

COLONIAL BEAUFORT:  
THE HISTORY OF A  
NORTH CAROLINA TOWN  
by  
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THESIS  
HISTORY  
1965  
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## PREFACE TO THIS ONLINE EDITION

This account of the colonial history of the town of Beaufort, North Carolina was written in 1965 as a part of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in History at East Carolina College, now East Carolina University, Greenville, North Carolina. With several minor exceptions, its presentation here is identical in format and content to that which was presented to the history faculty in 1965. For example, in this online edition a few more details based on the colonial records have been added to the reported results of the 1744 will of James Winright, a will that had established an endowment for a school in Beaufort. Several typographical errors and proof-reading oversights in the original account have been corrected, and for sake of clarity, several editorial changes have been made. Otherwise, the 1965 account of Beaufort's colonial history is presented here unchanged.

The decision to publish this on-line account of Beaufort's colonial history as originally written was not the result of any misconceptions on the part of the author concerning the need for revising and updating its contents. Instead, it has grown out of the increasing awareness that age and declining health will not allow such a revision to be undertaken, as well as the conclusion that, rather than allowing the account to remain in obscurity, it is better to give it to the interested reading public as it is in the hopes that some future student of Beaufort's history will strengthen its weaknesses and build on its foundations. Revisions, however, are definitely in order. During the nearly fifty years since the completion of the original account, much research has been devoted to the town's oldest homes and families, names have been changed, and new primary source materials have been made available. And, even the eighteenth century remains of what appears to have been Blackbeard's ship, *Queen Anne's Revenge*, have been discovered just outside of Beaufort Inlet, and its contents are being salvaged and preserved. One name change needs to be addressed here. Throughout this account, the reader will find footnote references to the "State Department of Archives and History." Today, that very accommodating depository of North Carolina records is the North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Department of Cultural Resources.

It should be noted that three articles based on information presented in this account of Beaufort's colonial history were published in *The North Carolina*

*Historical Review* between 1965 and 1970 (Spring, 1965; Spring, 1967; and Autumn, 1970). The last two of these three articles were, respectively, Chapter 5 and Chapter 3 of the thesis, each with an added brief introduction that allowed it to stand alone as a meaningful unit. The first of the three articles came into existence under different circumstances. Though not appearing in *The North Carolina Historical Review* until Spring, 1965, it had been written in 1963. In the spring of that year, while I was still in the early stages of researching Beaufort's colonial past and enrolled in graduate classes, my thesis director informed me that he was hosting a regional historical meeting at the college and needed a speaker for the occasion. He asked me to write a paper based on my research up to that point and read it at the meeting. After securing his promise to read my draft and make suggestions, I consented. Someone from the editorial staff of *The North Carolina Historical Review* was in attendance at the meeting, and several weeks later I received a letter from the editor of the review saying that, if I could document the information in the paper to primary sources, the review would be interested in publishing it. I assured the editor that I could provide the necessary documentation, but that I would have to wait until my degree was completed to get the paper with its documentation in proper format for publication. She very graciously agreed without a time limit. The fact that it was written while research was still ongoing explains the summary nature of that 1965 article and why some parts of it appear throughout much of the finished thesis. (Subscriptions and/or back issues of *The North Carolina Historical Review* can be ordered at <http://nc-historical-publications.stores.yahoo.net/the-north-carolina-historical-review.html>.)

As in the original account, the footnotes here have been placed at the bottom of each page. They were put there for the purpose of making it more convenient for the reader to take them into account. To be sure, many of them only provide a reference to the source and location of materials set forth in the body of the account. But a very large number of them provide arguments, explanations, and/or supplemental information pertinent to a correct understanding of that which is presented in the materials on the upper part the page. *These are meant to be read!* Also, quite a few footnotes contain references to maps placed in the Appendix. These maps will be most helpful to the reader.

Charles L. Paul  
March 20, 2011  
Murfreeesboro, NC

## SYNOPSIS

Charles L. Paul. COLONIAL BEAUFORT: THE HISTORY OF A NORTH CAROLINA TOWN. (Under the direction of Herbert Richard Paschal, Jr.) Department of History, May, 1965.

The purpose of this study is to provide an account of the facts relating to the founding of the town of Beaufort, North Carolina, and to describe its development during the colonial period. Since no previous account of the town's early history has been written, this study is based almost entirely on primary sources. And these sources have been quoted frequently in an effort to recreate as nearly as possible the atmosphere of the period.

Though European explorers visited the Beaufort area as early as 1524, there was little specific knowledge of that area before the arrival of the first white settlers in the first decade of the eighteenth century. Before these settlers arrived, the area was inhabited by the Coree Indians of the Iroquoian family. Though few in number these native inhabitants were active participants in the Tuscarora War of 1711-1713.

The town of Beaufort was laid out and named on October 2, 1713, on land owned by Robert Turner, a local settler. Though laid out by permission of the Lords Proprietors, the town was not incorporated until 1723. In the meantime it had been established as a port of entry for the colony and had also been designated as the site of the courthouse for Carteret Precinct, which was established in 1722.

Numerous lots were sold in Beaufort immediately after it was laid out, but few of the purchasers made their homes in the town. As late as 1765 it was described as a town of not more than twelve houses. About 1765, however, settlement became more substantial, and in the next few years efforts were made to give Beaufort more of the atmosphere of a well-ordered town.

Every class of colonial society except the wealthy aristocracy was represented by the inhabitants of Beaufort. Social activities were restricted by the demands of making a living, and efforts were made by the precinct government to curb moral laxity. Formal education in Beaufort had its beginning in 1744 through provisions made by James Winright, the proprietor of the town. The dominant

church was the Anglican Church, whose various functions were carried out through St. John's Parish.

The economy of Beaufort was based upon the utilization of the natural resources available in the area. Hence, fishing, whaling, the production of lumber and naval stores, shipbuilding, and farming were the chief economic activities. Though Beaufort had the safest and most navigable harbor of any of the ports of North Carolina, extensive commercial activities failed to develop, owing to the fact that the town was almost completely isolated from the interior.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### Geographical Features

Colonial Beaufort was a seaport located on the North Carolina mainland about midway between the present states of Virginia and South Carolina. It was separated from the open sea by the waters of Core and Bogue sounds, which lay between the mainland and the islands of the North Carolina Outer Banks.<sup>1</sup>

Piercing the Outer Banks just two miles south of Beaufort, Topsail Inlet provided this port with access to the open sea.<sup>2</sup> Topsail Inlet was the most navigable of any of the inlets along the North Carolina coast,<sup>3</sup> having a low-water depth of twelve

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<sup>1</sup> Appendix, Map VI: Beaufort Harbor, North Carolina, inset entitled Locality Map. According to present designations Core Sound extends no closer to Beaufort than the eastern tip of Harkers Island; and the waterway south of Harkers Island is called Back Sound. See Appendix, Map VIII: Waterway Connecting Pamlico Sd. & Beaufort Harbor, North Carolina. However, in the earlier years of that area's history Core Sound was considered as extending to and including Beaufort Harbor. See Appendix, Map II: Plan of Beaufort, on which is inscribed, "Newport River at Core Sound." See also Beaufort County Deed Books, Office of the Register of Deeds, Beaufort County Courthouse, Washington, North Carolina, Deed Book I, 129-130, and *passim*, hereinafter cited as Beaufort County Deed Books.

<sup>2</sup> This inlet is now called Beaufort Inlet. See Appendix, Map V: Morehead City Harbor, North Carolina. However, its general designation during the colonial period was Topsail Inlet. See Appendix, Map III: Port Beaufort or Topsail Inlet. See also Francis Latham Harriss (ed.) *Lawson's History of North Carolina* (Richmond, Virginia: 1937, first published in 1709), pp. 61, 65, hereinafter cited as Harriss, *Lawson's History*; and John Brickell, *The Natural History of North Carolina* (Dublin, Ireland: 1737), p. 4, hereinafter cited as Brickell, *Natural History*. It was sometimes called Old Topsail Inlet. See Appendix, Map IV: Plan of the Town and Port of Beaufort. See also William L. Saunders, (ed.), *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh, North Carolina: 1886-1890), VI, 608, hereinafter cited as Saunders, *Colonial Records*, followed by volume number and page. This inlet is not to be confused with the present New Topsail or Old Topsail inlets located near Hampstead, North Carolina,

<sup>3</sup> For a comparison of North Carolina's major inlets in the colonial period see Charles Christopher Crittenden, *The Commerce of North Carolina, 1763-1789* (New Haven: 1936), pp. 3-4, hereinafter cited as Crittenden, *The Commerce of North Carolina*, in which the author comments that "Old Topsail was not as dangerous as most of the other inlets" in North Carolina, and that "the number of wrecks occurring there was not large." See also Walter Clark (ed.), *The State Records of North Carolina* (Winston, Goldsboro, and Raleigh, North Carolina: 1895-1914), XXIII, 684, hereinafter cited as Clark, *State Records*, followed by volume number and page, in which Beaufort Inlet is described as "being very safe and Navigable for Vessels of Great Burthen. . . ."

feet with approximately four additional feet on high tide.<sup>4</sup> Between this inlet and the town lay the body of water which provided Beaufort with "a safe and Commodious Harbor. . . ."<sup>5</sup> The depth of the water in this harbor ranged from five to seven fathoms.<sup>6</sup>

Beaufort was situated on a small peninsula formed by the North and Newport rivers, both of which were shallow and short, averaging less than five feet in depth and extending less than fifteen miles into the interior.<sup>7</sup> Core and Bogue sounds were also shallow but were longer, extending, when considered together, some sixty miles along the coast from a northeasterly to a southwesterly direction. As a passageway Core Sound was the most important inland waterway to the life of colonial Beaufort in that it provided a water connection with Pamlico Sound and, hence, with the towns of New Bern, Bath, and Edenton. Nevertheless, Core Sound was a shallow and inconvenient passageway,<sup>8</sup> and one of the most significant features of Beaufort's network of inland waterways was that none of them provided a convenient connection with the more productive interior. These waterways did, however, have a certain utility in that they provided the settlers with an important source of food and an easy means of local transportation.<sup>9</sup>

Colonial Beaufort had a mild climate. The average annual temperature was about 64 degrees F., with a winter average of about 48 degrees F. and a summer average of about 79 degrees F. There were an average of two hundred and seventy frost-free days a year, a factor which assured a rather long growing season. The

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<sup>4</sup> See Appendix, Map III: Port Beaufort or Topsail Inlet. On this map, which is dated 1733, Beaufort Inlet is described as having twelve feet of water on the bar. See also Harriss, *Lawson's History*, p. 65, and Brickell, *Natural History*, p. 4. In 1762, Governor Dobbs described it as having sixteen feet of water, but he did not specify whether this measurement was made on high or low tide. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 608. A French traveler who visited the colony in 1765 commented that it had thirteen feet of water on low tide and that the tide did not rise above four feet. "Journal of a French Traveller in the Colonies, 1765, Part I," *The American Historical Review*, XXVI (July, 1921), 733, hereinafter cited as "Journal of a French Traveller," *The American Historical Review*, followed by volume number, date, and page. In the light of this Frenchman's comments, it may be concluded that Governor Dobbs' measurement was made on high water.

<sup>5</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 684.

<sup>6</sup> See Appendix, Map III: Beaufort or Topsail Inlet.

<sup>7</sup> See Appendix, Map VI: Beaufort Harbor, North Carolina.

<sup>8</sup> In 1761 it was described as having "about 5 feet [of] water." Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 607.

<sup>9</sup> A more detailed discussion of the economic importance of these geographical features is given in Chapter V.

51.26 inches of annual rainfall was spread evenly throughout the year so that there was neither an extremely wet nor an extremely dry season. The most pleasant features of the climate were the cool summer breezes and the mild winters, both of which were partially a result of the proximity of the ocean.<sup>10</sup> That the early settlers were concerned about climate factors is made evident by the many comments made about such factors in the promotional tracts of the period of colonization.<sup>11</sup>

The terrain of the area surrounding Beaufort<sup>12</sup> was almost completely flat, the elevation ranging from sea level to thirty feet above sea level. Such flat terrain provided poor natural drainage, except near the rivers, sounds, and creeks which facilitated it. This was especially true for the less sandy soils which were dominant in the area. Those soils which were sandy enough to allow internal drainage were, in many cases poor in fertility. The result of these conditions was that most of the land, except for small areas of high, loamy soil located near the waterways, was poorly suited for cultivation. Though comparatively small in total acreage, there were numerous tracts of land along the edges of the waterways which were well suited for the production of a variety of crops.<sup>13</sup>

The early settlers in the Beaufort area found two main types of natural vegetation. On the tidal marsh, which was especially prevalent along the edges of North River, Newport River, Core Sound, and the sound side of the Outer Banks, and which constituted at least 20 per cent of of the area under consideration,<sup>14</sup> coarse marsh grasses and rushes were virtually the only type of vegetation. On the rest of the soils different types of pine trees were dominant. On the more sandy soils west of Beaufort long leaf pines were most numerous, while loblolly pines

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<sup>10</sup> See S. O. Perkins and others, *Soil Survey of Carteret County, North Carolina* (Washington, D. C.: 1938), pp. 3-4, hereinafter cited as Perkins, *Soil Survey*. See also Harry Roy Merrens, *Colonial North Carolina in the Eighteenth Century, A Study in Historical Geography* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: c. 1964), pp. 44-46, hereinafter cited as Merrens, *Colonial North Carolina*.

<sup>11</sup> For example, see "A Brief Description . . . of Carolina (1666)" in *American Colonial Documents to 1776*, edited by Merrill Jensen, Vol. IX of *English Historical Documents*, general editor, David C. Douglas (London: 1955), pp. 118-122.

<sup>12</sup> In this study the terms *area surrounding Beaufort*, and *Beaufort area* are intended to include all of that part of Carteret County that lies on Bogue Sound, Core Sound, Newport River, North River, and the creeks and bays draining into them. This designation is justified by the fact that, in the colonial period, the people living on these waterways were drawn to Beaufort politically, geographically, and economically.

<sup>13</sup> Perkins, *Soil Survey*, pp. 8-34. See also Merrens, *Colonial North Carolina*, pp. 37-49.

<sup>14</sup> Perkins, *Soil Survey*, p. 9, and the accompanying soil map.

dominated the less sandy soils. Both marsh grasses and pine trees were important to the economy of the area during the colonial period.

Another geographical feature which had an effect upon the life of colonial Beaufort was the presence of a very fine harbor at Cape Lookout located nine miles southeast of the town.<sup>15</sup> It was unique among North Carolina harbors in that it was located on the ocean side of the beach, and one did not have to navigate a treacherous bar in order to enter it. In 1756 Governor Arthur Dobbs reported that he had surveyed this harbor and that it had "27 [feet?] to 3 fathom water steep to the bank. . . ." He rather enthusiastically described this harbor as "the best and safest from Boston to the Capes of Florida, where a large squadron may lie as safe as in a mill pond. . . ."<sup>16</sup> This harbor attracted both friend and foe to the Beaufort area.

### Early Visits by European Explorers

The Beaufort area was situated almost in the path of the explorers of the North American mainland as they sailed up the coast after crossing the Atlantic Ocean in the lower latitudes. Consequently, many of these explorers came into contact with this area.

The first known European exploration of what is now the North Carolina coast north of Cape Fear was made by Giovanni da Verrazzano, a Florentine

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<sup>15</sup> See Appendix, Map VII: Channel From Back Sound to Lookout Bight, North Carolina. The waterway shown on this map connecting Back Sound to Lookout Bight did not exist in the colonial period.

<sup>16</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, V. 598.

navigator sailing for Francis I of France.<sup>17</sup> Early in 1524 he crossed the Atlantic Ocean and, in April, sighted the beach in 34 degrees N.L.<sup>18</sup> First he turned south, but, after sailing one hundred and fifty miles and finding no harbor, he returned to the site of his first landfall and started following the coast northward.<sup>19</sup> The exact location of many of the places which he observed as he sailed northward cannot be determined. However, some of the features of the coastline which he described and which were south of the section of the Outer Banks enclosing Pamlico Sound<sup>20</sup> bore a striking resemblance to those of the

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<sup>17</sup> The authenticity of Verrazzano's voyage was the subject of much controversy during the nineteenth century. In 1909, however, a contemporaneous text giving the account of Verrazzano's voyage was discovered in Italy which has outdated the former controversy. This text, with notes comparing other versions, was first published by Professor Alessandro Bacchiani of Rome in 1909. An English version of Bacchiani's work with an introduction by Edward Hagaman Hall is given in the *Fifteenth Annual Report of the American Scenic and Historical Preservation Society* (Albany, New York: 1910), pp. 134-226. After surveying the value of this text Bernard G. Hoffman, Professional Assistant in the Area Studies Program of the Foreign Science Information Program of the Office of Science Information of the National Science Foundation concludes that "the authenticity of the Verrazano voyage [is] sufficiently established for our purposes. . . ." Bernard G. Hoffman, *Cabot to Cartier, Sources for a Historical Ethnography of Northeastern North America 1497-1550* (Toronto: c. 1961), p. 108, hereinafter cited as Hoffman, *Cabot to Cartier*.

For the accuracy of Verrazzano's measurements of locations see William P. Cumming, *The Southeast in Early Maps* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: c. 1958), p. 68, hereinafter cited as Cumming, *Early Maps*. For his contact with the North Carolina coast see Cumming, *Early Maps*, p. 9. See also Hoffman, *Cabot to Cartier*, p. 112. Raleigh Ashlin Skelton, Superintendent of the Map Room of the British Museum, concluded: "in 1524, Verrazano navigated and charted the American coast from 34 degrees N., near Cape Fear, to Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. . . ." Raleigh Ashlin Skelton, *Explorers Maps, Chapters in the Cartographic Record of Geographical Discovery* (London: 1960), p. 82, hereinafter cited as Skelton, *Explorers Maps*.

<sup>18</sup> Thirty-four degrees north latitude extends approximately from Cape Fear to the north end of Core Sound. Cumming described this landfall as "probably near Cape Fear." Cumming, *Early Maps*, p. 9.

<sup>19</sup> Alessandro Bacchiani (ed.), "Giovanni da Verrazzano and His Discoveries in North America," trans. Edward Hagaman Hall, *Fifteenth Annual Report of the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society* (Albany, New York: 1910), pp. 180-181, hereinafter cited as Bacchiani, "Verrazzano," *American Scenic and Historical Society Report*.

<sup>20</sup> Verrazzano described these features in his account of a northbound voyage just prior to arriving at "an isthmus a mile in width and about 200 [miles] long, in which, from the ship, was seen the oriental sea between the west . . . and north." Bacchiani, "Verrazzano," *American Scenic and Historical Society Report*, p. 185. Modern scholarship has established that this illusion of the oriental sea was the result of Verrazzano's looking across the Outer Banks of North Carolina at Pamlico Sound. See Skelton, *Explorers Maps*, p. 82, and Cumming, *Early Maps*, p. 9.

Beaufort Area.<sup>21</sup> Spanish voyagers undoubtedly cruised along the North Carolina coast at an early date.<sup>22</sup> Nevertheless, there is no record of any visit other than that of Verrazzano until the voyages supported by Walter Raleigh beginning in 1584. The voyage of that year was under the command of Philip Amadas with Arthur Barlowe the second in command.<sup>23</sup> Assuming that they entered Pamlico Sound through Port Ferdinando, as Quinn argues,<sup>24</sup> they made their first landfall a few miles north of Cape Lookout along Core Banks.<sup>25</sup> They did not land in that area, though, nor did they describe what they saw from the ship except to say that they

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<sup>21</sup> Verrazzano's first description of the new land dealt with the physical features of the Indians whom he observed during his first visit to land, a visit occurring at the site of his landfall, that is, in 34 degrees N.L. His second description was of an area "not far . . ." from the first. Since he was moving northward, one may safely assume it was a few miles north of the first one. Of that area he commented: "The maritime shore is all covered with fine sand XV feet high, extending in the form of little hills about fifty paces wide." This description is suitable for most of the coastline in 34 degrees N.L. south of Beaufort Inlet. The third place he described was still farther north. There he observed "rivers and arms of the sea . . ." which entered the ocean "through some mouths. . . ." These "arms of the sea" or sounds, paralleled the shore on both sides of the "mouths," or inlets. Nearby these sounds was the "spacious land, so high that it exceeded the sandy shore, with many beautiful fields and plains, full of the largest forest. . . ." Laurels and cedars were prevalent, and he named one place "Forests of Laurels," and, a little farther, he named another "Field of Cedars." Although it does not describe an area south of there, this is an accurate description of the Bogue Inlet--Bear Inlet area located approximate twenty-five miles west of Beaufort Inlet. The mainland at these two inlets is very close to the beach and is higher than the beach. The waterways fit Verrazzano's description, and cedars are so prevalent just inside Bogue Inlet that one place has been given the name Cedar Point. Also, upon leaving there, Verrazzano reported that the coastline "turned to the east, . . ." a comment which is a very accurate description of the coastline east of Bogue Inlet. See Bacchiani, "Verrazzano," *American Scenic and Historic Society Report*, pp. 181-183.

Verrazzano next described the visit of a young sailor to the shore at a place where many Indians had gathered on the beach. The place was named *Annunciata*, and it was in connection with this location that Verrazzano first mentioned the "isthmus a mile in width and about 200 [miles] long, in which . . ." he unknowingly observed Pamlico Sound. See above, page 5, footnote 20. Cumming has described *Annunciata* as "apparently Cape Lookout" and the "isthmus" as Verrazzano's description of "the Carolina Outer Banks." Cumming, *Early Maps*, p. 9

<sup>22</sup> Barlowe, on his 1584 voyage to the coast of Carolina, was told of a shipwreck near the Indian town of Secoton which had occurred twenty-six years prior to that time and from which some of the crew had been saved. See "Arthur Barlowe's Discourse of the First Voyage," in David Beers Quinn, *The Roanoke Voyages 1584-1590* (London: 1955), I, 111, and Quinn's map at the end of volume II, hereinafter cited as "Discourse of the First Voyage," in Quinn, *The Roanoke Voyages*.

<sup>23</sup> Quinn, *The Roanoke Voyages*, I, 78-79.

<sup>24</sup> Quinn, *The Roanoke Voyages*, I, 94n. For the location of Port Ferdinando see Quinn's map at the end of volume II.

<sup>25</sup> Quinn locates their landfall "about midway between the modern Cape Lookout and Cape Hatteras along Core Banks." Quinn, *The Roanoke Voyages*, I, 94n. However, a close measurement of one hundred and twenty miles (the distance Barlowe reported they traveled after sighting land before finding an entrance through the beach) south from Port Ferdinando, as located on Quinn's map, places their landfall within ten miles of Cape Lookout.

could find no "entrance, or riuer issuing into the Sea."<sup>26</sup> Therefore, this visit added nothing to the knowledge of the Beaufort area in that period.

The second voyage of the Raleigh venture, that of the year 1585 under the command of Sir Richard Grenville, is of more interest to the student of Beaufort's history. On June 20, 1585, this expedition approached the coast of North America in about 27 degrees N.L.<sup>27</sup> Three days later, it passed Cape Fear<sup>28</sup> and, on June 24, a landing was made at the present site of Beaufort.<sup>29</sup> Before proceeding on their way to Wococon, an inlet south of the present Ocracoke Inlet,<sup>30</sup> the members of this expedition caught "in one tyde so much fishe as woulde haue yelded vs XX. pounds in London. . . ." <sup>31</sup>

Some of the members of the Grenville expedition made a second contact with the Core Sound area in connection with their exploration of Pamlico Sound between July 11 and 18. Probably on July 17, as their last excursion before returning to Wococon, they entered the northern end of Core Sound, and, though

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<sup>26</sup> "Discourse of the First Voyage," in Quinn, *The Roanoke Voyages*, I, 94. This statement by Barlowe, in the light of the harbor mentioned in the account of Sir Richard Grenville's voyage of 1585, indicates that they were not exploring the beach very closely. See "The Tiger Journal of the 1585 Voyage," in Quinn, *The Roanoke Voyages*, I, 188-189, hereinafter cited as "Journal of the 1585 Voyage," in Quinn, *The Roanoke Voyages*.

<sup>27</sup> Quinn, *The Roanoke Voyages*, I, 188n.

<sup>28</sup> Quinn, *The Roanoke Voyages*, I, 188n, 865, 868. Here Quinn points out that there was confusion concerning the names of the North Carolina capes during the early period of exploration. Cape Fear (*Promontorium tremendus*) on the De Bry version of White's map (See Appendix, Map I: White-De Bry Map of Raleigh's Virginia.), according to Quinn, was the modern Cape Lookout. He prefers, however, the modern Cape Fear as the "Cape of Feare" which the Grenville expedition passed on June 23, 1585.

<sup>29</sup> Proceeding on his assumption that they passed Caper Fear on the previous day (see above note 28), Quinn holds that "Beaufort Harbour is the most likely location . . ." for Grenville's first landing. Quinn, *The Roanoke Voyages*, I, 188n.

<sup>30</sup> See Quinn, *The Roanoke Voyages*, I, 189n; II, 867.

<sup>31</sup> "Journal of the 1585 Voyage," in Quinn, *The Roanoke Voyages*, I, 188.

they never navigated the full length of this sound, they learned of the existence of an Indian village called Warrea located a short distance west of Cape Lookout.<sup>32</sup>

No other contacts were made with the Beaufort area until 1590. In that year Raleigh gained permission from Queen Elizabeth for a small fleet to take supplies to his colony which had been planted at Roanoke Island in 1587. John White, the governor of the colony, who had returned to England for supplies in 1587 and had not been able to reach his colony again despite several abortive efforts, was a passenger on one of these ships. After spending most of the summer in privateering activities in the West Indies, two of the ships proceeded on to Roanoke Island only to find it deserted. On their way to Roanoke Island they encountered violent weather in the vicinity of Cape Lookout<sup>33</sup> which impeded their progress for approximately a week. On August 9, however, the storm ceased, and they went ashore near the north end of Core Banks in search for fresh water. White described this landing as being "in 35 degrees of latitude . . ." <sup>34</sup> and on "the narrow sandy Iland, being one of the Ilandes West of Wokokon. . . ." He described the sound

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<sup>32</sup> The basis for this visit to Core Sound is the existence of an anonymous sketch-map of the area around Pamlico and Albemarle sounds. For this sketch-map and notes on it see Quinn, *The Roanoke Voyages*, I, 215-217. Quinn assigns it to the year 1585 and comments concerning it: "it represents a rough note of the mapping done by White and Hariot in the first phases of discovery." Quinn, *The Roanoke Voyages*, II, 846-847. Only the northern extremity of Core Sound is shown, at which is inscribed, "this to Warrea." Commenting on this inscription, Quinn writes: "This records the entry of the boats into Core Sound as their last place of call before returning to Wococon on the 18th." Quinn, *The Roanoke Voyages*, I, 216.

That they could not have navigated the full length of Core Sound is shown by the fact that they did not leave Secoton on the Pamlico River until July 16 and were back at Wococon on July 18. "Journal of the 1585 Voyage," in Quinn, *The Roanoke Voyages*, I, 191. Taking into consideration their excursion into Neuse River (See Quinn, *The Roanoke Voyages*, I, 191n.), they did not have sufficient time for more than a brief visit to the northern end of Core Sound. This conclusion is supported by White's apparent lack of knowledge of the position of Core Sound with respect to that of Cape Lookout. His concept of the location of the two Indian villages which his map shows west of Cape Lookout most likely was acquired through his contacts with Indians in other areas. See Appendix, Map I: White-De Bry Map of Raleigh's Virginia. For a discussion of the location of these Indian villages in the Cape Lookout area see below p. 11.

<sup>33</sup> Their location at the time of the violent weather was in "34 degrees of latitude. . . ." "John White's Narrative of the 1590 Voyage to Virginia," in Quinn, *The Roanoke Voyages*, II, 608, hereinafter cited as "Narrative of the 1590 Voyage,"

<sup>34</sup>As Quinn has pointed out (Quinn, *The Roanoke Voyages*, II, 609n.), 35 degrees N.L. is too high, since that would have placed them on that part of the Outer Banks which enclosed Pamlico Sound; and White's description of the sound's being but a mile wide is not suitable for that area. The most narrow part of Core Sound is between the present site of Atlantic, North Carolina, and Core Banks, See Appendix, Map VIII: Waterway Connecting Pamlico Sd. & Beaufort Harbor, North Carolina. At the present time it is almost two miles wide at that point but probably was less than that in the sixteenth century. Its latitude is 34 degrees and 52 minutes N., and it is most likely the approximate location of the landing described by White. This would involve only a minor error in White's statement of their location.

which separated this island from the mainland as being "but a mile ouer and three or foure foote deepe in most places." White also reported that they caught a "great store . . ." of fish in the shallow waters of this sound.<sup>35</sup>

There is no record of another contact with the Beaufort area until settlers started moving into that area over one hundred years later.<sup>36</sup> From the records that have been reviewed above it may be concluded that by the end of the sixteenth century there was a rather general knowledge of the coastline of the Beaufort area as seen from the ocean. There was, however, very little specific knowledge of what lay behind that coastline.

### The Indian Inhabitants

The Indians who inhabited the Core Sound area<sup>37</sup> before the white settlers arrived were of the Coree tribe.<sup>38</sup> Most likely they were of the Iroquoian family, as were their more numerous Tuscarora neighbors.<sup>39</sup> Little is definitely known about this tribe . It may be assumed that they were once a

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<sup>35</sup> "Narrative of the 1590 Voyage," in Quinn, *The Roanoke Voyages*, II, 608-609.

<sup>36</sup> In 1602, Samuel Mace, who had been sent to America by Raleigh to search for his lost colony, spent a month about "fortie leagues to the South-westward of Hateraske, in 34 degrees or therabout. . . ." A more precise description of the location of this visit is not given. Samuel Purchas (ed.), *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes* (Glasgow: 1906), XVIII, 321.

<sup>37</sup> At the time of settlement, the designation *in Core Sound* was applied to all of the area surrounding the present site of Beaufort and was not restricted to the area that is now known as Core Sound. See Carteret Deed Books, Office of the Register of Deeds, Carteret County Courthouse, Beaufort, North Carolina, Deed Book A, 17 and *passim*, hereinafter cited as Carteret Deed Books; Beaufort County Deed Books, I, 129-130, and *passim*. See also, above, p. 1, footnote 1.

<sup>38</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 45. This tribe was also referred to as Coramine, Coranine, Connamox, Corennine, and Corenynee. See Harriss, *Lawson's History*, pp. 181, 212, 255; Clark, *State Records*, XXII, 735; and J.R. B. Hathaway (ed.), *North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Register*, II, (April, 1901), 204, hereinafter cited as Hathaway, *Genealogical Register*.

<sup>39</sup> See Quinn, *The Roanoke Voyages*, II, 872, in which the author cites Dr. John R. Swanton, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D. C., and the Rev. James A. Geary, Professor of Celtic Languages and Comparative Philology in the Catholic University of America, as authorities supporting this view of the linguistic affiliation of the Coree tribe. Also, Lawson related an incident of an Indian woman who had been brought "from beyond the Mountains, . . ." and who "spoke the same Language as the Coramine Indians, that dwell near Cape Lookout, allowing for some few Words, which were different, yet no otherwise than that they might understand one another well." Harriss, *Lawson's History*, pp. 180-181. It might properly be assumed that this woman was of the Cherokee tribe of the Iroquoian family, and that the similarity of her language with that of the Coree Indians was due to their belonging to the same linguistic group.

rather numerous group,<sup>40</sup> but by the time of the arrival of settlers into their area, their number had been reduced by intertribal conflicts<sup>41</sup> to the extent that John Lawson, surveyor-general of North Carolina, described them as having only twenty-five fighting men during the first decade of the eighteenth century.<sup>42</sup> An example of such a conflict is described by Lawson as follows:

The Machapungas Indians were invited to a Feast, by the Coranines; (which two had been a long time at War together, and had lately concluded a Peace.) Thereupon, the Machapunga Indians took the advantage of coming to the Coranine's Feast, which was to avoid all Suspicion, and their King, who, of a Savage, is a great Politician and very stout, ordered all his Men to carry their Tomakawks [sic] along with them hidden under their Match-Coats, which they did; and being acquainted when to fall on, by the word given, they all (upon this Design) set forward for the Feast, and came to the Coranine Town, where they had gotten Victuals, Fruits, and such things as make an Indian Entertainment, all ready to make these new Friends welcome, which they did; and, after Dinner, towards the Evening, (as it is customary amongst them) they went to Dancing, all together; so when the Machapunga King saw the best opportunity offer, he gave the Word, and his men pulled their tomahawks or hatchets from under their Match-Coats, and killed

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<sup>40</sup> This assumption is based on the enormous size of a shell mound located at the eastern tip of Harkers Island, North Carolina, near the site of one of the Coree villages. The mound has been described as follows:

"The mound is roughly circular in outline, one hundred yards or more in diameter. Its height rises to ten feet or more near the center. Considerable evacuation has been made. Five miles of road on the island have been paved with shells from the mound and many loads have been transported in barges to Hyde County for fertilizer. Clam and oyster shells predominate, with frequent occurrence of conch shells. The greater portion of the shells have been opened, and such shells as the conch have been broken, apparently for extraction of food. In addition to shells there are bones of fish, carapaces of turtles, etc. The layers are well defined, often marked by fire pits showing charcoal and ashes. On these levels are found broken pieces of clay pots, pebbles, and animal bones. Intermingled with the shells have been found also stone tools, arrowheads, and other artifacts of the Indians. Several skeletons of Indians have been found in the mound. With one was a necklace of animal teeth strung together. There are other mounds of shells in the vicinity, but the Harkers Island mound is probably the largest on the Carolina coast." Douglas LeTell Rights, *The American Indians in North Carolina* (Durham, North Carolina: 1947), p. 38, hereinafter cited as Rights, *Indians in North Carolina*.

This mound is now completely removed. See also Rights, *Indians in North Carolina*, p. 259, in which the author estimates that the Neuse and Coree Indians together had a total population of one thousand "at the time of the first contact with Europeans. . . ." See also above, page 6, footnote 21.

<sup>41</sup> Alonzo Thomas Dill, Jr., "Eighteenth Century New Bern, A History of the Town and Craven County, 1700-1800, Part I: Colonization of the Neuse," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXII (January, 1945), 5, hereinafter cited as Dill, "Eighteenth Century New Bern," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, followed by volume number, date, and page.

<sup>42</sup> Harriss, *Lawson's History* p. 255. The later activities of and numerous references to the Coree Indians indicate that Lawson underestimated their total strength.

several, and took the rest Prisoners, except some few that were not present. and about four or five that escaped. The Prisoners they sold Slaves to the English.<sup>43</sup>

Before white settlers entered their area, the Corees had two villages.<sup>44</sup> One of these was located on the north side of the Straits of Core Sound which separates Harkers Island from the mainland,<sup>45</sup> a location not more than seven miles east of the present site of Beaufort nor more than eight miles north of Cape Lookout.<sup>46</sup> The other village was located on the west side of Newport River, but the exact spot cannot be given.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Hariss, *Lawson's History*, p. 212.

<sup>44</sup> Harriss, *Lawson's History*, p. 255. See also Appendix, Map I: White-De Bry Map of Raleigh's Virginia which shows two Indian towns in what was Coree territory.

<sup>45</sup> In the early colonial period, Harkers Island was called Craney Island. See Appendix, Map III: Port Beaufort or Topsail Inlet. It was first patented by Farnifold Green, who, on January 25, 1708/09, sold it to William Brice. On the same day Brice sold it to Thomas Sparrow for ten pounds, just double the amount he had paid for it. Beaufort County Deed Books, I, 129-130. From Sparrow it was transferred to Thomas Pollock, who willed it to his son, George Pollock. In 1730 George Pollock sold it to Ebenezer Harker, from whom it took its present name. Carteret Deed Books, D, 120, 159-160.

<sup>46</sup> See Appendix, Map VIII: Waterway Connecting Pamlico Sound and Beaufort Harbor, North Carolina. A deed, dated 1733, for part of Craney Island (see above, footnote 45) described it as "an Island . . . bounded on the North by a narrow passage of water [the Straits of Core Sound] that divides it from the main land near Core Town. . . ." Carteret Deed Books, D, 159-160. Another deed dated 1754, for property "on the North side of the Straits in Core Sound . . ." further described that property as "beginning at a live oak near the Indian Foart upon the sound side. . . ." Carteret Deed Books, G, 122. Numerous deeds mention Indian fields in that immediate vicinity. For example, see Beaufort County Deed Books, I, 157. These deeds, along with the fact of the close proximity of the area to the large shell mound at Harkers Island (see above, page 10, footnote 40), as well as the fact that Lawson spoke of "the Coramine Indians, that dwell near Cape Lookout . . ." (*Lawson's History*, p. 181.), lead definitely to the conclusion that there was a Coree Indian village on the north side of the Straits of Core Sound. Quinn suggests a location west of the present site of Morehead City, North Carolina, for both of the Coree villages. Quinn, *The Roanoke Voyages*, II, 872. However, he is using as the basis for this suggestion the location of these two villages on the White-de Bry map which is drawn in such general terms for that particular area that it does not allow precise localization. See Appendix, Map I: White-de Bry Map of Raleigh's Virginia. See also Quinn, *The Roanoke Voyages*, II, 868. Quinn quite properly suggests this village might have been the one referred to as Warrea on an anonymous sketch-map made on Grenville's 1585 voyage to the North Carolina coast (see above, page 8, footnote 32) and which is unnamed on the White-de Bry map. Quinn, *The Roanoke Voyages*, II, 872, and Quinn's map at the end of volume II.

<sup>47</sup> A deed, dated 1725, describes the tract of land as follows: "a certain piece of land called ye Indian Town lying on ye west side of Newport River. . . ." Carteret Deed Books, C, 112. This, most likely, was the village named Cwareuuoc on the White-de Bry Map. See Appendix, Map I: White-De Bry Map of Raleigh's Virginia. See also Quinn, *The Roanoke Voyages*, II, 972. Lawson assigns the names Coranine and Raruta to these two villages. Harriss, *Lawson's History*, p. 255. This discrepancy might be accounted for by the lapse of time which occurred between White's contact with the area and Lawson's period.

The Coree Indians were quick to incur the wrath of the white man once the latter had started penetrating the outskirts of their territory. In 1703 the government of the colony declared them "to be public Enemies to all her Majesties Subjects. . . ." War was declared, and all means and methods were authorized for their destruction.<sup>48</sup> What precise activity on the part of these Indians had brought about such a drastic measure is not known.<sup>49</sup> Neither are the ultimate results of this measure definitely known. It might be assumed that a great majority of them were eventually forced to migrate inland since, in 1712, there was an Indian village called Core Town located on Neuse River about thirty miles above New Bern.<sup>50</sup> It might also be assumed that their participation in the Tuscarora War of 1711-1713 was their effort to take back the territory from which they had been forced, as well as an effort to get revenge for their former treatment.<sup>51</sup>

The Corees fought with determination during the Tuscarora War.<sup>52</sup> They were among the first to take up arms and among the last to lay them down. In fact, it was Core Tom, the chief of the Coree village who, when Christoph von Graffenried and Lawson had been released by the Tuscarora, started the argument

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<sup>48</sup> Hathaway, *Genealogical Register*, II, (April, 1901), 204

<sup>49</sup> An interesting account of the activities of two of the Coree Indians is revealed in a report made to the governor of the colony prior to the outbreak of the Tuscarora War in 1711. This activity involved John Fulford, an early resident of the Core Sound area, and two other men, all of whom were fishing at Drum Inlet located in Coree territory. The report states that while these men were asleep "there came two Indians as they found nex morning by there Track: on the Sand: They took with them one Matt: Two fishing lines: & one blanckett & one broad axe: & one stuff West: & two pr of Linned Drawes: & the Majert part of there provision." Hathaway, *Genealogical Register*, II (April, 1901), 437-438. Though this report is not dated it is listed by Hathaway among "Items Relating to the Indian Troubles Out of Which came the Indian War of 1711-12" and is preceded by a document dated 1704.

<sup>50</sup> See Saunders, *Colonial Records*, I, 878, 882, 954: II, 316-317. The present town of Fort Barnwell is located at the site of this Indian village called Core Town. Its present name is derived from Colonel John Barnwell of South Carolina who built a fort there during his campaign against the Tuscarora Indians in 1712. Herbert Richard Paschal, Jr., "The Tuscarora Indians in North Carolina" (unpublished Master's thesis, The University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1953), p. 82, hereinafter cited as Paschal, "The Tuscarora Indians."

<sup>51</sup> Lawson described the Carolina Indians as being "very revengeful and never forget an Injury done, till they have received Satisfaction." Harriss, *Lawson's History*, p. 212. On the day after Lawson's execution, Christoph von Graffenried, the founder of New Bern, North Carolina, was informed that the Indians were going to make war on North Carolina, "and that they were especially embittered against the people on the Rivers Pamtego, New [Neuse], Trent, and Cor Sound." Saunders, *Colonial Records*, I, 933.

<sup>52</sup> For a thorough discussion of this war see Paschal, "The Tuscarora Indians."

with Lawson which led to the latter's death.<sup>53</sup> This was followed by the eventful attack on the morning of September 22, 1711, in which the Corees joined the Tuscarora in massacring one hundred and thirty people "at the head of the Neus, and on the south side of Pamptaco rivers. . . ."<sup>54</sup> After the capture of Core Town by Colonial John Barnwell and his South Carolina forces early in 1712,<sup>55</sup> a few of the Corees appeared in the Core Sound area,<sup>56</sup> and troops had to be stationed there for protection against them.<sup>57</sup> The Tuscarora Indians gave up the fight in March, 1713,<sup>58</sup> but the Corees continued. In April, 1713, they joined forces with the Machapunga Indians,<sup>59</sup> and both groups hid in the swamps of the Alligator River and started raiding the surrounding settlements.<sup>60</sup> These raids continued until February, 1715, at which time a peace was concluded, according to the terms of which "the Corees and other . . . Enemy Indians . . ." were to settle at Lake Mattamuskeet under the watchful eye of an agent who was to live there with them.<sup>61</sup> This arrangement did not endure, though, because before the summer was over the Corees had revolted and wounded a certain Robert Shreive. Once again the sentence of death was placed upon them,<sup>62</sup> but, as before, the actual outcome is unknown. That some punitive action was taken is made clear by the fact that in November 1715, the lower house of the government of the colony filed a protest

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<sup>53</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, I, 928-929.

<sup>54</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, I, 827.

<sup>55</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, I, 954.

<sup>56</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 45. These might have been living there all the time, since there is no definite evidence that they had all moved from the area.

<sup>57</sup> On June 2, 1712, the colonial government ordered that twenty men be sent in two boats to patrol Pamlico and Core sounds "in order to Supress a party of Indyans which we are Informed doe harbor in and about those Sounds." Saunders, *Colonial Records*, I, 852. Before the end of 1712, there was a garrison stationed at a certain Shackleford's plantation. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 2. The Shacklefords lived in the area near the present site of Beaufort. See below, p. 17.

<sup>58</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 27.

<sup>59</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 39.

<sup>60</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 45.

<sup>61</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 168.

<sup>62</sup> Upon the Governor's recommendation, the Council considered the revolt of the Coree Indians and declared it to be their opinion that these Indians had violated the terms of the peace made with them and "that proper measures may and ought to be taken for the Entire Destruction of ye Said nation of Indians as if there had never been a peace made with them. . . ." Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 200.

against the "Late Ill Treatment of ye Coree Indians . . ." and declared it likely to bring about a war with the Indians.<sup>63</sup> It cannot be maintained, however, that they were completely destroyed as a result of this death sentence, even though their name as a tribe disappears from the records at this point. In 1718 one of four garrisons created for the purpose of "destroying the Enemy Indians . . ." was stationed at Core Sound,<sup>64</sup> and by 1720, an Indian slave had been sold at that location.<sup>65</sup> Even as late as the sixth decade of the eighteenth century Indians were living in the Beaufort area. By that time, however, their status had changed from that of an enemy to an object of charity.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 243.

<sup>64</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 308-309.

<sup>65</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 379.

<sup>66</sup> Between 1760 and 1768 at least three Indians received aid from the Church Wardens of St. John's Parish. Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, Beaufort, 1742-1843, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina, I, 40, 42,, 53, hereinafter cited a Vestry Books of St. John's Parish.

## CHAPTER II

### INITIAL SETTLEMENT AND THE BIRTH OF THE TOWN

#### The Movement of the Frontier Southward

Though the first attempts to plant an English colony in America took place in North Carolina as early as 1585, it was three-quarters of a century before the first permanent settlers came into the colony. When they did come, they came from Virginia rather than directly from England or the European continent. Just when these first permanent settlers entered what is now North Carolina has not been established. By 1660, however, there were settlers in the Albemarle Sound area. After these first settlers arrived, there was, according to R. D. W. Connor, "no cessation in the slow but steady flow of settlers into the Albemarle region."<sup>1</sup> On March 24, 1663, Charles II of England granted a charter for a part of the new world which ultimately included this new settlement on Albemarle Sound to eight prominent Englishmen who had supported his restoration. By October of the next year the Lords Proprietors, as these eight men became known, had incorporated this settlement as the County of Albemarle in the Province of Carolina.

In 1676 the Lords Proprietors, in an effort to encourage the expansion of settlement south of the Albemarle Sound area, extended the jurisdiction of the Governor of Albemarle County to include "such settlements as shall be made upon the rivers Pamlico and Newse. . . ."<sup>2</sup> By 1696 this new part of the colony was receiving enough attention and settlement to merit the establishment of the County of Bath, which included the Pamlico and the Neuse areas.<sup>3</sup> In 1705 the governor and his council, noting that this county had grown populous and was daily increasing, divided it into three precincts, each of which was to be allowed to send two representatives to the General Assembly. One of these precincts, Archdale, included "all the south side of said [Pamlico] river, and . . . all the

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<sup>1</sup> R. D. W. Connor, *The Colonial and Revolutionary Periods, 1584-1783*. Volume I of *History of North Carolina*, edited by R. D. W. Connor, William K. Boyd, J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, and Others (Chicago and New York, 1919), 24.

<sup>2</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, I, 232-233.

<sup>3</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, I, 472.

Inhabitants of Newse."<sup>4</sup> By 1712 the name of this precinct had been changed to Craven.<sup>5</sup>

It was not more than four years after Bath County had been created in 1696 that settlement reached the north banks of the Neuse River. Alonzo Thomas Dill, Jr., in his article, "Eighteenth Century New Bern," argues quite convincingly that "the colonization of this river must be placed back in the opening year of the eighteenth century and not inconceivably in the last of the 1690s."<sup>6</sup> The Neuse River settlement grew steadily; and by about 1706 settlers had moved from its north bank, the first area settled, and were making their homes on its southern shores.<sup>7</sup>

Within two or three years after the Neuse had been crossed settlers had moved still further southward to the shores of North River and Newport River, both of which flowed into what was then considered a part of Core Sound. The settlement which developed in that area was described as being "in Core Sound"; and, though it was not a part of the Neuse River settlement, it was included within the boundaries of Craven Precinct.<sup>8</sup>

### Initial Settlement in the Core Sound Area

Farnifold Green was the first to obtain a patent for land "in Core Sound." This patent was granted on December 20, 1707;<sup>9</sup> and although Green did not live in the Core Sound area,<sup>10</sup> settlers were not long in coming. In 1708 John Nelson

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<sup>4</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, I, 629.

<sup>5</sup> David Leroy Corbitt, *The Formation of the North Carolina Counties, 1663-1943* (Raleigh: 1950), p. 74, hereinafter cited as Corbitt, *The North Carolina Counties*.

<sup>6</sup> Dill, "Eighteenth Century New Bern," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXII (January, 1945), 9.

<sup>7</sup> Dill, "Eighteenth Century New Bern," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXII (January, 1945), 13-14. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, I, XI. These home-sites were in what later became Carteret Precinct, the precinct in which Beaufort was eventually located. However, they cannot be considered as part of the settlement that gave birth to Beaufort. Being situated on Neuse River, they were throughout the colonial period more closely connected with that river and with New Bern than with Beaufort.

<sup>8</sup> This area remained a part of Craven Precinct until 1722. See below, pp. 25-26.

<sup>9</sup> The year 1707 is not given, but the patent was recorded in the secretary's office on January 7, 1708, indicating that the date of issue, December 20, was in 1707. Craven County Will Books, Office of the Clerk of Court, Craven County Courthouse, New Bern, North Carolina, A, 10, hereinafter cited as Craven Will Books.

<sup>10</sup> Dill assigns Green to the area around Lower Broad Creek on the north side of Neuse River. Dill, "Eighteenth Century New Bern," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXII (January, 1945), 8.

was granted a patent for two hundred and sixty acres of land "in Core Sound on the north side of North River,"<sup>11</sup> and from that time on he was closely connected with that immediate area.<sup>12</sup> Francis and John Shackelford moved into the area from Essex County, Virginia, sometime after 1705.<sup>13</sup> Francis Shackelford became active in the affairs of the Core Sound area by 1708,<sup>14</sup> as did his brother, John Shackelford, by 1709.<sup>15</sup> Both of these men received numerous patents before 1713<sup>16</sup> and settled on the west side of North River about four miles northeast of the present site of Beaufort.<sup>17</sup> Other names connected with the Core Sound settlement prior to the fall of 1713 were John Fulford, Robert Turner, James Keith, William

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<sup>11</sup> Beaufort County Deed Books, I, 158.

<sup>12</sup> John Nelson was named as one of the first commissioners for the town of Beaufort and a member of the first vestry of St. John's Parish of the town. Clark, *State Records*, XXV, 206-209. He was also a Justice of the Peace for Carteret Precinct in 1722, 1724, and 1728. Minutes of the Carteret County Court of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions, 1723-1789, 4 volumes, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina, I, 3, 20-21, hereinafter cited as Carteret Court Minutes; Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 459, 526.

The exact site of Nelson's residence is not known. There is no indication that he lived on the tract on North River, since he sold it slightly more than a year after its purchase. Beaufort County Deed Books, I, 157. He owned land near the south bank of Neuse River, and a deed of 1708 referred to him and his wife, Anne, as being of Neuse River. Beaufort County Deed Books, I, 116, 160. Dill maintains, however, that "This does not preclude the likelihood of their being in Core Sound at this time, for the designation 'of Neuse' was often used loosely." Dill, "Eighteenth Century New Bern, *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXII (January, 1945), 14n. The body of water that separates the present-day Carteret County communities of Stacey and Sealevel is named Nelson Bay. See Appendix: Map VIII, Waterway Connecting Pamlico Sd. & Beaufort Harbor, North Carolina.

<sup>13</sup> Francis Shackelford received patents for land in Essex County, Virginia, in 1705. Land Grant Records of Virginia, Virginia State Library, Richmond, Land Grant Books, IX, 695, 712.

<sup>14</sup> On October 30, 1708, Francis Shackelford and Francis Dawson were witnesses to the transfer of a tract of land which later became the site of Beaufort from Peter Wordin to Farnifold Green. Beaufort County Deed Books, I, 109.

<sup>15</sup> John Shackelford patented land on Newport River on November 14, 1709. Carteret Deed Books, D, 100-103. For the fact that John Shackelford was the brother of Francis Shackelford see Blanch Humphrey Abee, *Colonists of Carolina in the Lineage of Hon. W. D. Humphrey*, (Richmond, Virginia: 1938), p.82

<sup>16</sup> Carteret Deed Books, A, 1; B, 50-51; D, 100-103. Beaufort County Deed Books, I, 225. Carteret County Records, Grants, 1717-1724, Book D, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina, 2, 5-6, hereinafter cited as Carteret Grant Books.

<sup>17</sup> See Appendix, Map III: Port Beaufort or Topsail Inlet, for the site of Shackelford's residence. The tract of land to which this map assigns Shackelford was first surveyed for Francis Shackelford prior to 1713, but his title for it lapsed. John Shackelford obtained a title for it on January 15, 1713/14. Carteret Deed Books, D, 5-6.

Bartram,<sup>18</sup> Peter Wordin, Thomas Blanton, Thomas Lepper, Thomas Sparrow, Lewis Johnson, Richard Graves, Christopher Dawson, Enoch Ward, Thomas Cary, and Thomas Kailoe.<sup>19</sup> Some of these, notably Cary and Lepper, lived elsewhere and were only speculating in Land.<sup>20</sup> Fulford, Ward, and Turner, though, were definitely Core Sound residents during that period.<sup>21</sup>

Indications are that the Core Sound settlement had taken on at least some significance before 1713. A notation on Christoph von Graffenried's map of New Bern in 1710 described Core Sound as being populated almost entirely by Englishmen, who furnished seafood of all kinds to the settlers.<sup>22</sup> In 1712 a certain ship's master was reported to the customs officials for carrying on illicit trade with the "Inhabitable part of . . . Core Sound."<sup>23</sup> That trade with that area had developed by that time is suggested by the fact that in 1712 Captain Edward Adlard owned a

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<sup>18</sup> The William Bartram herein mentioned was the uncle of the more famous William Bartram, the naturalist. See William Bartram, *The Travels of William Bartram, Edited with Commentary and an Annotated Index by Francis Harper* (New Haven: 1958), xvii, xix, 445. After 1735 the elder William Bartram lived near the Cape Fear River in Bladen County. See Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IV, 51-52, 58, 494. The place where he lived prior to that time is unknown, but the records indicate that his home was on Bogue Sound. Prior to 1713 he had patented at least two tracts of land in that area, and by 1713 a creek flowing into Bogue Sound through one of these tracts was called Bartram's Creek. Carteret Deed Books, A, 18-20.

<sup>19</sup> John Fulford: Minutes of the Craven County Court of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions, 1712-1715, Book I, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina, 1, hereinafter cited as Craven Court Minutes. Robert Turner: Craven Will Books, A, 11. James Keith: Beaufort County Deed Books, I, 158. William Bartram: Carteret Deed Books, A, 18-20. Peter Wordin: Beaufort County Deed Books, I, 108-109. Thomas Blanton: Carteret Grant Books, D, 5-6. Thomas Lepper: Craven Will Books, A, 27-28. Thomas Sparrow: Beaufort County Deed Books, I, 129-130. Lewis Johnson: Carteret Deed Books, A, 31. Richard Graves: Carteret Deed Books, A, 25. Christopher Dawson: Carteret Grant Books, D, 27-28. Thomas Cary: Carteret Deed Books, A, 17. Thomas Kailoe: Carteret Deed Books, A, 28-29,

<sup>20</sup> Cary lived on Pamlico River. Dill, "Eighteenth Century New Bern," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXII (July 1945), 297. Lepper lived on Adam's Creek on the south side of Neuse River. Dill, "Eighteenth Century New Bern," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXII (January, 1945), 13-14.

<sup>21</sup> Fulford lived near "the Strait of Core Cound. . . ." Craven Court Minutes, I, 1. Both Ward and Turner gave their names to creeks that bordered land bought by them in that period, and from then on they were prominent in the affairs of the area. Ward: Craven Will Books, A, 3, 27-28, Turner: Craven Will Books, A, 11. Dawson, Keith, and Bartram might also have been residents there before 1713, since they also gave their names to creeks in that area. Dawson: Carteret Deed Books, A, 1. Keith: Beaufort County Deed Books, I, 158, 179-180. Bartram: see above, this page, footnote 18 and 19.

<sup>22</sup> Alonzo Thomas Dill, Jr., *Governor Tryon and His Palace* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: c. 1955), opposite page 32,

<sup>23</sup> Craven Court Minutes, I, 1.

sloop named the *Core Sound Merchant*.<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, in 1712 in the midst of the Tuscarora War the General Assembly ordered that a garrison be stationed at Core Sound.<sup>25</sup> The purpose of this garrison, so Governor Thomas Pollock declared in 1713, was "to guard the people there from some few of the Coree [Indians] that lurk thereabouts. . . ." <sup>26</sup>

### The Founding of Beaufort

As soon as settlers moved into the Core Sound area, the potential of the future site of Beaufort as a port was recognized. On December 20, 1707, Farnifold Green obtained a patent for seven hundred and eighty acres of land which included the future site of Beaufort. The grant consisted of the south end of the peninsula extending between North River and Newport River and lying just two miles north of the point where Topsail Inlet provided a deep-water passageway through the barrier of the Outer Banks.<sup>27</sup> One month later, on January 21, 1708, Peter Wordin, then of Pamlico River,<sup>28</sup> secured a patent for six hundred and forty acres on the west side of North River, part of which was included in Green's patent.<sup>29</sup> By October of that year Wordin recognized Green's ownership, and on October 30, 1708, he cleared Green's title by giving him a deed for "one certain Messuage or tenement of Land situated lying and being on the South side of North River, near the Point of Land called Newport Town. . . ." <sup>30</sup> The application of the name *Newport Town* to this site at such an early date is evidence that its potential as a

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<sup>24</sup> From a document reprinted in Francis L. Hawks, *History of North Carolina from 1663 to 1727* (Fayetteville, North Carolina: 1858), II, 394, hereinafter cited as Hawks, *History of North Carolina*.

<sup>25</sup> This garrison was stationed at Shackleford's plantation near the present site of Beaufort. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 2. See also above p.13.

<sup>26</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 45.

<sup>27</sup> Craven Will Books, A, 10. See Appendix, Map VI: Beaufort Harbor, North Carolina.

<sup>28</sup> Beaufort County Deed Books, I, 110.

<sup>29</sup> Beaufort County Deed Books, I, 108.

<sup>30</sup> Beaufort County Deed Books, I, 109.

port was fully recognized.<sup>31</sup> Further evidence of this recognition is found in the fact that the patents granted to Green and Wordin were the first to be recorded for land in the Core Sound area. That they both desired that particular site above other available sites in the area shows that they were aware of its potential. That their evaluation of this potential was justified is shown by the fact that by 1712 trade with the Core Sound area was moving through Topsail Inlet,<sup>32</sup> and by the midsummer of 1713 Robert Turner had purchased the Green tract and had established himself as a merchant at that location.<sup>33</sup>

Possibly the Tuscarora War of 1711-1713 delayed the establishment of a town within Topsail Inlet. It is significant that within seven months after the power of the Tuscarora Indians had been broken in March, 1713, a town had been laid out on the southwest corner of the tract of land which Farnifold Green had obtained in 1707. Sometime prior to the fall of 1713, permission had been obtained from the Lords Proprietors to lay out a town by the name of Beaufort at this site;<sup>34</sup> and on October 2, 1713, Robert Turner had Richard Graves, deputy surveyor, lay out the town. A plat was made of the town by Graves and recorded in the office of the

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<sup>31</sup> There is no indication that a town actually existed at the present site of Beaufort in 1708. Neither is there any record of settlement at that site at that time. In fact, the statement in the deed which Wordin gave to Green in January, 1708 (see above), that the land in question was "to be ordered and occupied as he [Green] shall think fit . . ." seems to indicate that it was not occupied in 1708. Thus the application of the name *Newport Town* to that site in 1708 can only represent the expectations of these investors. That the practice of referring to it as a town continued, however, is shown by a deed of July, 1713, which described the land just north of it as "the Town Neck." Craven Will Books, A, 11.

<sup>32</sup> Craven Court Minutes, I, 1.

<sup>33</sup> On July 18, 1713, Turner purchased all of the seven hundred and eighty acre tract which Green had patented in 1707. Craven Will Books, A, 10-11. A creek bounding this property was soon given the name Turner's Creek, indicating that he lived on it. Craven Will Books, A, 10, 11, 13. The deeds for lots in the town of Beaufort which Turner granted after October 2, 1713, described him as a merchant of Craven Precinct. For example, see Carteret Deed Books, D, 91-92.

<sup>34</sup> The circumstances surrounding the procurement of such permission from the Lords Proprietors are not known. That such permission was obtained, though, is stated in all of the deeds issued for lots in Beaufort before 1723. It is stated in these deeds that the town was laid out "by the permission of the Lords Proprietors intended for a township by the name of Beaufort." For example, see Carteret Deed Books, D, 91-92.

secretary of the colony.<sup>35</sup> Streets were named, allotments were provided for a church, a townhouse, and a market place,<sup>36</sup> and lots were offered for sale. In short, on that date, October 2, 1713, Beaufort came into existence. Though minor alterations were made throughout the colonial period, the main characteristics of the plan of the town never changed. Even today the name of the town itself and the names of its principal streets reflect the year 1713. The name Beaufort came from Henry Duke of Beaufort, one of the Lords Proprietors who in 1711 had been elevated to the position of Palatine of Carolina, the chief position among the Proprietors. Turner Street obtained its name from Robert Turner, the father of the town. Moore Street was probably named for Colonel James Moore, who seven months before had brought an end to the Tuscarora War. Pollock Street was named for Thomas Pollock, who was Acting Governor of the Colony from 1712 to 1714. Both Queen and Ann streets were in honor of the reigning monarch of England, while Orange Street honored the memory of William III of Orange, who had preceded Queen Anne on the English throne. Craven Street was in honor of William Lord Craven,<sup>37</sup> another of the Lords Proprietors.<sup>38</sup> All of these names were included in the plan of 1713.<sup>39</sup>

### The Incorporation of the Town

Though the town of Beaufort was laid out in 1713 with the permission of the Lords Proprietors, it was not officially incorporated by the colonial government

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<sup>35</sup> The date of and the men and circumstances connected with the laying out of the town are mentioned in all deeds for lots in Beaufort issued before 1723, See Carteret Deed Books, D, 91-92, and *passim*.

Most likely the plat of the town made by Graves in 1713 is the one reproduced in the Appendix of this study as Map II: Plan of Beaufort. The original of this plat is in the Secretary of State's Papers, Land Patent Book No. 7 (1707-1740), State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina. As is shown by early deeds for lots in Beaufort, that is where Graves recorded the plat which he made of the town. It definitely dates before 1725 because before that year a new section had been added to the town which is not included on this plat. See below, pp. 28-29.

<sup>36</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXV, 206.

<sup>37</sup> For the distinction between William Ear of Craven and William Lord Craven see Dill, "Eighteenth Century New Bern," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXII (January, 1945), 6n.

<sup>38</sup> For the significance of some of the names of Beaufort's streets, the author is indebted to "A Brochure Sponsored by The Woman;s Club of the Old Port of Beaufort" in the papers of the late F. C. Salisbury, Morehead City, North Carolina.

<sup>39</sup> See Appendix, Map II: Plan of Beaufort.

until ten years later.<sup>40</sup> The act of the General Assembly of November 23, 1723,<sup>41</sup> which incorporated the town was based upon two considerations. The first was the fact that the town had already been laid out and established.<sup>42</sup> The second was that the Lords Proprietors, upon the petition of the inhabitants of Core Sound, had "erected the same, into a Seaport, by the Name of Port-Beaufort . . ." and had invested the same with all privileges and immunities belonging to a seaport.<sup>43</sup> The act of incorporation itself set up certain guides to the development of the town. For instance, the plan of the town was to be enlarged so as to include two hundred acres. Those lots already sold were to be reserved to their owners; the places laid out for a church, a townhouse, and a marketplace were to also be reserved. The rest of the land was to be divided into half-acre lots and sold for thirty shillings each with the provision that the buyer must build a house not less than fifteen by twenty feet within two years after his purchase. If this condition were not met, the title for the lot was to lapse; and it was to be resold at the same price. Of the thirty shillings received for the first sale of these lots, twenty were to go to the owner of the town land, and the rest was to be used for purchasing great guns and fortifying the town. The money received for the resale of lots which lapsed was to be used for the building of a church and for such other uses as the church wardens and the vestry should think fit. To insure that the town would be a suitable place to live, the act of incorporation also stipulated that all lots were to be cleared, that all streets were to be at least sixty-six feet wide, that all nuisances were to be removed from the town, and that no lot was to be enclosed by "a common Stake Fence; but . . . either paled in, or done with Posts and Rails set up." Furthermore, anyone caught quarreling or fighting in the town was to pay a fine of ten shillings, or spend twenty-four hours in the common jail, or sit in the stocks two hours. To encourage the settlement of the town this act provided that all business affairs of the precinct be carried on there. For the same purpose, it seems, it also stipulated that all liquor made in the precinct could be retailed in the town without a license by any inhabitant of the town. To look after the affairs of the town five commissioners were appointed who, together with the justices of the precinct court, were given the

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<sup>40</sup> This lapse of time is explained by the fact that the permission granted by the Lords Proprietors in or prior to 1713 (see above p. 21, footnote 34.) had only authorized the laying out of a tract of land "intended for a township by the name of Beaufort."

<sup>41</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 334.

<sup>42</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXV, 206.

<sup>43</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXV, 206. See below p. 25.

authority to fill any vacancy that might occur among their number because of death. These commissioners were Richard Rustull, Christopher Gale, John Nelson, Joseph Bell, and Richard Bell.<sup>44</sup>

Thus, by the end of 1723, the town of Beaufort was firmly established. However, as has been shown before, its existence as a town goes back to the year 1713. This fact places Beaufort among the very oldest of the towns of North Carolina.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXV, 206-209.

<sup>45</sup> Bath, North Carolina's first town, was founded in 1705. C. Wingate Reed, *Beaufort County, Two Centuries of History* (Raleigh, North Carolina, 1960), p. 44, hereinafter cited as Reed, *Beaufort County*.

New Bern was founded in 1710. Dill, "Eighteenth Century New Bern," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXII (April, 1945), 160-168.

According to a deed dated August 12, 1714, for two lots in what later became Edenton, the procedure which led to the establishment of that town started in November, 1712, when the Assembly passed an act entitled "an Act to Promote ye building a Court House & house to house to hold [*sic.*] ye Assembly in, at ye fork of Queen Ann's Creek . . . in Chowan Precinct. . . ." Among other things, this act of 1712 empowered Nathaniel Chevin and Thomas Peterson to lay out and sell one-half acre lots to such persons "as shall be willing to build at the afsd [aforesaid] fork of Queen Ann's Creek. . . ." Chowan Deed Books, Office of the Register of Deeds, Chowan County Courthouse, Edenton, North Carolina, Deed Book B, No. 1, 38-39. The deed of 1714 cited above appears to be the earliest extant record of the sale of a lot at that site. (Hathaway contends that the authorization of Chavin and Peterson to sell lots at this site was not granted until 1714. Hathaway, *Genealogical Register*, III, 143.) By November, 1718, the courthouse provided for in the above mentioned act was in use. See Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 314. Within two weeks after Governor Charles Eden's death on March 26, 1722, the town which had been laid out at the fork of Queen Ann's Creek was officially named Edenton. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, compare pages 446, 449, 450.

## CHAPTER III

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF BEAUFORT AS A COLONIAL TOWN

#### The First Twenty Years

Robert Turner, the founder of Beaufort, made a good beginning in promoting the sale of lots in the town. In the three months that remained in 1713 after the town was founded on October 2, he sold at least twenty-eight lots to fourteen different investors.<sup>1</sup> Nineteen of these were waterfront lots, nearly one half of the number of such lots available. The normal price of these lots was twenty shillings current money each, but Colonel James Moore of Tuscarora War fame paid seven pounds for the four lots which he purchased at the extreme western end of what is now Front Street.<sup>2</sup>

These early indications of Beaufort's growth and development, however, were more apparent than real, for few, if any, of the first purchasers made their homes in the town.<sup>3</sup> This, no doubt, gave Turner some concern, and in April, 1714, he started adding to his sale contracts the provision that a house not less than twenty feet by fifteen feet must be constructed on each lot within one year after the purchase date in order to keep the contract in force.<sup>4</sup> This stipulation did not help

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<sup>1</sup> Carteret Deed Books, A, 65; D, 121, 277-278. Craven Will Books, A, 13-20, 23. Other town founded in North Carolina experienced the same early burst of enthusiasm in the sale of lots. However, as in the case of Beaufort, the enthusiasm soon subsided.

<sup>2</sup> Craven Will Books, A, 18.

<sup>3</sup> A number of these investors definitely lived elsewhere. For example, John Clark and Thomas Harding were listed as vestrymen of St. Thomas Parish at Bath in 1715. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 209. Jacob Miller was one of the Palatines who settled in New Bern in 1710. Dill, "Eighteenth Century New Bern," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXII (October, 1945), 462. Colonel James Moore returned to South Carolina after the Tuscarora War. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 257. Though Maurice Moore represented Carteret Precinct in the Assembly in 1726, he was described as "of Chowan Precinct . . . in 1719. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 608, 316. Furthermore, all of the lots purchased at that time, with the exception of lots No. 4, 16, 17, 18, 52, and 62, were later sold by the town commissioners with the stipulation that a house must be built in a prescribed length of time, a fact indicating that their first owners had not built on them, Carteret Deed Books, A, D, G, H, I, *passim*. Lots No. 16, 17, 18, 52, and 62 were owned by Christopher Gale, and they had houses on them when he sold them in 1732. Carteret Deed Books, D, 121, Gale, however, lived at Bath at the time of the founding of Beaufort. Reed, *Beaufort County*, pp. 26-27. Lot No. 4 was first owned by Thomas Roper, but he too seems to have lived in the area around Bath at that time. See Beaufort County Deed Books I, 143, 193. These considerations do not preclude the fact, however, that Beaufort received settlers in this period, because the records for the sale of lots in the town are incomplete and settlers might have purchased lots without having their deeds recorded. That this did occur on occasion is made abundantly evident by the existing records.

<sup>4</sup> Craven Will Books, A, 28-32. The law of 1723 which incorporated the town lengthened this time requirement to two years.

the general situation, though, as shown by the fact that the sales of only five lots were recorded in that year, all of which lapsed at the specified time because the terms of the above provision were not fulfilled.<sup>5</sup> The only deeds recorded in 1715 were those of John Royal, a mariner from Boston, who purchased six lots in January of that year.<sup>6</sup>

Probably quite discouraged, Turner soon moved to the Pamlico River area; and on October 19, 1720, he saved his investment in Beaufort by selling the seven hundred and eighty acres which included the town lands to Richard Rustull of Craven Precinct for one hundred and fifty pounds sterling.<sup>7</sup> The best indication that one has of the size of Beaufort during that period is found in connection with a visit made by the pirates, Edward Teach and Stede Bonnet, to Beaufort harbor in 1718. Charles Johnson, who described this visit in his *History of the Pirates*, spoke of a "poor little village at the upper end of the harbour. . . ."<sup>8</sup> Undoubtedly, this little village was Beaufort.

Richard Rustull owned the town of Beaufort only five years. In that five years a number of events occurred which were important in the life of the town. On April 4, 1722, the Governor and his Council, meeting in Edenton, confirmed an order from the Lords Proprietors "Constituting and appointing the Town of Beaufort a port for the unloading and discharging Vessells. . . ."<sup>9</sup> This officially made Beaufort one of North Carolina's gateways to the rest of the world and added to the town's potential for growth.

About the same time another event was in the making. The inhabitants of the Core Sound area were preparing a petition through which they hoped to gain for their area the status of a precinct. They based their plea upon the fact that the Lords Proprietors had made Core Sound a port, that "several persons" had settled there and more were expected, and that it was a great hardship, especially in bad

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<sup>5</sup> Craven Will Books, A, 28-32. For the fact that these lots lapsed see Carteret Deed Books, A, 34; D, 4, 28; H, 329-330, 357.

<sup>6</sup> Craven Will Books, A, 48-51.

<sup>7</sup> Carteret Deed Books, B, 42-44. The exact date of Turner's removal to the Pamlico River area is unknown. That it occurred before he sold the town lands in October, 1720, is shown by the record of that transaction, in which he is described as "of the Precinct of Beaufort in the County of Bath." Numerous later references also connect him with the Pamlico River area. For example, see Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 638; III, 3, 244, 537.

<sup>8</sup> Charles Johnson, *A General History of the Robberies and Murders of the Most Notorious Pirates*, edited by Arthur L. Hayward (London: 1955, first published in 1724), 68-69.

<sup>9</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 454.

weather, to travel to "Neuse" to attend the sessions of the precinct court. The petition was read and approved by the provincial council on June 14, 1722;<sup>10</sup> but it was not until August 8 of that year that the name, the boundaries, and the Justices of the Peace for this new precinct were determined.<sup>11</sup> It was named Carteret in honor of John Lord Carteret, one of the Lords Proprietors and Palatine of Carolina.<sup>12</sup> It was to include all the lands lying on Core Sound, Bogue Sound, and the rivers and creeks running into them, "including all the Settlements to the Southward thereof untill there shall be a further division of other Countrys or precincts." The first Justices of the Peace for the precinct were John Nelson, Richard Rustull, Enoch Ward, Joseph Bell, and Richard Whitehurst.<sup>13</sup> A further development occurred on October 2 of that year when the Assembly established Beaufort as the site where the courthouse for Carteret Precinct should be located.<sup>14</sup> Thus, not only did Beaufort become a seaport in 1722, but it also became the seat of the precinct government.

In 1723 an act of the General Assembly incorporated the town of Beaufort and established St. John's Parish as the official ecclesiastical organization for Carteret Precinct.<sup>15</sup> It was also in that year that an act was passed to provide jurymen for the precinct. The list of jurymen for Carteret included twenty-nine names and is the oldest list of Core Sound and Bogue Sound settlers in existence. It includes the names of John Nelson, Richard Rustull, Enoch Ward, Richard Whitehurst, Joseph Fulfurd, Edward Ward, Ross Bell, William Shubridge, John Jarret, Richard Williamson, John Simpson, Thomas Gillikin, Robert Strey, Robert Atkins, Richard Harvey, Jr., Edmund Ennitt, Michael Packuenet, Robert Osborn, George Cogdell, David Shepert, Richard Caneday, Charles Cogdell, William Willis, Levi Cressey, John Shaw, John Fraser, John Hatten, William Noble, and

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<sup>10</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 458.

<sup>11</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 459.

<sup>12</sup> Corbitt, *The North Carolina Counties*, p. 57.

<sup>13</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 459.

<sup>14</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 102.

<sup>15</sup> For the provisions of this act relating to the incorporation of Beaufort, see above pp. 21-22. The history of St. John's Parish is discussed in Chapter IV of this study under the heading "The Church in Colonial Beaufort."

Daniel Mackdaniel.<sup>16</sup> Though this list does not include all of the settlers in the Beaufort area at that time,<sup>17</sup> it does include many of its most prominent citizens.

The courthouse for which the act of October 2, 1722, provided did not become a reality until 1724. On June 2, 1724, Joseph Bell and Richard Williamson, "Church Wardens of the Parish of St. John, . . ." paid Richard Rustull ten pounds for a half acre lot "lying and being in Beaufort Town in the Precinct of Carteret . . . together with the house now erected thereon . . . being at present the house appointed for a Court House for the said precinct. . . ."<sup>18</sup> Three months later a hurricane rendered this first courthouse untenable by destroying its roof, and the court which convened at Beaufort on September 15, 1724, was forced to meet in the home of Richard Rustull.<sup>19</sup> Before June of the next year a fire had destroyed what remained of the hurricane-damaged structure.<sup>20</sup> Thus, Beaufort's first public building had a very short existence.

The years between 1725 and 1729 witnessed the construction of Beaufort's second courthouse.<sup>21</sup> This courthouse was constructed by William Davis<sup>22</sup> and served Carteret Precinct throughout the remainder of the colonial period.<sup>23</sup>

By the beginning of 1725 two roads connected Beaufort with the areas surrounding it. One of these roads extended in a northeasterly direction from the town to the west side of North River across from the home of William Johnson.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXV, 190.

<sup>17</sup> For example, it does not include John Shackelford, who lived a few miles northeast of Beaufort and who was active in the affairs of the area at that time. He was appointed a member of the Vestry of St. John's Parish in that year. Clark, *State Records*, XXV, 208.

<sup>18</sup> Carteret Deed Books, A, 97-98. The number of this lot is omitted from this record. Thus, the exact location of Beaufort's first courthouse cannot be determined.

<sup>19</sup> Carteret Court Minutes, I, 3.

<sup>20</sup> Carteret Court Minutes, I, 9.

<sup>21</sup> The precinct court met in private homes during these years. Carteret Court Minutes, I, 3-21. The court which convened in Beaufort in March, 1729, was described as meeting at the courthouse. Carteret Court Minutes, I, 22.

<sup>22</sup> Carteret Court Minutes, I, 23.

<sup>23</sup> Orders for its repair were issued by the precinct court in 1743 and 1769. Carteret Court Minutes, I, 111, III, 384. The number of the lot on which Beaufort's second courthouse was erected is not available. However, for its approximate location with respect to the rest of the town, see Appendix, Map IV: Plan of the Town and Port of Beaufort.

<sup>24</sup> The exact location of Johnson's residence is unknown. The record simply describes it as "up the river, . . ." meaning North River. Carteret Court Minutes, I, 5.

The other road extended northward to the point where it intersected Core Creek five or six miles north of the town. These two roads merged in Beaufort at the "Town house."<sup>25</sup> In 1725 the precinct court ordered that a ferry be operated on Core Creek since the lack of a means of crossing this creek was "burdensome to travellers traveling from Neuse to Carteret Precinct. . . ." Since George Cogdell lived in that area, he was given the opportunity to operate this ferry.<sup>26</sup> About the same time efforts were being made to construct a "Bridge Road" from the west side of Newport River across from Beaufort to White Oak River at the extreme western end of what is now Carteret County.<sup>27</sup> The completion of this road was hampered by controversies concerning the course it should follow,<sup>28</sup> but eventually it gave the port of Beaufort another connection with its outlying areas.

Before the end of Richard Rustull's proprietorship of Beaufort in December, 1725, a new section of lots was added to the town.<sup>29</sup> This addition was in accordance with a provision of the 1723 act of incorporation which provided for the annexation of "as much other Land lying contiguous and most convenient to the said Town . . ." as was necessary to "make the Whole Two Hundred Acres. . . ."<sup>30</sup> This new section was located immediately east of the older part of

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<sup>25</sup> Carteret Court Minutes, I, 5. The term *townhouse* is not defined in the records relating to Beaufort. It is used only in the record herewith cited and in the act of the General Assembly of 1723 which incorporated the town of Beaufort. It is stated in this act that when the town "was formerly laid out into a Township by the name of Beaufort Town . . . proper allotments [were made] for a Church, a Town-house, and a Market place. . . ." This act of incorporation went on to specify that "the Places already laid out for a Church, a Town-house, and a Market Place be reserved for those Uses." Clark, *State Records*, XXV, 206-207. Possibly this term was used interchangeably with the term courthouse. Beaufort's first courthouse was still standing, though in a damaged condition, in the early months of 1725.

<sup>26</sup> Carteret Court Minutes, I, 7. It is not certain that Cogdell acted on this order. In 1730 it was reported to the court that no ferry was operating on Core Creek, and a jury of twelve men was appointed to lay out a road around the head of the creek. Carteret Court Minutes, I, 29.

<sup>27</sup> Carteret Court Minutes, I, 2.

<sup>28</sup> Early in 1729 a difference of opinion was reported to the precinct court concerning the course this road should follow, and a jury was appointed to settle the matter. Carteret Court Minutes, I, 22. This jury failed, and another was appointed for the same purpose in 1731. Carteret Court Minutes, I, 37. Before 1745 the road had been completed. Clark *State Records*, XXIII, 221.

<sup>29</sup> By that time the town included two hundred acres. Carteret Deed Books, C, 134-136. Its original size is not known, but that it did not include two hundred acres is made evident by the 1723 act of incorporation. See Clark, *State Records*, XXV, 206-207.

<sup>30</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXV, 206-207.

the town,<sup>31</sup> and the deeds for lots recorded after that time distinguished between Old Town and New Town.<sup>32</sup>

While these activities went forward, the sale of lots in the town of Beaufort languished. In the five years that Richard Rustull owned the town lands, the sales of only five lots were recorded. All of these were recorded in June, 1723,<sup>33</sup> and all of them lapsed at the end of two years because the building provision of the sale contracts were not met.<sup>34</sup> In December, 1725, Rustull sold the two hundred acres which included both the old and new sections of the town to Nathaniel Taylor of Carteret Precinct for one hundred and sixty pounds sterling.<sup>35</sup> Rustull retained the rest of the seven hundred and eighty acre tract which he had purchased from Robert Turner five years earlier and continued to live just outside of the town.<sup>36</sup>

Nathaniel Taylor was more successful in promoting the sale of town lots than Richard Rustull had been. In fact, the year 1728 marked the beginning of a brief period during which speculation in Beaufort real estate reached a high point. From 1728 through 1732 deeds were recorded for at least twenty-one new lots for which there is no record of a previous sale.<sup>37</sup> Sixteen lots which had lapsed because their owners had not met the building requirements were resold by the town commissioners,<sup>38</sup> and five lots were transferred from one individual owner to

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<sup>31</sup> See Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 807.

<sup>32</sup> Carteret Deed Books, D, 1, and *passim*.

<sup>33</sup> Carteret Deed Books, A, 33-37.

<sup>34</sup> The length of time allotted for the construction of houses on lots in Beaufort was extended from one year to two years by the act of the General Assembly which incorporated the town in 1723. See above, pp. 22 and 24.

All lots sold while Rustull owned the town were later resold by the town commissioners, and the building requirement was again included in the sale contracts. Carteret Deed Books, D, 89, 95; H, 350-351, 358-360.

<sup>35</sup> Carteret Deed Books, C, 134-136.

<sup>36</sup> Moseley's map of 1733 shows "R. Rustul" a short distance northeast of the town. See Appendix, Map :III Port Beaufort or Topsail Inlet.

<sup>37</sup> Carteret Deed Books, D, 1, 6-9, 27, 29-31, 38, 45-46, 55-56, 66-67, 85-86, 95, 114-115, 140, 149.

<sup>38</sup> Carteret Deed Books, D, 1, 4, 28, 58, 68, 80-81, 86, 90, 92, 94, 121.

another.<sup>39</sup> Lot No. 81 in Old Town was donated to the inhabitants of the town by Nathaniel Taylor to be used as a burying place.<sup>40</sup>

The increase in the sale of Beaufort real estate which occurred during the years when Nathaniel Taylor was proprietor of the town was accompanied by and was partly the result of the movement of a number of new settlers to the town. About 1728 James Winright, a prominent citizen of Pasquotank Precinct, moved to Beaufort and began to invest heavily in real estate in the town.<sup>41</sup> In 1730 Andrew Freasure sold a lot in the Old Town section of Beaufort to John Harris, a carpenter who had recently moved from New York and who served as constable of Beaufort in 1731.<sup>42</sup> John Salter recorded his first deed for Beaufort property in 1730.<sup>43</sup> In this deed he was described as a merchant, and by 1735 he had achieved a position of sufficient influence in the Beaufort area to merit his appointment as a Justice of the Peace for Carteret Precinct.<sup>44</sup> Arthur Mabson, whose name appears frequently in the Beaufort records after 1731, started investing in Beaufort real estate in that year.<sup>45</sup> John Phelps, whose name appears in the Beaufort records for the first time in 1732, paid sixty pounds for the house and lot which he purchased on March 3, 1732.<sup>46</sup> That he purchased this house for a residence rather than for purposes of speculation is indicated by the fact that the position of Deputy Marshal of Carteret Precinct which he held during 1732 made it desirable for him to live near the seat

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<sup>39</sup> Carteret Deed Books, D, 25-26, 44-45, 47, 58, 82-83, 87, 108, 111-112.

<sup>40</sup> Carteret Deed Books, D, 81-82. This donation was made on September 8, 1731. Though Old Town is not specified in the deed for the lot, it was definitely located in that part of the town. Lot No. 81 in Old Town is still used as a cemetery, and it contains grave markers which bear dates from the eighteenth century.

<sup>41</sup> In 1726 Winright represented Pasquotank Precinct in the Assembly. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 623. In 1728 and in the years following, he purchased numerous lots in Beaufort and from that time on was prominent in the affairs of the area. Carteret Deed Books, D, 1, and *passim*; Vice-Admiralty Papers, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina, I, 68, hereinafter cited as Vice-Admiralty Papers; Carteret Court Minutes, I, 73; Saunders, *Colonial Records*, III, 635.

<sup>42</sup> Carteret Deed Books, D, 47; Carteret Court Minutes, I, 34.

<sup>43</sup> Carteret Deed Books, D, 58.

<sup>44</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IV, 47.

<sup>45</sup> Carteret Deed Books, D, 80-81, and *passim*.

<sup>46</sup> Carteret Deed Books, D, 111-112.

of the precinct government.<sup>47</sup> Thomas Platts and Isaac Negurs recorded their first deeds for Beaufort property in 1732.<sup>48</sup> During the next year Platts served as constable of the town,<sup>49</sup> while Negurs established himself as a blacksmith.<sup>50</sup> Still another new resident of the town during the period of Nathaniel Taylor's proprietorship was Thomas Lovick. He moved to Beaufort in or about 1732, probably as a result of his appointment to the position of Collector of Customs of Port Beaufort.<sup>51</sup> On September 27, 1732, he purchased five lots having "houses and improvements . . ." from Christopher Gale,<sup>52</sup> who had served as Collector of Customs of Port Beaufort from 1722 through 1724.<sup>53</sup> Other names appearing in the records of Beaufort for the first time during this period were John Clement, Thomas Bedford, William Owens, Benjamin Quithell, John Webster, and Richard Baker.<sup>54</sup> None of these, though, can be definitely established as Beaufort residents, and many of the lots which they purchased lapsed at the end of the two year building period. In 1731 Governor Burrington described the town as one of "but little success & scarce any inhabitants,"<sup>55</sup> and on October 2, 1733, the town's twentieth birthday, Nathaniel Taylor sold his interest in the town to Thomas Martin for five hundred pounds current money.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> For the fact that Phelps was Deputy Marshal of Carteret Precinct in 1732, see Carteret Deed Books, D, 111-112.

<sup>48</sup> Thomas Platts: Carteret Deed Books, D, 114-115; Isaac Negurs: Carteret Deed Books, D, 149.

<sup>49</sup> Carteret Court Minutes, I, 46.

<sup>50</sup> Carteret Deed Books, D, 150.

<sup>51</sup> The record of Thomas Lovick's appointment as Collector of Customs of Port Beaufort is not available. However, he held this position before 1734. Vice-Admiralty Papers, I, 68. As late as 1731 he served as a jurymen in Chowan Precinct. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, III, 319.

<sup>52</sup> Carteret Deed Books, D, 121.

<sup>53</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 561.

<sup>54</sup> Carteret Deed Books, D, 4, 25-38, 66-67, 140.

<sup>55</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, III, 191.

<sup>56</sup> Carteret Deed Books, D, 173-175. Three types of money were used in colonial North Carolina. McCain comments that "the term 'current money' applied to bills of credit issued by the authority of the Assembly. From 1739 to 1750, the exchange between current money and sterling was 10 to 1. . . . The exchange between current money and 'proclamation money,' another common currency was 7 [and] 1/2 to 1. . . ." Paul M. McCain, *The County Court in North Carolina before 1750* (Durham, North Carolina: 1954), p. 18, hereinafter cited as McCain, *The County Court in North Carolina*.

### Slow Growth and Colonial Wars: 1733-1763

In the next thirty years, lots in Beaufort, as well as the proprietorship of the town, were transferred back and forth from one owner to another, but there seems to have been only slight over-all growth.<sup>57</sup> In these thirty years only twenty-eight deeds were recorded, and eight of these were for lots which were sold more than once.<sup>58</sup> In 1737 John Brickell described Beaufort as a town with a pleasant prospect, but he went on to say that it was "small and thinly inhabited."<sup>59</sup> In 1748 the list of taxables for the whole county numbered only three hundred and twenty.<sup>60</sup> An assumption that one-tenth of these lived in Beaufort would establish the town's number of taxables at only thirty-two in that year.<sup>61</sup> Using this same guide as a measurement, one can attain some idea of the town's growth by observing that the county's taxables numbered four hundred and forty two in 1753, four hundred and seventy-nine in 1758, and five hundred and forty-one in 1763.<sup>62</sup> In 1765 a French traveler who passed through Beaufort described it as "a Small vilage [with] not

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<sup>57</sup> After 1733 the town lands were owned first by Thomas Martin, then by John Pender, and after 1742 by James Winright. Carteret Deed Books, D, 173-175, 209-210, 301-302. There is no record that Winright or his heirs sold the town lands, and according to Winright's will all of his property in Beaufort was to be used as an endowment for a school in the town. Secretary of State Papers, North Carolina Wills, 1663-1789, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina, XXXV, 18, hereinafter cited as Secretary of State Papers.

<sup>58</sup> Carteret Deed Books, D, 153-158, 175, 239-240, 278, 282-283, 309-310, 312-314, 330-331, 342-343, 375, 400-401, 444; F, 348-349, 380-382, 407-410; G, 148-149, 157-158.

<sup>59</sup> Brickell, *Natural History*, p. 8.

<sup>60</sup> William K, Boyd (ed.), "Some North Carolina Tracts of the 18th Century: X, XI," Part XI, "A Table of North Carolina Taxes, 1748-1770," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, III (July, 1926), opposite 476, hereinafter cited as Boyd, "North Carolina Taxables, 1748-1770," *The North Carolina Historical Review*.

<sup>61</sup> In the opening decades of the nineteenth century, slightly more than one-tenth of Carteret County's population lived in Beaufort. Compare A. R. Newsome (ed.), "A Miscellany from the Thomas Henderson Letter Book, 1810-1811," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, VI (October, 1929), 398, hereinafter cited as "Miscellany from Thomas Henderson Letter Book," *The North Carolina Historical Review*; and Charles L. Coon, *The Beginning of Public Education in North Carolina* (Raleigh, North Carolina: 1908), I, 20, 486. Those who were taxables were white males over sixteen years of age and Negroes and mulattoes of either sex over twelve years of age. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 489.

<sup>62</sup> Boyd, "North Carolina Taxables, 1748-1770," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, III (July, 1926), opposite 476.

above 12 houses. . . ."<sup>63</sup> This description of Beaufort as a small village was certainly accurate in 1765.<sup>64</sup>

While the town grew slowly in the years after 1733, a number of noteworthy events occurred nonetheless. One of the first of these was the construction of Beaufort's second public building. This building was a prison provided for by an order of the precinct court of December 10, 1736. This order stated that the court had made an arrangement with Daniel Rees "of Beaufort Town to Build a Prison on the Lot Number (Seven) in Beaufort Town. . . ." Specific instructions were given as to the size and qualities of the proposed building,<sup>65</sup> and it was to be completed within four months after the date of the court order. Rees was to receive one hundred and thirty-five pounds for his work, and James Salter, Thomas Dudley, and Enoch Ward were appointed as a committee to see that the terms of the agreement were met. This order also stipulated that the Deputy Marshal was to "Levy five shillings per poll from every Tytheable in the precinct in order to Defray the afforesd. Sum . . ." and that the Marshal was to have 10 per cent for collecting the money.<sup>66</sup> The prison served the county for twenty years even though numerous orders were issued by the county court for its repair.<sup>67</sup> Finally, in September, 1757, after a court order of the preceding March that another prison be erected by "Easter next," the sheriff was ordered to sell "the old prison at Public Vendue . . ." and apply the money received to the cost of the new one.<sup>68</sup> The amount received for it was one pound, ten shillings, and eight pence.<sup>69</sup> This second jail was still in use in 1770.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> "Journal of a French Traveller," *The American Historical Review*, XXVI (July, 1921), 733.

<sup>64</sup> By 1765 twenty-three deeds for lots had been recorded which, by internal evidence, indicates that houses had been erected on these lots. See Carteret Deed Books, D, 44-46, 92, 111-112, 121, 150, 175 and 444, 239-240, 278, 342-343; F, 381-382; G, 132-133; H, 97-98, 328-329, 350-351; I, 248-249. However, some of these twenty-three buildings may have ceased to exist by the time of this Frenchman's visit.

<sup>65</sup> For these details see below p. 48.

<sup>66</sup> Carteret Court Minutes, I, 64.

<sup>67</sup> In March, 1738/39, the General Assembly passed an act, one of the provisions of which was "for altering the names of the Precincts into Counties." Clark, *State Records*, XXXII, 122. See also McCain, *The County Court in North Carolina*, p. 23.

<sup>68</sup> Carteret Court Minutes, II, 227, 229.

<sup>69</sup> Carteret Court Minutes, II, 278.

<sup>70</sup> Carteret Court Minutes, III, 392.

The activities of Spanish privateers on the North Carolina coast during the War of Jenkins' Ear (1739-1744) and King George's War (1744-1748) involved Beaufort and the surrounding area directly in England's epic struggle for empire. The harbor at Cape Lookout provided an excellent base from which these privateers could attack passing ships, and, as Governor Arthur Dobbs later pointed out, they did not fail to use it.<sup>71</sup> Here the privateers could hide in relative safety; obtain wood and water; take on fresh provisions provided by the cattle, sheep, and hogs that used the Outer Banks as an open range; and "from their mast head could see every Vessel that passed along the Coast and could in an hour's time be at sea after them. . . ."<sup>72</sup> In 1741 Spanish privateers were frequenting these waters, and on October 17 of that year a Spanish privateer with eighty men in its crew captured a schooner from Boston off Bogue Inlet about twenty-five miles west of Beaufort.<sup>73</sup>

As a means of defense against such activities, the colonial government passed an act in 1743 which ordered that magazines of ammunition be provided for each county.<sup>74</sup> The Carteret County Court acted promptly on this measure and levied a tax of eight pence proclamation money on each taxable to pay for this ammunition. It also made an agreement with Arthur Mabson, one of Beaufort's merchants, to furnish this magazine with "Thirty pounds of Gun powder at Twenty shillings p. pound, & lead bullets or Swan Shott in proportion at five Shillings p. pound & two hundred flints." Arthur Mabson was appointed keeper of this magazine.<sup>75</sup> By June, 1744, forty-six pounds and ten shillings had been collected for this purpose.<sup>76</sup>

The climax of the Spanish privateers' activities occurred in the summer of 1747. On June 4 of that year a band of Spanish privateers sailed boldly into Beaufort harbor and captured the "Several Vessels" that were anchored there. Only thirteen of the local militia responded to this alarm, and with the Spanish in control of the harbor they could do little. After having met with only enough resistance to

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<sup>71</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, V, 345, 598.

<sup>72</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IV, 922; V, 598.

<sup>73</sup> From the *Charleston South Carolina Gazette* (November 7, 1741), quoted in D. L. Corbitt, "Historical Notes," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, III (January, 1926), 213.

<sup>74</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 213.

<sup>75</sup> Carteret Court Minutes, I, 111.

<sup>76</sup> Carteret Court Minutes, I, 121.

encourage bolder action at a later date, the enemy sailed away taking their prizes with them.

The bolder action was not long in coming. On August 26, 1747, Spanish privateers sailed into the harbor, landed and invaded the town itself. After the previous attack Colonel Thomas Lovick had placed the Carteret regiment of the militia, which he commanded, on the alert; but before they could assemble at Beaufort, the enemy had succeeded in taking the town. However, as the militia arrived the tide of the battle turned. Before the day was over fifty-three men of the Carteret militia had entered the battle under the direction of Major Enoch Ward. Though details are lacking, it seems that the enemy was soon repulsed. The fifty-three militiamen remained on constant duty three days before they were divided into groups which rotated watches until late in September. The enemy, however, did not return.<sup>77</sup>

The colony was shocked at the activities of this band of privateers and humiliated to think that they were possible.<sup>78</sup> Governor Gabriel Johnston, addressing the Assembly which met at New Bern in October, 1747, described the condition of the colony by saying "our trade is . . . distressed, Our Ships Plundered in Our Harbours, & our Coasts Insulted by a Cruel & Vigilant Enemy. . . ."<sup>79</sup> Before the Assembly adjourned it appointed a committee for drafting a bill to raise

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<sup>77</sup> The only records of these two attacks on Beaufort are the list of the militiamen who were on duty during the attacks. These lists were made for payroll purposes and are published in Clark, *State Records*, XXII, 262-268. Proceeding each list is the following statement: "List of Soldiers in the Regiment under the Command of Col. Thomas Lovick who Appeared by Sundry Alarms & By Summons, to Attack and keep of [off] the Enemy, &c., Who had Invaded the Town of Beaufort and Harbour Adjacent." The first list is dated June 14, 1747, and is entitled "Men on Duty at Town and on the banks, when the Enemy lay in the Bay & had Taken Several Vessles--" Thirteen names follow, and it is stated that they were on duty two days. The second list is dated August 26 and is entitled "Men on Duty when the Town was Taken." This is followed by fifty-three names, and it is stated that they served three days. Then follows other lists of names giving dates and the number of days on duty. These slender records make it difficult to reconstruct the events of the attacks although local legend has filled in the story with interesting if doubtful information.

For general statements of the raids made all along the North Carolina coast in the summer of 1747, see Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 922, and Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 292.

<sup>78</sup> A similar attack was made upon Brunswick, North Carolina, in September 1748. Clark, *State Records*, XXII, 268-286. For an account of this attack, see E. Lawrence Lee, Jr., "Old Brunswick, The Story of a Colonial Town," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXIX (April, 1952), 230-245.

<sup>79</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IV, 863. In 1749 Governor Johnston said that the activities of the Spanish had "enraged the People to the highest degree. . . ." Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IV, 922.

money for "building fortifications in this Province. . . ." Colonel Thomas Lovick of Beaufort was one of the three members of this committee.<sup>80</sup>

This committee acted promptly, and the bill which it drafted was adopted by the Assembly in 1748. It provided that forts were to be built at Ocracoke, Beaufort, and Bear inlets, and at Cape Fear. One thousand and five hundred pounds were ultimately appropriated to cover the cost of the construction of the fort to be built at Beaufort Inlet; and a committee made up of Governor Johnston, Thomas Lovick, Arthur Mabson, John Clitherell, and Joseph Bell was appointed to supervise the erection of this fort.<sup>81</sup>

In 1748 King George's War ended with the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle and removed the immediate need for fortifications. As late as 1755 nothing had been done toward building the fort at Beaufort other than choosing a site two or three hundred yards from the town.<sup>82</sup> In that year, however, Governor Arthur Dobbs, who had replaced Governor Johnston in 1754, visited Beaufort and decided that the fort should be located on the point of the beach just to the west of Beaufort Inlet. There it could guard both the harbor and the bar. While at Beaufort he met with commissioners Lovick, Mabson, Clitherell, and Bell, and plans for this fort were made. It was to be a fascine battery with two faces, each commanded by six guns. Those guns defending the harbor were to be six pounders, while those guarding the bar were to be nine pounders.<sup>83</sup> Feeling the need for urgency because of the French and Indian War which was then in progress, the Governor must have ordered that work begin immediately because one year later he reported that "the house is already up and covering, and . . . it will soon be finished. . . ."<sup>84</sup> In 1770 C. J. Sauthier showed this fort on his "Plan of the Town & Port of Beaufort" as "Fort Dobbs in ruin."<sup>85</sup>

The French and Indian War brought less excitement to Beaufort than did King George's War. The only activity reported in connection with it was the observation of a "Day of Fast and Humiliation" declared by Governor Dobbs in

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<sup>80</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IV, 865.

<sup>81</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 292-296.

<sup>82</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, V, 345, 596.

<sup>83</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, V, 345. The next year Governor Dobbs stated that it was to have eight twelve pounders and six six pounders. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, V, 597

<sup>84</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, V, 597.

<sup>85</sup> See Appendix, Map IV: Plan of the Town and Port of Beaufort.

December, 1757.<sup>86</sup> Had the Governor had his way, though, things would have been different. After visiting Beaufort in 1755, he visited the harbor at Cape Lookout and was very impressed with its suitability as a site for a naval base from which protection could be given to British shipping along the coast of the southern colonies. After giving a glowing report of the qualities of the harbor itself in a letter to the Board of Trade in London, he went on to make the following recommendation:

. . . since in time of war it has been and will be a place of safety for French and Spanish Privateers, to infest the whole Coast, where they can at pleasure have a safe port under their Lee, a place to wood and water, to clean in, and get fresh provisions, by shooting the Cattle on the Banks, I think it of the utmost consequence to the protection of the Trade of all the Southern Colonies on the Continent to have a proper Fort and Garrison there to defend it, and think it should be made a station for the Guardships or Cruisers, instead of Cape Fear, Charles town or even the Rivers in Virginia where they are confined or can't get to sea when they would which they may do from hence in 3 or 4 hours and get around the shoals, and in 48 hours be either at the Capes of Virginia or at Charles Town Bar, or Port Royal with a favorable gale, and may from their mast head in harbor see all ships within view of the coast as they pass along. Taking this harbour in this view, I can't in Duty to his Majesty and to the Public but lay this before your Lordships to be laid before his Majesty and his Cabinet Council for their Consideration, and if it should strike them the same way it does me, I must beg leave further to observe it will be of consequence to have it a fort with a sufficient Garrison and an experienced Governor, not to be taken by a small force without a siege for if it should be a fort which might be taken by a few Privateers, it would be of greater damage to our Trade than to have none, for it would then be a Gibraltar in their hands against the greatest part of this Continent and would be soon made of much greater strength against our Colonies.

This is therefore of too great Consequence to be attempted by any sum that can be raised in this Province . . . for this harbour is of general use to all the Provinces, and to all the Trading Ships from Britain passing this Coast.

I can't neglect an hour giving your Lordships my observations upon it, . . . but if your Lordships think my report is not sufficient to lay it before his Majesty at his first notice you may have not only Representation to the same purpose from the Council and Assembly of this Province, but also from Virginia and South Carolina, to add weight to it, it being the general sense of all the Traders in these Provinces, to have it secured for our safety, and the prejudice of our enemies, who will not then have one place of safety to enter on the American Coast.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Carteret Court Minutes, II, 229.

<sup>87</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, V, 346-347.

This was only one of a number of such recommendations made by Dobbs in 1755 and 1756. In one recommendation he proposed that the fort should be garrisoned by two or three hundred men in time of peace and five hundred in time of war.<sup>88</sup> Nothing came of the Governor's recommendation, however. The Board of Trade turned Dobbs' plan over to the Lords of the Admiralty who, though not greatly impressed, agreed to have a captain of one of the warships in the area give a report on the feasibility of such a base and fort at Cape Lookout.<sup>89</sup> This report was not made until 1764.<sup>90</sup> By then the French and Indian War was over, and nothing more was heard of Dobbs' recommendation. Had such a base been established at Cape Lookout, it would have brought new life and activity to the Beaufort area.

### A Period of Limited Progress: 1763-1776

The thirteen years between the end of the French and Indian War and the establishment of North Carolina's statehood in 1776 was a period when settlement in Beaufort was more substantial than it had previously been. In that period the number of taxables for the whole county grew from five hundred and forty-one<sup>91</sup> to nine hundred or more,<sup>92</sup> and deeds were recorded for at least sixty-three different lots or pieces of lots in Beaufort.<sup>93</sup> Some of these lots, to be sure, had already been saved and were just being transferred to new owners, but quite a few were saved by having buildings erected on them. In fact, in the six years from 1765 through 1770, at least nine new buildings were erected in Beaufort.<sup>94</sup> It was

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<sup>88</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, V, 598.

<sup>89</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, V, 646.

<sup>90</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 30-31.

<sup>91</sup> Boyd, "North Carolina Taxables, 1748-1770," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, III (July, 1926), opposite page 476.

<sup>92</sup> No figures are available for 1775 or 1776, but the 1774 total was eight hundred and seventy. Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 68.

<sup>93</sup> Carteret Deed Books, G, H, I, *passim*; Records of the Proceedings of the Commissioners of the Town of Beaufort, Office of the Town Clerk, Town Hall, Beaufort, North Carolina, I, 2-6, hereinafter cited as Proceedings of the Town Commissioners.

<sup>94</sup> Carteret Deed Books, H, 70, 315-316, 332, 357, 445-446, 480; I, 246-247, 354-355, 385.

during this period that many of the waterfront lots of the west end of the town received their first residents.<sup>95</sup>

Progress was also being made in other areas. Just before the end of the French and Indian War ferries were put in operation across Newport River and North River.<sup>96</sup> The Newport River ferry landed at Beaufort, and within a short time, a new road was cut "from Beaufort Town to the North River Ferry."<sup>97</sup> By 1771 a ferry operated by Samuel Guthry provided easier travel and communication between Beaufort and the harbor at Cape Lookout, where fishing camps and even some homes existed.<sup>98</sup>

Also during this period efforts were made to give Beaufort more of the atmosphere of a well ordered town. A county court order of 1768 demanded that all taxable persons residing in Beaufort clean the principal streets in the town "and the Roads So far as the Mile Post. . . ."<sup>99</sup> Another court order of the following year stipulated that the repairing of the courthouse be "Set up at Public Vendue To the lowest Bidder, . . ."<sup>100</sup> and in 1770 the General Assembly passed an act with extensive provisions for "better settling, regulating, and improving the Town. . . ."<sup>101</sup> Among other things, this act appointed a new board of commissioners for the town consisting of William Thompson, William Cole, William Robinson, Joseph Bell, Jr., and John Easting, and gave them sufficient authority to enforce the provisions of the act. The provisions of the 1723 act of incorporation concerning the price of lots and building requirements were restated;<sup>102</sup> and, whereas the former plan of the town was found "inaccurate, irregular and confined, . . ." this act ordered that a cedar post be set up at the end of Pollock Street and that a line running from that post north 58 degrees west along

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<sup>95</sup> Carteret Deed Books, H, 315-316, 357, 445-446, 480; I, 246-247, 331, 345-355, 385.

<sup>96</sup> Carteret Court Minutes, II, 246-247.

<sup>97</sup> Carteret Court Minutes, II, 252.

<sup>98</sup> Carteret Court Minutes, III, 389. In 1765 Caleb Davis operated an ordinary at his home on Cape Lookout Bay. Carteret Court Minutes, III, 310. Throughout the last four decades of the colonial period, whalers' camps were located on the beach west of Cape Lookout Bay. See, for example, "Journal of a French Traveller," *The American Historical Review*, XXVI (July, 1921), 733.

<sup>99</sup> Carteret Court Minutes, III, 360.

<sup>100</sup> Carteret Court Minutes, III, 368.

<sup>101</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 805

<sup>102</sup> See above p. 22.

the water's edge mark the boundary of Old Town, while a line running in the exact opposite direction was to mark the boundary of New Town. The practice of allowing hogs to run at large in the town was condemned; and any hog caught in the town was to be forfeited, one half going to the person who killed it and the other half going to the church wardens for the use of the parish. Wooden chimneys were to be torn down, lots were to be cleared, and the inhabitants were to remove "Dirt and Rubbish from before their Doors. . . ." County officials were to keep their offices in the town; anyone caught fighting was to be fined twenty shillings or, in default of such payment, "suffer Twenty Four Hours Imprisonment, in the common Gaol, or be put in the Stocks for the Space of Two Hours, or longer. . . ." Furthermore, any "Tavern Keeper, Ordinary Keeper, or Retailer of Liquors, or Keeper of Public Houses . . ." who allowed persons to sit drinking during divine services or allowed persons to get drunk in their places of business was to be fined twenty shillings for each offense.<sup>103</sup>

The provision of the act of 1770, which for the first time established a straight boundary for the waterfront side of town, paved the way for the creation of what is now Front Street. A street running along the waterfront had been given some consideration at least as early as 1743, but if such a street existed before 1770 it was, no doubt, crooked and "irregular."<sup>104</sup> Late in 1770 the county court ordered that an "Advertisement be Sett up for the Removal of the Gaol [which occupied a waterfront lot] about forty or fifty yards Right Back on the Same Lott where it Now Stands on the Middle of the Street. . . ."<sup>105</sup> Before 1782 this street had been given the name Water Street.<sup>106</sup>

Though these years were, in general, years of progress, Beaufort suffered at least one serious setback during the period. This came in 1773 when the inhabitants of the town petitioned the government of the colony that it be allowed representation in the General Assembly.<sup>107</sup> Though they worded their petition in the form of a request for a favor, they also made it clear that they could claim such representation as a right since the town then had sixty families, the number

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<sup>103</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 805-809.

<sup>104</sup> Carteret Deed Books, D, 340-342.

<sup>105</sup> Carteret Court Minutes, III, 392.

<sup>106</sup> Carteret Deed Books, I, 308-310.

<sup>107</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 636-637.

required for such representation by a law of 1715.<sup>108</sup> Justified though it might have been, Beaufort's petition was not granted, owing, it seems, to the efforts of Governor Josiah Martin. Writing to Lord Dartmouth, Secretary of State for the Colonies, on April 20, 1773, Martin advised against giving Beaufort representation on the grounds that the Assembly was already too large and that though "Beaufort is advantageously situated for commerce . . . there are no persons of condition or substance in it. . . ." He was so concerned about the size of the Assembly that he even suggested that the law which provided the basis for Beaufort's claim be repealed.<sup>109</sup> In August, 1773, Lord Dartmouth wrote back that he did not think Beaufort's request unreasonable and that the Governor "may with great Propriety, issue a writ for the Election of a Representative for that Town. . . ."<sup>110</sup> But the Governor had the last word. In January, 1774, he wrote again to Lord Dartmouth declaring that Beaufort's "pretensions . . . to representation . . ." were unfounded and that its petition "was only calculated to serve the purpose of a particular person, who wanted a seat in the Assembly. . . ."<sup>111</sup> Nothing more was said concerning the matter.

Thus, at the end of the colonial period, Beaufort was still small and still lacked representation as a town in the General Assembly. Though it was experiencing some growth, it could not compare in size or economic importance with New Bern or Edenton or even some of the newer towns such as Wilmington and Hillsboro.<sup>112</sup> However, these facts do not discount Beaufort's significance. From the first decade of the establishment of towns in North Carolina, the settlement within Topsail Inlet had persisted as an outpost of urbanism in a predominantly rural society. This factor, in itself, gives colonial Beaufort a significant place in the history of North Carolina.

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<sup>108</sup> See Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 73-79.

<sup>109</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 636-637.

<sup>110</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 682.

<sup>111</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 824.

<sup>112</sup> As late as 1810 Beaufort had only "five hundred & eighty five souls seventy four dwelling houses, Ten stores, [and] eight shops. . . ." "Miscellany from the Thomas Henderson Letter Book," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, VI (October, 1929), 398.

## CHAPTER IV

## SOCIETY AND CULTURE IN COLONIAL BEAUFORT

The Social Structure of the Population

Though class consciousness seems not to have been an important factor in colonial Beaufort, every class except the extremely wealthy was represented in the population.<sup>1</sup> By far the most numerous group consisted of those who were of the artisan or small merchant class. Such designations as "shipwright" and "house carpenter" appear frequently in the early records of Beaufort, and no fewer than nine of those who purchased lots in town during the colonial period were listed as merchants.<sup>2</sup> Between 1741 and 1770 licenses to operate inns, taverns, public houses, or ordinaries in the town were granted to at least thirteen different people,<sup>3</sup> but a number of the people who received these licenses participated in some other trade as well. For example, James Salter was both a merchant and an inn-holder,<sup>4</sup> while Resolve Waldron, who received a license to operate an ordinary in Beaufort in 1743, was listed in 1745 as a mariner who had moved from the colony owing John Ronald, a merchant of Beaufort, seventeen pounds and thirteen shillings.<sup>5</sup> Other occupational descriptions which were used less frequently to describe those who owned Beaufort property were tailor, blacksmith, joiner, cooper, shoemaker, and surveyor.<sup>6</sup>

A number of those who participated in the above trades gained entry into the gentry class through their appointment to public office. For instance, Joseph Bell, a tailor, Richard Rustull, a cooper, and Arthur Mabson, a merchant, gained a certain degree of social prestige as a result of their long years of service as

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<sup>1</sup> In 1773 Governor Martin commenting on Beaufort said, "there are no persons of condition or substance in it. . . ." Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 636-637.

<sup>2</sup> See Carteret Deed Books, D, F, G, H, I, *passim*,

<sup>3</sup> See Carteret Court Minutes, I, II, III, *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> Carteret Deed Books, D, 58, 156.

<sup>5</sup> From one box of miscellaneous records from the colonial period dealing with affairs in Carteret County in the Clerk of Court's Office, Carteret County Courthouse, Beaufort, North Carolina, hereinafter cited as Miscellaneous Papers in Carteret Clerk's Office.

<sup>6</sup> See Carteret Deed Books, D, F, G, H, I, *passim*.

representatives of Carteret Precinct in the General Assembly<sup>7</sup> An even better example of social mobility was illustrated by Charles Cogdell who lived in the Beaufort area.<sup>8</sup> His name first appears in the records of that area in 1713 when he was an apprentice of George Bell, who stated that he intended to instruct young Cogdell in "ye building of Vessells."<sup>9</sup> In 1723 he was listed among the first jurymen of Carteret Precinct,<sup>10</sup> and in 1726 he was a Justice of the Peace for the precinct.<sup>11</sup> By 1733 he was representing Carteret Precinct in the General Assembly,<sup>12</sup> a position he held in combination with that of Justice of the Peace for many of the years that followed.<sup>13</sup>

Because of the small quantity of arable land in the Beaufort area, those among the population who could be classed as landed aristocracy were few. An example of this small group was Enoch Ward, who lived on a plantation on the creek that now bears his name located on the east side of North River.<sup>14</sup> Though the extent of his holdings is not known, they were large enough in 1734 to justify the possession of four white servants, seven Negroes, and an Indian.<sup>15</sup> Ward's prestige in the area is reflected by the number of positions of leadership he held. He served as an overseer of the road east of North River, as a Justice of the Peace for Carteret Precinct from 1722 through 1750, as a representative of the precinct in the General Assembly in 1726, and as a major in the local militia.<sup>16</sup>

Colonial Beaufort attracted a few people who might have been classified as professional men. On several occasions names appear in the Carteret Court

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<sup>7</sup> Joseph Bell: Carteret Deed Books, H, 447-448; Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IV, 683, and *passim*. Richard Rustall: Carteret Court Minutes, I, 39; Saunders, *Colonial Records*, III, 267, and *passim*. Arthur Mabson: Carteret Deed Books, D, 80-81; Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IV, 155, and *passim*.

<sup>8</sup> Carteret Court Minutes, I, 5.

<sup>9</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 172.

<sup>10</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXV, 190.

<sup>11</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 645.

<sup>12</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, III, 562.

<sup>13</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, III, 591, and *passim*; IV, 712, and *passim*.

<sup>14</sup> Carteret Court Minutes, I, 5.

<sup>15</sup> Carteret Court Minutes, I, 53.

<sup>16</sup> Carteret Court Minutes, I, 5; Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, III, IV, *passim*; Clark, *State Records*, XXII, 263.

Minutes which are followed by the inscription "Attorney at Law,"<sup>17</sup> and by 1760 law books had been purchased and placed in the courthouse for their use. Some of these books were: Nelson's *Justices*, Cay's *Abridgment of the Statutes*, Swinburn's *Wills*, Jacob's *Law Dictionary*, and Shaw's *Justices* in two volumes<sup>18</sup> On occasions, ministers of the Anglican church visited Beaufort, but none of them made their home there.<sup>19</sup> The medical profession seems to have been represented by only one individual. In 1753 the name of Grigg Yarborough appeared in the Carteret County records followed by the description "Practitioner of Physick,"<sup>20</sup> but a record of the previous year which connected him with the Beaufort area described him as "Deputy Surveyor."<sup>21</sup> The only other profession represented was that of teaching, which probably had several representatives before the end of the colonial period.<sup>22</sup>

As is illustrated above by the case of Charles Cogdell, the institution of apprenticeship was not unknown at colonial Beaufort. The apprentices of this area learned such trades as shoemaking,<sup>23</sup> shipbuilding,<sup>24</sup> and the construction of barrels.<sup>25</sup> Their contracts of apprenticeship were usually drawn up and enforced by the county court.<sup>26</sup> A typical contract of apprenticeship is one dated 1728 which bound Richard Sepions, a youth of sixteen years of age, to serve George Cogdell and his wife Margaret until he reached the age of twenty-one. In return Cogdell agreed to teach Sepions "ye art or mistory of Shoemaking, to read ye Bible in the vouldgar tongue, and to write a legible hand. . . ." Furthermore, he was to

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<sup>17</sup> See, for example, Carteret Court Minutes, I, 47, 49.

<sup>18</sup> See Carteret Court Minutes, II, 223, 299; III, 318.

<sup>19</sup> See below, pp. 54-55, 58.

<sup>20</sup> Miscellaneous Papers in Carteret Clerk's Office.

<sup>21</sup> In 1751 he swore to the truth of a resurvey made by John Shackleford concerning tracts of land belonging to Shackleford and Arthur Mabson, both of whom were of the Beaufort area. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IV, 1242.

<sup>22</sup> See below, p. 52.

<sup>23</sup> Carteret Court Minutes, I, 21.

<sup>24</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 172.

<sup>25</sup> McCain, *The County Court in North Carolina*, p.86.

<sup>26</sup> For a discussion of the jurisdiction of the county court in matters concerning apprentices see McCain, *The County Court in North Carolina*, pp.81-86. McCain points out that occasionally contracts of apprenticeship were entered independently of a court.

give Sipions "a Cow Calf the first year and all ye Increase and to putt it in the Said Apprentices mark & to find him Sufficient meat Drink washing Lodging and warm apparrell During his said apprenticeship and att ye End . . . of ye Said Term to pay to ye Said apprentice one Good new Suite of apparrell."<sup>27</sup>

Another element of colonial society represented by a small segment of the population of Beaufort was the white servant class.<sup>28</sup> The majority of this class had voluntarily entered servitude either to work off debts or to obtain security.<sup>29</sup> On a number of occasions white servants of the Beaufort area had their terms of servitude extended against their wills because they had violated regulations designed to govern the activities of servants.<sup>30</sup> One of these cases involved Christian Finny, who was convicted on four different occasions between 1736 and 1745 of giving birth to mulatto children.<sup>31</sup> In 1769 and again in 1770 Prissilla Kent was convicted of the same offense and likewise suffered an extension of her term of servitude.<sup>32</sup> The names of three other indentured servants appear in the records of the Carteret Court. They were Walterman Gibbs, Thomas Hamblin, and Mary Coogan. All three of these had brought charges against their masters for what they considered to be violations of the terms of their indentures.<sup>33</sup>

At the very bottom of Beaufort's social scale were the slaves, a few of whom were Indians,<sup>34</sup> but the great majority of whom were Negroes. The percentage of

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<sup>27</sup> Carteret Court Minutes, I, 21.

<sup>28</sup> For a discussion of the similarities and differences between apprentices and indentured servants see McCain, *The County Court in North Carolina*, pp. 85-86.

<sup>29</sup> McCain, *The County Court in North Carolina*, p. 87.

<sup>30</sup> For legislation governing indentured servants see Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 62-66, 191-204. For a discussion of this legislation see McCain, *The County Court in North Carolina*, pp. 85-94.

<sup>31</sup> Carteret Court Minutes, I, 63, and *passim*; Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 4. A full account of Christian Finny's period of servitude is given in McCain, *The County Court in North Carolina*, pp. 92-94.

<sup>32</sup> Carteret Court Minutes, III, 373, and *passim*.

<sup>33</sup> Gibbs: Carteret Court Minutes, I, 104. Hamblin: Carteret Court Minutes, I, 65. Coogan: From the Carteret Court Minutes of June, 1749, and cited in McCain, *The County Court in North Carolina*, p. 91.

<sup>34</sup> In the 1730s, Ebenezer Harker, Carey Godbey, and Enoch Ward had one Indian servant each. See Carteret Court Minutes, I, 28, 53.

Beaufort's population which fell into this class was actually quite small,<sup>35</sup> but that a few were present is shown by the fact that in 1734 James Winright reported that his household included two Negro men and two Negro women, as well as two white servants.<sup>36</sup> These slaves were considered strictly as chattel as is illustrated by the fact that in 1745 John Clitherall, who lived at Beaufort at that time,<sup>37</sup> bought from Ephrim Chadwick for one hundred pounds "one Negro man names Charles, ten likely cows and calves, two four year old steers, thirty breeding geese (& one bay mare ye. sd. bought of William Wade.)"<sup>38</sup> On occasions slaves were used as a medium of exchange. In 1732 Henry Stanton bought a tract of land from Carey Godbey for two Negroes and then sold it to James Easton for two Negroes.<sup>39</sup>

The treatment which white servants and slaves received from their masters and the free white population as a whole varied considerably. The most severe treatment recorded in the records of the Beaufort area was received by a servant boy named Walterman Gibbs, whose master was James Salter. In the court which convened at Beaufort in 1742, Gibbs charged that Salter had beaten him with "Mill sticks, fire Tongs, & back Swords," and a witness, John Styring, testified that Salter had threatened to poison Gibbs "if he could get any poison. . . ."<sup>40</sup> Two fugitive slaves, on the other hand, were treated quite differently by Robert Williams, a

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<sup>35</sup> This conclusion is based upon the fact that in 1767 the total population of Carteret County consisted of four hundred and seventy white taxables and only two hundred and ninety Negro and mulatto taxables. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 539. When these figures are considered in the light of the facts that all Negroes and mulattoes, male and female, above twelve years of age were taxables; that only white males above sixteen years of age were taxables (See Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 487); and that the percentage of the population which consisted of slaves was likely to be less in town than in the surrounding rural area--it must be concluded that not more than 8 or 10 per cent of Beaufort's population was of the slave class.

<sup>36</sup> Carteret Court Minutes, I, 53.

<sup>37</sup> Carteret Deed Books, D, 342-343. He later moved to New Bern. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 74.

<sup>38</sup> Carteret Deed Books, D, 399.

<sup>39</sup> Carteret Deed Books, D, 129-130. Henry Stanton was the great-grandfather of Edwin McMasters Stanton, Secretary of War under President Lincoln. See Benjamin P. Thomas and Harold M. Hayman, *Stanton, The Life and Times of Lincoln's Secretary of War* (New York: 1962), pp. 3-4. Henry Stanton was a Quaker and lived north of Beaufort near Core Creek. See below, p. 63, footnote 133.

<sup>40</sup> Carteret Court Minutes, I, 104.

Quaker of the Beaufort area.<sup>41</sup> This incident is revealed by the following advertisement which Williams had published in *The North-Carolina Gazette* on January 17, 1774.

Taken up and committed to Gaol in Beaufort in Carteret County. Two new Negroes, they came in a canoe to Bogue Sound, but where from we cannot understand. By some accident, or Act of Humanity, they got out of Gaol, of a cold Evening (almost starved even in the fore part of the Night, and must have inevitably perished before Morning) and Strayed to the Subscriber's Kitchen, and wishes the proper owner had them, but cannot send them any more into Confinement to starve and freeze to Death according to Law: For the Great Law Giver Moses, had in Command, that we should do no Murder.<sup>42</sup>

### Life in Colonial Beaufort

Life in colonial Beaufort was preoccupied by the demands of survival, and the little social activity that existed probably was found in the ordinaries or inns of the town.<sup>43</sup> The prices in these ordinaries were, by order of the colonial government, determined by the county court;<sup>44</sup> and a list of these prices was to be on display in each ordinary.<sup>45</sup> A traveler passing through Beaufort in 1741 could have found lodging in the ordinary operated by Daniel Rees for two shillings and could have had a breakfast the next morning of tea and cold meat for five shillings. Madeira wine was available for fifteen shillings per quart, while one could purchase a gill of rum for one shilling and six pence. A dinner of two dishes of fresh meat sold for six shillings.<sup>46</sup> It may be assumed that the residents of Beaufort spend many enjoyable hours in conversation around the tables of these ordinaries and discussed many of the important events of the times.

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<sup>41</sup> For the fact that Robert Williams was a quaker see Minute Book of the Coresound Monthly Meeting [of Quakers], 2 volumes, 1733-1841, Guilford College Library, Guilford College, North Carolina, I, 42, and *passim*, hereinafter cited as Minutes of the Coresound Monthly Meeting. He lived on the north side of Newport River west of the point where Harlowe Creek flows into it. See sketch of the Harlowe Creek area reproduced in Milton Franklin Williams, *The Williams History* (St. Louis: 1921), pp. 64-66, hereinafter cited as "Sketch of the Harlowe Creek Area," in Williams, *The Williams History*. This sketch was drawn by the son of Robert Williams, John S. Williams, in 1864.

<sup>42</sup> *The North-Carolina Gazette* (January 17, 1774.).

<sup>43</sup> No record remains of any type of entertainment in Beaufort during the colonial period.

<sup>44</sup> Carteret Court Minutes, I, 20.

<sup>45</sup> Carteret Court Minutes, I, 91.

<sup>46</sup> Carteret Court Minutes, I, 91, 93.

No written descriptions remain from the colonial period of any of the homes in Beaufort,<sup>47</sup> but the court order of 1736 which provided for the construction of Beaufort's first prison thoroughly described the features which that building was to have. It was to be made of "Sawed Loggs not less than Four Inches Thick and Dovetailed at the corners. . . ." Its floor was also to be four inches thick, while the roof was to be covered with pine shingles. Its size was to be fifteen feet by twenty feet, and it was to consist of two rooms with a door connecting them. Light was to enter through two windows which were to be twenty-four inches high and eighteen inches wide. To keep the prisoners from escaping, it was to have a heavy outside door equipped with iron hinges and a substantial lock. The windows were to be heavily barred. This court order also provided that a "Strong Substantial pair of Stocks . . ." be erected outside the prison.<sup>48</sup> Since the inhabitants of the Beaufort area elected to build their prison in the form of a log cabin with the same outside dimensions as the minimum required for validating sales contracts for lots, it may be assumed that some of their homes were of a similar size and type. The fact that wooden chimneys existed in Beaufort in 1770 adds validity to this assumption.<sup>49</sup>

The basic items in the diet of the people of colonial Beaufort were pork, molasses, and corn bread.<sup>50</sup> The corn bread was made from corn that was ground into meal by a windmill which stood near the waterfront.<sup>51</sup> Seafood was also an important item in the diet. A French traveler who visited Beaufort in March, 1765,

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<sup>47</sup> In recent years local groups have assigned dates from the colonial period to a number of the old homes in Beaufort. By careful inquiry into the methods used in determining the ages of these homes, it was discovered that the dates assigned to them were actually those when the lots on which those homes now stand were first saved by having buildings erected on them. It was also discovered that no systematic efforts were made to make sure that the present extant homes are the same ones which were first constructed on those lots. No doubt, some of these homes do date from the colonial era, but, thus far, no written records have been found that would substantiate that conclusion. In one case the existing records indicated the opposite. This case involves the house locally called the Easton House. (For a picture of this house see Francis Benjamin Johnston and Thomas Tileston Waterman, *The Early Architecture of North Carolina* [Chapel Hill, North Carolina: c. 1941 and 1947], p. 150. The date assigned to this house is 1771. However, as late as 1835 the land on which this house now stands was sold for \$100. Carteret Deed Books, I, 64.

<sup>48</sup> Carteret Court Minutes, I, 64.

<sup>49</sup> Clark, State Records, XXIII, 805-810. See above, p. 39.

<sup>50</sup> These were the necessities of life usually provided by the Vestry of St. John's Parish for those who were dependent upon the parish for their needs. For example, in 1772 the Vestry provided "two barrels of corn, four gallons of molasses and thirty weight of Pork . . ." for Sarah Hersey, an object of charity. Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 60.

<sup>51</sup> See Appendix, Map IV: Plan of the Town and Port of Beaufort.

recorded that the people lived "mostly on fish and oysters, which they have . . . in great plenty."<sup>52</sup> The fruits and vegetables which were available during the long growing season provided variety to this diet, as did the beef, mutton, and wild game which the area produced.<sup>53</sup>

The people of colonial Beaufort lived in the presence of definite moral and religious traditions, and heavy penalties were prescribed for those who violated those traditions. Among the violations for which certain residents of the Beaufort area were required to pay fines were such things as breaking the Sabbath, swearing profanely in court, and giving birth to illegitimate children.<sup>54</sup> Even more severe penalties than paying fines were prescribed for Christian Finny and Prissilla Kent who, as was noted above, had their terms of servitude extended for giving birth to mulatto children. On a least one occasion the severity of the prescribed penalty was mitigated when the offender admitted her guilt and pleaded for leniency. This case involved a certain Jane Sims who in 1736 was convicted of adultery and was sentenced by the county court to "be taken to the Whipping post and there upon her Naked Back Receive thirty Nine Lashes well layd on. . . ." This whipping, however, was never administered. Jane Sims appeared in court in "humble Submission, . . ." and the sentence was deferred "until another opportunity . . . [provided] that She give Security for her departing the Precinct."<sup>55</sup>

### Formal Education

The first recorded action on the part of any citizen of Beaufort for the purpose of bringing formal education to the town was taken by James Winright in 1744. Winright was a surveyor who moved to Beaufort from Pasquotank Precinct in or about 1728. In the ensuing years he invested heavily in real estate in the town and held numerous offices in the local government.<sup>56</sup> In 1742 he purchased the proprietorship the town itself,<sup>57</sup> along with a tract of land adjoining the town on its

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<sup>52</sup> "Journal of a French Traveller," *The American Historical Review*, XXVI (July, 1921), 733.

<sup>53</sup> See Carteret Court Minutes, I, 29.

<sup>54</sup> Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 19-21.

<sup>55</sup> Carteret Court Minutes, I, 63

<sup>56</sup> See above p. 30, footnote 41. For the fact that Winright was a surveyor see Carteret Deed Books, D, 87.

<sup>57</sup> Carteret Deed Books, D, 301-302.

east side.<sup>58</sup> In 1744, just a few months before his death and while serving as a vestryman of St. John's Parish,<sup>59</sup> Winright made his will, which established an endowment for a school at Beaufort. This will stipulated that at the death of his wife Ann "the yearly Rents and profitts of all The Town land and Houses in Beaufort Town Belonging unto me with the other Land adjoining thereto . . ." were to be used forever "for the encouragement of a Sober discreet Quallified Man to teach a School at Least Reading Writing Vulgar & Decimal Arithmetick in the . . . Town of Beaufort. . . ." He also gave fifty pounds sterling to be applied toward building a house on some part of his land "Near the White house . . ." to serve both as a schoolhouse and as a dwelling for the school teacher. As trustees of this endowment, he appointed the chairman of the Carteret County court and one of the Church Wardens and their successors. He even went so far as to provide for a measure of academic freedom. The school master, he declared "Shall not be Obligated to teach or take under his Care any Scholars Imposed on him by the Trustees herein Mentioned or their Successors or by any other persons, But shall

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<sup>58</sup> Secretary of State Papers, XXXV, 18. A copy of this document appears in J. Bryan Grimes, *North Carolina Wills and Inventories* (Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton Printing Company, 1912), 455-458, hereinafter cited as Grimes, *North Carolina Wills and Inventories*. See also Carteret Deed Books, H, 321.

<sup>59</sup> The first item of business considered by the vestry at its Easter Monday meeting on April 15, 1745 was the appointment of new members to replace three who had died since its last meeting. The name of one of the deceased is not legible in the minutes, but the other two were James Winright and Richard Rustull, Jr. Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 4-5.

have free liberty to teach & take under his Care Such and so many Schoolers as he Shall think convenient. . . ."60

The definite results of Winright's gift are not known, but events following his death strongly suggest that this gift was instrumental in bringing formal education to Carteret County. For instance, when Winright's wife died in 1751, her will clearly revealed that she had not become the owner and, therefore, could not dispose of that part of his estate which he had set aside for an educational endowment.<sup>61</sup> Furthermore, in 1754 Daniel Reese, the Sheriff of Carteret County who in that same year was also serving as a vestryman of St. John's Parish, sold at public auction "a certain piece and parcell of land called Taylor Old Field which . . . belonged to the estate of Mr. James Winright. . . ." This land adjoined Beaufort along the town's eastern boundary and was a part of that which Winright had set aside for an endowment for education.<sup>62</sup> In fact, as late as 1756, Thomas Lovick, chairman of the Carteret County Court and, therefore, a trustee of Winright's school endowment fund, was selling lots in the town of Beaufort from

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<sup>60</sup> Secretary of State Papers, XXXV, 18; and Grimes, *North Carolina Wills and Inventories*, 455-458.

The "White house" mentioned in this will was located just east of the town of Beaufort. See Cumming, *Early Maps*, plate 66. Winright acquired this house and the land on which it stood when he purchased the proprietorship of the town from John Pender. This land, which adjoined the eastern boundary of Beaufort and which in 1754 was described as "Taylors Old Field" (Carteret Deed Books, F, 361.), had been owned and occupied in 1733 by Nathaniel Taylor, an earlier proprietor of the town. See the location of "N Taylor" as shown on an inset on Moseley's 1733 map entitled "Port Beaufort or Topsail Inlet" and reproduced in the Appendix as Map III: Port Beaufort or Topsail Inlet. For Taylor's proprietorship of the town compare Carteret Deed Books C, 134-136 and D, 173-175. There is no extant record showing that Taylor's residence became known as the "White house." Neither is there a record showing when the "White house" was erected on this property. However, Winright's will, cited above, makes it certain that the "White house" existed when Winright purchased the property from John Pender in 1742.

A well established tradition maintains that the "Hummock House" located near the eastern end of that which was colonial Beaufort is the same house as the "White house" in records from the colonial period. In attempting to evaluate the validity of this tradition, one must take into account the low prices for which this property sold in the years following the death of Winright's widow. In 1754 the one hundred acres adjoining the eastern Boundary of Beaufort, described as "Taylors Old Field" and containing the "White house" property was sold at public auction from the estate of James Winright for the sum of fifteen pounds, ten shillings proclamation money. And, in 1765 Robert Williams purchased the twenty-five acres "known by the name White house . . ." for fifteen pounds proclamation money. See Carteret Deed Books, F, 361: G-H, 170, 187-188, 189, 190.

<sup>61</sup> She did dispose of the other properties which her husband had willed to her at the time of his death. Compare James Winright's will and Ann Winright's will in Grimes, *North Carolina Wills and Inventories*, 452-458.

<sup>62</sup> Carteret Deed Books, F, 361. For the fact that Daniel Rees was a vestryman in 1754 see Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 22. For the fact that this land adjoined Beaufort on the town's east side compare Carteret Deed Books, F, 361; G-H, 170, 187-188, 189, 190. See also above footnote 60.

the remainder of Winright's estate.<sup>63</sup> Just what happened to the money derived from these sales and the other earnings from Winright's estate is not indicated in the records. It is significant, however, that by 1749 a schoolhouse had been erected at the Straits about six miles east of Beaufort,<sup>64</sup> and in 1765 the vestry of St. John's Parish was seeking to employ three school teachers for the county. These teachers were to be hired for a two year period, and they were each to serve two locations for one year each, thus providing six schools for the county. Each teacher was to receive a salary of ten pounds. The six schools were to be located at Pettivers Creek and at White Oak River near the western end of the county, "at Shepards Neck . . ." and "in Town Neck . . ." in the county's central section, at the Straits near the county's southeastern corner, and at Hunting Quarters in the northeastern part of the county.<sup>65</sup> Just how successful the vestry was in employing these teachers is not known. It is known, however, that schools were functioning in Carteret County during the last few years of the colonial era.<sup>66</sup> In 1772 William Davis, who had frequently served as a lay reader for the Anglican congregations at the Straits and at Hunting Quarters, was described as a "Schoolmaster,"<sup>67</sup> as was Samuel Leffers in 1776.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Carteret Deed Books, F, 380-381. Thomas Lovick position as Justice of the Peace for Carteret County, a position he had held since 1733, had been reaffirmed by the governor and his council on December 4, 1744. See Saunders, *Colonial Records*, III, 537; IV, 712, and *passim*. He held this position until after 1758. Carteret County Court Minutes, II, 237, and *passim*. While he held this position, his name always headed the list of Carteret County's justices, and in 1736 he was described as "Chairman of this court, . . ." that is, the court of Carteret Precinct. Carteret County Court Minutes, I, 64.

<sup>64</sup> Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 13. This record is dated March 27, 1749 and mentions "the School House" as one of the places at the Straits where divine services were to be read that year. Thus there was a schoolhouse and probably a school in that area at least by 1749.

<sup>65</sup> Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 48. "Shepards Neck" was on the southwest side of Newport River. See "Shepards P." on Cumming, *Early Maps*, plate 54. "Town Neck" was the narrow peninsula formed by North River and Newport River and small creeks flowing into them just north of the town of Beaufort.

<sup>66</sup> Schools may have been in operation in the county at a much earlier date, since a schoolhouse had existed at the Straits at least as early as 1749. Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 13.

<sup>67</sup> Carteret Deed Books, H, 484.

<sup>68</sup> Carteret Deed Books, I, 251-252. Samuel Leffers was living in Carteret County as early as 1768. Carteret Court Minutes, III, 355. In 1775 he purchased a lot in the town of Beaufort. Carteret Deed Books, I, 159-160.

## The Church in Colonial Beaufort

The Anglican Establishment.--According to the Carolina Charter of March 24, 1663, the Anglican church was to be the established church of the province of Carolina.<sup>69</sup> By an act of 1715 the General Assembly of the northern part of Carolina, which by that time had become known as North Carolina, divided the settled part of the area under its jurisdiction into a number of ecclesiastical divisions known as parishes. Each of these parishes was to be governed, as far as ecclesiastical matters were concerned, by a board of twelve men known as a vestry. One of the parishes which were created by the act of 1715 was named Craven Parish, and its boundaries coincided with those of Craven Precinct.<sup>70</sup> The Beaufort area, being at that time a part of Craven Precinct,<sup>71</sup> was thus a part of Craven Parish; and two residents of the Beaufort area, John Nelson and Joseph Bell,<sup>72</sup> were selected to become members of the first vestry of this parish.<sup>73</sup>

If any religious activities occurred at Beaufort while it was a part of Craven Parish, no record remains of them. In fact, the only indication of any religious consciousness on the part of the first settlers of the Beaufort area is a clause in the act which incorporated the town in 1723. This clause states that when the town was first laid out by Robert Turner,<sup>74</sup> proper allotments were made for "a Church, a Town-house, and a Market Place. . . ."<sup>75</sup> That this act went on to specify that those places so allotted were to "Be reserved for those Uses . . ."<sup>76</sup> shows that no church building had been erected in Beaufort before 1723.

The act of the General Assembly which incorporated the town of Beaufort in 1723 also created the Parish of St. John, the boundaries of which coincided with

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<sup>69</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, I, 22.

<sup>70</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 6-10.

<sup>71</sup> See above, pp. 16, 25-26.

<sup>72</sup> As soon as a parish was created for Carteret Precinct in 1723, these two men were appointed as vestrymen for that parish. See below p. 54.

<sup>73</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 8. Actually, the vestry which was appointed in 1715 for Craven Parish never met the requirements for qualification, and as late as 1720 there was no authorized vestry for this parish. Clark, *State Records*, XXV, 166-167.

<sup>74</sup> This had occurred on October 2, 1713. See above pp. 20-21.

<sup>75</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXV, 206.

<sup>76</sup> Clark, *State Records* XXV, 207.

those of Carteret Precinct, which had been created the year before. This act also appointed a vestry for this new parish consisting of Christopher Gale, Joseph Bell, John Shaw, John Nelson, Richard Whitehurst, Richard Williamson, Richard Rustell, John Shackelford, Thomas Merriday, Enoch Ward, Joseph Fulford, and Charles Cogdell.<sup>77</sup> The fact that the first vestry included all of the first Justices of the Peace for Carteret Precinct and four of the five commissioners of the town of Beaufort reflects the close connection which was to exist between the town and precinct and the church. Beaufort, the seat of the precinct government, served also as the seat of the parish government throughout the rest of the colonial period.

There are no official minutes of the meetings of the vestry of St. John's Parish for the years between the time of its creation in 1723 and 1742. That such a body existed and was active, however, is plainly evident. For instance, it was the Church Wardens of St. John's Parish who transacted the affairs connected with the purchase of Carteret Precinct's first courthouse in 1724.<sup>78</sup> Likewise, it was Joseph Wicker, a Church Warden, who in 1729 was authorized by the county court to pay William Davis "what money he hath received from the parish . . ." for Davis' services in constructing Carteret's second courthouse.<sup>79</sup> These activities on the part of the church wardens presuppose the existence of an active vestry, and their close connection with the courthouse indicated that it was being used either as a church building where divine services were read by a layman or as a meeting place for the vestry, or both.<sup>80</sup>

St. John's Parish never had a resident minister,<sup>81</sup> and if any itinerant minister served the people of the parish before 1742, no record of it has survived.<sup>82</sup> In 1728 a certain John Clement, who described himself as a "preacher of the gospel,"

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<sup>77</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXV, 208-209.

<sup>78</sup> See above p. 27.

<sup>79</sup> Carteret Court Minutes, I, 23.

<sup>80</sup> The courthouse was used for both of these purposes after 1742. See Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 25, 41; Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 565.

<sup>81</sup> Even as late as 1760 the inhabitants of St. John's Parish were described by the Reverend James Reed of New Bern as "so poor & few in number that twill probably be a great many years, before they will be able to maintain a minister." Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 265-266.

<sup>82</sup> This lack of evidence does not rule out the possibility that occasional visits were made to St. John's Parish by Anglican ministers. The fact that one of the first recorded activities of the vestry in 1742, the date of the oldest existing record of that body, was to order the church wardens to secure some minister to baptize certain persons in Beaufort indicates that such occasional visits were made before 1742. See below, page 58.

purchased a lot in Beaufort, but he sold it the next year without building on it, a fact indicating that he never lived there.<sup>83</sup> In later years his name appears in the records of Craven County, in which he is described as a school teacher.<sup>84</sup> In 1733 the Reverend John LaPierre, an Anglican minister of the Cape Fear region, informed the Bishop of London that the Reverend Richard Marsden, also of that region, had "made interest with Govr. Burrington for the new Parish of Core Sound & New River. . . ."<sup>85</sup> There is no record, however, that Marsden ever visited the Core Sound area, which was included in St. John's Parish, even though he did on occasions preach in the New River area.<sup>86</sup>

The year 1742 marked the beginning of a new period in the life of St. John's Parish. It was in that year that George Read was chosen to be clerk of the vestry;<sup>87</sup> and from then until his death in the summer of 1755,<sup>88</sup> he was the dominant figure in the religious affairs of the area.<sup>89</sup> One of the services which he performed during all of this period was the keeping of extensive records of the activities of the vestry. But he performed other services as well. In April, 1743, the vestry voted to pay him thirty pounds "for Reading Divine Services the last year" and made an agreement with him for the same salary to read "Divine Services for the ensuing year, every other Sunday in Beaufort Town." This arrangement was continued in 1744, and in 1745 his services in Beaufort were extended to "every Sabbath Day, . . ."<sup>90</sup> and his salary was increased to fifty pounds.<sup>90</sup>

The first half of the thirteen years during which George Read served St. John's Parish was a period when war threatened the security of the inhabitants of

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<sup>83</sup> Carteret Deed Books, D, 4, 25-26.

<sup>84</sup> Dill, "Eighteenth Century New Bern," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXII (October, 1945), 488.

<sup>85</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, III, 392.

<sup>86</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, III, 342. The New River area is now a part of Onslow County.

<sup>87</sup> Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 1. Nothing is known of George Read before this time. There is no record that he ever bought property in Beaufort, but in 1743 and again in 1745 he was granted three hundred acre tracts of land in Carteret County. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IV, 635, 767. He was not clerk of the vestry in 1741, since the position was held by John Simpson in that year. See Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 1.

<sup>88</sup> Compare Saunders, *Colonial Records*, V, 340, and Carteret Court Minutes, II, 213.

<sup>89</sup> He was active in other affairs as well. At the time of the Spanish attack in 1747 he was clerk of the Carteret County regiment of the militia. Clark, *State Records*, XXII, 263. In the last two years before his death he was Clerk of Court for Carteret County. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, V, 320, 340.

<sup>90</sup> Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 3-8.

this parish.<sup>91</sup> It was also a period which witnessed the growth of religious zeal. In April, 1746, the vestry voted to provide divine services for other sections of the parish, and the church wardens were instructed to employ, if possible, two readers, one to read services "between the Et. [east] Side of No. [North] River and Hunting Quarters and the other on the So. Wt. [southwest] Side of Newport River. . . ." The church wardens were to employ these readers "at such Reasonable Sallory . . ." as was possible.<sup>92</sup> That these objectives were partly achieved in 1746 is shown by the fact that in April, 1747, Read recorded in the minutes of the vestry that a certain Joseph Bray was to be paid fifteen pounds for reading services on the southwest side of Newport River.<sup>93</sup> It was not until 1749, however, that a reader was secured for the area east of North River. That reader was the same Joseph Bray who had served the people on the southwest side of Newport River in 1746. He had been relieved of the responsibilities of that area in April, 1747, when the vestry appointed George Read to conduct divine services "one Sunday at Beaufort and the next Sunday at Mr. Shepards on the So Wt [southwest] Side of Newport River."<sup>94</sup> Bray's appointment in 1749 stipulated that he read services at the Straits<sup>95</sup> "one Sunday at Mr. Thomas Gillikins, one Sunday at Mr. Garrats [Jarrett's?] and one Sunday at the School House, on Christmas day at Mr. Gillikins. . . ."<sup>96</sup> From 1749 until the end of the colonial period, the appointment of readers for these two new areas as well as for Beaufort itself was a regular occurrence at the spring meeting of the vestry.

The congregation on the southwest side of Newport River was especially active, and in 1751 the vestry instructed Read to conduct divine services at Beaufort only one Sunday each month and on Christmas Day, and to devote himself on the remaining Sundays of each month to the performance of divine

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<sup>91</sup> See above, pp. 33-35.

<sup>92</sup> Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 9. Hunting Quarters was a name applied to the extreme northeastern part of Carteret County. It is still used at times by some of the local population when reference is made to that area.

<sup>93</sup> Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 9.

<sup>94</sup> Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 10.

<sup>95</sup> For the location of the Straits see above p. 52. Also, see Appendix: Map VIII, Waterway Connecting Pamlico Sd. & Beaufort Harbor, North Carolina.

<sup>96</sup> Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 13. Jarrett Bay is located about six miles northeast of the Straits. See Appendix, Map VIII: Waterway Connecting Pamlico Sr. & Beaufort Harbor, North Carolina.

services at Newport River.<sup>97</sup> Evidence of the vigor with which this new congregation acted under Read's leadership is seen in the fact that in April, 1752, the vestry noted that "Sundry persons on the So Wt Side of Newport River . . ." had subscribed a sum of money toward the building of a chapel in that area and voted to contribute eight pounds of the parish tax collected in that year for the same purpose. The vestry also promised that if the inhabitants of any other area of the parish would follow the example of this congregation, they would give them the same consideration.<sup>98</sup>

Work began on the chapel on the southwest side of Newport River after little delay. In May, 1755, Joseph Bell, "out of zeal for the worship of God and to promote the Christian religion, . . ." gave a piece of land thirty yards square to the church wardens of St. John's Parish. This land was situated so as "to take in and encompass a new chapel which is now a building . . . on the So Wt side of Newport River near the main road leading towards White Oak River and to the westward of Maj. David Shepards plantation where he now lives. . . ."<sup>99</sup> By 1760 the Reverend James Reed of New Bern, writing to the Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts in London, commented that the people of St. John's Parish "have build a neat wooden Chapel upon Newport River, where a small regular congregation constantly attends divine services, performed by a layman every Sunday."<sup>100</sup>

The vestry of St. John's Parish under the leadership of George Read did not limit its activities to the three locations mentioned above. By 1751 divine services were being read at White Oak River at the extreme western end of the parish, and in 1752 William Gaskill was appointed by the vestry to employ a reader for Hunting Quarters in the northeastern part of the parish.<sup>101</sup> In 1754 the inhabitants of the White Oak River area received aid from the parish to build a chapel there;<sup>102</sup> but if construction of a chapel was ever started there, no record of it remains. Before the end of the colonial period, however, chapels had been erected at

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<sup>97</sup> Vestry Books of St, John's Parish, I, 18.

<sup>98</sup> Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 20.

<sup>99</sup> Carteret Deed Books, F, 372-373. Shepard lived somewhere about or close to where Morehead Clty is now located. See Appendix, Map III: Port Beaufort or Topsail Inlet.

<sup>100</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 266.

<sup>101</sup> Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 19-20.

<sup>102</sup> Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 23.

Hunting Quarters<sup>103</sup> and at the Straits.<sup>104</sup> The one at the Straits stood on a two acre tract of land located on the "East side of the head of Fulford creek. . . ." This land had been given to the parish by George Bell in 1761.<sup>105</sup> The inhabitants of Beaufort, using the courthouse as their place of worship, made no effort to erect a church building during the years of George Read's leadership.

The year 1755 was an eventful year in the life of St. John's Parish. It was in this year that death deprived the parish of the services of George Read.<sup>106</sup> It was also in this year that the parish acquired the services of the Reverend James Reed of Christ Church Parish in Craven County.<sup>107</sup> The Reverend Mr. Reed had moved from England to New Bern in 1753.<sup>108</sup> In the eleven years between 1742 and the time of Reed's arrival in New Bern, only one minister had visited St. John's Parish in Carteret County. This visit had occurred between 1742 and 1744 at the invitation of the vestry so that certain people at Beaufort might receive the sacrament of baptism.<sup>109</sup> That situation soon changed after Reed's arrival. Before September, 1755, Reed contacted the vestry of St. John's Parish and offered to serve the people of that parish on a part-time basis. At the September meeting of the vestry George Mackane, who had succeeded George Read as clerk of the vestry, recorded the following decision in the minutes of that body: "This Vestry Agrees to give the Rever. Mr. James Read [*sic*] Twenty Pounds Procl. for the Ensuing Year upon condition that he . . . Read Divine Services in the Parish of St. Johns Six Times in the year, Vis. Twice at Beaufort Town Twice at the Chapel by Maj. D. Shepard and Twice at Capt. Mackhouses on White Oak River according to the Tenor of his Letter to the Vestry."<sup>110</sup> From then until the end of the colonial period Reed made rather regular visits to St. John's Parish.<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 58.

<sup>104</sup> Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 55.

<sup>105</sup> Carteret Deed Books, G, 68-69.

<sup>106</sup> Compare Saunders, *Colonial Records*, V, 340, and Carteret Court Minutes, II, 213.

<sup>107</sup> This name was given to the parish in Craven County in 1741. Dill, "Eighteenth Century New Bern," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXII (October, 1945), 486.

<sup>108</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 420.

<sup>109</sup> See Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 1, 5.

<sup>110</sup> Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 25.

<sup>111</sup> Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 31, and *passim*.

The effectiveness of the Reverend James Reed's work in St. John's Parish is reflected in the reports which he made to the Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Ten such reports are available.<sup>112</sup> In each report Reed gave an account of the visits which he had made to St. John's Parish in the last six months prior to the time of his report. In the sixty months covered by these ten reports, he noted that he had baptized three hundred and nine people. All except one of these were children, and only one was a Negro. If this slender evidence may be use as a basis for extrapolation, then it may be estimated that in the approximately twenty years during which he visited St. John's Parish Reed baptized over one thousand people.

Though Reed's instructions from the vestry of St. John's Parish occasionally stipulated that he was to visit the congregations at the Straits and Hunting Quarters,<sup>113</sup> none of the available reports which he sent to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts indicates that he ever traveled to these more distant parts of the parish. A closer examination of these reports reveals some details about the size and locations of the congregations which he did serve. For instance, in the report which he made on June 25, 1761, he commented that in the six months prior to that time he had "visited St. Johns Parish . . . thrice, once at the court house where I baptized 7 children, once at a Private House where I baptized 11 children & once at the Chapel upon Newport River, where I baptized 16 children and administered the Sacrament of the Lords Supper to 27 communicants."<sup>114</sup> Three years later the numbers to whom he preached in a six months period were larger, but the locations at which he preached were the same. On June 21, 1764, he reported that he had visited the parish "twice [thrice], once at the Court house where I baptized 24 children, again at a private house where I baptized 11 children & again at a Chapel upon Newport River, where I baptized 14 children and administered the sacrament of the Lords Supper to 36 communicants."<sup>115</sup> Though the private house mentioned in these and other reports made by Reed was not identified, it probably was near White Oak River, since that

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<sup>112</sup> The dates of these reports are: June 26, 1760; December 24, 1760; June 25, 1761; June 26, 1763; June 21, 1764; July 10, 1765; July 20, 1766; May 14, 1768; July 2, 1771; and February 15, 1772. They are found, respectively, in Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 265-266, 326, 565, 991, 1047-1048; VII, 99, 241, 750; IX, 8, 244.

<sup>113</sup> See, for example, Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 57.

<sup>114</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 565.

<sup>115</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 1047-1048

area was closest to Reed's home at New Bern and since his original instructions from the vestry of St. John's Parish had stipulated that he read services at White Oak River, at the chapel at Newport River, and at Beaufort.<sup>116</sup>

During the years that the Reverend James Reed served the spiritual needs of the inhabitants of St. John's Parish on a part-time basis, the vestry continued having its regular meetings at the courthouse at Beaufort and continued to provide readers for the parish church at Beaufort and the other congregations which had been established by that time.<sup>117</sup> Some of the men who served as vestrymen during these years were: Joseph Fulford, William Robertson, James Harker, William Thomson, George Bell, Joseph Bell, William Dennis, Zepheniah Pinkham, Rosiber Simpson, Ambrose Jones, Ross Bell, Jacob Shepard, Solomon Shepard, Lewis Welch, Enoch Ward, Vallentine Wallis, Jacob Wade, Samuel Nobel, Nowell Bell, John Sanders, Moses Houston, David Shepard, David Lewis, and Robert Read.<sup>118</sup> Two of these men deserve special attention. Robert Read was the son of George Read who had served the parish so faithfully between 1742 and 1755.<sup>119</sup> He, like his father before him, served as clerk of the vestry, and he filled the position with such proficiency that in 1773, when he failed to be reelected to the vestry, he was asked to continue to serve as its clerk.<sup>120</sup> The other vestryman who deserves attention was David Lewis. In 1774 it was recorded in the minutes of the vestry that he was dead and that he had "Left by his Last Will and Testament One Hundred Pounds Proc. Money to Ward Building of a Church in Beaufort Town. . . ." It was also noted at the same time that "Several Gentlemen hath offered to Subscribe . . ." to the same cause. In the light of these facts the vestry levied a special tax of one shilling on each taxable person in the parish to be added to this building fund and appointed William Thomson and Malachi Bell to collect the tax and to act as trustees of the fund. This order of the vestry also stipulated that William Thomson and Malachi Bell were to "Agree with Some Person or Persons to Carry on the sd. Work."<sup>121</sup> There is no record, however, that any further

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<sup>116</sup> Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 25.

<sup>117</sup> Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 34, 40, 41, and *passim*. On two occasions the vestry met at the chapel on the southwest side of Newport River. Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 40, 41.

<sup>118</sup> Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 40, 61.

<sup>119</sup> Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 27.

<sup>120</sup> Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 61, and *passim*.

<sup>121</sup> Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 64.

action was taken in the colonial period toward building a church at Beaufort. In 1776 the vestry was still meeting in the courthouse.<sup>122</sup>

The vestrymen who directed the affairs of St. John's Parish during the colonial period were interested not only in the spiritual needs of the inhabitants but their physical needs as well. They were meticulous in their care of the sick, the needy, and the old; and the records of the parish contain numerous accounts of occasions when such care was rendered. These services were of several different kinds and were performed by several different means. Sometimes food was given directly to the needy by the church wardens, who were later reimbursed from the parish tax. Such a case occurred in 1772 when Elizabeth Moore was provided a barrel of corn and two gallons of molasses.<sup>123</sup> On other occasions, such as the one involving an Indian named Edward John, money was given to a responsible person to be given to the person in need at certain intervals.<sup>124</sup> Sick people were usually placed under the care of some responsible person who was allowed a certain sum from the parish tax for his or her trouble and expense. A case of this nature occurred in the spring of 1751 when Daniel Rees was paid twelve pounds for "Keeping John Rine a Sick person who happened to fall in here."<sup>125</sup> In 1750 the vestry even went so far as to instruct Dederick Gibble and George Read to "endeavour to gett a Passage for Joseph Holmes to New England and to fitt . . . Holmes in a Reasonable manner for the passage, and the charge to be paid by the Church Wardens & if the sd. Holmes should have a passage to let him have a Warm Jacket and a felt Hatt. . . ."126

These illustrations of the benevolence of the Anglican Church in Carteret County are not intended to show that it provided doles for all applicants. Every effort was made to keep those who were "Likely to become a Parish charge . . ." from entering the parish,<sup>127</sup> and those who received services from the church and could afford to pay for them were expected to do so. In fact, on at least two occasions the church wardens were instructed by the vestry to enter suits in the

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<sup>122</sup> Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 68.

<sup>123</sup> Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 60.

<sup>124</sup> Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 40

<sup>125</sup> Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 18.

<sup>126</sup> Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 14.

<sup>127</sup> See Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 53.

county court against parties for the purpose of collecting funds which had been expended on them during illnesses.<sup>128</sup> Such strictness, however, came only after the needed help had been rendered and probably added much to the ability of the church to render such help when needed. In the light of these facts, it must be concluded that the church served as a rather effective welfare agency in colonial Beaufort.

Dissenter Groups.--The Anglican establishment was the only organized church in colonial Beaufort,<sup>129</sup> and the records provide no examples of dissenters from this church among the inhabitants of the town.<sup>130</sup> There was, on the other hand, a significant settlement of Quakers north of Beaufort in the vicinity of Core and Harlowe creeks, two creeks that flowed into Newport River on its north side. Just when the first of these Quakers moved into the Newport River area is unknown. By 1733 their number had increased to "Severall Familys," and on August 1 of that year they resolved to "meet Together on the First day of the week and the first day of the eight month att the house of William Borden."<sup>131</sup> This action established what became known as the Coresound Monthly Meeting, which before it ceased to exist in 1841 exercised jurisdiction over Quaker meetings in a wide area, including "Club Foot Meeting in Craven County, Mattamusket Meeting in Hyde County and Upper and Lower Trent Meetings in Jones County."<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>128</sup> See Vestry Books of St. John's Parish, I, 63, 65.

<sup>129</sup> This conclusion is supported by Any Muse, *The Story of the Methodists in the Port of Beaufort (New Bern, North Carolina: 1941)*, p. 14.

<sup>130</sup> The only record that can be construed to indicate the existence of religious groups other than Anglicans and Quakers in the Beaufort area during the colonial period is the record of a statement made by the Reverend James Reed of Christ Church Parish in Craven County. In 1761 Reed commented that "The Methodists of late have given me a good deal of trouble, along the Borders of my parish. . . ." Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 565. Paschal, however, argues convincingly that these "Methodists" were in reality Separate Baptist and that the center of their influence in the area was Onslow County, which then bordered Reed's parish on its southwest side. In fact, Paschal gives no indication that there were Baptist, or Methodists, in Carteret County before the end of the colonial period. George Washington Paschal, *History of North Carolina Baptist* (Raleigh, North Carolina: 1930), I, 306-312, and *passim*. The fact that Grissom makes no mention of Methodists in Carteret County before the end of the colonial period lends support to Paschal's position. W. L. Grissom, *History of Methodism in North Carolina from 1722 to the Present Time* (Nashville, Tennessee and Dallas, Texas: 1905), I.

<sup>131</sup> Minutes of the Coresound Monthly Meeting, I, 1.

<sup>132</sup> William Wade Hinshaw (ed.), *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: 1936), I, 263, hereinafter cited as Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of Quakers*.

For the first three and one-half years after the Coresound Monthly Meeting was established, Quaker meetings were held in the homes of William Borden and Henry Stanton.<sup>133</sup> By January, 1737, these Quakers had erected Carteret Precinct's first building designed especially for religious purposes; and at their January business meeting they agree that "the meeting of worship that was heto at Henry Stantons & William Bordens for the time to Come is to be keep att the meeting house."<sup>134</sup> The construction of this meeting house was partly financed by Quakers of Rhode Island, and all debts on it were liquidated by July, 1741.<sup>135</sup> It was located approximately six miles north of Beaufort near the main road leading from Beaufort to New Bern.<sup>136</sup>

Evidently the Quakers on the north side of Newport River were too scattered to be served conveniently by one meeting house. At the monthly meeting of July 6, 1756, it was "concluded to have a New Meeting House Built Some ware about the Head of Harliro [Harlowe] . . . and when Built for Friends to Meet in it Every other first day."<sup>137</sup> Six years elapsed before any further action was taken, but in 1762 John Bushop and Thomas Jessop were appointed "to Agree with workmen for that Purpose [that is, the construction of the new meeting house] and also To Purchas Timber Bords [and] Shingles . . ." and to try to secure a suitable site.<sup>138</sup> By the beginning of 1763 a site in Craven County on the west side of Clubfoot Creek had been secured; and on January 29, 1763, "the undertakers of the

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<sup>133</sup> In the last decade of the eighteenth century the Stantons lived near the east side of Core Creek, and the Bordens lived near the west side of Harlowe Creek. See "Sketch of the Harlowe Creek Area," in Williams, *The Williams History*, pp. 64-66.

<sup>134</sup> Minutes of the Coresound Monthly Meeting, I, 1.

<sup>135</sup> Minutes of the Coresound Monthly Meeting, I, 1, 5.

<sup>136</sup> Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of Quakers*, I, 263. See also "Sketch of the Harlowe Creek Arera," in Williams, *The Williams History*, pp. 64-66. Tuttle's Grove Methodist Church now occupies this site. The church yard contains a cemetery with grave markers dating from the eighteenth century, and the site itself is marked by a Historical Highway Marker of the Historic Sites Division of the North Carolina Department of Archives and History.

<sup>137</sup> Minutes of the Coresound Monthly Meeting, I, 33.

<sup>138</sup> Minutes of the Coresound Monthly Meeting, I, 42.

new Meeting House" reported to the Coresound Monthly Meeting that "the sd. House is so far finished as that Friends may keep their meetings in it."<sup>139</sup>

Quakers of the Newport River area were strictly disciplined by the Coresound Monthly Meeting. Excessive drinking, swearing, quarreling, and marrying persons not of the Society of Friends were among the most frequently committed offenses. When such an offense was committed, the offender was usually visited by a delegation of Quakers who reminded him of his transgression and encouraged him to rectify it and seek forgiveness at the next monthly meeting. If the delegation's efforts were unsuccessful, the offender was warned; and if he continued in his "unchristian Temper of Mind" after a sufficient period of warning, he was notified that he had been dismissed from the Society of Friends.<sup>140</sup> An example of such a dismissal involved Robert Williams, who on July 13, 1774, was charged with living with and having a child by the servant girl of his deceased wife, a girl who at that time was married to another man. After their due consideration of the matter, Williams was dismissed.<sup>141</sup> Benjamin Small, on the other hand, provided an example of one who was reclaimed by the disciplinary action of the Coresound Monthly Meeting. In August, 1738, after having been reprimanded the previous month, he appeared before the monthly meeting and confessed his sorrow for a dispute which he had had with James Bell concerning the possession of a bee tree.<sup>142</sup>

The public life of many of the Quakers of the Beaufort area was somewhat limited by their religious beliefs. For instance, in 1746 William Borden was denied the seat in the General Assembly to which he had been elected, because he refused to take the oath of office and the Assembly would not accept his "solemn

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<sup>139</sup> Minutes of the Coresound Monthly Meeting, I, 55. Clubfoot Creek flowed north into Neuse River. Its head was located only a short distance northwest of the head of Harlowe Creek, which flowed south into Newport River. The boundary between Carteret and Craven counties passed between the heads of these two creeks. For the approximate location of this meeting house see "Sketch of the Harlowe Creek Area," in Williams, *The Williams History*, pp. 64-66.

<sup>140</sup> See, for example, the case of Eleanor Briant. Minutes of the Coresound Monthly Meeting, I, 48, and *passim*.

<sup>141</sup> Minutes of the Coresound Monthly Meeting, I, 113-114.

<sup>142</sup> Minutes of the Coresound Monthly Meeting, I, 3.

affirmation."<sup>143</sup> Other Quakers refused to take the oath in county court,<sup>144</sup> and in June, 1737, Francis Alway was brought before the Coresound Monthly Meeting and questioned because he had taken an oath in court.<sup>145</sup> These Quakers also refused to bear arms during the French and Indian War, "not . . . out of Contempt of Authority or disaffection to government but for conscience Sake."<sup>146</sup> It appears they took the same stand during the attack of the Spanish privateers on Beaufort in 1747 and during the Revolutionary War.<sup>147</sup>

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<sup>143</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IV, 855-856. Borden was prominent in the affairs of the Coresound Monthly Meeting. See Minutes of the Coresound Monthly Meeting, I, 1, and *passim*. For a brief account of his life, see William K. Boyd (ed.), "Some North Carolina Tracts of the 18th Century, II, William Borden's 'Address to the Inhabitants of North Carolina,'" *The North Carolina Historical Review*, II (April, 1925), 188-193, hereinafter cited as Boyd, "William Borden's Address," *The North Carolina Historical Review*.

<sup>144</sup> Between 1741 and 1755 the following people, being Quakers, "attested" in court: Henry Stanton, Philip Pollard, Stephen Ford, John Small, David Bagley, Jr., Elias Albertson, Francis Alway, and Ephraim Bull. See Carteret Court Minutes, I, 94, 102, 103, 116, 123, 138: II, 210. All of these names appear frequently in the Minutes of the Coresound Monthly Meeting.

<sup>145</sup> Minutes of the Coresound Monthly Meeting, I, 1-2.

<sup>146</sup> Minutes of the Coresound Monthly Meeting, I, 42

<sup>147</sup> Of the persons who defended Beaufort during the attack of the Spanish privateers in 1747, none can be identified as Quakers from the Minutes of the Coresound Monthly Meeting. Compare Clark, *State Records*, XXII, 262-267, and Minutes of the Coresound Monthly Meeting, I, *passim*. At the Coresound Monthly Meeting of June 13, 1775, a message from the Quarterly Meeting was read which "Recommended to Friends Generally to keep themselves clear of being any way concerned in the unhappy Troubles which now exist between Great Britain & America." Minutes of the Coresound Monthly Meeting, I, 116.

## FACTORS IN THE ECONOMY OF COLONIAL BEAUFORT

### Fishing Activities

The economy of colonial Beaufort was largely based upon the exploitation of a number of natural resources which were present in the area surrounding the town. One of these natural resources was the marine life which inhabited the waters of the Beaufort area in great abundance. As early as 1585 the great abundance of fish in the Core Sound area was noted,<sup>1</sup> and in 1709 John Lawson listed forty-one types of fish and eighteen types of shellfish found along the coast of North Carolina. Most of those which Lawson listed were described as being useful either because of their value as food or because of some by-product produced from them.<sup>2</sup>

The production of seafood for commercial purposes became an item in the economy of the Beaufort area very soon after the first settlers arrived in the area. Before 1709 red drum, a fish which Lawson described as being found in "greater Numbers . . . than any other sort, . . ." were being caught, salted, and exported to other colonies.<sup>3</sup> That the Core Sound area was a center of this drum fishing activity is indicated by the fact that by 1709 an inlet in that area was named Drum Inlet.<sup>4</sup> It was while fishing at this inlet sometime before 1711 that John Fulford, who lived near the Straits of Core Sound, and two companions were deprived of their provisions and equipment by two Indians.<sup>5</sup>

Types of seafood other than red drum were exported from the Beaufort area at a very early date. For instance, in 1710 Christoph von Graffenried inscribed on his map of the Swiss and German settlement, which he had planted at the present site of New Bern, that "fish, oysters, crabs, clams, and many other things" were brought to his colony from the Core Sound area.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See above p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Harriss, *Lawson's History*, p. 159ff.

<sup>3</sup> Harriss, *Lawson's History*, p.165.

<sup>4</sup> See Lawson's map, which is reproduced at the front of Harriss, *Lawson's History*. For the 1953 location of this inlet see Appendix, Map VIII: Waterway Connecting Pamlico Sd. & Beaufort Harbor, North Carolina.

<sup>5</sup> See above p. 12, footnote 49.

<sup>6</sup> Dill, *Governor Tryon and His Palace*, opposite p. 32.

Though extensive records are lacking, it is evident that the exportation of seafood remained an important factor in the economy of Beaufort throughout the colonial period. In 1765 it was reported that the Beaufort area had "fish and oysters . . . in great plenty, . . ." <sup>7</sup> and in 1771 Governor Martin described Beaufort as "a small fishing town. . . ." <sup>8</sup> The value which some of the inhabitants of the area placed upon this natural resource is seen in the fact that in 1771 Jacob Shepard, one of Carteret County's representatives in the Assembly, <sup>9</sup> presented to that body a petition "from sundry of the Inhabitants of Carteret County therein praying a stop may be put to the hauling of seines in said County." <sup>10</sup> The results of this petition was the enactment of a law "to prevent the untimely Destruction of Fish in Core Sound, Bogue Sound, and the Straits in Carteret County." <sup>11</sup> Some indication of the importance of fishing during the colonial period can perhaps be inferred from a record dated January 1, 1789. The record shows that no less than two hundred and twelve barrels of fish were exported from the town of Beaufort in the six months prior to that date. <sup>12</sup>

### Whaling

Though they were not used for food, whales were plentiful along the coast near Beaufort and were an important economic factor in the area during the colonial period. As early as 1681 the Lords Proprietors were informed that "there are many Whales upon the Coast of Carolina, . . ." <sup>13</sup> and in 1709 John Lawson commented that "Whales are very numerous on the Coast of North Carolina. . . ." <sup>14</sup> According to the Fundamental Constitution of Carolina issued in 1669, these

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<sup>7</sup> "Journal of a French Traveller," *The American Historical Review*, XXVI (July 1921), 733.

<sup>8</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 33.

<sup>9</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 106.

<sup>10</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 392.

<sup>11</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 803.

<sup>12</sup> Treasurer's and Comptroller's Papers, Port Beaufort, in five boxes numbered 2 through 6, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina, Box 5, 1784-1789, hereinafter cited as Treasurer's and Comptroller's papers for Port Beaufort.

<sup>13</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, I, 338.

<sup>14</sup> Harriss, *Lawson's History*, p. 162.

mammals were the property of the Lords Proprietors.<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, on July 13, 1681, the Lord Proprietors granted the inhabitants of Carolina "free lease for the space of seven years . . . to take what whales they can and convert them to their owne use. . . ."<sup>16</sup> That this lease was renewed in succeeding years and that some of the inhabitants of Carolina made use of this opportunity is shown by the record of a case brought before the general court of Albemarle County in 1694. This case involved Timothy Pead, Charles Thomas, and Mathias Towler; and its purpose was to determine which party should have legal possession of a whale.<sup>17</sup>

In 1709 whaling on the North Carolina coast was restricted to "a few People who live on the Sand-Banks . . ." of the coast;<sup>18</sup> but in 1715 the Lords Proprietors opened the waters of North Carolina to "any New England men or others to catch Whales, Stergeons or any other Royal Fish. . . ."<sup>19</sup> This brought whalers from other colonies to North Carolina.<sup>20</sup> The only fee required of these whalers for this whaling privilege was the annual payment of two deer skins to the Lords Proprietors. As years passed, however, this fee was increased to one-tenth of the oil and whalebone produced from all whales caught.<sup>21</sup> Finally, in 1730, just after North Carolina became a royal colony, this fee was completely abolished for the sake of encouraging the whaling industry.<sup>22</sup>

At first, whaling activities on the North Carolina coast were confined to the processing of those whales "being found dead on the shore. . . ."<sup>23</sup> After 1715 when whalers started entering the colony from other areas, this situation gradually

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<sup>15</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXV, 135.

<sup>16</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, I, 338.

<sup>17</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, I, 419.

<sup>18</sup> Harriss, *Lawson's History*, p. 88.

<sup>19</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 175-176.

<sup>20</sup> In 1715 John Royal, a mariner from Boston, purchased six lots in Beaufort. Craven Will Books, A, 48-51. This record does not connect Royal with the whaling industry, but it does not rule out the possibility that he was at Beaufort for that purpose. More positive evidence that the action of the Lords Proprietors brought whalers from other colonies to North Carolina is the fact that during a gale in November, 1720, three sloops, all of which were en route from New England to North Carolina, were forced to seek shelter at Hampton, Virginia. At least one of these sloops was coming to North Carolina "to procure a License to Whale. . . ." Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 397. See also below page 69.

<sup>21</sup> This fee was increased sometime before 1723. See Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 490.

<sup>22</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, III, 99, 214.

<sup>23</sup> Harriss, *Lawson's History*, p. 162.

changed. By 1726 boats were being used in the whaling industry in North Carolina, and a license granted to Samuel Chadwick in that year gave him permission to use three boats in his whaling activities.<sup>24</sup> Apparently the whales were spotted from lookout stations on the beach, after which the crews manned the boats, encountered and killed the whales, and towed them back to the beach where the whalebone was saved and the blubber was tried out into oil. Cape Lookout, with its safe harbor on the ocean side of the beach, was an ideal location for such whaling activities.

Even before its incorporation as a town in 1723, Beaufort had become an important center of the whaling operations off the North Carolina coast. As early as 1714 a certain Captain John Records was fishing in the waters of North Carolina, but the precise location of his activities at that time is unknown.<sup>25</sup> By 1722, however, "Capt John Records & others . . ." were definitely "whaling on the Sea Coast of port Beaufort, . . ." and the extent of their success at that time can be determined from the fact that the tenth part of their catch, which was due to the Lords Proprietors, amounted to "Sixty Barrels of Brain oyl and Eight hundred wt. of Bone. . . ."<sup>26</sup>

As years passed whaling activities in the Beaufort area increased. By 1726 Samuel Chadwick, Ephraim Chadwick, Ebenezer Chadwick, and John Burnap had moved from New England to Carteret Precinct and were whaling in the waters of that area.<sup>27</sup> In 1728 the Lords Proprietors estimated that their tenth of the income from North Carolina's whaling industry during the four years prior to 1728 amounted to eight hundred pounds sterling.<sup>28</sup> Evidence that the Beaufort area had by this time become the center of the Carolina whaling industry is seen in the fact that in 1728 William Little, Receiver General for North Carolina, deputized Ebenezer Harker "of Port Beaufort to receive the Tenth of all whale oyl and Bone

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<sup>24</sup> Hathaway, *Genealogical Register*, II (April, 1901), 298.

<sup>25</sup> Vice-Admiralty Papers, II, 24.

<sup>26</sup> Vice-Admiralty Papers, I, 28. The date given in this record is "on or about the year 1721. . . ." However, the action described in it is also said to have occurred while William Reed was acting governor. Since Reed did not assume that position until September 7, 1722 (Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 460), and since Port Beaufort was not created until April 4, 1722 (Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 454), the year 1722 is probably the correct date.

<sup>27</sup> Hathaway, *Genealogical Register*, II (April, 1901), 298. For a history of the Chadwick family see Amy Muse, *Grandpa Was A Whaler, A Story of Carteret Chadwicks* (New Bern, North Carolina: 1961).

<sup>28</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 722.

Catched on the Sea Coast of this province. . . .<sup>29</sup> Two years later Little maintained that by that time Harker should have received sixty-seven barrels of oil and enough whalebone to be valued at three hundred and sixty pounds in North Carolina currency.<sup>30</sup> Based on these figures, the total catch for the two years between 1728 and 1730 produced six hundred and seventy barrels of oil and enough whalebone to be valued at three thousand six hundred pounds current money.

The 10 per cent tax which the Lords Proprietors had imposed on North Carolina's whaling industry was abolished in 1730, and from that time on the officials of the colony kept few records concerning this industry. Nevertheless, whaling continued to be an important economic activity in the Beaufort area. In 1755 Governor Dobbs in a description of Cape Lookout commented that it was a place "where the whale fishers from the Northward have a considerable fishery from Christmas to April, when the whales return to the northwd. . . ."<sup>31</sup> In 1757 John Shackelford, who owned the beach between Topsail Inlet and Cape Lookout, sold two tracts of that beach to men connected with the whaling industry. These two men were Joseph Morse and Edward Fuller, and the deeds which they received for these tracts also gave them "privileges at Point Lookout Bay that is to have liberty to fish and whale in said Bay and also to have a landing at the said Point Lookout Bay."<sup>32</sup> That whaling continued in the Beaufort area throughout the rest of the colonial period is shown by the activities of a certain David Wade, who during the Revolutionary War deserted Captain Enoch Ward's Core Sound company of militia and "entered with Capt. Pinkun to go a whaling. . . ."<sup>33</sup>

### Forest Industries

Forest industries were probably as important to the economy of colonial Beaufort as was the fishing or the whaling industry. The Beaufort area was richly endowed with an extensive pine forest; and before the colonial period ended this forest was not only being sawed into lumber but also was being used for the production of tar and crude turpentine, two products from which rosin, pitch, and spirits of turpentine were made. The extensive character of this pine forest was

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<sup>29</sup> Vice-Admiralty Papers, I, 22.

<sup>30</sup> Vice-Admiralty Papers, I, 22.

<sup>31</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, V, 346.

<sup>32</sup> Carteret Deed Books, F, 456.

<sup>33</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXII, 894-895.

vividly described by a Frenchman who traveled from Beaufort to New Bern in the spring of 1765. His journey, he said, was "through a continual forest of pine trees." He spent the first night after leaving Beaufort at the home of a "good Quaker" who lived twelve miles from the town; and his only description of this Quaker other than "good" was, "He makes spirits of turpentine and rosin." The next day he continued his journey, which he described as "still the same thing today as yesterday, pine trees. . . ." He even commented that the road was "very Dangerous in stormy weather by the falling of the great dead trees."<sup>34</sup>

The forest industries of the Beaufort area were of three distinct types, one of which was the production of lumber. Before the colonial period came to an end, there were at least two sawmills in the Beaufort area. One of these was located on Gales Creek, which flowed into Bogue Sound;<sup>35</sup> the other was on Black Creek, which flowed into Newport River.<sup>36</sup> These sawmills were powered by waterpower produced through the utilization of dams, tide gates, and waterwheels. The ponds which these dams created were used for floating the logs to the sawmills, which were located at the dams.<sup>37</sup> Boards, scantlings, heavy timbers, and shingles were produced at these sawmills. Export records which apply specifically to the Beaufort area are not available for the colonial period, but they do exist for a short period just after the end of the Revolutionary War. These records show that in a period of ten months in the years 1788 and 1789, 327,000 shingles, and 161,500 feet of lumber of different types were exported from the town of Beaufort.<sup>38</sup>

Another forest industry of the Beaufort area was concerned with the production of crude turpentine and its related products, rosin and spirits of turpentine. Although these products were being produced in North Carolina as early as 1709,<sup>39</sup> they were not mentioned in the records of the Beaufort area until

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<sup>34</sup> "Journal of a French Traveller," *The American Historical Review*, XXVI (July, 1921), 734.

<sup>35</sup> Carteret Court Minutes, III, 319.

<sup>36</sup> Carteret Deed Books, H, 440-441.

<sup>37</sup> *The North-Carolina Gazette* (June 6, 1778).

<sup>38</sup> Treasurer's and Comptroller's Papers for Port Beaufort, Box 5, 1784-1789. In 1764 only 222,150 shingles and 134,560 feet of lumber were exported from all of the Port Beaufort customs district. D. L. Corbitt (ed.), "Historical Notes," subdivision entitled "Imports and Exports at Beaufort, 1764." *The North Carolina Historical Review*, VI (October, 1929), 412, hereinafter cited as Corbitt, "Imports and Exports at Beaufort, 1764," *The North Carolina Historical Review*. For the area included in the Port Beaufort customs district in 1764, see below, pp. 78-80

<sup>39</sup> Harriss, *Lawson's History*, p. 100.

1743. In that year Josiah Jones of Carteret County purchased a seven acre tract of land on the northeast side of White Oak River and paid for it with twenty barrels of turpentine.<sup>40</sup> Two years later, in 1745, Samuel Chadwick, who had moved to Carteret County as a whaler, sold two tracts of land in that county but reserved the pine trees growing on these tracts of land for his own use. The deed which he granted for these tracts stipulated that he was to have the "liberty to tend or work or make any better use of them [the pine trees] and bear of [off] or carry of [off] from ye. sd. land any turpentine made of the sd. pines or any timber or rails got or made on the sd. lands. . . ." The price paid for one of these tracts of land was one hundred barrels of "good merchantable . . . turpentine. . . ."<sup>41</sup> There can be no doubt that by the 1740's the production of turpentine had become a factor in the economy of the Beaufort area.

Crude turpentine was the oleoresin of longleaf pines and was obtained as an exudate from small incisions made in the trunks of these trees. Although the turpentine could be obtained during all seasons of the year, the peak of activity came during the spring and summer months when the oleoresin flowed most freely.<sup>42</sup> As the crude turpentine oozed from the tree, it drained down into a deep hole called a cup which had been chopped into the base of the tree. Every three or four weeks it was collected into barrels, which held thirty-one and one-half gallons and which weighed, when filled, three hundred and twenty two pounds. One man could tend approximately three thousand trees, which in the course of one season would produce about one hundred barrels of crude turpentine. This was usually sold in its natural form, the price of which in 1765 was eight shillings current money per barrel.<sup>43</sup> On occasions, however, it was distilled into spirits of

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<sup>40</sup> Carteret Deed Books, D, 357. This turpentine was probably in its crude form, since the records of the Beaufort area appear to be consistent in referring to the distilled product as spirits of turpentine.

<sup>41</sup> Carteret Deed Books, D, 380, 395.

<sup>42</sup> A Frenchman who traveled from Beaufort to New Bern in the spring of 1765 commented that "turpentine is only made in the summer time. . . ." "Journal of a French Traveller," *The American Historical Review*, XXVI (July, 1921), 733. For the seasonal aspect of this industry as well as its utilization of longleaf pines, see Merrens, *Colonial North Carolina*, pp. 86-87, 229; and Kenneth B. Pomeroy and James G. Yoho, *North Carolina Lands; Ownership, Use, and Management of Forest and Related Lands* (Washington, D. C.: 1964), p. 13, hereinafter cited as Pomeroy and Yoho, *North Carolina Lands*.

<sup>43</sup> A contemporary account of the methods used in the production of crude turpentine is given in "Journal of a French Traveller," *The American Historical Review*, XXVI (July, 1921), 733. See also, Crittenden, *The Commerce of North Carolina*, p. 54; and Pomeroy and Yoho, *North Carolina Lands*, p. 13.

turpentine.<sup>44</sup> One barrel of crude turpentine would produce about three gallons of spirits of turpentine. The chief by-product of this distilling process was rosin, which among other things, was used in the production of varnish.<sup>45</sup> An indication of the extent of this industry in the Beaufort area during the colonial period can be attained from the export records mentioned above. During a period of ten months duration in the years 1788 and 1789, two hundred and ninety-three barrels of crude turpentine, one hundred and ninety-two barrels of rosin, and twenty-two barrels of spirits of turpentine were exported from the town of Beaufort.<sup>46</sup>

The production of tar and pitch was also a forest industry in the Beaufort area during the colonial period. In fact, the Frenchman who journeyed from Beaufort to New Bern in 1765 commented that "there is . . . great quantities of tarr and pitch raised in this part of the country; indeed more than in any other part of America."<sup>47</sup> To be sure, this comment was intended to apply to all of the eastern part of North Carolina, but the fact that it was made in connection with a description of the Beaufort area shows that that area participated in North Carolina's tar and pitch industry.

The production of tar was more complex than the production of turpentine and its related products. It was extracted from the wood of pine trees, "generally of old fallen pines and of the branches and knotty parts, . . ." by heating this wood in a kiln designed for that purpose. The base of such a kiln was made of clay, was circular in shape, and sloped downward toward the center. The pine wood was laid on this base in a pile reaching a height of from ten to twelve feet and was arranged so that each piece extended outward and slightly upward from the center of the pile. The whole pile was then covered with an earthen wall, except for a small opening at the top where a fire was kindled. This opening was then covered so as to confine the fire and leave only enough heat to force the tar downward in the

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<sup>44</sup> Crittenden comments that "Turpentine distilling was not an industry of great importance in North Carolina before 1790." Crittenden, *The Commerce of North Carolina*, p. 54. That some turpentine was distilled in the Beaufort area during the colonial period, however, is shown by the description given by the French traveler of the quaker with whom he spent the night while en route from Beaufort to New Bern. See above, pp. 70-71.

<sup>45</sup> Crittenden, *The Commerce of North Carolina*, p. 54. Varnish was being produced in the Beaufort area by 1788. Export records for the period between July 1, 1788, and January 1, 1789, show that nineteen barrels of varnish were shipped from the town of Beaufort. Treasurer's and Comptroller's Papers for Port Beaufort, Box 5, 1784-1789.

<sup>46</sup> Treasurer's and Comptroller's Papers for the Port of Beaufort, Box 5, 1784-1789.

<sup>47</sup> "Journal of a French Traveller," *The American Historical Review*, XXVI (July, 1921), 733-734.

wood and eventually to the base of the kiln. A wooden pipe sloping downward from a small hole in the center of the base of the kiln carried the tar to a point approximately ten feet outside of the circumference of the kiln. A pit was dug at the outward end of the pipe, in which a barrel was placed to catch the tar as it drained from the kiln. The barrels used for tar held and weighed the same amount when filled as did the barrels used for turpentine.<sup>48</sup>

The production of pitch was much less complicated than the production of tar. It was made simply "by boiling it [tar] in an iron kettle or making a hole in the Ground in which the tar is put and set on fire and burns itself into pitch."<sup>49</sup>

Export records for the years 1788 and 1789 show that three hundred and nineteen barrels of tar were shipped from the town of Beaufort within a period of ten months during these years.<sup>50</sup>

### Shipbuilding

Another economic activity of the area around colonial Beaufort which was made possible, at least in part, by the trees of that area was shipbuilding. The tall straight pines provided not only lumber for shipbuilding but were also ideal for masts; and the chief products of these pines--tar, pitch, turpentine, and rosin--were recognized as the essential naval stores. Though pines dominated the landscape in the area as a whole, the "Sandy Islands and Sea Coast on the Main . . ." supported an abundant growth of cedars and live oaks. These cedars and live oaks, as Governor Dobbs pointed out in 1761, were "excellent for Ship Timber being all crooked and very lasting. . . ."<sup>51</sup> Thus the Beaufort area was well supplied with the natural resources necessary for a shipbuilding industry.

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<sup>48</sup> "Journal of a French Traveller," *The American Historical Review*, XXVI (July, 1921), 733-734.

<sup>49</sup> "Journal of a French Traveller," *The American Historical Review*, XXVI (July, 1921), 733-734.

<sup>50</sup> Treasurer's and Comptroller's Papers for Port Beaufort, Box 5, 1784-1789. No pitch was exported from the town of Beaufort during the period covered by these records. This does not mean, however, that pitch was not produced in the area, since these records cover such a short period and apply to such a small area. In fact, the statement made by the French traveler in 1765 indicates that pitch was produced near Beaufort. See above, top of this page. Undoubtedly, some of this pitch, as well as the other naval stores produced in the Beaufort area, did not appear in the export records, owing to the fact that it was used by the local shipbuilding industry.

The quantity of naval stores exported from the town of Beaufort was small compared to the quantity exported from all of the Port Beaufort customs district. For instance, in 1764, 30,403 barrels of tar, 3,303 barrels of turpentine, 3,721 barrels of pitch, 619 barrels of rosin, and 1,279 barrels of spirits of turpentine were exported from the Port Beaufort customs district. "Imports and Exports at Beaufort, 1764," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, VI (October, 1929), 412.

<sup>51</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 606-607.

Evidence indicates that the residents of the Beaufort area were making use of these natural resources at a very early date. As early as 1713 George Bell contracted to instruct two servant boys, Charles Cogdell and George Cogdell, "in ye building of Vessells."<sup>52</sup> In 1732 William Borden moved from Rhode Island to the Beaufort area and entered the shipbuilding business,<sup>53</sup> and in 1752 there was a "ship yard" at Harkers Island.<sup>54</sup> The terms "shipwright" and "ship carpenter" were used quite frequently to describe the trades of those who purchased property in the Beaufort area.<sup>55</sup> Though records are lacking which reveal the extent of this activity in the Beaufort area, Govern Tryon reported in 1767 that shipbuilding in North Carolina as a whole was "not considerable, the largest built vessel not exceeding two hundred tons burden."<sup>56</sup> The average size of the vessels built at Beaufort was very likely represented by one advertised in the May 15, 1778, issue of *The North-Carolina Gazette*. This vessel was described as follows:

The subscriber [Abiel Chaney] has for sale at the town of Beaufort, Carteret County, a new vessel on the stocks, well calculated for a fast sailer, and will be completely finished by the 15th of May next. Her dimensions are 55 feet keel strait rabber [rudder ?], 11 feet rake forward, 18 and a half feet beam, and 7 feet and half hold.<sup>57</sup>

The place which shipbuilding attained in the economy of the Beaufort area in the years immediately after the Revolutionary War is revealed by the following statement made in 1810:

The principal trade carried on here [in Beaufort] is Ship building in which they have acquired a very considerable reputation both on account of the solidity of the materials & Judgment and Skill of their workmen as well in modelling as in compleating their Vessels. Live oak and Cedar are the timbers principally used but the stock is by no means so abundant as it had been. Some of the swiftest sailers & best built Vessels in the United States have been launch'd here, particularly the Ship Minerva a well known Packet

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<sup>52</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 172.

<sup>53</sup> Boyd, "William Borden's Address," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, II (April, 1925), 189.

<sup>54</sup> Carteret Deed Books, E, 299-300.

<sup>55</sup> For example, see Carteret Deed Books, E, 299; H, 277. 292. 317.

<sup>56</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 429.

<sup>57</sup> *The North Carolina Gazette* (May 15, 1778).

between Charleston & Newyork. There are at present five Vessels on the Stocks two of which are ready to be launch'd.<sup>58</sup>

The fact that Beaufort had won such a reputation by 1810, as well as the fact that its supply of cedar and live oak was "by no means so abundant . . ." as it had been, indicates that shipbuilding had been an established industry in the Beaufort area for a long time.

### Agriculture

A relatively large percentage of the Beaufort area consisted of tidal marsh. As noted above, this marsh land was especially prevalent along the edges of Newport River, North River, Core Sound, and the sound side of the Outer Banks; and it supported a natural growth of different kinds of grasses and shrubs suitable as pasture for livestock. During the colonial period cattle, sheep, hogs, and horses used these areas as an open range. To be sure, many of these animals were grown for local consumption or as draft animals; but some of them, at least, were sold either at local or distant markets. Thus the production of livestock was a factor in the economy of colonial Beaufort.

The existing records reveal little as to the number of livestock that subsisted in the Beaufort area at any given time during the colonial period. In 1713 John Shackleford purchased a piece of land near the site where the town of Beaufort was soon to be laid out for "Three Gentle good Cows and Calves . . .";<sup>59</sup> and before 1730 he had herds of livestock on the section of the Outer Banks east of Topsail Inlet, which he had obtained in 1723.<sup>60</sup> In 1745 Ephrim Chadwick sold "ten likely cows and calves, [and] two four year old steers . . ." to John Clitherall.<sup>61</sup> There were cattle at Cape Lookout in 1747 when the Spanish attacked the town of Beaufort, and one of the arguments which Governor Dobbs used during the French and Indian War for the erection of a strong fort at Cape Lookout was that a fort would prevent the enemy from obtaining provisions by simply "shooting the Cattle on the Banks."<sup>62</sup> In 1764 Dobbs estimated that nearly seven-eighths of the cattle

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<sup>58</sup> "A Miscellany from the Thomas Henderson Letter Book," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, VI (October, 1929), 399.

<sup>59</sup> Craven Will Books, A, 11.

<sup>60</sup> Carteret Grant Books, D, 4.

<sup>61</sup> Carteret Deed Books, D, 399.

<sup>62</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, V, 345-346.

of North Carolina had died because of a distemper brought from South Carolina,<sup>63</sup> but by the end of the colonial period the number of cattle seems to have increased considerably. In fact, in 1776 Robert Williams was concerned lest "the Numerous herds of Cattle on the Sea Coast . . ." fall into the hands of the British;<sup>64</sup> and in 1777 Captain John Nelson of the Craven County militia was sent to Core Banks to repel the enemy if possible "and by all means to remove the Stocks of Cattle & Sheep so as at every event to prevent their falling in the enemy hands."<sup>65</sup> The only indication available as to how many of the cattle of the Beaufort area were used for commercial purposes is derived from the export records for the town of Beaufort for the years 1788-1789. In a period of ten months during these years four vessels left Beaufort carrying livestock to St. Barthelemy, Guadelope, and Hispaniola.<sup>66</sup>

Largely because of the scarcity of arable lands, the cultivation of crops in the Beaufort area was not an important economic activity during the colonial period. Many of the early settlers spoke of their home sites as plantations, but this designation seems to have been used in the loose manner common to the period.

The first record of cultivated crops in the Beaufort area dates back to the year 1713, when in the midst of the Tuscarora War the garrison stationed at a certain Shackelfors's plantation requested and received "liberty to plant Corne on ye said plantation."<sup>67</sup> This corn, however, was grown for their own consumption, a pattern of farming which seems to have been dominant throughout the colonial period. The Frenchman who traveled from Beaufort to New Bern in the spring of 1765 commented that "there are here and there a small vilage and some little farms Dispersd up and Down where they rais nothing but Indian Corn (of which they make their bread) and peas."<sup>68</sup> Some of these peas were grown for export as is shown by the fact that one of the vessels which left Beaufort in the fall of 1788 bound for Martinique carried among other things four hundred and eighty bushels of peas. This, however, was the only shipment of peas made in a period of ten months: and the only other product of cultivation which was shipped from

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<sup>63</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 1029.

<sup>64</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 742

<sup>65</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XI, 775.

<sup>66</sup> Treasurer's and Comptroller's Papers for Port Beaufort, Box 5, 1784-1789. The sizes of these shipments are not given.

<sup>67</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 2.

<sup>68</sup> "Journal of a French Traveller." *The American Historical Review*, XXVI (July, 1921), 734.

Beaufort during that period was two hundred bushels of potatoes, which were carried to New York.<sup>69</sup> The only other crop mentioned in the records of the area around colonial Beaufort was rice. In 1776 Robert Williams, who lived about twenty miles from Beaufort, described his business as that of rice planting.<sup>70</sup>

### Ocean Borne Commerce

The Port Beaufort Customs District.--The town of Beaufort was made "a port for the unloading and discharging Vessells . . ." by an order of the Lords Proprietors on April 4, 1722.<sup>71</sup> This town, its harbor, and Topsail Inlet, which connected the harbor with the ocean, served North Carolina as a port of entry throughout the rest of the colonial period.

The order of the Lords Proprietors which made Beaufort a port affected only that area which could be served through Topsail Inlet. Since the inland waterways which led to this inlet did not extend into the interior or make convenient connections with rivers that did, the services of Port Beaufort were restricted to a small area lying along the south and east sides of Carteret Precinct.<sup>72</sup> This area constituted the Port Beaufort customs district, and the offices of the customs officials for this district were established at the town of Beaufort.<sup>73</sup>

The size of the Port Beaufort customs district was greatly enlarged in 1730. In that year the Neuse River estuary, on which the town of New Bern was located and which until 1730 had been a part of the Port Bath customs district, was placed

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<sup>69</sup> Treasurer's and Comptroller's Papers for Port Beaufort, Box 5, 1784-1789.

<sup>70</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXII, 746.

<sup>71</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 454.

<sup>72</sup> See above p. 2. See also Appendix, Map VI: Beaufort Harbor, North Carolina, inset entitled Locality Map.

<sup>73</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IV, 169-171. There were usually two officials connected with the enforcement of trade regulations at each of the ports of North Carolina. The deputy Naval Officer's responsibilities were to keep records of imports and exports, make lists of vessels entering and clearing, and examine certificates of bond and registration. This officer was responsible to the Naval Officer of the colony, who was in turn responsible to the governor. The other official, the Collector of the Customs, was responsible to the British Commissioners of Customs. His primary responsibility was to collect duties on imports and exports. See Crittenden, *The Commerce of North Carolina*, pp. 39-41. Port Beaufort's first Collector of the Customs was Christopher Gale, who was appointed to the position when the port was established. See Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 561. The first record of the appointment of a deputy Naval Officer for Port Beaufort is dated 1724. In that year Governor Burrington appointed John Sparrow to that position. Carteret Court Minutes, I, 3. Port Beaufort did not have a Comptroller before 1767. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 535.

under the jurisdiction of the customs officials of Port Beaufort.<sup>74</sup> Since vessels bound for the Neuse River and New Bern entered North Carolina's inland waterways through Ocracoke Inlet, located approximately fifty miles northeast of Topsail Inlet, and at no point in their journey entered waterways leading to Topsail Inlet, the change made in 1730 added a second port of entry to the Port Beaufort customs district.<sup>75</sup> Before 1739 this district was again expanded by the inclusion of the area served by vessels entering Bogue and Bear inlets.<sup>76</sup>

For fifteen years after the Neuse River estuary was included in the Port Beaufort customs district, the customs officials for the district continued to maintain their headquarters at the town of Beaufort. As Governor Burrington pointed out in 1736, this arrangement caused quite a bit of inconvenience for masters of vessels trading at Neuse River. Writing to the Commissioners of the Customs in London in 1736, Burrington asserted that the masters of such vessels had, since 1730 "been forced to ride forty miles [on horseback] to enter and clear at Beaufort thro a low watery and uninhabited Country which after great Rains is not passable in many Days." He contended that the town of Beaufort was the most convenient place for the collection of customs duties for vessels entering Topsail Inlet but that in his opinion Neuse River should not be a part of the Port Beaufort customs district.<sup>77</sup> Burrington's suggestion to exclude Neuse River from the Port Beaufort customs district was not heeded, but in 1746 an alternate solution to this problem of having two distinct ports of entry in one customs district was provided by the appointment of an additional collector for the Port Beaufort district. Thomas Lovick, who had served as Collector of Customs for Port Beaufort since before 1734,<sup>78</sup> was to continue "to reside at Core Sound, to receive the . . . Duty on the . . . Liquors and Rice, imported in such Vessel or Vessels which shall lade and unlade in Core Sound, or Bogue Inlet, . . ." while James Mackleween was to

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<sup>74</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IV, 169.

<sup>75</sup> See Appendix, Map VIII: Waterway Connecting Pamlico Sd. & Beaufort Harbor, North Carolina, inset entitled Locality Map.

<sup>76</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IV, 374. These two inlets were located at the southwest end of Bogue Sound. See Appendix, Map V: Morehead City Harbor, North Carolina, inset entitled Locality Map. The area served by these inlets was small. Thus this inclusion was not as important to the Port Beaufort customs district as was the inclusion of New Bern.

<sup>77</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IV, 169-171.

<sup>78</sup> Vice-Admiralty Papers, I, 68.

receive the same duties for "Vessels which shall lade and unlade in Neus River."<sup>79</sup> This arrangement was continued until the death of Thomas Lovick in or about 1759.<sup>80</sup> By that time the volume of ocean borne trade handled at New Bern on Neuse River had become much greater than that handled at Beaufort, and from then until the end of the colonial period New Bern was the headquarters for the Port Beaufort customs district.<sup>81</sup>

The Volume and Nature of Beaufort's Commerce.--The few customs records that are available for the Port Beaufort customs district during the colonial period do not reveal the exact percentage of the trade of that district that entered or departed through Topsail Inlet and was handled at the town of Beaufort.<sup>82</sup> Customs reports are available, however, for a period of five years just after the end of the Revolutionary War which pertain exclusively to the port at the town of Beaufort.<sup>83</sup> These reports, along with reports for the rest of the Port Beaufort customs district, reveal that between July, 1785, and March, 1790, less than 10 per cent of the ocean borne commerce of the Port Beaufort customs district was

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<sup>79</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 270-271.

<sup>80</sup> Thomas Lovick was a Justice of Peace for Carteret County in 1758. Carteret Court Minutes, II, 237. His will was probated in the June, 1759, session of the Carteret County Court, at which time he was pronounced "Deceases." Carteret Court Minutes, II, 240.

<sup>81</sup> Dill cites the year 1739 as the approximate time when New Bern began its rise as a port town. Dill, "Eighteenth Century New Bern," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXII (January, 1946), 63-64. By the 1750's the term *Port Beaufort* was at times used to refer exclusively to the area between Ocracoke Inlet and the town of New Bern on Neuse River, and many of the acts which were passed by the Assembly in the 1750's and the 1760's for facilitating Port Beaufort applied only to the area between Ocracoke Inlet and New Bern. See, for example, Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 375-378.

<sup>82</sup> These records refer only to Port Beaufort. Since there were three distinct parts of that port after the 1730's, there is no way to determine which part of the port these records represent. There are no records for Port Beaufort for the period before 1730, when it included only the area that could be served through Topsail Inlet.

<sup>83</sup> Treasurer's and Comptroller's Papers for Port Beaufort, Box 4, 1784-1790.

handled at the town of Beaufort.<sup>84</sup> Proceeding on the assumption that this percentage had not radically changed since the closing decades of the colonial period, it must be concluded that the volume of commerce handled at the town of Beaufort during the closing decades of the colonial period was quite small indeed. For instance, during the year ending October 1, 1764, only one hundred and twenty-seven vessels entered the Port Beaufort customs district, the great majority of which were the smaller sloops and schooners rather than the larger ships, snows, and brigs.<sup>85</sup> Furthermore, during the twenty-eight months that ended January 5, 1770, a total of 282 vessels with a tonnage of 9,909 entered, while 283 vessels with a tonnage of 9,931 cleared the customs at Port Beaufort.<sup>86</sup> On the basis of these figures an average of only ten vessels each month entered the Port Beaufort customs district during the last decade of the colonial period, and these ten vessels had an average tonnage of about thirty-five tons each. The town of Beaufort, with less than 10 percent of this trade, was quite insignificant as far as its contribution to North Carolina's ocean borne commerce was concerned.<sup>87</sup>

The few vessels that traded at the town of Beaufort during the colonial period came there from a variety of ports. Before 1719 a certain Captain Stone rented Crany Island, later named Harkers Island, from Thomas Pollock for "100 weight of Cocoa. . . ."<sup>88</sup> Stone's possession of this commodity indicates some trade between the Beaufort area and the West Indies at that time. Before 1731

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<sup>84</sup> Between July, 1785, and March, 1790, an average of slightly less than two vessels each month entered at the town of Beaufort. A similar number entered through Bogue and Bear inlets, while the number entering at New Bern averaged nearly fifteen each month. Thus, during the period under consideration, the town of Beaufort attracted only about 10.5 per cent of the vessels that entered the Port Beaufort customs district. However, those vessels entering at the town of Beaufort brought smaller amounts of taxable commodities, and probably smaller cargoes, than those entering at New Bern. For instance, the average amount of duty collected on each vessel entering at New Bern between 1785 and 1790 was approximately eighteen pounds, while the average amount collected from each vessel entering at the town of Beaufort during the same period was only about nine pounds. The average duty collected from vessels entering Bogue and Bear inlets during this period was about six pounds. On the basis of these figures one must conclude that the proportion of Port Beaufort's commerce that was handled at the town of Beaufort was well below 10 per cent.

<sup>85</sup> "Imports and Exports at Beaufort, 1764," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, VI (October, 1929), 412.

<sup>86</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 174.

<sup>87</sup> Even if Beaufort's proportion of Port Beaufort's commerce was larger at an earlier date, as was indicated by Governor Martin in 1773 (See Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 636-637), its total volume was still quite small since the total volume of commerce of the Port Beaufort customs district was much smaller at that time. See Saunders, *Colonial Records*, V, 314; VI, 968.

<sup>88</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 388.

three New England vessels were seized by the customs officials at Beaufort because of improper registration,<sup>89</sup> while in 1734 the sloop *Middleborough*, which had loaded at Boston, and the brig *George*, which had loaded at Dublin, Ireland, brought cargoes to the town of Beaufort.<sup>90</sup> In 1747, in the midst of King George's War, a sloop from Rhode Island, the *King George*, entered Beaufort harbor with a Spanish prize, the *Elizabeth and Annah*, which had been captured at St. Thomas Island in the West Indies;<sup>91</sup> and in 1759 a vessel named *St. Andrew* arrived at Beaufort with a cargo from London.<sup>92</sup> Other ports, both on the North American continent and in the West Indies, were also represented.<sup>93</sup>

The items which these vessels brought to Beaufort were also varied but consisted mainly of those necessities that could not be produced from the natural resources of the Beaufort area. For instance, the cargo which was brought to Beaufort from London in the *St. Andrew* in 1759 and which was advertised for sale for "Cash, or Tar, Deer Skins, or Furr, Ect. . . ." consisted of the following items:

London Cordage, Tinklingburghs, Irish Prizes, fine brown Cloth, Sail Twine, Worsted Stocking Breeches Patterns, red and black; ready made Cotton and Check Shirts; strip'd double breasted Flannel Jackets; Flannel and Check Drawers; long and short Trowsers and Frocks; white cup and Saucers, . . . Bowls, Mugs, Plates and Dishes, . . . Tortoise Shell Cups and Saucers, Teapots . . . Glasses of all Sorts, Loaf Sugar, [and] Powder [sugar] . . . .<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, III, 226-227.

<sup>90</sup> Vice-Admiralty Papers, I, 65-68.

<sup>91</sup> Vice-Admiralty Papers, III, 5, 17-21.

<sup>92</sup> *The NOth. Carolina Gazette* (October 18, 1759).

<sup>93</sup> In 1785 vessels came to Beaufort from the following American ports: Philadelphia; Charleston; New York; Baltimore; New London; Portsmouth, Virginia; and Middleton, Massachusetts. One vessel came from Rhode Island, but the specific port was not determined. Also, vessels came from the following West Indies locations: Guadeloupe, Jamaica, New Providence, St. Thomas, and Turks Island. Treasurer's and Comptroller's Papers for Port Beaufort, Box 4, 1784-1790.

<sup>94</sup> *The NOth Carolina Gazette* (October 18, 1759).

Molasses, sugar, rum, and wine were especially important as imported commodities.<sup>95</sup> Salt, used for seasoning food and for the preservation of fish and meat, was also an important import.<sup>96</sup>

The items exported from Beaufort consisted mainly of the products of the area: fish, naval stores, livestock, and some vegetables. Most of the vessels carrying these exports went either to the West Indies or to English colonial ports on the North American continent.<sup>97</sup>

Beaufort's Problem of Isolation.--During the early years of Beaufort's history, a few observers of colonial conditions looked upon the town of Beaufort with its relatively safe and accessible harbor as having the potential for becoming a commercial center. For example, in 1737 John Brickell considered Beaufort to have a pleasant prospect,<sup>98</sup> while six years prior to that time another observer had predicted that it would become North Carolina's "principal port."<sup>99</sup> However, as has been demonstrated above, Beaufort's predicted commercial supremacy failed to become a reality. The Frenchman who visited the town in 1765 was not impressed by its economic achievements,<sup>100</sup> and in 1773 Governor Martin commented that "there are no persons of condition or substance in it. . . ."<sup>101</sup>

Undoubtedly, there were many factors involved in Beaufort's failure to become an important commercial center. North Carolina's other ports were to a certain degree isolated from the ocean,<sup>102</sup> but the port at the town of Beaufort was

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<sup>95</sup> During the year ending in October, 1766, 27,490 gallons of rum and wine were imported into the Port Beaufort customs district. Treasurer's and Comptroller's Papers for Port Beaufort, Box 5, 1763-1789. During a period of one month in 1785, 1032 gallons of rum, 1000 gallons of molasses, and 985 pounds of sugar were imported at the town of Beaufort. Treasurer's and Comptroller's Papers for Port Beaufort, Box 4, 1784-1790.

<sup>96</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XI, 624; XXII, 933.

<sup>97</sup> These statements are based on export records for the town of Beaufort during the years 1784-1789. See Treasurer's and Comptroller's Papers for Port Beaufort, Box 5, 1784-1789.

<sup>98</sup> Brickell, *Natural History*, p. 8.

<sup>99</sup> From "The Importance of the British Plantations in America" (London, 1731), p. 71, as quoted in Hawks, *History of North Carolina*, II, 558-559.

<sup>100</sup> He commented that "the inhabitants seem miserable. . . ." Journal of a French Traveller," *The American Historical Review*, XXVI (July, 1921), 733.

<sup>101</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 636-637.

<sup>102</sup> See Crittenden, *The Commerce of North Carolina*, pp. 3-4.

isolated from the interior. No large river flowed down to it bringing the produce of a large section of North Carolina's hinterland, as was the case with Wilmington, Brunswick, New Bern, Bath, and Edenton. Furthermore, since it was located on a peninsula, the edges of which were dissected by many creeks and bays and the center of which was dominated by swampland,<sup>103</sup> land transportation of bulky commodities between Beaufort and the interior was almost impossible; and, since North Carolina's other ports were accessible to the interior, such transportation was most improbable. In this situation, the only area which the town of Beaufort could effectively serve as a port was that area lying along the edges of the short rivers and sounds which led to the town. With its services restricted to this small area of limited natural resources, Beaufort never had a large quantity of commodities for export nor a large market for which it could import.

The limitations imposed upon the town of Beaufort by its isolation from the interior was clearly seen by Governor Dobbs soon after his arrival in the colony in 1754. On January 4, 1755, in a report to the Board of Trade in London on the "Wants & Defects of the Province, . . ." he commented that while Topsail Inlet was "a very safe Harbour with deep Water and no Bar . . ." it had "no navigable River . . ." leading to it, and therefore "no considerable Trade . . . [could] be carried from thence. . . ."<sup>104</sup>

As late as 1764 Governor Dobbs had nothing new to report to the Board of Trade concerning Beaufort's commercial capacity,<sup>105</sup> but in 1766 efforts were initiated which, if they had been carried to completion, would have given colonial Beaufort a waterway connecting it with the interior. On November 13, 1766, Richard Cogdell, one of Carteret County's representatives in the Assembly,<sup>106</sup> introduced a bill before that body for the construction of a canal connecting the head of Harlowe Creek, which flowed into the north side of Newport River approximately five miles above Beaufort, with the head of Clubfoot Creek, which flowed into the south side of Neuse River approximately twenty miles below New Bern.<sup>107</sup> The distance between the heads of these two creeks was less than ten

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<sup>103</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IV, 169. See also Appendix, Map VII: Channel From Back Sound to Lookout Bight, North Carolina, inset entitled Locality Map.

<sup>104</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, V, 316.

<sup>105</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 1028.

<sup>106</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 342.

<sup>107</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 368.

miles, and an overland passageway between them was already in use.<sup>108</sup> A canal connecting these two creeks would not only have given Beaufort access to Neuse River and the interior; but it would also have made Beaufort the port of entry for cargoes bound for New Bern, then the capital of the colony. Furthermore, it would have cut in half the distance by water from New Bern to the ocean. The canal, however, never became a reality during the colonial period. Even though the bill initiated by Cogdell was enacted into law, his efforts on its behalf constituted a political failure. Instead of providing that the canal be financed out of public funds, the act passed in 1766 which authorized the construction of this canal provided that it be financed by "many Public Spirited Gentlemen [who] being willing to further a Work of such an interesting Nature to a Commercial Country, have offered to contribute to the same, by either paying in Sums of Money, or sending their Slaves to Work in cutting the said Canal. . . ."<sup>109</sup> Although the commissioners who were appointed to oversee the construction of the canal were instructed to "immediately employ Hands to work on the said Canal . . ." as soon as they had "received any Subscriptions of Monies to carry on the same. . . ."<sup>110</sup> there is no indication that work ever began under the provisions of this act.<sup>111</sup> Evidently the "Public Spirited Gentlemen" lost interest in the project. Thus, Beaufort was compelled to remain commercially isolated from the rest of the colony, and therefore a port of only local significance, throughout the colonial period. This fact, more than any other, explains its lack of growth as a colonial town.

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<sup>108</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, V, 345.

<sup>109</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 684-685.

<sup>110</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 684-685.

<sup>111</sup> In 1783 the State Legislature reenacted the law of 1766 with only minor revisions. Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 538. In 1784 a new act was passed which allowed private contractors to assume the task of constructing the canal and gave them the right to charge a toll for its use. Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 634. The canal was eventually constructed under the provisions of this act. See Clifford Reginald Hinshaw, Jr., "North Carolina Canals Before 1860," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXV (January, 1948), 1-15.

## APPENDIX

## MAPS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE BEAUFORT AREA

LIST OF MAPS<sup>1</sup>

Map I: White De-Bry Map of Raleigh's Virginia.

This is a photostatic reproduction of the southern half of *Americae pars, Nunc Virginia dicta*, which is De-Bry's engraving of White's watercolor map. This engraving was made in 1590. The copy herein presented was obtained from the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Map II: Plan of Beaufort.

This is a photostatic copy of the original platt of the town of Beaufort, which was made by Richard Graves in 1713. The original is in the Secretary of State's Papers, Land Patent Book No. 7 (1707-1740), State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Map III: Port Beaufort or Topsail Inlet.

This is a reproduction of an inset entitled "Port Beaufort or Topsail Inlet" on "A New and Correct Map of the Province of North Carolina," which was made in 1733 by Edward Moseley, "late Surveyor General of the said Province." It is a photostatic copy of a tracing made from the original copy of Moseley's map in 1822 by Major T. Roberdeau of the Topographical Office of the Department of Engineers. Roberdeau's tracing is now preserved in the National Archives in Washington, D. C. The copy herein presented was obtained from the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Map IV: Plan of the Town and Port of Beaufort.

This is a photostatic copy of "Plan of the Town & Port of Beaufort in Carteret County North Carolina," made in August, 1770, by C. J. Sauthier. The original is in the British Museum. The copy herein presented was obtained from the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Map V: Morehead City Harbor, North Carolina.

Map VI: Beaufort Harbor, North Carolina

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<sup>1</sup> For a more complete description of the first four maps in the above list, see Cumming, *Early Maps*, Plates 14, 52; pp. 122-123, 200-202, 243, 279.

Map VII: Channel from Back Sound to Lookout Bight, North Carolina.

Map VIII: Waterway Connecting Pamlico Sd. & Beaufort Harbor, North Carolina.

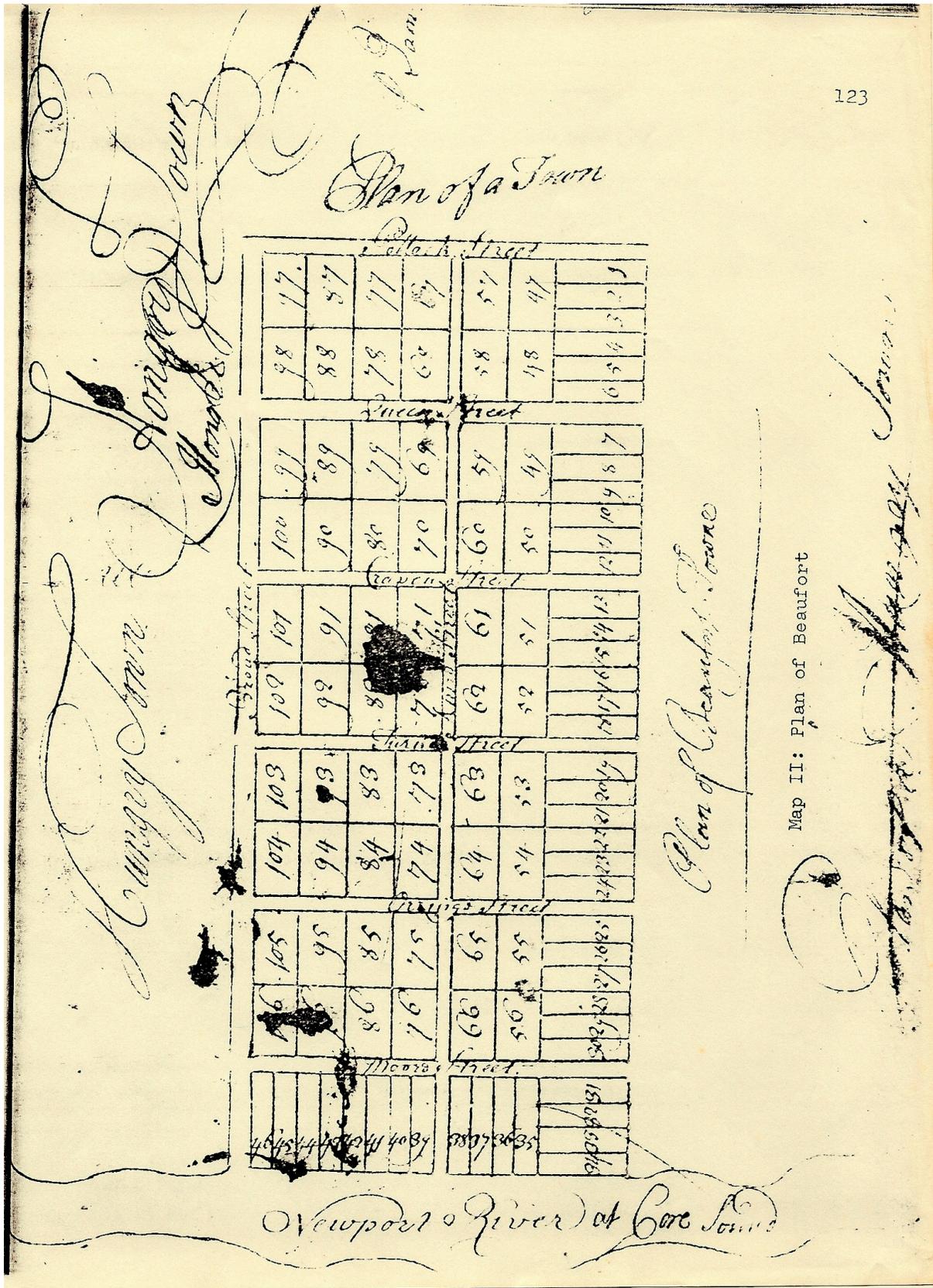
Maps V, VI, VII, and VIII are Thermofax reproductions of maps made by the Corps of Engineers in 1953 and presented in *Survey and Report on the Inland Ports and Waterways of North Carolina*. Prepared for the Department of Conservation and Development by Persons, Brinckerhoff, Hall, and Macdonald, Engineers, 51 Broadway, New York 6, New York; June, 1954.

MAP I: White De-Bry Map of Raleigh's Virginia

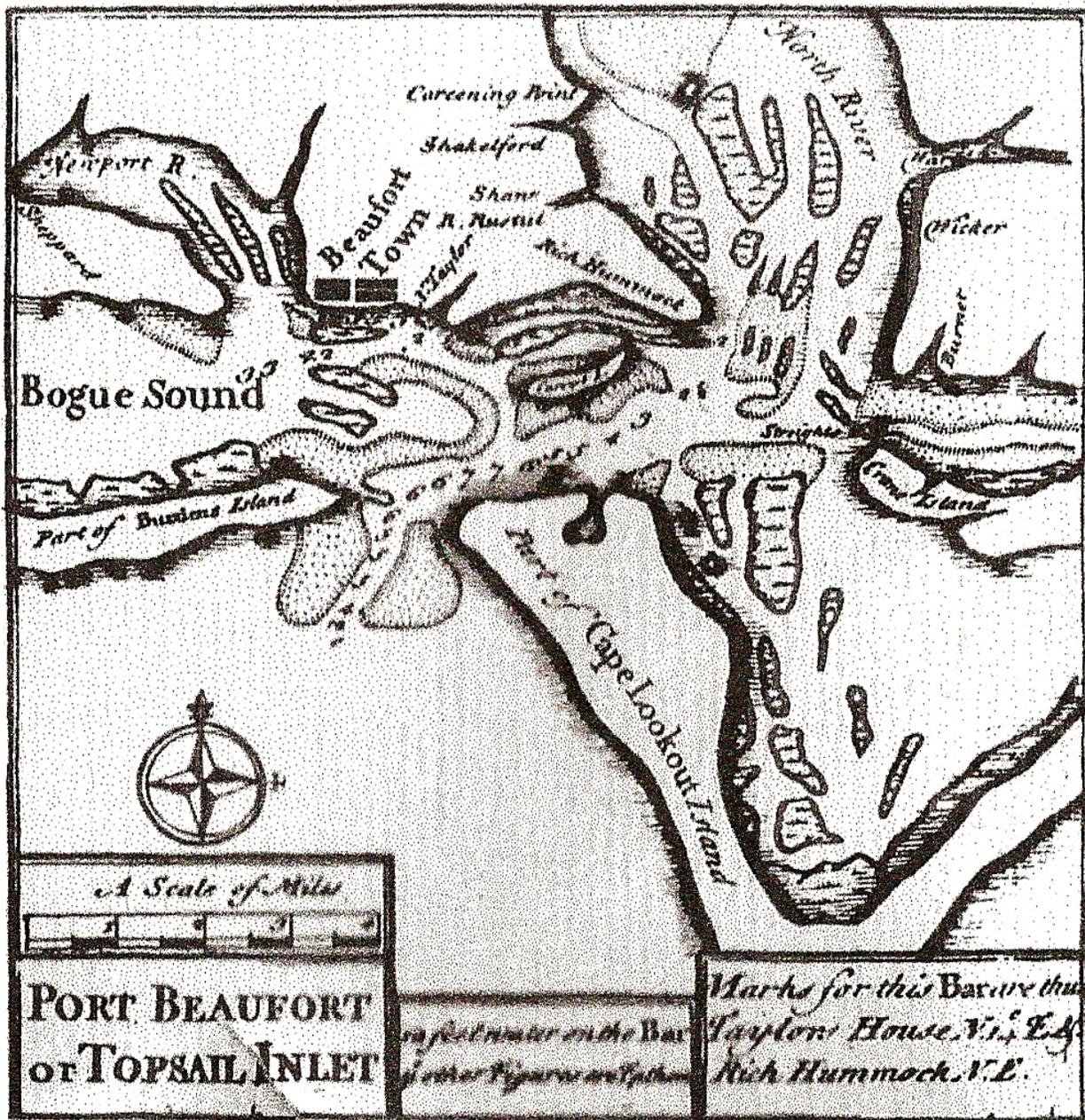


Map I: White-De Bry Map of Raleigh's Virginia

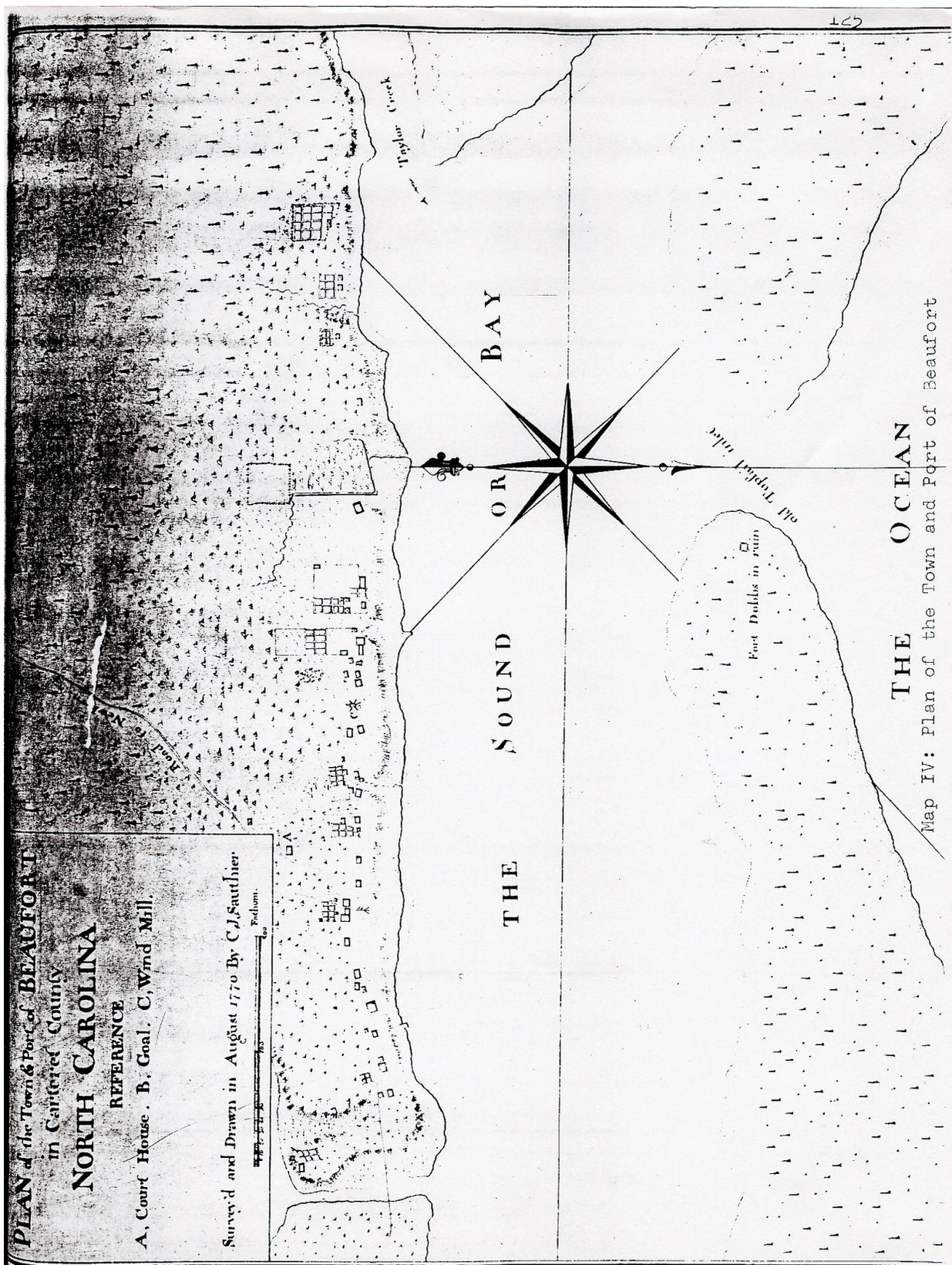
MAP II: Plan of Beaufort



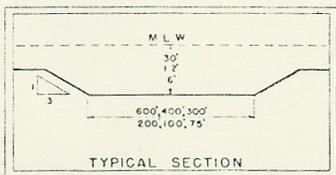
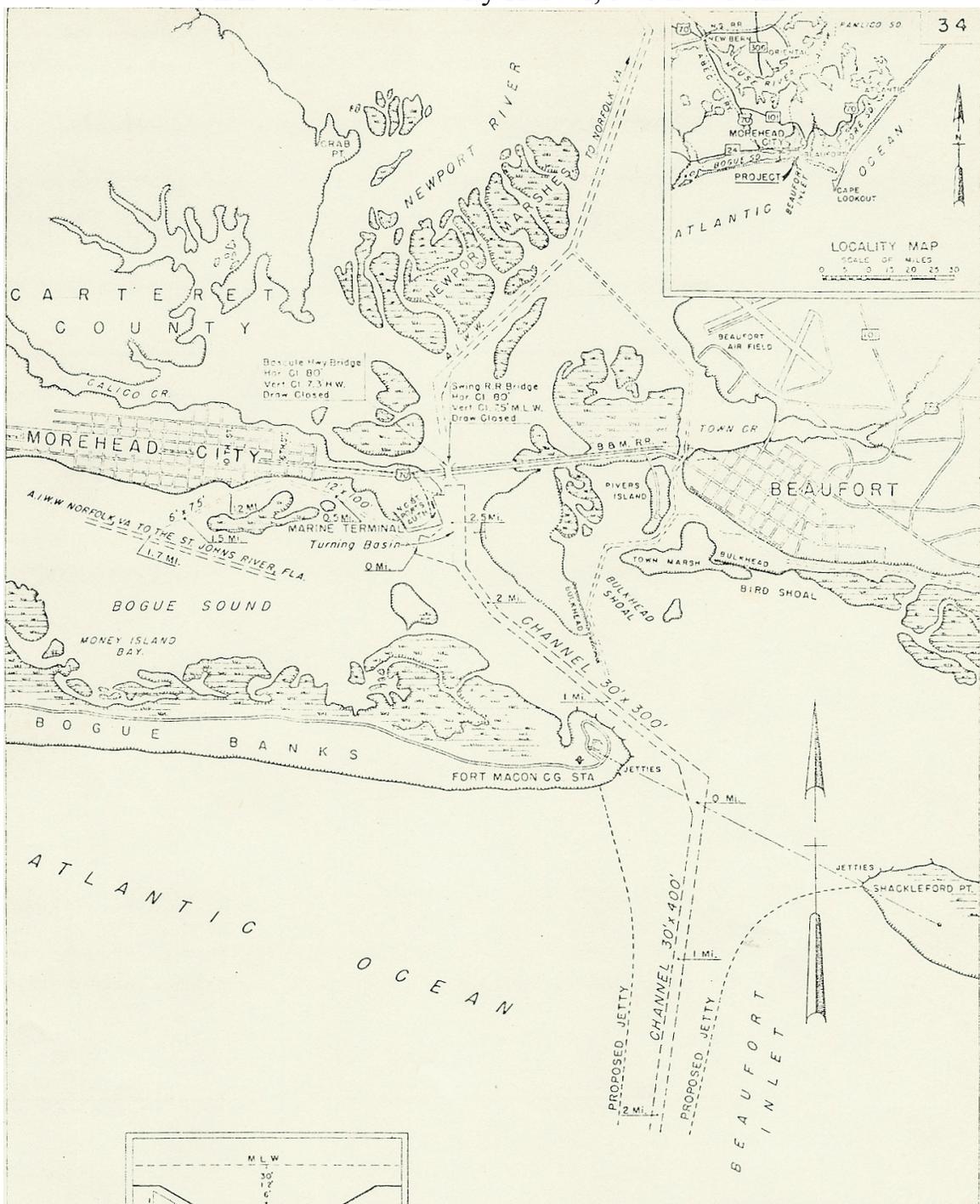
MAP III: Port Beaufort or Topsail Inlet



# MAP IV: Plan of the Town and Port of Beaufort



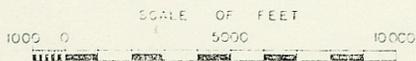
### MAP V: Morehead City Harbor, North Carolina



Mileages in the 30 foot channel are measured landward and seaward from the intersection of the bar channel and the lateral axis of Beaufort inlet.

Mileage in the 12 B 6 foot channels is measured westward from the intersection of the 12 foot channel and the 30 foot channel.

### Map V: MOREHEAD CITY HARBOR, NORTH CAROLINA



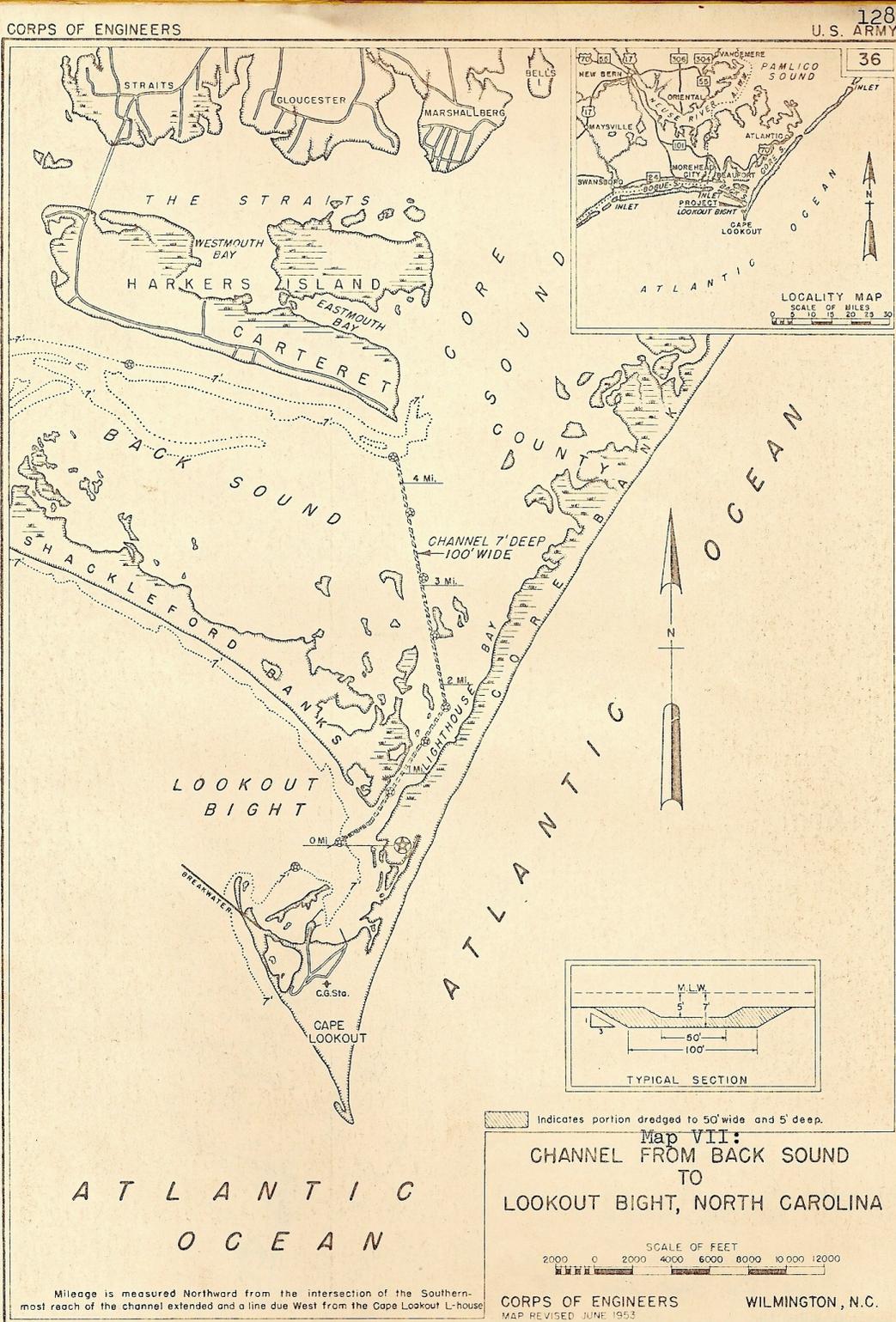
CORPS OF ENGINEERS

WILMINGTON, N. C.

MAP REVISED JUNE 1953

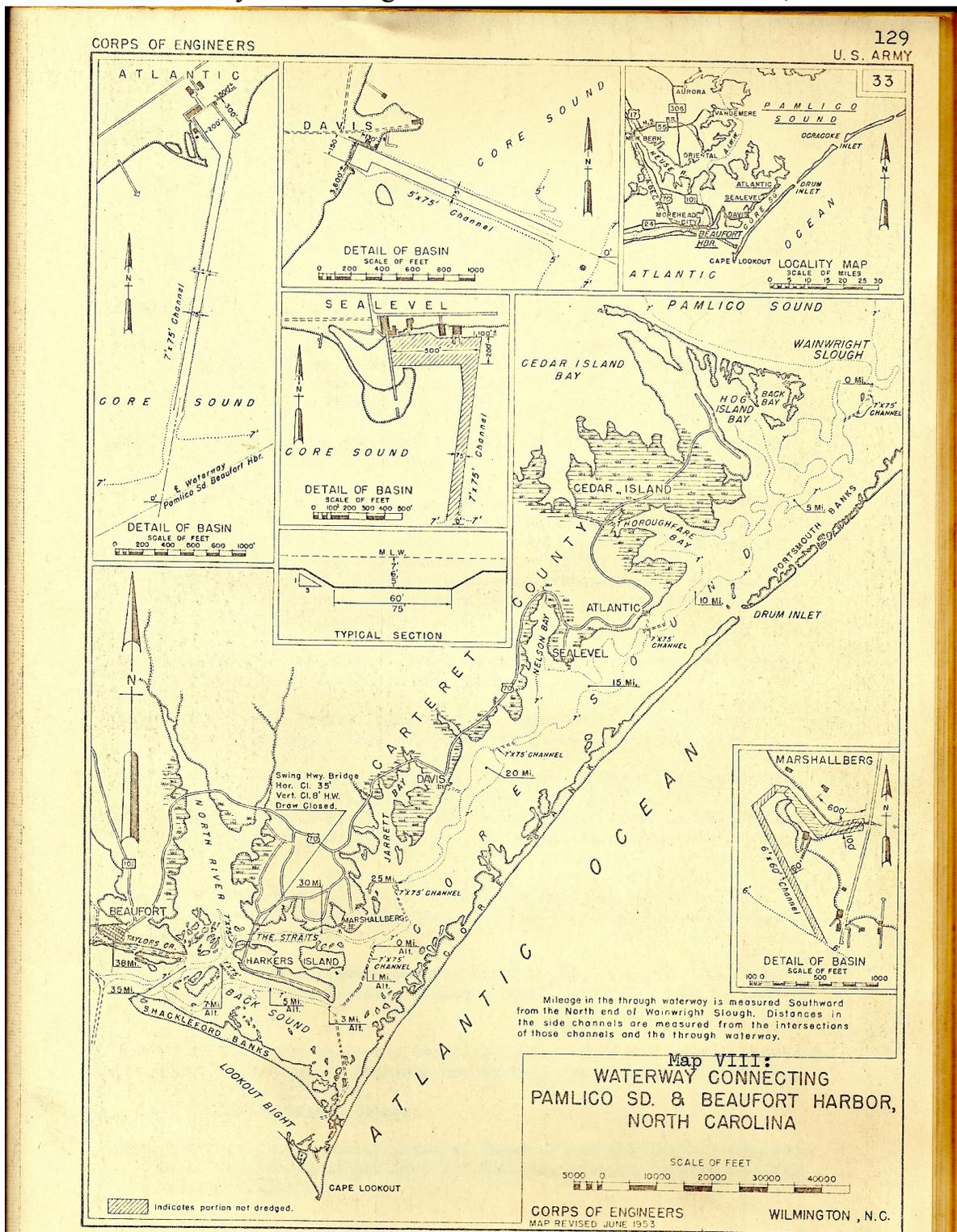


# MAP VII: Channel from Back Sound to Lookout Bight, North Carolina



Map VII: Channel from Back Sound to Lookout Bight, North Carolina

MAP VIII: Waterway Connecting Pamlico Sd. & Beaufort Harbor, North Carolina



Map VIII: Waterway Connecting Pamlico Sd. & Beaufort Harbor, North Carolina

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