, prosecuted his crewmen, and attacked the North Carolina government (Spotswood 1719b; 1719c; Virginia Council 1719; North Carolina Council 1719; Johnson 1724:77-78; Midwinter 1732:20-21, 29; Norris 2003:161-162; Duffus 2008:115-117). The death of Blackbeard and the apprehension of his crew seemingly marked the end of piracy in the colony, and the government began cleaning up its act to become a more civilized place.

Stede Bonnet

Stede Bonnet sailed with Teach for a time prior to the grounding of *Queen Anne's Revenge* in Topsail Inlet. Upon grounding, Teach sent him to Bath Town to receive the pardons (Johnson 1724:93; Midwinter 1732:29-30). When he returned to the inlet, he found no sign of Teach except for the men and ships he had left on the bars. After spending the next few months

sailing the northeastern seaboard, Bonnet returned to North Carolina seeking refuge in the Cape Fear River in July 1718. The pirates stayed there for almost two months trying to refit *Royal James*. The South Carolina government heard of their presence and sent Colonel William Rhett to apprehend them (Cowse 1718:2-3; Governor and Council of South Carolina 1718a; Johnson 1724:96-97; Midwinter 1732:31-32). Unaware, Bonnet and his men sailed straight into Rhett and were captured. They were tried and hanged in Charlestown in December for their piratical activities along the coast of the Carolina colonies (Cowse 1718:2-3).

Charles Vane

Charles Vane traveled to the colony in search for allies following the King's Pardon in 1717. Vane knew that his comrades, Teach and Bonnet, were around the North Carolina colony and hoped they would join the fight against England. Governor Woodes Rogers expressed his fear about the combining of forces and expected Vane to "soon to joyne Majr. Bonnet and some other pirate" in Carolina (Rogers 1718). In August 1718, Vane "took a ship from Guiney with negroes, and two sloops bound in, and the next day attack't four ships outward bound...and [they are] refilling in Cape Fear River" (Governor and Council of South Carolina 1718b; Midwinter 1732:43). He continued further north in search of Teach. He most likely found Teach out on Ocracoke Island. Vane and Teach and their crews remained together for a few days, before Vane took his leave at the beginning of October. Learning that Teach accepted the pardon from Governor Eden, Vane left sooner than he anticipated without an ally (Johnson 1724:145; Midwinter 1732:43; Rankin 1969:139).

Richard Worley

Richard Worley was a pirate for only a brief period of time. In September 1718, Worley set out from Philadelphia on a pirating voyage. After taking a few vessels in the Bahamas, he hid in North Carolina waters. Although there is no record of which inlet Worley sailed, it was likely the Cape Fear. Almost immediately upon their arrival, the Governor of South Carolina heard of their presence. The governor fitted out two sloops to capture him, but Worley escaped in his freshly cleaned sloop, which was easily accomplished in the Cape Fear inlet. He was later captured and hanged for his acts of piracy in North Carolina and the Caribbean (Johnson 1724:343-344; Midwinter 1732:86-87; Zepke 2000:100).

George Lowther

George Lowther began his pirating career in 1721 on the Gambian coast after the crew of *Gambia Castle* voted him in charge following a mutiny (Johnson 1724:347, 349). In the fall of 1722, Lowther and his crew were off the coast of South Carolina. They attempted to take *Amy*, a vessel that had just arrived from England. The battle led to the destruction of the flagship and the loss of *Amy* as a prize. The crew decided to land in an unknown inlet in North Carolina to recuperate, likely the Cape Fear. They stayed in North Carolina hunting “generally in the Day Times, killing black Cattle, Hogs, etc. for their Subsistence, and in the Night retired to their Tents and Huts, which they made for Lodging; and sometimes when the Weather grew very cold, they would stay aboard of their Sloop” (Johnson 1724:361-362; Rankin 1969:147). Following the winter, Lowther left and never came back.

William Fly

William Fly began his career in 1726 in Jamaica, staging a mutiny to take a ship for piracy. To avoid capture, the crew steered for North Carolina. There, Fly spotted the sloop *John and Hannah* off the bar (Carey 1825:127, 131). *John and Hannah* was anchored off of “Cape Hadderas-Bar,” in June 1726 (Edwards 1726:7; Rankin 1969:154). Fly and the captain of *John and Hannah*, Captain Fulker, had a brief dispute over Fulker’s ability to deliver the sloop to him and Fly told him in anger “you lie you dog, but your hide shall pay for your roguery, and if I can’t bring her off, I’ll burn her where she lies” (Carey 1825:132). Then, Fulker witnessed his sloop sink (Edwards 1726:13). To make good on Fly’s word, the pirates attempted to set the sloop on fire, but could not (Carey 1825:132). Although he never landed on the colony, the actions on the coast indicate the draw of the area for pirates.

The Colonists

Colonial settlements were sparse within the colony, particularly in the early years of the colony’s official provincial charter in 1663. With the few men that lived in the colony, there was no need to incorporate towns until more colonists came in. By 1700, as more colonists poured into the colony, the need for towns became important. Towns slowly became more important and frequent in the colony. Like the pirates who sought fresh water and resources, colonists and the towns they inhabited were almost always located on major river thoroughfares. These locations, with few located in physical inlets, allowed the colonists to participate in the minimal trade that was occurring within the colony. They needed to live on these rivers as travel across land was very treacherous and difficult. The major areas and towns discussed in detail below are analyzed

to understand life, or the absence of life, in those areas, ranging from their formations to the political and social leanings and their demographics (FIGURE 4).

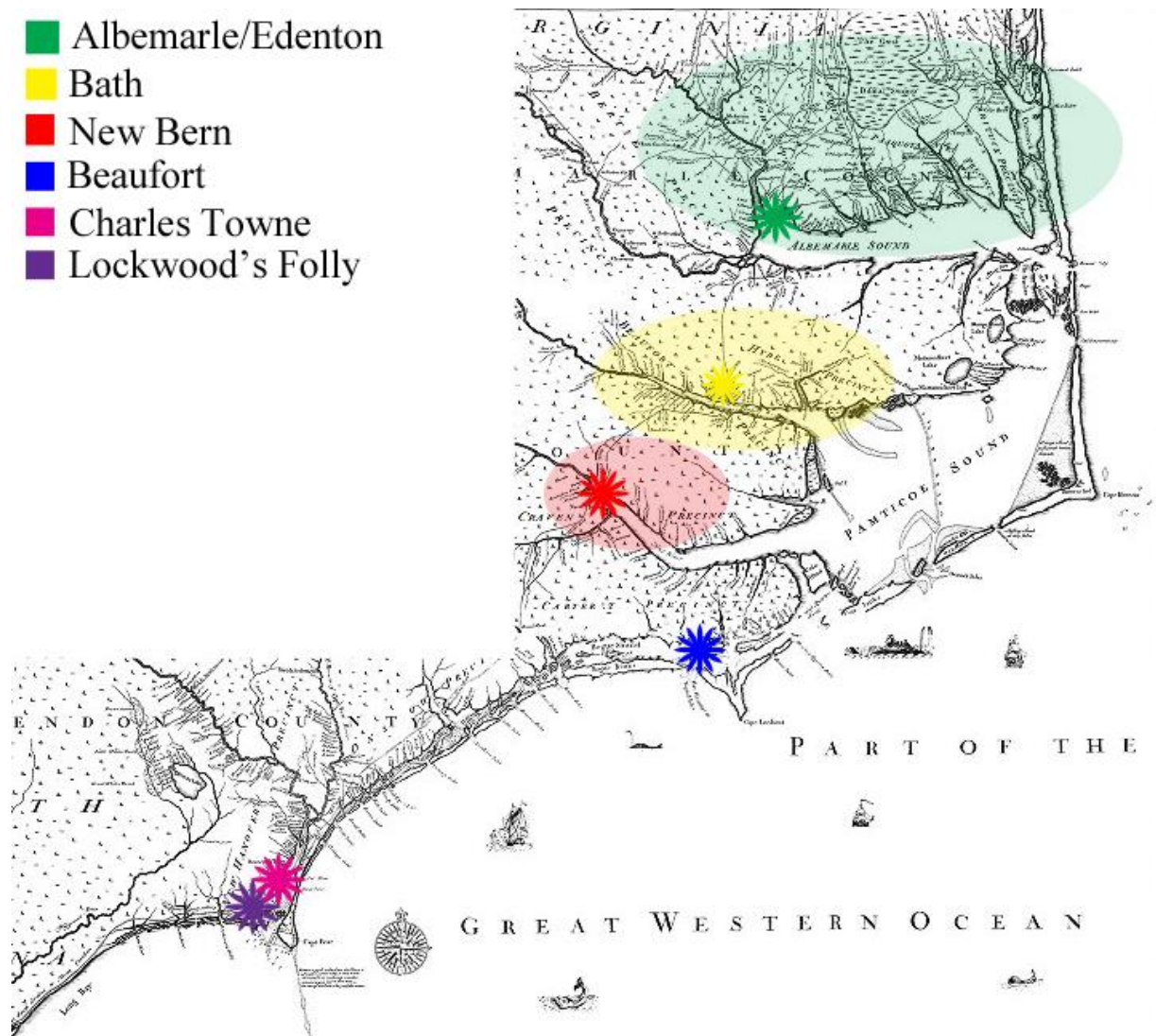


FIGURE 4. Locations of the major towns in Colonial North Carolina around 1720. The three shaded areas around the first three towns reflect the large areas of influence each had in those areas. Although there were more towns in the land, these were the major towns during the time of the pirates. The spheres of influence were determined by examining primary and secondary sources to decide how far the seats of control would likely extend to surrounding homesteads (Author 2016; map Moseley 1733; data gathered from Cape Fear Company 1663, Ashe 1925, Moore 1956, Camp 1963; Paul 1965, Butler 2007).

The Barrier Islands

The barrier islands protected the entirety of the colony from the adverse weather and other enemies that could potentially harm the colony. Very few people lived on the islands or ventured there. There was even a push in the 1650s, prior to the proprietary rule, to the settle area. The belief was that “if [the islands were] possessed and protected... [they would] be as an inoffensive nursery to receive an infant colony” (Dunbar 1958:16). Because of the colony’s proximity to Spanish colonies in the south, the fledgling colony needed the protection the islands offered. The hundred mile stretches of islands were desolate and offered very little soil to make a sustainable life. The main sources of life came from the sea through fishing and whaling (Lawson 1709a:156-157; Shears 1989:35-36; McIlvenna 2009:17, 22).

Those who did inhabit the islands were pilots able to navigate the difficult channels for incoming ships and wreckers making their lives off of the ships claimed by the sandbars and shallow channels. Living alongside the natives on the islands, these were some of the poorest inhabitants in the colony. They openly sought sustainability through wrecking, scavenging, smuggling, and piracy (McIlvenna 2009:22). John Lawson described life on the islands as difficult, but it also provided access to whale oil, fish, and “for the benefit of wrecks, which sometimes fall in upon the shoar” (Lawson 1709a:157). Known as the Bankers, the colonists on the islands were missing virtue and exceedingly villainous (Shears 1989:35). The colonists living on these islands were poor and desperate allowing them to easily turn to illegal means to survive.

One of these islands was Ocracoke. Located at the furthest extent of the Pamlico Sound from the mainland of the colony, the island was seated next to one of the deepest inlets. The inlet was 13 feet at low tide on bar offering a 7 to 8 fathoms to sail into the sound (Lawson 1709a:71). Because of this placement by a decent inlet, the colony following the formation of the Port of

Bath in 1716 called for pilotage law for Ocracoke. At the same time, the large distance from the customs official in Bath allowed the opportunity for illicit trade to flourish. Pilots and captains had the opportunity to remove goods before launching the ships for Bath (Newell 1987:15). Because colonists knew of Blackbeard's control of the island, few people chose to live there prior to 1718. Those who did live there made their life from smuggling and piloting as well as fishing and whaling as in other places along the islands. The case of Ocracoke reflects life on all the barrier islands as they were distant from all others in the colony.

The North—Albemarle County

The first area truly settled in Colonial North Carolina was the Albemarle region. This area stretched from the Virginia boarder to the Albemarle Sound, including the areas of Currituck and Edenton (FIGURE 5). Called Albemarle County, the area brought settlers to the banks of the Pasquotank, Perquimans, and Chowan rivers lying just south of the Great Dismal Swamp (Barth 2010:1). The major settlers were “several substantial planters, from Virginia, and other plantations” (Lawson 1709a:69). Many of these planters originally began as indentured servants, who came to the colony in search for a new life and a chance to own land in a largely uninhabited colony in its early years. The Virginia Council put out a call for “young people and servants just free to seek for settlements in the province of North Carolina where land is to be had on much easier termes than here” (Virginia Council 1708). These people though relative poor wanted land and sought out the uninhabited lands south of the Virginia colony (McIlvenna 2009:22-23; Barth 2010:8).



FIGURE 5. Map of Albemarle Region, showing the locations of the rivers and islands in the area (Moll, and Kyser 1721).

Although poor, the settlers found a very mild and workable environment. With mild winters and fertile lands, the colonists produced everything in great quantities, like wheat and Indian corn. They also bred cattle, horses, sheep and swine (Lawson 1709a:69-70). The commodities that the colonists produced attracted traders from New England and Bermuda in exchange for “rum, sugar, salt, molasses, and some wearing apparel” (Lawson 1709a:70). This trade was, however, limited because of the difficulty in navigating the inlets and sandbars. Many of these colonists still chose to engage in illegal and illicit trade to complement the small trade. Even with the legal trade, the availability of the illicit trade allowed the colonists to survive without the help of the Proprietors who had abandoned them for more favorable opportunities in the south. The colonists required this illegal trade because Virginia did not allow North Carolinians to conduct trade through their ports (Colleton 1680; McIlvanna 2009:47-48, 78).

As the population in the region built up over time, the need for towns and larger communal settlements became necessary. These beliefs sprang from their independent spirits, being described as being in a “languishing and dangerous condition” and the people being “sheep

having no shepherd” and acting as barbarians and disorderly citizens (Barth 2010:16). The communal settlements, Edenton and Currituck, however, did not halt the barbarity of the colony. Edenton, incorporated in 1712, was the primary large settlement in the area. Many still lived outside of the town, inhabiting the area of Currituck (APPENDIX B: Chronology of Families in Currituck 1700-1730). There people exhibited a poorer and harsher life. They willingly traded with the pirates and smugglers who frequented the area (McIlvenna 2009:43).

The Middle—Bath, New Bern, Beaufort

The middle section of the colony was composed of the lands and waterways south of the Albemarle Sound to the Neuse River (FIGURE 6). The presence of extensive waterways that extend from the Pamlico and Core Sounds to the east of the mainland created this large area for settlement. The rivers—Pamlico, Neuse and New—and their numerous creeks created the means for trade and life in the area. Largely controlled by the Tuscarora natives, the area was left mainly uninhabited in the early days of the colony (Lawson 1709a:173-175; Paul 1965:12-19; McIlvenna 2009:17).



FIGURE 6. Map of the area of the middle region of the colony (Moll and Kyser 1721).

As more people moved into the area in the early 1700s, settlements began to form with extensive trade of the commodities grown in the area. When Lawson came to the area in 1705, he discussed the capabilities the area had in providing sustainability and trade for the fledgling colony. Lawson wrote,

The land being of several sorts of compost, some stiff, others light, some marl, others rich black mould; here barren of pine, but affording pitch, tar, and masts; there vastly rich, especially on the freshes of the rivers, one part bearing great timbers, others being savanna's or natural meads, where no trees grow for several miles, adorn'd by nature with a pleacant verdure, and beautiful flowers, frequent in no other places, yielding abundance of herbage for cattle, sheep, and horse (Lawson 1709a:86).

This environment allowed for the various types of life. Yet the people were relatively poor, and very distant from large sources of trade that life in the northern or southern sections of the colony would provide. The people were relatively spread out from one another until 1705.

The first town incorporated in the colony was Bath in 1705. The town was located on the north side of the Pamlico River. By 1716, the town had transformed into a customs port, a shipyard, and a gristmill (Newell 1987:24; Butler 2007:13; Ewen 2011:266). The first capital of the colony, pirates seeking pardons and all others came through the town. Further south, the town of New Bern was formed in 1710 by a group of Swiss and German immigrants under Baron Cristoph von Graffenreid. Located on the Neuse River, the town was composed of poor settlers and ravaged by natives during the Tuscarora War (von Graffenried 1708). The third major settlement in the area was Beaufort at Topsail Inlet located between Core Sound and Bogue Sound. Although not officially incorporated until 1723, the area attracted settlers as early as 1707. The town had no means to connect to the mainland of the colony. The colonists quickly took to illicit trade and other alternative means of trade (Paul 1965:22-25; Butler 2007:13-15). These settlements were completely separate from one another. Yet the distance did not separate

their experiences, they were all extremely impoverished and chose to engage with a variety of people, including pirates.

The South—Cape Fear River

The most southern inlet of the colony was the most appealing for settlement (FIGURE 7). After the incorporation of the charter, the Proprietors wholeheartedly attempted to settle the area because of the depth of the river. The Proprietors recruited people from Massachusetts Bay, Barbados, and other locations in the hopes of forming the initial capital of the Carolina colony along the Cape Fear (Cape Fear Company 1663:36-39; Modyford and Colleton 1663:39-42; Lee 1965:36-40). Yet this area proved extremely difficult to settle.



FIGURE 7. Map of Cape Fear Region, showing the early settlements (Moll, and Kyser 1721).

Various attempts were launched from the 1660s to the end of the century. William Hilton from Massachusetts Bay Colony and Barbados were in search for a new place to settle as the islands were overpopulated. Hilton determined the area was unfit because of the difficulties the ships had with entering the river (Modyford and Colleton 1663:39-42; Lee 1965:36-40). Hilton attempted again and created the first Charles Town settlement. This settlement only lasted until 1667. The area was abandoned for settlement until the 1720s. Lawson acknowledged these difficulties, stating

Whereas there was a writing left in a post, at the point of the Cape-Fair River, by those New-England-Men, that left cattle with the Indians there, the contents whereof tended not only to the disparagement of the land about the said River, but also the great discouragement of all such as should hereafter come into those parts to settle (Lawson 1709a:79).

The environment was ready for settlement, yet the presence of the natives and the ill-fates of the initial settlers tainted the image of the area. Few settlers did remain in the areas. As there were no established settlements, the few there had to engage with the pirates and other smugglers that came through.

The pirates addressed above had numerous areas of overlap with colonials located in the colony. The various settlements were inhabited at different times during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. As settlements and pirates both came and went, some garnered the opportunity to overlap and interact with one another. The difficulty in determining the course of the interactions between pirates and colonists comes from determining the locations of these people. Their interactions were largely limited to trade and taverns, or participating in daily life and incorporating themselves into the colonial settings. Because of the backwater and poor nature of the colony, the morals and lifestyles of the colonists welcomed the ability to access the outside world through smugglers and pirates. They took quickly to the illicit trade. When pirates

did stay for extended periods of time in the colony, the pirates integrated themselves in with the colonists and became part of the community. Although very few of the pirates had the opportunity to interact with the colonists, those who did affected the communities they came across and in turn the communities helped them. The following chapter provides evidence of the maritime cultural landscape and cultural memory that is used to determine the connection between the historic pirates and the archaeological and memorial remains.

CHAPTER V: Maritime Cultural Landscape and Cultural Memory—Finding the Historical Pirates of North Carolina

Maritime cultural landscapes and memories are intricately linked not only because of the history that has constructed both, but also because of the features that figure into the constructions of both. Landscapes are made up of various physical and cognitive remains relating to certain themes or events in a place across a time period. Memories are cognitive in nature, but rely on physical and visual reminders that inspire memories and keep those thoughts alive in the community. Piracy in North Carolina offers a means to examine both a maritime cultural landscape and cultural memories for a group of historically significant people in Colonial North Carolina.

Maritime Cultural Landscape

The theoretical approach of the maritime cultural landscape creates the opportunity to bring a variety of sources together to understand specific relationships between the land and the sea. These sources include physical archaeological remains, trade routes, geographical features, and place names (Westerdahl 1992:7-9). As with a group of people that is difficult to pin down, using such an approach allows numerous sources to be used to create a clearer image of piracy in Colonial North Carolina.

Physical Archaeological Remains

Physical archaeological remains are important when discussing maritime cultural landscapes, as they provide hard evidence of life during such times. Pirates, however, provide their own set of problems, as very few sites have been identified. Pirate archaeological sites

come in two forms, shipwrecks and terrestrial camps. To date, only five shipwrecks have been positively identified as pirate ships—*Whydah* in Massachusetts, *Queen Anne's Revenge* in North Carolina, *Fiery Dragon* in Madagascar, *Quedagh Merchant* in Dominican Republic, and *Ranger* in Jamaica—along with a variety of terrestrial sites ranging from camps in Madagascar and the Caribbean to the cliffs of Ireland (Finamore 2006; Hamilton 2006; Hamilton 2006; Wilde-Ramsing 2006; de Bry and Roling 2016; Gulseth 2016; Hanselmann and Beeker 2016; Kelleher 2016). The terrestrial sites consist of large quantities of drinking and armament artifacts, luxury goods, and goods from a variety of origins (Hatch 2006:118; Hartnett and Dawdy 2013:41; Kelleher 2013:357). Although these sites have offered the potential for developing an artifact signature for terrestrial pirate encampments, scholars have shown that it is highly unlikely to determine an artifact signature for pirates and pirate shipwreck sites. This is because the very nature of the artifacts they were carrying were similar in nature to any other ship of the day (Babits 2001:9; 2014:276-277; Page 2014:104-105; Page and Ewen 2016:272-273).

The most identifiable pirate site in North Carolina is *Queen Anne's Revenge* (QAR). Located in twenty feet of water off Beaufort Inlet in Carteret County, QAR wrecked in June 1718 as Edward Teach was making his way into the colony. The wreck was discovered in 1996 by Intersal, Inc. (Intersal). Designated site 31CR314, archaeological investigations began in 1997 with full scale excavations starting in 2006. Thousands of artifacts have been recovered from the site (TABLE 3). Although the site has been proven by some to be QAR (Miller et al. 2005; Moore 2005; Wilde-Ramsing and Ewen 2012), the wreck is still open to debate of its true identity (Rodgers et al 2005). The reasoning behind the QAR claim lies in the date range of the artifacts ending in 1718, its location in the inlet, the vast number of cannon indicating a very large vessel, and the French nature of the hull structure (Wilde-Ramsing and Ewen 2012:128-

129) This site positively places Edward Teach in North Carolina and physical remains to show the presence of colonial pirates (Lusardi 2006:217-218; Wilde-Ramsing 2006:191-195; Wilde-Ramsing and Ewen 2012:129).

TABLE 3. Categories of artifacts found on *Queen Anne's Revenge* (Lusardi 2006:200-218).

Category	Types of Artifacts
Arms and Armament	Cannon, cannon balls, bar shot, lead shot, small arms
Ships Parts	Rudder, hull structure, bells, anchors, window glass
Navigation and Scientific Tools	Medical syringes, dividers, mortar and pestle,
Personal Effects	Buttons, buckles, sword hilts,
Food Preparation and Storage	Kettle, ceramic fragments, cask hoops, glass bottles

Within the same area as QAR, another one of Teach's ships wrecked. While attempting to free QAR from the bar it struck, *Adventure* also ran aground. No wreck has been found in Beaufort Inlet that resembles *Adventure*. In 2001, Michael Overfield, a graduate student of East Carolina University, and members of the state's Underwater Archaeology Branch conducted a remote sensing survey of the inlet for the remains of the vessel. The Phase I archaeological survey identified several possible targets within the Beaufort Inlet area. Overfield suggests that these targets could be associated with a vessel that has been broken up and scattered across the seafloor, as he asserted about *Adventure's* wrecking event. Unfortunately, the targets were not investigated further in the thesis or further research by the state (Overfield 2002:108). To date, *Adventure* has not been located.

Based on historical sources, pirates had encampments in different areas. Bath, the capital of the colony, was the primary target for pirates in 1717 and 1718 seeking the King's Pardon from Governor Eden. Some, like Stede Bonnet, left the area seeking a new life elsewhere. Others stayed in the area for their new life and redemption. Edward Teach and his small crew came into the area and remained for a period of time making a new life there. During this time in Bath,

Teach traded various goods with the colonists and officials, and made his home at Plum Point across the water from the plantations of Governor Eden and Tobais Knight. While no remains have been identified on the property yet, there is a likelihood remains are present there from the colonial area. Nearer to town, locals labelled an archaeological site as Teach's Tar Kettle. The kettle was located on Handy's Point and has since been removed by the land owners. Legend holds that Teach used the kettle to boil tar to seal his ship, *Adventure*, acquired from Governor Eden upon acceptance of the pardon (McLaughlin 2013:11-12). Historically there is no proof to this legend, but it is corroborated by his mere presence and life in the area.

Southport was the most frequented place by pirates seeking to go quickly in and out of the colony. Avery's pirates, Bonnet, Worley, Lowther, and Redfield all were in the area for various periods of time. The presence of failed colonial settlements may have also left colonists in the area, but not many. To date, no remains connected to piracy have been located in the area. Using theories established at other terrestrial pirate camps (Hatch 2006; Hartnett and Dawdy 2013), possible locations would likely have food-related products, tobacco goods, and in some cases careening and ship related items with the potential for tradeable goods accidentally left behind. These locations include areas on the creeks and rivers near Southport, as the pirates would not have needed to have gone far into the Cape Fear River to find shelter.

Ocracoke, the second major area for pirate encampments, has not yet turned up any pirate-related artifacts or encampments. The area from historical records is known to have been visited by Charles Vane and Edward Teach. Around the island, there are various place names for these pirates. Their extended presence suggests there should be remains. Using the thoughts laid out by Hatch (2006) and Hartnett and Dawdy (2013) and the historical records describing the time the pirates spent on the island, the encampment would have remnants to tobacco and food-

related products and likely remains of ship cleaning, possibly located near present-day Springer Point, the locations of a good anchorage and careening area.

The Albemarle Sound region provides an interesting place to look for physical remains of piracy. Historically, the major pirates of the Golden Age did not stop in the area. Small-time local pirates were in the area, as the area was the most populated area of the colony and trade was not readily apparent for the colonists (McIlvenna 2009:22-23, 47-48; Newell 2004:7-8). Similar to Southport and Ocracoke, the area has the same potential for pirate encampment materials. Rumors of a known pirate encampment have been mentioned, but not substantiated (Barbara Snowden 2015 elec. comm.) Pirates would have sought out areas with easy access to the ocean and means to interact with the colonists. Such places include the barrier island near where present-day Corolla and Duck are located. These encampments or docking locations, if found, would likely have large quantities of tobacco and food related items, as suggested by Hatch (2006) and Hartnett and Dawdy (2013).

Trade Routes

North Carolina is situated along the Atlantic Ocean just under halfway up the eastern seaboard of the North American continent. The coastline extends across 301 miles of barrier islands and the mainland. Because of this location along the eastern seaboard, the colony sat in the middle of the Atlantic trade routes. Ships of all nationalities passed by the colony throughout its life, because of the natural ocean currents and wind patterns on the Atlantic Ocean. The trade routes of the New World took ships from the Caribbean through the Florida Straits between the Florida Keys and the Bahamas seeking the Gulf Stream to carry them north back to Europe or the northeastern colonies (FIGURE 8). Still existent today, the Gulf Stream is part of the larger

northern hemisphere ocean gyre in the Atlantic, which flows in a clockwise motion. The stream runs about seven hundred miles from Key West to Cape Hatteras following the coastline, turning northeast towards colder waters and Europe off of Cape Hatteras. The winds also follow a similar pattern (Ulanski 2008:7-10).

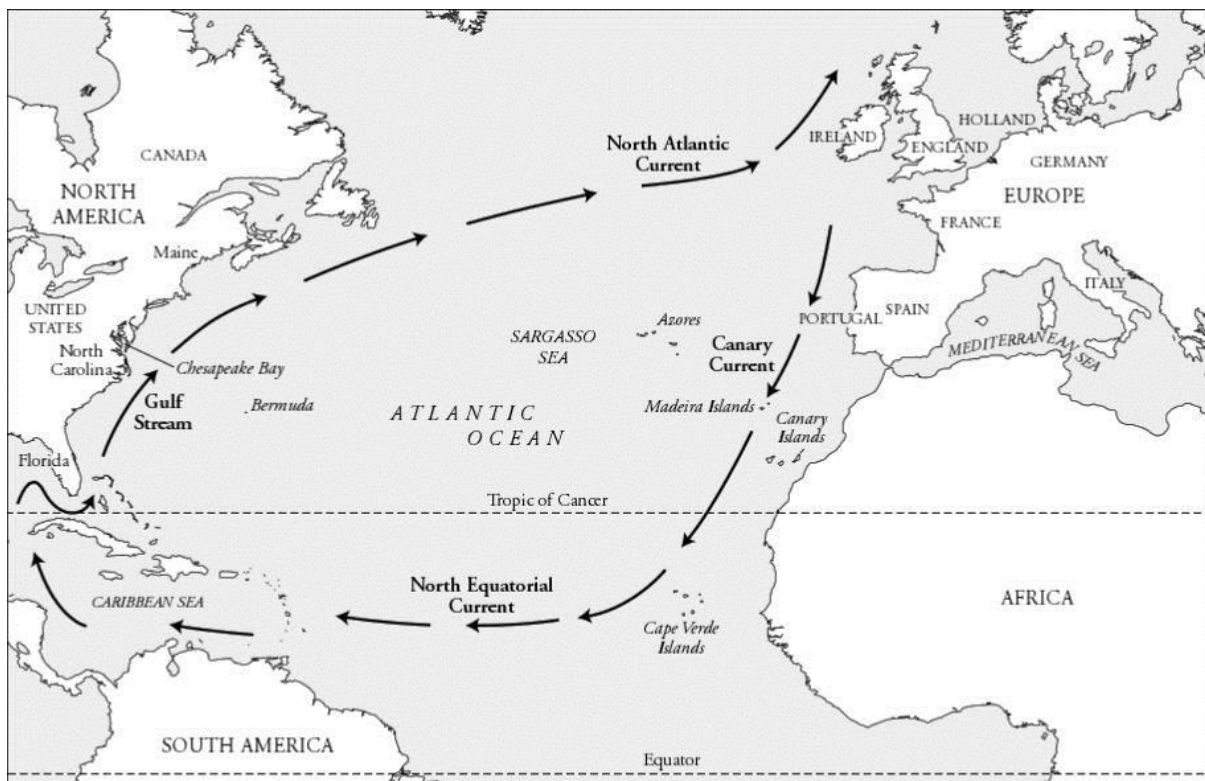


FIGURE 8. Currents of the North Atlantic, showing the clockwise motion of the currents. Trade vessels would follow these currents south from Europe across the Atlantic to the Caribbean, then north through the straits of Florida and along the Gulf Stream, near North Carolina, to the northeast and Europe (Ulanski 2008:8).

This significant trade route allowed European nations to quickly colonize the eastern seaboard. As colonial areas of production took off, port towns exploded along the seaboard creating a larger flow of ships along the Atlantic seaboard (Ulanski 2008:181; Hornsby 2012:29-30). North Carolina was directly in the midst of these traders, allowing pirates to easily access the routes from the various inlets. Pirates sought a stronghold that placed them near commercial trade lanes (Galvin 1991:114). The presence of the colonial trade routes along North Carolina

helped develop a pirate stronghold in the area and provided pirates with a means to do their job.

The trading routes add to the greater understanding of the piratical maritime cultural landscape of the area and the reasons the colony was a good base of operations for pirates.

Topography

The natural topography of Colonial North Carolina allowed for pirates to come into the colony and create such bases necessary for their survival. As previously described, the colonial coastline consisted of barrier islands of sand surrounded by shifting shoals and sandbars that led to numerous wrecks. Beyond the barrier islands sat large bodies of water or sections of inhabitable land of swamps and forests weaved with winding rivers. These conditions made the colony difficult to colonize, but they made it good for piratical life.

Beyond being situated near commercial shipping lanes, pirates desired further conditions for their bases. Pirates also required a certain maritime physiography that allowed them to careen their vessels along with natural resources necessary for human survival (Galvin 1991:114; Hanna 2016:4). These features took the form of three different types of strongholds: small remote islands, shorelines with marshy conditions and little human habitation, and fortified ports like Port Royal (Galvin 1991:113; Evans 2005:20-21). These strongholds are indicative of particular topographic features that are created naturally. The features allowed for temporary camps to be established to rest, refit, and careen their vessels (Hatch 2006:45).

In North Carolina, pirates found a combination of the first two types of strongholds. Pirates, such as Edward Teach and Charles Vane, utilized remote islands on the boundaries of the colony as bases of operations. Others, like Richard Worley and George Lowther, sought the uninhabited shorelines of the Cape Fear region for their protection. These features were naturally

occurring and created natural anchorages and protected areas for their ships to anchor and careen. This topography also created natural ship traps along the shoals and islands that aided in capturing prizes along the coast, as William Fly did. The terrestrial and underwater topography utilized as bases and traps for pirates provide an integral part of the maritime cultural landscape.

Place Names

Toponymical research, or the study of place names, plays an important role in creating cultural landscapes. Naming practices reflect historical events, people, and cultural norms of a society (Ehret 1976:14-15; Westerdahl 1992:5, 7-11). Within a maritime context, place names can express shipwrecks, trading lanes, ship types and various other sea-related themes important to the maritime cultures that created these names.

Within coastal North Carolina, there is a strong tradition of using maritime themes, events and people to name various parts of their landscape. Pirates have played an important role in the naming practices of certain areas of North Carolina's coastline. The most explicit area of place names associated with specific pirates is Ocracoke (FIGURE 9). The piratical hideout of Edward Teach and Charles Vane, Ocracoke bore witness to numerous events including the death of Teach. The most prominent place name associated with Teach on the island is Teach's Hole. Teach's Hole references the body of water on the southwest side of the island where the Battle of Ocracoke took place and Teach himself was killed (Weslager 1954:47). The name first appeared on maps of the area in 1733 (Moseley 1733). To date, almost all maps of Ocracoke Island show Teach's Hole as a specified body of water. This name clearly reflects the historical presence of Teach in the area and society's desire to connect with him.



FIGURE 9. Locations of pirate related place names on Ocracoke Island. Teach's Hole on the left side of the map extends around the entire south end of the island (Author 2016; map Google Earth 2016; data from Weslager 1954:47).

Two other areas on Ocracoke are named for Teach (FIGURE 9). One, Teach's Castle, references the wooded area near Silver Lake or Springer's Point where there is still a hammock today (Weslager 1954:47). No remains of such a house has been recovered. The second name, Teach's Landing or Blackbeard's Point, refers to the modern area of Springers Point on the sound side of the island (Weslager 1954:47). This is the location where Teach careened and harbored his vessel. The point is the same area Vane harbored while seeking audience with Teach in October 1718. These areas on Ocracoke suggest a strong connection of the colonies inhabitants to Teach and a desire to keep his memory alive, whether as a nefarious pirate or a

trade-bringing savior. These names, similar to Teach's Hole, are engrained into the traditions of the island and therefore came about shortly after Teach's demise.

The Cape Fear region exhibits several places named for pirates that came through the area (FIGURE 10). A pirate sailing into the Cape Fear River first came across an area of land on the west side of the river near its mouth. This area would become the modern town of Southport. Although many pirates came to the area, only Stede Bonnet is remembered in the area. Bonnet's Point "extends into the Cape Fear between Elizabeth River and Dutchmans Creek" (Hill and Powell 2010:61). Bonnet's Point first appears on the 1733 Moseley Map, although the name seems to have fallen out of use today (Moseley 1733). Bonnet's Creek, located just north of Southport, is the supposed location of Bonnet's landing and careening site in the area (Google 2016). Not much is known about the reasons behind these names or when the name for Bonnet's Creek came about, yet the name Bonnet clearly references the pirate who lived and was captured in the area in September 1718.

East of Wilmington lies an island bequeathed as Money Island. Situated in Greenville Sound near Masonboro Inlet and Wrightsville Beach, the name comes from the legends that the island was traditionally the location of buried pirate treasure (Hill and Powell 2010:354). Historians have shown that pirates did not in fact bury their treasure (Cordingly 2006:179). Yet legends of such actions have inspired naming traditions and treasure hunts for long lost gold. As for North Carolina's Money Island, the name comes from the legends of William Kidd's hidden chest of treasure in the Cape Fear area prior to his hanging in 1701 (Howell 1906:8-9). When this name came into use is unknown, but it was likely during the nineteenth century. Although not in the Cape Fear area, there is another Money Island in Bogue Sound near Atlantic Beach. This name similarly comes from the presence of buried pirate treasure on the island (Hill and Powell

2010:331). Again, the time period origin of this name is unknown. Treasure has never been found, but the legends lives on in the name.

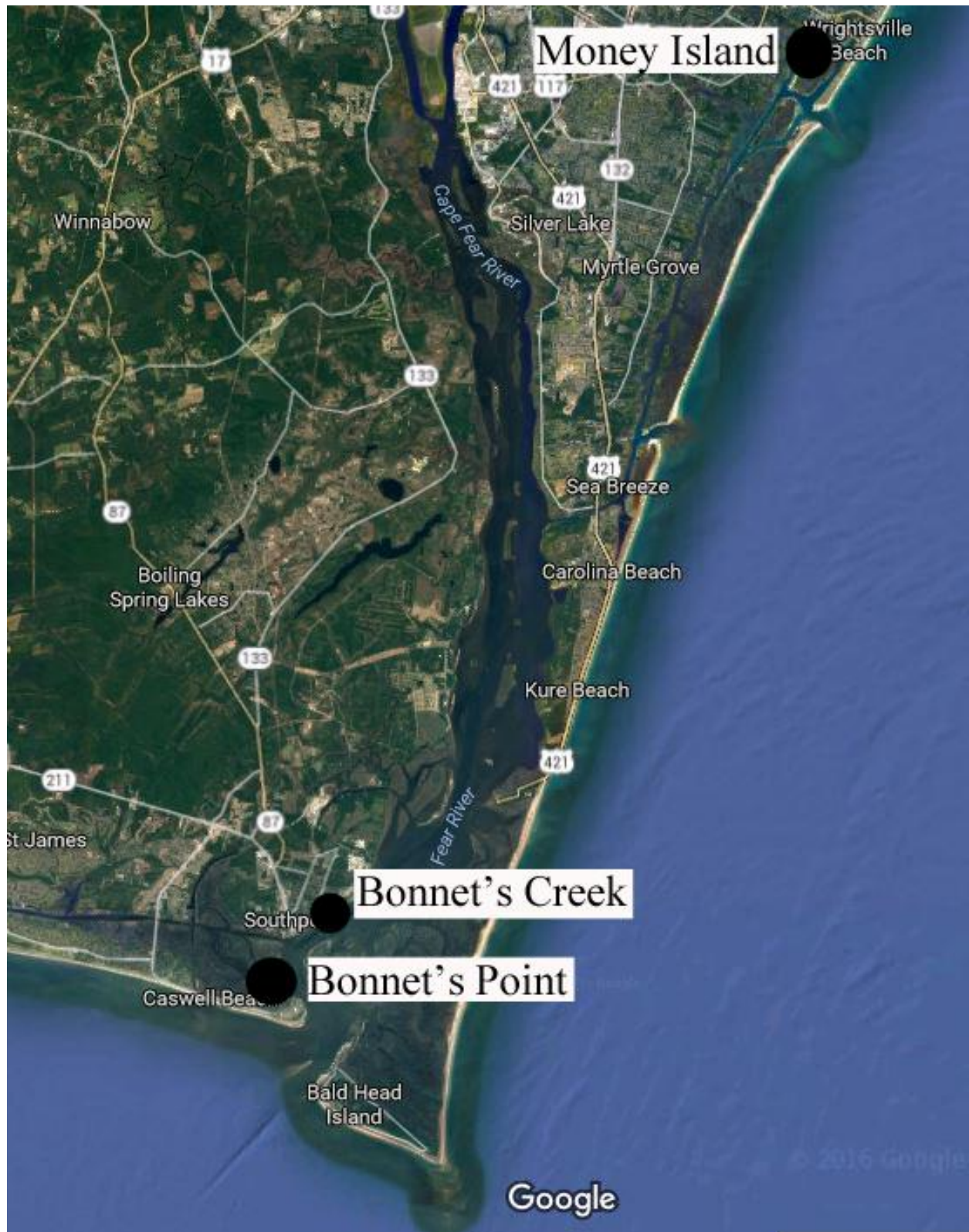


FIGURE 10. Locations of pirate related place names in the Cape Fear Region (Author 2016, map Google Earth 2016; data from Howell 1908, Hill and Powell 2010).

Cultural Memory

Symbiotic with the elements of the maritime cultural landscape, cultural memory relies on the histories, traditions and naming practices of the people of specific areas. As discussed previously, cultural memory “is the past created in a society at certain times and occasions,” but does not have to be portrayed accurately towards the historic past (Holtorf 2008). The memory has a fixed point in time, but that point is manipulated. These manipulations are through cultural formations, such as texts and monuments, as well as institutional communications, like observances and practices (Assmann and Czaplicka 1995:129). In the case of piracy in North Carolina, the manipulations of their memory come from formations in the form of naming practices and historic makers and historic/archaeological sites. They also come from institutional frameworks like mascots and festivals (FIGURE 11, APPENDIX A: Cultural Memory Database).

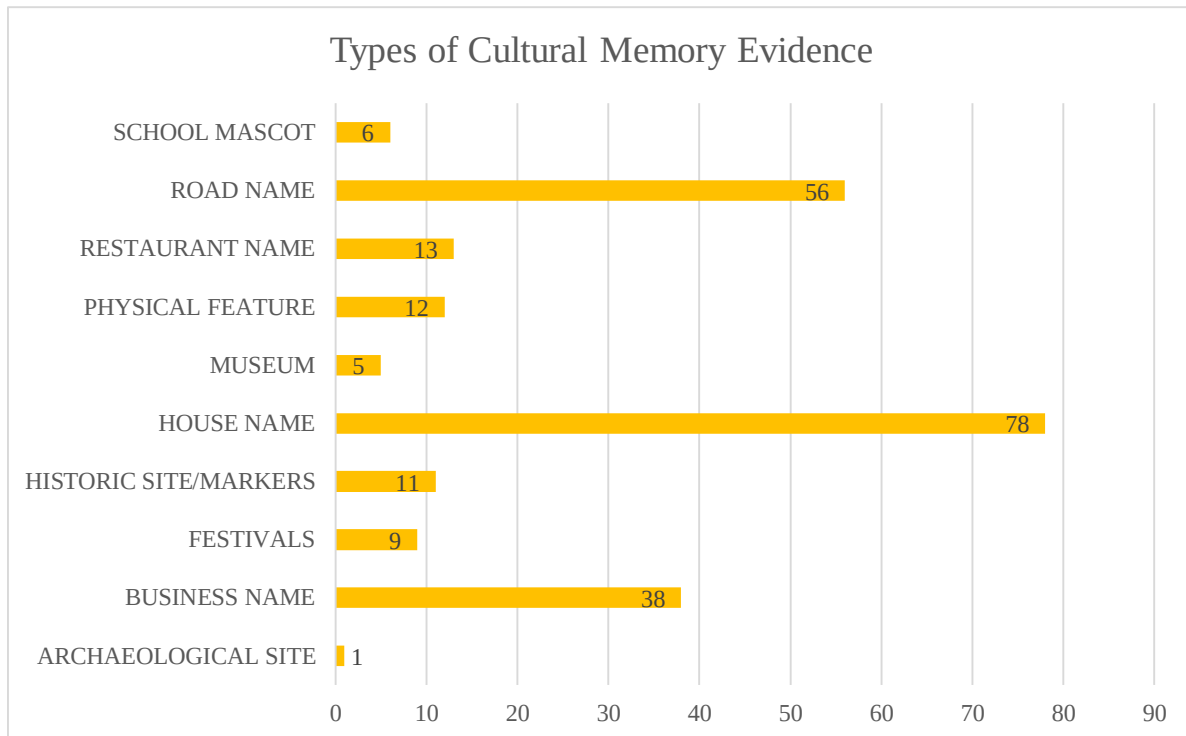


FIGURE 11. Graph depicting the various types of the memorial evidence concerning piracy in North Carolina. (Author 2016).

Naming Practices

The easiest way a society can express its cultural memories is through place names. These names provide a direct link between the society's memory and the cultural landscape. Memorial naming practices are applied to any aspect of life including roads, restaurants, businesses, and physical features. They can come from any historic event, time period, historical figure, and local legends that mean something to the assigning group or culture (Randall 2004:4-5). The names help to construct part of a landscape as they reflect the past and its role in the memory and mindset of the group.

North Carolinians utilize pirate history and pirate culture to name a variety of different aspects of their lives on the coastlines. North Carolinians name not only their roads after pirates and pirate lore, but they also use the same subject matter to name geographical features, restaurants, businesses, and beach houses. The names range from specific pirate names to names of shipwrecks to general pirate culture and ideology. A majority of these names come from modern times as tourism took off, around the 1970s when tourism took off along the North Carolina coastline (Destination Commerce Corporation 2016). Some are even more recent than that, starting in the 1990s with finding of the wreck in Beaufort Inlet and the rise of pirate culture in American society.

Throughout this study, 182 place names were identified in four separate categories. These categories were road names, house names, restaurants, and businesses (excluding restaurants) (FIGURE 12). The names for all of them ranged from referring to specific pirates such as Queen Anne's Revenge (house in Hatteras) and Stede Bonnet Wynd on Bald Head Island. Some referenced the men who hunted pirates like Maynard Street and Colonel Rhett Trail. The remainder are named for general pirate culture like Mutiny Bay Mini Golf in Nags Head and the

Jolly Roger Pub and Marina in Ocracoke (FIGURE 13). Interestingly enough, a few of the pirate names are for pirates that never came into the colony, like Anne Bonny and Henry Morgan. The names span the historical record and reflect the deep history of piracy in the colony.

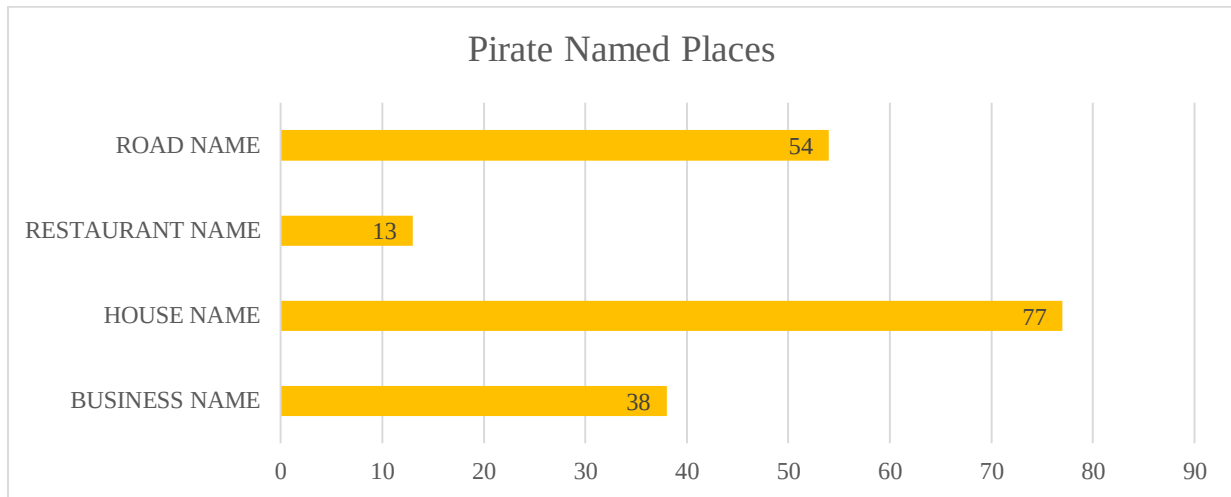


FIGURE 12. Types of places named for pirates across North Carolina (Author 2016).



FIGURE 13. Various forms of cultural memory: Queen Anne's Revenge house in Hatteras (top left), Stede Bonnet Wynd on Bald Head Island (top right), Colonel Rhett Way on Bald Head Island (middle left), Maynard Street in Nags Head (middle right), Mutiny Bay Miniature Golf in Nags Head (bottom left), and Jolly Roger Pub and Marina in Ocracoke (bottom right) (Author 2016).

Markers and Museums

Another means of displaying cultural memory is through markers and monuments. These features come in a various different forms from statues commemorating famous individuals to placards marking historic events and people to artifacts and records associated with such events housed in museums. Statues, markers and museums allow citizens to visually see events and items of their past to remember and relive their community's past. The visual aid for the history easily places the history of the commemorated event into everyday life as a constant reminder.

Throughout the areas of pirate occupation, state officials have installed placards commemorating their presence in those areas and the events that occurred there during the pirate occupation. These historic markers are part of North Carolina's Highway Historical Marker Program. Of the over 1500 markers (North Carolina Office of Archives and History 2008), five specifically refer to the colonial pirates (FIGURE 14). Four out of the five pirate markers discuss Edward Teach and his death at Ocracoke in 1718. The markers are located in Ocracoke (1965), Bath (1962 & 1968), and Cedar Island (1936). The focus on Teach reflects the deep history he has within the state. The markers continually reference his death by Maynard, a naval officer from Virginia. The final marker is in memory of Stede Bonnet located in Southport (2007), his main base. His marker, similar to Teach's, discusses his capture and hanging. The city of Southport also installed its own marker commemorating the presence of Bonnet in the area. The historical markers clearly show the state's desire to preserve the memory and actions of these men. They explicitly state that people from other colonies captured and killed the pirates, not the local colonists. This fact exhibits a further desire for the pirate memory to be retained with memory of good relations with the colonists.



FIGURE 14. Some of historical markers that remember piracy in North Carolina: Lt. Robert Maynard marker on Ocracoke (top left), Colonial Bath marker in Bath (top right), and Stede Bonnet marker in Southport (bottom) (Author 2016).

To preserve and exhibit pieces of pirate culture for the public, the North Carolina Maritime Museums display numerous artifacts from *Queen Anne's Revenge* wreck site. Following the finding of the site in 1996, the state entered an agreement with Intersal for retention of all the artifacts from the wreck site. The museums, because of the presence of the main museum in Beaufort and its proximity to the site, was declared the official repository of the artifacts from the site (North Carolina General Court of Justice 2015:24). The repository is based out of the North Carolina Maritime Museum in Beaufort and is currently home to almost 89,000 artifacts, while the rest remain either in conservation or on the site (Courtney Page 2016, elec. comm.). The main exhibit consists of displays of the artifacts and the site itself along with the history of Teach in North Carolina. Small collections of artifacts are on display at the North Carolina Maritime Museum in Southport and the Graveyard of the Atlantic Museum in Hatteras.

Schools and Festivals

Similar to markers and museums and their visual commemoration as aids to cultural memory, mascots and festivals use visual aids and immersion into the cultures and rituals of the those being remembered. By recreating events that occurred and continually using such names and images in everyday life, the memory of such events and peoples come to life and are continually remembered.

Mascots most commonly take on the stereotypical traits of the people or animals that are chosen by the schools. Many schools select mascots that strike a fearful image while also providing a reflection of a communal identity. Pirates for North Carolina provide such an image for schools and the community. Six primary and secondary schools have pirates or buccaneers as their mascots—Bath Elementary Pirates, Shallotte Middle School Pirates, Perquimans County High School Pirates, Swansboro High School Pirates, Topsail High School Pirates, and Laney High School Buccaneers. Each mascot is a male pirate with an eye patch and curly black hair and beard. This is a stereotypical image of a pirate, inspired by fictional characters like One-eyed Willie in *The Goonies* and Ragetti in *The Pirates of the Caribbean* series. Part of the stereotypical pirate mascot image may have indeed come from the image of Edward Teach. Johnson described Teach as having a “large quantity of hair” (Johnson 1724:87). The mascot image portrays a combination of the stereotypical image and the historical pirates that came to North Carolina. The use of them links these areas and the state’s coastal communities as a whole back to the colonial history of the pirates.

Festivals offer another means of visual memory and commemoration of a community identity of the event or group of people in the pertaining festival. Communities across North

Carolina host pirate festivals throughout the year to celebrate such a diverse population and part of their history (TABLE 4). Although some happen outside of the coastal region, the majority take place along the coastlines in the late summer and early fall. These festivals bring together history and entertainment to interact with and engage the community and larger public body in the history and lore of piracy. Most of the festivals have a historic pirate encampment at the event and various troupes that dress as pirates, both historic and fictional. There are characters that dress as both historic pirates and fictional ones. The combination of the fictionalized and historical figures and practices bring Golden Age piracy alive for the public and keep it present in their memories as people who were real and lived in such area.

TABLE 4. Pirate festivals east of NC 17 (Author 2016; data from Christian Science Monitor 1956; Steelman 2003; Allegood 2005; Tippens 2005; Star News 2010; Wilmington Harbor Enhancement Trust 2016).

Festival	Place	Date	Commencement
Beaufort Pirate Invasion	Beaufort	August 12-13, 2016	1970s
OBX Pirate Fest	Nags Head	August 10-11, 2016	1955
Pirate Fest at Hammock Beach	Jacksonville	May	2000s
Feast of the Pirates	Wilmington	October 8-9, 2016	1920s
Pirate Encampment	Edenton	October 7-9, 2016	2000s
Blackbeard Pirate Jamboree	Ocracoke	October 28-30, 2016	2000
Pirate Invasion	Southport	September 19-20, 2016	2010
Pirates are Coming Festival	Bald Head Island	Not happening this year	2000s
Pirates in the Port	Bath	July 2016	2000s
Pirates Revenge	Ocean Isle	Not happening this year	2000s

The features that help construct the maritime cultural landscape of piracy in Colonial North Carolina are indicated by the presence and potential of numerous archaeological sites, historic trade routes and geographical features that created natural anchorages and choke points, and various place names. The modern cultural memory of pirate's presence in the area are linked

to place names, festivals, mascots, museums and their artifacts, and monuments. These features create a larger landscape and memory of piracy in North Carolina that extends from 1710s through to today. Much of the evidence did not come into existence until much more recently, but some place names were instated as early as 1733 in areas of pirate activity. These evidence types and divisions will be explored in the following chapter as their distributions are analyzed individual and with the locations of the historic pirate camps and colonial settlements.

CHAPTER VI: Finding Interactions and Patterns among the North Carolinian Pirate Culture and Memory

The maritime cultural landscape and cultural memory data is useful on its own to show areas where pirates came to as well as the concentrations of cultural memory of piracy throughout the state. Yet, without further analysis, it does not indicate whether pirate-colonial interactions occurred, or whether the areas of memory are due to a large historical pirate presence in the area or are a part of a large tourist movement that uses piracy to attract people. This chapter first discusses the interaction of pirates and colonists based upon their locations to one another and historical sources. Next, it examines the distributions of pirate memory through typological, geographical, and pirate connectivity divisions. Finally, it compares the historical locations of pirates to the pirate connectivity distribution to examine the sources of memory and their link to the historical records.

Pirates and Colonials

As has previously been discussed, pirates and colonists inhabited similar areas in the colony. Pirates sought out areas with easy access to the trade routes through natural inlets. Pirates needed places to access fresh water, food sources and seclusion to refit, resupply, and hide out from expanding pirate hunters. Similarly, colonists wanted access to the same trade routes to get goods unavailable in the colony and to ship out the various products the colony was able to produce. Colonists also needed constant access to fresh water sources and areas to grow and capture food. While colonists did not need places to hide from naval forces, many North Carolinian colonists, as previously discussed, wished to live with some degree of solitude and seclusion amongst the vast sparsely populated colony. These reasons clearly show the two types

of people sought similarly places to make a life and live in peace as they saw fit (Lawson 1709a:86-95; Camp 1963:1-2, 6-7; Butler 2007:6-11 McIlvenna 2009:13-14; Molter 2014:77).

North Carolina clearly offered resources to fulfill all of those needs of these different groups of people. But how much interaction and overlap actually occurred between the pirates and the colonists? Where and how did these interactions manifest themselves? Below is a map comparing the pirate spheres of influence and the colonial town spheres of influence (FIGURE 15). The pirate spheres of influence are based upon their movements through the colony and are indicated in spherical form to emphasize the space they could have utilized to complete their time in the colony. Although individual colonial homesteads are not acknowledged in their own right, they are represented by the extension of the major colonial towns that existed prior to 1730.

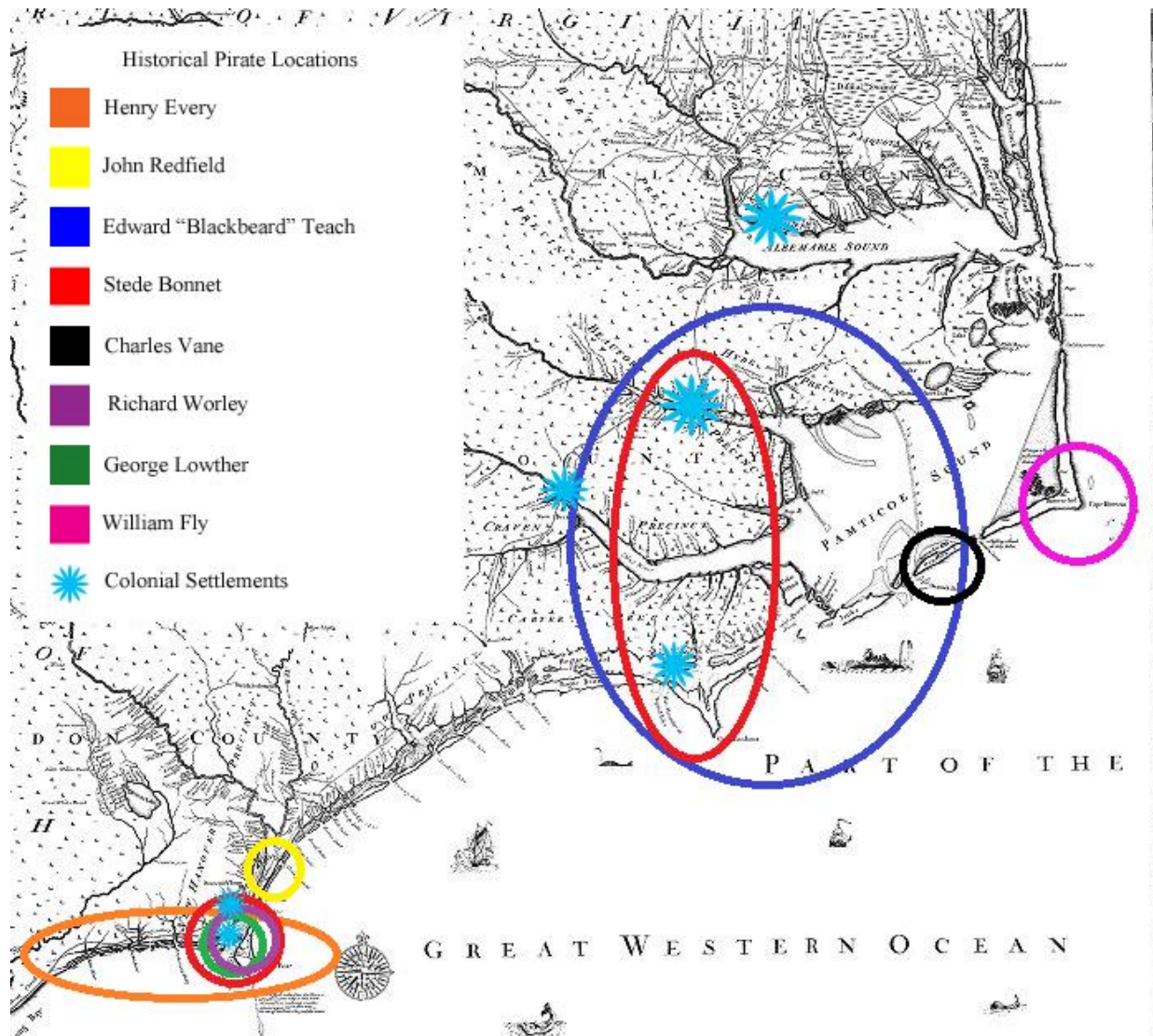


FIGURE 15. Historical locations of pirates in relation to colonial settlements (Author 2016; map Moseley 1733; data gathered from Cape Fear Company 1663, Dann 1696, Cowse 1718, Johnson 1724, Edwards 1726, Midwinter 1732, Carey 1825, Hughson 1894, Howell 1908, Ashe 1925, Moore 1956, Camp 1963; Paul 1965, Zepke 2000, Butler 2007).

Based upon the above map, interaction clearly occurred between two of the pirates. The middle section, although there are few pirates, had more historical documented interactions than occurred in the Cape Fear region. Edward Teach and Stede Bonnet, the two pirates that traveled through large expanses of the middle section, had various types of interactions with the colonists in the middle section of the colony. These interactions ranged from political appearances to social engagements and gatherings to business operations, largely illegal. Both pirates sought

political appearances with the colonial government in Bath, as they needed governor approval to take the pardon offered in 1717 (Johnson 1724:75, 93). Teach, of the two, had the more extensive interactions with the colonists in the area. Teach married a local girl, Mary Ormond, in Bath; traded extensively with Governor Eden, Secretary Knight, and a variety of other locals, mainly in goods taken from merchant vessels, such as sugar and cocoa; lived in the town of Bath, using its numerous local resources for himself and his crew; and raided local traders in the area (Spotswood 1719a; 1719c; North Carolina Council 1719; Johnson 1724:77, 85-86). Teach's interactions were both positive and negative, but show a very active colonial relationship with the pirates that came through the colony.

The Cape Fear region remained relatively uninhabited by colonists during the time of pirates. The first settlement in the area, Charles Town, was abandoned by 1667 (Lee 1965:52). Some colonists may have remained in the area, but their locations are unknown and no trade was being conducted through the Cape Fear before 1725, when Brunswick Town officially became an incorporated town (Lee 1965:91). The lack of colonists was appealing to the numerous pirates that landed in the area. There were likely minimal numbers of colonists in the area during the time of the pirates. Their interactions in the Cape Fear would have likely included trading and pillaging, as these were the tasks pirates conducted regularly. Unlike the daily interactions in Bath, no such interactions took place in the Cape Fear or are documented in the historical records beyond the captures of pirates by South Carolinians.

Distribution of Memory

The distribution of memory across typologies, geographical locations, and pirate connections offer a chance for comparison of the types of memory present in the state and their

locations in comparison to the pirate encampments. The survey area extended east of NC-17 through the state waters along the coastline. 229 different forms of cultural memory were identified throughout the search area's twenty counties (FIGURE 16).

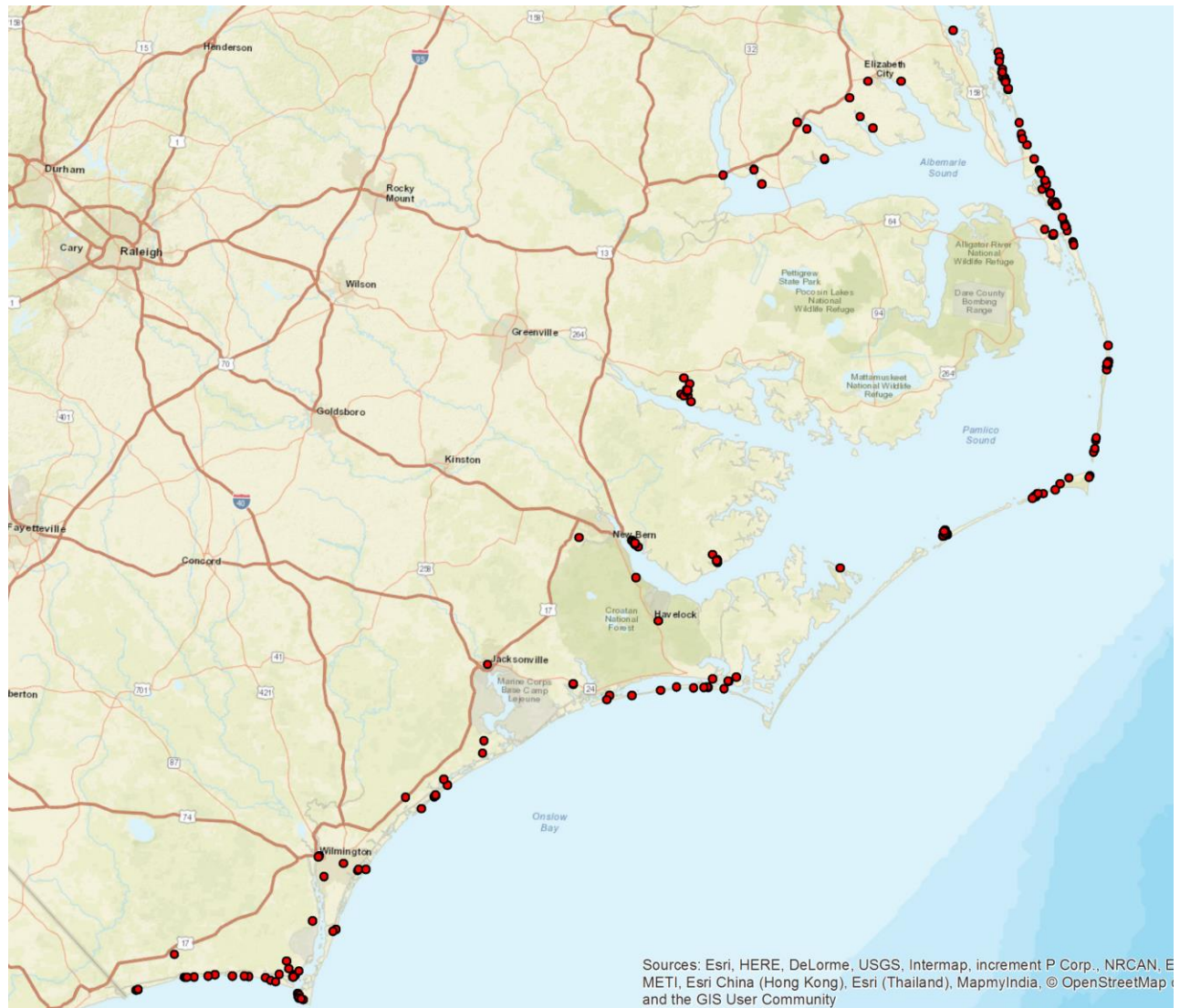


FIGURE 16. Locations of all cultural memory evidence and related historical sites east of NC-17 related to piracy in North Carolina and general pirate culture (Author 2016).

Typological Analysis

The distribution of different types of memorial evidence reflects the engraining of pirate history and culture among the North Carolinian citizens east of NC-17 (FIGURE 17 & FIGURE 11). Ten different categories were identified—archaeological sites, businesses, festivals, historical sites and markers, house names, museums, physical features, restaurants, road names, and school mascots. The largest category is house names, with most of these being found along the Outer Banks in the north and the Brunswick County beaches in the south. Road names, businesses, and restaurants are scattered throughout the state, though in smaller quantities than house names. The remaining categories were small and are spread evenly through the areas, except the single archaeological site in Beaufort.

When looking at the various typologies in particular regions, various patterns emerge that are easier to see than on the full state map below (APPENDIX C: Maritime Cultural Landscapes and Cultural Memory GIS Maps divided by various categories). The large quantity of types of evidence—house names, road names, businesses, and restaurants—all relate specifically to the tourist industry. There is also a large congregation of them along the barrier islands and the Cape Fear region, a popular tourist destination. While this is not to say that the names do not come from their relation to specific pirate history, their use is clearly touristic rather than passing on the history of piracy in the region. This can be seen more clearly when examined through pirate connection lens, to be discussed later in this chapter.

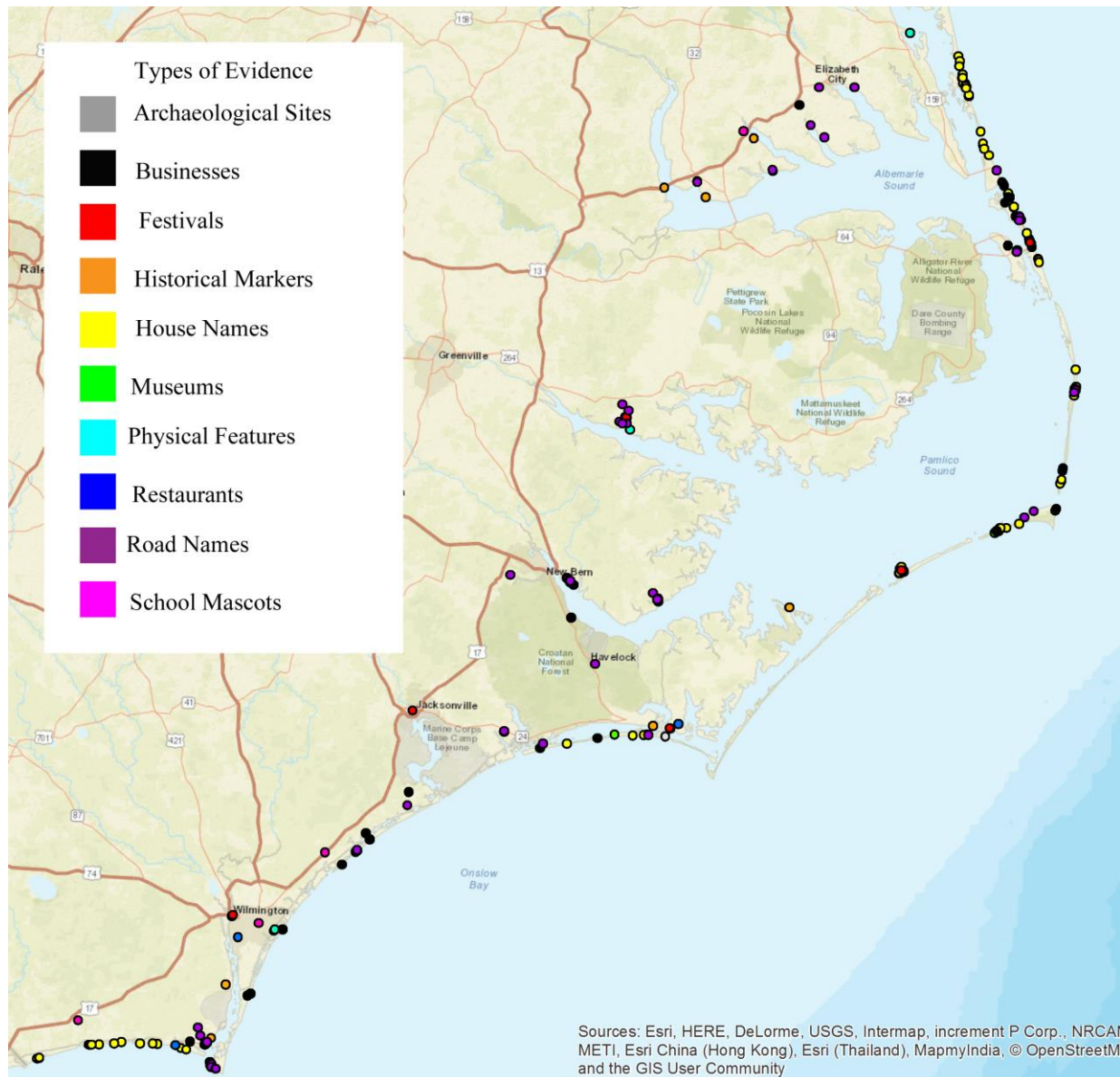


FIGURE 17. Types of cultural memory evidence located east of NC-17 (Author 2016; map ESRI 2016).

Geographic Analysis

The second distributive analysis was divided by geographical regions. The regions assigned were barrier islands, the Albemarle region, the middle region, and the Cape Fear region. These regions were defined in the previous chapter as natural colonial settlement divisions. Of the four regions, the barrier islands had the majority of the evidence of cultural memory at 85 pieces. The middle region and the Cape Fear region were relatively equal with 58 and 56

respectively. The lowest was the Albemarle Sound at 27 (FIGURE 18 & FIGURE 19). These trends are not surprising. The barrier islands group has the largest aggregate because of tourism and the historical presence of pirates in the area. The large historical presence of pirates in the middle region and the Cape Fear region explains their decent sized quantities. The Albemarle has the smallest number because of the lack of historical importance and tourism industry in the area.

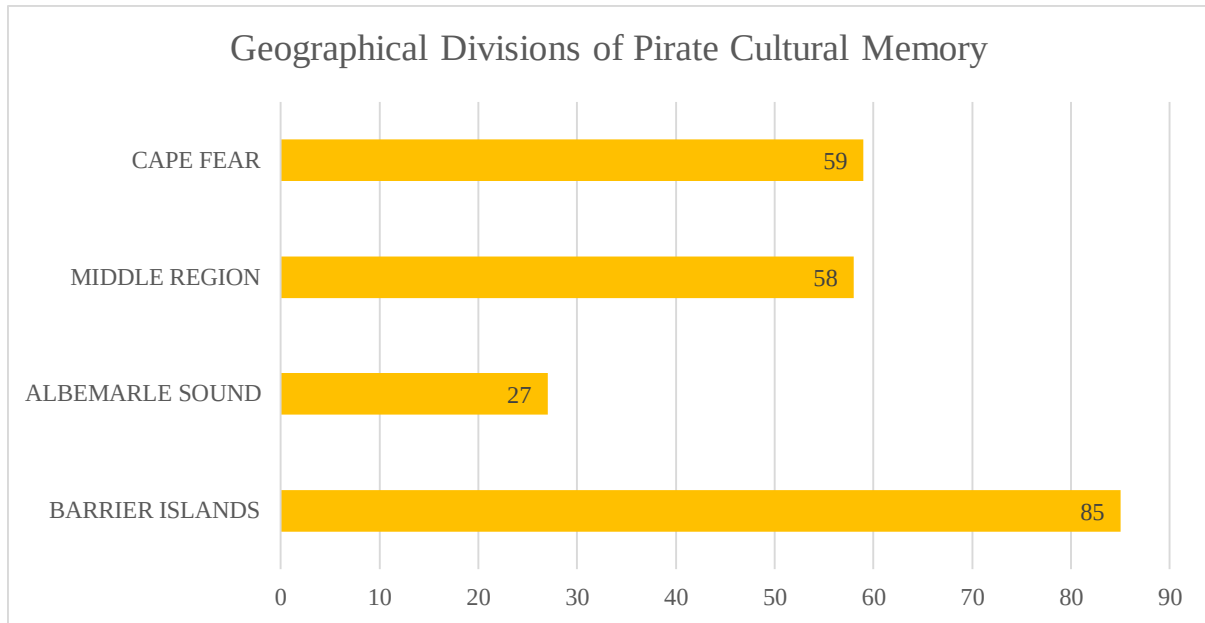


FIGURE 18. Graph depicting the geographical locations of the cultural memory evidence located east of NC-17 (Author 2016).

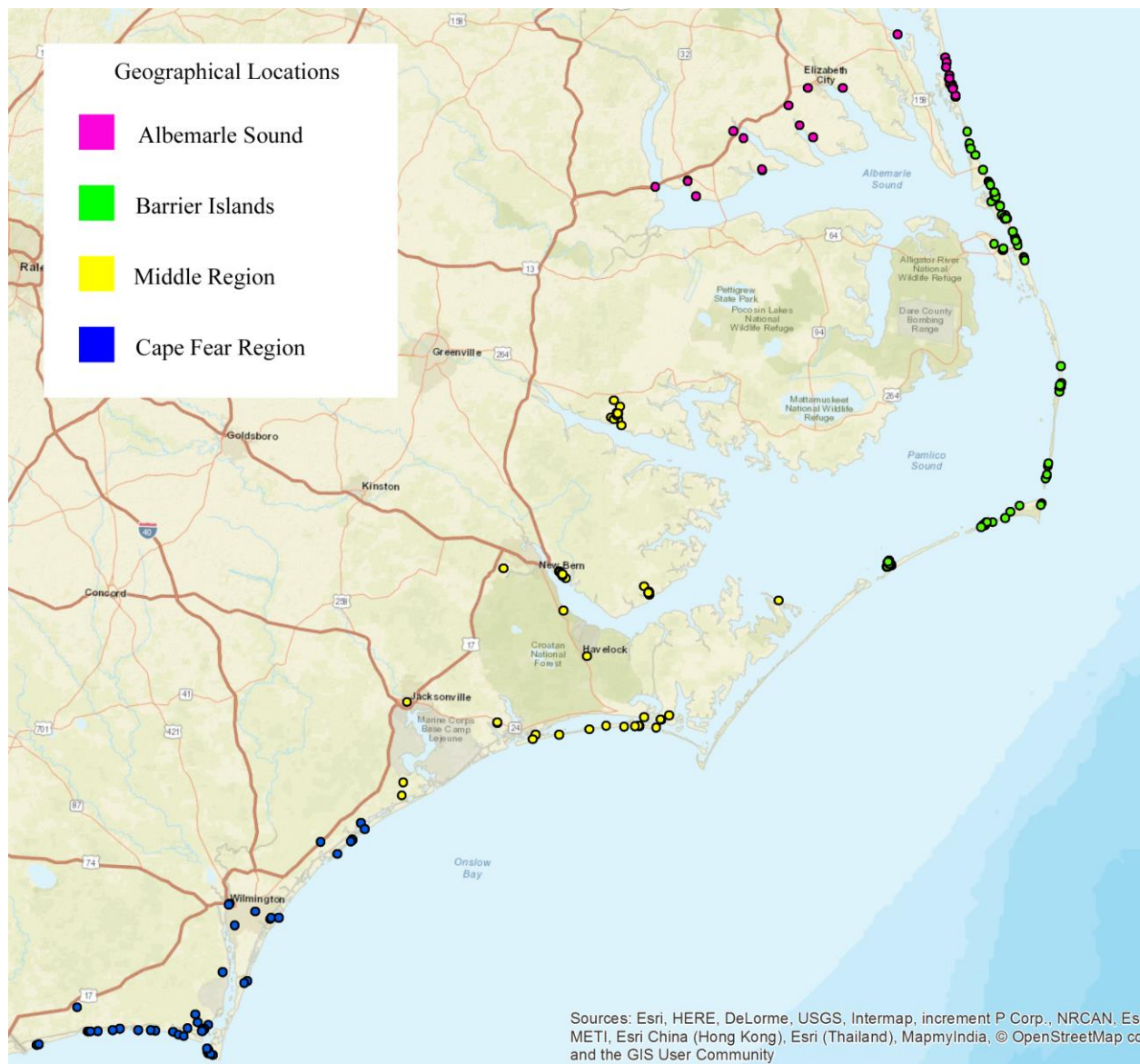


FIGURE 19. Geographical locations of the various types of cultural memory evidence (Author 2016; map ESRI 2016).

Piratical Connectivity

The connections to the various pirates and pirate culture provide the most insights into the memory of the colonial pirates in the state. The connections were categorized by direct reference to a specific pirate regardless of their presence historically in North Carolina and general allusion to pirate culture and lifestyles (FIGURE 20 & FIGURE 21). Six different individual pirates were identified the assorted features. Three visited and lived in the colony

themselves—Edward Teach, Stede Bonnet, and John Redfield. The other three—Benjamin Hornigold, Anne Bonny, and Henry Morgan—only had one or two places named for them. The reason these pirates are utilized in forms of memory comes from their connection with pirates that came to the colony and their deep association with piracy during the Golden Age.

When examining these connections based on their geographical location, these patterns become more obvious (APPENDIX C: Maritime Cultural Landscapes and Cultural Memory GIS Maps divided by various categories. Clearly from all of these maps, there is a distinct connection to Edward “Blackbeard” Teach. This connection likely comes from Teach’s rich history with certain parts of the state and his place in pirate history as being one of the most infamous pirates of the Golden Age. This allure of Teach also plays a role in the tourism industry, as he was one of the most infamous pirates and is well-known outside of North Carolina as well. The large general pirate culture connections reflect that desire to use piracy as a tourist attraction.

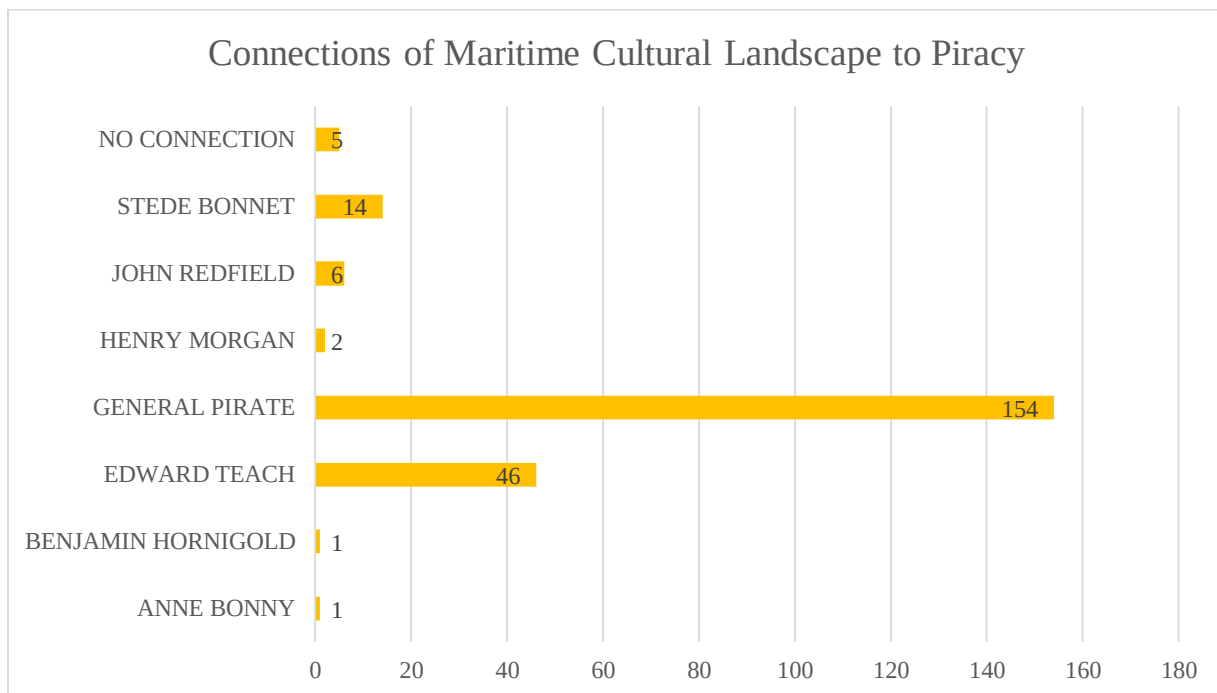


FIGURE 20. Graph depicting the different pirate names and pirate culture (Author 2016).

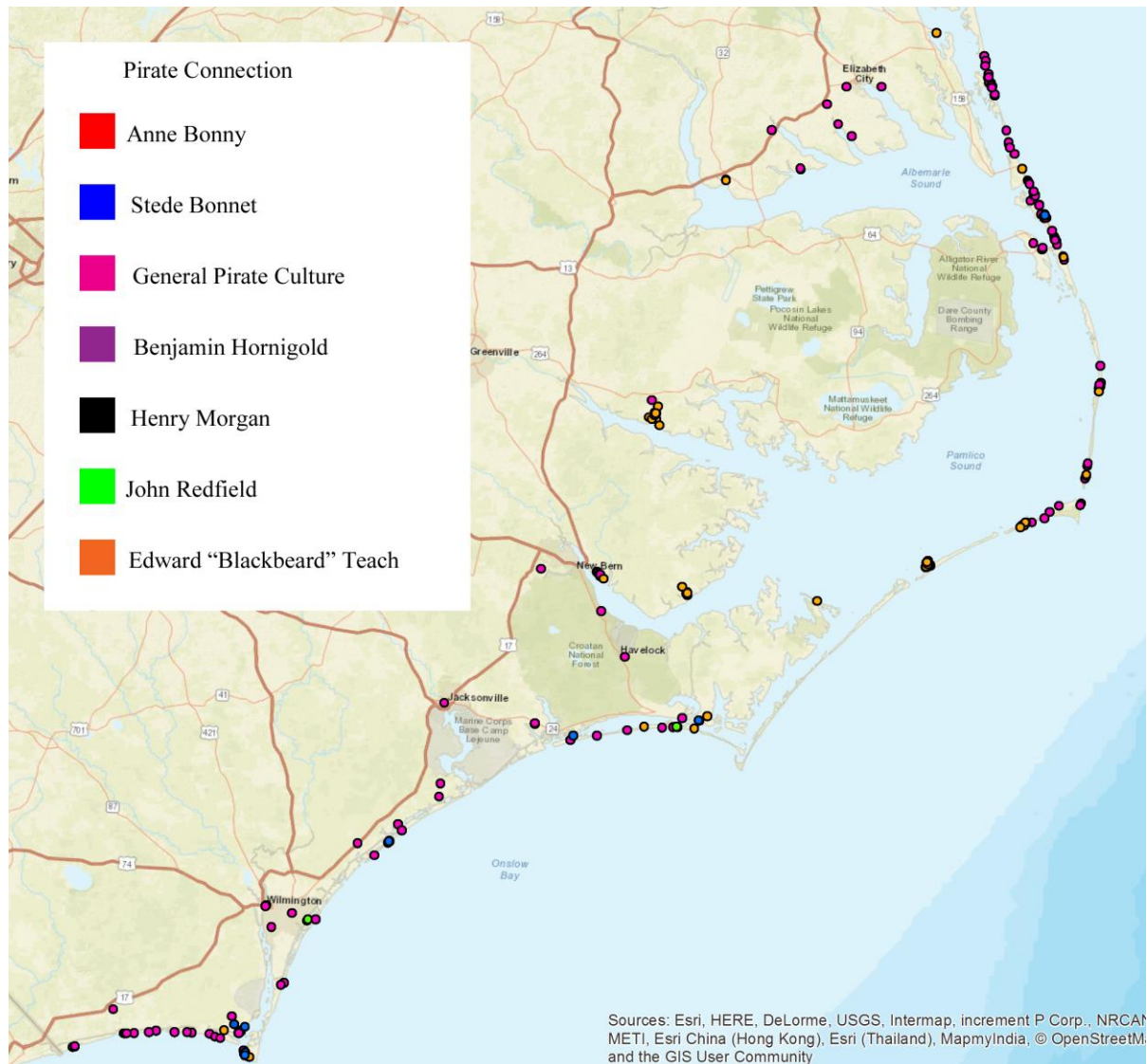


FIGURE 21. Pirate names and pirate culture locations located east of NC-17 (Author 2016; map ESRI 2016).

Comparing Historical Pirates and Memory

To determine whether the memory of pirates in North Carolina is related to actual historical events and individuals or is merely a means of attracting tourists to their beaches, the historic locations of the eight well-known and documented pirates that came to the colony was overlaid on top of the cultural memory evidence sorted by connections to pirate and pirate culture.

When looking at the points sorted by pirate connection and the historical evidence, various patterns emerge (FIGURE 22). First, there are large sections of areas of memory referencing pirates and piracy, yet none of the eight visited those areas. This is particularly evident in the Albemarle Sound region, the high density area in the upper right corner of FIGURE 22 (also seen in FIGURE 21 as the pink dots). Colonial officials noted pirates traveled in and out of the inlets in the Albemarle region, including Edward Randolph who stated “the Inlet of Roanoake is frequented with small vessells trading to and from the West India Islands. Pyrats and runaway Servants resort to this place from Virginia” (Randolph 1696:467). Unfortunately, none of the pirates that sailed in the area are named nor are those who may have ventured further south near Roanoke and along the upper Outer Banks. This could account for the large concentration of general pirate culture references in the area, making the use of piracy and pirate culture as a means to attract tourism rather than a direct relation to piracy and the pirate landscape of the colonial era.

Second, not all of the pirates identified historically as coming to the colony are represented in those identified and a large quantity of the identified points refer solely to general pirate culture. Of the eight historical pirates identified, only two are referenced specifically by name—Edward “Blackbeard” Teach and Stede Bonnet—with the third, John Redfield, referred to in relation to the legends surrounding him and his captain, William Kidd. The absence of the five remaining historical pirates—Henry Every, Charles Vane, Richard Worley, George Lowther, and William Fly—is likely due to not knowing the history of the colonial pirates and the lack of an engrained knowledge and connection to these five men and their crews.

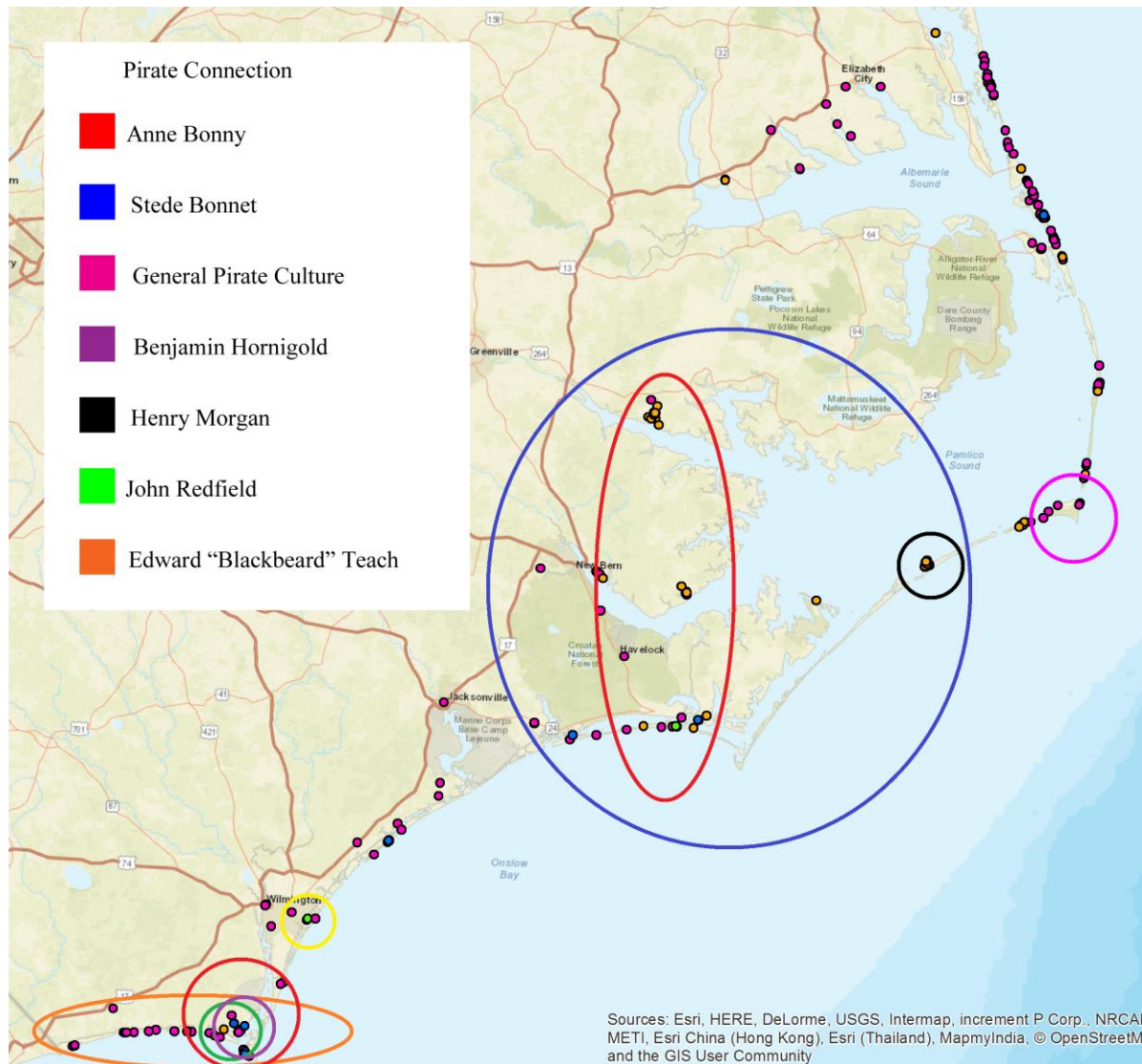


FIGURE 22. Cultural memory evidence overlaid with historical pirate locations. The legend on the map refers to the GPS locations connected to various pirates and pirate culture (also seen in FIGURE 21). The circled areas correspond to the eight main pirates that came into Colonial North Carolina: Pink-William Fly; Blue-Edward Teach; Red-Stede Bonnet; Black-Charles Vane; Yellow-John Redfield; Purple-Richard Worley; Green-George Lowther; Orange-Henry Every (Author 2016; map ESRI 2016; data gathered from Dann 1696, Cowse 1718, Johnson 1724, Edwards 1726, Midwinter 1732, Carey 1825, Hughson 1894, Howell 1908, Zepke 2000).

Third, by understanding that almost all of these evidentiary features of memory and the cultural landscape have come about in the century, the reasoning for the naming practices become very apparent as touristic drivers in an age of pirate fascination. Culturally, interest in piracy has taken off with a rise in popular literature and films, such as *Pirates of the Caribbean*,

and scholarship, both historically and archaeologically. This boom, along with the finding of the potential pirate ship, *Queen Anne's Revenge*, in North Carolina has provided the basis for a pirate tourism boom throughout the state regardless of the historical role of piracy in areas along the coast. This is ever present in the extensive use of Blackbeard's history and name in areas that Teach never visited.

Fourth, when the general pirate culture locations are removed, it becomes easier to determine the various pirates referenced by name and their locations (FIGURE 23). The majority of these names refer to Edward Teach. A majority of these are in the locations and towns he frequented while living in the colony, with large concentrations of memorials in Bath, Ocracoke and Beaufort, the three dense orange areas within the blue circle. These locations include road names, restaurants, house names, festivals, historical markers, and the single identified pirate-related archaeological site, *Queen Anne's Revenge* in Beaufort. Because of Teach's prominence in North Carolina's pirate history, he also has the highest number of points identified outside of his areas of travel. This is because he is the most well-known pirate that came to the colony, spent the longest time here, and is a good symbol of piracy for both North Carolina and the greater Golden Age of Piracy through the Caribbean and the North American eastern seaboard.

The second most referenced pirate that came to the colony is Stede Bonnet. Indicated by the red circles in the both the middle region and the Cape Fear, Bonnet's memorial locations are primarily located in the Cape Fear circle with one in the middle region circle. The middle region mimics Teach's travel, as Bonnet arrived in the colony with Teach and was sent to Bath to receive the pardons as Teach tried to free *Queen Anne's Revenge* from the sandbar. Only one road in that area, Rhett St. on Emerald Isle has any connection to Bonnet's presence in the area. The majority of his associated memorials are located in Southport, indicated by the blue dots,

along the Cape Fear region, where he careened his ship, *Royal James*, and was captured by Colonel Rhett of South Carolina. These points consist of historical markers that describe Bonnet's presence in the area, including marking the creek he supposedly landed in, and road names that remember his presence there. His concentration of memory in the Southport area links directly to the historical record of his presence in the area and does not use him as a tourist attraction, but as a small remembrance of historical piracy in the area.

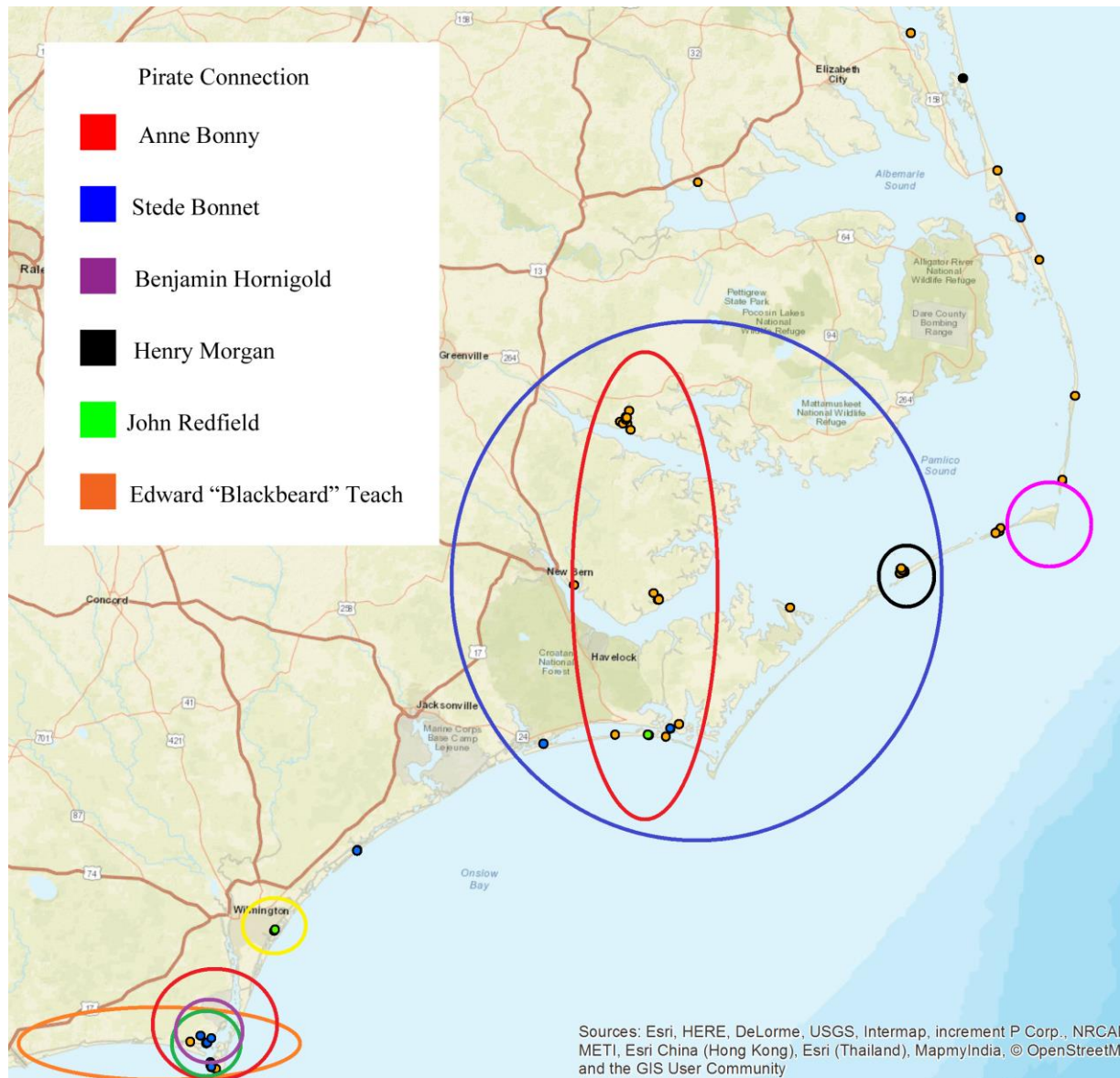


FIGURE 23. Cultural memory evidence, excluding the general pirate culture references, overlaid with historical pirate locations. The legend on the map refers to the GPS locations connected to various pirates and pirate culture (also seen in FIGURE 21). The circled areas correspond to the eight main pirates that came into Colonial North Carolina: Pink-William Fly; Blue-Edward Teach; Red-Stede Bonnet; Black-Charles Vane; Yellow-John Redfield; Purple-Richard Worley; Green-George Lowther; Orange-Henry Every (Author 2016; data gathered from Dann 1696, Cowse 1718, Johnson 1724, Edwards 1726, Midwinter 1732, Carey 1825, Hughson 1894, Howell 1908, Zepke 2000).

The third pirate with corresponding memories and historical documentation is John Redfield, a sailor under Captain William Kidd. The legend refers to the presence of buried treasure on a spit of land near the present-day Masonboro Inlet in the Wilmington area. This

location lines up with the documented point, as the area is still remembered today and the island bears the name Money Island (Hill and Powell 2010:354). Interestingly enough, there is a second Money Island and associated references to money in Atlantic Beach, nowhere near where Redfield supposedly visited. According to one author, the name comes from the French family, Monnette, who lived in the area during the 1700s (Marchi 2016:135). No other historians propose a reason for the name, but it could be similar to the island in Wilmington, which gets its name from pirate treasure, as there were pirates in the area.

In examining the patterns in connections between memory and landscape with the historical locations of pirates that came to North Carolina, there is some link between the historical record and the state's current cultural memory of pirates. Most reference the large presence of Teach and Bonnet throughout the middle region and Cape Fear region of the state, areas they frequented in colonial times. The rest reflect various pirates associated with the famous pirates of the day, or general pirate culture.

Historically, piracy was important to the colony and the colonists. From examining the locations of colonial settlements in comparison to the areas each pirate frequented, there is definitive interaction between colonists and pirates. These interactions were both positive and negative for the colonists, as the pirates raided their homes and supplies yet also traded with them and in one case married into the communities they encountered. In looking into the cultural memory, typologically the 229 locations are spread evenly across the state's coast, although there is a larger density of beach houses named for pirates along the Outer Banks as compared to elsewhere in the state and other types of evidence. Geographically, the Outer Banks has the highest number of places named for piracy, while the Albemarle Sound region has the least. As for connectivity, Teach is the most prominent pirate named specifically, while references to

general pirate culture prevails. When comparing the pirate connections and the historical locations of the piracy, the areas Teach and Bonnet traveled each have high densities of memorials named for them. In general, however, because so few pirates were identified by name in the memorials, the historical areas of pirate action do have concentrations of general pirate memory. Even areas without the historical presence of well-known and documented pirates in the area have large concentrations of the memorials relating to pirate culture, such as the Outer Banks.

CHAPTER VII: Conclusion—Did We Find the Pirates of Colonial North Carolina and their Memory

Colonists, pirates and modern North Carolina citizens are all linked together and have been since pirates first visited the colony in the 1690s. Many pirates, including the eight discussed here, came and went through the colony. These outlaws lived and worked within the colony interacting on various levels with the scattered colonial population. They came because the nature of the colony allowed these men to survive and thrive without too much concern of naval oppression. The landscape they created, including the remains they left, colonial trade routes and names, also provided evidence of their survival. As they did, their presence was remembered and marked in memorials and names throughout the coastal plains of North Carolina. Today, these men and others along with their general presence here are marked in large quantity of names and memorials (TABLE 5).

TABLE 5. Research questions in review (Author 2016).

How and to what extent did pirates interact and engage with the colonists?	Answers
Recreation	Yes; Teach, Vane, Lowther
Religion	No
Labor	Yes; Every, Redfield, Teach, Bonnet, Worley, Lowther
Family and Marriage	Yes; Teach and Redfield
Business Transactions	Yes; Teach
Criminal penalties or incarceration	Yes; Bonnet, Worley, Fly, Lowther
Burial or cremation	No
What factors made certain colonial towns and geographic areas attractive as pirate havens?	
Physical environment: sounds, rivers, creeks, outer breaks, sea islands	Sandbars, islands, and numerous waterways provided protection for smaller ships like pirates
Politics: Weak or strong government infrastructure	Strong in the Albemarle region; nonexistent in the Barrier Islands and Cape Fear; corrupted in the Middle
Local warfare, colonial disruption or skirmishes	Tuscarora Indian War
Trade route proximity	Major trade routes off the coast going north-south
Social structure and demographics	Limited population in areas of pirate inhabitation; mostly poorer people or runaway slaves
What are the types and volumes of landscape signatures that reveal cultural memory of piracy in North Carolina today?	
Streets	56 general and specific pirate named roads
Restaurants/Pubs	13 general and specific pirate named restaurants
Accommodations	85 general and specific pirate named motels and beach houses
Statues	5 pirate markers relating to specific pirates (Teach and Bonnet)
Mascots	6 general pirate mascots
Festivals	10 general pirate festivals

Pirate Colonial Interaction

The first question of this thesis explored the types and frequency of interactions between colonial pirates and colonists that inhabited the colony. Having identified eight pirates that

frequented the colony and their locations in the colony (TABLE 1) and the locations of colonial settlements and their spheres of influence, various conclusions can be drawn concerning pirate-colonial interaction. First, interaction was not widespread across the colony. Of the eight pirates discussed in this work, none traveled into the Albemarle Sound region. These pirates did not interact with the colonists in that region. This is not to say pirates did not land and interact with the colonists there, but they are not discussed in depth in this work. The interactions that occurred in the region with lesser-known pirates focused on trade and communal interactions with the communities. Smaller pirates were likely local and very engaged with the communities there, living and marrying into the community along with other daily interactions and most importantly trade of the goods they plundered from passing ships.

Second, the middle region, centered around Bath and Beaufort, had the largest continual interaction from some of the eight identified pirates. Although the interaction occurred over only a four-month period in 1718, the interactions that occurred changed the colonists in the region and forever linked North Carolina and piracy. Edward Teach and Stede Bonnet frequented the area during that time. Bonnet only came through seeking political asylum from the King's Pardon offered in 1718. Teach, on the other hand, engaged with the colonists on numerous different fronts. He sought political asylum and support from Governor Eden and the other colonial officials, trade opportunities with these same men and others in the area, new plundering areas in the rivers and sounds around Bath, marriage within the local community, and social engagements with various members of society. Teach became an engrained member of the Bath community bringing to them a world they could not attain on their own.

Third, the pirates that visited the barrier islands and the Cape Fear region did not engage with colonists from North Carolina. As each of these areas was largely uninhabited during the

time between 1690 and 1730, the pirates had no opportunity to engage in any form with the limited number of colonists in those areas. These pirates did interact with colonists from other colonies in the area. William Fly along Cape Hatteras captured and burned a passing merchant vessel. Teach fought to the death with naval officers from Virginia at Ocracoke Island. Bonnet and Richard Worley engaged with naval officials from South Carolina in the Cape Fear region with one being captured leading to his hanging in Charlestown and one avoiding capture only to be captured later off Charlestown. Because of the lack of people in these areas, they were not given the opportunity to interact with North Carolina colonists. Interactions overall took the form of political and economical in nature. Politically, the pirates befriended the government of the colony causing strife amongst surrounding colonies, while economically they provided North Carolina colonists with access to goods otherwise inaccessible to the isolated people. Few had multiple interactions with colonists that allowed them to immerse themselves into society. But interactions did occur and affected the colonists engraining pirate culture and affection for such men.

Creating a Pirate Haven

For these interactions to occur, pirates had to be drawn to the colony, as the second question sought to uncover. Colonial North Carolina had many features that attracted pirates to the colonial so that even colonial officials throughout the British Empire acknowledged that pirates were welcomed in the colony and it provided the necessary requirements pirates sought in a basecamp. The same physical features of Colonial North Carolina that limited the number of people allowed pirates locations that hid them from sight and easy inlets for plundering the passing trade routes. The various sounds and rivers and difficult inlets allowed pirates to easily

hide and careen their vessels without interruption from naval officials and others that may wish to do them harm.

Economically, the colony did not have the same capabilities as colonies around it. North Carolinians had various types of goods to trade, yet they did not have cash crops or trade ports like those of South Carolina and Virginia. The tobacco grown in North Carolina was not as desired as that grown in Virginia. Regardless, the goods they had and that were desired in the British Empire, such as naval stores, could not get out of the colony. Merchant ship owners and captains did not want to risk their ships wrecking on the numerous hidden sandbars and shoals that scattered along the coast. When they tried to ship out through other colonial ports nearby, they had to pay huge customs taxes to do so. As legal trade routes were not available, they had to turn to illegal traders, such as pirates, to make a living and trade. Pirates found this situation appealing to them as the people were eager and willing to trade with them for their goods.

Politically and socially, the colony was left behind. The Lords Proprietors took little interest in the northern section of the large Carolina colony. Because it was not as successful economically as the southern portion, they allowed the various governors to work freely in the colony. Because of their freedom, the governors openly worked with various pirates to enhance their own trade and potential. The lack of political control created an environment that allowed rebels and outlaws to live freely. This political climate along with the geographic and economic restraints brought in a poorer class of people. These people were described as living in anarchy and seeking asylum away from the control of the gentry in Virginia and South Carolina. The combination of the lack of control from the political officials and the type of people that already resided within the colony provided the perfect hideout and people for pirates to interact with as the colonists themselves wished to have no influences from the crown anyways.

These features made Colonial North Carolina perfect for a base of operations for pirates. The physical environment limited the access of many into the region, yet it allowed for smaller vessels to easily shoot in and out of the inlets and rivers to take passing merchant vessels. The lack of major economic opportunities offered a chance for the pirates to play a role in the local markets and for colonists to welcome them. The indifference of the Lords Proprietors and the strong self-aggrandizement of the colonial officials allowed pirates to be accepted without any chance of backstabbing by the North Carolinians. The same is true for the colonists as a whole as they already were people that sought solitude and lived very rebellious lives. These features brought these eight pirates and many other smaller ones into the colony for the previously discussed interactions to occur.

Finding the Pirate Landscape and Memory

The third question of this thesis attempted to find the maritime cultural landscape the pirates themselves inhabited. The second part of this question explored the impact of such a landscape and history upon the current cultural memory of pirates within the state and whether the memory is driven by this rich pirate historical landscape or by the tourism industry seeking to capitalize upon a popular maritime-related figure.

The maritime cultural landscape is created by a variety of types of evidence. These include physical archaeological remains, place names, geographical features and formations, and trade routes. In looking into landscape surrounding piracy in North Carolina, all of these features can be identified or have a proposed existence within the landscape. The only physical remains that currently exist within the colony are those of NC31CR314, or *Queen Anne's Revenge*, in Beaufort Inlet. Artifacts from this wreck are on display at various museums across the state. In

the same area, there have been searches for a second pirate ship, *Adventure*, with the prospect of future research into identifying its location. Various potential sites have been identified based upon the historical records and have the potential for artifacts that could be similar to other terrestrial pirate sites around the world.

The remaining three evidentiary types that make up the maritime cultural landscape are cognitive. Place names, both historical and more recent, were identified in great number. Over 220 different names were documented relating to various different pirates and general pirate culture. These names consisted of road names, restaurants, businesses, school mascots, festivals, geographical features, and beach house names. These names relate to the histories of piracy in the areas in which they are found and the general tourist draw of piracy. The geographical features and trade routes each provided the means for pirates to do their work. The shallow shoals and numerous inlets and rivers along the coastline created areas for pirates to establish their bases. The major trade routes that passed the colony offered large quantities of targets for the pirates to capture. These features of the maritime cultural landscape play into the ability for piracy to thrive, not only showing their location here, but also the places they utilized for it.

To answer the second part of the question, various maps were created and overlaid with one another to examining distribution of the various evidence types and associations to piracy in comparison to the historical locations of the pirates. In looking at this information, very few of the names associated with pirates referenced the historical pirates that came to the colony. Those names, Teach and Bonnet, do overlap with the historical locations of those men in the colony. The remainder of the names have no connection to the actual pirates who came or they only reference general pirate culture. Many of these places do overlap with historical places pirates traveled to, but just as many are in places where no pirates visited. This evidence shows that

pirate-names places and artifacts do reflect the historical presence of pirates within the state. It also demonstrates that the names are also used to attract tourists to the area as pirates spark interest and imagination of people of all ages.

Part of understanding why there are so many pirate named places revolves around the time period these names were instituted along the North Carolina coastline. As noted, some have direct overlap with the historical presence of pirates in the area and occurred almost immediately after the removal of piracy in the 1730s. A majority of the names and associations have occurred within the last century as tourism became popular along the coastline and pirates became prevalent in popular culture. This pirate tourism exploded with the finding of the shipwreck in Beaufort Inlet believed to be *Queen Anne's Revenge* and *The Pirates of the Caribbean* franchise. These popular culture franchises, the growth of the Blackbeard legend around North Carolina because of the finding of his ship, and the expansion of tourism along the coast of North Carolina has led to the immense explosion of pirate named places and festivals around the coast. Some places do line up with the historical records, but most have no connection or are in places of the pirate havens.

This research has not only expanded the reported history of pirates that came to the colony, but has explored the connections and interactions they had based on their historical locations and the maritime cultural landscape of these men. This information can be used to further pirate education throughout the state and explain the reason for the large number of pirate-related names throughout the state. Additionally, this study offers a new way to examine the remains of colonial piracy. Future studies can be used to examine colonial pirate landscapes in the Caribbean and the North American Atlantic seaboard during the Golden Age along with various other places around the world and time periods. These different studies could potentially

be compared to one another to see if various places have similar densities of evidentiary types and connections to piracy.

As for North Carolina, more research into piracy can happen. Meticulously examining the various artifact remains found in Bath to those found on *Queen Anne's Revenge* could reveal physical remains of Teach's presence in the area. Surveys on Ocracoke and along the southern Cape Fear River could also provide physical evidence of encampments that may be connected to piracy. Further historical research has the potential to identify more pirates that came to the colony and their locations. Studying the lesser known pirates that came through the colony or from Colonial North Carolina and acted as colonists and pirates in the area can offer another angle on the relationship between piracy and colonial life.

This study is only the beginning for understanding the full pirate landscape of North Carolina. It clearly shows piracy played a major role for the colony and indicates colonists interacted extensively with some pirates in a few locations. These interactions were only by a few people, but allowed the pirates to become deeply entrenched in the colony. This study, focusing on eight historical important and well-documented pirates, demonstrates the ability for the maritime cultural landscape approach to be used to study piracy as well as examine the link between landscape and memory on a larger scale.

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APPENDIX A: Cultural Memory Database.

The data was recorded using a Garmin Rino 655t Global Positioning System, with the datum set to WGS84 and a Cannon PowerShot SD 1200 IS digital camera between February 2016 and August 2016. Some of the place locations were determined using latitude and longitude from Google Maps, which was then converted to UTM's using Montana State University converter (Montana State University 2016) (data was gathered from North Carolina Office of Archives and History 2008; Oak Island Accommodations 2014; Stan White 2015; Alan Holden Vacations 2016; Atlantic Realty 2016; Beach Realty 2016; Bluewater Properties 2016; Brindley Beach 2016; Carolina Designs 2016; Coastal Vacation Resorts 2016; Google 2016; Hatteras Realty 2016; Joe Lamb Jr. 2016; Midgett Realty 2016; Ocracoke Island Realty 2016; Outer Banks Blue 2016; Outer Beaches Rentals 2016; Resort Realty 2016; Seaside Vacations 2016; Southern Shores Realty 2016; Spectrum Properties 2016; Sun Realty 2016; Sunset Properties 2016; Sunset Vacations 2016; Twiddy 2016; Village Realty 2016; Ward Realty 2016;)

County	Photo#	Place	Street Address	City	Zone	Easting	Northing	Physical Description	Pirate Connection	Settlement Connection	Geographic Area
Bertie	6	Governor Eden House (1719)	Edenhouse Point	Merry Hill	18S	0346002	3989899	historic site	N/A	Albemarle Sound	Albemarle Region
Pasquotank	N/A		Rum Quarter Rd	Elizabeth City	18S	0388083	4017169	road name	general pirates	N/A	Albemarle Region
Pasquotank	16		Pirates Trail	Elizabeth City	18S	0385897	4006806	road name	general pirates	N/A	Albemarle Region
Pasquotank	17		Blackbeard Dr.	Elizabeth City	18S	0389535	4003548	road name	general pirates	N/A	Albemarle Region

Pasquotank	N/A	Pirate Paintball Field	654 Old Hertford Hwy	Elizabeth City	18S	0382685	4012360	business	general pirates	N/A	Albemarle Region
Camden	18-19		Treasure Point Rd	Camden	18S	0397773	4017161	road name	general pirates	N/A	Albemarle Region
Perquimans	14-15	Newbold-White House (1730)	151 Newbold-White Rd	Hertford	18S	0370357	4003316	historic site	N/A	Albemarle Sound	Albemarle Region
Perquimans	13		Pirate Cove Way	Hertford	18S	0375574	3994370	road name	general pirate	N/A	Albemarle Region
Perquimans	12		Pirate Landing	Hertford	18S	0375388	3994679	road name	general pirates	N/A	Albemarle Region
Perquimans	N/A	Perquimans County High School	305 Edenton Road St.	Hertford	18S	0367543	4005342	school	general pirates	N/A	Albemarle Region
Chowan	N/A	Pirate Encampment		Edenton	18S	0355072	3991582	festival	general pirates	N/A	Albemarle Region
Chowan	11		Blackbeards Rd	Edenton	18S	0355027	3991365	road name	Edward Teach	N/A	Albemarle Region
Chowan	10	Edenton (1712)	505 S Broad St	Edenton	18S	0357201	3987311	historic site	N/A	Albemarle Sound	Albemarle Region
Currituck	20		Bells Island	Currituck	18S	0412763	4032011	physical features	Edward Teach	N/A	Albemarle Region
Currituck	55	Treasured Island (Resort Realty)	629-D Sand Fiddler Circle	Corolla	18S	0427749	4018182	house name	general pirates	N/A	Albemarle Region
Currituck	56-57	Captain Morgan's Retreat (Kitty Hawk Rentals)	762 Sunrise Lane	Corolla	18S	0426954	4019651	house name	Henry Morgan	N/A	Albemarle Region
Currituck	47-48	A Pirate's Life (Brindley Beach)	610 Currituck Ct	Corolla	18S	0425941	4025561	house name	general pirates	N/A	Albemarle Region
Currituck	62-63	Flying Dutchman (Brindley Beach)	466 Pipes Point Rd	Corolla	18S	0428872	4014717	house name	general pirates	N/A	Albemarle Region
Currituck	45-46	PiraSea (Brindley Beach)	Lighthouse Dr. (Perch and Tuna St)	Corolla	18S	0426378	4024257	house name	general pirates	N/A	Albemarle Region
Currituck	64-65	Treasure Island (Brindley Beach)	447 N Cove Rd	Corolla	18S	0428773	4015010	house name	general pirates	N/A	Albemarle Region
Currituck	53-54	The Black Pearl (Brindley Beach)	539 Porpoise Point	Corolla	18S	0428132	4017281	house name	general pirates	N/A	Albemarle Region
Currituck	49-50	A Pirate's Paradise (Outer Banks Blues)	952 N Harbor View	Corolla	18S	0426246	4022913	house name	general pirates	N/A	Albemarle Region

Currituck	N/A	Bandit's Lair (Outer Banks Blues)	680 High Sand Dune Ct	Corolla	18S	0427325	4018290	house name	general pirates	N/A	Albemarle Region
Currituck	44	Black Pearl (Twiddy)	802 Lighthouse Drive	Corolla	18S	0427174	4020702	house name	general pirates	N/A	Albemarle Region
Currituck	58-59	A Pirate's Paradise (Seaside)	752 Sea Horse Ct	Corolla	18S	0427141	4019694	house name	general pirates	N/A	Albemarle Region
Currituck	51-52	Pirate's Paradise (Sun)	575 Trolling Ln	Corolla	18S	0427878	4017505	house name	general pirates	N/A	Albemarle Region
Currituck	60-61	Queen Anne's Revenge II (Sun)	510 Sandbucket Arch	Corolla	18S	0428104	4016884	house name	general pirates	N/A	Albemarle Region
Dare	66	Pirates Perch (Carolina Designs)	122 Tuckahoe Drive W	Duck	18S	0432778	4001331	house name	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	N/A	Pirate's Treasure (Twiddy)	104 Ships Wheel Ct.	Duck	18S	0432755	4001908	house name	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	67-68	The Duckaneer (Twiddy)	123 South Snow Geese Drive	Duck	18S	0432032	4005211	house name	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	71-72	Pirate's Cove (Southern Shores Realty)	2 Sandfiddler Ct	Southern Shores	18S	0434290	3998617	house name	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	69-70	Pirate's Peak (Southern Shores Realty)	1 Soundview Trail	Southern Shores	18S	0432983	4000415	house name	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	73		Maynard St.	Kitty Hawk	18S	0436319	3994586	road name	Edward Teach	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	75-76	Jolly Roger Restaurant	1836 N Virginia Dare Trail	Kitty Hawk	18S	0439546	3988185	restaurant	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	N/A	Pirates Treasure (Resort Realty)	3836 N Virginia Dare Trail	Kitty Hawk	18S	0437921	3991404	house name	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	80	A Pirate's Paradise (Kitty Hawk Rentals)	1541 N. Virginia Dare Trail	Kitty Hawk	18S	0440035	3987429	house name	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	N/A	Pirate Queen (Brindley Beach)	N. Virginia Dare Trail (White St.)	Kitty Hawk	18S	0438147	3990955	house name	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	74	Buccaneer Motel	3512 N Virginia Dare Trail	Kitty Hawk	18S	0438415	3990429	business	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands

Dare	84		Bonnett St	Kill Devil Hills	18S	0442615	3981822	road name	Stede Bonnet	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	21		Buccaneer Dr.	Kill Devil Hills	18S	0442483	3980927	road name	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	82	Pirate's Dream (Stan White)	205 E Martin St	Kill Devil Hills	18S	0441057	3984727	house name	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	83	Wicked Parrot Tattoo	1085 Colington Rd	Kill Devil Hills	18S	0438786	3985760	business	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	85-86	Lost Treasure Golf	1600 N Croatan Hwy	Kill Devil Hills	18S	0439619	3987320	business	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	79	Hooligan's Hideaway (Outer Banks Blues)	1528 N Virginia Dare Trail	Kill Devil Hills	18S	0439965	3987360	house name	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	77-78	Pirate's Booty (Seaside)	200 E Landing Dr.	Kill Devil Hills	18S	0439995	3987132	house name	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	81	Pirate's Lair (Sun)	S Memorial Blvd (Sundune Village E Martin St.)	Kill Devil Hills	18S	0441043	3984739	house name	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	N/A	Jolly Roger (Kitty Hawk Rentals)	1901-1999 N Virginia Dare Trail	Kill Devil Hills	18S	0439599	3988306	house name	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	31-34	Pamlico Jacks	6708 S Croatan Hwy	Nags Head	18S	0445316	3975034	restaurant	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	35-36	Mutiny Bay Adventure Golf	6704 S Croatan Hwy	Nags Head	18S	0445342	3975121	business	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	N/A	Flying Colors (Village Realty)	104 Sea Holly Ct	Nags Head	18S	0445217	3975935	house name	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	37	Hidden Treasure (Village Realty)	7011 S Virginia Dare Trail	Nags Head	18S	0445883	3974665	house name	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	N/A	Pirate's Lair (Village Realty)	(The Quay) S Virginia Dare Trail	Nags Head	18S	0444600	3977564	house name	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	42-43	Pack N Pirates (Joe Lamb Jr.)	2723 S Virginia Dare Trail	Nags Head	18S	0442508	3982168	house name	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	38-39	Peeps & Pirates (Kitty Hawk Rentals)	6402 S Virginia Dare Trail	Nags Head	18S	0445469	3975473	house name	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	29-30	Pirates and Pixies Toy Store	7332 S Virginia Dare Trail	Nags Head	18S	0446014	3973793	business	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands

Dare	40-41	OBX Pirate Store	3408 S Virginia Dare Trail	Nags Head	18S	0442968	3981048	business	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	87-88	Booty Treats	2600 S Virginia Dare Trail	Nags Head	18S	0441017	3984551	restaurant	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	89-90	Whalebone Surf Shop	2214 S Croatan Hwy	Nags Head	18S	0441615	3982085	business	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	91	Pirates Quay Shoppe	3022 S Croatan Highway	Nags Head	18S	0442217	3981469	business	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	N/A	Pirate's Booty (Sun)	S Wrightsville Ave	Nags Head	18S	0442742	3981115	house name	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	N/A	OBX Pirate Fest		Nags Head	18S	0445448	3974906	festival	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	N/A	Pirate Adventures of the Outer Banks	408 Queen Elizabeth Ave	Manteo	18S	0439547	3974222	business	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	22-23	Pirate's Cove Marina	2000 Sailfish Drive	Manteo	18S	0441981	3972417	business	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	22-23	Pirate's Cove Realty	1 Sailfish Drive	Manteo	18S	0441856	3972399	business	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	N/A		Pirates Way	Manteo	18S	0441814	3972382	road name	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	N/A	Pirate's Paradise (Resort Realty)	Spinnaker Drive (3rd on right)	Manteo	18S	0441972	3972812	house name	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	24	Pirates' Den (Joe Lamb Jr.)	9221-A S. Old Oregon Inlet Rd	South Nags Head	18S	0447763	3970513	house name	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	27-28	Blackbeard's Treasure (Sun)	Eagle St	South Nags Head	18S	0447798	3970255	house name	Edward Teach	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	25-26	Pirate's High Time (Atlantic Realty)	9604 S. Old Oregon Inlet Rd	South Nags Head	18S	0448000	3969555	house name	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	141		Cutlass Lane	Rodanthe	18S	0457862	3934882	road name	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	138		Jolly Roger Road	Rodanthe	18S	0457534	3934189	road name	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	145	The Black Pearl (Sun)	(first house in Rodanthe ocean side)	Rodanthe	18S	0457815	3940389	house name	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands

Dare	143-144	X Marks the Spot (Midgett)	25201 Sea Isle Hills Ct	Waves	18S	0457942	3935709	house name	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	136-137	Hook's Treasure (Sun)	Sand St.	Salvo	18S	0457430	3933262	house name	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	136-137	Teach's Booty (Sun)	Sand St.	Salvo	18S	0457430	3933262	house name	Edward Teach	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	139-140	Buc-N-Eer (Outer Banks Vacation Rentals)	26205 Bosun Ct.	Salvo	18S	0457738	3934818	house name	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	142	A Beach Life aka Pirate's Playground (Outer Banks Vacation Rentals)	26204 Wimble Shores Drive	Salvo	18S	0457539	3935263	house name	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	N/A	Treasure Island (Hatteras)	S Ocean View Ct	Avon	18S	0454031	3910104	house name	Edward Teach	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	130-131	Pi-Ra-Sea (Hatteras)	Pheasant Cir	Avon	18S	0453751	3909519	house name	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	132-133	Jolly Roger (Hatteras)	41721 S Ocean View Ct	Avon	18S	0454117	3910486	house name	Edward Teach	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	134	Pirate Beachware	NC-12	Avon	18S	0454390	3912884	business	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	135	Vape Hatteras	NC-12	Avon	18S	0454536	3913582	business	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	129	Pirate Beachware	NC-12	Buxton	18S	0452680	3902628	business	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	128		Buccaneer Drive	Buxton	18S	0446532	3901965	road name	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	N/A	Pirate's Light (Hatteras)	Diamond Shoals Drive	Buxton	18S	0452423	3902040	house name	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	N/A	Pirate's Lair (Hatteras)	Trent Drive	Frisco	18S	0442456	3898564	house name	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	127		Rogue's Retreat Rd	Frisco	18S	0443930	3900178	road name	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	120-121	Teach's Lair Marina	58646 NC-12	Hatteras	18S	0436383	3896593	business	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	N/A	Pirate's Reef (Sun)	(Hatteras first neighborhood on sound)	Hatteras	18S	0439079	3897387	house name	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	125	Blackbeard's Fortune (Hatteras)	(across from Eagle Pass Rd)	Hatteras	18S	0437579	3897378	house name	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands

Dare	N/A	Walk the Plank (Outer Banks Vacation Rentals)	58211 Gray Eagle Rd	Hatteras	18S	0436557	3896450	house name	Edward Teach	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	122- 123	Queen Anne's Revenge (Midgett)	57480 Lighthouse Rd	Hatteras	18S	0437087	3896623	house name	Edward Teach	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	118- 119	Teach's Watch (Midgett)	58220 Woodall way	Hatteras	18S	0436567	3896532	house name	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	116- 117	Treasure Chest (Midgett)	58229 Dunes Drive	Hatteras	18S	0436548	3896392	house name	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	126	Teach's Island	57571 NC-12	Hatteras	18S	0437348	3897417	restaurant	Edward Teach	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	125	Pillage N Plunder (Hatteras)	(across from Eagle Pass Rd)	Hatteras	18S	0437579	3897378	house name	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Dare	115	Graveyard of the Atlantic Museum		Hatteras	18S	0435821	3896096	museum	Edward Teach	N/A	Barrier Islands
Hyde	113- 114	Jolly Roger Pub and Marina	396 Irvin Garrish Hwy	Ocracoke	18S	0410513	3885972	restaurant	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Hyde	99-100	Blackbeard's Lodge	111 Back Rd,	Ocracoke	18S	0410999	3885781	business	Edward Teach	N/A	Barrier Islands
Hyde	92-94	Teach's Hole	935 Irvin Garrish Hwy	Ocracoke	18S	0411132	3885490	business	Edward Teach	N/A	Barrier Islands
Hyde	110		Teaches Hole Channel	Ocracoke	18S	0409863	3885095	physical features	Edward Teach	N/A	Barrier Islands
Hyde	101- 102	Pirates Chest Gift Shop	11 Back Rd	Ocracoke	18S	0410867	3885677	business	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Hyde	98	Edwards of Ocracoke	226 Old Beach Rd	Ocracoke	18S	0411054	3885761	business	Edward Teach	N/A	Barrier Islands
Hyde	97	Hooligan Sunset (Ocracoke Island Realty)	55 North Pond Rd	Ocracoke	18S	0410455	3886777	house name	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Hyde	111- 112	Pirate's Quay (1- 4/Ocracoke Island Realty)	95 Silver Lake RD	Ocracoke	18S	0410407	3885758	house name	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Hyde	107- 109		Springer's Point	Ocracoke	18S	0410092	3885174	physical features	Edward Teach	N/A	Barrier Islands
Hyde	95-96		Silver Lake	Ocracoke	18S	0410145	3886323	physical features	Edward Teach	N/A	Barrier Islands
Hyde	103	Sea's Revenge Fine Art Shop		Ocracoke	18S	0410635	3885775	business	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands
Hyde	104	Treasure Chest (Ocracoke Island Realty)	Loop Dr.	Ocracoke	18S	0410000	3885267	house name	general pirates	N/A	Barrier Islands

Hyde	105-106	Teach's Treasure (House-Ocracoke Island Realty)	36 Loop Dr.	Ocracoke	18S	0410001	3885256	house name	Edward Teach	N/A	Barrier Islands
Hyde	N/A	Blackbeard Pirate Jamboree		Ocracoke	18S	0410506	3885867	festival	Edward Teach	N/A	Barrier Islands
Hyde	N/A	Lt. Robert Maynard Historical Marker	NC 12	Ocracoke	18S	0410196	3886358	historical marker	Edward Teach	N/A	Barrier Islands
Beaufort	N/A	Bath Elementary School	110 King St	Bath	18S	0335679	3927427	school	general pirates	N/A	Middle Region
Beaufort	154	Blackbeards Slices and Ices	101 N Main St.	Bath	18S	0335370	3927540	restaurant	Edward Teach	N/A	Middle Region
Beaufort	147		Teaches Point Rd	Bath	18S	0335597	3925750	road name	Edward Teach	N/A	Middle Region
Beaufort	146		Teach's Trace	Bath	18S	0335739	3925726	road name	Edward Teach	N/A	Middle Region
Beaufort	N/A		Teachs Gut	Bath	18S	0336587	3924023	physical features	Edward Teach	N/A	Middle Region
Beaufort	156		Blackbeard Rd	Bath	18S	0333785	3926213	road name	Edward Teach	N/A	Middle Region
Beaufort	155		Blackbeards View	Bath	18S	0334601	3925676	road name	Edward Teach	N/A	Middle Region
Beaufort	157-158		Treasure Point Rd	Bath	18S	0334595	3930881	road name	general pirates	N/A	Middle Region
Beaufort	148		Teach's Cove Rd	Bath	18S	0336296	3929260	road name	Edward Teach	N/A	Middle Region
Beaufort	149-150, 152	Colonial Bath	Main ST	Bath	18S	0335584	3927462	historic site	N/A	Bath	Middle Region
Beaufort	151		Plum Point	Bath	18S	0336587	3924023	physical features	Edward Teach	N/A	Middle Region
Beaufort	153	Pirates Treasure Gift Shop		Bath	18S	0335380	3926935	business	general pirates	N/A	Middle Region
Beaufort	N/A	Pirate in the Port		Bath	18S	0335584	3927462	festival	Edward Teach	N/A	Middle Region
Beaufort	N/A	Edward Teach Historical Marker	S Main St	Bath	18S	0335381	3926935	historical marker	Edward Teach	N/A	Middle Region
Beaufort	149-150, 152	Colonial Bath Historical Marker	Main St	Bath	18S	0335584	3927462	historical marker	Edward Teach	N/A	Middle Region
Pamlico	107		Teachs Cove Rd	Oriental	18S	0342929	3879699	road name	Edward Teach	N/A	Middle Region
Pamlico	N/A		Treasure Drive	Oriental	18S	0344298	3877414	road name	general pirate	N/A	Middle Region

Pamlico	N/A		Buccaneer Ave	Oriental	18S	0344080	3877764	road name	general pirate	N/A	Middle Region
Pamlico	108-109		Hornigold Ave	Oriental	18S	0344008	3877953	road name	Benjamin Hornigold	N/A	Middle Region
Pamlico	112		Blackbeard Dr.	Oriental	18S	0344382	3878022	road name	Edward Teach	N/A	Middle Region
Pamlico	111		Bonny Lane	Oriental	18S	0344241	3878165	road name	Anne Bonny	N/A	Middle Region
Pamlico	110		Pirates Cove Circle	Oriental	18S	0344168	3877989	road name	general pirate	N/A	Middle Region
Pamlico	1108-109, 113-114	Buccaneer Bay	Teachs Cove Rd	Oriental	18S	0344008	3877953	road name	general pirate	N/A	Middle Region
Craven	115	Blackbeard Sailing Club	1215 Barkentine Drive	New Bern	18S	0321349	3881897	business	Edward Teach	N/A	Middle Region
Craven	N/A		Davy Jones Ct	New Bern	18S	0320379	3882705	road name	general pirates	N/A	Middle Region
Craven	N/A		Blackbeard Lane	New Bern	18S	0319491	3883766	road name	general pirates	N/A	Middle Region
Craven	N/A		Swashbuckle Ct	New Bern	18S	0319580	3883505	road name	general pirates	N/A	Middle Region
Craven	N/A		Jolly Roger Rd	New Bern	18S	0320163	3883103	road name	general pirates	N/A	Middle Region
Craven	N/A		Barbary Coast Drive	New Bern	18S	0320330	3882978	road name	general pirates	N/A	Middle Region
Craven	116		Pirates Rd	New Bern	18S	0304088	3884591	road name	general pirates	N/A	Middle Region
Craven	N/A	Pirates Pride Carwash	Hwy 70	Cherry Point	18S	0320695	3873044	business	general pirates	N/A	Middle Region
Craven	117		Pirates Lane	Havelock	18S	0327144	3860321	road name	general pirates	N/A	Middle Region
Carteret	124	The Legendary Pirate's Roost	913 Bridges St	Morehead City	18S	0342941	3843606	historic landmark	general pirates	N/A	Middle Region
Carteret	N/A	Ocracoke Inlet Historical Marker		Cedar Island	18S	0380014	3875774	historical marker	Edward Teach	N/A	Middle Region
Carteret	N/A	Beaufort Pirate Invasion		Beaufort	18S	0347449	3842934	festival	general pirates	N/A	Middle Region
Carteret	118	Blackbeard's Grill and Grog	1644 Live Oak St.	Beaufort	18S	0349747	3844077	restaurant	Edward Teach	N/A	Middle Region
Carteret	N/A	Beaufort Pirates Revenge	412 Front St	Beaufort	18S	0347692	3842756	business	general pirates	N/A	Middle Region

Carteret	120-121	Queen Anne's Revenge	510 Front St	Beaufort	18S	0347607	3842829	restaurant	Edward Teach	N/A	Middle Region
Carteret	123	North Carolina Maritime Museum	315 Front St	Beaufort	18S	0347418	3842971	museum	Edward Teach	N/A	Middle Region
Carteret	119	Port City Tour Company	108 Middle Lane	Beaufort	18S	0347533	3842951	business	general pirates	N/A	Middle Region
Carteret	122	Royal James Café		Beaufort	18S	0347474	3842975	restaurant	Stede Bonnet	N/A	Middle Region
Carteret	127		Money Island Drive	Atlantic Beach	18S	0341541	3841084	road name	John Redfield	N/A	Middle Region
Carteret	125	Money Island Townhomes	Money Island Townhomes	Atlantic Beach	18S	0341321	3841264	house	John Redfield	N/A	Middle Region
Carteret	126		Money Island	Atlantic Beach	18S	0341321	3841264	physical feature	John Redfield	N/A	Middle Region
Carteret	N/A		Money Island Bay	Atlantic Beach	18S	0341321	3841264	physical feature	John Redfield	N/A	Middle Region
Carteret	128-129	Buccaneer Too (Spectrum Rental)	302 South Raleigh Ave	Atlantic Beach	18S	0340474	3841077	house	general pirates	N/A	Middle Region
Carteret	N/A	<i>Queen Anne's Revenge</i> wreck site	Beaufort Inlet	Atlantic Beach	18S	0346332	3840773	archaeological site	Edward Teach	N/A	Middle Region
Carteret	((84-85))	Smuggler's Cove		Pine Knoll Shores	18S	0337478	3840984	house	general pirates	N/A	Middle Region
Carteret	N/A	NC Aquarium		Pine Knoll Shores	18S	0332510	3841211	museum	Edward Teach	N/A	Middle Region
Carteret	130	Lost Treasure Golf and Raceway	976 Salter Path Rd	Salter Path	18S	0327829	3840161	business	general pirates	N/A	Middle Region
Carteret	131	Pirates Perch (Bluewater Properties)	8605 Oceanview Drive	Emerald Isle	18S	0319443	3838794	house	general pirates	N/A	Middle Region
Carteret	132		Rhett St.	Emerald Isle	18S	0312913	3838745	road name	Stede Bonnet	N/A	Middle Region
Carteret	N/A	Irish Pirate Trading Co	8700 Emerald Plantation Rd	Emerald Isle	18S	0312183	3837492	business	general pirates	N/A	Middle Region
Onslow	135	Swansboro High School	161 Queens Creek Rd	Swansboro	18S	0302450	3841949	school	general pirates	N/A	Middle Region
Onslow	133-134		Pirates Cove Drive	Swansboro	18S	0302423	3842194	road name	general pirates	N/A	Middle Region
Onslow	136	Treasure Realty	1950 NC-172	Sneads Ferry	18S	0276522	3825644	business	general pirates	N/A	Middle Region

Onslow	137		Pirates Cove	Sneads Ferry	18S	0276174	3821913	road name	general pirates	N/A	Middle Region
Onslow	N/A	Pirate Fest at Hammock Beach		Jacksonville	18S	0277501	3847813	festival	general pirates	N/A	Middle Region
Pender	148	Topsail High School	245 North St. Johns Church Rd	Hampstead	18S	0253726	3809239	school	general pirates	N/A	Cape Fear Region
Pender	139-140		Cutlass Drive	Surf City	18S	0262607	3809706	road name	general pirates	N/A	Cape Fear Region
Pender	143		Bonnets Ct	Surf City	18S	0262358	3809683	road name	Stede Bonnet	N/A	Cape Fear Region
Pender	142		Teachs Ct	Surf City	18S	0262464	3809747	road name	Edward Teach	N/A	Cape Fear Region
Pender	141		Morgan Ln	Surf City	18S	0262495	3809845	road name	Henry Morgan	N/A	Cape Fear Region
Pender	138	Jolly Roger Inn and Pier	803 Ocean Blvd	Holly Ridge	18S	0258263	3805876	business	general pirates	N/A	Cape Fear Region
Pender	144-147	Shipwreck Point Golf	13705 NC-50	Surf City	18S	0264760	3814450	business	general pirates	N/A	Cape Fear Region
Pender	N/A	Belle of Topsail	518 Ronald Ave	Surf City	18S	0265890	3812716	business	general pirates	N/A	Cape Fear Region
Pender	N/A	Pirates Landing (Ward Realty)	2625-A-2 S Shore Dr	Surf City	18S	0262067	3809363	house name	general pirates	N/A	Cape Fear Region
New Hanover	N/A	Wrightsville Beach Scenic Tours	275 Waynick Blvd	Wrightsville Beach	18S	0242096	3788238	business	general pirates	N/A	Cape Fear Region
New Hanover	N/A	Feast of the Pirates		Wilmington	18S	0228650	3792195	festival	general pirates	N/A	Cape Fear Region
New Hanover	N/A	Laney High School	2700 N College Road	Wilmington	18S	0235582	3789927	school	general pirates	N/A	Cape Fear Region
New Hanover	99	Pirate's Table Seafood	3536 Carolina Beach Rd. #1	Wilmington	18S	0230042	3786182	restaurant	general pirates	N/A	Cape Fear Region
New Hanover	105	Wilmington Water Tours	212 S Water St	Wilmington	18S	0228318	3791867	business	general pirates	N/A	Cape Fear Region
New Hanover	106	Barbary Coast Bar	Front Street	Wilmington	18S	0228450	3792004	restaurant	general pirates	N/A	Cape Fear Region
New Hanover	N/A		Money Point	Wilmington	18S	0239806	3787909	physical feature	John Redfield	N/A	Cape Fear Region
New Hanover	N/A		Money Island	Wilmington	18S	0239990	3788222	physical feature	John Redfield	N/A	Cape Fear Region
New Hanover	100-102	Lazy Pirate Island Sports Grill	701 N Lake Park Blvd	Carolina Beach	18S	0232650	3770340	restaurant	general pirates	N/A	Cape Fear Region

New Hanover	N/A	Pirate Shack Vacation Home Rental Agency	806 Carolina Beach Ave N	Carolina Beach	18S	0233392	3770779	business	general pirates	N/A	Cape Fear Region
New Hanover	100-102	Drifter's Reef Motel	701 N Lake Park Blvd	Carolina Beach	18S	0232650	3770340	business	general pirates	N/A	Cape Fear Region
New Hanover	103-104	Buccaneer Motel	201 Cape Fear	Carolina Beach	18S	0228318	3791867	business	general pirates	N/A	Cape Fear Region
Brunswick	N/A	Brunswick Town/Fort Anderson State Historic Site	8884 St. Philip's Rd SE	Winnabow	18S	0226654	3773315	site	N/A	Brunswick Town	Cape Fear Region
Brunswick	91		Rhett St.	Southport	17S	0775963	3757291	road name	Stede Bonnet	N/A	Cape Fear Region
Brunswick	94-95		Bonnet's Creek Ln	Southport	17S	0776240	3757525	road name	Stede Bonnet	N/A	Cape Fear Region
Brunswick	92-93		Bonner's Creek	Southport	17S	0776200	3757494	physical features	Stede Bonnet	N/A	Cape Fear Region
Brunswick	96		Dutchman Creek Rd	Southport	17S	0776245	3757536	road name	general pirates	N/A	Cape Fear Region
Brunswick	97-98		Bonnet Way	Southport	17S	0774352	3759156	road name	Stede Bonnet	N/A	Cape Fear Region
Brunswick	89	North Carolina Maritime Museum at Southport	204 E Moore St	Southport	17S	0775726	3757114	museum	general pirates	N/A	Cape Fear Region
Brunswick	87-88	Blackbeard Scuba	5001 O'Quinn Blvd SE	Southport	17S	0771665	3757456	business	Edward Teach	N/A	Cape Fear Region
Brunswick	86		Swashbuckler Way	Southport	17S	0773508	3761326	road name	general pirates	N/A	Cape Fear Region
Brunswick	N/A	Pirate Invasion		Southport	17S	0775607	3756958	festival	general pirates	N/A	Cape Fear Region
Brunswick	N/A	Pirates are Coming Festival		Bald Head Island	17S	0777399	3752121	festival	general pirates	N/A	Cape Fear Region
Brunswick	((92))		Edward Teach Wynd	Bald Head Island	18S	0222783	3750772	road name	Edward Teach	N/A	Cape Fear Region
Brunswick	((89))		Stede Bonnet Wynd	Bald Head Island	18S	0222883	3751715	road name	Stede Bonnet	N/A	Cape Fear Region
Brunswick	((90))		Col Rhett Trail	Bald Head Island	18S	0222479	3751323	road name	Stede Bonnet	N/A	Cape Fear Region
Brunswick	((88))		Stede Bonnet Close	Bald Head Island	18S	0222888	3751725	road name	Stede Bonnet	N/A	Cape Fear Region
Brunswick	((95))	Stede Bonnet Historical Marker	NC 211	Southport	18S	0222756	3758741	historical markers	Stede Bonnet	N/A	Cape Fear Region

Brunswick	((91))		Royal James Landing	Bald Head Island	18S	0222788	3750889	road name	Stede Bonnet	N/A	Cape Fear Region
Brunswick	((93-94))	Queen Anne's Revenge	120 Edward Teach Wynd	Bald Head Island	18S	0223341	3750686	house	Edward Teach	N/A	Cape Fear Region
Brunswick	((86-87))	Smith Island Museum of History	101 Light House Wynd	Bald Head Island	17S	0777443	3752206	business	Stede Bonnet	N/A	Cape Fear Region
Brunswick	N/A		Edward Teach Exts	Bald Head Island	18S	0223929	3750308	road name	Edward Teach	N/A	Cape Fear Region
Brunswick	N/A		Edward Teach Close	Bald Head Island	18S	0224028	3750390	road name	Edward Teach	N/A	Cape Fear Region
Brunswick	90		Dutchman Creek	Cape Fear	17S	0775731	3756944	physical features	general pirates	N/A	Cape Fear Region
Brunswick	N/A	Shallotte Middle School	225 Village Rd	Shallotte	17S	0741009	3761359	school	general pirates	N/A	Cape Fear Region
Brunswick	85	Pirates Deck	5827 E Oak Island Drive	Oak Island	17S	0767709	3756143	restaurant	general pirates	N/A	Cape Fear Region
Brunswick	N/A	Pirate's View (Oak Island Accommodations)	7801A East Beach Drive	Oak Island	17S	0769363	3755471	house name	general pirates	N/A	Cape Fear Region
Brunswick	83-84	Pirates in Paradis (Oak Island Accommodations)	320 East Beach Drive	Oak Island	17S	0762872	3756310	house name	general pirates	N/A	Cape Fear Region
Brunswick	82	Jolly Roger (Coastal Vacation Resorts)	5107 West Beach Drive	Oak Island	17S	0758021	3756146	house name	general pirates	N/A	Cape Fear Region
Brunswick	80-81	A Pirate's Paradise (Oak Island Accommodations)	713 West Beach Drive	Oak Island	17S	0761629	3756299	house name	general pirates	N/A	Cape Fear Region
Brunswick	N/A	A Pirate Looks at 40 (Oak Island Accommodations)	1000 Caswell Beach Rd #505	Caswell Beach	17S	0770789	3755178	house name	general pirates	N/A	Cape Fear Region
Brunswick	N/A	A Pirate's Cove (Coastal Vacation Resorts)	109 Strawflower	Holden Beach	17S	0744214	3754881	house name	general pirates	N/A	Cape Fear Region
Brunswick	76-77	Hidden Treasure (Coastal Vacation Resorts)	821 Ocean Blvd W	Holden Beach	17S	0747090	3755247	house name	general pirates	N/A	Cape Fear Region
Brunswick	75	Pirate's Den (Coastal Vacation Resorts)	107 Schooner Drive	Holden Beach	17S	0744428	3754898	house name	general pirates	N/A	Cape Fear Region

Brunswick	73-74	Pirate's Pride (Coastal Vacation Resorts)	105 Frigate	Holden Beach	17S	0744943	3754962	house name	general pirates	N/A	Cape Fear Region
Brunswick	71-72	Pirates Paradise (Alan Holden Vacations)	118 Halstead Street	Holden Beach	17S	0752986	3756190	house name	general pirates	N/A	Cape Fear Region
Brunswick	78-79	The Jolly Rogers	310 Ocean Blvd	Holden Beach	17S	0751009	3755781	house name	general pirates	N/A	Cape Fear Region
Brunswick	70	Jolly Roger Getaway (Sunset Properties)	204 West Main St.	Sunset Beach	17S	0730433	3750339	house name	general pirates	N/A	Cape Fear Region
Brunswick	67	Jolly Roger (Sunset Properties)	505 East Main St.	Sunset Beach	17S	0730966	3750514	house name	general pirates	N/A	Cape Fear Region
Brunswick	68-69	The Jolly Rogers (Sunset Vacations)	417 Marlin St	Sunset Beach	17S	0731055	3750706	house name	general pirates	N/A	Cape Fear Region

APPENDIX B: Chronology of Families in Currituck 1700-1730
(Baum

1701-William Reed, wife Christina
1703-Jacob Overman, wife Rebecca
1700-William Jennings, wife Mary
1701-John Trevale, wife Ann
1711-Thomas Jarvis, wife Margaret
1712-John Creech, wife Thomas
1712-John Bishop, wife Mary
1700-John Lawson, wife Ann
1713/1714-Solle Paris, wife Sarah
1712-Christopher William, brother Johnathan
1714-Mary Rolfe, widow Thomas Rolfe
1712-Saymore Rice, wife Elisha
1710-William Sawyer, wife Mary
1707-John Jennings
1707-Elisa Redding
1713-Nevil Lew
1716-Emmanuel Lew
1715-David Bailey
1716-John Mason
1713/1714-Conrelious Jones
1716-Samuel Barnard
1716-Mary Jennings

1716-Thomas Pendleton
1717-Elizabeth Gambling
1717-Peter Brown
1717-John Billet
1717-Mary Wilson
1716-Daniel Rhodes
1715-Petere Brown
1720-Elizabeth Upton
1724-Caleb and Stephen Sawyer
1719-James Forbes
1717-Sarah Raymond
1718-Samuel Barnard
1718-Robert Keel
1718-John Cartwright
1719-Edward Upton
1718/1719-John Scarborough
1720-William Wilson
1720-Abraham Jones
1720-Issac Jones
1718-John Rolfe
1724-Amos Trueblood
1721-Thomas Merriday
1723-William Jennings

1721-William Jones

1722-William Stevens

1722-Momas Wyatt

1724-Caleb Sawyer

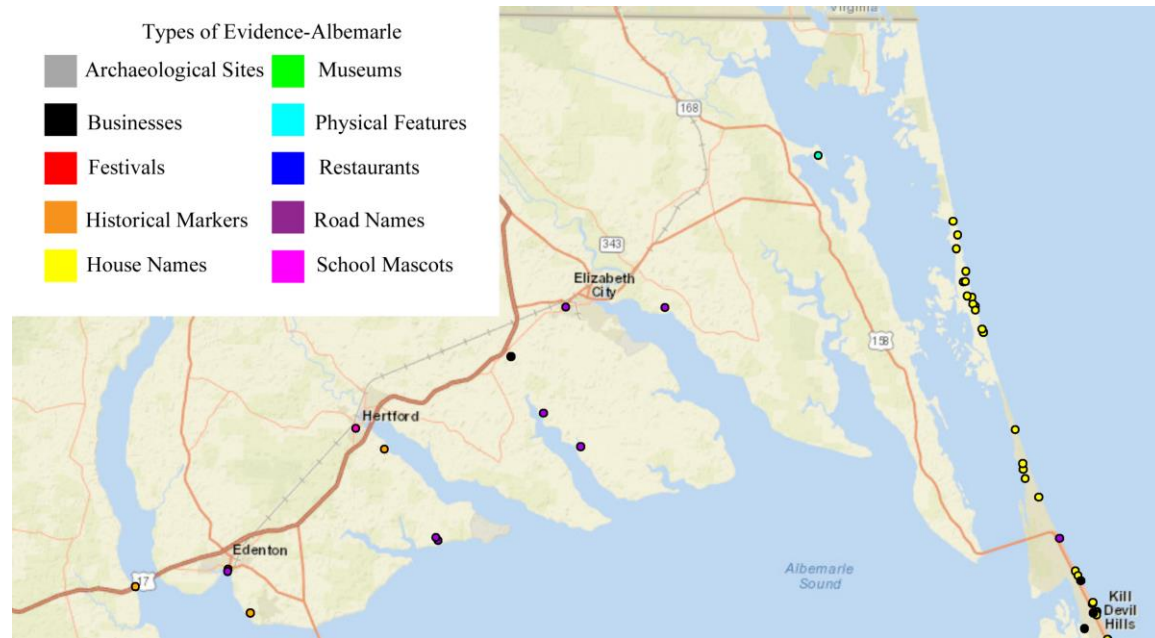
1724-Daniel Billet

1724-Henry Sawyer

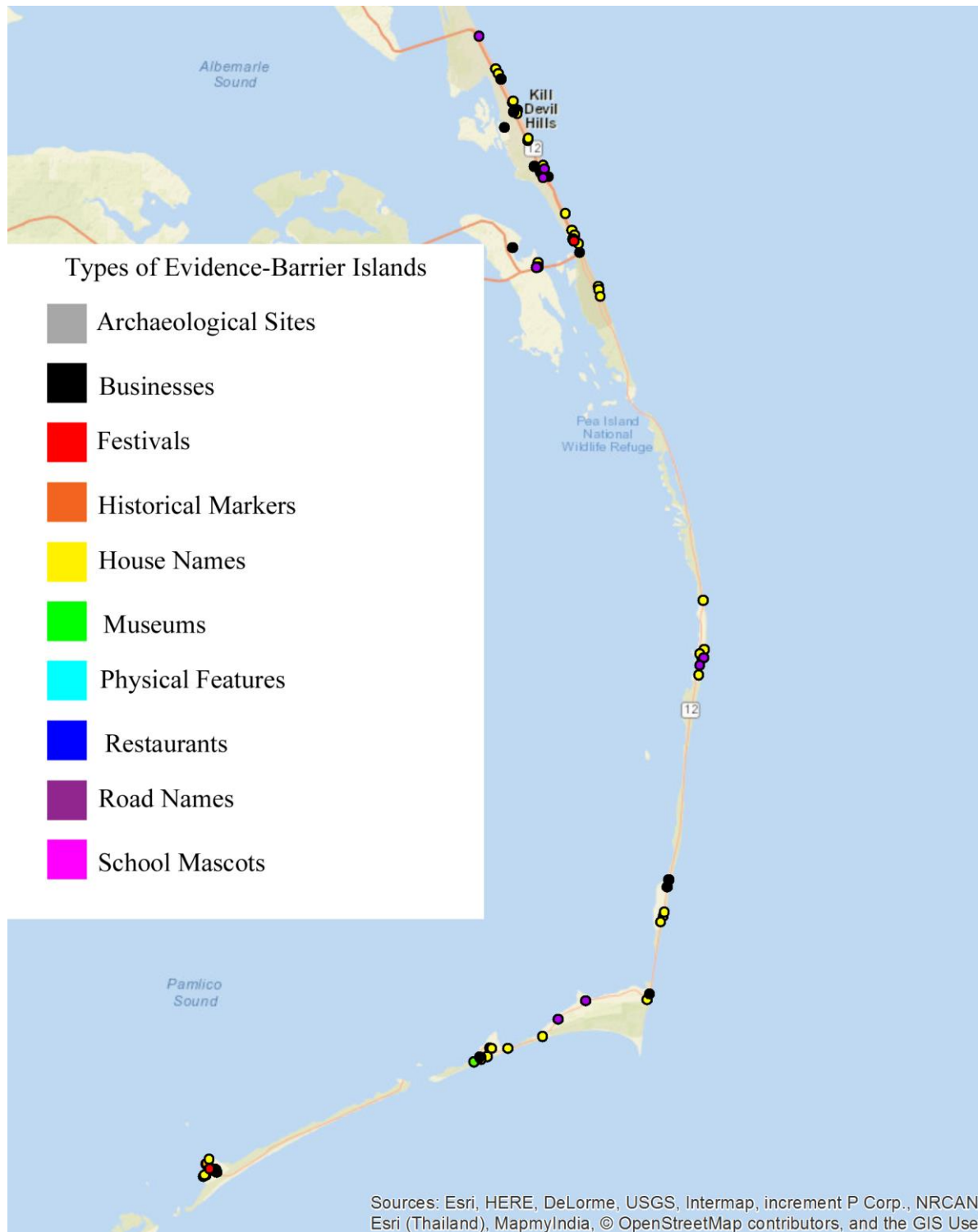
1707-Elizabeth Reading

1722-Arm Forbes

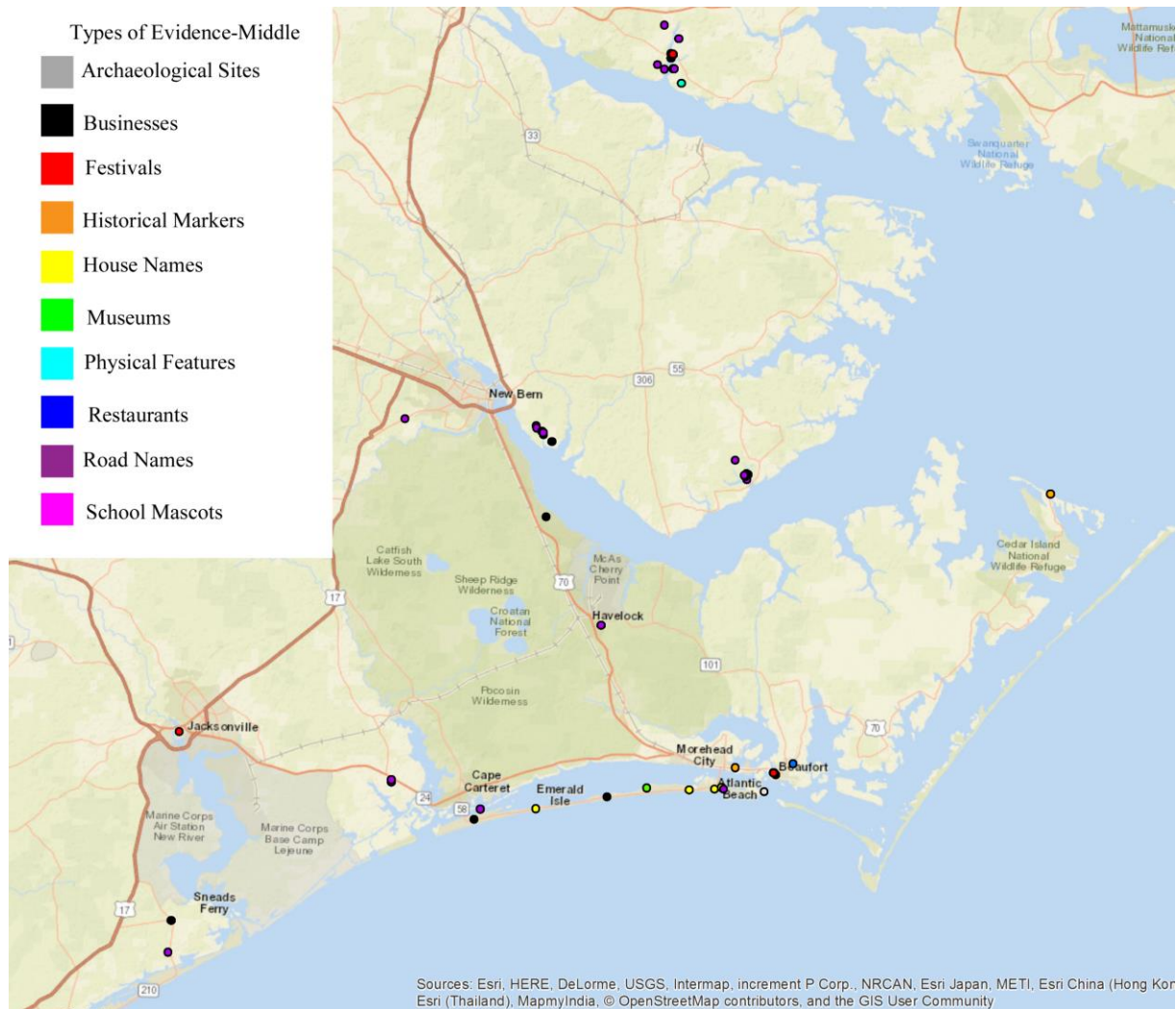
APPENDIX C: Maritime Cultural Landscapes and Cultural Memory GIS Maps divided by various categories.



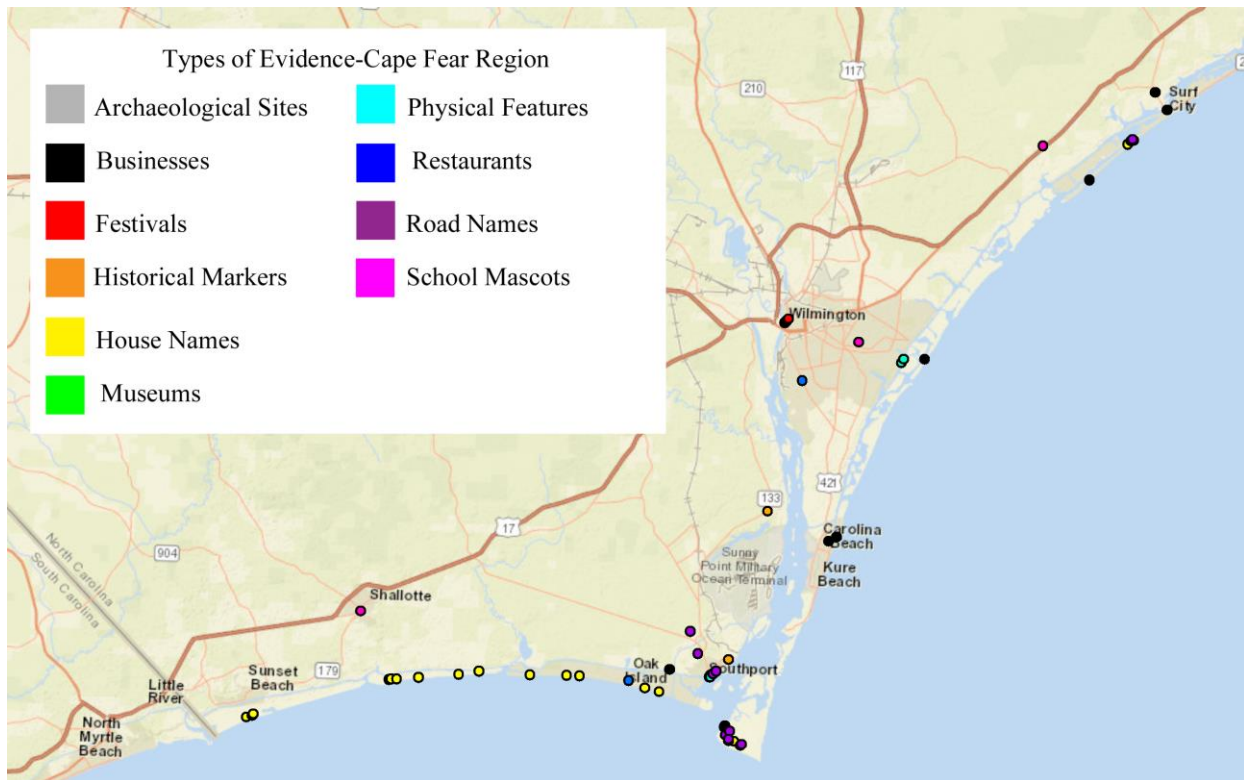
Types of evidence of the maritime cultural landscape of piracy and their cultural memory in the Albemarle sound region of North Carolina. Notice the abundance of house names along the eastern coastline, but sparse numbers of other types of evidence in this area (Author 2016).



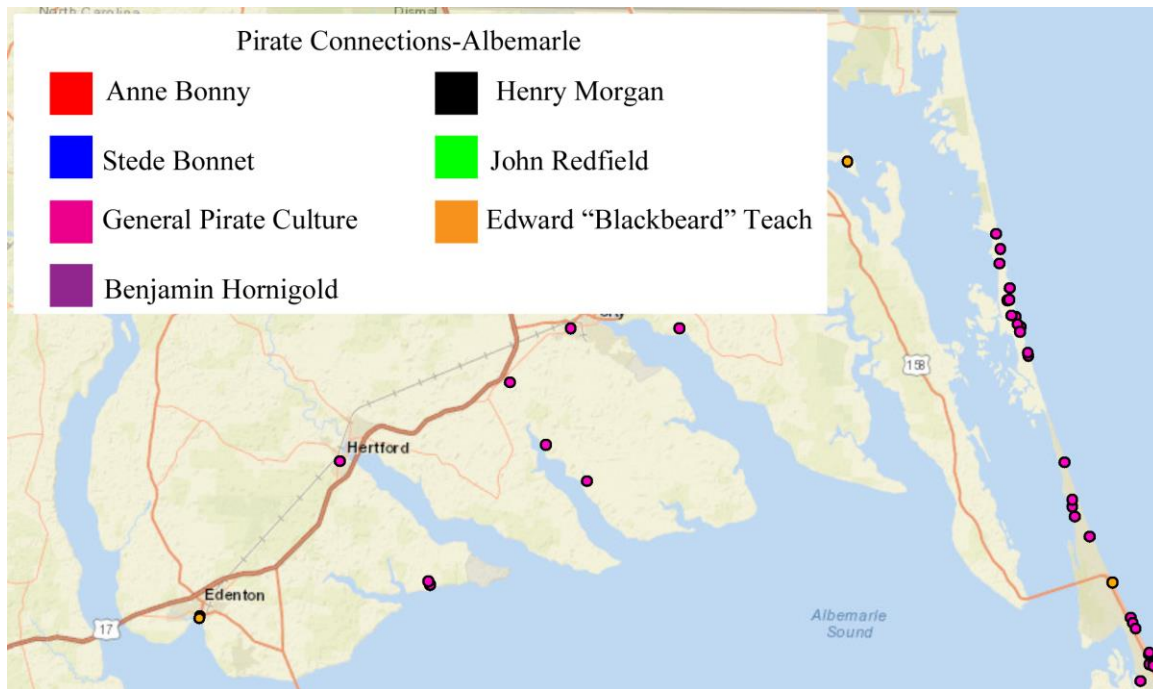
Types of evidence of the maritime cultural landscape of piracy and their cultural memory in North Carolina along the barrier island chain, that is comprised mainly of the Outer Banks (Roanoke, Pea Island, Hatteras Island, and Ocracoke Island). The locations of the various types of evidence are all concentrated together in the various small towns that scatter these islands (Author 2016).



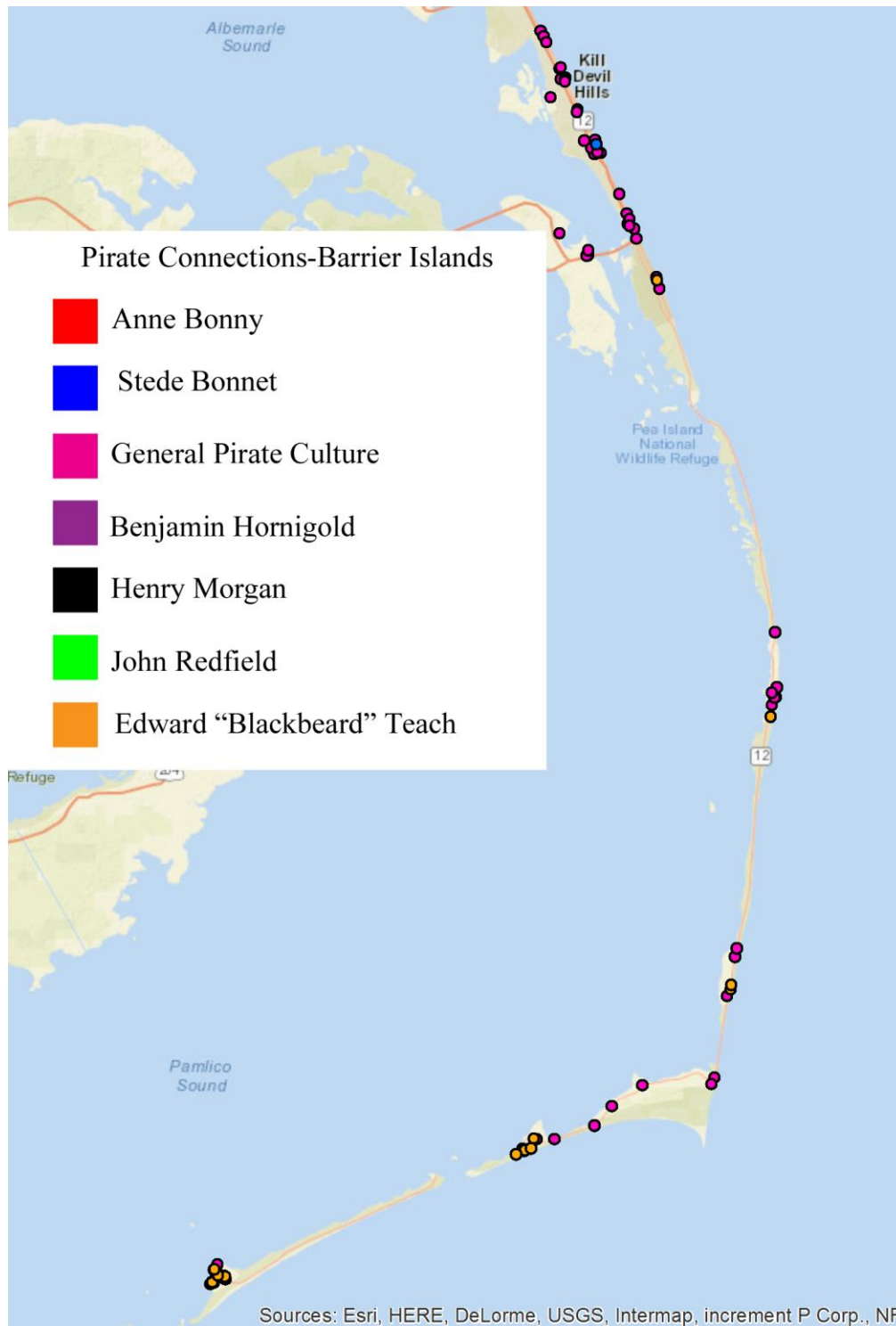
Types of evidence of the maritime cultural landscape of pirates and their cultural memory in middle region of North Carolina (consisting of the cities of Bath, New Bern, Morehead City, Emerald Isle, and Jacksonville). Large areas of this region of the state have no reference to piracy because they are sparsely inhabited. Of the areas with evidence, many consist of road names of various pirates. This is the only section with any known archaeological sites connecting to piracy (Author 2016).



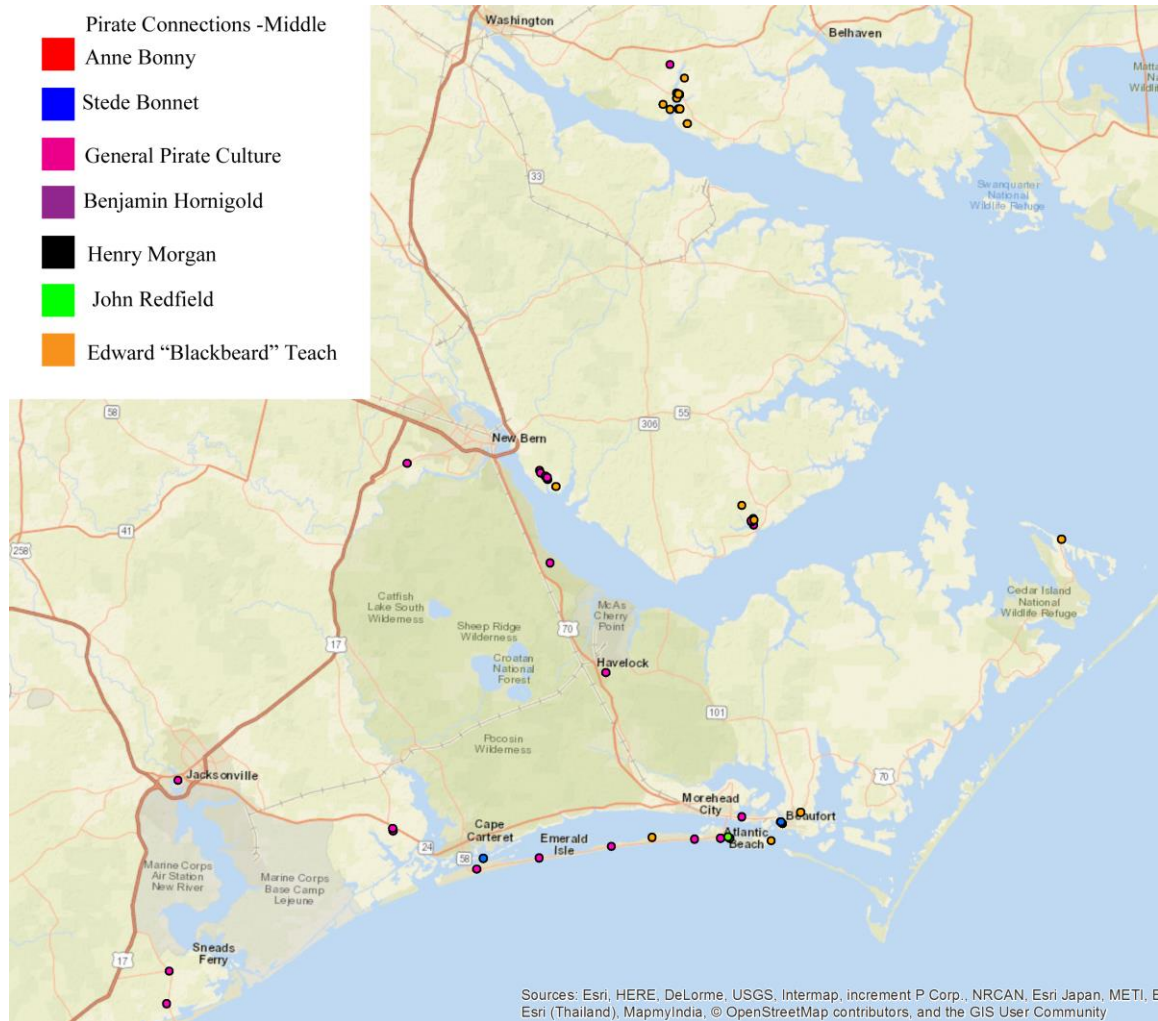
Types of evidence of the maritime cultural landscape of pirates and their cultural memory in the Cape Fear region of North Carolina. The evidence in this region is spread evenly along the coastline with the most abundant source of pirate evidence at the mouth of the Cape Fear, near Southport and Bald Head Island (Author 2016).



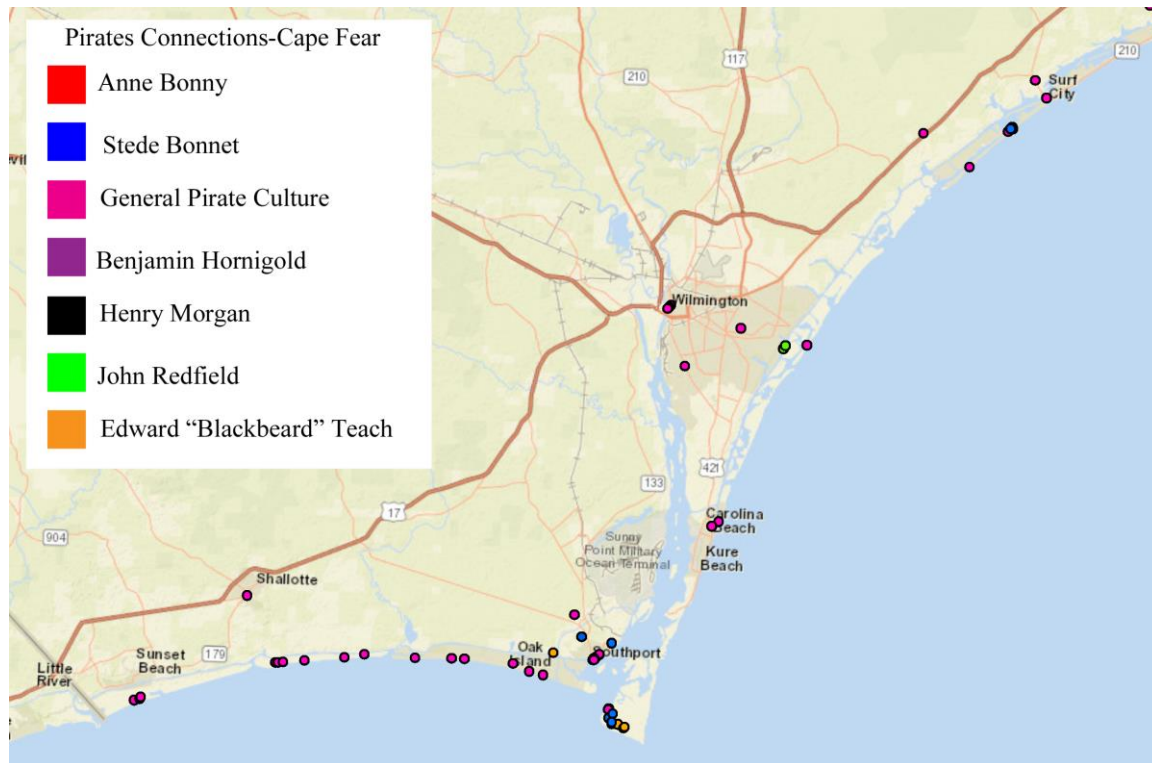
The pirate connections of the maritime cultural landscape/cultural memory evidence in the Albemarle region of North Carolina. The overwhelming majority of the connections in this region of the state were general pirate culture, with names referring to strictly to things like the Jolly Roger or a Pirate's Life. Of the evidence relating to specific pirates, the only pirate named was Edward "Blackbeard" Teach (Author 2016).



The pirate connections of the maritime cultural landscape/cultural memory evidence along the barrier islands of North Carolina. Similar to other regions, the connection of abundance is the general pirate culture. Of the named pirates, Edward Teach is predominately represented in Ocracoke, where he made his camp, and the southern end of Hatteras Island. Stede Bonnet is only referenced once in the Nags Head area. No other pirates are named in this region (Author 2016).



The pirate connections of the maritime cultural landscape/cultural memory evidence in the middle region of North Carolina. The connections in this region are broader than elsewhere. Here there are names of pirates who never visited the colony, such as Anne Bonny and Henry Morgan (near New Bern). There are also numerous references to Edward Teach, who spent an extensive amount of time in this region of the colony (Author 2016)



The pirate connections of the maritime cultural landscape/cultural memory evidence in the Cape Fear region of North Carolina. This region of North Carolina has an interesting mix of general pirate references and a mixture of named pirates who actually came to the colony. Stede Bonnet has a large presence in the mouth of the Cape Fear, where he and many other pirates refitted their vessels. John Redfield is present near Wilmington, where he is said to have protected William Kidd's treasures (Author 2016).

