

**COMPLEX NETWORKS IN COLONIAL
NORTHEASTERN NORTH CAROLINA**

by

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the University of Delaware in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Early American Culture

Summer 1999

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First and foremost, my parents provided me the love, care, guidance, and inspiration critical to all of my accomplishments, this thesis included. More recently, Martha has taught me more about myself, my potential, my limitations, and love than anyone else and has been my constant friend throughout this past year.

J. Ritchie Garisson guided me through countless pitfalls and steadily improved upon my work. While incredibly busy, Ritchie always found time to review my drafts and direct my research and writing. Beyond advisor, I now count him among my friends.

While Neville Thompson of the Winterthur Library proved invaluable to yet another wayward, impatient Wintherthur student, the nature of this study led me to not a few archives. Individuals who were particularly helpful include George Stevenson at the North Carolina State Archives, Martha Rowe and Brad Rauschenberg at the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, and Patricia O'Donnell at the Friends Historical Collection at Swarthmore College. The staffs of the Friends Historical Library at Guilford College, the Special Collections of Perkins Library at Duke University, and the Newport Historical Society offered commendable assistance to my endless requests.

I will be forever grateful to John Bivins, not only for his monograph on coastal North Carolina furniture which has proven my constant companion, but for the advice

and information which he freely shared along the way. Our early conversations over a year ago were the genesis for this thesis.

Robert Leath happily shared information he had gathered on Perquimans Quakers, and in the process, we found ourselves cousins, as any other descendants of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Perquimans Quakers are likely to be. Robert was always full of helpful suggestions and advice along the way.

Raymond Winslow proved an indispensable resource on early Perquimans. In addition to answering continual questions on genealogy and history, Ray turned me on to the Thomas Newby account books and the Thomas Nicholson journal, both of which were critical to my research.

Finally, Henry Francis DuPont and Mr. and Mrs. Henry S. McNeil made possible my last two years of studies by founding and supporting the Winterthur Program in Early American Culture. Because of the Winterthur Program, I am changed forever; I will never look at any *thing* the same way again.

DEDICATION

To my father, Benjamin Hobbs, whose passion for early American furniture and architecture inspired me to study craftsmen, their crafts, and the environments in which they worked.

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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the relationships between rural northeastern North Carolina with New England and the resultant influence upon the culture, particularly in the Albemarle Region's cabinetmaking trade. New England dominance of the North Carolina coastal trade continued from the seventeenth century through the American Revolution. Traders and local merchants developed relationships that expedited the exchange of goods. Further, many New Englanders settled in northeastern Carolina and their descendants maintained ties with the northern colonies. Importantly, the bonds between the Quaker communities in Perquimans County, North Carolina, in southside Virginia, in Rhode Island, and elsewhere in the colonies provided a conduit for trade and cultural exchange, involving correspondence, intervisitation, and even intermarriage. The religious, familial, and mercantile connections of the North Carolina Albemarle with New England, Virginia, and other regions contributed to a complex society and economy that permitted and encouraged sophistication in furniture production.

INTRODUCTION

In 1765, Thomas White made a walnut desk for merchant Thomas Newby of Belvidere Plantation in rural Perquimans County, North Carolina. There was nothing unusual about the reference to this desk in Newby's account book; it is only after seeing it that it becomes apparent that this desk tells a story about the complex relationships between northeastern North Carolina and New England. This desk (figures 1 and 2), in particular, belies the area's common portrayal as a social and economic hinterland and demonstrates the strong link between the Albemarle Region and New England. Its block-and-shell interior is strikingly similar to the desk interiors of the most sophisticated mid-eighteenth century Newport furniture (figures 3 and 4), which have similar five-bay elevations, shell carvings, letter-compartment dividers, and cusped valances. The desk is not a simple copy. Much of its design reflects Virginia and local cabinetmaking traditions as well as personal innovations. The concept of a fifth foot, seen in the center-front of the desk, was likely borrowed from Virginia, as were many of the desk's construction details. The drawers were joined with finely cut dovetails and their front, inside edges were beaded (figure 5). The neat and detailed execution of this desk demonstrate the abilities of a skilled and conscientious craftsman who was aware of the designs in other colonies.

This desk has long been firmly attributed to cabinetmaker Thomas White, who lived in Perquimans County from 1756 through 1766. Several documents identify the original owner. When the desk was examined by Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts researchers in 1981, an 1812 letter to Exum Newby, Jr. (b. 1784) was found in a hidden compartment. Through his father, Newby had inherited Belvidere plantation (figure 6), probably built in the 1760s by Exum's grandfather, merchant Thomas Newby. Thomas' account books document the purchase of a desk from Thomas White in 1765 for £12 North Carolina currency, approximately £6 7s. sterling. The combination of these documents leaves little doubt that the desk in question was the one purchased by Thomas Newby.¹

How did such a refined object appear in a rural area of northeastern North Carolina? Who was White, how was he trained, and how did he operate? How could Newby afford the desk and what motivated him to purchase it? How was the desk (and therefore, its maker and its owner) perceived by the culture which produced it? The simple descriptions of *maker*, *owner*, and *date*, so important in furniture catalog entries, are not sufficient to answer these questions.

Connecting the desk to the material culture of North Carolina is complicated by misconceptions and oversimplifications. Since the start of the eighteenth century, North Carolina has been lampooned by Virginians who found none of the great manor houses that defined elites in their own society. Condescending quotations plucked from the diaries of these men have colored historical perceptions of colonial North Carolina. Few

have been quoted as frequently as William Byrd, whose comments on the lazy and ignorant men of Carolina still echo:

The men, for their parts, just like the Indians, impose all the work upon the poor women. They make their wives rise out of their beds early in the morning, at the same time that they lie and snore till the sun has risen one-third of his course and dispersed all the unwholesome damps. Then, after stretching and yawning for half an hour, they light their pipes, and under the protection of a cloud of smoke, venture out into the open air; though if it happen to be never so little cold they quickly return shivering into the chimney corner. When the weather is mild they stand leaning with both their arms upon the cornfield fence and gravely consider whether they had best go and take a small heat at the hoe but generally find reasons to put it off till another time.

Byrd's account based on his own preconceptions and upon limited observation has negatively portrayed North Carolina work ethic of the early eighteenth century.²

Unable or unwilling to consider alternative interpretations, historians have characterized northeastern North Carolina as a geographical and cultural extension of the Chesapeake. In *"Poor Carolina": Politics and Society in Colonial North Carolina, 1729-1777*, Roger Ekirch measures North Carolina culture with a Virginia yardstick:

Eighteenth-century North Carolina bore the badges of a new society. Half-formed social and cultural configurations sharply distinguished it from more settled areas in the colonial South. The colony, in many respects, recalled the early years of neighboring Virginia and South Carolina.

Because the North Carolina social system was gradually becoming more stratified towards the end of the colonial period, Ekirch assumed such a society in transformation to be primitive, or as he put it, "still in its swaddling clothes." To support this assertion, Ekirch made use of only half of a statement made by Josiah Quincy of Massachusetts in 1773. Quincy commented that he had found "real hospitality" in North Carolina, a

reception more genuine than he had received in Charleston. Ekirch quoted only the section from Quincy's statement that compared South Carolina's refined society to that of North Carolina's; Quincy stated he had found in North Carolina "less of what is called politeness and good-breeding." What Quincy meant was that he judged Charleston's gentility to be insincere next to the less elegant welcome he experienced in North Carolina.³

The Chesapeake model has been and continues to be useful in studying the Albemarle area, especially as Virginia was the source of most of the region's settlers, and it is much better studied. But as historians have compared North Carolina with the planter societies of Virginia and Maryland, they have minimized the many differences between the two regions. More than most social historians, it was the furniture scholar John Bivins who recognized this dilemma in *The Furniture of Coastal North Carolina*:

Beneath the undeniable similarities between the coastal regions of North Carolina and their counterparts to the immediate north and south lay very real differences between the culture and geography of North Carolina and those of its sister colonies. . . Describing the early culture of North Carolina in terms of inadequately documented archetypes blurs the recognition of what developed into a unique contribution to the early arts of the South.

After this disclaimer, Bivins himself proceeded to compare North Carolina to the Chesapeake. Worse still, his comparisons were largely limited to the achievements of the Virginia elite planter society as he considered agricultural production, land and slave holding, and wealth. While Bivins illustrated many of North Carolina's peculiar conditions through the region's historical context and its effect on furniture production, it

was beyond the scope of his monograph to fully flesh out the complex coastal trade that so greatly influenced the culture.⁴

Even in recent material culture scholarship, colonial northeastern North Carolina's reputation as a part of the greater Chesapeake region has persisted. In Ronald Hurst's essay on the Chesapeake in *Southern Furniture*, "North Carolina" appears most frequently as part of a geographic pattern--"Maryland, Virginia, and northeastern North Carolina" and in phrases like "from Maryland to North Carolina." While Hurst acknowledged that North Carolina failed to share in the Chesapeake aristocratic social structure, most statements lead his readers to understand the North Carolina Albemarle region as an extension of middle class Virginia. In his brief essay, Hurst hoped to set the scene for the furniture that was cataloged in the volume; unfortunately, the requisite simplification he employed in describing northeastern Carolina serves to prolong commonly held misconceptions.⁵

When simply grouped and directly compared with other regions, early North Carolina becomes what some have called a "coastal backwater." The maritime geography of coastal North Carolina limited trade in selective ways. The Outer Banks made North Carolina's ports more difficult and expensive to access, but those who did penetrate the treacherous inlets established extensive and long-lasting trade relations. Further, the North Carolina economy was less dependent on staple crops than the tobacco and rice economies to the north and the south. The strategies that both local and foreign merchants employed created a unique trading environment easily distorted when viewed

through the lenses of other regional patterns. Colonial North Carolina should be appreciated on its own merits.⁶

While some coastal traders reported great difficulty and tedium in securing cargo in North Carolina, those foreign merchants who maintained strong ties with local merchants and planters made efficient voyages. Instead of stopping at the wharves of each planter in search of goods, the established merchants stopped at only a few wharves that served as collection points and that were predetermined through correspondence. As a result, these merchants were able to trade for Carolina commodities with expedience and profit. Local merchants and merchant-planters were themselves critical to trade and their plantations served as commercial centers. Small towns and communities formed important locations of trade for coastal merchants.

The exploration of the trade networks of coastal North Carolina has also suffered from southern pride. All historians enter into research with certain motivations and their consequent biases, but over the past fifty years, southern material culture scholars have been particularly inflamed by the infamous statement made by Joseph Downs at the 1949 Williamsburg Antiques Forum, where he declared that "little furniture of artistic merit was ever produced south of Baltimore." Perhaps more surprising than the ignorant statement itself is the fact that it is so well remembered. Downs's faux pas galvanized an army of scholars to prove the merits of southern decorative arts and defend Southern honor. As a result, southern and American material culture studies have benefited greatly.⁷

But in seeking to prove the equality, even superiority, of southern achievements, southern scholars have frequently overreacted and failed to properly acknowledge the northern colonies for their role in the South's development. The study of coastal North Carolina has been particularly impaired by this parochialism. New England traders and their descendants had plied the Albemarle Sound waters for over one and a quarter centuries before the first shots were fired in the American Revolution. For just as long, New Englanders, including many Quakers, had been settling in the region. The resultant network served as a conduit for trade, and the exchange of culture, goods, and settlers proved critical to the Albemarle Region's development.

Thomas Newby's desk confirms the existence of this complex, advanced, and interconnected society in the Albemarle Region. Both maker and owner were inextricably linked to far-away ports. Thomas White produced sophisticated furniture combining cabinetmaking practices from Virginia and Rhode Island. Newby consistently interacted with merchants from other parts of the Atlantic rim and sent vessels to New England and the West Indies. Through exploration of these and other links between the Albemarle and other ports, White's desk and other Perquimans furniture become less startling than they first appear to be. The objects make clear that the religious, familial, and mercantile connections of the North Carolina Albemarle with New England, Virginia, and other regions contributed to a complex society and economy that permitted and encouraged such sophistication in furniture production.

THE LAND

Barrier islands along the coast of North Carolina separate millions of acres of water from the Atlantic Ocean (figure 7). The Outer Banks, as these islands are now called, have been constantly moving since their formation near the end of the Ice Age. The North Carolina coast earned the reputation of "Graveyard of the Atlantic" because of her perilous shifting sands and changing currents. As a further challenge to trade, the Banks offer only limited passage to vessels through shallow, treacherous, and fickle inlets leading into the brackish sound waters. The waters of the Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds embrace North Carolina's coastal plain through innumerable rivers, creeks, swamps, and marshes. Vessels small enough to penetrate the Bank's shallow inlets may have almost free run of the coastal region.⁸

The land rises very gently as one travels Carolina westward from the sea. The flat coastal plain extends 100 to 150 miles inland. Much of colonial Albemarle was perforated by low-lying wetlands and swamps that provided further challenges to trade. While the Outer Banks restricted the Albemarle's access by coastal ships, the Great Dismal Swamp hindered overland traffic from Virginia (figure 8). This enormous desolate bog straddling the Carolina-Virginia border stretched fifteen miles in breadth and remains the source for no less than eight rivers. Flowing southeast into the Albemarle Sound are the Chowan, the Yeopim, the Perquimans, the Little, the Pasquotank, and the North Rivers; flowing to the north and into the Chesapeake Bay are the Nansemond and the Elizabeth Rivers. Overland travelers on the course between

Virginia and the Albemarle were forced to circumvent the great swamp, usually to the west.⁹

The soil of Carolina's northern coastal plain is mostly a black, sandy loam that is relatively fertile and easy to farm. North Carolina lies within the warmer part of the Temperate Zone. Further, the coastal region receives warm, moist air from the Gulf Stream. These warm temperatures allow enough frost-free days for two growing seasons. Many visitors commented on the natural benefits that North Carolina boasted. According to John Lawson in 1709, "with a small trouble of fencing, almost every man may enjoy to himself an entire Plantation" and enjoy "the other Conveniences which this Summer-Country naturally furnishes." Tempting settlers, he characterized the fruitful land as "a Country that, with moderate Industry, will afford all the Necessaries of Life." A letter written by John Holden March 21, 1707, to the Lords of Trade, states "the soil of Albemarle is more lusty" than that of South Carolina, producing in abundance tobacco, corn, wheat, and that the cattle, hogs and sheep thrive in the open all winter. William Byrd of Westover commented on the land and its productivity in 1728. As always, his quotes must be interpreted with caution; in this case, his compliments come with insults, so he probably meant it:

Surely there is no place in the world where the inhabitants live with less labor than in North Carolina. It approaches nearer to the description of Lubberland than any other, by the great felicity of the climate, the easiness of raising provisions, and the slothfulness of the people. Indian corn is of so great increase that a little pains will subsist a very large family with bread, and then they may have meat without any pains at all, by the help of the low grounds and the great variety of mast that grows on the high land. . . . To speak the truth, 'tis a thorough aversion to labor that makes people file off to North Carolina, where plenty and a warm sun confirm them in their disposition to laziness for their whole lives.¹⁰

SETTLEMENT

The entire northern portion of Carolina was recognized as part of Virginia until 1663. In that year, a charter from Charles II established the Colony of Carolina by granting eight Lord's Proprietors the land west of the Atlantic coast between the 36°N and 31°N parallels (extended in 1665 to 36.5°N and 29°N). These Proprietors failed to establish a strong, stable, or efficient government. Their policies demonstrated that they little understood this colony from their far-away seats in England. Starting in 1691, they appointed deputy governors to help govern the colony, but these men too proved weak, ineffective, and unable to preserve order. Finally, the Crown purchased the proprietors shares: South Carolina and North Carolina became royal colonies in 1719 and 1729, respectively. In 1731, George Burrington arrived from England to become North Carolina's first royal governor.

Settlers had begun migrating into North Carolina from Virginia during the first half of the seventeenth century. The earliest of these trapped fur and traded with the native population. In 1654, Virginia governor Francis Yardley visited the region and commented that small sloops were trading in the Carolina sounds for beaver skins. Just a few years later in 1657, Nicholas Comberford's map of Carolina showed the house of Indian trader Nathaniel Batts. The overland route from Virginia into Carolina remained a difficult one well into the eighteenth century. Irish Quaker minister William Edmundson traveled the route in 1672, noticing "it being all Wilderness, and no English Inhabitants

or Pad-Ways, but some mark'd Trees to Guide People." Much of the journey crossed swamps, and travelers frequently found themselves knee-deep in water and mud.¹¹

Settlers intent on more permanent residence soon followed the traders. Their motives were simple. Thomas Woodward, the surveyor-general of the Albemarle, said in 1666 it was "land only that they come for." The land so eagerly sought was granted based on the headrights system, with 100 acres for each undertaker, fifty acres for each manservant (who was capable of and equipped to bear arms), and thirty acres for each woman servant. Indentured servants, men and women, were to be given ten and six acres respectively on completion of their term of service. Grants were generally small, mostly under 600 acres, with those between 100 and 300 acres most common.¹²

Immigrants came from several sources. Direct migration from Europe, wherein a ship crossed the Atlantic Ocean and landed in North Carolina was rare, especially for the Albemarle area, in which shallow sounds and inlets limited vessel size. More frequently, immigrants entered other American colonies and traveled overland or in smaller vessels into Carolina. Sometimes, this circuitous route was planned, but many settlers drifted to North Carolina seeking the opportunity and land that they found limited elsewhere. The greatest number of North Carolina's eighteenth-century immigrants were second, third, and even later generations of American colonials, moving for reasons not altogether different from their forebearers who left their homelands for the Colonies.

Virginia produced the greatest numbers of early settlers who migrated to the Albemarle region. By the second half of the seventeenth century, the profits from tobacco cultivation had driven Virginia land prices beyond the reach of poor men. The

cultivation of tobacco would practically wear out land in under a decade, so even established planters had to seek new lands every generation or so in order to maintain their output. Growing population resulting from natural increase and immigration further increased competition for land. As a result, cheap, available, arable land quickly became scarce in eastern Virginia, and settlers left in search of promised opportunity to the south.¹³

In addition to the Virginians, settlers from New England, South Carolina, the West Indies, other colonies, and the British Isles moved to northeastern North Carolina. Albemarle County was formed in 1664 and divided into the precincts (later counties) of Chowan, Currituck, Pasquotank, and Perquimans by 1668. The population of Albemarle County in 1675 has been estimated at around 4,000. Although steady and unspectacular, the colony's population reached 36,000 (6,000 of whom were Negro slaves) when Governor Burrington began his rule in 1731. By then, five of six of the white men were of British descent.¹⁴

Like Virginians, the people of the Albemarle mostly lived on individual farms and plantations. They congregated at river crossings, crossroads, homes, and plantation wharves to meet, trade, and engage in politics. As the population increased, these gathering points developed into small communities. Much as it had in Virginia, Government met in private homes or in taverns throughout the region. The Lords Proprietors in 1670 pledged to fund the building of a state house, a church, and a jail, but these plans were never executed. In 1676, the Proprietors issued orders for the establishment of three towns, on Roanoke Island, at the mouth of the Little River, and at

the confluence of Salmon Creek and the Roanoke River, but again, the orders went unfulfilled.¹⁵

By the end of the seventeenth century, there were still no towns in North Carolina. The largest gatherings of government continued to use private homes. George Durant's home (on Durants Neck) in Perquimans was a favored location of assembly and, by 1677, officials had erected stocks and a pillory there. In the 1690's, the assembly ordered the building of a sixty-by-twenty-foot courthouse in the county, and a single 1701 reference mentions the "Gran Court House for the Precinct of Piquimons." While it is unknown where this courthouse stood, by the early eighteenth century the government was meeting on Phelps Point along the Perquimans River.¹⁶

Although the Albemarle was settled much earlier and to a greater extent, the Pamlico Sound region established towns first: Bath incorporated in 1706 as North Carolina's first town (becoming the colony's first official port of entry in 1715) and New Bern was established in 1710. In 1712, the Chowan County court was seated on a bay on the Albemarle Sound near the mouth of the Chowan River. Two years later, lots were sold and the "the Town on Queen Anne's Creek" was established in 1715. It was incorporated in 1722 as Edenton and remained the Albemarle's most important town and port throughout the colonial period.¹⁷

By the first decade of the eighteenth century, most of the land between the Virginia border and the Albemarle Sound had been occupied. The first settlers quickly took up the best lands. For planters, water access was critical for shipping produce. As more and more immigrants came, the Albemarle's many miles of shoreline were patented,

sometimes by owners who did not occupy or tenant the land. This kind of speculative land ownership impeded development by encouraging settlers to go elsewhere. A 1717 court application highlights this problem:

Upon petition of William West setting forth that he being a trades man & willing to settle in this Government and Endeavoured at his first Comeing in to Get som Convenient Settlement but found all the lands near to the Water were taken up upon which he intended to leave this Government but was advised of a Small Tract of Land at the head of Cashock Creek Survey'd & Patented Several years agoe which he according to the Usual Costume petitioned for as Laps'd land. . . .

In 1724, the Assembly, recognizing that "most of the Lands of Albemarle County being taken up the Growth and encrease of this Government is much obstructed," decided to sell abandoned lands as a "means to Retain many of the Inhabitants otherwise designed to remove [and to] encourage others to settle among us."¹⁸

Albemarle land was certainly available, even of the first quality. But that land was offered for sale, not as a grant. Immigrants continued to come into northeastern North Carolina throughout the colonial period, but, as land was taken up and improved, average landholdings per household decreased. Those who sought land through grants or though cheap purchases generally ended up moving westward into the opening piedmont.

The colony's population increased dramatically around mid-century. In 1750, North Carolinians numbered between 65,000 and 75,000, approximately doubling over the last twenty years; by 1770, the population had reached between 175,000 and 185,000. These tremendous increases were primarily the result of immigration via the Great Virginia Road into North Carolina's interior regions. The population increase is deceptive, as northeastern North Carolina was among areas supplying emigrants to the

Piedmont. By contrast, the white population in the Albemarle grew little in the third quarter of the eighteenth-century, from 16,973 in 1755 to 18,343 in 1767 (only 8% increase, less than 1% per year, less than natural increase). Meanwhile, the black population doubled, from 5,135 to 10,174 (98% increase). According to these same statistics, the white populations in Perquimans and Chowan Counties actually decreased between 1755 and 1767.¹⁹

	1755			1767		
	Totals	Whites	Blacks	Totals	Whites	Blacks
Albemarle Area	22,108	(16,973)	(5,135)	28,517	(18,343)	(10,174)
Perquimans Co.	3,857	(2,809)	(1,048)	4,083	2,161	1,922
Chowan Co.	4,858	(3,603)	(1,223)	4,571	2,526	2,045

Table 1: Population Statistics for Albemarle Region and Counties²⁰

From the 1760s to about 1780, the number of households owning twenty or more slaves went from none to five (0.9% of households) in Perquimans and from four (0.9%) to twenty (4.3%) in Chowan, where another two planters owned over fifty slaves. During that same period, Gates County had been formed from portions of Perquimans, Chowan, and Hertford Counties, and in 1780, nine (1.6%) households there owned over twenty slaves. The increase in the number of slaves was coincident with the consolidation of smaller plots into larger individual holdings. Toward the end of the colonial period and into the early republic, increasing wealth and the resultant access to capital allowed individual landholdings in the Albemarle to grow. Wealthier planters increasingly relied upon slave labor. This process made competing more and more difficult for smaller-scale planters without the wealth to make necessary capital improvements to their estates or to acquire slaves. Virginia had seen this same process occur much earlier and on a greater scale; only in the early nineteenth century did Perquimans families begin erecting large-

scale planter houses. With decreasing access to land due to increases in prices and competition, scores of white eastern Carolinians had the same idea as Virginians and Pennsylvanians. They moved west to secure cheap land in the Piedmont.²¹

The growing dependence upon slave labor, while challenging the livelihoods of poorer planters, also encouraged a large portion of the population to evaluate their beliefs. This conflict between faith and economy was particularly acute among Friends. In the years after the mid-eighteenth century, Quaker meetings grew increasingly intolerant of slave ownership in their membership. In 1776, the North Carolina Yearly Meeting urged its members to "cleanse their hands of them as soon as they possibly can." Unfortunately, the concurrent North Carolina legislature reenacted a 1741 law that stated that manumission could only take place for court-approved meritorious service. While the Yearly Meeting continued to pressure its slave-holding members towards manumission, the legislature interfered further, passing acts that re-enslaved unlawfully freed blacks. By 1789, the Yearly Meeting called for disownment of any members who still owned slaves. Without slaves, Quaker planters increasingly struggled to compete with their slaveholding neighbors. Further, disgust with this evil labor system encouraged many Friends to leave the slave-holding colonies. Around the turn of the nineteenth century, a large portion of the Quaker population in the Albemarle migrated to western Pennsylvania and Ohio and to the less slave-reliant the North Carolina piedmont.²²

QUAKERS

The removal of Friends was ironic because North Carolina had been a haven of religious toleration throughout its colonial history. During the seventeenth century, many people, especially Quakers, sought refuge from religious persecution so prevalent in both the Puritan and the Anglican colonies in New England and in Virginia. The Carolina Charter, as well as the first charter in 1629 and various other governmental instructions to the colony, anticipated the establishment and public funding of the Anglican Church. Nevertheless, the Proprietors made no effort to realize this goal, and allowed other Protestant groups, whom they called "dissenters," to worship freely. Further, under the Charter of 1663, no person could be excluded from the Assembly on account of his faith. John Locke (the presumed author) made provisions in his Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina of 1669 for the toleration of Dissenters. But he also stated that as the country became "sufficiently planted and distributed into fit divisions," the state should support the buildings and clergy of the Church of England. Apparently Catholics were not treated with the same tolerance as the Protestant groups.²³

More important than legal protection, religious tolerance in Carolina was facilitated by the weakness of the Anglicans. Early on, most especially in Carolina, Quakers were among the most organized of the religious groups. Certainly agents of the Church of England were few and far between. An act of the 1669 Assembly of the Province of Carolina allowed civil officials to perform marriages, as there were no ordained ministers in the Carolina. A letter from Governor Walker to the Bishop of London, October 21, 1703, lamented "we have been settled here near fifty years and for

the most part of twenty-one years without priest or altar, for which cause the Quakers continued to grow very numerous." The toleration of the government and the near absence of religious rivalry made early Carolina fertile ground for determined and zealous Quaker faithful.²⁴

Around 1665 New Englanders Henry Phillips (Phelps) and his wife settled in North Carolina, in what became Perquimans County. When the Quaker minister William Edmundson traveled to the Albemarle in the spring of 1672, he noted that as the Phillipses had "not seen a Friend for seven years before, they wept for Joy to see us." There were apparently other Quakers from New England living across the Perquimans River in the Old Neck area. William Bundy and Thomas Kent were both Rhode Islanders who had Quaker ties. Similarly, Christopher Nicholson had once suffered because of his Quaker beliefs in Salem, Massachusetts. The Quaker population soon grew. When word spread that Edmundson had arrived, many people gathered at Phillips' house to hear him speak in the first religious service in North Carolina. While a few embraced the "Truth" on the spot (like Francis Tomes), many were anxious to hear more. The noted Quaker minister George Fox visited the Albemarle later that same year, and, according to Governor Henderson Walker, "by strange infatuations, did infuse the Quakers' principles into some small number of people; which did and hath continued to grow ever since very numerous." When Fox returned to the area in four years, he found "Friends finely settled" in the county, and "things well among them." At the start of the new century, there were four Quaker Meetings throughout Perquimans. Friends held a majority in the Albemarle Assembly. At the height of their influence, John Archdale, a Quaker convert,

served as Governor from 1694 to 1696, and appointed Quakers to many high official posts. By 1709, the Friends made up about one-tenth of the population of Carolina.²⁵

The political and religious power of Quakers aroused loyal Anglicans, who began to push for increased state backing of the Church for England. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts sent the first Anglican clergyman to the colony in 1700. Further, the Vestry Act in 1701 provided for laying out parishes, organizing vestries, building churches, and levying a poll tax for the support of clergymen. Parishes were set up and, by 1709, there was "a compact little Church which was still unfinished," the "Old Nags Head Chappel" on Durants Neck in Perquimans County. Concurrently, a similar Anglican church had been erected in Chowan County. Although rejected by the Proprietors, this act signaled changing political winds. Just two years later, the Assembly passed an act which required that all members of the Assembly must be communicants of the Church of England and take an oath of allegiance to Queen Anne, denying Quakers their right by affirmation. Quakers refused to take oaths, and were therefore excluded from the colonial government by the act. While this act was suspended after a few years, it marked the trend toward marginalization of the sect. By the second decade of the eighteenth century, Quakers held little sway in North Carolina's colonial government.²⁶

This process of marginalization was an old story and helps to explain the connections between North Carolina Friends and those in other colonies. The Puritans who settled Massachusetts were intolerant of other sectarian views. The Colony of Massachusetts Bay passed laws forbidding the practice of the Quaker religion and

prohibiting the immigration of Quakers into the Colony. When Quakers began to arrive in Boston in 1656, they faced immediate persecution, even violence. Puritan authorities attempted to drive them away by public book-burnings, fines, beatings, banishment, and imprisonment. Magistrates hanged four Quakers who had repeatedly violated banishment sentences between 1659-1661, making them martyrs to their faith. Only after 1678 did Massachusetts Quakers enjoy relative freedom to practice their faith, but by then many Friends had found refuge in Rhode Island, legendary for its religious tolerance. Quakers who came to the region helped to establish Portsmouth, Rhode Island, on Aquidneck Island in the late 1650's. In the years to follow, Friends established influential communities in Newport and other Narragansett towns, and soon actually made up the majority of settlers in the Rhode Island colony.²⁷

Some New England Quakers migrated to northeastern North Carolina where they demonstrated great influence in the early government. In the 1680's, Rhode Islander William Bundy and Francis Tomes, who married Abigail Charles of Rhode Island, sat on the twelve-member Governor's Councils under two different colonial governors (Seth Sothel and John Archdale). A few Massachusetts Quakers made their way into northeastern North Carolina, among them Christopher Nicholson, who sat on the Assembly in 1677, and George Sutton. These prominent families intermarried with locals, giving a large number of Carolinians, especially Quakers, some family connections with New England. Of the 21 members of the Assembly of 1703, seven Quakers dominated the Albemarle contingent. Of those, over half were either descended from or married to descendants of New Englanders.²⁸

Rhode Island Quakers influenced other regions in coastal North Carolina.

Newport Quaker families, headed by Henry Stanton and William Borden established a meeting at Core Sound, about six miles north of Beaufort, N.C. (this is not very close to the Albemarle by land, but it is well in the range of easy communication by water; Core Sound can be seen in the lower portion of the map in figure 7). Stanton had purchased land in 1721 in Carteret County where he established a seasonal shipbuilding business. Stanton spent his summers in Rhode Island until he moved permanently in 1731. By 1741, the successful Stanton had amassed 2,527 acres in North Carolina. William Borden, also a Newport Quaker and shipbuilder, settled in Carteret County. As stated in the Core Sound Monthly Meeting minutes:

1733, 8, 1. Several families of friends being settled on Newport River, North Carolina, well concerned for truth, thought it their duty to meet together, which was concluded on by us and to meet together on the first day of the week and the first day of the eighth month at the house of William Borden.

These Rhode Islanders maintained ties with their natal colony in ways beyond the name of their primary waterway. In a show of support in 1733, the Newport Monthly Meeting sent £60 Rhode Island currency (via Borden) towards the building of a meeting house. Henry Stanton made trips to Newport in the years 1738, 1750, 1751, 1759, and 1764, maintaining connections. In addition, Rhode Islanders continued to migrate to the colony. In 1744, Silas Carpenter produced a certificate from Greenwich Monthly Meeting in Rhode Island to Perquimans Monthly Meeting. By 1746 he too had made it to Core Sound.²⁹

As Perquimans County was the site of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting through 1785, Core Sound Quakers would have interacted with the Perquimans and other Albemarle Friends, but no evidence indicates any large degree of contact between the communities. But the example of the Core Sound Quakers does reveal how New England immigrants to Carolina maintained contact with their native colony, even forty years after they had left.³⁰

Like their northern sisters and brothers who suffered under Puritans, southern Quakers were persecuted by the Anglican hierarchy. The first Quakers also reached Virginia in the mid-1650s. In the spring of 1660, Virginia passed the Act for Suppressing Quakers. These laws were apparently effective in keeping Quakers out of more urbanized areas like Norfolk (and to a lesser degree, Norfolk County). The counties of Nansemond and Isle of Wight in southside Virginia became strongholds for tightly-knit, interrelated families of the Quaker faith by the close of the seventeenth century. The situation was tolerable in Virginia until 1660. With the Restoration of the Monarchy, Governor Berkley's authority increased and he began to actively enforce laws that supported the state church. At that point, the legislature levied £100 fines on shipmasters bringing in Quakers and penalties on those assembling for Meetings. Dissatisfied with Norfolk County sheriff Richard Conquest, Berkley wrote in 1660: "I hear with sorrow you are very remiss in your office in not stopping the frequent meetings of this most pestilent sect of Quakers."³¹

The persecutory climate in Virginia provoked migration out of the Quaker-strong Virginia counties of Isle of Wight, Nansemond, and Surry. From the end of the

seventeenth to past mid-eighteenth century, by far the greatest influx of immigrants moving to the Albemarle Region came from these three Virginia counties. Despite the extensive amount of trade that the Albemarle region had with Norfolk, very few moved from Virginia counties north of the James River and from densely populated Norfolk County (which had enjoyed relative success in keeping out Quakers). Undoubtedly, the network of Quaker families was critical to the southward flow of these people.³²

Over the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century, Quakers in southside Virginia and northeastern North Carolina became increasingly interrelated. In order for Quakers to remain in good standing, their monthly meetings insisted that they marry within the faith. As a result, members of this religious group traveled to find their spouses. Through the century, continual southerly migration and constant intercolonial marriages tightened the already strong bonds. As a result, the rural communities were motivated to overcome distance and difficulty in order to maintain ties. Further, these ties benefited all involved by extending the social, economic, and cultural networks critical to the Albemarle.

Because of shared suffering, interests, morals, and faith, Quakers accepted other Friends into their communities. Traveling ministers, important in spreading the religious sect, continued their program of intervisitation which aided in the organization and education of the dispersed meetings. These visits, too, provided for political and cultural exchange. Quaker reception of sojourners facilitated Friends who just happened through communities and towns. Such was the case with Thomas Nicholson. This minister from Perquimans Monthly Meeting chronicled several missionary trips in his journal. On the

first excursion to the Cape Fear River Basin in 1746, he covered (in Nicholson's estimation) 735 miles in forty days. In addition to meeting many Carolina Quakers, Nicholson stayed with both Henry Stanton, Sr. and William Bordon, members of the Core Sound Meeting from Rhode Island.³³

On a much longer journey, Nicholson traveled to England and back between 1749-1750, but still managed to meet Rhode Islanders. After visiting in England for about a year, Nicholson headed home in the *Snow Port Packet* bound for Philadelphia. Two weeks of bad weather forced the *Port Packet* to land in Boston. As a Quaker, he was "kindly received and entertained" at the house of Benjamin Bagnal for several days. While in Boston, Nicholson met with Silas Carpenter, who had been in Perquimans (1744-46) and Core Sound Monthly Meetings (1746-1750). The two traveled together to Rhode Island. While in Rhode Island, Nicholson stayed with Abraham Anthony in Portsmouth and attended a Meeting at the house of Thomas Richardson in Newport. Silas Carpenter remained Nicholson's companion until they reached the New London Ferry.³⁴

In his journal, Nicholson recorded a familiar pattern. As a minister, he met with and had "Meetings" with any and all Quakers he encountered along the way. Those he met, in turn, displayed affection and extended hospitality towards the visitor. No doubt this same warmth, to varying degrees, facilitated trade between Quakers in distant regions. Nicholson surely made use of the Rhode Islanders he had befriended when he entered into partnership with his Perquimans neighbor, merchant Thomas Newby. "Nicholson & Newby" owned the Sloop *Salley* and an unnamed schooner in 1763. Just

two years later, October 1765, Newby's account book (*not* "Nicholson & Newby") recorded Captain Laurance Lessley's bill for "2 mo. 1/3 wages for self and boy to Road Iland, £17 10s." confirming at least one of the partner's involvement in the New England coastal trade.³⁵

Joseph Skinner, a Perquimans County Quaker planter, also established connections with Rhode Island Friends in Newport. Skinner traveled to Newport in 1768 where he spent seven to eight months. He found an opportunity to transcribe a Quaker volume, and wrote on one page:

Christian & Brotherly Advices Given forth from time to time By the
Yearly Meeting in London Alphabetically Digested under Proper Heads
Transcribed and Examined by Joseph Skinner at Newport on Rhod Island
-- in the year 1768

On one flyleaf he recorded:

Joseph Skinner his Book of Discipline Bound in Newport on Rhod Island.
. . the 20th of ye 8 mo 1768.

The volume contains a passage "Visitors to New England" which documents Quaker visitors to Newport. The North Carolinians on the list included Zachariah Nickson (1734), Henry Stanton (1738, 1750, 1751, 1759, 1761, 1764), Henry Stanton, Jr. (1740), Silas Carpenter (1750), Thomas Nicholson (1750), Nicholas Bryant (1753, 1754), Fisher Trueblood (1754), William Hunt (1767), and Zachariah Dicks (1767). Skinner again requested a certificate from the Perquimans Monthly Meeting to the Newport Monthly Meeting in 1769. He returned from that journey in 1770 with a certificate from Friends in Philadelphia. Given that Skinner returned to New England for a second trip, the visits

indicate that certain bonds existed between the communities. Unfortunately Skinner's motives for making the trips remain hidden.³⁶

TRADE

Although coastal North Carolina's geography hindered ocean commerce, it did not prevent it. North Carolina produced a range of commodities that were highly valued in other ports. Governor Arthur Dobbs wrote to the Commissioners for Trades and Plantations in 1755 stating "the chief Products at Present in this Colony are Pitch, Tar, Turpentine, and other naval stores, Lumber of all kinds, Rice, Indian Corn, Pork, Beef, Hydes, Deer Skins & Furs, Bees and Myrtle Wax, Cotton, Indigo, which they are now enter'd upon with great Spirit." Carolinians, anxious to trade these commodities for manufactured goods, were in a difficult trading position; the hazards of venturing into Albemarle ports made prices high for imported goods and low for exports. While the way was tedious, often dangerous, merchants were drawn by the profits to be made from such exchange. Many ship's masters complained of the trouble and time it took the to find and purchase suitable cargo in North Carolina. But those merchants with local connections and experience in the Albemarle were able to expediently fill their holds.³⁷

During the colonial period, five official ports of entry into North Carolina governed trade. Seated in the town of Brunswick (customs officers were later moved to Wilmington), Port Brunswick served the Cape Fear River Basin and, with the colony's only deep-water port, conducted the largest amount of trade. Reached through Ocracoke Inlet (figure 9), Port Roanoke served the Albemarle Sound region and traded near the level of Brunswick. The Roanoke customs officials were located in Edenton. Early in

the eighteenth century, Port Bath (with offices in Bath) supervised the significant trade of the Neuse and the Pamlico Rivers (also used Ocracoke Inlet); the town, however, quickly declined after 1730 when the Neuse trade shifted to Port Beaufort, which originally depended upon the less important Old Topsail, Bogue, Bear, and New River Inlets. The shift coincided with the increased importance of New Bern on the Neuse. Customs officers for Port Beaufort, originally stationed in the town of Beaufort, subsequently moved to New Bern. Port Currituck served the trade of the Currituck Sound. Trade there involved only a few small vessels that could navigate the shallow Currituck Inlet at the Carolina-Virginia border and the tonnage never reached appreciable levels. These five ports allowed water-borne traders access to North Carolina's commodities.³⁸

Early settlers in North Carolina sought the wealth enjoyed by their neighbors to the north and focused their energies on tobacco. Indeed, sweetweed was the main export and source of income for seventeenth-century Albemarle. But, in spite of its importance in North Carolina's early trade, tobacco was not cultivated with great success, as the sandy soil was poorly suited to the plant's growth. Albemarle planters failed to profit enough from the plant to afford to improve their lands and to purchase the slaves deemed necessary to compete with the Chesapeake colonies. Compared to Virginia and Maryland, Carolina tobacco exports were insignificant; by the 1770's (peak tobacco production for pre-Revolution North Carolina), Carolina's exports reached only 3 to 5 percent of the amount exported from the two Chesapeake colonies. Because of tobacco's poor performance, planters also grew quantities of provisions and otherwise exploited the

local resources. Rather than an economy centered on a single commodity, North Carolina planters produced a wide variety of saleable goods.³⁹

Under the Navigation Acts of 1651 and 1660, certain enumerated articles, including tobacco, could be legally shipped from English colonies only to the British Isles (not to other colonies). Transatlantic vessels generally were too large to navigate the inlets for passage into the Albemarle Sound; the trade, therefore, was conducted in smaller vessels, mostly sloops from New England, which could sail up the rivers stopping at the planter's wharves. Robert Holden, in a letter written March 21, 1707, to the Lords of Trade, noted that North Carolina "has barr^d Inlets into It; which spoyles the trade of it and none but small vessells from New England and Barmoodas trades there." These traders would fill their holds with tobacco, skins, and provisions and return to New England, in open violation of the Navigation Acts. Tobacco earned the appellation "bait for New England fisherman." From New England ports, the commodities would be carried on to ports across the Atlantic Ocean. Faced with difficult waters, experienced New England mariners supplied North Carolina with a valuable service.⁴⁰

Aside from the skills needed for sailing and navigating, most early Carolinians lacked the capital and credit necessary to operate coastal trading vessels, so relied upon foreigners to transport their products. However, Thomas Pollock, a Chowan County planter, was active in shipping. In March of 1698, Massachusetts port records document Pollock as the sole owner of the "Katch *Dove* of North Carolina," mastered by Richard Bentley of Charlestown. When the vessel was again recorded in April, Bentley had assumed part ownership. Pollock also shared ownership in other vessels, in all cases with

the ships' masters: the Brigantine *Martha* (also with Bentley, 1699), the Sloop *Speedwell* (with Henry Mountfort of Boston, 1702), the Sloop *Greyhound* (Thomas Phelps of North Carolina, 1705), and the Sloop *Return* (with Robert Sanders of Boston, 1710). The presence of these vessels in the Massachusetts Bay confirms Pollock's involvement in the Carolina-Massachusetts trade. Further accounts confirm that these same vessels made voyages to trade in the West Indies.⁴¹

In response to the smuggling of tobacco (and the reality of North Carolina's navigational hazards), the Plantation Duty Act of 1673 permitted the shipment of goods to other colonies, provided that a duty of a penny per pound was paid. In 1679, the Commissioners of Customs in London recorded that "by reason by the Badnesse of the Harbours in those parts most of the Tobaccoes . . . have been and are Carried from thence in Sloopes and small fetches [ketches] to Virginia & New England." A great deal of the Virginia traffic was cut off that same year when the Virginia legislature prohibited Carolina tobacco from Virginia ports. By the last quarter of the seventeenth century, most Albemarle leaf was exported by a half a dozen traders from New England (among them Mordicia Bowen of Newport). The collection of the duties also proved a challenge in the many isolated trading spots of the Albemarle. Carolina planters frequently turned to smuggling in order to maximize profits, and they found willing co-conspirators in the New England merchants. William Byrd noted in 1728: "The trade hither is engrosst by the Saints of New England, who carry off a great deal of Tobacco, without troubling themselves with paying that Impertinent Duty of a Penny a Pound."⁴²

With tobacco's poor performance as a cash crop, North Carolinians turned to rice and indigo. These crops were grown only in limited areas, especially around the Cape Fear region. Small amounts of these two commodities show up throughout the eighteenth-century in the Albemarle, but they were never very important. Apparently, planters dedicated small amounts of land to varieties of crops. Indian corn, so common to all of the colonies, was a staple in North Carolina. Corn was, by far, the main component to the typical slave diet, and, in this role, outperformed wheat and rice. Seventeenth-century Albemarle planters grew corn and other provisions in surplus and exported them, via New England traders, to the West Indies and the northern colonies.⁴³

Before the turn of the eighteenth-century, Carolina planters grew wheat. As corn was the preferred grain for local consumption, wheat was grown for its export value. Farmers apparently did not produce both tobacco and wheat on the same plantation, indicating that individual planters decided on one or the other as their cash crop. Reverend John Urmstone, while complaining to the Royal Governor in a letter of 1714 about his present situation of poverty and hunger, noted the sloop of New England which "sweep all our Provisions away--We have twice as many vessels this year as ever were wont to come, there are above seven now waiting like as many vultures waiting for our wheat & more daily expected. . ."⁴⁴

Carolina was also noted as a producer of livestock. The bountiful country and mild winters allowed swine and cattle to range free for most of their lives, only to be fattened on corn before slaughter. Animal husbandry was conducted on nearly every Albemarle farm. This practice was noted in a 1775 letter by Alexander Shaw: "Every

proprietor of ever so small a piece of land, raises some Indian Corn and sweet potatoes, and breeds some hoggs and a calf or two; and a man must be very poor who walks a foot." Throughout the eighteenth century, annual stock drives of swine and cattle by the tens of thousands made their way north into Virginia and, by the 1750's or 1760's, as far as Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Great amounts of pork and beef were barreled. These agricultural products were significant in North Carolina's colonial trade. Pork proved to be one of the colony's most valuable exports.⁴⁵

North Carolina's forest resources were recognized by one of the first Englishmen to view this area. John Pory, whose reports were printed in 1622 and again in 1650, "found a country full of pine trees and commented on the abundant prospect of resources for the making of pitch, tar, potash, and masts for ships." Carolina naval stores production began on a large scale only after British Parliament instituted a bounty payment for colonial naval stores in 1705. For the next century, the production of tar, pitch, and turpentine was North Carolina's leading industry.⁴⁶

Understanding the colonial naval stores trade requires a few words on English political and trade conditions. At the close of the seventeenth century, England, as a powerful maritime nation in the age of wooden sailing vessels, was alarmingly dependant on other countries for their supply of timber, masts, cordage, sailcloth, tar, and pitch. Worse still, most of these supplies came from the same area, from the countries along the shore of the Baltic Sea. Such reliance on foreign naval supplies put England's military and merchant fleets in a vulnerable position, risking the both the kingdom's defense and her economy. But, as Justin Williams states, this fact alone does not explain why

bounties for colonial naval stores were instituted in 1705. He attributed three developments which led to the policy: Whig control of Parliament, the "menace of manufacturing" in the northern American colonies, and the deleterious conditions of Anglo-Baltic trade.⁴⁷

In the Glorious Revolution of 1688, the Whig party gained control of British Parliament. The Whigs were mercantilists who sought a self-sufficient commercial empire, and, as a part of the mercantilist economic vision for England, the colonies were to be a source of raw materials and a "vent" for manufactured goods. Naturally they hoped to find in their American colonies a source of naval stores. At the same time, they wanted to slow colonial manufacturing where it competed with England.

The Whigs established the Board of Trade in 1696 to examine the kingdom's trade and to make recommendations and institute policies that encourage the most advantageous exchanges. The southern and West Indian colonies fulfilled the mercantile goals of the Board when they exported tobacco and sugar in exchange for English manufactures. Because northern colonies lacked suitable raw exports, industrious New Englanders turned to activities that competed with the mother country: fishing, shipbuilding, commerce, and manufacturing. The Board was displeased in reporting that "New England, and other Northern Colonies, have applied themselves too much, besides other things, to the improvement of woolen manufactures amongst themselves; which ought to be prohibited, or discouraged, by the most coercive and proper means." A 1699 law forbade colonial woolen export but did nothing to give the Yankee colonies

buying power for British goods. Toward this end, the Board encouraged the production of naval supplies. They clearly stated their policy in 1717:

"[the northern colonies] not having sufficient Returns of their own production for the goods sent them from Great Britain, have been of late years under a Necessity of applying themselves very much to Woolen Linnen & other Manufactures, in order to Cloath themselves, to the great Disadvantage of the Trade of this Kingdom: And we do not see how the same can be prevented otherways than by engaging them to Turn their Thoughts and Industry another way to their own Profit: Which we humbly conceive may be most advantageously done by giving Encouragement to the Production & Importation of Naval Stores from thence. [As for the benefit to England,] This will not onely occasion an Encrease in the Exportation of our Woolen & other Manufactures, but also enable us to purchase Naval Stores by such Manufacture instead of buying them with Bullion."⁴⁸

Sweden and Finland (a Swedish colony) produced nearly all of the naval stores used in European shipyards. The low price and high quality of these goods made colonial competition impractical. But trade conditions worsened in the years 1689-1727, largely due to wars between England and France (1689-1713) and the Great Northern War between Sweden and Russia (1699-1721). In 1689 the Stockholm Tar Company was granted a monopoly on Sweden's resinous products. The wars increased demand while making supplies less reliable; consequently, the Tar Company raised prices, from £5 15s. a last (twelve barrels) to £11 a last within a decade. The high demand and high prices resulted in an unfavorable balance of trade, wherein England could no longer trade her manufactures for the stores, but were forced to pay in bullion, a discouraging situation for mercantilists.⁴⁹

A tar crisis ensued after Russians overran Finland in 1699. Additionally, in 1703 the Stockholm Tar Company decreed that English vessels would be excluded from

shipping the naval stores. These "final straws" drove England to seek other supplies. With the combined goals of overturning their poor balance of trade with the Baltics, seeking self-sufficiency in their kingdom, and providing colonials with a medium for purchasing manufactures, Parliament instituted bounties on colonial naval supplies. Most important to the colonial trade, the government offered £4 per ton of tar (eight barrels). Additional bounties paid £3 per ton on turpentine and rosin, £6 per ton on hemp, and £1 per ton on masts, yards, and bowsprits. In most cases, the bounties were just enough to make the American products competitive with Baltic products that had far lower freight costs. After only eleven years of bounty payments, the American colonies became the principal source of England's tar and pitch, supplying an average of 61,488 barrels of tar and pitch between 1716 and 1724.⁵⁰

Based on evidence gathered by the Board of Trade (and its predecessor the Lords of Trade) between 1692 and 1705 investigating shipbuilding resources, the northern colonies were believed to be best able to supply naval stores. But the production from the longleaf pine forests of Carolina quickly commanded the trade. While dominated by the other colonies in almost every category of trade, North Carolina was far and away the leading exporter of naval stores. In 1768 she shipped 60% of all naval stores exported from North American colonies, including seven-tenths of the tar, one fifth of the pitch, and over one half of the turpentine, with a total annual value of £42,000.⁵¹

In the years 1705-1718, England imported 134,212 barrels of tar and pitch from the Carolinas and 86,411 from New England; in the years 1730-33, 103,158 barrels came from the south, and 76,836 from the north. Given that almost all of the New England

barrels were re-exports from Carolina, these data show just how active Yankee merchants were in the Carolina coastal trade, to the detriment of English merchants. New Englanders were well situated for this particular trade, as their fleets contained the small vessels that could penetrate the shallow inlets of the Outer Banks as well as the larger ships suited for transatlantic voyages. The exports from New England do not show the full extent of their Carolina trade, as New England commercial and shipbuilding industries consumed a great deal of these products.⁵²

While New Englanders failed to produce the quantity of naval stores the Board had hoped, their engagement in the naval stores trade supplied them with a medium of exchange for English manufactures. Unfortunately (for the English mercantilists), the institution of naval stores bounties did nothing to slow the colonial manufacturing which steadily increased in the northern colonies. The policies, though, did succeed in relieving England from her dependence upon Sweden.⁵³

By the end of the colonial period, North Carolina exported naval stores of an average annual value of £50,000, in addition to the bounty. For the year 1768, for which comprehensive data is available, North Carolina exported three-fifths of all the naval stores shipped from British North America. At the height of colonial production in 1775, she exported 130,000 barrels of tar, pitch, and turpentine.⁵⁴

Of this most important of exports, Port Roanoke's share of the naval store trade amounted to 17% of North Carolina's total in 1768, or roughly 10% of North America's. The Pamlico and the Cape Fear regions each contributed more to the supplies. The northern regions of the colony had been settled much earlier and much of the forests had

already been used or destroyed to make way for farmland. More importantly, in the southern regions, landholdings were larger, the longleaf pine forests were more abundant nearer to the coast, and slave labor was more plentiful, making possible large-scale tar plantations.⁵⁵

Not only were North Carolina's forests plentiful, they offered a variety of useful species. Other wood products figured prominently in North Carolina's colonial trade. Exports included boards, planks, staves, heading, hoops, hogsheads, posts, oars, and masts. Only three items, however, proved to be important: shingles, staves, and sawn lumber. By the end of the colonial period, North Carolina exported about one-seventh to one-eighth of the shingles leaving North American ports. Of that amount, the Albemarle area exported nearly three-fifths (or about 8% of the total). North Carolina contributed nearly one-tenth of the staves exported from North America; of those, the Albemarle produced four-fifths (or about 7% of the total). While North Carolina exported a respectable one-twelfth to one-fifteenth of the total colonial sawn lumber, northeastern Carolina furnish a paltry fifteenth of the total from the colony (less that one percent of North American total).⁵⁶

The Albemarle region's environment promoted the production of barrel, pipe, and hogshead staves along with hoops and heading in great numbers. Staves were generally manufactured from white oak or red oak. These trees best grow along the edges of swamps and bottomlands, abundant in northeastern Carolina, especially around the Dismal Swamp. Stave-making required the craft of cooperage, which was practiced by many in the region. Unlike in urban areas where craftsmen were largely specialized, most

Carolina woodworkers were familiar with the craft and practiced it to supplement their incomes. Commonly cooper's tools were enumerated in inventories of joiners and cabinetmakers. A large portion of Albemarle's jack-of-many-trades planters and their slaves also made staves.

Shingles were split from white cedar and cypress trees, whose wood was lightweight and rot- and weather-resistant. The trees grew in swampy lands that were widely distributed throughout the North Carolina coastal plain. Because of the large amount of wetlands in the Albemarle, that region produced a large percentage of the shingles that left North Carolina's ports. Making shingles did not require much skill, but relied on hard work in swamps and on manual labor in sawing, splitting, and shaving them.⁵⁷

According to 1772 export records, Port Roanoke's exports usually followed one of three main routes. Roughly two-fifths were taken onto vessels bound for the West Indies; about a third were shipped to northern colonies, mainly New England; and, the remaining one-fifth or so of the exports were transported to the British Isles. As a rule, the most valuable products (and the most raw), namely tobacco and naval stores, were exported to the British Isles. To a lesser extent, British vessels loaded boards, staves, deerskins, and other commodities. The West Indian islands were a ready market for foodstuffs. Most important were pork, corn, peas, and flour, but also including rice venison, cheese, live hogs, lard, tallow, beef, fish, biscuit, and bread. The West Indies also consumed the majority of Carolina's lumber exports, most commonly in the form of staves, headings, shingles and boards. The northern colonies received miscellaneous cargoes of naval

stores and furs, as well as provisions, lumber and other articles. Many of these supplies were re-exported to the two aforementioned destinations.⁵⁸

Not revealed in the port records, a large percentage of North Carolina's exports traveled overland into neighboring states. Tobacco and other crops, especially those grown in and west of the Roanoke River Basin, were loaded into wagons and boats to reach Virginia markets. According to Governor Dobbs and to surviving port records, in the 1760 *most* of Carolina tobacco followed this route and left this continent through Virginia ports. Other commodities also made their way across the colony's northern and southern borders, making it impossible to estimate North Carolina's trade based on port records alone.⁵⁹

The same ships that carried away North Carolina's exports returned with goods. According to 1772 import records for Port Roanoke, about one-fourth of the vessels came from the West Indies; another one-fifth brought trade goods from Great Britain; and nearly one-half of the inbound vessels entered from the north. The differences between the sources and destinations of the ingoing and outgoing vessels resulted from the prevalent trading routes followed. Coastal traders typically left northern colonies to take on cargoes of Carolina commodities; these supplies were traded in the West Indies or Great Britain, and the vessels returned to the northern colonies with manufactures.⁶⁰

The imports from England were mostly manufactured goods, particularly cloth. Many of varieties of linen were available, as well as English cottons, woolens, sailcloth, canvas, and even silk. Merchants also imported wearing apparel, shoes, hats of felt, straw, and silk, ribbons, and handkerchiefs. In addition to hardware, household goods

crossed the Atlantic, among them ceramics and glass of all types, iron and brass goods, looking glasses, rugs, blankets, and mattresses. England was also the source for leather goods, tools, painter's supplies, and the like. Foodstuffs were imported from the British Isles in small amounts. Of these, salt and refined sugar were most important; others included beer, ale, wine, cheese, oils, nuts, olives, and spices.⁶¹

The bulk of West Indian cargoes was foodstuffs not native to the continental colonies. Primary among these were rum, molasses, brown sugar, and salt. Coffee, ginger, pimento, pineapple, oranges, limes, cotton, mahogany, and slaves also figured prominently. The many ships from the island plantations also brought re-exported British manufactures. Foodstuffs also came from the northern colonies. Chief among these were rum (which was usually distilled in the Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island) and re-exported molasses, sugar, and salt. New Englanders also re-exported were chocolate, wine, tea, coffee, raisins, and pepper. Northerners shipped native products like brandy, spirits, cordial, gin, beer, cider, vinegar, corn, oats, flour, potatoes, apples, cheese, butter, onions, beef, pork, and hams, and fish. Their manufactures included cloth, iron wares, earthenware, treenware, furniture, tools, utensils, soap, spermaceti candles, tallow candles, gunpowder, shot, and rigging for ships.⁶²

Based on surviving port records of 566 vessels engaged in the North Carolina trade between 1771 and 1776 (450 of which were from Port Roanoke records; the remainder from Port Brunswick), 70% (373) were New England built (of these, 70%, or 260, were constructed in Massachusetts). North Carolina's small shipbuilding industry supplied only 12% (66) of the vessels. Largely due to problems associated with

navigating through the shallow inlets through the Outer Banks, sloops and schooners were by far the most common vessels (and even more so in the Albemarle trade), providing for the dominance of the coastal and West Indian trades there. New England traders owned a large number of these vessels and were well positioned for trading in North Carolina.⁶³

By the late colonial period, North Carolinians themselves were engaged in the coastal and West Indian trade. Approximately 22% of the total tonnage of the vessels recorded were registered in North Carolina. But again, Massachusetts' maritime prowess showed itself with 25% of the total. Great Britain registered about 13% of the vessels, while over 9% of the North Carolina traders were registered in Rhode Island. The New England colonies together represented nearly forty percent of the vessels engaged.⁶⁴

North Carolina's highly valued commodities motivated traders to visit the difficult waters there. While few Carolinians enjoyed wealth on the scale of Virginia planter, the brisk trade carried on in their ports paid for finished goods from Great Britain and other colonies. Individual consumers were less concerned about a question like "can I get it," than with "can I afford it." Merchant and planter records and inventories indicate refined, fashionable goods were available to those who had the ability to pay for them. The eagerness with which traders sought to profit from and the frequency of their voyages between New England, the West Indies, and Great Britain and North Carolina meant that, for a price and a short wait, any of the good enjoyed in those far-away places could have been and were imported.

THOMAS NEWBY, PERQUIMANS MERCHANT

Critical to coastal traders were the local merchants who collected the native commodities and exchanged them for finished goods and other imports. Thomas Newby, the son of Nathan, operated a mercantile enterprise in the mid-eighteenth century in Perquimans County on the Perquimans River upriver from Hertford. On his plantation called Belvidere (now the name of the community) Newby offered for sale a wide range of imported goods. Newby extended credit for goods and accepted payment in the form of local export commodities. An example of such an exchange occurred in 1759 when Thomas Smith traded barrels of tar and turpentine for rum, cider, spirits, cloth, and sundry household items.⁶⁵

Newby stocked a wide variety of goods. While located well away from Edenton and even Hertford, this enterprise provided locals in the densely settled area direct access to the coastal trade. Newby, from his advantageous position, capitalized on the resources of the woods and bottomlands of the Albemarle backcountry as he exchanged his goods for export commodities like naval stores, beeswax, and staves.

The wide variety of items offered proved Newby to be a general merchandiser. Like other Carolina ports, the availability of products was limited only by his customers' budgets (or the amount of credit that Newby extended them). The majority of his sales involved cloth, mostly of English manufacture. The many types he sold included Nankin, Damascus, "linnen and twist," gingham, tamey, persham, fustian, fine broadcloth, bed ticking, checks, "garlix," scotch, calico, muslin, striped holland, fine holland, brown holland, calamanco, cambrick, red duffell, purple cotton, "blue stamp" cotton, serge, and

shalloon. Newby also supplied "twist", frills, plain and velvet tapes, and fine thread. He sold wearing apparel including garters, silk handkerchiefs, men's and women's hose, women's stockings, gloves, petticoats, and hats. For further ornamenting clothing, he sold buckles, shoe buckles, and buttons of all types. Newby's household goods included cases of knives, looking glasses, eating utensils, pewter table wares, delft tea and dinner wares, tea and coffee pots, horn and ivory combs, and rugs. The tools and hardware included thimbles, needles, hand saw files, chisels, augers, hammers, rasps, knives, scissors, hoes, hinges and locks of all types, large quantities of nails, and panes of glass. Newby supplied guns, gun locks, shot, powder, and flints. A few books were recorded in Newby's accounts, including Bibles, "testements," and primers, as well as reams of paper. While many of the items were of the "general merchandise" sort, specific tools (e.g. a shoe hammers) and particularly expensive items (e.g. a "rugg") could have been custom orders. If Perquimans residents could afford it, they could buy just about any products available in the colonies.

Just as in every American colonial port, rum figured strongly in Newby's accounts. Other foodstuffs included molasses, salt, sugar, and nutmeg, but the amounts of these commodities were small considering the relative amounts that entered North Carolina from New England and the West Indies.

Along with a small amount of cash, Thomas Newby accepted goods and services for payment. Traders brought in agricultural products like tobacco, rice, corn, pees, fodder, tallow, pork, beef, butter, beeswax, brandy, hides, and leather. North Carolina forest exports figured strongly in payment, including plank, barrels, staves, hoops, tar,

and turpentine. In a few cases, buyers bartered finished goods, like the saddle that Thomas Garrett traded for sundries in 1761. In one extreme, also in 1761, Richard Buriman paid his debts with "thy land and plantation £5..0.0."

Newby also accepted the work of laborers and tradesmen and their finished goods as payment. Payment in services was common. Jacob Perry built an £8 addition for Newby (1754) while William Newby paid with wheels (1765). Even tailor Jacob Jacobs exchanged goods for "dressing Capt. Leslie's Hat" (1763). Newby, in 1761, traded £25 for George Mettcalfe's tailoring services in single year. Newby also employed shop joiners, but not necessarily in their chosen trade. In 1763, Joseph Murdaugh earned goods including a cooper's compass by "holling," providing hoops, and working six months (exchanged wages), possibly under the employ of Newby. In 1765, Cabinetmaker Thomas White exchanged a desk and a table for a quantity of cloth.

Aside from his retail accounts, Thomas Newby maintained large accounts with several men in the 1750s. John Smith and Samuel Scott were apparently merchants operating farther afield than Newby. Merchants from Edenton including James Luten, George Brownrigg, and the firm of Blount, Hewes, and Blair traded with Newby, supplying finished goods for the commodities that Newby had collected. Although not documented in Newby's accounts (which usually only enumerated those items sold), coastal traders presumably traveled up the Perquimans to refresh Newby with manufactures in trade for the highly sought North Carolina commodities. Newby co-signed port clearance (or entrance) bonds with Jethro Jenne of the Sloop *Adventure* bound for Rhode Island and with John Howard of the Schooner *Raven* bound for Boston

on February 28, 1758, indicating his business relationships with these and other New England traders. Newby also had several accounts with Boston merchant Nathaniel Williams.⁶⁶

In his accounts, Newby demonstrated his desire to control as many aspects of the trade as possible. He owned vessels with which he plied the coastal (with New England) and West Indian trades. Most frequently, as with other merchants of the period, Newby owned shares in vessels rather than owning them outright. This strategy reduced his risk if a vessel was lost. In 1761, Newby and his brother Nathan owned equal shares in the Schooner *Two Brothers* and its cargo. In 1763, Newby partnered with Thomas Nicholson (who had traveled in Rhode Island) in the Sloop *Salley*. Newby's half of the vessel and its cargo amounted to £547.

Thomas Newby employed Captain Laurence Lessley in his trading ventures.

Several account document visits to both Rhode Island and the West Indies:

October 3, 1765	by money advanced in west indies
October 12, 1765	by due 2 mo. 1/3 wages for self and boy to "Road Iland" 150/ £17.10.0
October 28, 1766	by money advanced in Road island Larrence Lessley shipt on board ye Schooner for West India, 8400 staves and heading

According to Charles Crittendon in *The Commerce of North Carolina, 1763-1789*,

Thomas Newby, Laurence Lessley, and Francis Nixon employed their thirty-five ton sloop *Neptune* in the New York trade. Thomas Newby alone possessed the *Polly*, a twenty-ton sloop which plied to and from the West Indies. The *Polly* took 1½ thousand shingles, 9000 hogshead staves, 1000 feet scantling and 1675 hogshead headings to Antigua in 1771.⁶⁷

If the above-mentioned vessels entailed the whole of Newby's involvement in the coastal trade, his operation would have greatly influenced Perquimans County, especially in the vicinity of Belvidere. But these records, no doubt, document only a portion of his business. Beyond Newby, perhaps another half dozen merchants (like Andrew Knox, John Harvey, and Cornelius Moore) in Perquimans operated at or near his level. Through the vessels they sent out and through their interaction with maritime merchants, Newby and others imported foreign manufactures and foodstuffs, as well as politics, religion, craft, style, and other portions of culture.

According to Thomas Newby's will and inventory of 1793, his activities were by no means limited to merchandising. He owned no less than fifty-two head of cattle, seven head of sheep, and four pigs. His farming implements indicated only a moderate level of other agricultural pursuits.

Newby's mercantile activities made him wealthy by Albemarle standards. In addition to the Thomas White desk, Newby owned a riding chair, six feather beds and furniture, ten tables, thirty chairs, a bofat, four trunks, two chests, two bottle cases, and three looking glasses. In addition to great quantities of pewter, ceramics, and glass, Newby owned a large number of silver pieces: one soup spoon, twenty-two table spoons, eleven tea spoons, a tankard, a cann, a pepper castor, and a watch (this in a time and place where *any* silver in inventories indicates moderate levels of wealth).

By the nature of his business, Newby had a great deal of contact with craftsmen who sought tools, materials, and credit. Also, his status and wealth placed him in the upper class of consumers in the region whose patronage was necessary for craftsmen.

Why did Newby buy his desk from White? There were certainly other local cabinetmakers and Newby was well equipped to import furniture from a number of ports. Possibly his decision was informed by having a highly skilled artisan in White, who worked in close proximity and worshipped at the same Quaker Monthly Meeting.

In the eighteenth-century American economy, trade was reliant upon credit. This condition was most especially true for northeastern North Carolina where specie was practically non-existent and paper currency was little used. One's credit with a merchant depended upon his character, whether gained through personal interaction, through mutual friends, or by community reputation. Newby's owed his success to his broad network of contacts with both locals, coastal merchants, and merchants in foreign ports, to and from whom he either extended credit, received credit, or both.

NATHANIEL WILLIAMS, NEW ENGLAND TRADER

While Thomas Newby's account books illustrated the local Albemarle merchant, Nathaniel Williams' account book and letter book, 1758-1768, documented the activities of the coastal trader in the area. Importantly, his accounts revealed the strategies that these merchants employed to compete in the competitive trading environment of mid-eighteenth century Carolina.

Williams, a Boston merchant working for John Erving and James Perkins, merchants of Boston, had apparently been trading in North Carolina some time before the presently discussed account book was begun. Chronicled in the manuscript, Williams performed a wide variety of activities, serving as a supercargo on different-sized vessels in transatlantic, West Indian, and coastal voyages. The accounts and letters indicate that

by the late 1760s, Williams preferred to base his Carolina operations in the small port town of Hertford rather than the more recognized Edenton. His cargoes typically included mostly staves and beeswax, with little or no naval stores. These strategies, avoiding the major trading center and focusing on a less important commodity, likely improved Williams ability to compete with more established merchants.⁶⁸

Williams' account book recorded the Snow *Martha* in London in 1758. While rare in North Carolina, snows were medium sized vessels able to engage in the coastal trade and to make transatlantic voyages. Williams and the *Martha* were unloading goods in Bath, North Carolina by May of 1759. Interestingly, his cargo included unnamed personal goods of the colonial governor Arthur Dobbs, and the usual assemblage of European goods. Williams recorded the costly process of entering into Carolina's trading waters. Expenses for getting into the port included £35 for "Lighters & Negro Imply^d" to get the large vessel (for this relatively shallow inlet) over the bar guarding the entrance of Ocracoke Inlet. Passage into the Pamlico Sound required more difficulty and expense:

To Mr. Pofson Craft Hire ^d in the Swatch	£8
To Pilotage Up & Down	£7 10s.

By June of that year, William's vessel had been loaded with North Carolina exports.

"Goods shipt on board the Snow *Martha* for London" amounted to £548 Sterling. The diverse cargo contained 696 raw deer skins (2042 lb. costing £204), 6 casks of beeswax (£153), 3 casks of indigo (£112), one cask of dressed skins (99 lb. at £22), 2 "caggs" [kegs] of myrtle wax (235 lb. at £11), 3 "caggs" of honey (84 gallons at £16), one hogshead of tobacco (£17), 116 barrels of tar (£40), 25 barrels pitch (£12), 6000 barrel staves (£12), 3000 hogshead staves (£12), and 3 beaver skins (£2 11s.).⁶⁹

The Williams account book also chronicled another vessel trading in the Albemarle. On April 10, 1766, Williams and his Sloop *John* paid £5 12s. for "pilotage over the Barr Swatch & up the Country." He first cleared the customs house in Edenton, where he paid duties on rum, and then paid bills in the Naval Office. In order to efficiently operate in this foreign port, Williams enlisted local labor and equipment, hiring a black slave for four days, a horse from Perquimans merchant Cornelius Moore, and a "Flatt 14 Days to get Staves on board."

Williams invoiced his sloop May 22 revealing that the cargo was destined for the Western Indies at the risk of his employers, John Erving and James Perkins, both merchants of Boston. The *John* held 21,200 and 13 "cast" of pipe staves (£127 8s.), 1260 pounds of beeswax (£113 7s. 6½p.), 500 barrel staves (£1), and 70 pisterreens (£5 16s. 8p.) worth a total of £247 12s.2½p. As part of his payment, a ship's master was often allowed a certain percentage of cargo space for his own speculation. Granted this provision (as were other members of the crew) Nathaniel Williams itemized his personal cargo of 1000 pipe staves, 92 ½ pounds of beeswax, 820 pistereens, and various other items worth £180 11s. 6p. On August 29, 1766, Williams again paid £5 12s for pilotage through the Swatch and over the Ocracoke Bar. Because the Sloop *John* was loaded with Carolina exports and drew more water than when entering, Williams had to employ lighters to cross the Bar at the further expense of £10.⁷⁰

Williams' last trip recorded in the account book offers perhaps the most interesting information on coastal trading in the late-colonial Albemarle Region. After leaving Boston (apparently on October 14, 1766), Williams and the Sloop *Ruby* stopped

at Cape Lookout to have a carpenter put planking on the ship's deck. They passed through the inlet (paying pilots only 17s. so the ship must have been light) and docked in Edenton where Williams rented a horse. While in Carolina, bills indicate the ship made short trips throughout the area to trade goods. By January, they were fixing up the ship in preparation for the March 28, 1767 sale at vendue, where the *Ruby* brought £90 (sold to William [Teserly?] and Cornelius Moore).⁷¹

After the selling the sloop, Williams apparently based himself in Hertford and began procuring cargo for further ventures. In particular, he purchased a great deal of beeswax from many planters and merchants in Perquimans, including John Harvey and Thomas Newby (516 pounds). For assistance in procuring goods, Williams rented boats, paid a Captain James for 27 days, and hired laborers including slaves. He also rented space in the Perquimans County warehouse to store corn. During his stay in Hertford, Williams wrote letters (which he copied in the letter book) to his employers in Boston, James Perkins and John Erving, Jr. discussing his trading activities. In one letter of March 6, 1768 to Perkins, Nathaniel Williams stated "I have gott every [hannd?] that wax to Be procur^d within 50 miles round." Williams' employers must have found a ready market for this commodity normally thought of as unimportant.

Williams' cargo was finally picked up by the Brig *Benning*, which paid £8 for pilotage over the bar and "from sea to Hertford." On the return voyage, the vessel stopped at Beacon (recorded as Bacon) Island Road, an island on the sound side of Ocracoke Inlet upon which had sprouted a pilot town. While there on May 9, 1768, an inventory listed 19 casks of beeswax, 37,000 barrel staves, 7099 pipe staves, and one

"bagg" of beeswax. This cargo, under Capt. Peter Spence, left Ocracoke Inlet bound for the "Western Islands." In addition to use in candles, beeswax, particularly in the West Indian market, was used as a waterproof sealant for shipping products such as molasses, rum, and other liquids.

Nathaniel Williams demonstrated dynamic trading practices in coastal North Carolina. His accounts illustrate the importance of many different commodities, like beeswax, which could draw merchants to an area oft described as isolated. In order to improve trading conditions further, Williams established himself locally in the town of Hertford, a strategy employed by other New England merchants in North Carolina towns. Associates of Benjamin Green, merchant of Boston, moved to Bath in the mid-eighteenth century. In the 1770s Joseph Reply established an entrepot in Edenton for merchant Aaron Lopez of Newport.⁷²

Williams' activities also reinforce the importance of diversity in the economy of the colonial Albemarle. He traded with various sized vessels (snow, sloop, brig) in different ports (Bath, Edenton, Hertford, Beacon Island) for a variety of goods (beeswax, skins, tar) and headed to a variety of destinations (London, West Indies, Boston). His ability to perform in a variety of roles (ship master, supercargo, resident purchasing agent, etc.) no doubt contributed to the success of his and his employers' ventures in Carolina.

JOHN SANDERS, CABINETMAKER AND BUSINESSMAN

The same forces that drove coastal traders to devise their trading strategies let the local population to develop a mixed economy that encouraged entrepreneurship. Perhaps

no document better illustrates this aspect of the Albemarle economy than the inventory taken of Quaker joiner John Sanders in 1777. Sanders, probably the son of Benjamin and Ann Sanders, had inherited some cooper's tools and augers from his uncle (Benjamin's brother) Abraham in 1751. He subsequently married Elizabeth Symons of Pasquotank Monthly Meeting in 1757. The men Sanders named as executors and that witnessed his will revealed his extensive connections in the Perquimans cabinet trade and the greater community. In addition to his wife, his executors included his brother Benjamin; Joshua Skinner, a prominent planter whose son Joseph had traveled to Rhode Island; and William White, likely the brother of cabinetmaker Thomas (who by this time had moved away). Witnesses signing the will were William Skinner, Perquimans highest-ranking officer (brigadier general) in the Revolutionary War and prominent planter; John White, likely another of Thomas' brothers; and Josiah Murdaugh, cabinetmaker.⁷³

John's personal property disclosed his social and working status at the time of his death. The impressive amount of furniture in his home included eight bedsteads, five armchairs, eighteen "leather chairs," two pairs of Mahogany dining tables, a desk and bookcase, two walnut desks, two walnut bofats, a case of bottles, five chests, a close stool chair, and a number of other tables. His household contained fine ceramics like Queensware, delft, and porcelain, several looking glasses, pewter, a silver watch, brass candlesticks, a carpet and some rugs, and an assortment of books. His riding chair confirmed his position in the Albemarle's upper-middle class. Sander's personal property approached that of Thomas Newby, but fell far short in areas of textiles and silver.

Sanders' labor force included eleven slaves, seven males and four females. In addition, he may have taken at least two apprentices: Robert Harmon was bound to the shop joiner's trade in 1774 and John Davis was bound to the house carpenter and joiner's trade in 1775 (although the latter may have been bound to a different John Sanders). Sanders employed his workers in a variety of tasks that demonstrate the diverse economy of the colonial Albemarle. Sanders operated a large shop and engaged in agriculture, textile production, and fishing.

Sanders was working as a cabinetmaker by 1756 when he was named "joiner" in Thomas Newby's account book. Sanders purchased cloth and tools from the Quaker merchant, confirming his occupation. Two decades later, the itemization and subsequent sale of Sanders' property revealed a large cabinetmaking enterprise with extensive facilities and tools, supplies, furniture parts, and finished goods. Sanders' shop housed six workbenches; given that each required a window for natural light, the building must have been sizable. He owned a lathe with turning tools, many planes and chisels, sundry gauges, and a large number of other tools. Based on the ready supplies, the shop was organized for production. Over forty-two lots of lumber were eventually auctioned for over £85: 1,028 board feet of cherry, 2,881 feet of one-inch and unspecified walnut, 791 feet of two-inch walnut, 268 feet of mahogany, 1,347 feet of gum, 1,501 feet of pine, 330 feet of poplar, 85 feet of ash, and 480 feet of juniper. Matching the impressive amount of wood, Sanders owned a great deal of hardware, including brass hinges, knobs, screws, locks, and escutcheons, five pairs of "tea chest hinges," seven prospect locks and hinges (indicating large desk production), sets of desk-and-bookcase and bofat furniture, and

plain iron hardware. Finishing supplies included verdigris, Prussian blue, red and white lead, (linseed) oil, and beeswax. Tow, mohair, and leather were kept on hand for upholstering needs. Finally, shop necessities such as stones for grinding pigment, glue and glue pots, paint pots, and other "Rubbage of the Shop" were sold at the auction. Partially worked materials included a "parcel of Molds" (probably completed moldings, although they may have been patterns), Windsor chair parts, cherry chair backs, "fan timber" (for wheat fans), gum chair frames, and clock reel parts. Separating finished goods from Sanders' personal household furniture is difficult, but the "7 mahogany tea tables" on hand (sold for £23 16s.) must have been made on speculation.⁷⁴

Beyond the shop, Sanders operated a large farm. At the time of his death, he had thirty-five barrels of corn, four bushels of wheat (plus "wheet in the patch"), and two hogsheads of flax. For cultivating these crops, he owned seven hoes, twelve reap hooks, a bar plow and a weeding plow, a scythe, and a wheat fan. The "parcel clover seed" in his inventory shows he was quick to accept the trend of progressive agriculture to replace native grasses with other varieties like clover. Sanders' large amount of livestock included two yokes of oxen, twenty-four head of sheep, twenty-six head of cattle, four ewes and lambs, six horses, and swine including forty shoats, seven sows, one boar, and eight year-old hogs. Not only do the amounts of supplies and stock portray Sanders as a relatively large planter; they show he was employing modern strategies and technologies normally only associated with the mid-Atlantic, New England, and especially advanced plantations in the South in the late colonial period. Sanders was a progressive farmer.⁷⁵

Sanders' four female slaves were probably responsible for the homespun produced on the plantation. The flax (a "parcel" and 2 hh.), 15 lb. "pick^d cotton," and 21 lb. of wool in Sanders' inventory were utilized in textile production on his plantation. For processing the raw fibers, he owned three pairs of cards, two flax hackles, five linen spinning wheels, two wool spinning wheels, a clock reel, a die pot, and a loom and harness. To round out his occupations, Sanders and, more likely, his slaves also engaged in fishing. With his two canoes, they could use his two dragnets, three "setnets," two fish gigs, and pair of oyster tongs to procure merchantable commodities from the Perquimans River.

In short, Sanders was by 1777 a small businessman running a flexible year-round business in which he managed slave and free labor to produce commodities for sale. North Carolina Albemarle's geographical hindrances and lack of a good cash crop caused its residents to develop strategies that best exploited the local resources. The scrappy settler that did many jobs to earn his meal gave way, by the middle of the eighteenth century, to multifaceted businessmen like Sanders. Sanders took advantage of recent developments in agriculture while developing his other concerns. No doubt, Sanders rarely allowed his slaves to go without work by developed a range of tasks that would cover all seasons. This strategy would have maximized the utility of his labor and insulated Sanders from economic downturns due to poor growing seasons.

THOMAS WHITE, CABINETMAKER

Another Albemarle cabinetmaker further demonstrated the complexity of the economy there. The furniture made by Thomas White in Perquimans County offers physical evidence of the very real connections between northeastern North Carolina and

Rhode Island. White was born in Isle of Wight County, Virginia, probably around 1730. The Whites were members of Western Branch Monthly Meeting near the county line in neighboring Nancemund County. Thomas' father, Joseph, a farmer and merchant, began purchasing land in Perquimans in 1748, and by 1750, the family moved there. Thomas, however, did not move with the rest of his family, and appeared in Perquimans County in 1756, when he was received into the Perquimans Monthly Meeting on a certificate from Isle of Wight Meeting. The Whites lived on Castleton's Creek (now Raccoon Creek), which branches off of the upper Perquimans River between Hertford and Belvidere.⁷⁶

Thomas White owned no land in the county and likely lived with his parents until Joseph White, died in 1759. According to Joseph's will, probated in January Court 1759:

to my son Thomas White I give my two Lotts in the Town of Hertford and all the Joyners tolls belonging to his trade; cattle in the Care of Charles Jordan; negro Luke and negro Nann; use of half the Land to be laid off by him and his Brother John; Chuse friends to devide; for Seven years.⁷⁷

While the tools mentioned document Thomas' occupation, the lots in Hertford confuse the ideal of White as a rural cabinetmaker. The small but growing port town may have been the location of White's shop for his remaining years in Perquimans. Nathaniel Williams' activities in Hertford confirmed that town's role in the trade of the region. But through his father's will and further estate division, White received use of land for seven years (exactly the time White remained in Perquimans) as well as livestock including a yoke of oxen, some cattle, and some sheep and farming equipment including hoes and plows. The land and other resources were sufficient for a small farm (also, one assumes White had other personal property before). White could have liquidated this stock, but may have farmed, as he certainly did later in life.⁷⁸

In 1766, White removed to Rich Square, about forty-five miles to the west in the Roanoke River Basin, where he married Pharyb Duke, daughter of wealthy planter John Duke. While Duke was Anglican, his wife Sarah was a Quaker who had visited Perquimans in 1753, perhaps calling on the Whites. Duke apparently built a house for the Whites and allowed them use of his land. When Thomas White died in 1789, his estate included 26 slaves and extensive produce, livestock, and farming implements, indicating his primary focus on agriculture. The large number of tools sold after his death demonstrated that the joiner-come-planter maintained his cabinet shop. His household furniture included seven bedsteads and furniture, eighteen walnut chairs, a walnut desk, and walnut tables. When all things were settled, his estate in 1795 was valued at £2,343, a large sum for the Albemarle. Although he owned slaves so late in the century, White and his family apparently remained in good standing with their Quaker meeting.⁷⁹

White built a variety of furniture forms using overt Newport styling and construction methods. Based on the style that he employed in his furniture and the known date when he moved to Perquimans (1756), White probably apprenticed in Newport in the late 1740s and early 1750s. At that time, the classic Newport style which was to persist from the 1760s through the nineties, was still developing. Characteristics in White's work reflects early practices in Newport which later became more formalized.⁸⁰

Nine pieces of furniture chronicle White's career, including three desks, two dressing tables, a corner chair, side chair, a cupboard and a tall clock case. Like the

Newby desk, each of these pieces exhibits clear evidence of their maker's Newport training, but also demonstrate local taste and White's creativity. The most recently uncovered desk (see figures 10 and 11) also has the same distinctive five-bay Newport-type elevation as the Newby desk. In addition to its slightly larger proportions, the desk features added detailing in the stop-fluting of the quarter-columns and of the prospect pilasters. On this desk, the wider pilasters themselves are surmounted by rose carvings and flanked by full shell-carved valances. Like the Newby desk, the outermost edges of the outer drawers of the Perquimans desk rake to the front toward the writing surface, a characteristic unobserved in other regions. The third desk has a simpler three-bay blocked interior, with no outer tiers of drawers, related to pre-1750s desks from Newport as well as Massachusetts (figures 12 and 13).⁸¹

All of the desks share shell-carved prospects flanked by pilasters. White carved his shells within incised arches and above cyma-shaped lower edges. By the 1760s, Newport craftsmen more frequently delineated the outsides of their shells with wavy lines that followed the lobes. The outer drawer shells in Newport desks usually had flat lower edges. While of the Newport pattern, White's shells themselves were carved in different ways. The three-bay desk's prospect shell was gadrooned; the lobes of the Newby desk, executed in much in the same manner, were further incised by a V-parting tool; the remaining desk was carved more like those in Newport.

The pilasters of the Carolina desks are attached to the prospect sections that can be removed to reveal hidden compartments. "Secret" document drawers are accessed from the rear of the removable section (figure 4). Pilasters themselves are rare in

Newport work, and only one Newport desk is known with the same prospect treatment as the Carolina desks. In Massachusetts, pilasters are common and the White treatment, where the document drawers are accessed from back of the box, is frequently encountered in pre-1750 Boston desks.⁸²

The desks all have similar exteriors. The usual and distinctive fifth-foot center foot found on White's desks has few precedents in furniture in America. White likely picked up the feature in Virginia, as front center feet have been seen on Virginia furniture from mid-eighteenth century and a later. Further, the profile of White's feet resembles common Virginia patterns. White himself may have been responsible for transferring the fifth-foot to the Roanoke River Basin, where the feature was common after 1780. Each of White's center feet (including the one on the as yet undiscussed bofat) were ornamented with rose-carved ogee projections (figure 1). The feet of the Newby desk further received stylized rose and foliage relief carving. Like other furniture from the southeastern Virginia and northeastern North Carolina and in contrast to New England construction, White's desks feature full dustboards, blind dovetails at the tops of the cases, and mitered battens on the fall boards. Drawer construction follows a pattern used in Newport, but with mitered top rear corners, as observed in Virginia furniture (For a detailed discussion of Thomas White's furniture, see Bivins, pp. 185-201).⁸³

While in Perquimans, White also produced cabriole-legged furniture, three pieces of which have been identified: two dressing tables (one in mahogany) and a corner chair. Both dressing tables have drawer fenestrations similar to the lower drawers of Newport high chest bases and New England dressing tables where a single shallow drawer

surmounting a carved shell is flanked by deeper drawers (White's tables lacked the upper full-length drawer). The skirts of White's tables (and the drops on one) recall earlier Newport styles. While the corner chair's (figure 14) splat is a truncated form of a frequently-used pattern in Newport, most of its details relate closely with chairs of Virginia and the Albemarle. Perhaps the table sold by White to Newby at the same time as the desk was of a similar form, as its cost (£2 10s.) indicated some refinement. A set of three side chairs from Perquimans also share this splat pattern, but their crude of construction rules out White's manufacture.⁸⁴

Several characteristics in White's work call to mind Mid-Atlantic practices: one of the dressing tables has trifold feet; the Newby desk features a separate round-nosed pad nailed under its feet. Perhaps White was influenced by his brother-in-law Isaac Atmore, who had likely moved to Perquimans from Philadelphia. Atmore, who had married Thomas' sister Margaret in 1757, requested a certificate from the Perquimans Monthly Meeting to the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting in 1760. Isaac could have brought furniture with him or invited Thomas to travel to Philadelphia, either way exposing White to the style.⁸⁵

Even after ten years into his Carolina furniture career, White continued to employ Newport characteristics in his work. A barrel-backed walnut cupboard, or bofat (figures 15 and 16), was built into his house in Rich Square and featured White's signature center foot. Behind tall glazed doors, the bofat's interior is dominated by a deeply-carved gadrooned shell which terminates into Tudor roses in the center (facing each other, these roses approximate a C-scroll). Also made in Northampton County, a tall clock case clock

features a completely enclosed pediment (figure 17). The clock's feet and quarter columns (with same lip molding) are of the same pattern as those of the desks. White likely made a clock case or two while in Perquimans, as a later clock case which has descended in the Moore family shares many features with the White one. The common features include the lip moldings set into the plinths below the quarter columns and the shape of the case door.⁸⁶

White also continued to build furniture for Perquimans clients after moving away. The same bill chronicling the Newby desk lists "leather chairs 26/8--£16..0.0" and one "small oval table--£1..15.0" in January of 1767. While it is possible these were outstanding orders made in the previous year, these entries indicate that White maintained his connections with Perquimans. Aside from business ties, his four siblings (and maybe his mother) continued to live there and would have justified long distance exchanges after he moved away.

NEWPORT CABINET TRADE

As Margareta Lovell put it:

Eighteenth-century Newport was composed of individuals moving through a series of intersecting circles of civic, religious, fraternal, trade, and familial groups. Each of these communal structures also functioned, to a degree, as an economic unit, enabling and encouraging the exchange of goods, information, and services.

Within the town and the greater social orders, religious groups formed the largest social units. Until the second half of the eighteenth century, Quakers made up a majority in Rhode Island and they held great power in Newport. As a group, they maintained "strong ties reinforced by frequent journeys and correspondence with their coreligionist in other

colonies" and elsewhere, which gave them intercolonial kinship ties critical to trade. The strength of religious ties was reinforced by familial ties within the group, as marriage partners usually came from the same group. Marriage partners also, at least in first marriages, tended to be between those of similar ages and from families of closely allied trades. Most long-term partnerships in Newport were based upon kinship through blood or marriage. These smaller family groups became very important in the early Newport economy, particularly in the cabinetmaking business. Artisans in the Goddard and Townsend shops relied on familial links; at least twenty of the craftsmen in this school were related by birth or marriage. Further, their patronage depended upon kin, fellow Quakers, and friends.⁸⁷

In contrast fellow Newport cabinetmaker John Cahoone seemed to operate his shop based exclusively on economics. He hired journeymen, manufactured speculative furniture, and organized export ventures. Cahoone, with fellow Newport cabinetmakers Constant Bailey and Benjamin Peabody, contracted in 1750 with John Lyons (of Rehoboth, Mass.), owner and master of the thirty ton Sloop *Mary*. In the contract, they directed the *Mary* to "proceed from Newport . . . to North Carolina and from thence back to Newport." Likely the cargo of the *Mary* was rich in furniture from the three shops as well as other New England coastal trading commodities like rum. According to Bivins, "the partners apparently had an agent in Carolina to handle the disposal of their furniture." An upper case to a Newport high chest signed in ink "Maid by Constant Bailey Shop joyner in Newport Rhode Island" survives with a Perquimans County provenance and may have been part of the *Mary's* cargo.⁸⁸

If White received training from Newport craftsmen, how would he have been allowed into this tight-knit community, especially from so far away. Clearly Perquimans County had close ties with the region, but White would have traveled to Newport from Isle of Wight County in Virginia. It is quite possible similar connections between that Quaker community and the one in Newport existed. White's father started buying land in Perquimans in the 1740s and could have established friendships there much earlier, putting the Whites in a position to take advantage of the Albemarle's extensive connections with New England. At the very least, Thomas White could have gained Quaker endorsement from his own meeting; such a recommendation between Friends who had never met carried significant weight.

But, documenting Thomas White to the Newport cabinet trade remains a challenge. Unfortunately, most of Newport's colonial apprenticeship records were carried off by British troops during the American Revolution. As far as Quaker meeting records go, no mention of any Thomas White can be found in the Newport Monthly Meeting minutes and the early records of the family's Virginia meeting, Western Branch Monthly Meeting in Isle of Wight County, have not survived intact.⁸⁹

Outside of the minutes, other Newport Quaker records have documented a Thomas White in that community. He was recorded as a witness at the wedding of James Goddard and Susanna Townsend on January 17, 1750/1. Guests included a number of master cabinetmakers. They participated in a wedding that was one of the two unions that forever made "Goddard-Townsend" one word in furniture studies of Newport: two Goddard brothers married two of Job Townsend's daughters. Job Townsend,

cabinetmaker, probably took John Goddard as an apprentice and latter as a son-in-law when he married Hannah on August 6, 1746. James likely followed the same path, taking another of Job's daughters, Susannah in marriage. Master cabinetmakers at this event included Job Townsend, Christopher Townsend, Job Townsend, Jr., and John Goddard. Aside from Rhode Island's colonial governor, John Wanton and his wife Mary, the balance of the attendees were Quaker merchants, mariners and craftsmen. One of them, Nicholas Townsend, was master of the Schooner *Speedwell* that cleared the customs house in Edenton, N.C. in 1759 and 1761 with loads of naval stores bound for Rhode Island.⁹⁰

Probably the same Thomas White signed the Quaker wedding certificate of Isaac Anthony and Ruth Russell on February 15, 1753. No Newport Quakers named Thomas White have been discovered, and while the non-Quaker governor signed the marriage certificate, it is doubtful other non-Quakers would have. In the case of this wedding, the (presumed) father of the groom, Abraham Anthony, had Perquimans County contacts. When Thomas Nicholson and Silus Carpenter traveled through Newport in 1750, they stayed in Anthony's home. A furniture connection lies in the fact that an Isaac Anthony signed the face of a Newport clock made in the mid-eighteenth century. Perhaps Anthony had made works for the shop where White was apprenticing.⁹¹

When the magistrate in Charles Dicken's *Oliver Twist* needed to apply a default name to the speechless boy before the court, the magistrate called him "Tom White." Seeking such a common name in Newport becomes tedious, begging the question: is this *my* Tom White? Actually the name White was relatively rare in colonial Newport (in

comparison, there were at least three Thomas Whites in Perquimans in the late colonial period), with only six references that may point to only one or two people. As none of them were Quakers, it remains unclear whether they would have signed the marriage certificates. Two separate references in 1760 and 1770 identify "Thomas White of Newport" purchasing lots 86 and 76 respectively on Easton's Point, Newport's Quaker neighborhood. In the latter case, the White is identified as a mariner.⁹²

It would be exciting to confidently argue that an Albemarle cabinetmaker received his training directly from Job Townsend. Unfortunately, the data support intercolonial connections without *proving* that Thomas White trained in Newport. It is the object rather than written documents that leave little doubt that White was influenced by Newport cabinetmaking. His sophisticated furniture embodied the numerous personal and business connections between the regions.

THE ALBEMARLE'S ELITE AND THEIR NEW ENGLAND CONNECTIONS

If New England connections existed for the Albemarle's middling merchant and planter class, what about ties with North Carolina elites? Evidence indicates men of power had even closer contact with the northeastern colonies. Chowan County planter-merchant Thomas Pollock, around the turn of the eighteenth century, operated vessels in the coastal trade. His contacts were continued through the century. By the third quarter of the eighteenth century, his descendant Cullen Pollock, Esquire, of Edenton, corresponded with Newport merchant Aaron Lopez. In the letters of the early 1770s, Pollock informed Lopez on prices and availability of commodities. Pollock also ordered and reserved stocks for export in Lopez's ships, even after Lopez established his own

agent, Captain Joseph Reply, in Edenton. Pollock's interaction with Lopez led him to make at least several trips there. As his wife accompanied him, these trips were apparently for pleasure and for escaping the Carolina summers. The Pollocks apparently liked what they found in Newport; anticipating a building project (that never happened), Pollock inquired of Lopez:

I shall take it as a favor if you will inform me what I can get a good House Carpenter to come here for by the Month, one who understands weather boarding in the manner of Mr. Brindleys or Mr. Dudys House.

Pollock also ordered seed for different types of grasses he had seen growing in the Rhode Island town. After Cullen Pollock's death, his wife moved to Newport in 1799, indicating her fondness for Newport and her friendship with the Lopezes.⁹³

The wealthy and powerful Harvey family of Perquimans also had ties with New England. In Thomas Harvey's will of 1729, he gave "unto [his] Brother, Miles Gale, of Boston, in Newengland, one Quarter or forth part or the Slupe *Two Brothers*" that they owned together (three parts Harvey, one part Gale). Further gifts and executor appointments identified his family and friends. In addition to the Albemarle power-brokers and merchants Edward Mosely and Thomas Pollock, Harvey named his brother-in-law William Little (a Massachusetts native and Harvard graduate who had married Penelope Gale, daughter of Chief Justice Christopher Gale). Thomas Harvey's will demonstrated the family's definite connections to local families and to long distance traders in New England. As in the Pollock family, the Harveys maintained their mercantile activities and ties. Thomas' grandson Col. John Harvey co-signed port clearance bonds with Joseph Weaver, master of the Sloop *Lydia* bound for Rhode Island,

in 1756; he again co-signed with his brother Robert Harvey (probably with their vessel and cargo), master of the Schooner *Salley* bound for Bermuda, in the same year.⁹⁴

The behavior of Albemarle elites, those few most able to emulate the wealthy in Virginia and South Carolina, only confirmed the differences in the social and economic structure of colonial North Carolina. While both the Pollocks and the Harveys used their wealth to acquire land and slaves, they also invested in mercantile pursuits and in the relationships on which trade depended.

CONCLUSION

Like most travelers into eighteenth-century North Carolina, Josiah Quincy found the colony different than its neighbors to the north and south. A Massachusetts native, Quincy was journeying through the southern colonies in order to get an impression of their political leanings at the eve of the Revolution. Having just departed Charleston, South Carolina, where he had been entertained in some of the most opulent homes in the colonies, Quincy traveled by land through the "inferior" Carolina. Unlike most travelers, Quincy viewed North Carolina through the lens of a New Englander little-impressed by the slave-based elite planter societies in South Carolina and Virginia. As a result, Quincy's recorded observations highlighted the fundamental differences in the society and economy of North and South Carolina:

The soils and climates of the Carolinas differ, but not so much as their inhabitants. Though little more than imaginary line part these people, you no sooner enter the North province before you seem to see a surprising change of men and things.

...

The number of negroes and slaves are vastly less in North than South Carolina. Their staple commodity is not so valuable, being not in so great demand, as the rice, indigo, etc. of the South. Hence labor becomes

more necessary, and he who has *an interest of his own to serve* is a laborer in the field. Husbandmen and agriculture increase in number and improvement. Industry is up in the woods, at tar, pitch, and turpentine--in the fields plowing, planting, or clearing and fencing the land. Herds and flocks become more numerous, and they resemble not Pharoah's lean kine, so much as those of the Province I had just left. You see husbandmen, yeomen and white laborers scattered through the country, instead of herds of negroes and tawny slaves. Healthfull countenances and numerous families become more common as you advance North.

In Charlestown and so through the Southern province I saw much politeness, and great barbarity. In Brunswick, Willmington, Newbern, Edenton, and so through the North province there is real hospitality, less of what is called politeness and good-breeding and less inhumanity.

Property is much more equally diffused in one province than the other, and this may account for some, if not all, the differences of character of the inhabitants.

Arts and sciences are certainly better understood, more relished, more attended to and better cultivated in the one province than the other. Men of genius, learning, and true wit, humour, and mirth are more numerous here than [in] the country I had just left.⁹⁵

Because slave-based plantation society had not progressed as far in North Carolina as it had in other southern colonies, the people of Charleston mocked the poorer colony. But not all of the attributes of a society run by extremely wealthy slave owners were to be admired. North Carolina had not equaled the achievements of the planter elites to be found to the north and south. Instead, her citizens confronted the economic and geographic challenges that hindered her commerce with creativity, networking, and thrift. As a result, the economy and society were markedly different from those regions to the north and south.

Quincy found himself more at home in North Carolina. There he found a people less haughty, more industrious, and more middle class. Likely, Quincy encountered families with kinship and business ties to New England. Although Quincy found a great

deal of fault with the state of religion in North Carolina, he probably encountered more people there who shared elements of his Puritan-breed faith than the staunch Anglicans he met on his visit to the city of Charleston and on his subsequent visit to Virginia. In short, Quincy preferred North Carolina to South Carolina because he recognized societal characteristics that reminded him of his New England home.

Items appearing in the inventories of wealthy planters and merchants in Perquimans County confirm that by the mid-eighteenth century, northeastern North Carolina was no rude hinterland. A significant group of middling and upper-middling planters imported European-made goods and patronized local craftsmen. The sophisticated furniture of Thomas White represented by the Newby desk, or the large-scale shop of John Sanders confirms the interpretation that at least some North Carolinians had elegant taste and broad horizons.

The model for economic success in the Albemarle relied upon creativity, hard work, and efficient exploitation of a variety of opportunities. The merchant Thomas Newby eventually became wealthy through numerous mercantile exchanges and gradual expansion of his farming operations. Cabinetmaker Joseph Sanders opportunistically engaged a wide range of occupations at rather large scales to reach the rank of upper-middle class in the Albemarle region. On one hand, cabinetmaker Thomas White followed the understood form for Southern craftsmen, who usually strove to gain land, slaves, and planter status. But White departed from convention in that he apparently continued to operate his cabinet shop even after achieving comfortable competence

through agriculture. All of these men manipulated a variety of economic tasks and opportunities to reach planter status.

We should remember in our study of material culture, then, that local economic and social experience, or regional pride, can mask the larger exchanges taking place around the Atlantic rim. Isolation and refinement are states of mind, not just conditions of geography. Thomas Newby's desk reflected a world of interdependence that operated along side of local and regional tradition. The desk proclaimed colonial North Carolina's Albemarle a place of complex trade, business, and style.

NOTES

¹ John Bivins, *The Furniture of Coastal North Carolina, 1700-1820*, (Winston-Salem, N.C.: Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, 1988), p. 185; Thomas Newby Papers, Account Book 1763-1768, pp. 262-3, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh (hereafter cited as NCAH).

² Louis B. Wright, ed., *The Prose Works of William Byrd of Westover: Narratives of a Colonial Virginian* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1966), pp. 204-5.

³ A. Roger Ekirch, "*Poor Carolina*": *Politics and Society in Colonial North Carolina, 1729-1776*, (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1981), p. 19, 28; Mark Howe, ed., "Journal of Josiah Quincy, Jr., 1773," *Massachusetts Historical Society, Proceedings* 49 (1915-1916):462.

⁴ Bivins, *Furniture of Coastal North Carolina*, p. 3.

⁵ Ronald L. Hurst and Jonathan Prown, *Southern Furniture 1680-1830: The Colonial Williamsburg Collection* (Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1997), p. 13-21.

⁶ Hugh F. Rankin, *Upheaval in the Albemarle: The Story of Culpepper's Rebellion, 1675-1689*, (Raleigh, N.C.: Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission, 1962), p. 12.

⁷ Anyone attending the 1998 Williamsburg Antiques Forum, which was dedicated to the arts of the South, heard Downs's phrase repeated nearly every lecture. Further, it appeared in print in two consecutive issues of *American Furniture* (1997 and 1998).

⁸ I found no better explanation on the changing inlets than the following from David Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina, 1584-1958* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1958), p. 6: "In any given year the amount of water passing from the rivers and creeks to the bays, and then through Pamlico Sound in search for an outlet to the Atlantic Ocean, is roughly the same as in any other year, which means that nature must maintain, through the Banks, sufficient openings to carry off approximately the same amount of water from one year to the next. There have been times when there were as many as eleven small inlets between the Virginia line and Cape Lookout and other times when there were as few as three comparatively large ones. From generation to generation, however, the aggregate size if the inlets seems to have remained about the same."

⁹ William S. Powell, *North Carolina through Four Centuries* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), p. 1.

¹⁰ Powell, *North Carolina through Four Centuries*, p. 13; John Lawson, *A New Voyage to Carolina*, ed. Hugh Talmage Lefler (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1967), pp. 86-7; Mrs. Watson Winslow, *History of Perquimans County* (Raleigh, N.C.: 1931; rept. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1974), p. 33; Wright, *Works of Byrd*, pp. 204-5.

¹¹ Dunbar, Gary S., *Historical Geography of the North Carolina Outer Banks* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press 1958), p. 16; His home stood on the sound between the Roanoke River and Salmon Creek (present day Bertie County). Bivins, p. 15; H. G. Jones, *North Carolina Illustrated, 1524-1984* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), p. 32.

¹² Stephen B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1896), p. 35; Powell, *North Carolina through Four Centuries*, p. 55; Harry Roy Merrens, *Colonial North Carolina in the Eighteenth Century* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1964), p. 25.

¹³ Bivins, *Furniture of Coastal North Carolina*, p.18; Allan Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves: the Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), p. 47-48.

¹⁴ Bivins, *Furniture of Coastal North Carolina*, p. 16; Merrens, *Colonial North Carolina*, pp. 22-23.

¹⁵ Jones, *North Carolina Illustrated*, pp. 34, 37.

¹⁶ Jones, *North Carolina Illustrated*, p. 34.

¹⁷ Powell, *North Carolina through Four Centuries*, pp. 70, 72; Bivins, *Furniture of Coastal North Carolina*, p. 21-22.

¹⁸ Powell, *North Carolina through Four Centuries*, p. 70; Court at Thomas Pollock's house in Chowan August 1, 1717, Gov. Eden, as recorded in William. L. Saunders, ed., *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, 10 vol. (Raleigh, N.C.: State of North Carolina, 1886-1890), II:290, 527-8.

¹⁹ Marvin L. Michael Kay and Lorin Lee Cary, *Slavery in North Carolina, 1748-1775* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), p. 221.

²⁰ Kay, *Slavery in North Carolina*, p. 221. Table 1.1. Population Statistics for North Carolina's Regions and Counties, 1755 and 1767.

²¹ Ekirch, *Poor Carolina*, pp. 226-7.

²² Neva Jean Specht, "Mixed blessing: trans-Appalachian settlement and the Society of Friends, 1780-1813" (Ph.D. diss., University of Delaware, 1997), p. 76.

²³ Powell, *North Carolina through Four Centuries*, p. 73; Weeks, *Southern Quakers*, pp. 10-1; In 1697 an Act of Assembly provided "that all Christians which now are or hereafter may be in this province (Papists only excepted) shall enjoy the full liberty of their consciences." Quoted in Weeks, *Southern Quakers*, p. 59.

²⁴ Winslow, *History of Perquimans*, p. 33, 34.

²⁵ William Edmundson, *A Journal . . .* (London, 1715), p. 59, taken from Jones, *North Carolina Illustrated*, p. 32; Eleanore Bradford Monahan, "A New Look at the Jireh Bull Excavation," *Rhode Island History* 20 (Jan. 1961), p. 13, confirms that William Bundy had moved from Newport where he had been among the original property owners who had purchased land from the Narragansett Indians in 1658; Dru Haley and Raymond Winslow, Jr., *The Historic Architecture of Perquimans County, North Carolina* (Hertford, N.C.: Town of Hertford, 1982), p. 6; Jones, *North Carolina Illustrated*, p. 32; Winslow, *History of Perquimans*, pp. 11, 28, 29.

²⁶ Winslow, *History of Perquimans*, p. 32; Powell, *North Carolina through Four Centuries*, p.74.

²⁷ John Bennett Boddie, *Seventeenth-Century Isle of Wight County, Virginia* (Chicago: Chicago Low Printing Company, 1993), pp. 111-2; Margaret Hope Bacon, *The Quiet Rebels: the Story of Quakers in America* (Philadelphia: New Society Publishers, 1985), pp. 26, 34-5, 41.

²⁸ John Cheney, Jr., *North Carolina Government, 1585-1979: A Narrative and Statistical History* (Raleigh, N.C.: North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State, 1981), pp. 11-2, 25, 27, 29; Robert Leath was helpful in identifying the New England and Quaker connections.

²⁹ Specht, p. 61; "The Bordens and the Stantons, Shipbuilders," *Hutchinson's Quarterly* (July 1983): 25; Core Sound Monthly Meeting minutes in William Wade Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1969), I:263; Recorded in "Visitors to New England" section of Skinner "Book of Discipline"; When traveling or moving, Quakers requested certificates from their meeting to that of their destination. These letters served much like a letter of

introduction, letting the other meeting know this visitor was a Friend in good standing, clear of debt and misconduct. Meeting minutes on both ends recorded these transfers; Silas Carpenter first moved to Perquimans in 1744; he made it to Core Sound in 1746, but returned to Rhode Island in 1751. Perquimans Monthly Meeting minutes, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College Library, Guilford, N.C. (hereafter cited as FHCG) and Hinshaw, I:268.

³⁰ Weeks, *Southern Quakers*, pp. 324-6.

³¹ Bacon, *Quiet Rebels*, p. 38; Boddie, *Isle of Wight*, pp. 111-3.

³² Bivins, *Furniture of Coastal North Carolina*, p. 18.

³³ Thomas Nicholson, "The Journal of Thomas Nicholson," *Publications of the Southern History Association* 3 and 4 (1900); 3:146-7.

³⁴ "Basically two-masted, the snow carried square-rigged fore and main masts, with a short trysail mast set just abaft the mainmast; the snow ranged from 90 to 120 tons on the average." Bivins, *Furniture of Coastal North Carolina*, p. 45.

³⁵ Thomas Newby Daybook, 1761, Special Collections, Perkins Library, Duke University (hereafter cited as SCPD); Newby account book, 1763-1768, NCAH.

³⁶ Joseph Skinner, "Christian & Brotherly Advices by London Yearly Meeting 1768," FHCG; Hinshaw, *Quaker Genealogy*, I:73.

³⁷ William L. Saunders, ed., *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, 10 vol. (Raleigh, N.C.: State of North Carolina, 1886-1890), 5:316-7.

³⁸ Merrens, *Colonial North Carolina*, p. 87.

³⁹ Production of tobacco in Carolina was limited to the northern parts of the colony, specifically in the Albemarle and to the west. The conditions in more southern areas were even worse for tobacco cultivation; Bivins, *Furniture of Coastal North Carolina*, p. 41.

⁴⁰ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, I:663; Powell, *North Carolina through Four Centuries*, p. 64.

⁴¹ Robert E. Moody, "Massachusetts Trade with Carolina, 1686-1709," *North Carolina Historical Review* 20 (Jan. 1943):43-53.

⁴² Bivins, *Furniture of Coastal North Carolina*, p. 41, from Lefler, Hugh T., ed., *North Carolina History Told by Contemporaries*, (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1956), p. 14; Rankin, p. 24; Wright, p. 176.

⁴³ Merrens, *Colonial North Carolina*, p. 108-9; Philip Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, University of North Carolina Press, 1998); Moody, p. 45.

⁴⁴ Merrens, *Colonial North Carolina*, pp. 111, 124; Letter of Rev. John Urmstone in Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II:132.

⁴⁵ Letter of Alexander Shaw, in Merrens, *Colonial North Carolina*, p. 134; Merrens, *Colonial North Carolina*, pp. 135-6.

⁴⁶ Merrens, *Colonial North Carolina*, p. 33. Merrens cited William S. Powell, "John Pory: His Life, Letters and Works" (Master's thesis, University of North Carolina, 1947), p. 92; Merrens, *Colonial North Carolina*, p. 89.

⁴⁷ Justin Williams, "English Mercantilism and Carolina Naval Stores, 1705-1776," *Journal of Southern History* 1 (May, 1935):169-70.

⁴⁸ Board of Trade to Commons, Jan. 18, 1699, taken from Williams, *Carolina Naval Stores*, p. 170.

⁴⁹ Board of Trade Representation on Naval Stores, Mar. 28, 1717, Public Record Office, *Colonial Office Papers*, 390: 12, pp. 85-87, taken from Williams, p. 171; Williams, *Carolina Naval Stores*, pp. 171-3.

⁵⁰ Williams, *Carolina Naval Stores*, pp. 172-3.

⁵¹ Williams, *Carolina Naval Stores*, p. 174; the year 1768 was chosen because good data were available for the colonies' exports; Charles C. Crittendon, *The Commerce of North Carolina, 1763-1789* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1936), p. 73.

⁵² Williams, *Carolina Naval Stores*, p. 176.

⁵³ Williams, *Carolina Naval Stores*, pp. 177-179.

⁵⁴ Powell, *North Carolina through Four Centuries*, p. 136; Williams, *Carolina Naval Stores*, p. 176.

⁵⁵ Merrens, *Colonial North Carolina*, pp. 89-90.

⁵⁶ Merrens, *Colonial North Carolina*, pp. 93-94.

⁵⁷ Merrens, *Colonial North Carolina*, pp. 104-105, Crittendon, *Commerce of North Carolina*, p. 66.

⁵⁸ Crittendon, *Commerce of North Carolina*, pp. 70-76.

⁵⁹ Crittendon, *Commerce of North Carolina*, pp. 71-76.

⁶⁰ Crittendon, *Commerce of North Carolina*, p. 79.

⁶¹ Crittendon, *Commerce of North Carolina*, pp. 79-82.

⁶² Crittendon, *Commerce of North Carolina*, pp. 81-82.

⁶³ Joseph Goldenberg, "Names and Numbers: Statistical Notes on Some Port Records of Colonial North Carolina," *American Neptune* 29 (1969):156.

⁶⁴ Goldenberg, p. 161-6.

⁶⁵ Newby's activities are chronicled in seven account and daybooks now spanning 1750-1775 located in NCAH and DUSC; the earliest known reference to the place name "Belvidere" was made in the 1770s in Newby's accounts.

⁶⁶ Port Roanoke Records, vol. 18, NCAH; Williams account and letter book, DUSC.

⁶⁷ Crittendon, *Commerce of North Carolina*, p. 107; Newby account book. 1768-1771.

⁶⁸ This and all other information about Nathaniel Williams was taken from Nathaniel Williams account book and letter book, 1758-1768, DUSC.

⁶⁹ Of note, the *Martha* carried goods for the colonial governor. Williams recorded 7s. 6d. "to expenses getting Govⁿ Dobbs things on shoir [shore]. Williams account book, DUSC; the "swatch" referred to the "swash," the inner bar or place of least depth in the channel from Ocracoke Inlet to the Pamlico Sound. Dunbar, *Historical Geography of the Outer Banks*, p. 138.

⁷⁰ A pisterreen was a copper coin worth 20 pence.

⁷¹ Cornelius Moore was a Perquimans County merchant who partnered with Thomas Newby on several ventures.

⁷² Tara Louise Gleason, "From goldsmith to merchant : the craft and commerce of Benjamin Greene" (Masters thesis, University of Delaware, 1996); Virginia Bever Platt, "The Trade of Aaron Lopez," *North Carolina Historical Review* 48 (January 1971):22.

⁷³ Two contemporary John Sanderses were described as joiners. Based on associations (and therefor geography) it would seem that this John was the son of Benjamin Sander who lived southeast of Hertford on the Perquimans River, near the Skinners. Another John living in the Beech Springs area may have been the son of Abraham Sanders. As per conversation with Ray Winslow, 4-17-1999.

⁷⁴ John Sanders' estate papers, NCAH; Bivins, p. 499.

⁷⁵ While he probably grew flax, the two hogsheds that appeared in the inventory may have been purchased for textile production; [check reference on "progressive agriculture" ---Percy C. Bidwell and John I. Fakour, *Agriculture in the Northern United States*].

⁷⁶ Winslow, *History of Perquimans*, p. 148; Hinshaw, *Quaker Genealogy*, p. 78; Bivins, *Furniture of Coastal North Carolina*, p. 161.

⁷⁷ Courtesy of Ray Winslow who found this once-lost will in Craven County.

⁷⁸ Bivins, *Furniture of Coastal North Carolina*, pp. 510-512.

⁷⁹ Hinshaw, *Quaker Genealogy*, p. 46; Bivins, *Furniture of Coastal North Carolina*, p. 512.

⁸⁰ Bivins, *Furniture of Coastal North Carolina*, pp. 185-187.

⁸¹ Bivins, *Furniture of Coastal North Carolina*, p. 190.

⁸² For example of desk with pilasters signed by John Goddard, 1754, see Bivins, *Furniture of Coastal North Carolina*, p. 191; for Newport example with same prospect treatment, see *The Magazine Antiques* (July 1986):58; for examples of these secret compartments, see Allan Miller, "Roman Gusto in New England," *American Furniture*, 1993, pp. 161-200.

⁸³ A large desk and bookcase attributed to Peter Scott of Williamsburg has a center ball-and-claw foot, as seen in Gusler, p. 49; instead of seeing these as urns, they appear more like small radiuses of the foot ogee profiles; the feet of the most elaborate desk are replacements based on the Newby desk, as per phone conversation with Ned Hipp, 4-16-99; Bivins, *Furniture of Coastal North Carolina*, pp. 185-92, 195.

⁸⁴ Bivins, *Furniture of Coastal North Carolina*, pp. 192-94. Stylistic similarities, especially in leg profile, to White's tables can be seen in a New England (Newport?) card table illustrated in an advertisement by Israel Sack in *Antiques*, August 1954; Newby account book, 1763-1768, NCAH; Bivins, *Furniture of Coastal North Carolina*, p. 197-198.

⁸⁵ Also, Caleb Atmore, presumably Isaac's brother, produced a certificate from Philadelphia to the Perquimans Meeting in 1757 and returned to Pennsylvania in 1758. Hinshaw, *Quaker Genealogy*, p. 35.

⁸⁶ Bivins, *Furniture of Coastal North Carolina*, p. 198.

⁸⁷ Margaretta M. Lovell, "'Such Furniture as Will Be Most Profitable': The Business of Cabinetmaking in Eighteenth-Century Newport," *Winthurthur Portfolio* 26:40-41.

⁸⁸ Lovell, "Cabinetmaking in Newport," p. 57-58; Jeanne Vibert Sloane, "John Cahoon and the Newport Furniture Industry," *Old-Time New England* 72 (1987):88-122; Bivins, *Furniture of Coastal North Carolina*, pp. 99-100

⁸⁹ Then why not look in England for Newport apprenticeship records? The colonial records were captured, presumably for their protection by the Crown, but the ship in which they were held sank.

⁹⁰ My first day of research resulted in a significant discovery. Five minutes after hearing my quest, Patricia O'Donnell at the Friends Historical Society at Swarthmore College discovered this marriage certificate on a microfilmed copy of Newport Monthly Meeting marriage records.

⁹¹ These theories are called into doubt by the fact that no other guests signed both certificates. As an interloper in the community, one would expect White to keep to a familiar group of friends; The claim that Abraham was Isaac's father is unconfirmed, based on the location of name on marriage certificate. At the very least, Abraham and Isaac Anthony were very close relatives; Sotheby's sale, New York, January 16-17, 1999, lot number 697; Newport Monthly Meeting marriage records.

⁹² Charles Dickens, *Oliver Twist*, chapter 11; other references to Thomas White in colonial Newport: Thomas White and Sarah Norton were married by Reverend Nicholas Eyres (of the Second Baptist Church) Oct. 23 or 25, 1755. *Vital Records of Rhode Island, 1636-1850*, vol. 4 (Newport County), p. 76; Thomas White, deceased, creditors' notice in the *Newport Mercury*, Jan. 11, 1773, p. 4, photostat copy at Newport Historical Society (hereafter NHS); Thomas White, deceased, estate insolvent, *Newport Mercury*,

June 15, 1772, p. 1, photostate copy at NHS; Thomas White, tailor, 1751, "GHR Scrapbook," Vault A, B 982, p. 4, NHS.

⁹³ *The Commerce of Rhode Island*, I:429, 431; Virginia Bever Platt, "The Trade of Aaron Lopez," *North Carolina Historical Review* 48 (January 1971):22.

⁹⁴ J. Bryan Grimes, *North Carolina Wills and Inventories* (Raleigh, NC: Edwards & Broughton Printing Company, 1912), p. 231; William Little was one of the Boundary Commissioners. William Byrd, who called him Puzzlecause, said Little "had degenerated from a New England preacher, for which his godly parents designed him, to a very wicked but awkward rake." Wright, p. 43, 57; Port of Roanoke Records, NCAH; Harvey's inventory taken in 1775 indicated his family's connections led to refinement in furnishings. In addition to an extensive listing of furniture and personal articles and a well-furnished library, the inventory noted gilt-framed portraits of King George III and Queen Charlotte. Harvey's library included the following works: Bishop Sherlock's *On the Future State*, Shakespeare, *Defense of the Christian Faith*, *Constitutions of the Freemasons*, Bishop Tillitson's sermons in two volumes, *The Whole Duty of Man*, *Introduction to the Lord's Supper*, *Treatise on Military Discipline*, and a two-volume Old and New Testament, Perquimans County Estate Papers, NCAH.

⁹⁵ Howe, Mark, ed. "Journal of Josiah Quincy, Junior, 1773." Massachusetts Historical Society, *Proceedings* 49 (1915-1916):462.

ILLUSTRATIONS



Figure 1. Desk made by Thomas White for Thomas Newby, Perquimans County, North Carolina, 1765, walnut with white cedar and yellow pine. Collection of the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts.

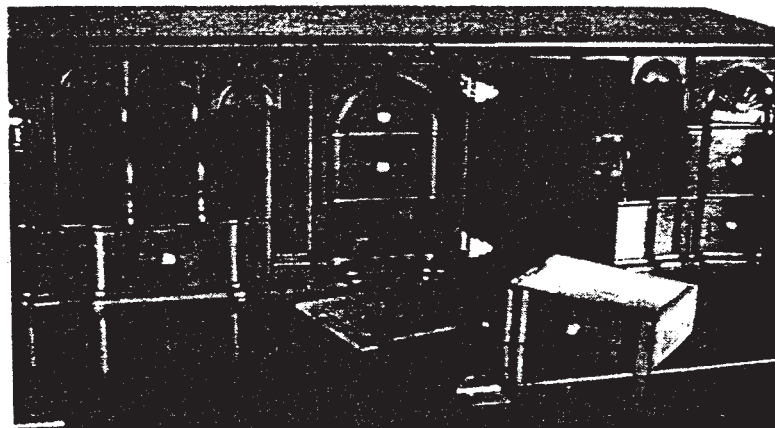


Figure 2. Interior of desk in figure 1 with prospect door open and drawer removed.
Collection of the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts.

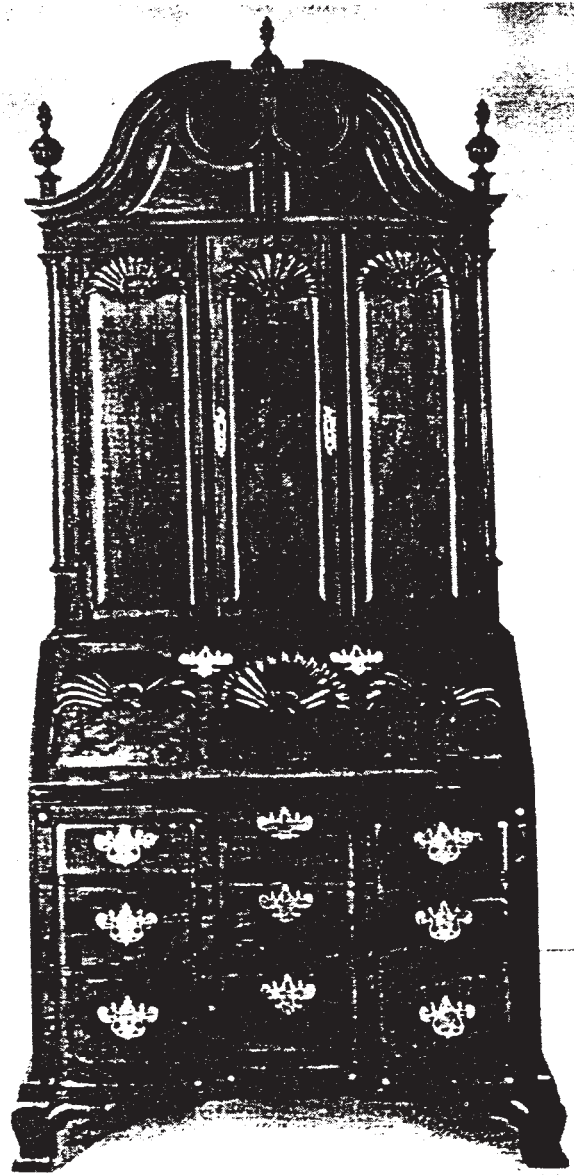


Figure 3. Desk-and-bookcase, Newport, Rhode Island, 1760-1785. Courtesy, Winterthur Museum.



Figure 4. Interior of desk in figure 3. Courtesy Winterthur Museum.



Figure 5. Side view of drawer in desk in figure 1. Collection of the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts.



Figure 6. Belvidere, Perquimans County, c. 1765, which was acquired by Exum Newby (son of Thomas Newby) in 1767. Photograph taken from *The Furniture of Coastal North Carolina, 1700-1820* by John Bivins, Jr., published by the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, Winston-Salem, N.C., 1988.

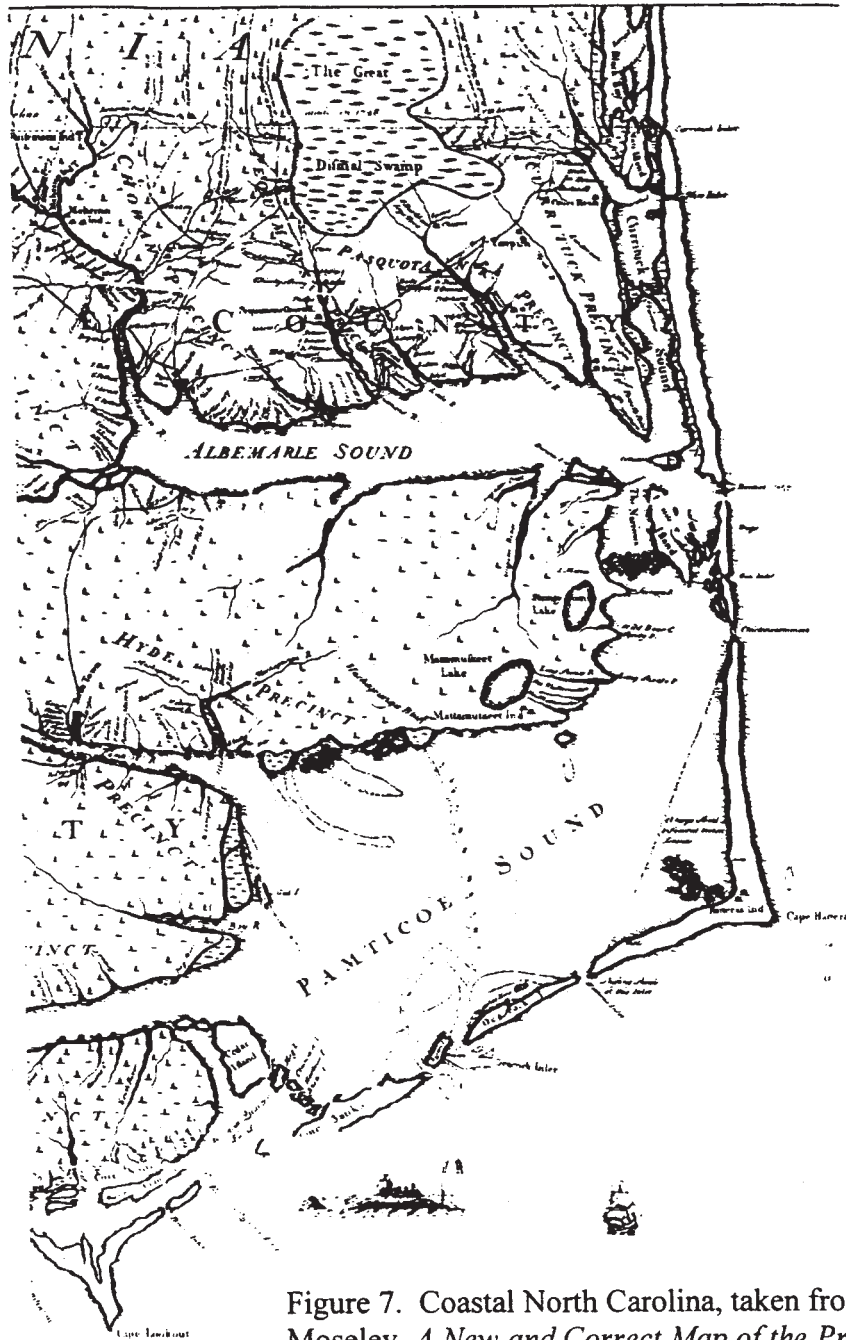


Figure 7. Coastal North Carolina, taken from Edward Moseley, *A New and Correct Map of the Province of North Carolina* (London, 1733). Courtesy of the East Carolina Manuscript Collection, East Carolina University, Greenville, N.C.

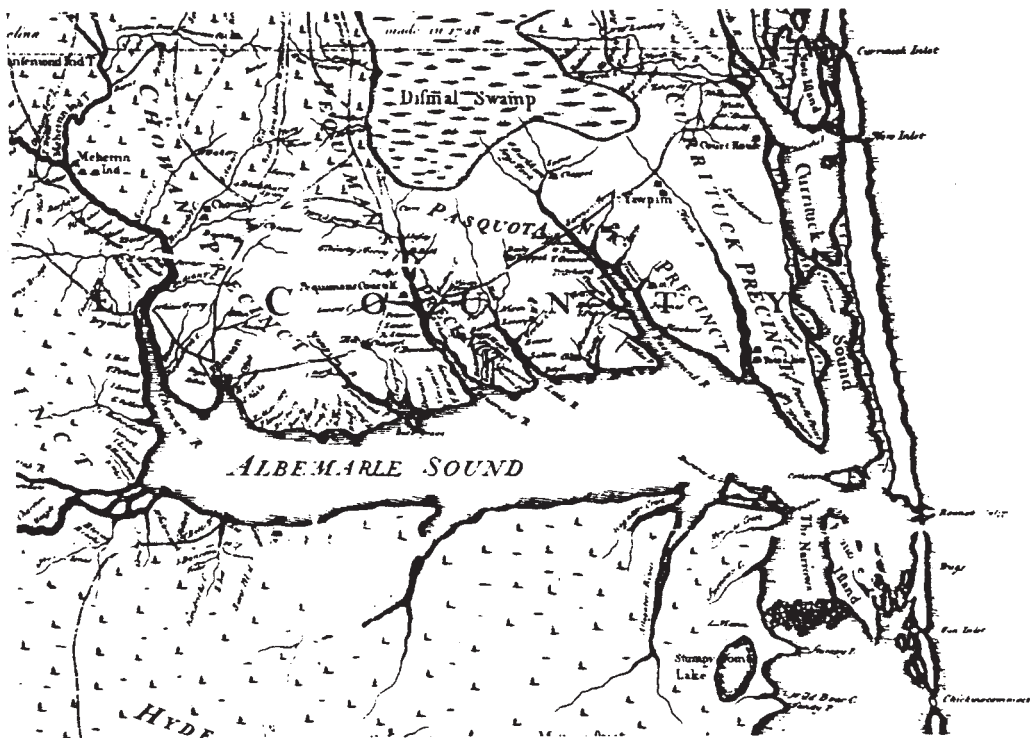


Figure 8. A closer view of the North Carolina Albemarle region, taken from Edward Moseley, *A New and Correct Map of the Province of North Carolina* (London, 1733). Courtesy of the East Carolina Manuscript Collection, East Carolina University, Greenville, N.C.

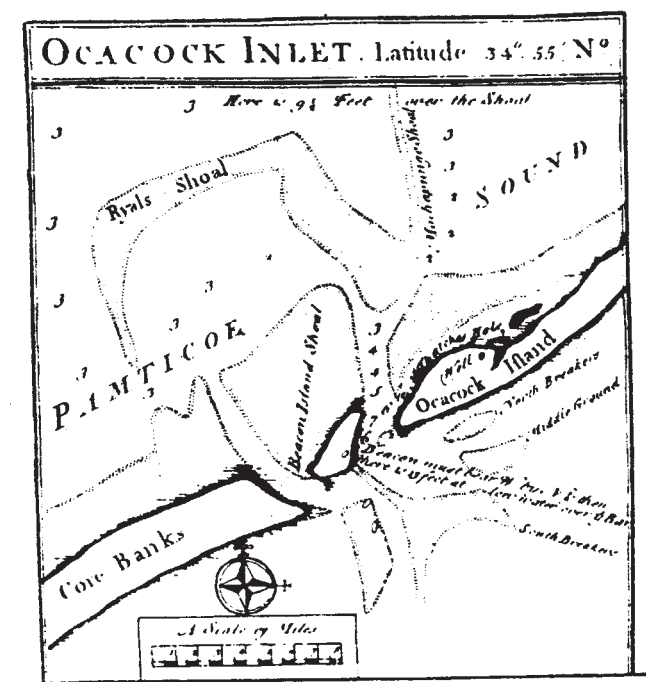


Figure 9. Inset of Ocracoke Inlet from Edward Moseley, *A New and Correct Map of the Province of North Carolina* (London, 1733). Courtesy of the East Carolina Manuscript Collection, East Carolina University, Greenville, N.C.



Figure 10. Desk attributed to Thomas White, Perquimans or Northampton County, c. 1760, walnut with white cedar and yellow pine. Courtesy of the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts.

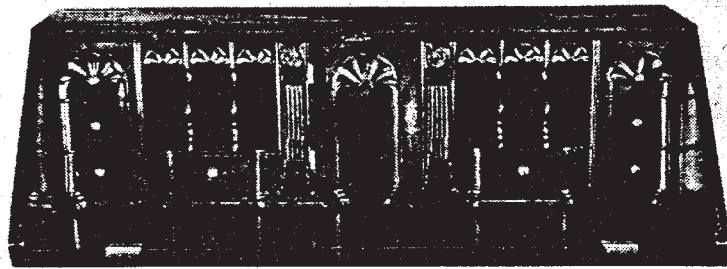


Figure 11. Interior of desk in figure 10. Courtesy of the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts.



Figure 12. Desk attributed to Thomas White, Perquimans County, 1756-66, walnut with poplar and yellow pine. Courtesy of the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts.



Figure 13. Interior of desk in figure 12. Courtesy of the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts.



Figure 14. Corner chair attributed to Thomas White, Perquimans County, 1756-65, walnut with yellow pine seat support. Collection of the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts.



Figure 15. Bofat, or cupboard, attributed to Thomas White, Northampton County, 1766-88, walnut with yellow pine. Courtesy of the Willow Oaks Country Club, Richmond, Va.

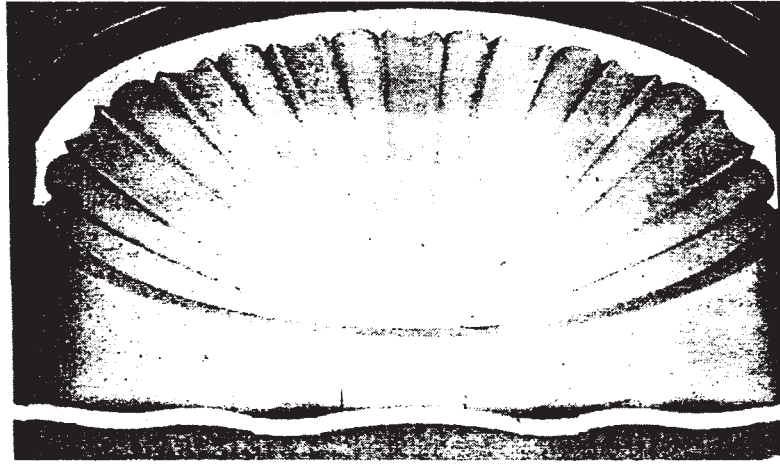


Figure 16. Interior shell of bofat in figure 15. Courtesy of the Willow Oaks Country Club.



Figure 17. Tall case clock, case attributed to Thomas White, Northampton County, 1766-76, walnut with yellow pine. Courtesy of the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts.

APPENDIX A: THE INVENTORY OF THOMAS NEWBY, 1793

Taken from North Carolina State Archives, Perquimans County Estates Records, Newby, Thomas, 1793:

A True Inventory of the Goods Chattels rights and Credits of Thomas Newby deceased that have come to our hands or knowledge this 26th day of the 2nd month 1793.

Lands and Improvements &c.	pea straner
6 feather beds and furniture	1 vinegar cruet and 2 glasses
8 pr. sheets	7 tumblers
one suit curtains	3 mugs
5 bed covers	2 decanters
2 rugs	1 glass cannister
13 table cloths	6 junk bottles
12 yds. flannel	3 tin cannisters
1 new bed tick and pillow d ^o	some tea, pepper, powder, and shott
2 ½ doz ⁿ chairs	1 pickle dish
1 bedstead & cord	bread salver
1 desk and book case	1 tourean
10 tables	2 dish mats
4 trunks	tea board
2 chests	5 earthen dishes and pans
2 cases and bottles	3 razors strop and shaving box
9 ¾ yds. home made cloth	1 pr. hooks and hinges
27 pewter plates	some coperas (?) & buttons
6 d ^o dishes	1 pr. bridle ranes
4 d ^o basons	tobacco box
53 earthen plates	some nails
7 earthen dishes	2 gimnets
19 bowls	some brimstone
25 tea and coffee cups	buckles
24 saucers	342 yds. J linnen
1 copper coffee pot	a remnant of B-Cloath
2 milk pots	a number of books & pamphlets
1 cannister	some thread and salt petree
spoon stand	1 pr. steelyards, scales & weights
2 salt stands	1 warming pan
1 mustard pot	1 gunn
1 pepper cast	1 Beaufett (bofat)

4 pr. iron dogs
2 pr. tongs shovels & poker
1 pr. flat irons & stand
2 combs
1 pr. shears
4 candlesticks
2 pr. snuffers
3 looking glasses
1 candle box & candles
1 lanthorn coffee pot
cart boxes
13 knives
19 forks
some spun stuff
some cotton
1 silver soup spoon
22 d^o table spoons
11 d^o tea d^o
1 d^o tankard
1 cann
1 d^o pepper cast
1 silver watch
2 pr. brass hinges
knife
4 brushes
1 tap borer
4 window curtains
9 towels
1 funnel
8 stone & earthen pots
4 jugs
2 buckets
old dish
42 lb. tallow
1 Limbick still
1 searse
1 sive
some flower
some coffee
1 barrel & piece of brandy
1 old brass kettle
2 iron pots & hooks
2 kettles
2 Dutch ovens

2 iron spits
1 griddle
2 bell mettles skilletts
1 frying pan
oyl bottle
2 coffee mills
spice mortar
1 tea kettle
wooden cann
tubs, pales, piggins
2 bushels
bowls trays and baskets
1 wheel & real
1 brass ladle
2 kiellers (?)
3 pot trammels
4 axes and hatchet
some leather
2 bells
6 hoes
3 ploughs and gear
1 sythe
1 spade
1 hand saw
1 tenant saw
3 augers
2 chissels & gouge
1 coopers adze
hammer
2 brass cocks
2 raw hides
1 barril of beef
some salt
peas, oats and tow
5 blocks
2 grindstones
a number of old cask
some cyder
3 saddles and bridles
some old iron
1 cart, wheels, & gear
1 riding chair and harness
1 chair whip
2 old locks

bacon fatt
soap
6 chamber pots
2 pr. cards
corn fodder & hay
2 horses
1 sow & pigs
3 shoats
7 head of sheep
52 head of cattle
1 box iron
fro
chair
1 pr. iron wedges
1 ink stand
1 pocket book
sputailes (?)
4 table covers
some loaf
brown sugar

some mollasses & cheese
some wine and honey
some potatoes fowls & turkeys
1 meal bag & some meal
6 phials some medicine
some dried fruit
some rice & bags
4 pillow cases
1 fire fender
mint & rose water
yeopon (native tea)
old bason & plate

Outstanding debts to a considerable amount not yet ascertained
about £828.7.- cash in hand
wearing apparel &c
a property in two young negros until they arrive to age

prov'd before me---

F. Newby J. P. (signed)

APPENDIX B: THE WILL, INVENTORY, AND SALE OF JOHN SANDERS

Taken from North Carolina State Archives, Perquimans County Estates Records,

Sanders, John, 1777:

In the name of God Amen, I John Sanders of Perquimans County, in the Province of North Carolina (Joiner) calling to mind the uncertainty of time her, am moved to commit to writing my last will and Testament in Manner and form following--

_____, It is my will and desire that all my just debts be fully satisfy^d and paid.

_____, I give and Bequeath unto my wife Elizabeth Sanders one Negro woman Named Cate and her Increase, one Negro man named Tobey, two feather beds and furniture, one walnut desk, six walnut chairs, one walnut table, one walnut box, my riding chair and harness, and my horse called Jockey, two cows and calves, one yoke of oxen, one cart and wheels, one ox yoke and staple, one weeding hoe, two sows and pigs, four ewe and lambs, eight spade sows and barrows, two iron pots and hooks, one pot trammel, three pewter dishes, three basin, six plates, six d^o, spoons, one loom and harness, six tea cups and saucers, one tea pot, one tea kettle, twelve delf plates, one pair of iron dogs, one pair of fire tongs, one woolen wheel, one linen wheel, two flat irons, and a sufficiency of provisions for her self and family until the usual time of year for the laying in yearly provisions--to her and her heirs for ever.

_____, I give and Bequeath unto my son John Sanders all my lands and buildings that I am Possessed of to him and his heirs of his body lawfully begotten forever and for want of such heirs it is my will and desire that said lands be sold at the discretion of my Executors, and the money arising by such sale to be equally divided between such of my daughters and their legal representatives as shall be at that time living. I further give unto my son John Sanders one Negro named Simon, one Negro boy named Ned, one walnut Desk, one walnut Bofit, Two Looking Glasses, to him and his heirs forever.

_____, I give all the Remaining Part of my Estate to be equally divided between my five daughters--Mary, Miriam, Sarah, Elizabeth, and Pharaby Sanders, to them and their heirs forever.

Lastly, I nominate, Constitute, and appoint my wife Elizabeth Sanders Executrix, and my brother Benjamin Sanders, and my friends Joshua Skinner and William White Executors to this my last will, revoking all other wills heretofore by me made Ratifying this and no other to be my will, in testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this 25th day of September 1775.

John Sanders

Signed Sealed and declar^d this day to be his will in presence of W. Skinner, John White, Josiah Murdaugh

A True and perfect inventory of all and singular the Goods and Chattels rights and credits of the Estate of John Sanders, deceas^d taken the 3rd day of June 1777 by the Executors:

1 Negro man named Toby	200 sadle locks
1 D ^o ditto named Sam	7 pr. Bookcase hinges
1 D ^o D ^o named Mingo	2 locks
1 D ^o boy named Samson	8 locks
1 D ^o named Simon	13 pr. Hings
1 D ^o named Ned	200 inch and 1/4 screws
1 D ^o named Andrew	2 pr. scuthens (escutcheons)
1 Negro Woman named Kate	4 locks
1 D ^o named Rose	8 plain irons
1 D ^o Girl named Doll	8000 saddle tacks
1 D ^o D ^o named Hannah	250 D ^o
a small parcel verdegreece	3000 D ^o
D ^o of prussian blue	parcel lumber
D ^o of red led	2 plain irons
D ^o of screws	17 chizels
D ^o of brass nails	7 pr. hinges
D ^o of brass hinges	7 locks
D ^o of ditto	300 4 ^d nails
Sundry brass nobbs	line
set of Desk and bookcase furniture	5-1/2 lb. Glew
set bofat ditto	old iron
200 inch brads	5-1/2 lb. Glew
700 inch brads	some beeswax
100 inch and half D ^o	9 lb. Brass wire
132 two inch D ^o	iron wire
4 pr. Brass hinges	set desk mountain (mounts?)
5 escutctions	5-1/2 lb. Glew
4 pr brass hinges	pine cupboard
7 prospect locks and hinges	1 marvel stone
3 brass locks	parcel wove wire
6 pr. Hings	1 hand saw
4 pr. Brass hings	wire harness
31 screws	Rafcing (raising) plain
6 pr. Brass H hinges	Parcel of tools in three lots
50 screws	Sundry gimblets
5 pr. Tea chest hinges	Sundry old rasps and files
100 screws	D ^o files
30 screws	Sundry of old Trifles of lumber
4 hand saw files	Sundry chisels
parcel of old D ^o	D ^o
150 inch and 1/4 screws	Parcel tools

Parcel wire
 1 hand saw
 1 saw and adz
 1 set gate irons
 turkey stone
 4 plains
 parcel tools
 parcel tools
 parcel D°
 3 plains
 1 hand saw
 5 D°
 sundry plain of locks and irons
 1 brace and bits
 1 old brace
 sundry gages
 1 iron frow and holdfast
 1 glew pot and square
 1 iron cramp
 sundry moulding plains
 sundry D°
 sundry rabbit plains
 5 sash plains
 1 frame saw
 3 whip saws
 1 crosscut saw
 1 pr stillards (steelyard)
 1 slait (slate)
 1 paint pot
 1 oyl bottle
 1 walnut bedsteat
 1 gum beadsteat
 parcel moulds
 1 saddle
 1 old ditto
 1 currycomb
 1 goinstone
 small drawerer
 white lead
 1 jointer
 ox yoake
 sundry small trifles
 151 foot inch cherry plank
 170 foot walnut plank

205 foot d°
 166 foot cherry d°
 164 foot 2 inch walnut d°
 53 foot d°
 144 foot inch d°
 Cherry chair backs
 Turning tools and lathe
 Parcel fan stuff cut out
 138 foot mahogany plank
 130 foot d°
 292 foot walnut plank
 281 foot walnut d°
 78 foot 2 inch d°
 28 foot inch cherry d°
 462 foot walnut d°
 377 foot walnut d°
 225 foot d°
 165 foot cherry d°
 127 foot 2 inch walnut d°
 170 foot inch d°
 134 feet 2 inch d°
 47 feet 2 inch d°
 21 feet 2 inch cherry
 196 feet inch cherry
 416 feet gum plank
 parcel gum scan^u (scantling)
 245 feet gum 2 inch
 480 feet pine plank
 488 feet inch gum
 297 feet inch pine
 204 feet d°
 small lot cherry
 182 feet 1/2 inch pine
 108 feet poplar
 232 feet pine
 85 feet oak plank
 254 feet ash
 parcel shingles and scantling
 610 feet inch walnut
 161 feet 2 inch d°
 70 feet cherry
 32 barrels corn
 4 bushels wheat (wheat)
 1 wheet fan

parcel flax 2 Hh^{ds}
parcel clover seed
480 feet juniper plank
198 feet gum d^o
105 feet half inch pine
222 feet poplar
parcel of oak
scythe
cradle
3 old hoes
1 set traces (patterns)
3 iron wedges
2 narrow axes
1 grubing hoe
2 hilling d^o
2 spades
2 axes
1 chain
1 bar plow
24 head sheep
26 head cattle
6 horses
2 sows
11 shoats
3 sows
1 boar
15 shoats
1 watch
2 sows
14 shoats
parcel ash
8 year old hogs
walnut slabs
rubbish of the shop
6 work benches
1 walnut table
1 cart and wheels
7 mahogany tea tables
2 grindstones
2 cannews (canoes)
2 delf bowls
6 tumblers
2 butter boats
2 salt stands

milk pot
1 case knives and forks
1 tin coffee pot
5 tumblers
2 decanters
2 glass Kanns
3 wine glasses
2 sellers
2 milk pots
1 qt. Pitcher
1 chania bowl
6 delf bowls
3 d^o
7 Queens chania plates
12 soop d^o
3 d^o plates
1 dish
1 pepes (pepper) caster
4 cups
4 saucers
1 coffee pot
1 tea d^o
1 cruet
pepes (pepper) box
1 bowl
ginger caster
7 delf cups
2 delf cups
6 d^o
1 pewter soop spoon
5 dish mats
2 knives
4 knives and forks
2 oyl bottles
5 tin kanisters
7 vials
2 earthen dishes
1 coffee pot
2 arm^d chairs
D^o
1 windsor chairs
6 leather chairs
4 mahogany dining tables
1 pr. and irons

1 Disk and Bookcase
 1 large Bible
 Jewels histories
 1 small Bible
 a parcel books
 2 pr. scales and weights
 1 hand brush
 7 bottles
 shugar box
 15 lb. Pickt cotton
 1 pr. shot moulds and bullet moulds
 2 razors strop and hone
 horse flemes (fleams)
 pen knife
 spoon moulds
 parcel mohare
 parcel allum and brimstone
 6 gun flints
 sain (?) needle
 1 sponge
 1 stone pitcher
 5 pails and tubs
 1 table
 1 maple d^o
 1 pr. iron dogs
 1 frying pan
 5 iron pots with some hooks
 Dutch oven
 1 creepes
 1 tramel
 1 gum table
 1 hand mill
 1 iron spit
 1 coffee pot
 tea kittle
 1 pr. stillard
 sundry old kitchen chairs
 1 safe
 1 tin cullinders (colanders)
 11-1/2 lb. Beeswax
 parcel old cask 71 lb. Bacon
 355 lb. salted pork
 ___ bushels salt
 parcel rope

1 fishing sane (?)
 2 drag nets
 1 large chest
 2 chair bottoms
 21 lb. wool
 1 die pot
 parcel leather
 1 stool chare
 beadsteat
 old cask
 part of barrel tar
 1 basket and toe (tow)
 85 lights window glass
 2 butter pots
 4 stone jugs
 3 jars
 135 glass bottles
 parcel flax
 1 chest
 1 flax hackle
 d^o
 1 box iron
 1 cow bel
 4 brass candle sticks
 1 mole trap
 12 reap hooks
 1 arm^d chair
 4 pewter dishes
 14 pewter plates
 1 bason
 parcel windsor chare timber
 parcel wheel timber
 gum chare frames
 parcel clock reel timber
 old iron
 2 fish gigs
 parcel oster shels
 1 chair fraim
 3 guns
 1 case and bottles
 1 hatchet froe and holdfast
 1 hand bellows and lanton
 fire tongs and shovel
 1 brush

flat iron
bed and furniture
1 carpet
1 clock reel
1 pr. and irons
5 chamber pots
1 side leather
8 parcels d^o
1 pr. shoes
1 chest
2 rugs
2 blankets
1 bedspread
5 sheets
3 beds and bolsters
1 bedsteat mat and cord
2 d^o
3 set nets
1 coffee mill
1 warming pan
2 flower tubs
1 sifter
torch
2 sifters
1 chest of cotton
4 bowls
1 brass cock
1 cradle wth sifter
yeopon (native tea)
1 wire sifter
1 razor wth fishhooks
steel
leather
inkstand
awl
4 linning wheels
1 woollen d^o
4-1/2 lb. black pepes (pepper)
3 pr. cards
2 jugs
3 bottles
1 funnel & powder horn
powder horns
1 large chest

1 puter mug
6 plates
1 dish
6 puter plates
6 basons
1 walnut table
1 pr. oyster tongs
1 pr. saddle bags
12 lb. feathers
3 barrels corn
wheet in the patch
2 feather beds and furniture
1 walnut disk
6 leather chairs
1 walnut table
1 ditto bofat
1 riding chair and harness
1 cart and wheels
yoak ring & staple
1 bas plow
1 weeding d^o
1 iron chair
1 narrow ax
1 weeding hoe
4 ewes and lambs
2 iron pots and hooks
1 pot tramel
3 pewter dishes
3 basons
6 plates
six spoons
1 loom and harness
6 tea cups and saucers
1 teapot
1 tea kittle
12 delf plates
1 pr. iron dogs
1 pr. fire tongs
1 woollen wheel
1 linning d^o
2 flat irons
1 walnut disk
1 walnut bofat
2 looking glasses

1 small bed and furniture
a small parcel wool cotton & flax
inventory^d & left for to clothe the
children and the Negroes
3 barrels of corn
5 bushels of salt

in money in the house____,178.13.6
in notes____,79.2.10
due by acct____,132.10.8
4 old cask
6 leather chairs
wearing appearel

Inventory of Jn. Sanders Estate 1777

Perquimans County, An Account of the Sales of the Estate of John Sanders Deceas'd
Sold at freeblock Vendue the 3rd Day of June 1777:

	L	s	p					
				6 chisels	1	0	6	
Parcel of vardigreas		5		11 Do.		11		
prution blue	1	16		3 pr. hinges		12		
red led		10		4 pr. Do.		15		
pacel of scrues	1			2 locks		17	6	
brass nails		18		5 bofat locks		16		
bofat furniture	1	15		300 4d nails and drumline		5	4	
120 inch brads		16	6	5-1/2 lb. glue	2	0	6	
700 inch brads		19		old iron			9	
100 inch 1/2		5	4	5 lb. glue	2	3		
132 inch 1/2 brads		9		desk and bookcase furniture	4	1		
4 pair brass hinges		14	4	beaswax		3		
5 scutchings 4 pr. brass hinges		6		9-1/2 lb. brass wire	2	12		
7 brass locks and H hinges		13	4	iron Do.	3	5		
3 brass locks		18		pine drawers	2	19		
4 pr brass hinges & 31 scrues	1	10		marveel stone	6			
6 pair of brass hinges		13	8	wove wire	3	12	6	
5 pr teachest hinges		17	2	handsaw	2	2		
50 scrues		6	4	wire harnes	1	10		
100 Do.		8	4	raising plain (&c)		19	4	
4 handsaw files		18		parcel of tools	1	6		
4 whipsaw Do.	1	11		parcel Do.	1	1		
4 Do.	2			chissels Do.	3			
parcel Do.	1	10		gimblets &c.		11	4	
150 inch 1/4 scrues	1	0	6	chissels and tools (&c)	4	14		
200 tacks		3		wire saws and adze	4	11	4	
7 pr. bookcase hinges	1			gate irons		6	6	
8 locks 13 pr. hinges		17		turkey stone	1			
100 inch 1/4 scrues		11	6	4 plains		1	12	
2 locks		18		3 hansaws		16		
2 pr. scutchings		5	8	plain stocks		8		
4 locks	1	10		brace and bits	2	2	6	
4 plain irons		18		old brace (&c)		3	8	
4 Do.	1	5		gages		2		
11000 saddle tacks	10	7		hatchet frow and holdfast		10	8	
parcel of lumber		3	4	glue pot (&c)		12	6	
2 plain irons		6		iron cramp	5	2		
				moulding plains	1	12	8	

moulding plains	10		134 feet 2 inch walnut	1	18	10	
rabbit plains	1	7	8	74 Do.		14	
5 sash plains	1	8	6	21 feet 2 inch cherry		4	3
frain saw	1	12		196 inch cherry	1	14	3
3 whipsaws	6	15	1	416 feet gum	1	16	4
1 + cut saw		10		gum scantling	1	1	
stillards		7	8	245 feet 2 inch gum	1	2	
slate		7	4	480 feet pine plank	2	9	3
paint pot oil bottle		2		204 Do.		19	
walnut beadstead	1	18		Do. cherry		6	4
1 gum beadstead		15		182 feet pine		10	7
parcel of molds	3	11		108 Do. poplar		11	10
saddle	3	17		232 feet pine	1	0	3
Do		4	4	85 Do. oak		5	
currycome (&c)		8	10	254 Do. ash	1	17	
1 grind stone		4	4	shingles and scantling	1		
old draws		7	4	610 feet walnut	6	2	
white lead	2	10		161 feet 2g. walnut	2	1	10
jointer (&c)		2	8	70 feet cherry		17	6
8 files (&c)		1	7	32 barrels corn	33	16	6
151 feet cherry		18	10	4 bushels wheat	1	10	
170 feet walnut	1	8		1 wheat fan	6	11	
250 Do.		22		parcel of flax		19	
166 Do. cherry	2	3	11	2 hogshead (&c)	1	2	
164 2 inch walnut	2	10	10	480 feet juniper plank	1	14	4
53 Do.		14	3	198 Do. gum		7	10
144 feet inch walnut	1	3		105 feet 1/2 inch pine		5	3
cherry chair backs	1	3		222 Do. poplar		11	1
parcel of fan timber	2	1		parcel of ash		6	8
138 feet mahogany plank	6	19		sithe and cradle	1	3	
130 Do.	6	10		3 hoes		14	8
292 feet inch walnut	2	12	6	iron wedges		19	4
181 feet walnut	2	9	2	set of traces	1	10	
78 feet 2d Do.	1	8	5	2 narrow axes		18	
68 feet inch cherry		14	11	2 grubing hoes		10	4
462 feet walnut	6	2	5	2 hilling hoes		10	
377 feet walnut	4	16	1	2 axes		17	4
325 Do.	5	15	3	1 chain	1	12	6
165 cherry	2	1	9	1 bar plow	1	1	
127 2 inch walnut	1	19	4	24 sheep		19	5
170 inch Do	1	14	9	1 yoke of oxen		17	5

1 cow and calf	7	15	6	coffe and teapot	1		
4 cows	26	3	6	15 earthen cups	14	10	
2 heifers	8	11		soop spoon	3	2	
2 stears	11	0	6	5 dish mats	1		
2 Do.	5	4		6 knives and forks	8	2	
4 buls, 1 heifer	13	11		2 oil bottles		8	
1 mare	5	12	10	5 cannisters	6		
1 horse	31			7 phials (vials)	1	6	
1 Do.	11	11		2 earthan dishes	1	9	
1 horse	31	16		coffe pot	15	3	
1 Do. mare	30			2 arm chairs	4	1	
1 bull	1	14	8	1 Do.	1	18	
2 sows, 11 shotes	8	11		1 winsor chair	1	13	6
3 sows, 1 boar, 15 shotes	10	2		2 pair mahogany tables	20		
1 silver watch	8			6 chairs	5	18	6
parcel of ash	1	7		1 pr. hand irons	1	7	4
walnut slabs		5		desk and bookcase	19		
rubbage of the shop		12		1 large Bible	4		
6 work benches	1	18	6	Suchs History	1	6	9
1 walnut table	2			small Bible		12	6
cart and wheals		12	8	boks		7	
7 mahogany tea tables	23	16		2 pr. scales and weights		17	
2 grindstones	1	13		brush		13	6
2 cunnoos	3	18		7 bottles (&c)		2	1
2 delf bowls		3	6	15 lb. pickt cotton	2	10	
6 tumblers		13	1	shotmolds (&c)	1	10	
2 butter boats		2	1	rasors (&c)		5	
2 salts		1	6	horse fleams (&c)		5	2
knives and forks	1	4		spoon molds	1		
1 coffe pot		2	6	mohair		8	1
5 tumblers		14	3	parcel of allum		12	4
2 decanters		13		brimstone		1	4
2 glass cans		13		flints sailneadle		2	
3 wine glasses		4		spunge		2	8
2 salts		2	7	stone pitcher		6	4
2 milk pots		2		5 pails and tubs		5	
1 quart pitcher		3		2 tables	1	8	2
cherey bowl	1	10		iron dogs	1		
9 delf bowls	2	18	4	frying pan		14	1
22 earthen	2	18	6	5 pots and hooks		4	3
4 cups saucers		8	6	creaper	1	6	1

1 pot trammel	8	4	winsor chair & wheal timber	4	
gum table	7	5	1 chair	7	
1 hand mill	1		clock real timber	6	8
1 spit	4		old irons	2	2
coffe pots	14		2 fish gigs	4	
1 pair stillards	1	5	oister shells	18	
old chairs	1	15	1 chair frame	8	9
safe	1	6	hatchet frow (&c)	8	
11-1/2 beaswax	1	7	bellows and lanthorn	8	6
1 tin cullender		1	fire tongs and shobel	4	4
old casks	1		3 guns	6	3
126-1/2 lb. bacon	7	10	1 case of bottles	1	6
355 lb. pork	9	12	brush and flat iron	11	9
parcel of rope	6		2 pad locks	3	
skin	15		bead and furniture	12	15
2 dragnets	4	3	carpet	3	
chest		10	clock real	12	
2 hair bottoms		3	pair hand irons	16	6
24 lb. wool	2	8	chamber pots	1	
dy pot		3	parcel of leather	1	11
leather	1	0	pair shoes	6	6
close stool chair	2		chest	1	17
beadstead (&c)		7	2 rugs	1	1
part of a barrel of tar		3	2 Dutch blankets	1	12
basket (&c)		6	1 beadstead	1	5
95 lights window glass	14	10	5 sheets	4	10
2 butter pots		7	3 beads and bolsters	12	11
4 jugs	1	1	beadsteads (&c)	3	5
3 jars		3	setnets	19	5
3 dozen junk bottles	1	1	coffemil	1	
junk bottles	1	6	warming pan	6	4
flax		8	2 flour tubs	3	
1 chest		16	sifter and sarch	8	
2 flax hackles and bell	3	17	chest and cotton	8	8
box iron brass candle sticks	1	7	2 sifters	3	
mous trap		1	bowls	2	
reaphooks		19	cradle (&c)	4	6
1 armchair	1	12	wire sive	2	
4 pewter dishes	3	15	1 razor fish hooks	3	4
14 Do. plates	3	0	ink stand	4	4
1 bason		1	brass lock	1	

4 linnen wheals	2	7	10	1 walnut table		10	6
Do. woollen		5		1 pair oister tongs		6	
4 pound pepper	2	16		saddle bags	1	6	4
3 pair cards	3	19		saddles	1	15	
2 jugs		3	4	3 barrels of corn	3	3	9
3 bottles (&c)		1	6	lathe and tools	7	12	
funnel powder horn (&c)		8		wheat in the patch	8	10	
castors (&c)		6	8	2 spades		10	
1 chest	1	5		3 barrels corn	3		
puter mug		8	6	5 bushels salt	5	1	8
12 puter plates	2	12					
1 dish		8		total amount	866	8	9
6 basons	3	2	5				

errors e----pled by Ben Harvey Ju. and Sherrif

APPENDIX C: JOSEPH MURDAUGH

Thomas Newby's account books document Perquimans joiner Joseph Murdaugh.

Throughout the accounts, Murdaugh consistently purchased cloth. In an account with

Newby on May 14, 1756, Murdaugh purchased tools:

to 1 pare stirup leathers	1..10	
to 4 joiners chisels @ 6d	2..0	
to 1 large auger	2..3	
to 1 do do	1..11	
to 1 pare gloves	1..9	
to 1 smaller auger	1..4	
to 1 do do	1..0	
to 1 half round raspe	1..6	
to 1 gouge	0..9	
to 1 bridle rains & head st--	1..11	
to prock 5/4 for cash	5..0	.1..1..4

In 1763, Murdaugh earned goods from Newby, including a cooper's compass by "holling," providing hoops (for barrels), and six months wages, possibly under the employ of Newby.

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