Phillip Horne McGuinn. SHELL CASTLE, A NORTH CAROLINA ENTREPÔT, 1789-1820: A HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION (Under the direction of Gordon P. Watts, Jr.) Department of History, December 2000.

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate and demonstrate the importance of "interest," in conjunction with geographic, economic, political, technological and societal factors, on the life of John Wallace and the Shell Castle enterprises in partnership with John G. Blount through the application of multiple disciplines. The rational business interests of the partners to "turn a penny of profit" led them to build a maritime entrepôt because of the timeless business rationale—location.

Cartographic and economic analysis demonstrated that the transhipment center established by Wallace and Blount clearly used the physical nature of the site, the prevailing winds in the age of sail, the depths of the channels and the inlets to achieve a comparative advantage versus competing shipping traders. Historical research revealed the maritime operations conducted at Shell Castle and chronicled the saga of the navigational improvements used to support trade through Ocracoke Inlet from the 1790s to 1830. Material culture study contributed to the image of "refinement" of John Wallace who rose from pilot to self-proclaimed governor and "pride" of Shell Castle. Terrestrial and underwater archaeology revealed important information concerning site location, boundaries and artifact assemblages of the Shell Castle community. The archaeological investigations at Shell Castle revealed two distinct sites along with multiple features and an assemblage of material culture. Underwater archaeology confirmed information provided in Wallace's letters to John G. Blount concerning the dimensions of the Castle and the buildings and beacon erected there. In addition,

research investigated how accurately the illustration of the Castle and Beacon on the Liverpool ware pitchers captured reality. Comparing these findings with the historic record and the transfer print pitcher illustration provided the most complete image of Shell Castle and John Wallace. Each discipline with its different focus wove its own thread into the cloth sampler of John Wallace and defined an important man and his place within the community and the Nation.

SHELL CASTLE,

A NORTH CAROLINA ENTREPÔT, 1789-1820:

A HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of History

East Carolina University

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts in History

by

Phillip Horne McGuinn

December 2000

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Grateful acknowledgment for this thesis and the field work, conservation and analysis that contributed to its findings belongs to a host of people. I first expressed interest in Shell Castle while walking across campus with Gordon Watts who agreed that it would be a worthwhile project—and it has been. Many kind, generous and wonderfully knowledgeable people offered advice, direction, hands-on work without whom this would have been much less detailed, multi-dimensional, and fun. Heartfelt appreciation is extended to the field crews for the two projects who volunteered to brave the waters of Ocracoke: Mike Coogan, Karl Gottschamer, Rick Jones, Chris Kirby, Lauren Lampe, Tom Marcinko, Tim Marshall, Lex Turner, Sarah Waters, and Kimberly Watson. The diving projects could not have been undertaken without the assistance and supervision of Jim Sibthorpe and Steve Brodie from the East Carolina University Diving Safety Office.

This work could not have been done without the willing and generous support of many different agencies and organizations and their fantastic people. Thanks to the North Carolina Underwater Archaeology Unit for its archival and field work assistance by Julep Gillman-Bryant, Mark Wilde-Ramsing and its director, Richard Lawrence. Special appreciation goes to Walker Golder, Director of the Coastal Islands National Audubon Society Office who granted permission to access Shell Castle. Thanks also are extended to Dan Trexler and the staff of the Cape Hatteras National Seashore National Park Service offices for the use of their facilities and interest in the project.

Ellen Fulcher Cloud deserves special recognition and thanks for her introductions to the key figuresat Ocracoke, living and historical, who would be invaluable to the project and for her inexhaustible knowledge about the area and its history.

The author is deeply indebted to several individuals for their assistance in analyzing the field findings: Thanks to Ray Tubby for deciphering the magnetometer survey data, to Amy Mitchell for providing expert wood analysis and to Chris Kirby for sharing his knowledge about ceramics. In addition, Steve Brodie and Karen Kozlowski rendered aid in providing conservation support.

Archival research was aided by the keen assistance of Wynne Dough of the Outer Banks Historical Center, Wilson Angley of the North Carolina Division of Archives and History. Also, Richard Kimble (Army Corps of Engineers Regional Headquarters, Wilmington) made available the Corps' archives of photos and research.

The field projects could not have been undertaken without generous funding support by the Institute for International Maritime Research and supplemented by unfailing contributions by Hilda and Charles Horne. My thesis committee receives my profound gratitude for their constructive criticisms, advice, and persistent encouragement.

The author acknowledges that this project could not have been conducted alone, but that any errors or omissions are strictly his and not those of any who provided input to the project. My bride Kate receives the deepest appreciation for her advice, support and sacrifice. Her patience, support, and love are gratefully acknowledged. This thesis is dedicated to my parents who instilled in me the love of history, and to Kate who shares that love with me.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER 1

SHELL CASTLE'S GEOGRAPHIC IMPORTANCE

A very dangerous flat and fatal
Where the carcasses of many a tall ship lie buried.
Merchant of Venice, Act II, Sc. ix

History of the Outer Banks and Ocracoke Inlet

The Shell Castle enterprise, including the contracting, building and operation of the Shell Castle Beacon, occurred as the result of the personal "interest" of John Wallace and John Gray Blount and subsequently their families. Their "interest" coincided with a temporary alignment of geographic, economic, political, technological and societal factors. John Wallace and John Gray Blount moved in different social circles; however, their business interests brought them into frequent contact in the 1780s. John Wallace was born into an elite Outer Banks family in 1758. The Wallace family ranked among the richest of those who lived in the Portsmouth and Ocracoke areas of Carteret County during the Confederation period.

John Gray Blount, Wallace's senior by six years, was the scion of one of the tidewater plantation families of eastern North Carolina. In 1783, John Gray Blount and his brother Thomas formed a mercantile partnership with John Gray Blount conducting most of the operations from Washington, North Carolina and Thomas managing a store in nearby Tarborough. The Blounts began cultivating a network of merchant contacts throughout the Caribbean, the Mid-Atlantic states

and Europe. John Gray Blount developed the West Indies and coastal networks while Thomas traveled to New York, Ireland and England to establish the mercantile relationships that were so important to eighteenth century commerce.

The Blounts' exports and imports had to pass through Ocracoke Inlet. At such an important nexus, the Blounts undoubtedly would have quickly set up working relationships with pilots and mariners who lived and worked there. Within four years of the founding of the Blounts' business partnership, a new relationship between the two principals had developed as evidenced by joint land enrollments for tracts in Ocracoke Inlet in 1787. In addition, several Blount vessels were lightered and piloted by John "Jack" Wallace across the swash and over the bar.

To fully understand this emerging partnership and the opportunity these two men foresaw, one must understand the geography of the North Carolina Coast and its Outer Banks through which the seas flowed to form Ocracoke Inlet. This geography has shaped the fortunes and lives of many and the histories of Ocracoke and Shell Castle.

History of the Outer Banks

Along the coast of North Carolina, stretches a thin line of sand banks from Cape Lookout 175 miles north to Virginia. The Outer Banks, ever changing barrier islands, were formed only recently in geologic time. The sands of the Outer Banks islands consist of thirty feet of sand from the Holocene, which were deposited less than 5,000 years ago, and rest on a terrace formed in the Pleistocene era. These barrier islands—a unique geologic formation— create shallow sounds up to 30 miles across, and are penetrated by narrow inlets that constantly shift and open or close. The sand dunes making up the Outer Banks form part of a dynamic geological system that has been in flux constantly for the past 3,500-5,000 years.

Ocracoke lies between two prominent capes, Hatteras and Lookout. (See Figure 1) These capes along with the other elbow capes of Cod, Romaine, and Canaveral jut pointedly into the Atlantic and exist nowhere else in the World. The elbow capes formed first as spits, then islands and finally grew into today's capes. The capes of Eastern North America are joined by broad low concave shorelines called bights. Ocracoke and Portsmouth, two of the many islands of the Outer Banks and between which Ocracoke Inlet flows, lie in the Intercapes Zone between Cape Hatteras to the Northeast and Cape Lookout to the Southwest.

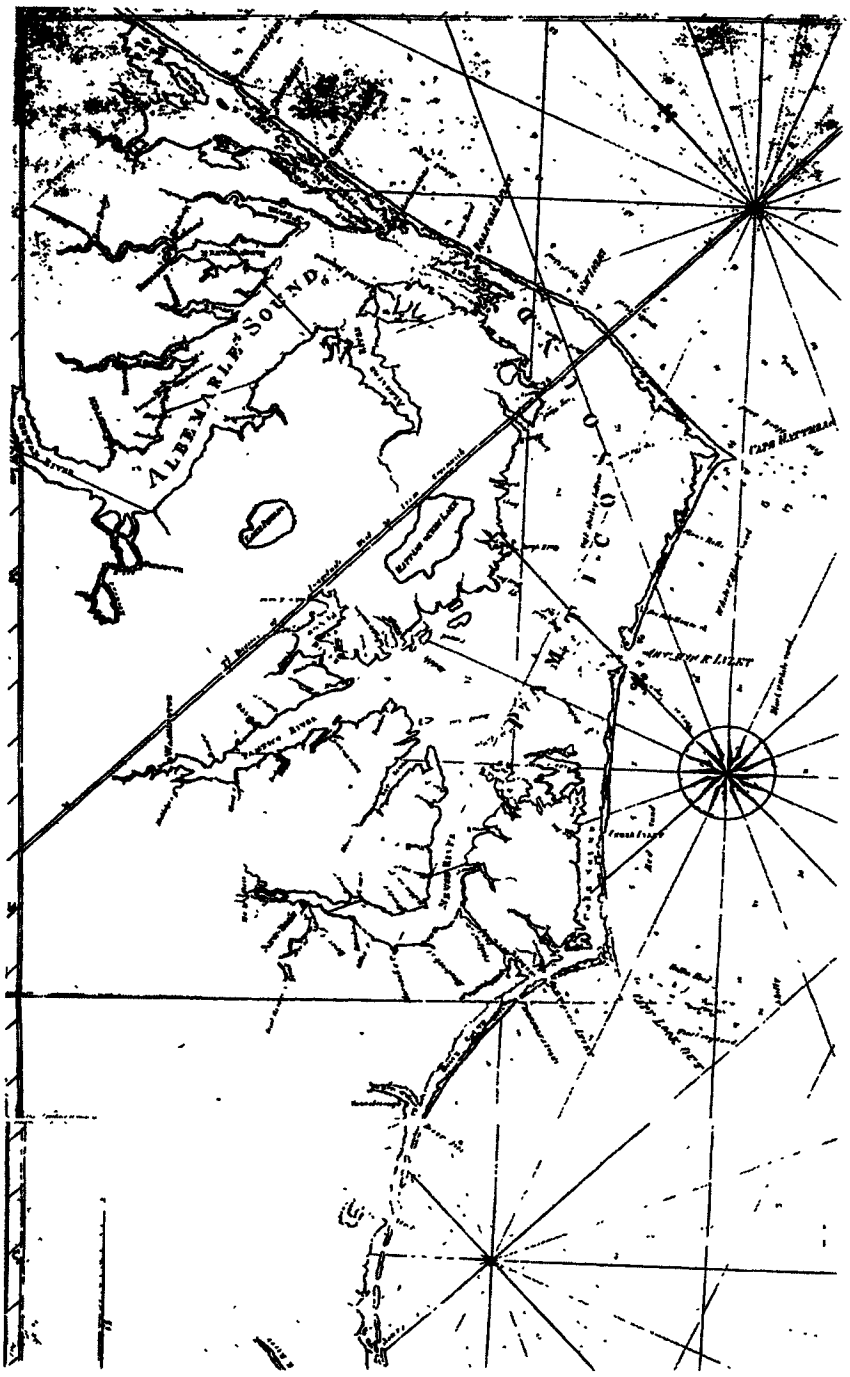


Figure 1. Detail of Pamlico Sound portion of the Price and Strother Chart of the Sea Coast of North Carolina, 1798. (Source: John Gray Blount Papers, Volume 3, 68)

The two islands form the Ocracoke Bight into which an eddy from the Gulf Stream flows.

Along the Ocracoke Bight, the prevailing longshore drift current carries sand southwest, but this current is opposed by the prevailing wind. The effect of the two forces on sand movement has prevented dune build up and resulted in Ocracoke Inlet remaining open for longer periods than other Outer Banks inlets. While the inlet has remained open, its location has shifted. Around 1000 C.E., Ocracoke Inlet was about six kilometers northeast of its present location. The inlet has moved westward as the tip of Ocracoke Island has accreted. On the opposite side at Portsmouth the eastern point has eroded over the past two hundred years with the result that the mouth of the inlet has migrated westward.[1]

Another variable that shaped the geography at Ocracoke has been changes in sea level. In the time since the Viking exploration of North America until 1800, sea level rose only eight inches. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century and the coming of the Industrial Revolution, climate warming has accelerated. The increased use of fossil fuels has released large amounts of "greenhouse" gases that have resulted in global warming. One by-product of the increase in global temperature has been acceleration in the melting of the polar ice cap. In the 200 years since the buildings and the Lighthouse at Shell Castle were erected, sea level has risen about 14 inches. Most of that increase has come in the twentieth century.[2] The dynamic Outer Banks system will continue to move with the rising seas according to Alexander and Lazell. In the future, the barrier

islands of the Outer Banks and their associated "Elbow Capes" will move westward and south respectively, in response to continued sea level increases.[3]

Inlet variability has been a constant aspect of the Outer Banks. One geomorphic analysis of the Outer Banks showed that as many as twenty-four inlets have cut through the Outer Banks from 1585 to the present; however, only Ocracoke Inlet has remained continuously open throughout the period.[4] In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the bulk of North Carolina's commerce from the tidewater traveled through a handful of inlets: Ocracoke; Old & New Currituck; and, at times, Roanoke and Hatteras Inlets. The use of Old Currituck Inlet, located at the North Carolina-Virginia border, began to decline after 1713 when New Currituck Inlet, just south of the border, opened. By 1731, Old Currituck Inlet was reported closed. New Currituck remained open until its final closure in 1828. To the South, Roanoke Inlet remained open until the end of the eighteenth century and finally closed by 1811. However, throughout its history, Roanoke Inlet was used only by vessels of "small burden."[5] Hatteras Inlet, originally located about eight miles northeast of Ocracoke, began to close in the 1730s, and finally closed twenty years later. The most commercially significant inlet opening took place on 7-8 September 1846 when a hurricane reopened Hatteras and Oregon Inlets. The new Hatteras Inlet formed farther east than the original inlet and nearly doubled the size of Ocracoke Island. Hatteras became the primary outlet for North Carolina commerce by the mid-1850s

superceding Ocracoke which retained its importance until the shift in patterns of commerce.[6]

Continued sea level increases and periodic overwashes caused by Nor'easters and hurricanes have contributed to the dynamic geosystem of the Outer Banks. The action of these forces has created numerous overwashes from Cape Hatteras to Kitty Hawk and continuously altered the shape of the inlets that remain open. Ocracoke and Portsmouth Islands have been changed by recent storms and each season brings changes to the inlet channels at Ocracoke. Therefore, although open since the contact period, Ocracoke's bars and channels have always shifted with time and tides.

Ocracoke Inlet's Preeminence

Ocracoke's changeable inlet provided European explorers the first access to present day North Carolina's sounds and coastal rivers. The waterway between the barrier islands would become the most important sea-borne highway for the area. It would provide a lure to entrepreneurs wanting to exploit the advantages offered by the inlet despite the risks of the varying channels and weather. Ocracoke's importance would attract shipping, pilots and fishermen until the advent of steam vessels and the power of hurricanes would alter the geography of the Outer Banks.

The first documented English contact with present day North Carolina's Outer Banks occurred on 13 July 1584 when two vessels under Philip Armadas and Arthur Barlow made landfall near Portsmouth. Barlow described the outer banks as "a tract of islands two hundred miles in length adjoining to the ocean sea and between the islands two or three entrances."

The inlet then was called "Wococon", as was the adjacent island. Over the years the name has been modified slightly by different recorders. The name "Wococon" appears in John White's 1585 map: then in 1675 it was shortened to "Okok" on the John Speed chart. Another variant appeared in 1689 as "wossoton." In the eighteenth century the name began as "Wocoton" in 1709 in John Lawson's *History of North Carolina.* Edward Moseley modified it to

"Ocacok" in his chart of 1733 and the 1738 chart by Captain James Wimble showed it as "Oakerccock" and "Okerccock", respectively. (See Figure 2) Variations on this last version would continue to appear on charts and in the historical record until the end of the nineteenth century when Ocracoke came into common usage.[7]

Whatever its name, Ocracoke offered the best access for vessels into North Carolina's sounds. John Lawson described "Ocacock" as "the best inlet and Harbour yet in this Country."[8] For another 140 years, Ocracoke would remain the "best inlet" along the Outer Banks. One authority in 1828 called it the "only direct communication between Pamlico Sound and the Ocean." Ocracoke, however, served more than just the Pamlico. Merchants shipped "through the inlet, the produce of all the rivers...emptying the Pamlico and Albemarle Sounds, including the Neuse, the Tar, and the Roanoke, with the exception of so much of the latter as is carried to Norfolk, finds its way to the sea."[9] In 1787, nearly seven hundred vessels entered and cleared through the Inlet and by the 1820s that number had swollen to a reported but probably apocryphal 15,000 vessels annually. A more realistic, but nevertheless impressive number of 1,400 vessels passed through the inlet in 1837.[10] Ocracoke Inlet formed the nexus for trading lanes from three major river basins and the port districts of New Bern, Washington, and from Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Baltimore, Norfolk, Charleston, Europe and the

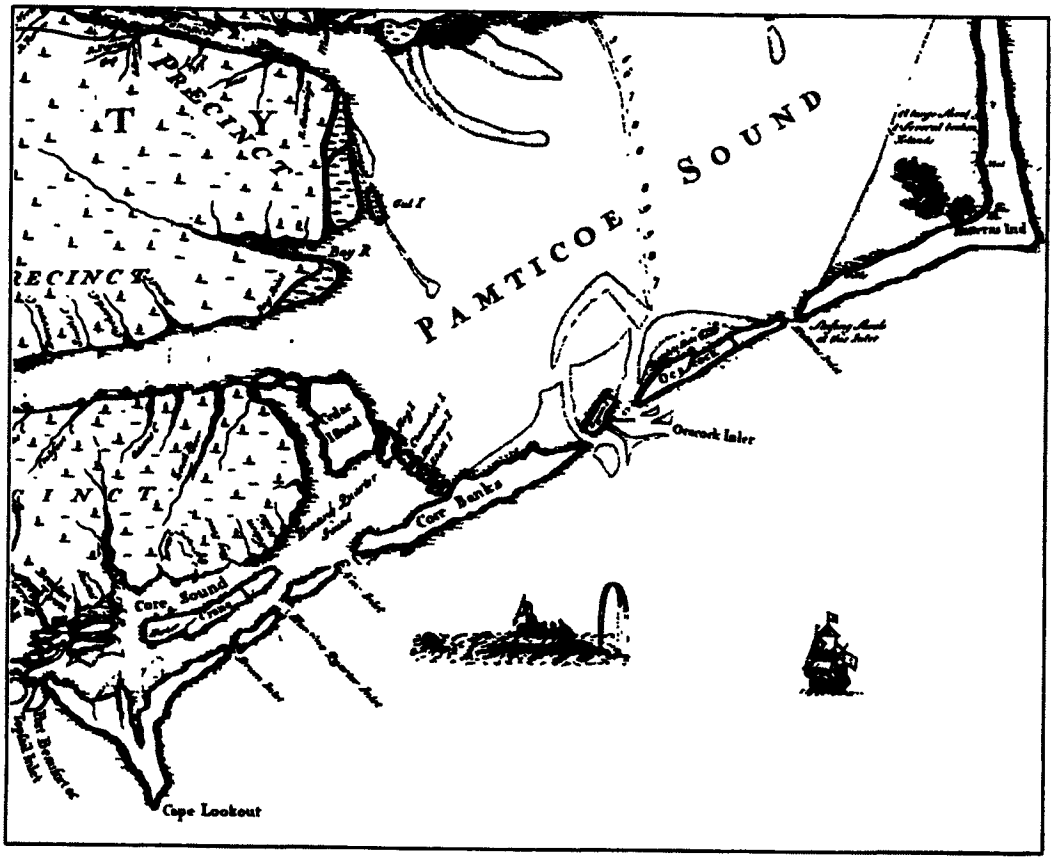


Figure 2. Detail view of the Outer Banks from Cape Hatteras to Cape Lookout from Moseley's Chart of North Carolina, 1733. Note Beacon Island at Ocacock Inlet (center) and the channel that passes below it. (Source: NCDAH)

numerous ports in the West Indies. So many vessels used Ocracoke Inlet that John Wallace complained it would take seven men to track the ships that entered through three separate passages.[11]

Vessels entering or clearing through Ocracoke faced certain risks. The dynamic forces that shaped the Outer Banks have also shaped Ocracoke Inlet and caused the channels and shoals to shift continually. Sailing vessels using the inlet faced not only narrow but also shallow channels. In 1707, one Englishman wrote to the Lords of Trade "that North Carolina 'has barr'd Inlets into it which spoyles the trade of it and none but small vessels from New England and Bermudas trades there.'"[12] Eighteenth-century vessels approaching Ocracoke Inlet from the seaward passed over the "Bar" via one of the two or three channels in thirteen feet of water. Once inside the Bar, pilots directed their charges up one of three channels, Teache's Hole, Old Ship and Wallace's, depending on the vessel's draft and destination. Smaller vessels of less than six feet draft bound to the North for Albemarle Sound could "pass through Teache's Hole, which is a small channel running on the west side of Occocock, about a half mile in breadth."[13] Larger vessels and those headed into the Pamlico Sound to Washington or into the Neuse River for New Bern transited through the Old Ship Channel or the Channel that came to be known in the 1790s as Wallace's Channel.

However, another natural barrier, the "Swash" made navigation into the sounds dangerous. The swash was a sandy shoal on which vessels frequently grounded causing delay and increased expense. Both Wallace's Channel and the

Old Ship Channel were separated from the sound by a swash of seven and a half and eight to ten feet, respectively. Vessels of draft greater than seven to nine feet had to be lightered in order to reduce their draft to clear the swash. Lightering increased the cost of shipping by increasing the labor costs and creating delays and increased the risk of damage to cargo.

The constant variability and shallowness of the channels at Ocracoke created a requirement for pilots and lighters to aid North Carolina's commerce. In 1715, the colonial government passed legislation to appoint and maintain pilots at Roanoke and Ocracoke Inlets. Subsequent legislation increased pilot's fees and sought to establish communities at Ocracoke and Portsmouth. Some mariners enticed by the legislative incentives came to offer their services to guide vessels through the treacherous waters of North Carolina's inlets and sounds. A "Pilot Town" developed on Ocracoke on land set aside by the commissioners of the ports for the pilots homes and boats as well as with lots in Portsmouth on the Core Banks south of Ocracoke Inlet. The community of Portsmouth was established formally in 1753 to provide wharves, warehouses and other maritime community support, such as a tavern. The growth of Portsmouth reflected the importance of Ocracoke Inlet in eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: the village had become the most important village on the Outer Banks with almost 250 residents at the turn of the century.[14]

Along with the growth of trade via Ocracoke Inlet and the development of the maritime communities on Ocracoke and Portsmouth, the inlet itself and the

channels that cut through it continued to shift. Ocracoke Inlet has shoaled and filled in a manner typical of other intercapes inlets that were affected by the outflow of rivers, which deposit sediment in large deltas, storms, and winds. Despite the changes, however, the present day configuration of the inlet is much the same as it was in 1713 according to an analysis by Alexander and Lazell.[15] The variation in shape and location of the channels did not result in restrictions to trade by shoaling as had occurred at other inlets. An 1828 Army Corps of Engineers survey reported that "the bar at this inlet is penetrated by different channels, which have by turns been the one better than the others; but that the sum of their capacities has very probably been nearly the same, viz: that when one channel had fourteen and more feet the others had less than eight feet."[16] Nevertheless the constant variability caused by tides, winds, and storms reinforced the need for experienced pilots and lighters, as well as, increased the hazards faced by maritime trade via the inlet.

Control over piloting and lightering operations—such a vital aspect of the maritime traffic in North Carolina—would decrease the risk for the merchant. Therefore, the Shell Castle partnership could be viewed as a rational business response to the Blounts' desire to command all aspects of their mercantile business. John Wallace, his workers, and slaves could have handled the piloting business from Portsmouth. The lightering and warehousing operations, however, required vessels, wharves and warehouses to be fully effective, and the harbor at Portsmouth did not have the depth required for vessels to anchor nearby. The

maritime entrepôt envisioned by Blount and Wallace had to occupy a site that met operational criteria and offered a favorable return on their investment.

Blount and Wallace's use of a rational decision making approach to determine the site selection for their entrepôt was an example of "adaptive locational behavior." According to Brian J. L. Berry, firms conducted research and analyzed market data using an internal decision making process to identify where they should locate in order to meet corporate objectives. "This automatically creates a rational economic geography consistent with predetermined goals," wrote Berry. Adam Smith who professed the pursuit of "profit, security and growth" could have determined Blount and Wallace's goals.[17] Therefore, the entrepôt had to meet the following requirements: a deep, accessible harbor with a good anchorage; convenient to the main channels; sufficient land to hold the buildings; a solid foundation; and, be accessible to sailing vessels driven by the prevailing winds.

Essentially, the key variable applicable to the Blount-Wallace venture was "Location, Location, Location." The Shell Castle enterprise developed at the site it did within the Inlet because of the favorable alignment of the navigable channels and prevailing winds at the time the enterprise was launched. The hypothesis that geographic configuration at discrete points in time has affected the outcome of actions was put forward by Alexander and Lazell in their analysis of Ocracoke Inlet and the capture of Blackbeard in 1718. Alexander and Lazell argued that had the "shoal, channel and land been in slightly different

configuration—give or take a few years, for instance—the onset and likely outcome of the battle [in which Blackbeard was seized by the English] would have been wholly different."[18]

Similarly, had the geographic configuration at Ocracoke been different in the last quarter of the eighteenth century then the Shell Castle enterprise might not have been developed where it was--if at all. Therefore, what was it about the specific configuration that led Blount and Wallace to erect the buildings they did on a small oyster rock, located two miles from the mouth of the inlet and the established community at Portsmouth?

Cartographic Site Review

The favorable alignment of bars, channels, "good holding ground," solid foundations and prevailing winds led the partners to occupy the most favorable location near Ocracoke Inlet for the enterprise. The following section reviews the cartographic history of the site and shows how the shifting sands aligned to form the bars and channels that favored the Shell Castle site selection. The analysis of the hypothesis that made Shell Castle "the right place at the right time" reviews both the macro and micro business aspects of the site selection.

In the age of sail, vessels were limited in maneuverability and forced to wait days for favorable winds in order to transit narrow channels. At Ocracoke

these delays could be exacerbated when masters not only had to await favorable winds and but also work with the tides.

The channels leading into Ocracoke Inlet varied in number and location throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Lawson's *History of North Carolina* described two channels leading over the bar with one being narrow and lying close to the southern tip of Ocracoke Island. "The other in the middle, viz: between the middle Ground and the south Shoar [sic], and is above a half a mile wide. The Bar itself is but half a cable's length over, and then you are in seven or eight fathom of water; a good harbor." He provided sailing directions that set the course as North by Northwest which, if the wind were favorable to reach or run over the bar, would easily convey a ship up into Teache's Hole and on into the Sounds.[19] Thirty years later the Wimble chart called for a course West by Northwest using the northernmost entrance to the harbor. (See Figure 2) By 1792, the Ocracoke Inlet bar crossings had shifted back to match more closely Lawson's description.

One of North Carolina's congressmen and a close friend of the Blounts, Dr. Hugh Williamson of Edenton, surveyed the inlet during the summer of 1792 "for the sake of learning what measures could be adopted most profitable to commerce...." At that time, three crossings cut across the Bar. The first crossed in two fathoms of water along a West Southwesterly course; however, "the passage requires a very fair wind as there are breakers on each side for a considerable distance." The "shortest and safest passage" crossed in seventeen

feet on a North by Northwest course while a third "little used" crossing carried only eight feet of water and was bordered by breakers on each side. Once over the Bar, pilots and masters had to select a channel by which to reach the sounds. Depending on the time period, they could select from as many as three options; however, at times only one channel provided safe access.[20]

Wimble's chart also showed that Teache's Hole not only provided the only viable anchorage within the inlet, but also afforded the only channel into the Sounds with any significant depth. Mouzon's 1775 chart, however, offered the two choices of either the Ship Channel passing Beacon Island or the other channel, which would become known as Wallace's Channel, passing south and west of Beacon Island near the tip of Portsmouth. Mouzon also showed only a vestige of Teache's Hole near Ocracoke, and the northernmost entrance over the Bar was the only noticeable channel. (See Figure 3) The depths for each bar and channel changed frequently from 1738 to 1835. The depth of Teache's Hole decreased through the eighteenth century and reached its shallowest depth of four feet by 1806. Vessel traffic shifted to other deeper channels as Teache's Hole became shallower. A colleague of the Blounts published a "Description of Ocracoke Inlet" in 1795 that gave Teache's Hole only a one sentence mention: "Small vessels, bound for Albemarle Sound [to the North], drawing less than six feet of water, may pass through Teache's Hole, which is a small channel running on the west side of Occacock, about a 1/2 mile in breadth."[21]

Figure 3. Mouzon Map of North Carolina, 1775. (Source: NCDAH)

Physical limitations and commercial interests determined the choice of inlet and channel used by vessels trading in North Carolina. The shallowest point along a channel determined the maximum size of vessel that could safely transit that channel. Merchants preferred to use the largest vessels that could safely navigate North Carolina's waters and be economically operated in order to reduce their transportation costs to the lowest rate per ton. In addition, many merchants and master's disliked entering Ocracoke Inlet because of the additional cost and risk required to lighter vessels over the bar and swash. Therefore, pilots and masters generally chose the deeper channels in order to lessen both the risk of grounding and lightering expenses. Ship Channel, called the "Common Channel by which vessels pass whether they are bound for Edenton, Washington, or Newbern," and, to a lesser extent, Wallace's Channel became the preferred routes of access to the sounds after the 1770s because of their greater depths.

The limiting factor for both channels was a sand bar near the Royal Shoal called the "swash" where depths reached eight and one-half to nine feet at the Ship Channel and seven and one-half feet at the Shell Castle Swash.[22] From the 1790s to 1820s, most vessels entered via Ship Channel or Wallace's Channel. The 1795 pilot's guide provided specific and detailed sailing instructions for entering via both channels. The "description" written by a friend and business associate of John Gray Blount was not impartial in pointing out the advantages of

the deeper channels and anchorages. Martin advised masters to anchor abreast Shell Castle where they would find three and one half fathoms of water and a "good holding ground."[23] (See Figure 4)

The swashes at both channels began shoaling in the 1820s and forcing vessels to seek other avenues of transit. The flow of commerce following the channel of least risk moved away from the Ship and Wallace's Channels to Blair's Channel and the former Teache's Hole which had by now deepened.[24] Vessels still continued to use Ship and Wallace's Channels; however, the vessels were more limited in size and faced increased lightering expenses due to the shoaling. Transitions from one route to another were gradual, as the depth changes in the channels were a slow process.

Unlike the opening of Hatteras and Oregon Inlets in 1846 that immediately shifted commerce patterns, changes at Ocracoke were more evolutionary. One channel that first appears first on the 1808 Plan of Ocracoke Harbor as an unnamed channel and then as "Blair's Channel" on the 1821 Survey shows the gradual deepening over a twenty year period. (See Table 1) The channel was probably opened by the hurricane that struck the Inlet on Sunday, 28 September 1806. The new channel opened to the North of Beacon Island draining North to South from Royal Shoal and intersected the Old Ship Channel Northeast of Beacon Island. The northern end of Blair's channel first appeared on the 1808 Plan of Ocracoke Harbor with three prongs resembling an inverted peace sign

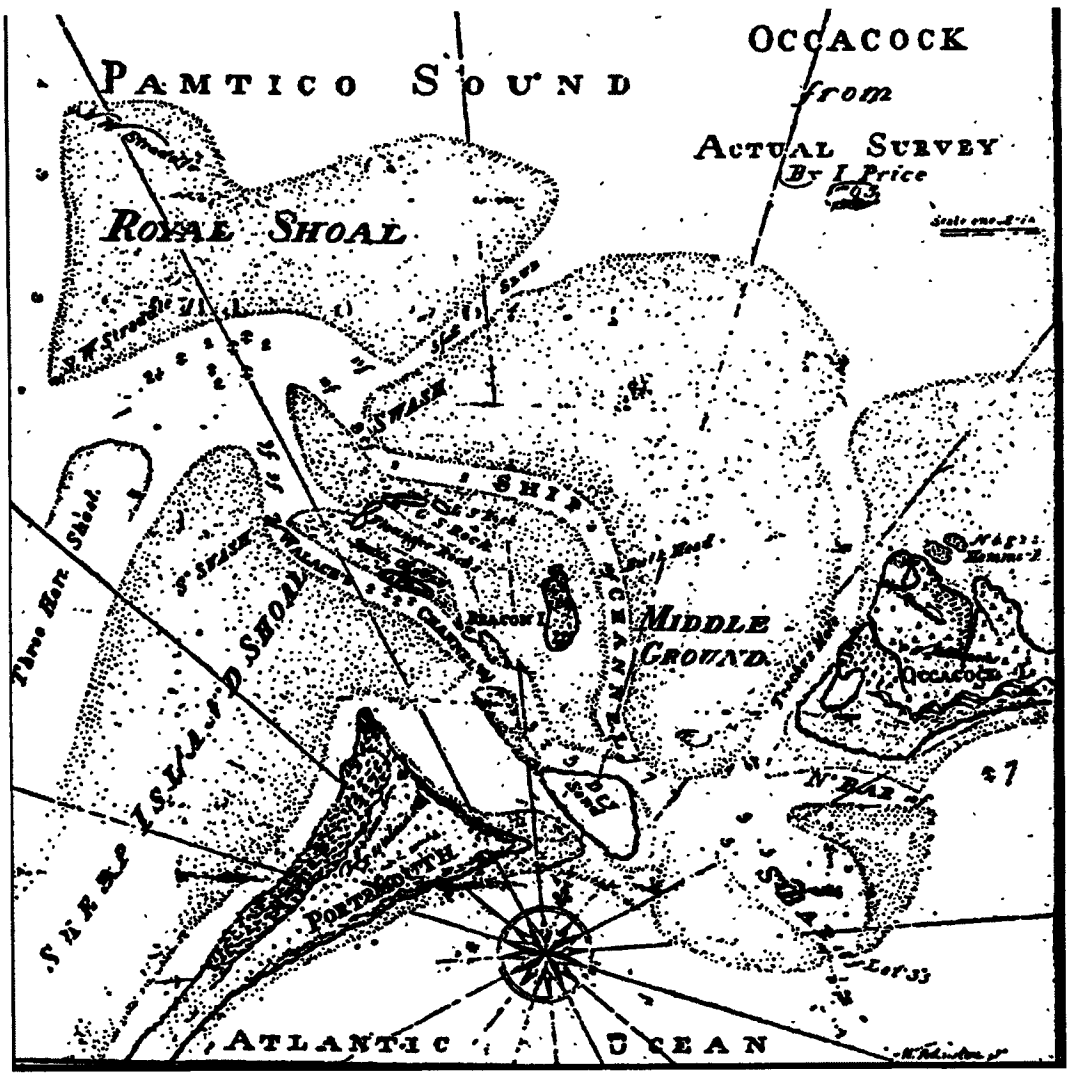


Figure 4. Occacock from Actual Survey by J. Price, 1795. Anchors on the south side of Shell Castle denote a "good holding ground." (Source: Map accompanying J. Price "Description of Occacock Inlet", North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)

Table 1
Ocracoke Inlet Entrance Bars and Channels--- Depth and Course Comparison

Chart Year	Wimble[1] 1738	Mouzon[2] 1775	Williamson[3] 1792	Martin[4] 1795	Coles-Price[5] 1806	Ocracoke Harbor[6] 1808	Shell Castle[7] 1821	Bache[8] 1827	Dutton[9] 1828	Smith[10] 1835
North Bar Entrance	17 feet, West by Northwest[++]	17 feet	12 feet, West by Southwest	10 feet	13 feet	15 feet, West by Northwest	NA	NA	13 feet, North	NA
Middle Bar-	NA	NA	17 feet, North by Northwest	18 feet	10 feet	NA	NA	NA	12 feet, North by Northwest	NA
South Bar	NA	NA	≤ 8 feet	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	7 feet	NA
Teache's Hole Channel	24 feet	NA	7 feet	6 feet	4 feet	6 feet	NA	NA	NA	7 feet
Ship Channel Bulkhead	NA	NA	9 feet	10 feet	9 feet	12 feet	7 feet	8 feet	8 feet	9 feet
Swash	NA	9 feet	8 1/2 feet	8 1/2 feet	NA	8 1/2 Feet	6 feet	6 feet	6 feet	7 feet
Wallace's Channel-Bulkhead	NA	NA	13 feet	9 feet	9 feet	12 feet	NA	14 feet	12 feet	10 feet
Wallace's Channel- Swash	NA	NA	7 1/2 feet	7 1/2 feet	NA	7 1/2 feet	NA	7 1/2 feet	5 feet	8 1/2 feet
Blair's Channel	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	6 feet	4 feet	NA	NA	5-6 feet

Source: 1) James Wimble, *Chart of His Majesties Province North Carolina*, (National Archives, Cartographic Section, Record Group 77, File 865-1738); 2) Mouzon, *Map of North Carolina* in Alan Watson, "Pilotage and Pilots," *Tributaries,* (3, October 1993) 20: 3) Sailing Direction provided in letter from Dr. Williamson to Alexander Hamilton, 29 December 1792, (National Archives, Light House Letters, Miscellaneous Correspondence, Box 1): 4) Francis X. Martin: 5) Thomas Coles and Jonathan Price, "A Chart of the Coast of North Carolina between Cape Hatteras and Cape Fear from a Survey in the year 1806," (National Archives, Record Group 77, H-22): 6) "Plan of Ocracoke Harbor," (Record Group 77, File H-3, Beacon Island files): 7) "Shell Castle/Ocracoke," March 1821 (NA, RG 77, H-9): 8) "Survey showing the Obstructions to the Navigation at Ocracoke Inlet, Surveyed by Hartman Bache, Capt." (NA, RG 77, H-15, D67, 30) 1827: 9) "Map of Ocracoke Inlet & Plan and elevation of Dredging Machine in Operation at Ocracoke Inlet," (NA, RG 77, File H-29) 1828-1830: 10) "Map of Ocrcaoke Inlet update by LT. Smith to G. Dutton of 1830," (NA, RG 77, H-241) 1835. ++ Course to be steered upon entering the inlet according to sailing directions.

that terminated in shoals of six feet without an outlet into the Sounds. (See Figure 5) By the 1821 survey, however, Blair's Channel provided shallow access to the Sound and Teache's Hole had begun deepening while other channels continued to shoal. By the end of the 1820s, however, even Blair's Channel had begun to shoal. Man rather than nature apparently caused its shoaling. Desperate to lighten their vessels without lightering in order to clear the Blair Channel Swash, masters dumped ballast overboard, which according to reports had lessened the depth at Blair's Channel from eight to six feet. An 1828 survey report stated that the current from Blair's Channel interacted with the Old Ship Channel to "cause eddies and precipitation of sand" which continued to shoal the old Ship Channel.[25]

Favorable channels by themselves did not offer sufficient justification for the establishment of a maritime mercantile enterprise. A good inlet channel, like a ford over a stream along a post road, could be either difficult or easy to cross, but either way it was still only an aid to the transportation of goods along that road. Nevertheless, at Ocracoke Inlet, two good channels—"fords"—existed at the "right time" from the 1770s through to the 1820s to aid the establishment of Shell Castle. What was it however that made Ocracoke Inlet and then Shell Castle the "right place" for the heavy investment by Blount and Wallace?

Figure 5. Plan of the Harbour at Ocracock, 1808.
(Source: Cartographic Record, File H-3, RG 77, NAII)

Shell Castle Site Selection

The greater community of Ocracoke Inlet lay at the intersection of major waterborne roadways. A significant portion of the state's commerce passed through this nexus carried on invisible "post" roads. The relative ease of water transport in the eighteenth century enabled the development of decentralized trading networks as part of the unified trading area of the Atlantic seacoast. North Carolina's seaport communities grew from the rational allocation of merchant capital to develop distribution centers, mercantile outlets, and transshipment centers as part of the common North American market.

Domestic trade in the Federal period was well organized between Atlantic seacoast cities. Information flowed quickly from market to market. Commodity prices were published for hundreds of goods weekly in the major cities. Ship captains distributed "price current" lists and business journals to distant markets where they were reprinted. The free flow of market data combined with advanced transportation facilities contributed to making the Atlantic seacoast "a unified trading area."[26]

In North Carolina, urban seacoast centers developed as trade increased in the Atlantic trading area. Trade represented the most important single function to occur in urban settlements. Although the type, volume and destinations of trade varied among urban places, it remained common to all settlements. Inevitably, trade played the determining role in an urban center's growth or decline.[27]

According to H. Roy Merrens' study of eighteenth-century North Carolina, seaports served as entrepôts through which flowed raw materials produced for overseas or coastal trade and imported trade goods for interior distribution. These towns, such as Bath, Edenton, Washington, and New Bern, served primarily as distribution centers rather than manufacturing sites. Production of finished goods was limited to specialized craftsmen; however, large quantities of intermediate materials, such as barrel staves and shingles, were produced nearby and warehoused at landings and seaports for shipment.[28] In central place theory, Merrens' North Carolina distribution centers would be considered collection points where agricultural products were assembled before shipment. Even the smaller, lower order plantation landings would be collection points.

Distribution of goods from urban seaports, the development of trade and urban center growth relied on the existence or development of a complex network of transportation routes. Locations served by navigable waterways provided the only avenues for profitable export or market of foodstuff and raw materials. The high cost of land transport limited movement of bulky goods such as wheat and lumber. In 1790, the average shipping cost by ship across the Atlantic was $9 per ton. In comparison, the same shipping cost would move a ton only thirty miles on land.[29] Merrens argued that the settlement and development of the eastern piedmont of North Carolina relied on the terrestrial transportation network. Urban centers in North Carolina prospered based on their location at the nexus of

transportation routes, both road and waterway, and the success of traders who established operations there.[30]

Merchants also found other locations outside of urban centers to buy and sell their goods. Merrens pointed out that an important part of North Carolina's trade "was carried on through the media of country stores" that were dispersed throughout the region. The Scottish merchant family Hamilton established a colonial trading post near Halifax, North Carolina, in the 1750s. The Hamiltons chose the store's location because two key roads leading from the North Carolina backcountry and Halifax intersected there. Within fifteen years, the Hamilton trading post had become one of the largest and most profitable enterprises in North Carolina. The Hamilton site consisted of a tavern, warehouses and "an elegant dwelling house" clustered around the mercantile store. Merrens described the complex as "a miniature urban place, although it differed from other urban centers in that it was an enterprise exclusively concerned with trade, owned and operated by an individual company."[31]

The Blounts used their mercantile vision to foresee an opportunity to create a separate "miniature urban place...exclusively concerned with trade" at Shell Castle. Operating stores at one major seaport in North Carolina and at a site similar to the Hamilton store, the Blounts coordinated shipping, produce and merchandise orders for planters and merchants from eastern North Carolina to ports in Europe, the West Indies, and America. The Blount brothers understood the unified trading area of the Atlantic seacoast through trade with Philadelphia,

Boston, Norfolk, the Caribbean and Europe; however, they also saw that they required a central distribution center or transshipment center from which to manage much of their maritime trade and to reduce their costs.

Shell Castle developed into a central collection point where "break of bulk" took place because of the requirement to lighter most vessels at the Inlet. Vessels, laden with cargo, with drafts greater than the depths of either the bar or swash were forced to "break bulk" and off-load cargo to a waiting lighter. The lighters after clearing the shoals either re-loaded the cargo onto the original vessels or carried the goods on to a distribution point. According to Berry, in *The Geography of Economic Systems*, transshipment centers and collection points occur "where there is a distinction between the means of transport used to assemble raw materials at a central spot or to distribute products from it, and the long distance mode used to ship in or out."[32] At these centers break of bulk took place that increased costs as goods were off loaded from one vessel and then re-loaded after crossing the swash. Frequently, the Blounts and Wallace used smaller vessels to collect goods from the Sounds and other larger ones to carry the goods to market.

This transshipment center became a central place fulfilling several of Christaller's definitions of a central place. The center's main function was to provide goods and services for the surrounding market area, which consisted of the towns along North Carolina's sounds, and locally—the Ocracoke and Portsmouth communities. The new center offered only a limited number of goods

and services—thus making it a lower order of central place in comparison to the state's coastal towns. As a lower order place, Shell Castle, also known as the Castle, offered convenience goods where locals and transiting mariners could purchase goods that they were unwilling to travel greater distances to obtain.[33]

The establishment of the Shell Castle enterprise at Ocracoke in 1789 created a new entrepôt at the site of the largest commercial intersection in Eastern North Carolina and supplied the needed distribution center. One friend of John G. Blount, James Mountflorence perceived the commercial possibilities at Ocracoke. After visiting the Castle shortly after it began operating, he wrote, "I could not have formed any idea of the Business to be done with advantage at your Castle, had I not been an eye-witness of the same." The witness also commented on additional profit possibilities, writing, "could your square rigged vessels unload here and find their outward bound cargoes ready at the Castle, you would save a great deal of expence, and time & run less risk."[34]

Mountflorence's comments about the benefits of cost and time savings were echoed five years later in a promotional brochure for Ocracoke Inlet. The booklet promised that the establishment of an entrepôt at the Castle would enable larger vessels to "sail and load with safety and dispatch" while reducing the expenses and risks associated with lightering.[35] Economic theorists have confirmed the use of an entrepôt as an effective adaptation to a real world market problem.

Companies established plants or distribution centers at transshipment points, such as Shell Castle, in order to reduce transportation costs and to achieve a competitive advantage over other firms. Brian Berry has shown that the effect of placing a transshipment point between the material source and final market destination reduced costs. (See Figures 6 and 7)

Assuming Berry's product in figure 6 represented the Blount's operations with a single cargo of corn collected at point X and sold at market Y. The transfer cost gradients *xy* and x^1y^1 indicate, respectively, the costs of shipping goods from X to Y and the cost of distributing the product at its market destination, such as Philadelphia, New York or the West Indies. The vertical distance X to x is the terminal or wharf charges at the material source, and the Yy^1 is the distribution cost at the destination. The curve x^2y^2 is the total transfer cost (the sum of xy and x^1y), and shows the least cost at Y. With convex gradients, the total cost is predetermined to be more between X and Y than at these points.

The effect of placing a transshipment point was demonstrated by Berry by assuming a new town, T (Shell Castle), at which additional transfer costs were incurred through loading from lighter to original vessel. At the new town, both curves *xy* and x^1y jumped upward. An entrepôt or plant in the new town was shown to avoid or to lessen the transshipment charges, and in fact could be as advantageous as being at the source of material X.[36] (See Figure 7) The investment at the Castle by the Blounts seemed to be the rational allocation of

Figure 6.

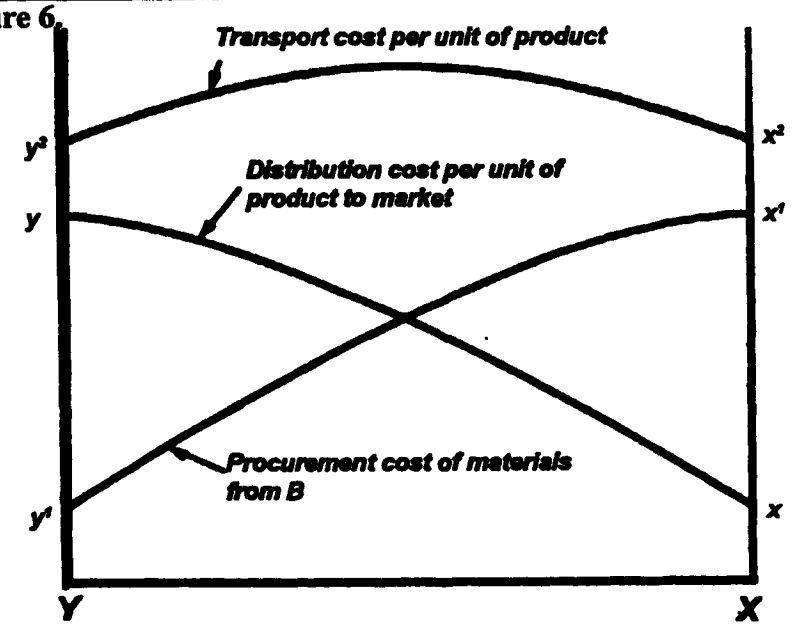
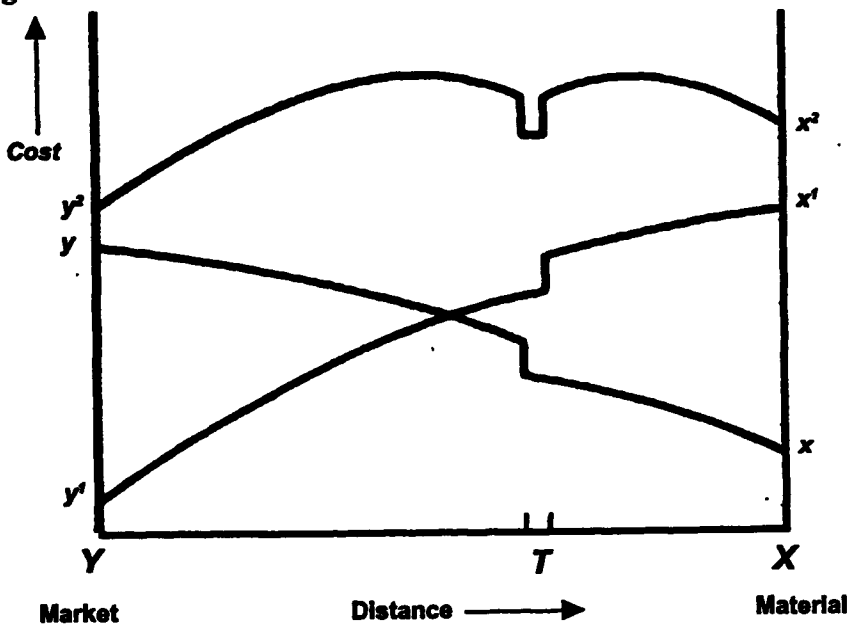


Figure 7.



Figures 6 & 7. Endpoint and transshipment point locations. These figures illustrate the cargo of shingles produced at X and sold at market Y. Figure 6 shows the costs of procurement, distribution, and shipment. Figure 7 shows the effect on those costs when a transshipment point is established at Shell Castle (New town T). The center reduces costs for shipment seen in y^2x^2. (Berry, The Geography of Economic Systems, 148)

capital that Alexander Hamilton envisioned to create enterprises and trade agreements to achieve his early version of the American dream, and thus made Ocracoke the "right place" for such an investment.[37]

If Ocracoke Inlet were the "right place" for a transshipment point in order to reduce costs, then why did Blount and Wallace select such an unlikely spot as "a small shoal that generally appears above water" as the location for their business venture? Blount and Wallace using adaptive location process, probably followed a decision tree that considered site availability, safe accessibility and construction feasibility. A review of these factors shows that Shell Castle was the only site that best met all of the requirements. Obviously land that was unavailable, inaccessible to vessels, and, or unable to be built upon would have been excluded from consideration. The partners would have considered as preferred locations those available sites closest to the main shipping channel with safe anchorage and solid foundation.

Land at Ocracoke Island and Portsmouth failed to meet the requirements of availability and ship accessibility. Both islands were relatively well developed in the 1780s. Therefore, land adjacent to the water that might have been considered was already owned and probably developed. At Portsmouth, houses had already been built along the shore facing Horses Island Channel. Even had the land been available at a reasonable cost, both locations were inaccessible to vessels with drafts greater than seven feet and access to both areas required a significant deviation from the main channels and vessels' destinations.

Other land available in the area consisted primarily of small islands located within the inlet between Portsmouth and Ocracoke. These islands were mostly low-lying marsh or sand shoals. In August and September 1787, John G. Blount and John Wallace made land entries for five tracts of land near Ocracoke and two years later would complete the purchase. The islands included: a twenty-acre marsh island called Beacon Island which was located adjacent to the Ship Channel; a fifty-acre tract called Dry Sand Shoal; Rimeses Rock (sometimes Remus's or Rymeses), a fifteen-acre circular oyster rock near Portsmouth on Wallace's Channel; Long Dry Rock, a forty-acre tract near the mouth of the swash; and, a twenty-five-acre tract called the Old Rock.[38]

The Old Rock consisted of solid "rock on bed of oyster shells and sand possessing the solidity of rock"[39] and was the most valuable of the parcels purchased for which Blount and Wallace paid ten pounds. What was it, however, that made Old Rock more valuable than the other islands and would lead to its selection as the site for Shell Castle?

Old Rock met more of the site selection criteria; however, its selection by Blount and Wallace did involve several compromises. The island was accessible to most vessels although it was not on the deepest channel. It lay on the North side of Wallace's Channel, which only admitted vessels that could be lightered to drafts of less than seven and one-half feet. The Rock's location on the secondary channel was less desirable than being on Ship Channel; however, its location afforded closer and more direct access to Portsmouth. A secondary criterion of

accessibility was the ability of vessels to transit the channel under sail. The course for entering the Channel was West by Northwest. Vessels could most easily make that course by reaching into the inlet with an Easterly or Northeasterly breeze and reach out on a Southwesterly wind—the two prevailing winds at Ocracoke.[40]

Blount and Wallace also would have considered vessel safety and ease of operation in site selection. Vessels could anchor in relative safety in the channel abreast of the Old Rock as it provided the only "good holding ground" in the inlet. Ships riding at anchor could do so close to the island and thereby reduce time spent tendering goods and crewmen from shore. Charts repeatedly showed an eighteen to twenty-one-foot deep channel some forty to fifty feet from the Old Rock, which would allow vessels to tie up at wharves that would be built there. In comparison, the deep part of Ship Channel was 170 poles from Beacon Island.[41]

Construction feasibility for the wharves and buildings at the site was the final selection criterion to be determined. Following the Biblical and common-sense proverb, buildings at any of the islands required a solid foundation upon which to be erected. Only Old Rock and Rime's Rock afforded a solid foundation. The other islands consisted of either grassy marsh or sand banks. Rime's Rock lay close to Portsmouth and near the main portion of Wallace's Channel; however, the channel there was narrow and possessed no anchorage. Beacon Island would have been a better location due to its closeness to the main

channel. Unfortunately for the partners, Beacon Island lacked a firm foundation. In addition, the channel lay more than a quarter of a mile from the island preventing easy access. The other islands offered no benefits other than natural resources that could be exploited.

The Old Rock met the rational requirements of shrewd businessmen who operated with a "view to their own interest...to turn a penny wherever a penny was to be got." The partners, therefore, selected Old Rock and promptly renamed it Shell Castle. Nature through its physical forces had shaped the sands, rock and wave to enable Shell Castle to be the "right place at the right time." If Shell Castle would only be the right place for a limited period of time, what made the partners act when they did to make their vision a reality on the narrow oyster rock that was "barely dry at low water?"

Endnotes

[1] John Alexander and James Lazell, *Ribbon of Sand: The Amazing Convergence of the Ocean and the Outer Banks* (Chapel Hill: Algonquin Books of Chapel Hill, 1992), 65-77

[2] Ibid., 32-33, 51.

[3] Ibid.

[4] John J. Fisher, "Geomorphic Expression of Former Inlets Along the Outer Banks of North Carolina" (M.A. Thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1962), 46.

[5] Gary S. Dunbar, *Historical Geography of the North Carolina Outer Banks* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1958), 21, 28.

[6] Wilson Angley, "A History of Ocracoke Inlet and Adjacent Areas" (unpublished manuscript, Research Branch, N.C. Division of Archives and History, June 6, 1984(NCDAH)), 5.

[7] Alexander and Lazell, *Ribbons*, 61-81.

[8] John Lawson, *Lawson's History of North Carolina*, edited by Frances L. Harriss. (Richmond,VA: Garrett & Massie, 1952), 65.

[9] Survey-Swash in Pamlico, 20th Congress, 1st Session, House of Representatives, Document No. 69, (Washington: Gales & Seaton, 1828), 6.

[10] *Gazette of North Carolina*, Vol. 4, No. 201, 12 November 1789; Delbert H. Gilpatrick, *Jeffersonian Democracy in North Carolina, 1789-1816* (New York: Octagon Books, Inc.: 1967), 14; Stick. *The Outer Banks of North Carolina*, Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1958), 306.

[11] John Wallace to John Gray Blount, 16 April 1792 in Alice B. Keith, ed., *The John Gray Blount Papers, Volume 2, 1790-1795* (Raleigh, NC: NCDAH, 1959), 196; hereafter, *Blount Papers*.

[12] Dunbar, *Historical Geography*, 128.

[13] Francois X. Martin, *A Description of Occacock Inlet*, (New Bern: Francois X. Martin, 1795). Reprint edition, D. L. Corbitt, ed., *The North Carolina Historical Review.* 3 (October 1926): 624-633.

[14] Alan D. Watson, "Pilotage and Pilots in Colonial North Carolina: The Case of Ocracoke Inlet," *Tributaries* 3 (October 1993): 19-22. Crittenden, in *Commerce of North Carolina*, discounted the importance of Portsmouth noting that it "only existed on paper" which was incorrect. It was small but certainly existed.

[15] Alexander and Lazell, *Ribbons*, 46-47, 64.

[16] *Survey of Ocracoke Inlet*, 20th Congress, 2nd Session, Document no 37. Letter from the Secretary of War transmitting a report in relation to the Improvement of the Navigation of Ocracoke Inlet. 4 (Chapel Hill, NC: North Carolina Collection (NCC)).

[17] Brian J. L. Berry and Edgar C. Conkling, and D. Michael Ray, *The Geography of Economic Systems*, (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1976), 144.

[18] Alexander and Lazell, *Ribbons*, 64.

[19] Lawson, *Lawson's History of North Carolina*, edited by Frances L. Harriss. (Richmond,VA: Garrett & Massie, 1952), 65.

[20] Hugh Williamson, N.C. Representative, to Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, 29 December 1792; "Observations on Cape Hatteras Shoals & Ocacoke Bar," Williamson to Hamilton; Miscellaneous Correspondence Received (Misc Corr. Rec'd); Light House Letters; Records of the U.S. Coast Guard, Record Group 26 (RG 26); National Archives Building (NAB), Washington. DC.

[21] Martin, *A Description of Occacock Inlet*, 628. Today only Teache's Channel provides access for vessels 9-11 feet draft from the Bar to the Pamlico Sound. Access, however, is artificial because two channels have been dredged through Big Foot Slue and Nine Foot Slue.

[22] Williamson, "Observations on Cape Hatteras Shoals & Ocacoke Bar"

[23] Martin, *A Description of Occacock Inlet*, 631.

[24] Dunbar, *Historical Geography*, 28.

[25] William A. Eliason, Lt. Eng., to Col. Chas. Gratiot, Chief of Engineers, 24 December 1828, (American State Papers, Document No. 37); *Plan of Ocracoke Harbor* 1808 [Cartographic Record]; File H-3; Record Group 77; National Archives at College Park (NAII), College Park, MD; *Shell Castle/Ocracoke* 1821 [Cartographic Record]; File H-9; Record Group 77; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD; *Survey Ocracoke Inlet*, War Department Report to Congress, 1830, File H-9, RG 77, NAII.

[26] Walter B. Smith and Arthur H. Cole, *Fluctuations in American Business, 1790-1860* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1935) 4.

[27] Harry R. Merrens, *Colonial North Carolina in the Eighteenth Century* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1964) 145.

[28] Ibid., 145-6.

[29] Douglas C. North, *The Economic Growth of the United States, 1790-1860* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1966) 18; Joseph C. Pusateri, *A History of American Business* (Arlington Heights, Ill.: Harlan Davidson, 1984) 84.

[30] Merrens, *Colonial North Carolina*, 144, 167-8.

[31] Ibid., 167-8.

[32] Brian J. L. Berry, *Theories of Urban Location: An Introductory Essay* (Washington, DC: Association of American Geographers, 1968) 2-7.

[33] Brian J. L. Berry and Edgar C. Conkling, and D. Michael Ray, *The Geography of Economic Systems* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1976), 228.

[34] James Cole Mountflorence to John Gray Blount, 22 January 1792, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:179.

[35] Martin, *Description of Occacock*, 629-30.

[36] Berry, *The Geography of Economic Systems,* 148.

[37] Stanley Elkins and Eric McKitrick, *The Age of Federalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993) 107-111.

[38] North Carolina Land Entries, 1778-1803, Carteret County. Carteret County Court House, Beaufort, North Carolina. 33; Carteret County Deeds, Book L. Carteret County Court House, Beaufort, North Carolina, 372-4.

[39] Thomas Blount to Tenche Coxe, 18 December 1795, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:621.

[40] Hartman Bache, *Survey Showing the Obstructions to the Navigation at Ocracoke Inlet*, [Cartographic Record]; File H-15; RG 77; NAII; *Chart of Ocracoke Inlet-Wallace's Channel*, [Cartographic Record]; File H-229; RG 77, NAII.

[41] The channel was almost one-half mile from Beacon Island as one pole measured sixteen and one-half feet. Martin, *Description of Ocracoke*, 628.

CHAPTER 2

PARTNERSHIP AND OPERATIONS

...to learn the art and mystery of a pilot and lighter.[1]
Apprenticeship bond, 1801

Partnership Vision and Formation

Adam Smith's pronouncement that it was a "peddler's principle to turn a penny at every opportunity" presupposed that a person realized that an opportunity existed. But how could one be visionary enough to see what no one else saw? Merchants had been shipping goods via Ocracoke Inlet for more than a hundred years by the 1780s, and pilots had been keeping those merchants' vessels from the shoals for almost the same period. Other than piloting and fishing, the only business operating at Ocracoke area following the American Revolution was a tavern at Portsmouth. The economy was occasionally supplemented by and intermittent small vessel construction and salvage operations. The vision of the two principals went well beyond a limited agreement to provide piloting or lightering services that could have been entered into easily without capital investment. John Wallace and his partner had the vision to launch an enterprise designed to create a monopoly on maritime services at Ocracoke Inlet and to provide their mercantile ventures with a competitive advantage over other tidewater merchants. Throughout the decades of 1790 and 1800, the partnership

would attempt to monopolize navigation aid contracts, to foreclose competing mercantile, chandlery and tavern operations through legal clauses and land purchases, and to influence political actions related to Ocracoke Inlet for personal gain. The maritime services the partnership operated would eventually include piloting, lightering, shipbuilding and brokerage, freighting, fishing, porpoise oil fishery, warehousing, coopering, government contracting, servicing of navigation aids, managing ship's chandlery and tavern operations, salvaging and other associated activities.

In establishing the Shell Castle enterprise, John Gray Blount and John Wallace began a professional and personal relationship with a "view to their own interest."[2] Both principals innately understood Hamilton and Hume's belief that the merchant who concentrated money into larger stocks for the creation of real wealth did so because of the promise of personal affluence based on personal industry.[3] Each acted for his own personal interest and were men of their times. The partnership's operations and fortunes would mirror in many ways the ebb and flow the national economy and be affected by national and international events which provides valuable insights into a diversified maritime operation.

John Wallace looked to gain financially and socially from his partnership with John Gray Blount. The partnership offered him both short and long term benefits. In the short term, Wallace was guaranteed piloting and lightering business by agreement, and thus did not have to compete as intensely in an endeavor in which the first pilot to respond to a vessel gained the business. In

addition, he would benefit in the long term from the pooling of capital and labor with Blount in order to increase his wealth. Socially, Wallace's partnership with a leading family in North Carolina's tidewater elite raised the Wallace family from the middling ranks of society, and elevated Wallace from yeoman to esquire and "governor of the islands." Blount needed the benefits the entrepôt offered to be more competitive and profitable. The social interactions of Wallace and the Shell Castle community will be addressed more fully below.

Shell Castle was born of a rational decision making process designed to resolve key business issues in order to maximize profit. As described above, maritime traffic at Ocracoke and throughout North Carolina's sounds faced additional expenses of lightering and increased risks from the shallow and changing nature of the channels. An entrepôt at Ocracoke would reduce direct and indirect operating costs. The use of Shell Castle as a distribution center would enable larger vessels to discharge and take on full cargoes while reducing risk and time delays that increased costs as demonstrated above by Berry's theory of transshipment center location effect. The reclamation of the Castle from the water through the construction of sea walls and elevated buildings was deemed worth the risk for the potential return according to the promotional flier published in 1795. Francois X. Martin described the profit motive as the key motivator that had energized people for lesser profits. He also described the rationale for

entering into such an enterprise:

> The Great expense of money and the danger of attending the use of lighters, which the shallowness of the Rivers renders necessary to vessels of burden, is so considerable a drawback and so much enhances the price of our commodities, which are generally cumbersome, and of small comparative value, that it is desirable this state may be placed soon on a more even footing with her neighbors, by the establishment of an entrepôt here, from which our larger shipping might sail and load with safety and dispatch. The convenient situation of Shell Castle, to all the rivers which empty into the sound, would render the transportation of produce & merchandise to and from the Castle, in smaller vessels, cheap, easy and safe.[4]

To create this entrepôt the partners began by making land entries in 1787 as discussed above. How did the two come to enter into the partnership at this time?

The post-Revolutionary War period was one of increased trade and commercial prosperity. Except for a slack period in 1783 when commerce was readjusting to changes in West Indies trade and a brief commercial downturn in 1785, North Carolina's trade reached post-colonial highs during the Confederation period (1783-1789). From 1785 to 1788, North Carolina exports averaged: twenty million shingles; two million staves and heading; five million feet of boards and scantlings; 100,000 barrels of tar, pitch and turpentine. Shingle exports had tripled times1772.[5] In Washington, North Carolina, as many as twenty vessels rode at anchor awaiting cargoes when William Attmore passed through the town in 1787.[6]

Blount had formed his mercantile venture just as the economic boom was beginning. In 1783, John G. Blount and his brother Thomas established credit and mercantile relationships with traders in Philadelphia, and had begun building their shipping fleet. Through the next four years as the Blounts became more experienced in the import and export business, their operations increased and their trading network expanded. In addition, John G. Blount became an expert on the problems of maritime trade in North Carolina. Their vessels met delays and faced frequent lighterage costs. Thomas Blount experienced first-hand the problems of being "wind bound" in June 1785 when he was forced to wait five days before getting over the Ocracoke's Bar with a favorable wind and proceeding on his voyage to establish trade contacts in Europe.[7] John G. Blount also learned that merchants disliked sending vessels up North Carolina's sounds to load at the various landings where goods were gathered and loaded. One merchant complained about sending his sloop "into the creeks" because it caused a "great waste of time" that was not reflected in price.[8]

Prior shipping experience at Ocracoke Inlet would have led such an astute businessman as John Gray Blount to determine who were the more reliable and experienced pilots. From 1783-1787, Blount's vessels used the services of at least three different Wallaces; however, John "Jack" Wallace came to be the preferred pilot for the Blounts.[9] The preference for John Wallace appeared at least as early as 1787 when the land entries were recorded. By 1789, John Wallace had negotiated to be Blount's preferred provider for lightering and storage services.

Under the agreement, Wallace charged Blount one shilling per barrel versus one shilling six pence charged by others lighters. In addition, Wallace received goods shipped to Blount from Philadelphia and stored them prior to reshipment[10]

Although no direct evidence points to why the timing of the entries occurred as they did, there is evidence that Blount and Wallace's land purchases were related to North Carolina's participation in the nation's constitutional debates and ratification process. The land entries could have been made based on the speculation that North Carolina's economy would benefit from the negotiations at the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia. John G. Blount's brother, William and close supporter, Dr. Hugh Williamson attended the convention as delegates from North Carolina. Dr. Williamson had provided information about the discussions in the convention to influence an election in North Carolina in August. Many North Carolinians had learned about key features of the proposed government prior to the convention's adjournment. The Blount and Wallace land entries were made on 18 August 1787, prior to the conclusion of the Convention.[11] It was probable that the idea of a new government appealed to Blount, who would become a Federalist, and he acted speculatively.[12]

Two years later, Blount and Wallace appear to have acted again based on North Carolina's participation in national affairs. As delegates to North Carolina's Constitutional Convention in Fayetteville, North Carolina, the two lobbied for ratification. The partnership executed its land purchases just six days after North

Carolina ratified the Constitution and agreed to enter the Union on 21 November 1789.[13] Why did the partners take so long to execute their land entries?

In the two intervening years, North Carolina, along with Rhode Island, had failed to ratify the Constitution and remained outside the Union. In the spring of 1789, the Federal government enacted discriminating trade tariffs of fifty cents per tonnage duty as well as impost duties. North Carolina's coastal trade, already operating on narrow profit margins, could not afford the additional expenses. Actions by Dr. Williamson led to a reprieve for North Carolina from the tonnage duty shortly after it had begun to be collected by New York.[14] Nevertheless, the State's trade was at risk while North Carolina remained outside the Union. With the removal of the imposition of foreign vessel tonnage duties, coastal trade became profitable again, and Blount and Wallace moved to consolidate their claims on the lands at Ocracoke before competitors could preempt them.

The new constitution fostered a political and legal atmosphere that encouraged "risk taking" according to Joseph Pusateri in *A History of American Business*. The constitution's prohibitions on import duties by individual states and the power vested in the central government to regulate commerce affected the nation's economy. The new government created a huge unified trading area. The size of the market opportunity "gave encouragement for aggressive entrepreneurs to undertake large-scale production and distribution of goods." Large-scale production of crops and naval stores and distribution of products from Shell Castle was exactly what Blount and Wallace, the "aggressive entrepreneurs," set

out to do as soon as North Carolina became part of that trading area and was afforded the protections of the national government.[15]

Blount and Wallace's actions over the next twenty-two years would be directly influenced by national and world events. The "peddler's interest" would determine the rate of construction and enterprise expansion at Shell Castle. Both men were in the prime of their lives in 1787. John Wallace was twenty-nine years old and John Gray Blount was six years his senior. North Carolina's economy, like that of the other States, was rapidly expanding. Blount and Wallace eagerly embarked on a program of heavy capital expenditures at Shell Castle.

Shell Castle Construction

Construction at Shell Castle occurred in stages. Land needed to be reclaimed from the water before buildings could be constructed and piers and wharves were required in order to operate the entrepôt. Also, all construction materials, boards, shingles, iron fixtures, had to be obtained and shipped to Shell Castle. Land reclamation consisted of adding ballast stones, shell and turf to the island and holding them in place using crib style wharf construction. Following land reclamation, dwelling, warehouse, and wharf construction took place. This cycle of land reclamation and construction took place in 1790, 1792, 1793, and, again in 1797, and was followed in 1800 by a final effort to erect a sea wall around Shell Castle to protect it from erosion.

Plans for the entrepôt at Shell Castle were well underway in 1789. In June—five months before the final land purchase—John Wallace had gone to Cedar Island to obtain logs for the works at the Castle. Also, that December, Shell Castle received its first recorded mention as an important distribution center when one of Blount's shipmasters informed a Basse-Terre, Guadeloupe, merchant about the "Castle and intencion of it."[16] By the end of August 1790, the partners' intentions were rapidly being made reality. Wallace reported that he had a carpenter employed full time at the Castle and had received a load 1,800 feet of board which was not enough to complete half of the building in progress. He had also hired a person to burn lime for mortar and plaster. Wallace explained to his partner that it would save money as "it will come cheaper to us than to burn it our self."[17] Wallace projected he would complete the Storeroom by the middle of October. He hedged, however, by excepting the meeting of accidents and having adequate supplies if Blount sent more boards and shingles. Iron for the work was obtained by salvaging it from a shipwrecked brig. Complex ironwork, however, required a trained smith. Wallace respected the work of "Old Bell" who made the "best in the World," from whom he ordered "three good door locks" and hinges.

Concurrent with the erection of the storeroom, Wallace completed a sea-wall wharf at the Castle. The new pier was made of logs held in place with ballast and with smaller logs on the bearers. Storms threatened to destroy the fresh work at the Castle before its completion, and Blount had expressed a fear that not enough precautions had been taken for the hurricane season which lasted until

October. Wallace reassured his partner writing, "I feel big [security of the Castle building] about a storm" because he had placed nineteen logs left over from the construction and ballast on the work and would add more if a storm approached. Wallace informed his partner that he was "married fast to the castle untill the fifteenth of October, there [has been] never a gale known after that." Wallace was less confident as to whether or not the new pier would work. If a "well found vessel" and an agreeable Captain could be found, Wallace planned to test the pier by having the vessel "anchor a brest off it."[18]

By October 1790, the first cycle of land reclamation and construction was complete and Shell Castle was in full operation.[19] The Castle expansion came as the national economy began the "Golden Age" of merchant shipping. In 1790, one newspaper reported that "the commerce of the United States is rapidly recovering" and "the products of our country are increasing in demand, and appreciating in value."[20] As the economy grew, a new phase of construction took place in the summer and fall of 1792. Wallace continued to bring turf from "the point" to Shell Castle to build up the island. The turf probably came from the Dry Land Shoal. Blount received a list of goods that Wallace wanted "for a little house we were talking of." Wallace separately requested 2,500 bricks if they could be found at Washington for his own residence. The record is unclear as to whether or not the list of goods was for the same building or two separate ones. Nevertheless, Wallace was clear that he wanted the bricks to build a chimney "for

the old wench," his wife, Rebeca, before it turned too cold that fall. He confessed that he wanted his wife with him at the Castle "to wash and mustle [sic]."[21]

The construction cycle continued the following summer. Wallace was bringing shells over from Old Rock in a boat he praised because it carried sixty barrels of tar and had a draft of eighteen inches. The shells were used either for fill or for burning to make lime for plaster. By June, work on a new warehouse was within a week of being completed. Work was stopped, however, because the foreman employed by Wallace had been "likely to die," and was still very sick. Wallace had identified a Cape Hatteras man who was qualified and available to finish the work. A second possible reason for the delay, in addition to the foreman's illness, could have been related to Wallace's having given his brother some 1,000 feet of board and one hundred twenty-two-inch shingles to "finish a house a shore for his famely." Additional supplies were ordered for the warehouse. Wallace asked for board and shingles to replace those he had loaned his brother, and a keg of twenty pound nails because all he had in stock were ten, eight and six penny. In addition to the Warehouse, Wallace was constructing a cistern and ordered juniper planking to line it.[22]

By mid-July, the warehouse that Wallace had promised in June would be done within a week remained unfinished. Wallace continued to be short of lumber. He had only enough on hand to complete the windows and door frames. Therefore, he ordered 6,000-8,000 twenty-two-inch shingles and 1,200-1,500 feet of boards. The shingles were required to finish the weatherboards, and the boards

would finish laying the two floors. Before ordering the shingles from his partner, however, Wallace had sent to Bay River to obtain them, but there were "none to be had at the place." Wallace requested that Blount send the material quickly to keep the two carpenters employed otherwise they would have to be discharged. Wallace continued the construction with shells transported from Shell Rock with one of his slaves in charge of the flat.[23]

Wallace usually underestimated the material and time requirements to complete his work at the Castle. In August, he reported that an additional 1,000 feet of warehouse flooring boards were necessary and asked that Blount procure them.[24] This appeared to be the end of the initial cycles of construction at Shell Castle. No information has been found related to new construction until the end of 1795. The time from 1793 to 1794 was apparently a period of consolidation for the Castle and Washington, North Carolina merchants. Exports clearing from the Port of Washington declined 3 percent in 1794.[25] Coupled with the economic stresses the enterprise faced, Shell Castle's partners worried about the safety of the buildings and goods stored at the Castle if a violent gale or hurricane were to strike the Inlet.[26]

In 1795, the Shell Castle entrepôt was one half mile in length and 60 feet wide and rested on an island that was dry at low water. Wallace's warehouses held a "large quantity of produce and merchandise" and the Castle also boasted of a lumberyard and a wharf. The improvements inaugurated by Blount and Wallace made it an efficient establishment with the "appearance of a trading factory." The

Governor's dwelling house for which he had requested the chimney brick and outhouses were "commodious."[27] Naysayers had predicted that the water would "soon assert its right and wash away the Castle." Fears of this vanished, however, when Shell Castle survived a hurricane without any damage in the summer of 1795.[28] Wallace reported that the Castle had not "suffered Twenty Shillings by the Gale, althow it was the worst and hardest that ever was Known at the Bar."[29]

The survival of Shell Castle's buildings and wharf with no storm damage emboldened the partners. By December, Wallace had launched another round of building. He had a "great many hands hired," and had to refuse lightering business because he was "obliged to send his other [lighter] to morrow to Cedar Island for my wharf timber." This trip was planned to replace a raft of 112 logs that met with "ill Luck" when the wind shifted and broke the raft and lost all the logs" about six miles from the Castle. Wallace pledged to have "all loged up before the Last of July."[30]

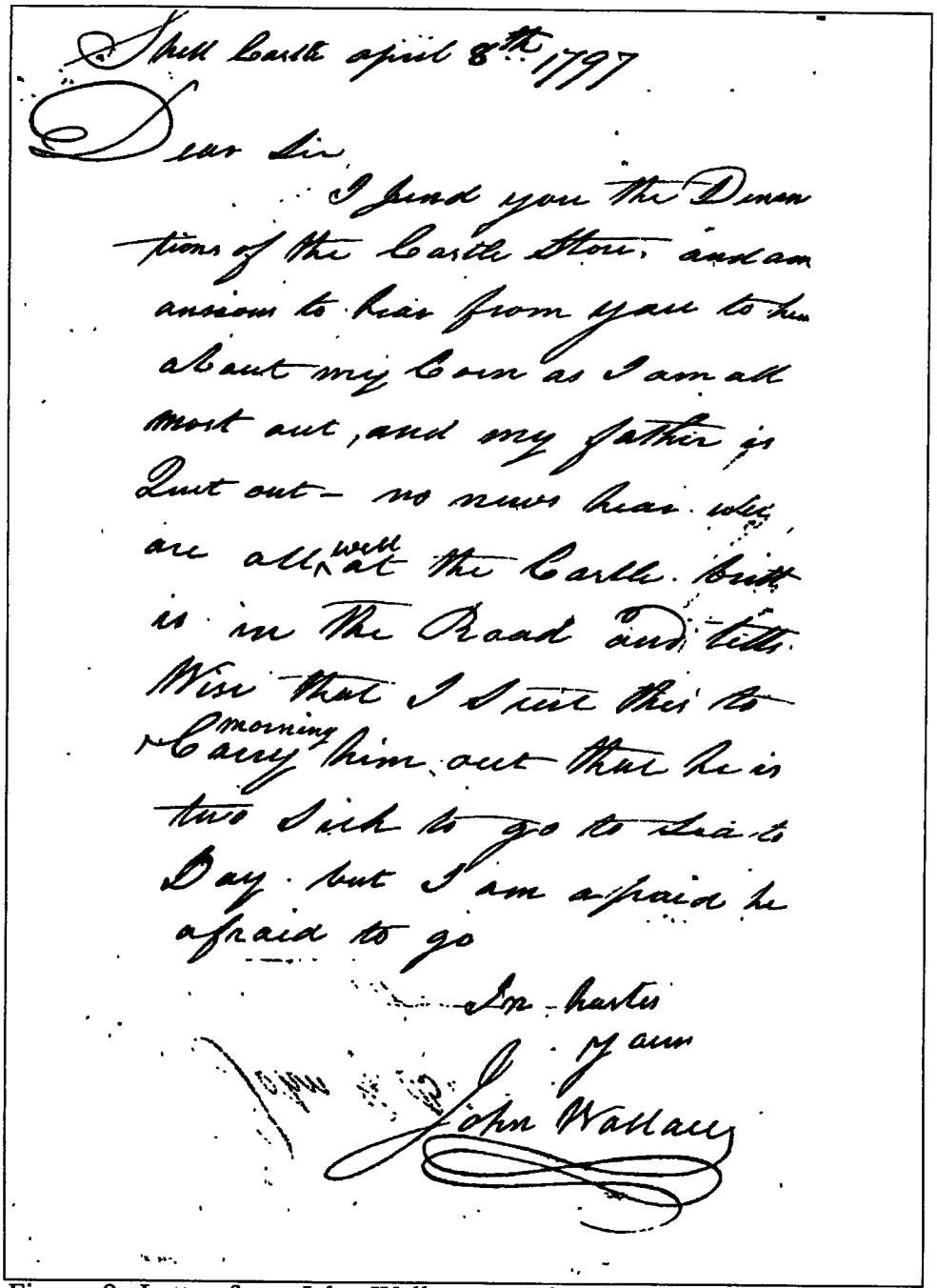
One of the outer buildings that had been built by December 1795 was a smokehouse. John Wallace ordered "one pair strong hinges for smoak house Door." The smokehouse must have been one of the out buildings mentioned in Martin's description of Ocracoke; however, this was the first mention of it in the record. Neither the smokehouse nor the cistern built earlier appeared on the illustration of Shell Castle that appears on the transfer-printed pitchers that carry the illustration of *A North View of Govr. Wallace's Shell Castle*.[31] (See the Figure 8) Were they located behind the main buildings or simply not pictured?

The enterprise at Shell Castle encompassed a warehouse, several dwelling houses and by 1797 a separate ship's chandlery store. The store was a two-story building of approximately 1,600 square feet.

Wallace described the store as:

9 feet from Floor to Floor
20 feet in width
40 feet in length
3 feet 8 inches from Plate to Plate
14 1/2 feet rafter that [?] 12 feet 8 inches
14 1/2 feet Wind Beams State [ ] wall
Plates 9 1/2 inches by 4^{32} (See Figure 9)

Figure 8. Blount-Wallace Pitcher. "A north View of Govr WALLACEs Shell Castle Harbour, NORTH CAROLINA" Baluster style, polychrome enamel, pearlware, Liverpool type transfer print pitcher. (Photograph reproduced courtesy of the NCDAH.)



Shell Castle april 8th 1797

Dear Sir

I Send you the Dimen tions of the Castle Stone and am anxious to hear from you to hear about my Corn as I am all most out, and my father is Quit out — no news hear we are all well at the Castle. Butt is in the Road and tells Wise that I Sent this to Carry him out that he is two Sick to go to day but I am afraid he afraid to go

In haste
I am
John Wallace

Figure 9. Letter from John Wallace to John G. Blount, 8 April 1797. (Source: John G. Blount Papers, NCDAH)

The next three years were another period of consolidation with little new construction being undertaken. Additional expansion was probably curtailed due to the loss of several vessels to French privateers during the Quasi-War and the associated decline in trade due the increased commercial uncertainty about safe transit. The Blounts lost three vessels to seizure from 1796 to 1799, and the situation kept the merchants in America "in constant allarm [sic]."[33] The period also corresponded to a period when the Blount brothers faced irritated creditors and cash flow problems caused by Western land speculation and the vessel losses. Their problems mirrored economic problems facing the nation. The market began declining in 1797 and reached its nadir in the second half of 1798. Everywhere people feared war with France and the Quasi-War resulted in hundreds of American vessels falling to French privateers. Consequently, insurance rates reached fifteen percent, underwriters could be found. Also, the export price index soared to its highest level in 1798-99 for the period from 1790-1820.[34]

In 1800, the national economy had rebounded and building expansion at the Castle renewed. In the spring, John Wallace traveled to Cedar Island to obtain some cash as well as to hire a person to get timber for the "intended building this season." Wallace spent much of April and May at Cedar Island overseeing the logging operations. In that time, he had cut and rafted one hundred logs to the Castle, and had cut an additional one hundred logs which he hoped to transport to the Castle within a "fortnight." These two loads would "complete our business" Wallace estimated.[35]

Again, however, Wallace over promised what he could deliver and underestimated the difficulty of an operation. Three and one-half weeks after he had predicted being ready to float down the next load of logs, Wallace sent his partner an update on 14 June. In it, Wallace informed Blount that he had "almost logged up" the work on the east end of the Castle and that he planned to sail the next day for Cedar Island to fetch the remaining logs needed for the west end works. According to Wallace, the next load of logs was already down at the water and only required rafting down the sound to the Castle. Wallace confidently predicted that he expected to finish the work "in the course of six weeks if the weather permits."[36]

When John Wallace hedged his prediction about completing the logging work "if the weather permits," he was most probably worried about conditions on the Sound and the wind direction. Conditions had to be favorable in order to float the logs ten to twelve miles down the sound and over the Swash to the Castle. Wallace had reason to be cautious stemming from his loss of the raft of 112 logs due to the wind shift in 1795. He needed both a favorable wind and calm seas. The favored wind would be from the southwest, and the waves on the sound had to probably less than one foot.[37]

Although Wallace had promised in mid-June that all the logs were down at the water, a note he sent his partner at the end of the month showed that Wallace's early report had been incorrect. Wallace must have forgotten about his earlier statement because he told Blount that he "had not trees enough to finish; I have

them cut in the woods, but cannot git wheels stout enough to draw them down." He then requested that Blount supply him with a pair of wheels or tell where to get them.

Wallace spent from April to July at work erecting the sea wall around the Castle. The sea wall was a well-crafted crib style wall with tight fitted joints as illustrated in the ceramic transfer print illustration. (See Figure 8) As the wall neared completion, Wallace commented that the work "just makes the Castle one hundred yard in length." At mid-year 1800, with the sea-wall work and other operations going on, Wallace proclaimed to Blount, "I am the busiest that I ever was in my life. 40-45 in family."[38]

With the completion of the sea wall, Shell Castle reached its zenith. The operations then included a warehouse, a store, three dwelling houses, a tavern, and, according to the pitcher illustration, another building. No evidence has been found to support additional construction after 1800 other than modifications, repairs and small additions. Wallace pointed out to Blount that he had made significant improvements to the Castle's buildings. The office had been modified and was "much better fitted than when you were down before, with a good piaza." Wallace also bragged that "we have a good kitchen that will serve for all cooking." Wallace also mentioned that they could conduct their business in one of two residences, either John Mayo's house or the General's on the Wharf.[39] Mayo's house was probably one of the smaller buildings shown on the left of

pitcher illustration while the General's was one of the three buildings set on the wharf.[40]

After 1800, the houses required periodic repair. Wallace had promised to burn lime and to share it with Richard Tuck, one of Blount's clerks who lived at the Castle in 1807. Inexplicably, Wallace decided against making the lime. Tuck was forced to ask John G. Blount for a cask of lime in order to repair the house which "is much exposed for want of lime [as] much of the plaistering has fallen down." The clerk recognized the damaged caused by leaking water as he described how "when it rains the water comes in by the sides of the chimneys and makes it way to every part of the house, which must be a great injury to the frame." Tuck was conscientious about fixing up his home as he had earlier requested weatherboard to make repairs to the house.[41] Four years later, Solomon Joseph who rented part of the Castle informed John G. Blount that no repairs of consequence had been performed. The one exception, however, was a little plastering around one of the chimneys. It would be impossible to say whether or not it was the same leak Richard Tuck had repaired in 1807. Nevertheless, it does show that seams between the Chimney and walls and roof were problem areas.[42]

Water leaks were not the only water issued faced at the Castle. Fresh water availability was a constant problem because no wells existed. Water, therefore, had to be brought in or captured by rainfall and then stored. Between 1800 and 1803, Wallace constructed several additional cisterns. Two cisterns were built for public and private use, and were built to be twelve-feet long by eight-feet wide

and eight-feet deep. A later cistern built for the tavern and cookhouse was estimated to hold fifty hogsheads.[43]

Security became an issue in 1805. Recognizing that "the Bar and storerooms for the tavern should be places of safe deposit," Richard Tuck requisitioned iron bars, bolts and keys. He ordered three iron bars for each of the six windows whose dimensions were 3 1/2 feet by 3 1/2 feet and 8 1/4 inches thick through the casing. In addition, two sliding bolts were requested for the doors.[44]

With the buildings either in place or under construction, the partners turned their interests to operating their maritime outpost. Lightering and piloting would make up the bulk of the activities at the Castle; however, over time the activities would expand to include the full spectrum of complementary maritime ventures.

Shell Castle Operations

The partners, profiting from the economic expansion of the 1790s and the increases in the export markets, saw additional profit in complementary businesses such as piloting, lightering, shipbuilding, chandlery, warehousing, and docking facilities and services. According to Douglas C. North, similar expansion was taking place throughout the United States as profits from the export sector fueled increases in businesses supporting the export trade. Shipping supply businesses, such as rope works, sail lofts, and chandlers, flourished, and likewise

complementary industries evolved to service the re-export and carrying trades.[45] Shell Castle demonstrated North's growth of complementary businesses on a miniature scale much like the Castle could be seen as one of Merrens' "miniature urban centers." Not only did Blount and Wallace have shares in direct export and re-export, but also they developed significant complementary businesses to service their own and other merchants' needs. Merchants, like the Blount Family, in Federal period North Carolina were generalists who frequently created a vertically integrated enterprise in order to control and profit from all operations that they undertook.[46] Their operations would come to include lightering, piloting, warehousing, shipbuilding, fishing, porpoise oil supply, navigation aid servicing.

Operations at the Castle focused initially on lightering and piloting as early as 1787, but the partnership was fully operating at least by the Spring of 1790 when the term "Castle" is first used by a merchant sending goods to that place. At that time a Richmond merchant directed John G. Blount in the operation of a Brig that was scheduled to "Call at the Castle" for directions about its cargo of corn. The merchant requested that John Wallace provide support for lightering and sailing directions.[47] Details on the full range of operations conducted at the Castle can be found in letters between Wallace and Blount as either one or the other provided status reports on activities or directions on future actions. In June 1793, Wallace provided an update to his partner on current operations at Shell Castle. He covered all aspects of operations: construction actions; lightering

operations; salvage goods and shipments; vessel repairs, new vessel purchase opportunities; vessel departures; cash flow issues; lighthouse keeper nominations; store goods and sales; future market destinations; goods order; and, a personal request.[48] Shell Castle became a thriving miniature urban center and maritime entrepôt involving the full range of operations; however, the primary activities centered on lightering and piloting.

Lightering and Piloting

Piloting and lightering were the most important actions undertaken at the Castle because they insured the safety of vessels, which guaranteed that the valuable cargoes reached their destinations. The two were closely linked because in general the master of the vessel providing the lightering services also acted as pilot for the lightered vessel. This combined operation involved the lighter accompanying the piloted vessel over the Bar in order to pick up the pilot, and it made sense as an efficient allocation of resources through the dual use of the lighter as pilot boat and lighter.

Lightering operations varied in response to the needs of the vessel and captain. The least complex operation called for one lighter to take on a portion of a vessels cargo on either side of the swash, cross the swash, and then to discharge its load back to the host vessel. Others vessels required multiple lighters to be able to cross the swash. The most complicated required multiple lighters at the

swash and additional lighters to carry cargo on up the Sounds before returning with an outgoing cargo to the ship waiting at the Castle.

Vessels of opportunity, as well as purpose built vessels, served as lighters. Unlike the harbor lighter that was usually a flat or a scow used to lighter vessels away from the quay, Ocracoke Inlet lighters were small sloops, schooners and other bay craft.[49] Whether rigged as a schooner or a sloop, lighters of 200 to 250 barrels were the "right size for this navigation" according to John Wallace. He described the *Sisters* and the *Shell Castle,* just being launched in November 1800, as "of that size" and acting as lighters. In addition, Wallace indicated that he could "have as many of them built as will do for this navigation on good terms."[50]

Whether built for the purpose or converted vessels, lighters were constantly in demand at the Castle. In 1792, Blount and Wallace apparently had only one lighter in operation. One visitor observed that the partnership was missing out on a great deal of profit for want of a second lighter. The "Governor"* stated then that another lighter was being contemplated and it would be much larger than the current one in use. The visitor promised a double advantage by having more than one lighter: "They would be most constantly emploied[sic]; the first by getting more money in lighting vessels over the Swatch [sic] & taking out a lager [larger] Quantity of Ballast to the Castle, which ought to be a chief object." It seems that Governor Wallace had to turn down ready money for lightering and ballast because he already had a cargo on board his sloop.[51]

The second lighter operated by the partners, the *Beaver*, a purpose-built sloop, helped meet the anticipated high demand. The vessel entered operations probably as early as October 1792 when Wallace planned to take delivery from the shipwright. Nevertheless, by April 1793, the *Beaver* had completed lightering for a brig owned by Stewart and Barr of Philadelphia and was employed lightering another vessel. The *Beaver* was indispensable in June, 1793 when the old lighter had been sent to John Fulford's for repair. Wallace sent the *Beaver* to Washington, North Carolina to be graved# and to bring down a cargo for a snow that was waiting at the Castle. Wallace could not afford to have the *Beaver* delayed if the snow's load was not ready because he expected a number of vessels to arrive the next week that would need lightering.[52]

A shortage of vessels to meet the demand continued for several years. In December 1795, Wallace sent the sloop *Beaver* up to Washington on 23 December, but complained that he could not send up another that had been requested. He explained that his lighter was engaged in bringing timber from Cedar Island for the wharf and his half-brother David's vessel was going up the Neuse. One week later, Wallace lamented the lighter shortage again. In this case, the *Beaver* having returned to the Castle on the twenty-eighth had been discharged and sent back to Washington for another load for Blount's Brig *Tuley* on 31 December. Two other lighters, one owned by Wallace's brother, Joe, and another by a Mr. Hale, were scheduled to be used getting staves from Bay River. Wallace regretted that he could not supply any other support, stating that "it is out

of my power to supply any other lighter but the *Beaver* which will be constantly employ'd in loading the *Tuley* until her cargo is completed."[53]

By the turn of the century, however, the partners appeared to have plenty of lighters available. In late November 1800, Wallace informed his partner who was launching a newly built ship that if the lighter did not arrive in time for the launching that "we shall be able to lighter here as the *Flounder, Beaver, Lucy, Galleot* and *Two Sisters* are all here." The record is unclear as to whether or not the partners owned all five vessels although they certainly owned the *Flounder* and *Beaver.* The other lighters were under the control of the partner's if not owned outright by them.[54]

Lightering requirements at the Castle varied depending on the vessel and cargo load. The snow that Wallace was preparing to lighter for probably drew too much water to safely clear the swash and the rivers inland. In contrast, two of Blount's brigs had recently cleared the swash and sailed over the bar with a good southwest wind without the need of lightering or stopping. Other vessels, however, required assistance. A large sloop, with John G. Blount's half-brother, Reading Blount as master, needed lightering at the bar. The sloop carried 24,000 feet of boards and almost 54,000 shingles and had a draft of nine feet aft and seven feet forward.[55] Another vessel, a brig, required two lighters to off-load its cargo of shingles. The brig had cleared the swash on Sunday, but it took until Wednesday to re-load the shingles from the lighters.[56]

Other elements also affected the speed at which vessels could discharge and receive their cargoes from the lighters. The weather and tides played significant roles in determining how quickly a vessel could lighter, cross the swash, and clear the bar. The sounds were subject to high winds, high waves and daily tides. In addition, the wind direction affected whether or not a vessel could sail through the narrow channels. These elements affected how long, if at all, vessels would be detained at the Inlet.

One ship loading corn for northern markets met with weather delays in April 1790. According to George Nicolson, the Richmond merchant, he arrived at the bar on Monday, 19 April and began discharging his lighters; however, he complained on 22 April that "it has blown a gale ever since, which has retarded the discharge of the lighters." The ship received the two loads from the lighters and another 250 barrels of corn from another small vessel. Nicolson still awaited arrival of a fourth vessel bringing a cargo from the Albemarle Sound area. He hoped that "if the weather proves good, the ship will be loaded by Tuesday [five days later]." The weather was not to blame for the entire delay. The human factor also entered into the situation. Nicolson blamed Causey, master of one of the lighters. He claimed that "everything has been done to discharge, except his own activity which I have not the highest opinion of." Nicolson concluded his saga by lamenting, "This place will keep me here too long & vessels that arrive here are sometimes delayed 10 days before they get out."[57]

Nicolson's delay of eight days was not unusual especially for a larger vessel such as his ship. The larger the vessel the more likely it would be delayed. Seldon Jasper of the Brig *Nancy* also experienced a delay of eight days; however, his delay was "owing to strong gales & no lighter." Exasperated, he wrote, "In short, I have been on the wrong tack some weeks." Imagine how much more confounded he would have been had he been master of Blount's brig *Tuley*, 239 tons, which was delayed twenty-five days waiting for a favorable wind in July 1797?[58]

At the other extreme, some vessels managed to lighter and clear the inlet in one day. James Webster, master of one of the Blount's Brigs recorded a rare crossing. "I was lucky in getting over the swash," he wrote Blount. "I lightered, ran over the Swash, and received the lighter load on the same day." He was considerably luckier than the five or six other vessels he passed who were aground at the swash.[59] Vessels routinely recorded two-day transits in which the schooners would cross the swash then anchor in the upper road near Beacon Island and wait to be carried out to sea the next day on a favorable tide.[60]

Webster's one day crossing and the *Tuley*'s 25-day wait were the exceptions that merchants and masters both hoped for and feared. More normal was the experience of Jacob Blount who crossed the swash and discharged his lighter in four to five days. In 1827, a report to Congress prepared by informed people from North Carolina estimated that the average delay from lightering and weather at Ocracoke was five days. The delay added an indirect expense of eight dollars

per day or forty dollars per vessel to shipping costs for crew wages and victuals. In addition, the increased direct shipping cost due to lightering was calculated to be one dollar per ton, amounting to $200,000 annually, and insurance premiums were increased 3/4 of one percent to adjust for the delays and risks of lightering at Ocracoke Inlet.[61]

One example of the navigation and financial risks attendant to vessels operating through Ocracoke Inlet occurred in June 1789. In addition, the episode pointed to the importance of a pre-arranged lightering agreement and sufficient lighters to service arriving vessels. James Barr, supercargo and merchant from Philadelphia, reported that his brig ran aground "near the swash stake or stradle" on the southwest point of Royal Shoal. With his "vessel stuck hard, and night coming on and John Wallace away after his logs," Barr accepted the services of William Wallace who had come alongside with his lighter. Wallace returned after carrying off the first load and demanded 1 shilling, 6 pence per barrel lighterage. Barr agreed to what he thought was an extortion price; however, he hoped that John G. Blount could get the price lowered to 1/ per barrel which was John Wallace's negotiated price with Blount. Barr called it "unreasonable" that he "should pay 6 more as John Wallace was not there and you [Blount] objected to pay the other." Barr's experience demonstrated the full range of risk to the merchant, the benefits of the Blount-Wallace enterprise, and the need for additional lighters.[62]

In the few times when little or no lightering business was anticipated, the Blount-Wallace lighters fulfilled a secondary use. Lighters operated as coasting vessels when not needed at the Castle. In May 1800, Wallace took it upon himself to purchase a vessel capable of operating as a lighter or coastal vessel. Wallace laid out $832.50 for the *Flounder* and two ship's boats that he arranged to pay for by bartering "lighterage and pilotage" fees. The new lighter would be put "to carrying shingles to the Federal City, Baltimore or elsewhere and bringing stone ballast back..." provided Wallace had "not a plenty of lightering for her to do...." This probably represented an attempt by Wallace to guarantee full asset utilization and to maximize the return on the investment—the "turning of a penny wherever a penny was to be got." The *Flounder* could carry 200,000 twenty-two inch shingles.[63]

The purchase of the *Flounder* also provided some evidence into the mechanism of pay for master and crew of lighters at Ocracoke. Masters apparently took a percentage of the total fee from which they were responsible for hiring and feeding the crew. This would seem to be a common practice because Wallace noted that the master of the *Flounder* "victuals and mans her for one-half of what is made in her as he did with Capt. Ross [from whom the boat was purchased]."[64]

Piloting was interrelated with the lightering operations at Ocracoke. Frequently, the master of the lighter provided both services as Master How had agreed in the *Flounder*'s purchase. Another example involved the Brig *Tom*

Peacock that sailed from Washington to Ocracoke where the captain used two lighterage loads to clear the swash and then the master of the second lighter also piloted the brig over the bar.

Unlike the lightering business where rates floated based on market conditions, the State of North Carolina regulated pilot operations at each of the State's inlets to promote commerce. From the first regulations passed in 1715 until the present day, the system of piloting has remained relatively constant. By the end of the Revolution, the system had matured. North Carolina's Assembly recognized the importance of qualified pilots by acknowledging that "the commerce of the state has been greatly injured by the imposition, extortion, insufficiency, and negligence of pilots...." Pilots received licenses upon passing examination administered by port commissioners and passing a security bond. The commissioners also served as a punitive board with the power to dismiss pilots if necessary. Pilots were charged with answering ships' calls for pilots, and if a pilot should have seen "any vessel on the coast, having signal for a pilot, and shall neglect or refuse to go to the assistance of such vessel", he could be fined.[65] Pilots posted performance bonds to guarantee their good conduct in their duties, and in exchange for their performance as pilots they received set fees.[66]

Pilotage fees discriminated based on vessel draft and destinations, and reflected the time and difficulty required by pilots in carrying ships to and from port. Piloting was a lucrative enterprise that demanded skilled mariners. At Ocracoke Inlet in 1794, pilots received five silver dollars for bringing a vessel of

less than an eight-foot draft into either Beacon Island Road or Wallace's Channel. Larger vessels paid according to draft with vessels of greater draft than eight feet and less than twelve feet, 5/8 of a dollar per foot and one dollar per foot for vessels with drafts greater than twelve feet. An additional two dollars was received for carrying a vessel over the swashes. The inland routes up the sounds charged both variable and fixed rates depending on the vessel's destination. Ships bound for Edenton and Camden paid flat rates of twelve and ten dollars, respectively. Vessels bound for either New Bern or Washington, on the other hand, paid one dollar per foot.[67] (See Table 2)

In addition to the set rates, pilots were entitled to their full rate if the pilot had offered his services and the master refused. Pilots also were entitled to a per diem fee if they were carried from the coast by wind or weather after boarding a vessel. The pilotage rates were revised in 1805, and the increases ranged from twenty to fifty percent over the 1794 rates.[68]

Little was recorded about the piloting operations carried on at the Castle. The record mentioned only that either John Wallace or David Wallace carried a vessel out at various times. The only other mention of piloting involved slaves owned by Wallace. In 1810, complaints surfaced about some "straggling negroes" passing at Ocracoke "without branch or responsibility."[69] Captain David Wallace threatened to prosecute them. Fearing actions against two negro

Table 2

Pilotage Fees at Ocracoke Inlet, 1794-1805

Fee in Dollars per vessel by draft & event	Vessels > 40 tons & < 8' Draft		Vessels with drafts, 8'≤ & <12'		Vessels with drafts ≥12'	
	1794	1805	1794	1805	1794	1805
In or Out of Ocracoke Inlet	5	7	5/8 per foot	1 per foot	1 per foot	1.50 per foot
Over the either Swash	2	2	2	2	2	2
Swash to Washington or New Bern, or return	1 per foot	1.50 per foot	1 per foot	1.50 per foot	1 per foot	1.50 per foot
Swash to Edenton, or return	12	15	12	15	12	15
Swash to Camden, or return	10	12	10	12	10	12

Source: Joseph Blunt, The Merchants & Shipmasters Assistant, (New York: Edmund M. Blount, 1822), 194-197. Blunt drew his pilotage rates from North Carolina's Navigation acts of1794 and 1805.

slave Shell Castle pilots, Josiah Bradley recommended that branch licenses be obtained for Perry and Angis. He argued, as one might expect, that "some masters are particular in having pilots with branches."[70]

In 1812, a law stipulated that owners were liable for unlicensed slave pilots. If found guilty of knowingly or by consent allowing a slave or slaves to act as a pilot, the owner was assessed a fine equal to the value of the slave or slaves. The law was obviously written to benefit the injured party who brought suit against

the unlicensed slave owner because the court awarded one-half of the value "to the person suing for the same," while the other half went to the owner's county of residence.[71] Mrs. Wallace who inherited the slaves following John Wallace's death in 1810 apparently ignored Bradley's request and the new law. She was served a writ on account of her two slaves, Perry and Angis, piloting without branch licenses. The plaintiff, Mr. William Jolston was motivated apparently by greed and wanted to reduce the number of competitors. This was part of broad-based opposition to slave pilots according to Mr. Bradley, who observed that "there appears nothing but enmity existing between them that follow the lightering and piloting business here."[72] However, the incidents of 1810 and 1812 did not reflect a new problem. In 1773, eight pilots, including Simon Hall, John Wallace's father-in-law, petitioned the colonial governor to prohibit black pilots from competing unfairly with the licensed pilots.[73]

Shell Castle's location placed the Wallace pilots at both an advantage and a disadvantage in the piloting business. It was important for pilots to see vessels early and to be the first to respond to a call for a pilot in order to gain the business. Pilots at Shell Castle were physically closer to the channel leading from the Southwest Point of Royal Shoal which meant that they could see outward bound vessels first and be the first to respond to a call for pilots and lighters from that direction. On the other hand, Shell Castle's pilots were located two miles inland from the Bar and usually would not have seen vessels approaching the bar as quickly as pilots from Ocracoke or Portsmouth.

An interesting competitive adaptation to overcome this disadvantage appeared on the Shell Castle jug's transfer-print illustration. On the eastern end of the island, Wallace planted a large vertical pole with steps cut into it and a hoop at the top. Although no references are made to the pole or its use in the record have been found in the record, the pole was probably a lookout position and signal platform. A lookout could climb this ladder, slide his legs through the hoop, and sit as if perched in crow's nest on a ship. A person on watch there would be able to see vessels approaching from the bar and to communicate via signals.[74] (See Figure 10)

Figure 10. Detail of the right side of the Blount-Wallace pitcher. On the right edge of the island a pole ladder with a ring is mounted possibly as a lookout post.

Fishery Operations

In addition to lightering and piloting, Shell Castle operated a seasonal fishery business using the lighter sloops Each year Wallace prepared for the mullet fishing season at Cape Lookout He would order 150-200 barrels of salt and requisitioned 150-200 barrels to receive the fish Wallace would then outfit a crew to fish for the mullet The crew was allowed use of the lighter *Beaver* and the seine netting in exchange for a third of the catch The crew would buy the salt and barrels from Wallace at pre-determined prices [75]

Wallace worked to have all supplies at the Castle by the start of the mullet run in September The season began on 15 September, and lasted well into the following spring with the large mullet running in the fall and the smaller ones who "are always last to run" coming in April and May [76] The salt came from the Caribbean salt islands when available, however, in some years Wallace had to purchase it from Pasquotank County at relatively high price of "5/hard" On account of the high price and scarcity of salt, Wallace limited its resale to those who agreed to share one-third of their catch with Wallace and Blount

Wallace directed that the fish be packed in twenty-nine-gallon common herring barrels of seasoned cypress "with ten to twelve hoops made with a pretty straight bilge in such manner as to unhead without starting the upper quarter hoops "[77] Wallace indicated that his costs would be a bushel of corn per barrel or fifty cents and that he would re-sell them to the venturers at a reasonable rate [78]

In 1797, Wallace increased his orders for salt and barrels 33 percent from 150 to 200 bushels and barrels, respectively, over his orders for years 1793 and 1795 The seine twine originated in New York in 1790 Ten years later, Wallace ordered twine from Josiah Collins who operated a ropewalk in Edenton Collins had to subcontract the twine order because he shifted production to meet a forty-ton United States government order for cordage [79]

The crew who made up the venturers in 1793 excited Wallace about the fishery's prospects He expected it to be the best catch in ten years, and he bragged that the crew was the "best crue that can be found in the State" The crew included Wallace's brother David, Adam Gaskins—who would be nominated later for the Shell Castle lighthouse keeper position, Thos Gaskills, and N Pinkham The crew would be augmented by an additional four seamen who were to join the crew at Cape Lookout [80]

In 1795, Wallace reported that the fall season netted 75 barrels of large mullets and he expected to catch as many of the small ones on the spring run The fish would be used for the consumption at the Castle as well as for resale to Blount or export Wallace offered Blount twenty barrels at two dollars per barrel paper money [81] Later that year, William Armistead, writing from Jamaica, informed Wallace that the mullets would sell for as much as shad that were going for six or seven dollars per barrel [82] In 1797, prices had increased and herrings were expected to bring eight dollars per barrel at St Bartholomews [83] Wallace and Blount's fishery operations was small compared to the hauls of other North

Carolina fisheries from whom Blount purchased fish for export In 1787, George Ryan sold 800-1,000 barrels of fish to John G Blount Benjamin Coakley, who lived on the Meherrin River at Princeton, netted more than four million herring and packed more than 3,000 barrels of herring and 2,000 barrels of cut herring and barrels of other fish [84]

In addition to the mullet fishery, Wallace operated a porpoise fishery to produce an alternative to whale oil The fishery took porpoises at Cape Hatteras and Cape Lookout The first mentions of the porpoising ventures appeared in 1790 when John Fulford inquired about participating in the porpoise fishing and possibly building boats for the operation The fishery operated from January through March at Cape Hatteras No details on specific operations can be gleaned from the extant record other than like the fishery operations, Wallace provided barrels to receive the oil, and Wallace was not directly involved in the operations Wallace reported in March 1800 that "our porpouse fishing I am told is doing well," and that he planned to visit the Cape to check for himself and his partner [85] Additional information about the porpoise oil experiments at the Shell Castle Beacon and Cape Hatteras Light may be found in the discussions of the Lighthouse operations in Chapter Four

The lightering, piloting and fishery operations were the key elements of the Blount-Wallace partnership at the Castle and probably provided much of the cash flow for the operations Nevertheless, those operations could not have been carried out without the investment in physical property that the partners put into

building the Castle Without the Castle, however, the operations would have been less efficient and less profitable What then made Shell Castle so important to the partnership? Why did they need it to achieve their goals and profits?

Maritime Entrepôt

Although lightering and piloting were integral to the overall operations at Shell Castle, the real benefit derived from the increased efficiency, and therefore, increased profits, made possible by the Castle's use as an entrepôt According to Webster's Third International Dictionary, entrepôt means "a place serving as an intermediary center for collection and distribution of goods a transshipment center or point "[86] The use of the Castle as a maritime pre-positioning center enabled the Blounts and other merchants to warehouse goods at the Castle as well as to provide directions and the means for the cargo's disposition The "transshipment center" created at Shell Castle reduced the time vessels spent loading cargo which reduced costs The Castle offered more than just a place to land goods It was the site of a complete maritime support center Vessels calling at the Castle for goods found provisions, cargo preparation and storage facility, ship repair and supplies, documentary support, an information center, and, perhaps most importantly, a tavern The full range of operations carried out at the Castle increased its value

During his first years in business, Blount had been criticized harshly by Philadelphia merchants for loading delays In 1787, the merchants Flahavan and Wilcox provided explicit directions for loading their vessel and warned that only fifteen days were provided to clear the vessel They added a penalty of six pounds per day demurrage because of the "aversion peoples of this town [Philadelphia] has to chartering a vessel to go to your place" if the fifteen day limit were exceeded The merchants, who had had a vessel detained for thirty days with no business and at expense, warned Blount that they "live in a city where the greatest exactness is observed and where wants of punctuality often proves fatal and destructive to property "[87] Even vessels as small as sloops faced problems loading at different landings in the sounds without the infrastructure to support cargo preparation The sloop *Sally* called at four different landings to take in a cargo 2,350 staves and 154 barrels of tar The tar was in a "very bad order" and two days were lost to coopering before the tar could be loaded [88]

Pre-positioning of cargo at Shell Castle increased the "dispatch" or speed at which a vessel was made ready to sail, and provided a remedy for the problems pointed out by Flahavan and Wilcox In the eighteenth century, two variables, transit time and port layovers, determined shipping times according to Shepherd and Walton Transit times remained constant throughout the late 1700s, but round trip voyage times decreased as a result of shortened port times From North Carolina, vessels averaged three roundtrip voyages per year to the West Indies and three to four to Philadelphia or New York.[89] Port times, on the other hand,

declined as merchants became more efficient in the procurement and warehousing of product for reshipment [90] By the 1780s, the average port time for vessels calling in North Carolina was slightly more than a month [91]

It took more than simply landing goods at the Castle to improve the port times Competent management and an extended trading network were also required Practiced management efficiency and increased value of the Castle did not occur immediately Like the construction of Castle's buildings, Castle operations increased gradually In order to service vessels calling at the Castle to discharge cargoes and to receive goods stored there, Blount and Wallace began providing additional services, such as coopering, warehousing and storage, and general ships services These services supported the preparation of cargoes for shipment One event occurred in 1787 that probably pointed out to John G Blount the need for and the benefits of an entrepôt at Ocracoke That summer, a Stuart and Barr brig was wrecked at Ocracoke and the cargo safely off-loaded and 220 barrels of tar stored ashore However, James Barr was concerned for the safe keeping of the tar as he feared the barrels would "all run away" without constant supervision [92]

Shell Castle's use as an entrepôt began even before the warehouse was completed in 1793 As early as 1789, Stuart and Barr intentionally used the Castle as a transshipment point for goods destined for the interior North Carolina ports They shipped nail rod for John G Blount and a saddle for Doctor Osburn on board the *New Bern Packet* to be delivered to John Wallace at Ocracoke Bar (See Figure

11) Small orders had been stored at the Castle prior to reshipment since 1789, however, with Wallace's move to the Shell Castle in 1790 larger shipments were processed there Stuart and Barr sent the ship *Friendship* to Falmouth from Philadelphia with orders to call at Ocracoke with John Wallace The ship sailed for England in December 1792 and was expected to arrive in April at the Castle carrying ballast Stuart and Barr believed that they could not afford the cost and risk of piloting the ship up river, so they planned to deposit its ballast at the Castle where it would be in demand and take on a pre-positioned cargo The cargo was significant in its size with 120,000 white oak barrel staves, 400 barrels of Tar and 100 barrels Stone Pitch [93] Many vessels too large to safely attempt the swash and rivers unloaded completely in Beacon Island Road (the anchorage in Ship Channel) or at Shell Castle [94]

Stuart and Barr were experienced in the quality of North Carolina goods and therefore knew to provide specific instructions relative to the quality of products requested as well as having knowledge of what coopering support could be provided at the Castle Barr ordered that the staves be thick and wide with no pins in the heads He also directed that the tar and pitch be "well-coopered, nailed and stored at our expense," after lightering them down to the Castle [95]

By May, the ship had yet to appear On 10 May 1793, Stuart and Barr wrote to Blount informing him that the captain had broken orders and sailed to the Caribbean instead of calling on Wallace at Ocracoke Based on the ship's non-

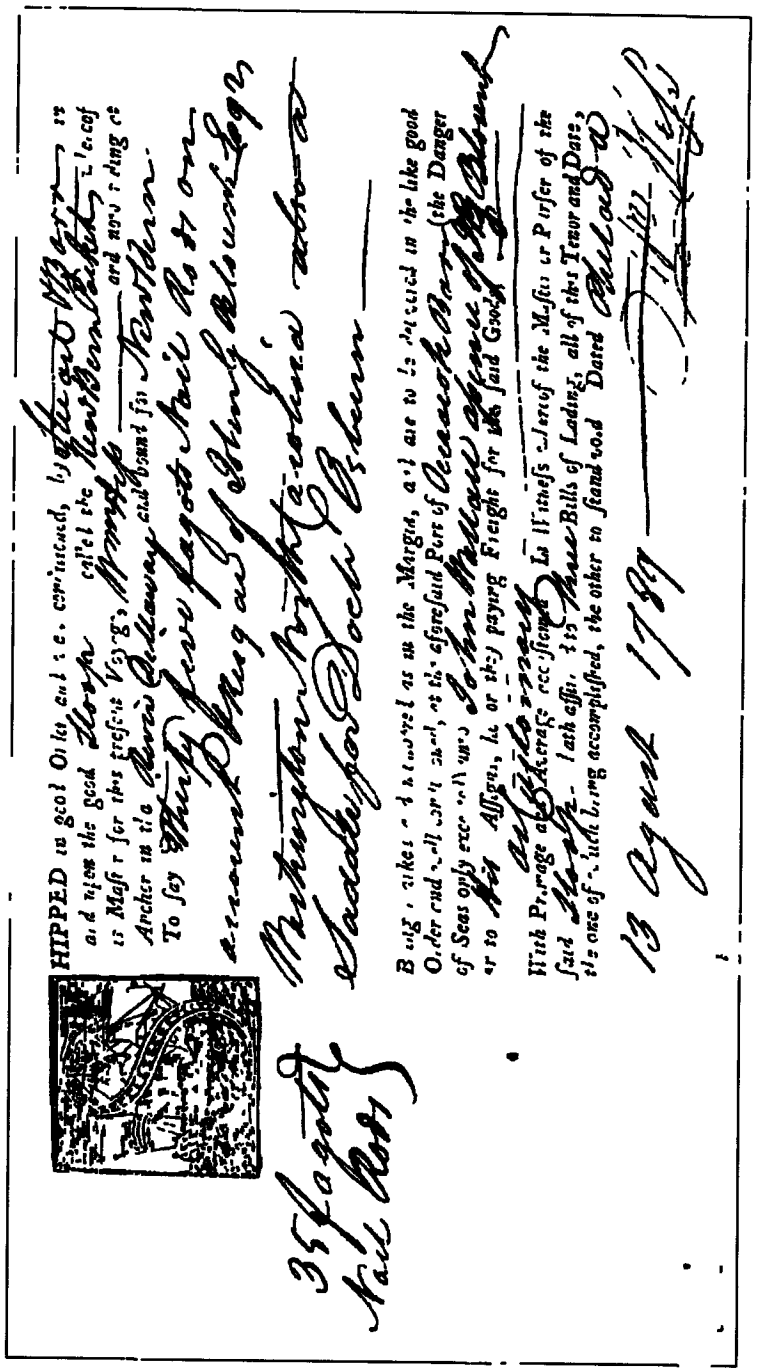


Figure 11 Stuart & Barr Bill of Lading (Source John G Blount Papers, NCDAH)

arrival, James Barr asked Blount and Wallace to dispose of the naval stores at the best advantage, however, if unable to sell the staves or ship them to Philadelphia, then the goods were to be stored at the Castle [96] Six weeks later James Barr expressed concern about the cost of storage at the Castle and the risk of storm damage He directed Blount to try to dispose of the staves in Charleston if a profit could be made Two weeks later, Barr gave his consent to sell the staves for a promissory note just to unload the staves [97]

Like Stuart and Barr, Blount and Wallace used the Castle as staging point for their larger vessels The *Tuley* returned from England and anchored at Shell Castle on Thursday, 5 November 1795 There she transferred the dry goods into the sloop *Beaver*, which conveyed them to Washington arriving on Sunday The *Beaver* off loaded the dry goods and took on a load of salt for the schooner *Regulator*, which waited at the Bar [98]

Other merchants came to see the benefit of using Shell Castle as an entrepôt Wallace informed his partner in 1795 that "our wharf is a full of lumber and loads coming every day a great many people want to store with us more then I can take" One merchant from Amboy with ties to Philadelphia who was "much pleased" with the Shell Castle business inquired about investing $20,000 and storing lumber at the Castle [99] Some merchants requested support for making or repairing barrels Freshly salted fish often needed to be repacked before final shipment Benjamin Coakley, an Albemarle Sound merchant, delivered 211

barrels of fresh salted fish, and expected that nearly a day would be spent at the Castle repacking the barrels [100]

Until 1800, however, custom regulations and the lack of a resident customs officer at Ocracoke Inlet limited the optimal use of the Castle as an entrepôt Regulations required that a customs inspector be in attendance when bulk was being broken and goods landed Prior to the relocation of James Taylor, a customs inspector, to Portsmouth in 1800, dry goods and crates were lightered and sent up to Washington or New Bern to be "entered" or cleared through customs Then an inspector would be taken to the Castle to observe the transfer of bulk items such as salt Invariably this procedure entailed delays and expense that were relieved with Captain Taylor's relocation [101]

The efficient operation of the Blount-Wallace enterprise required constant communication and explicit directions to coordinate the loading of multiple vessels with goods from many different landings that were destined for multiple locations John G Blount, upon departing Washington for the North Carolina Assembly, provided a detailed letter to Wallace directing the disposition of his vessels and cargoes in his absence

> The *Russell* will be down with the *Grampus*, her lighter, when the load is out of her she may be employed until the *Tuley* arrives if anything to do, and when she does arrive, Gorham to take the dry goods & some crates of crockery and come up to enter and take down an officer to see the salt measured[,] two to three thousand bushells of which to be put on board the *Grampus* and sent up to Coakley with some crates of crockery[ ] as she returns she gets a freight back to the Castle from Pasquotank or else where, then run up to Pungo to load for the *Tuley*, When the *Tuley* can come over the swash she is to come up If 2500

> bushells with what salt you may want will lighten her enough for that, the *Grampus* need take no more, The *Tuley* is to proceed to the West Indies with Lumber &c [102]

Blount continued to give strict direction to Wallace to find out where lumber could best be marketed and to send the *Russell* there Blount had heard rumors of a hurricane at Providence and believed that if confirmed then that would make a profitable destination Blount understood that Wallace, being closer to the markets and having access to more recent information about goods in demand there, could make more informed cargo and destination decisions so he gave Wallace some latitude He continued his letter writing, "If herring will answer, let her take them at the Castle," and concluding with the request, "Pray direct all my vessels when down there for the best "[103]

Despite the close communication between Blount and Wallace, the partners could not coordinate all their actions in advance Wallace often took advantage of market intelligence to add cargoes or change a vessel's destination as the ship left the Castle In 1793, Wallace placed 16,000 shingles on board a vessel, but he was uncertain that Blount would approve his independent actions He informed the captain that the shingles would be sold to Blount's account for the voyage if Blount agreed, however, if Blount did not accept the freight, then Wallace would accept the risk on his own account [104]

Blount's need to provide strict direction and Wallace's uncertainty that his decisions would be readily agreed to probably stemmed from their experiences at

the beginning of the Shell Castle partnership Blount apparently had some reservations about Wallace's ability to manage the complex operations beyond piloting and lightering Wallace perceived his partner's anxiety and in September 1790, Wallace repeatedly assured Blount that he is attending to the important matters and not to worry Wallace asked Blount to "rest easy about my taking care for my all is in it" Later in the same letter, Wallace broke off from discussing issues related to the porpoise fishery declaring, "I will be content for fear you should think that I neglect the Castle in talking of other business I care not for anything else "[105]

Ship Stores Operations

Perhaps it was the fear Blount felt about Wallace's ability to conduct the day to day operations that delayed the opening of the ship's chandlery business at the Castle By early 1792, the chandlery still had not been opened at the Castle Major James Mountflorence, the visitor who earlier commented on the viability of the Shell Castle enterprise, also informed Blount that a "Ship Chandler's Shop kept at the Castle would be a very profitable business" In the same letter, Mountflorence confirmed Blount's reluctance to entrust the retail end of operations solely to Wallace, writing "it is a pity that you have not yet come across a Suitable Person to prosecute so lucrative a plan" He also discussed details of the lightering business with Wallace and judged that although John

Wallace was a good waterman and lightering manager, he was not the person to operate the store [106]

Two weeks later actions to open the store gained new momentum and circumvented the employment of Wallace as the store operator Blount had identified a clerk to operate the store at the Castle and wanted his partner's agreement to hire the young man Wallace tentatively agreed pending his meeting with the proposed clerk to verify his character The Shell Castle partner agreed to travel to Beaufort to meet the youth and to bring him back if he approved of him Wallace also agreed to open the store and asked Blount to send down the goods There remained some question in Wallace's mind however about the credit practices of his partner Wallace believed in a strictly cash operation and he warned Blount about allowing credit at the store by advising him that "I hope you do not think of tusting [trusting selling on credit] of anything at this place if you do we shall do nothing "[107] Within another two weeks Wallace informed his partner that he was enroute from Beaufort where he interviewed the clerk and was bringing the boy who was to run the store back to Shell Castle The new clerk asked for and Wallace agreed to a first year salary of forty dollars Wallace also announced he was ready to receive any goods for the store [108]

The store at the Castle opened in March 1792 with goods shipped from Blount's main location at Washington In his first status report on sales Wallace reported that 'nothing sells so well as Rum It is the best thing to sell here'

Incredibly, the hogshead of rum supplied by Blount was nearly empty in just four to five weeks, which would translate to an average of nearly two gallons sold per day Other items that Wallace felt would do well were pork and flour, which would move at the price asked Also, tobacco would sell for eight pence and spirits of turpentine for a "quarter of a dollar and not more" As summer approached, Wallace advised that candles, nails, soap and lard would be in demand Another item that proved to be in demand at the Castle were whetstones After one shipment was sold out, 20-30 pounds of additional "oil stone" were ordered after more people kept asking for them Two items were overpriced for the local market because of quality and price The molasses was "very thin and high," and the cordage was "so bad" that Wallace could "not sell one pound' [109]

The shipment of goods from Washington to the Castle to stock the opening of the store apparently raised the price of many of the items above market demand Wallace noted that he approved of a plan by Blount to order goods from merchants in New York City and have them shipped directly to Shell Castle "Anything shipped from Washington hear will not Quit [pay the] cost," Wallace informed his partner Shortly after that letter, Wallace was added to the approved list of contacts to conduct business with the New York firm of Schermerhorn & Sons in October 1792 This plan allowed the Shell Castle store to avoid paying freight costs up to and from Washington in order to reduce costs and retail prices [110]

Rum remained the best seller at the store throughout the summer and into the fall Consumption appeared to decline somewhat on a per day basis, however In October, a clerk reported that thirteen and one-half gallons had been consumed in a three-week period that averaged just over one-half gallon per day A large portion of that consumption probably went to John Wallace whom the clerk reported was drunk four times a week [111]

Among other items, spoilage and leakage hurt sales In June 1793, a hogshead of tobacco was discovered to be rotten Wallace refused to accept it and lamented the need to return it to Blount because of the lost sales "as there is not one pound here and has been this day ten people after tobacco not one pound sold" Leakage also affected sales Two of the twelve bottles of spirits of turpentine sent from Washington arrived at the Castle half empty [112]

Bulkier items also found themselves marketed at the Castle Shoe leather consisting of hides of sole leather and uppers leather were shipped to the Castle in June 1793 The sole leather was retailed at two-thirds of a dollar per pound Wallace was able to achieve quick inventory turnover on one shipment of naval stores He received eighty-five barrels of pitch and tar on 27 April and by 1 May had sold the tar for twelve shillings hard currency [113]

Foodstuffs were always in demand at the Castle for use by locals or vessels departing on voyages In 1806, Lieutenant Alexander Henderson of the Revenue Cutter *Governor Williams* purchased a barrel of fish for four dollars and a barrel of corn for three dollars [114] Wallace was constantly ordering corn and pork for

use at the Castle and accounting for the goods was difficult to track On one occasion, shortly after the store opened, however, Wallace stipulated how the two barrels of pork he ordered should be charged He asked for one barrel on the Store's account and one charged to him On other instances, Wallace placed his personal requests or "beggings" at the end of his letters [115]

Wallace was susceptible to the "beggings" of others despite his professed desire to operate a cash and carry operation Shortly after the store opened, Wallace lent a barrel of pork to a local man This was surprising given that Wallace had already stated his views on giving credit and he knew that it would displease his partner Nevertheless, the man may have been a worker for Wallace, and Wallace may have believed that since the man's alternative was to hire a boat and sail to Washington to get the pork, Wallace might get more work done at the Castle through the loan [116]

John Wallace must have been a difficult person to work for at the Castle In the first six months that the store was open, at least three different people worked as clerks The clerk hired at the end of February from Beaufort lasted only one month But that was three weeks longer than his replacement In April 1792, Wallace hired his nephew as a store clerk, however, one week later, Wallace fired him and told his partner that he had sent the boy away because "he would do more harm in one day than good in ten " Wallace implored Blount to send him a boy who "will obey and reson "[117]

Six months later, a new clerk worked at the Castle and he too had issues with Wallace William Smith wrote John G Blount for store supplies in September and therefore must have been hired between April and September [118] Smith informed Blount how things stood at the Castle in a confidential letter "It is impossible for me to keep a true account of things that is sold out of the store for when he [John Wallace] sends me enny whire after his business " he declared, "He sell things and never sets enny thing over in the book if he was to tells me what he has sold " Wallace was also "tight" with the cash drawer as Smith complained that he never had enough money to make change for people and he felt that Wallace considered him almost a "thief and a rogue" by taking all the money with him when he left the store Smith wanted Blount to intercede with Wallace and to inform him whether or not he could keep enough petty cash on hand to make change as well as to have purchase authority to buy goods and cloth from Northern vessels for resale at the store Fearing retribution for his end run to Blount, Smith asked Blount to reply via "cearful [sic] hand or nother "[119]

Smith's intelligence report and the high turnover in clerks during the first year of the store's operations must have confirmed for Blount the accuracy of his judgment not to allow Wallace to run the store without help Wallace had already allowed credit for goods, failed to record sales, and been drunk most of time--- probably on the store's rum for which he didn't pay In order to keep things under control, clerks would assist Wallace in managing the store's operations until Wallace's death in 1810 But not even the clerks could overcome Wallace's

aversion to paper work Wallace's inattention to the books continued to plague the management of the store and tavern In 1795, Blount requested an update on the "public's" books Although Wallace promised to "attend to it as soon as it is convenient," he often failed to find it convenient Five years later, Wallace responded to another Blount request for a status report with a reply that he was waiting assistance from Captain James Taylor and he reassured his partner that he would send the books up by the first opportunity [120]

The tavern operation was probably inseparable from the store operations, at least at first—especially judging by the quantity of rum sales The tavern at Shell Castle offered lodging, food and beverage The second floor offered lodging and special accommodations Wallace gave the three commissioners conducting the 1806 Survey of the North Carolina Coast a "suitable place for retirement for the undisturbed transaction of official business"[121] The lodging rooms offered accommodations to several people who shared a room, which was common around 1800 Nathaniel Pinkham was named in a letter as being the tavern keeper at Shell Castle He had been a crewmember of the fishery operations in the early 1790s and frequently master of one of the Blount-Wallace lighters but apparently had retired from active service on the water by 1805 [122] Wallace ordered Windsor chairs from New York for the Tavern in 1803, some of these were probably part of the twenty-two listed in Wallace's probate inventory seven years later [123]

Taverns were common throughout North Carolina by the end of 1700s Most often they were located at ferry crossings and courthouses Travelers

frequently sought rest and refreshment in taverns while awaiting the ferryman Given Shell Castle's isolated location and the amount of time mariners and passengers were forced to wait for a favorable wind or lightering, it is not surprising that a tavern would be operated at the Castle In addition to the best seller rum, taverns also offered wines, such as claret and madeira, and beer Porter, the popular early nineteenth century beer variety was imported from Liverpool, New York or Philadelphia In 1792, an order for bottled porter to be shipped to the Castle from New York went unfilled because of the high cost [124] Shell Castle's tavern frequently offered a haven for passengers, mariners, and agents of wrecked vessels that were awaiting salvage

Salvage Operations

"Wrecking" was a common enterprise among people of the Outer Banks Many Bankers supplemented their livelihoods through goods acquired from the many shipwrecks After the hurricane of 1806, as many as thirty vessels were cast away near Ocracoke Inlet alone including the two Revenue Cutters Wallace spent considerable time and effort managing salvage operations Although most people followed the law, many took advantage of the isolated area of the wrecks to seize what they could before the goods could be properly sold at vendue Many also took advantage of the distressed vessel's captain and owners by charging high prices for salvage services [125]

The August 1795 hurricane that left Shell Castle with less than "20 shillings of damage" wrecked a large number of vessels from Cape Lookout to Cape Hatteras and ignited a mini-industry as Wallace reported "everybody here is busy wrecking" Wallace promised to be vigilant for a "chance of speculation" Wallace pursued the "speculation" by attending vendues In December 1795 he traveled to Cape Hatteras for the sale of a "stranded vessel" Wallace's attempts at wrecking achieved differing results Earlier in 1795, Wallace had tried to raise a brig belonging to Boston, but after he had spent as much as the agents for the lost vessel had authorized for the recovery effort, he gave up Wallace was disappointed by his lack of success because "she is a fine vessel "[126]

Salvaging operations generally brought better results, however Wallace salvaged two brigs in 1793 He recovered the spars and anchors from one brig and planned to reuse the spars on a brig that he was either building or repairing at the Castle He also planned on burning the vessel to salvage the iron Old anchors and iron recovered from wrecks were shipped to Philadelphia to be sold by the pound for 6 1/2 to 7 1/2 pennies per pound [127]

Wallace believed in "turning a penny wherever it be got" especially in his salvage operations He charged his clients for almost every action undertaken on their behalf at the Castle Several times he seemed to have pushed his business dealings to the edge In 1805, agents for a Spanish brig, *Nuestra Señora del Carmine*, brought suit against John Wallace over the exorbitant fees he charged to salvage and store part of the brig's cargo that had been wrecked at Ocracoke

Wallace's account of his services provided interesting insights into the operations at the Castle The bill provided data on wharfage, cooperage, storage, salvage, provision sales, and notary public services Wallace stored twenty-three barrels of molasses on the wharf for 25¢ a month per barrel for two months that amounted to $11 50 The barrels needed repair and Wallace deducted a fee for each step in the preparation of the molasses barrels Wallace supplied one oak barrel for one dollar, one empty hogshead for three dollars and, one gall to start the molasses into for $1 50 In addition to supplies, Wallace's labor charges amounted to four dollars for hands to assist and remove the molasses, another four dollars for "starting the molasses into other casks," and three dollars for cooperage Storage costs varied, probably based on the item's bulk and value One box of sugar and one barrel of molasses were stored for 25¢, and a number of trunks and boxes were kept for the same fee The sails and materials saved from the Brig, however, cost five dollars to be stored at the Castle

The largest single dollar value entry was a charge of $837 50 for service rendered handling the brig's cargo of hides Wallace employed his hands to attend to the "drying, saving, carrying into the Store, (when Dry) and storing 3,430 Spanish Hides for two months on Shell Castle and its tenements at an average price on the whole of 25 cents each" The suit also recorded several miscellaneous sales Wallace also sold two barrels of water for 25¢ each which was comparatively inexpensive as Wallace bought molasses at 29¢ per gallon Wallace also notarized the protest document of the vessel's wrecking for a one-

dollar fee using his position as notary public Another single line item offered a glimpse into the maritime community and the isolated location of the Castle Wallace operated a tender or water taxi service as he put a Mr Rhebo "on board a vessel in the Roads" for a two-dollar fee [128]

The records of the suit of the *Nuestra Señora Del Carmine* demonstrated that Wallace profited from the coopering, warehousing, and salvaging operations Shell Castle was much in demand as an entrepôt for its warehouse and support facilities As early as the spring 1795, the Castle's storage facilities were loaded to capacity Wallace reported that "our wharf is full of lumber and loads coming every day more than I can take "[129]

Miscellaneous Operations

In addition to the major operations, there is some evidence that several other minor activities were carried on at the Castle David Stick states that Wallace operated a gristmill and a windmill at the Castle [130] Research of the extant print record failed to indicate that a mill was ever built at the Castle In one reference, Wallace requested that Blount send down a shipment of whole corn because Wallace claimed that he could "always grind it finer than when it comes from the mills " This statement indicated Wallace had access to a gristmill, but did not necessarily operate the mill At Ocracoke, a mill would probably have had to operate by wind since no water was available to turn a wheel The Liverpool

ware pitcher showed no mill at the Castle at the time the illustration was drafted Although not conclusive in itself because the windmill could have been built after the illustration was made, other evidence indicated that Wallace had access to another windmill that appeared on the Cole-Price *Chart of the Coast of North Carolina* That 1806 chart showed a windmill on Portsmouth Island near David Wallace Senior's house, but did not indicate that one existed at the Castle [131] (See Figure 12)

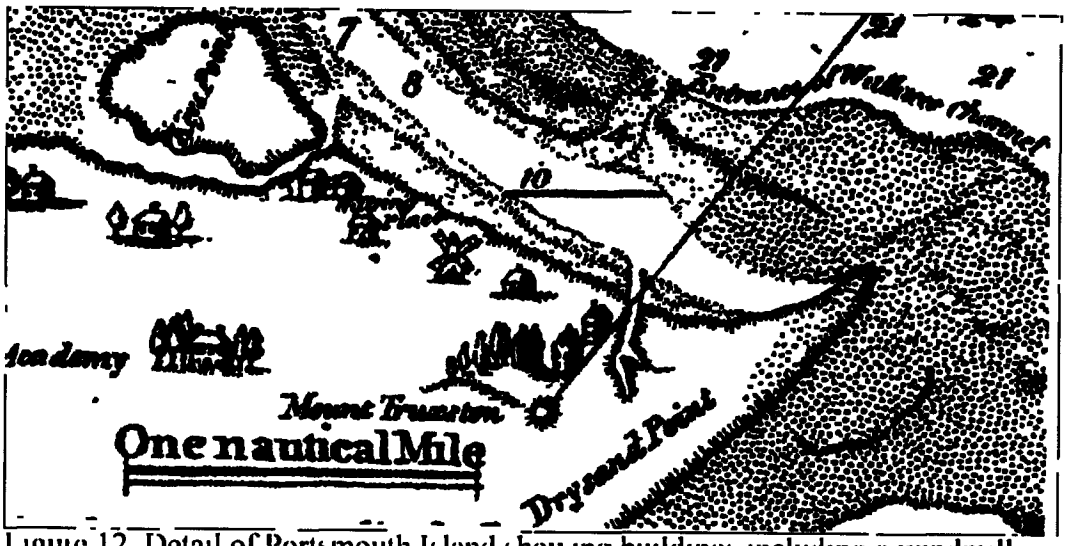


Figure 12 Detail of Portsmouth Island showing buildings including a windmill and Academy from Coles and Price's "A Chart of the Coast of North Carolina between Cape Hatteras and Cape Fear, 1806" (Source File H-22,RG 77, NAII)

The first reference to a windmill at the Castle appeared obliquely in a letter from one of Blount s business contacts in 1816 Everard Hall wrote John G Blount and referenced seeing "a machine of yours for pumping water by wind" This windmill at the western end of the Castle was designed to aid the saltworks

that had been built there The saltworks appeared first in the record in 1811, and the windmill could have been built close to that time [132] Windmills were common in Virginia in the eighteenth century, but were rare in North Carolina After 1800, windmills would become more common along the Outer Banks Two charts of Ocracoke Inlet from 1821 and 1826 indicated windmills at both Portsmouth and Ocracoke, but not at Shell Castle [133]

Wallace and his family conducted minor cottage businesses that appeared to be done as favors for the Blount family They made bed ticks, cotton cloth, trousers, and children's' shoes The family spun raw cotton and wool into yarn and then produced finished goods The wool was gathered from the sheep kept on Portsmouth Island In 1792, Wallace was making bed ticks for Mrs Blount and he apologized for their being over due, but he had had a "plague of a time in getting the stuff dyed " The bed ticks were difficult to complete Wallace began weaving them in February and completed them on 16 April 1792 He also produced "homespun cloth for trousers" that he forwarded for Thomas Blount in 1793 Wallace also worked his family and hands as cobblers Wallace repeated his excuses at not delivering goods on time writing, "have not yet time to have the children's shoes made but shall be done as soon as possible "[134]

Blount and Wallace created a dynamic operations center from which to control the shipping endeavors of the Blount mercantile business and to service its clients The operations at Shell Castle reflected the entire

spectrum of coastal businesses lightering, piloting, fishing, warehousing, shipment coordinating, providing transportation support services, and several minor cottage industries The goods that flowed through Shell Castle and the ships that carried them, however, represented another significant area of operations for the Blounts and Wallace

Ships and the Shipping Network

The shipping network and the vessels operated by the Blounts covered a wide range of operations The Blounts owned and operated ships, brigs, schooners, sloops, and flats The flats transferred goods and produce from river landings, such as Tarborough, to Washington where the Tar River opened into Pamlico Sound From there other vessels carried the trade to various parts of North Carolina's sounds and they also spread out from the nexus of Ocracoke south to the West Indies, north to mid-Atlantic ports and northeast—following the Gulf Stream to Dublin, Liverpool, and Cadiz The shipping operations used both masters and supercargoes Blount's masters ranged from the novice to seasoned mariners capable of dealing with the intricacies of the marketing commodities in the West Indies At the receiving end, the Blounts had arranged a network of merchants to handle their business and to arrange for cargoes and, at times, insurance This section depicts the extent and nature of ship construction

involved with Shell Castle operations and outlines the shipping network that fed cargoes into the Castle

North Carolina has not been widely acknowledged as a shipbuilding center, however, a considerable number of vessels were constructed there Many of the vessels operated by the Blount-Wallace partnership were built along the sounds or at Shell Castle itself The Blounts used at least three shipwrights in the 1780s and 1790s In 1789, Benjamin Russell received a contract to build a ship for the Blounts at his shipyard in Washington where he had a brig and a sloop on the stocks The other two shipbuilders were John Young and Henry Tuley who built vessels under contract in the 1790s The Blounts evidently favored their shipwrights by naming vessels for them Three brigs carried the names *Russell, Young,* and *Tuley* [135]

John Young built the much-needed second lighter for the partnership in 1792 He laid the keel in February, and seven months later was ready to caulk the new lighter Wallace was eager to order canvas for the new boat when he had first learned about the contract, but by September the new sails still had not been received Wallace sent the oakum from the Castle to Young's shipyard so he could apply the caulking and launch the *Beaver* Wallace hoped Young would be finished in October so he could begin employing the lighter Young delivered the *Beaver* sometime from October 1792 to the following April when Wallace first reports the vessel's employment as a lighter [136]

Apparently a construction timetable of one year was too long because four years later Blount pushed Henry Tuley to adhere to a tighter timeline Henry Tuley, the semiliterate shipwright who built a number of vessels for the Blounts, reported in March 1796 that he had put two strakes on the vessel and promised to have it complete to the gunwales in two weeks Tuley employed a slave named Polepris to fire the wood and bend it to the frames In June, Tuley admitted that he had missed Blount's deadline after which Blount had written that "if the vessels was not launched" he cared "not when" Bad weather delayed work on the *Grampus* according to Tuley who declared that he had been able to work on the vessel for only eight days due to continual rain He had done considerable work in the available time, however Tuley reported that he had almost laid the deck and had completed nearly two-thirds of the caulking up to the bends It would be another seven weeks before Tuley completed the lighter that he called "well constructed for the porpus[sic] intended" Blount paid Tuley in corn and cash In March, Tuley had requested 18 barrels of corn and one barrel of hog's lard, and when he sent the *Grampus* to Washington, he asked for the final $300 payment [137] The *Grampus* had been built in six months, half the time Young spent building the *Beaver*, but even that was too long

Vessels built in North Carolina had a poor reputation One visitor described North Carolina ships as having been "'put together entirely of pine timber quickly rotting under water. but lasting well above ground '"[138] The general indictment of Carolina shipwrights, however, was applied directly to brigs *Tuley* and *Russell* in

1794 when John Smith sailed the brig *Tuley* to Liverpool Smith closed his letter to John G Blount with an editorial, "Dam Carolina for shipbuilding The *Tuley* kept us well employ'd at the pumps and at tar" He also reported that the *Russell*, another of Blount's North Carolina built brigs, "behaved worse than ever"[139]

Perhaps because of the reputedly poor quality of vessels built by others, Wallace decided to set up his own shipyard at the Castle In December 1795, Wallace was ready to sheath several vessels on the stocks at Shell Castle, however, the nails he received were too small He sent one to his partner for an example of the nails' being "too short by an inch and half and too small by one half" Wallace pointed out that the sheathing board was one inch thick and the mixture of pitch, lime land and hair added another inch and required "a nail to be as long as a doubleton" to hold [140]

Wallace also conducted preventive maintenance on vessels at the Castle In 1793, he had carcened and graved the lighter *Beaver* with a mixture of his own formula The *Beaver* received two coats of rosin and whale oil, which were mixed one barrel of rosin to four gallons of oil for the cleaning Wallace proudly wrote, "I think it is the best ever was put on a vessel bottom"[141]

Space at the Castle was at a premium Wallace could either build and repair vessels or store lumber, but he couldn't do both Wallace had received paper from New York and hair from Abner Neale, a North Carolina leather merchant He ordered 50,000 nails from John G Blount that he needed "as soon as possible suitable for this work as I want much to get the vessels completed, people

pressing me very much to land timber" Wallace also noted that he needed plank for "sheathing the port's [ms torn, but probably wharves]" [142]

The record is unclear as to the types of vessels Wallace was building and no other mention of construction at the Castle was found in the record However, it was probable that the boats were small purpose-built boats for use lightering or fishing based on the small width of the sheathing In addition, the Castle probably operated more profitably as a warehouse than as a shipyard In 1800, Wallace mentioned that he could replace two lighters he was considering to sell with new ones "built as will do for this navigation on good terms"[143] Since he considered contracting and not building them at the Castle, Wallace seemed to have given up the shipbuilding portion of the Castle's enterprise In addition, the hypothesis that assets had been converted to more profitable operations was reinforced when Wallace sent the *Beaver* to New Bern to be graved in 1797 instead of applying his own "best ever" concoction at the Castle [144]

Wallace and Blount routinely traded in buying and selling vessels One of the two lighters Wallace considered selling was the *Beaver*, built by John Young in 1792 Just eight years old, Wallace called the boat "old" and looked to turn a penny's profit from the sale Wallace noted that the positive cash flow from the purchase would benefit his partner who was still in need of cash The other lighter Wallace wanted to unload on Captain Taylor was the *Flounder* Wallace had purchased it just six months earlier probably to replace the *Grampus* that had been lost in the Caribbean in 1799, and he agreed to a price of $832 50 for the lighter

and two ship's boats The purchase price was to be paid by bartering for "lightcrage and pilotage" Also in 1800, the partners sold the forty-two ton schooner *Caleb* in another barter arrangement for $1,150 in corn at two dollars per bushel and oak stave heading at sixteen dollars per thousand The *Caleb* had been built in Tyrell County, North Carolina in 1797 [145]

In 1804, John Wallace purchased the remaining half interest in the schooner *Shell Castle* from the estate of his brother Reuben Wallace He paid $1,500 for the "boat, material & appurtenances as she stands" Four years earlier, Wallace had called the *Shell Castle* "the right size for our navigation" because she carried 200-250 barrels which recommended Wallace's purchase of the remaining interest [146]

Merchant Networks

The shipping operations of the Blounts navigated the unified Atlantic trading area Goods flowed from the European ports of Dublin, Liverpool, and Cadiz, from major seaports of the northern States, and from the West Indies through Ocracoke and Shell Castle to North Carolina's Sounds Voyages of the brig *Tuley* were illustrative of the Blount-Wallace trade network The brig made voyages from North Carolina to Liverpool by way of Philadelphia and from Liverpool to Washington Then the vessel made a round trip voyage to Jamaica from Washington before sailing again to Liverpool

Central to the shipping operations was contact with merchants at each port The Blounts made arrangements with merchants in distant ports to act as resale agents on a commission basis The distant merchants handled all transactions on consignment for a negotiated percent of the sales price, generally ranging from three to ten percent

The Blounts operated as shipping agents for many merchants and produce growers in North Carolina Blount and Wallace used their vessels to move their own goods as well as offering a freight service This provided the opportunity to keep the Blount's vessels more fully loaded and employed in addition to adding additional income through the freight charges Blount accepted requests from fellow merchant planters to provide for the loading of goods from various landings throughout coastal Carolina and then for disposition of the cargo at distant markets [147]

The key merchants Blount and Wallace dealt with in North Carolina were located in communities throughout the tidewater areas of the Albemarle, Pamlico and Neuse River, such as Bensborough, Town Creek and Princeton These planter merchants shipped goods to the West Indies, Europe and Northern markets and ordered goods from those destinations as well Blount and Wallace arranged shipment for loading at Tarboro, Greenville and Speirs Landing In addition, John Wallace piloted vessels up the Albemarle Sound to Edenton and above, as well as up the Neuse River to New Bern [148]

The Bensborough planter Ben Atkinson was the largest single client to use the shipping services of the Blounts from 1794 through 1796 In 1795, Atkinson arranged to have delivered to the Blount's for shipping 1,265 barrels of naval stores, 310 barrels of pork, 190 barrels of corn, in addition to 280 tierces of bacon and one barrel of beeswax Atkinson's goods were destined for northern ports in Virginia and Maryland and for Europe Other merchant planters placed shipment orders to deliver goods to Philadelphia and Norfolk

The merchant planters also directed Blount to fulfill orders for goods from the distant ports Benjamin Coakley, who owned his own vessels, still used the Blount's trading network to supplement his needs In March 1795, Coakley ordered salt, molasses, nails, hoes, pipes, paper, handkerchiefs, and gunpowder Later that year he sent goods to Shell Castle for transshipment [149]

The most important nexus on the shipping routes operated by the Blounts from 1783 to 1796 was Philadelphia During the Confederation and early Federal periods, Philadelphia was the nation's most important port In addition to the commercial opportunity, Philadelphia possessed the added benefit of being the nation's capital where several of the Blount's friends could act as agents when not engaged in running the government [150] The Blounts established ties with the Philadelphia merchant house, Stewart & Barr in 1783 Thomas Blount traveled to Philadelphia on his way to Europe to set up the marketing network vital to eighteenth century trading Initial transactions and correspondence indicated that both sides were wary of risking too much with an unproven client Over time,

however, Stewart & Barr would become the key contact for the Blount's in the Northern trade, and the personal relationship between James Barr and John G Blount would become deeper [151]

Stewart & Barr set up shop at 100 Front Street on the street's westside between Walnut and Spruce where "the mercantile community seemed to rally in this immediate compass" Situated in the heart of the merchant district, James Stewart and James Barr were described as "Shipping Merchant," however, from the brief nature of their mention in listing of Philadelphia merchants, they were respectable but minor players Stewart and Barr were neighbors of merchant firms of Peter Blight and Cunningham and Nesbitt The Blount and Wallace vessels probably tied up at the public landing at Walnut Street alongside of which all types of vessels "could and did lie snug and safe," and which was just a block away from 100 Front Street [152] Stewart and Barr charged a two and one-half percent commission for handling the Blount's business [153]

At the time Shell Castle was established, another Philadelphia shipping firm entered the Blount merchant network Flahavan and Wilcox sometimes shipped vessels for trade between North Carolina and Philadelphia with salt being shipped south and tobacco north Flahavan and Wilcox never developed the close ties like those exhibited between Blount and Barr In addition, Flahavan and Wilcox were more stringent regarding lay days and delays in loading [154]

By the late 1790s, the Blount's trading network had expanded and increased its ties with New York This change probably reflected both the increasing

importance of New York as a port and the relocation of the government from Philadelphia New York would be the second most important U S port for the Blount network Since the 1780s, the Blount's had conducted business with Schermerhorn & Sons, located on South Street By 1793, Blount had begun dealing with Josiah Adams & Company and Loomis & Tillingast Both firms shipped goods to market in North Carolina for Blount to manage the sale of chairs, hats, Russian duck, twine and varnish [155] Peter Schermerhorn agreed to act as supplier and reseller of goods for the Shell Castle operations in 1792 In October, he acknowledged that he would accept consignment shipments and orders from John Wallace in addition to the Blount brothers The first Shell Castle shipment consisted of seventy barrels of tar, fifty barrels of rosin and eight casks of spirits turpentine [156]

Blount and Wallace also frequently shipped goods and vessels via Norfolk Blount directed vessels to call at Norfolk en route to Northern and European destinations or West Indies ports in order to inquire about market conditions and to lay in provisions Blount's captains and super cargoes dealt mainly with the firm of Pennock and Company, a branch office of the firm Pennock, Nicholson and Shipwith, a Richmond firm [157] Portsmouth sometimes substituted for Norfolk as vessels delivered produce or picked up market information Blount and Wallace's vessels also cleared for the other major American ports of the period In 1790s, Boston and Alexandria appeared in the record Blount shipped a cargo turpentine, rosin, pitch and white oak staves valued at £97 1s 6d to Thomas

Russell in Boston in 1791 Vessels also called at Baltimore and Charleston [158] In 1805, twenty-nine barrels of rosin were shipped to A C Schneeman in Baltimore Schneeman obtained thirty-nine dollars for six barrels and offered to broker up to one hundred barrels at a time for Blount on future shipments and to provide wholesale supply for any kind of goods the firm might want [159]

The shipping network established by the Blounts in the 1780s included extensive contact in the West Indies, England, and Ireland The West Indies trade represented an important proportion of the Blount trading network with naval stores, lumber, staves, produce and fish being shipped to the islands and coffee, sugar, molasses, fruit, cash, rum, and salt carried on the return voyage West Indies destinations for Blount vessels varied over time depending on the market conditions and trade restrictions imposed by England and France to their colonial possessions The importance of a reliable merchant contact at foreign West Indies ports increased because of the trading restrictions imposed at different ports American vessels were prevented from trading at British ports by the Navigation acts, however, a brisk illicit trade took place throughout the Indies The Blount/Wallace trading activities were directly affected by world trading conditions Lumber and foodstuffs from North Carolina were in constant demand in the West Indies and frequently in high demand following hurricane damage It was frequently the local merchants who found avenues to avoid the port restrictions William Duncan, a Jamaican merchant, recommended that Blount hire non-American ship's masters to avoid the discrimination against the Yankee

master He also provided instructions on how to prepare multiple bills of lading to avoid violations of the trade restrictions One of Blounts masters followed the advice of a resident merchant and obtained a false French registry of his vessel in order to gain access to the French ports

Vessels operated by Wallace and Blount called at Jamaica, Cuba, St Bartholomews, Martinique, St Eustatius, St Croix, Port Au Prince, Granada, and the Bahamas [160] In Jamaica, Duncan provided service in the northern ports of Montego Bay, Port Maria and Orcabassa In Kingston to the south, Blount dealt with Richard Lake, brother to the Lake brothers of Liverpool Additionally, some cargoes were consigned to Ballantine-Fairlee and Company Fulwar Skipwith offered his services at St Pierre in Martinique [161] Across the Atlantic, the Blounts dealt mostly with firms at Liverpool Over the years they came to trust certain merchants while they refused to deal with others They dealt with William Charles Lake who handled the sale of goods shipped to England and procured cargoes for the *Tuley* and *Russell* Lake had been part of a partnership with his brother until 1793, but he then continued as a merchant broker for the Blounts [162] Trade was also conducted at times with Dublin and Cadiz, however, these ports seem to have declined in use as the relationship with the Lakes developed to handle the Blount's business to a better return with quality English goods

Not all of the business relationships with distant merchants, however, worked as well as the association of the Blounts and the Lakes Firms that disappointed the Blounts in service or quality of products quickly fell out of favor

and use The Blounts had dealt at times with the Liverpool firm of Gilchrist and Barry in the early 1790s However, Gilchrist and Barry sorely disappointed the Blounts at least twice In 1793, Mr Lake had arranged a cargo of iron to be shipped by the Brig *Bell*, but he admitted to being "deceived in quantity of tons expected" The following year, the brig *Russell* arrived in Liverpool expecting a ready return shipment, but the dismayed master reported, "Mr Gilchrist and Barry had not ordered any thing that was to come by her, and if I had not arrived they were not agoing to ship anything in her, I think that plainly shews the confidence they have in Carolina Farmers"[163] Following these experiences, the Blounts refused to deal with the firm and went so far as to refuse to ship any goods from others in Blount vessels [164]

John Wallace developed his own relationships with these distant merchant based on his association with the Blount's business and then on his own Records show he clearly sent vessels to the Caribbean on his own account and dealt with various merchants Many captains and merchants communicated directly to Wallace for information intended for both Wallace and Blount William Armistead informed Wallace in November 1795 about current market conditions at Kingston, Jamaica and offered advice for future shipments Armistead advised Wallace's captains to call at Fort Morant to anchor there while the captain determined market conditions at Kingston Remaining at Fort Morant made it easier for vessels to continue on to the windward side of Jamaica instead of

calling at Kingston and then having to beat against the wind to reach a more favorable market on the windward side.[165]

Transit times from Ocracoke Inlet to the Caribbean depended on the weather and destination and varied from two to four weeks On one voyage to Kingston in 1800, Master Thomas Smith reported that he made the transit in 25 days and was delayed by a hurricane that washed a portion of his deck load and one of his deckhands "who didn't know how to hold on "[166] Another voyage to Kingston took only twenty days in June 1795 Captain Smith had better luck in January 1793 when he made a fifteen-day voyage to Cape Francois, however, a fellow captain had taken twenty-eight days to cover the same water in 1789 [167]

Blount and Wallace knew the standard transit times required for voyages and became worried about their investments if no word was had about their vessels after their expected arrival Unlike modern practice where insurance policies must be issued prior to coverage, federal period ship owners frequently waited until after a vessel was overdue to seek underwriting a policy Most commonly merchants and vessel owners from North Carolina sought underwriters from the major ports The owners would provide their contacts in those ports with the details related to the ship, its cargo, destination, and the type and amount of insurance requested [168] The merchant contact would then seek insurance

For example, John Wallace, anxious over the delayed arrival of the *Caleb,* notified John G Blount in May 1800 that he would wait for two to three more weeks after which if the vessel had failed to arrive he would forward a bill of

lading so that Blount could take out an insurance policy Blount found insurers in Philadelphia, New York and London Perhaps the most famous of insurance companies, Lloyd's insured the Blount Brig *Russell* in 1790 for £800 at a premium of £25 2s—approximately three percent Insurance premiums varied depending on the company, the reputation of the merchant, the destinations of the vessels, time of year for the voyage, and the international political situations The contact who arranged Blount's coverage by Lloyd's expressed his belief that such a low premium was due to the esteem in which the Blounts were held and the time of year for the *Russell*'s voyage In general, however, the contact confided that Lloyd's disliked the risks involved with the navigation into North Carolina's sounds and found the vessels and owners to be greater risks than those from other areas Peter Schermerhorn found it difficult to obtain insurance for the schooner *Pactolus* for a voyage from Washington North Carolina to Nassau Several companies refused to accept the risk, and those few willing to accept the risk asked for premiums of fifteen to twenty-five percent The high rates reflected the underwriters' fears of the outbreak of renewed hostilities between Britain and France [169]

Generally, insurance premiums averaged below 6 percent, however, during periods of hostilities they could soar to as much as 30 to 40 percent As tensions increased in the West Indies due to war between Britain and France in 1790s, however, insurance rates fluctuated widely In 1796, one North Carolina merchant paid a 15 to 20 percent premium, depending on the number of ports

visited, to insure his sloop and cargo "against all risk" for a West Indies cruise. Blount wrote William C. Lake, his Liverpool commercial contact, that "we in America are kept in constant allarm [sic] about the French capturing our vessells [sic] bound to British ports." He also admitted that if the French depredations proved to be true that he most probably would not ship anything more to England unless he were assured that the "advanced price of produce will reimburse us the additional ensurance [sic]."[170] France seized more than 330 American vessels and rates rose to nearly a third of the insured value in 1797.[171]

Blount and Wallace had good reason to be concerned for their vessels' safety during this period. The brigs *Russell* and *Tuley* fell prey to the French privateers and were condemned. The loss of the *Tuley* amounted to $9,000 for the vessel and $3,000 for the cargo, both of which were uninsured. Thomas Blount lamented that attempts to insure the vessel met with quotes for premium rates upward of thirty percent in Philadelphia and that owing to the "rascality" of two men from there it went uninsured.[172]

Thomas Blount's anger at the French and the underwriters vented itself in a letter to his brother in early 1798. He recommended keeping the vessels in port rather than attempting the venture with insurance rates as high as twenty percent each way from Philadelphia to Jamaica. He also railed that "in the present state of affairs to send her either to Europe or the West Indies would be little short of madness."[173] Despite his brother's recommendations, John G. Blount pressed the lighter *Grampus* into service to the Indies in the spring of 1798.

Thomas Blount's hopes for a "safe and prosperous" voyage were apparently ill met because the record is silent about the *Grampus* until one note discussing the "loss" of the vessel and the ensuing insurance dispute. The underwriters refused to pay the claim for the vessel that had been seized by a French privateer while en route to St. Bartholomews. The Blounts used the best legal advice available to press their claims against the insurers. Aaron Burr was retained to sue David Smith and Company of New York for the *Grampus*. In 1797, they sought a legal opinion from Alexander Hamilton regarding the seizure and sale of the *Russell* to a New Yorker.[174] Unfortunately, no mention has been found regarding the resolution of these claims.

Marketing and Development

To fully achieve the best advantage from the operations at Shell Castle and to increase the flow of goods through Ocracoke to the Blount Wallace enterprise, John G. Blount proceeded to promote the benefits of the Castle and the safety of sailing the waters there. The marketing of the place consisted of word of mouth, direct correspondence, publicity brochures, and promotional charts. Beginning almost as soon as the enterprise was begun, Blount extolled the virtues of the entrepôt. His actions and the word of those who saw the operation in action contributed to increase the business of the Blount and Wallace enterprise and to

increase the value of the land at Shell Castle as others sought to copy the business model of the Castle.

In 1789, Blount had his supercargoes and masters spread the word about the Castle. The ability to provide "dispatch" meant a quicker turn around for vessels and therefore a higher profit and would have been a key selling point in the choice of a port of call and commission merchant. John Scott referred a fellow captain, who planned on taking a load of rum, sugar, coffee, brandy and salt from Guadeloupe to North Carolina, to the Blounts and informed him about the "Castle and the intencion of it."[175] Several merchants observed first-hand the operations at the Castle. James Barr, the long time business associate from Philadelphia, thoroughly understood the opportunity and risks connected to the Castle's operations. George Nicolson, the Virginia merchant, also recognized the benefits the Castle afforded to improve "dispatch." He began using Wallace's services to direct the actions and destinations of his ships' masters in May 1790, nearly a year after Stuart and Barr began using the Castle.[176]

Blount worked to overcome several objections to conducting business with "Carolina Farmers." He had to alleviate concerns about the safety of vessels in North Carolina's notoriously treacherous waters, and to assure merchants that their vessels would be attended to rapidly with few lay days. In 1792, he worked with Hugh Williamson to provide a sketch of Shell Castle and the bar shoals to the government in response to a request concerning the preferred location of lighthouses on the coast.[177] Three years later, another close Blount associate,

Francis X. Martin, published "A Description of Occacock Inlet." This eight-page brochure and accompanying chart provided a natural history of the outer banks near Ocracoke and detailed sailing directions through the inlet.

Martin attempted to lessen the risks of the Outer Banks and to promote the benefits of Shell Castle. He acknowledged that the banks had been viewed by "seamen not well acquainted with them as extremely dangerous...," but he then added that they "appear not so perilous" following an actual survey. After providing sailing directions from the Outer Banks shoals and into the inlet, Martin extolled the qualities of the Castle. Seven paragraphs detailed the history and mercantile benefits of Shell Castle. Martin listed the buildings: "a dwelling house and its out houses, which are commodious," the warehouse and other improvements deemed to "contribute much to the usefulness of the establishment." He also mentioned the presence of a notary public, which would be of importance to ship's masters in need of making depositions, posting bonds or confirming bills of lading. He minimized the amount of work required to reclaim the land from the water, but noted that the Castle would one day serve as a "common warehouse and place of shipment" for all goods from the sounds of North Carolina.[178]

Martin also predicted that the site could not escape the attention of the federal government as the "proper place" for a customs office. The brochure evidently did not escape the notice of the government. In 1797, Tenche Coxe, Commissioner of the Revenue, wrote the customs officer in Bath, North Carolina

that he had seen the cover page by accident and inquired about the accuracy of the chart and sailing directions. Keais replied that the "work is held in high estimation here and considered by judges to be accurate."[179]

Apparently Blount and others found that small chart would be a valuable marketing tool if expanded to include the seacoast near Ocracoke. Keais noted also in his response to Coxe that a chart of the Banks and the Castle by Jonathon Price was being engraved at New Bern. John G. Blount expressed his intense interest in the chart when he wrote Price later in 1797 to find out when the "Chart of the Sea Coast" would be complete. Blount intended to send twenty copies to "the different sea ports of Europe to give an idea of the importance of Shell Castle."[180] The chart apparently made it to market at least by August 1799. Christopher Deshon took delivery of the ship *Diamingo* that Blount had built for him, and as he prepared to clear the bar for Baltimore he noted that he had picked up a copy of a "chart of Price." He probably purchased it at the Castle although it is unclear because he could have obtained at Edenton prior to accepting the vessel.[181]

Another view of Shell Castle appeared in the record at least as early as 1796 to 1802. The illustration of the buildings and beacon that were printed on the Liverpool ware jugs most probably represents another marketing tool used by Wallace and Blount to promote the importance of the place. The pitchers were probably used as gifts to family friends and extremely close business associates.[182]

The marketing of Shell Castle led to proposals to develop the site into a larger entrepôt through sub-division. However, before Blount and Wallace could entertain additional development, they needed to understand the demand for land at the Inlet. People interested in purchasing land at the Castle and the Castle itself began to make inquiries in 1793. Daniel Carthy, a land agent for a Philadelphia man, broached the subject of buying Blounts share of share of Shell Castle. He asked for a sketch of the land owned by Blount at the Castle and how many acres were involved before he could lay out his entire proposal. John G. Blount's immediate response has been lost, but he must have seriously considered the idea of selling his share because he discussed it with family members. Less than two weeks after Carthy made his inquiry, Thomas Blount wondered what his brother's response had been.[183]

By February 1794, Blount had considered the option to sell and had forwarded to Carthy the desired information including the sketch and selling price. The selling price asked by Blount for one half of the Shell Castle lands "astonished" Carthy. Blount asked for $5,000 to which Carthy replied, "Surely, they can not be your friends who tell you you did not ask me price enough." Carthy planned to make large-scale improvements to the castle in partnership with a financier from Philadelphia. They had estimated a first price of $1,000-1,500. Although Thomas Blount thought the offer would do, it apparently did not meet his brother's loftier profit objectives as he made no sale in 1794.[184]

John G. Blount may have obtained some idea about the real market value of the Castle and plans for its development and expansion from Carthy. Carthy had written as much in his February 1794 letter when he wrote: "I had managed the business with you so much like a Blundering Blockhead, that by telling you the whole scheme, I increased your ideas of the value of the spot...."[185] Carthy was not the only source of information about the market value of the Castle and proposals for its development.

John Wallace reported market information direct from the Castle to John G. Blount. In the spring of 1795, Wallace informed his partner about the brisk business at the Castle. The wharf was filled with lumber with new loads arriving each day. Wallace had to turn away business for lack of space. He dreamed of expanding the operations to meet the demand. He recommended hiring ten more hands to begin expanding the castle and erecting wharves to which ships could tie up. "Land and wharfs [sic] is all we want at this time and [I] think of nothing but building of land enough to hold cargoes to land a thousand ships."

Additional information came from another merchant who expressed interest in landing goods at the Castle. The merchant and his partner were willing to invest $20,000 at the Castle. The merchant's exact definition of "layout" the money is not made clear in the manuscript; however, regardless of whether he meant to purchase land and develop it or to land $20,000 worth of goods at the Castle, his interest confirmed for Blount and Wallace the value of the enterprise and additional interest in expanding it.[186]

Direct evidence of plans to expand the island and to sub-divide it for development came from William Blount. Writing from Tennessee at Thomas Blount's urging William advised John G. Blount on a proposal to develop the Castle. The Tennessee brother proposed that to divide Shell Castle in lots like a town, to make a detailed description of each lot with the rocks and water depth at each, and to offer up to three-quarters of the lots for sale to "large capitalists, meaning such men as are able to expend large sums upon improvements." He thought these men could be found in Philadelphia or some other moneyed place. William believed that the "advantages of Shell Castle" if fairly advertised would convince people to invest. He even compared land or rock at the Castle to waterfront property in America's busiest port stating that a lot at the Castle would be "more valuable than an equal quantity of land in Philadelphia on the Delaware side." Income generated from Shell Castle land sales could fund improvements of "an extensive scale" concluded William Blount.[187] In 1797, Blount valued a lot with twenty-feet of waterfront at three hundred dollars.

Property and business valuations have always been the entrepreneur's barometer of success. High and rising valuations correlated to fair days approaching and clear sailing while declining and low values called for stormy weather. The investment, a rational allocation of capital, made by Blount and Wallace clearly prospered from the £10 used to purchase the "Old Rock." Within five years, the partners refused an offer for 150 times the initial investment. By 1810, *The American Gazetteer* described Shell Castle in its third edition as being

"100 yards long and 40 broad and is almost covered with two or three neat houses. It is valued at 130,000 dollars because lying near the bar, large vessels here discharge a great part of their cargoes."[188] A clearly apocryphal report that appeared in the late nineteenth century claimed that Shell Castle had been the most valuable tract of land in America. The claim was based on the story that someone once offered to cover the entire surface of the island with silver dollars. Wallace reportedly declined the offer.[189]

Whether or not Shell Castle was ever the most valuable piece of land can not diminish the success of the enterprise. Clearly from 1789 to 1810, the partners invested their capital heavily at the Castle and received a good operating income from it. Blount and Wallace concentrated their capital at the Castle and applied personal industry in the prosecution of their business in order to create real wealth by turning "a penny at every opportunity". With vision and ability, the partners created a thriving business that no one else neither imagined nor, once the model had been demonstrated, could duplicate. They managed a near monopoly of the lightering and piloting business. Their warehouses and ship's chandlery activities were most favourably situated to serve the shipping traffic at the inlet. The fish from North Carolina's sounds found themselves netted, salted, packed and shipped to distant ports. Wallace communicated with merchants throughout the Caribbean, the United States, and Europe to assist Blount in the management of their shipping ventures. He also provided the day-to-day supervision of all the Shell Castle operations and expansion.

Despite their successes, the operations were not without difficulty and set back. Their ventures met with piracy, privateering, fraudulent businessmen, and adverse weather, and reflected many of the same fortunes and misfortunes of the ebb and flood of commercial activity throughout the new nation from 1790 to 1810.

Their ventures, successes and failures were tied directly to the navigation of the inlet and the waters of North Carolina. Therefore, many of the opportunities the partners pursued were related to navigation safety. Wallace and Blount again seeking to turn a penny at every opportunity sought to influence and control all aspects of navigation at Ocracoke. The actions of the two partners were inseparable from the history of navigation and the government's action to promote safe shipping.

Endnotes

[1] Apprentice Bond, August 1801, Carteret County Court Minutes, Volume 6, 911.

[2] Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, edited by Andrew Skinner, (New York: Penguin Books, 1977, originally published in 1777), 514.

[3] Elkins and McKitrick, *Age of Federalism*, 107-111.

[4] Martin, *A Description of Ocracoke*, 629.

[5] Hugh Williamson, *History of North Carolina*, (Philadelphia, 1812, reprinted in Spartanburg, SC, 1972), 212.

[6] Lida Tunstall Rodman (ed.). "The Journal of a Tour to North Carolina by William Attmore, 1787," *James Sprunt Historical Publications*, Vol. 17, 28.

[7] Alice Barnwell Keith. *Three North Carolina Blount Brothers in Business and Politics, 1783-1812* (Master's Thesis, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, 1940) 123, 141-145.

[8] William Duncan to John G Blount, 17 March 1787, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 1:265.

[9] William Wallace and David Wallace were the other two Wallaces who were pilots at Ocracoke. See family section infra. Thomas Williams to John G. Blount, 8 December 1784. and Abner Neale to John G. Blount, 28 November 1788, Ibid., 1.123, 1:437.

[10] James Barr to John G. Blount, 20 June 1789, Ibid., 1:522; James Barr to John G. Blount, 12 August 1789, John Gray Blount Papers, North Carolina Department of Archives and History.

[11] William S. Powell, *North Carolina Through Four Centuries* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 224.

[12] Gilpatrick, *Jeffersonian Democracy*, 29-31.

[13] *Gazette of North Carolina*, 3 December 1789.

[14] John Washington Neal, "The Life and Public Services of Hugh Williamson," In *Historical Papers*, XIII (Durham: Trinity College Historical Society, 1919), 99-100.

[15] Pusateri, *A History of American Business*, 76.

[16] James Barr to John G. Blount, 20 June 1789; John Scott to John G. Blount, 29 December 1789, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 1·488, 1:524-5.

[17] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 26 August 1790, Alice Barnwell Keith, ed., *The John Gray Blount Papers, Volume 2, 1790-1795,* (Raleigh, N.C.: State Department of Archives and History, 1959) 2: 97-99.

[18] John Wallace to John G. Blount. 6 September 1790, Ibid., 2:106.

[19] Alice Barnwell Keith inadvertently reported that Shell Castle began operations in 1793 when Wallace requested supplies for a house at the Castle. However, Wallace's letter clearly show he was in residence at the Castle and had nearly completed the first phase of construction three years earlier. (Keith, *Three North Carolina Blount Brothers*, 115.)

[20] Smith and Cole, *Fluctuations*, 12, 31. Douglas North argued that the growth of shipping began as early as 1790; Shepherd and Walton have argued that the boom did not start until after1792. The economy might not have exceeded pre-war levels everywhere as Shepherd and Walton pointed out. Nevertheless, in North Carolina, the Blount businesses were expanding (Shepherd & Walton, "Economic Change After the Revolution: Pre- and Post-War comparisons of Maritime Shipping and Trade," in *Explorations in Economic History*, 13 (1976) 397-422)

[21] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 22 September 1792, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:210-11.

[22] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 2 June 1793, Ibid., 2:267-8.

[23] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 17 July 1793, Ibid., 2:288.

[24] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 14 August 1793, Ibid , 2:296.

[25] Value of Exports for Five Years, Ending September 30, 1795, *American State Papers*, Vol. 14, 4th Congress, 1st Session, Document No 29, 319-321.

[26] James Barr to John G. Blount, 26 June 1793, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:276.

[27] Martin, "Description of Ocracoke Inlet", 629.

[28] Ibid.

[29] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 7 August 1795, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:578.

[30] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 23 December 1795, Ibid., 2:629; John Wallace to John G. Blount, n.d December 1795, Ibid., 2.636. This second letter pre-dates the 23 December letter based on references to mates and vessels that cleared on 22December.

[31] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 23 December 1795, Ibid., 2:629. Four Liverpool ware transfer print pitchers with the illustration are known to exist. A detailed review of the pitcher will be given infra.

[32] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 8 April 1797, William H. Masterson (ed.), *The John Gray Blount Papers*, Volume 3, 1796-1802, (Raleigh, N.C.: North Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1965) 139.

[33] John G. Blount to William C. Lake, 26 January 1797, Ibid., 3.130; Keith, *Three Brothers*, 199.

[34] Smith and Cole, *Fluctuations*, 15-17; North, *Economic Growth*, Appendix 1.

[35] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 24 March 1800, Masterson, *Blount Papers*, 3:351; John Wallace to John G. Blount, 22 May 1800, Ibid., 3:382.

[36] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 14 June 1800, Ibid., 3:391-2.

[37] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 30 June 1800, Ibid., 3:392.

[38] John Wallace to John G. Blount, Ibid. The wheels Wallace asked for were probably a logging cart which allowed a log to be jacked up to a long shaft connected to the two wheels which made it easy to drag the log.

[39] John Mayo was an associate at the Castle who first appeared in the record in 1799 at the Castle. No identification of the General has been found, but was probably the tavern keeper.

[40] John Wallace to John G. Blount. Ibid., 3:382-3. One letter mentions that a cistern was built for the Tavern and the Cookhouse. Since it would be logical for one cistern to serve two nearby buildings, then the three buildings on the wharf could have been the tavern, the General's house and the cookhouse.

[41] Richard Tuck to John G. Blount, 8 October 1807, David T. Morgan (ed.), *The John Gray Blount Papers*, (Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1982) Vol. 4, 97

[42] Solomon Joseph to John G. Blount. Ibid.. 4:143.

[43] Keith, *Three Brothers*, 118

[44] Richard Tuck to John G. Blount, 20 April 1805, Morgan, *Blount Papers*, 4:60-61.

[45] North *Economic Growth*, 49-50.

[46] Charles C. Crittenden, *The Commerce of North Carolina, 1763-1789* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936). 98-99.

[47] George Nicolson to John G. Blount, 17 May 1790, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:56.

[48] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 2 June 1793, Ibid., 2:267-8.

[49] Crittenden, *Commerce of North Carolina*, 17.

[50] John Wallace to John G Blount, 20 November 1800, Masterson, *Blount Papers*, 3:339.

* John Wallace assumed the honorific "Governor" after starting the Shell Castle enterprise .

[51] James Cole Mountflorence to John G. Blount, 22 June 1792, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:179.

Cleaning the bottom of marine growth and provide a new layer of pitch to prevent re-growth.

[52] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 22 September 1792, Ibid., 2:210-1; John Wallace to John G. Blount, 2 June 1793, Ibid., 2:267-8.

[53] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 23 December 1795; John Wallace to John G. Blount, 30 December 1795, Ibid., 2.628-9, 2:634.

[54] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 20 November 1800, Masterson, *Blount Papers*, 3:448.

[55] Ibid.; Reading Blount to John G. Blount, 8 December 1788, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 1:441.

[56] Thomas Williams to John G. Blount, 8 December 1784, Ibid., 1:122.

[57] George Nicolson to John G. Blount, 22 April 1790, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:46.

[58] Seldon Jasper to John G. Blount, 8 November 1802; and John G. Blount to John Sommerville, 11 July 1797, Masterson, *Blount Papers*, 3:554, 3:154. Jasper was certainly on the start of a bad voyage as the *Tuley* would be seized by a French privateer and sold. See John G. Blount Papers Volume 3, for multiple references.

[59] James Webster to John G. Blount, 31 March 1792, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:193.

[60] Abner Neale to John G. Blount, 28 November 1788, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 1:437.

[61] Jacob Blount to John G. Blount, 18 May 1789, Ibid , 1:480; *Survey-- Swash in Pamlico Sound*, 6.

[62] James Barr to John G. Blount, 20 June 1789, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 1:488-9.

[63] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 22 May 1800, Masterson, *Blount Papers*, 3:382.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Walter Clark, ed., *The State Records of North Carolina*. 25 vols., (Winston and Goldsboro, 1895-1906), 23:667; 24:506.

[66] Watson, "Pilotage and Pilots," 21-24.

[67] Martin, *Description of Ocracoke*, 632.

[68] Joseph Blunt, *Merchant's and Shipmaster's Assistant* (New York: E.M. Blunt, 1822), 194-196.

[69] Slaves were allowed to act as pilots provided that they passed the examinations and their owners put up the required surety bond to procure a license to pilot called a "branch". Concern over slave and free black pilot competition was an old issue. In 1773, white pilots petitioned the General Assembly to prohibit the practice of black pilotage.

[70] Josiah Bradley to John G. Blount, 30 November 1810. Morgan, *Blount Papers*, 4:136; Watson, "Pilots and Pilotage," 24.

[71] Blunt. *Merchant's Assistant*, 197.

[72] Josiah Bradley to John G Blount, 26 February 1812. Morgan, *Blount Papers*, 4:162.

[73] Watson, "Pilots and Piloting," 24.

[74] Sacketts Harbor State Historic Site in New York displays a flag mast with foot rests added in a similar fashion to that on the Shell Castle pole ladder. Communicant believes the Sacketts harbor mast authentically replicates the War of 1812 era mast.

[75] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 14 September 1793, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:310

[76] Ibid., 2:531.

[77] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 29 June 1797, Masterson, *Blount Papers*, 3:151.

[78] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 14 September 1793, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:310.

[79] Abishai C. Thomas to John G. Blount, 15 July 1790, Ibid.. 2:283; Jacob Blount to John G. Blount, 21 January 1800, Masterson. *Blount Papers*, 3:338.

[80] Nathaniel Pinkham would later run the tavern at Shell Castle. He also served several terms in the North Carolina Senate between 1792 and 1808, and he owned property and slaves in lower Carteret County. John Wallace to John G. Blount, 14 August 1793, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:296-7.

[81] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 14 April 1795, Ibid., 2:531.

[82] William Armistead to John Wallace, 25 November 1795, Ibid., 2:613-4.

[83] John G. Blount to John Sommerville, 11 July 1797, Masterson, *Blount Papers*, 3:153-5.

[84] Keith, *Three North Carolina Brothers*, 207-209.

[85] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 24 March 1800, Masterson, *Blount Papers*, 3:331; John Wallace to John G. Blount, 10 January 1803, Morgan, *Blount Papers*, 4:5.

[86] Philip B. Gove, ed., *Webster's Third International Dictionary*, (Springfield, MA: Merriam-Webster, 1993), 759.

[87] Flahavan & Wilcox to John G Blount, 2 May 1787, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 1:295-7.

[88] William McDaniel to John G. Blount, 24 April 1788, Ibid., 1:378.

[89] Crittenden, *Commerce*, 108

[90] James F. Shepherd and Gary M. Walton, *Shipping, Maritime Trade and the Economic Development of Colonial North America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 77-80.

[91] Crittenden, *Commerce*, 168

[92] James Barr to John G. Blount, 6 July 1787, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 1:268.

[93] James Barr to John G. Blount, 5 January 1793, Keith. *Blount Papers*, 2:224-5. The *Two Sisters* was possibly named to honor Wallace's twin girls who were born in 1796.

[94] Crittenden, *Commerce*, 168.

[95] James Barr to John G. Blount, 5 January 1793, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:224-5.

[96] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 24 May 1793, Ibid., 2:257-58.

[97] James Barr to John G. Blount, 26 June 1793, Ibid., 2:276.

[98] J. W. G. Prescott to Amos Johnston, 10 November 1795, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:609.

[99] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 7 March 1795, Ibid., 2:511-12..

[100] Benjamin Coakley to John G. Blount, 23 May 1797, Masterson, *Blount Papers*, 3:148.

[101] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 22 May 1800, Masterson, *Blount Papers*, 3:383.

[102] John G. Blount to John Wallace, 17 November 1796, Ibid., 3:113.

[103] Ibid.

[104] James Webster to John G. Blount, n.d February 1793, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:242-3.

[105] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 6 September 1790, Ibid., 2:106.

[106] James Cole Mountflorence to John G. Blount, 22 January 1792, Ibid., 2:179.

[107] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 12 February 1792, Ibid., 2:181.

[108] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 27 February 1792, Ibid., 2:184.

[109] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 7 April 1792, Ibid.. 2:194; John Wallace to John G. Blount, 16 April 1792, Ibid., 2:196; John Mayo to John G. Blount, 4 June 1799, Masterson, *Blount Papers*, 3:297.

[110] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 16 April 1792, Keith. *Blount Papers*, 2:196; Peter Schermerhorn to John Gray & Thomas Blount, Merchants, 29 October 1792, Ibid., 2 215.

[111] William Smith to John G. Blount, 13 October 1792, Ibid , 2:213.

[112] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 2 June 1793, Ibid , 2:267; John Wallace to John G. Blount, 16 April 1792, Ibid., 2:196.

[113] Abner Neale to John G. Blount, 22 June 1793, Ibid., 2 273; John Wallace to John G Blount, 1 May 1793, Ibid., 2:257-8.

[114] Henderson deposition, Henderson vs. Taylor, Carteret County Court Records.

[115] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 27 February 1792, Keith, *Blount Records*, 2:184.

[116] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 16 April 1792, Ibid., 2:196.

[117] Ibid.

[118] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 22 September 1792, Ibid., 2:210-1.

[119] William Smith to John G. Blount, 13 October 1792, Ibid., 2:213.

[120] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 14 April 1795, Ibid., 2:531; John Wallace to John G. Blount, 24 March 1800, Masterson, *Blount Papers*, 3:351.

[121] William Tatham to Messrs. Thomas Cole and Jonathan Price, 10 April 1806, Lighthouse Letters Received, Miscellaneous Correspondence, RG 26, NC-31, 17G, NAB.

[122] David Pedge to John G. Blount, 19 June 1805, Morgan, *Blount Papers*, 4:52-3.

[123] Keith, *Three North Carolina Brothers*, 118.

[124] B. E. Taylor, (ed.), *A Taste of the Past Early Foodways of the Albemarle Region, 1585-1830* (Elizabeth City, NC; Museum of the Albemarle, 1991), 37.

[125] David Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1958), 75-76.

[126] John Wallace to John G. Blount. 7 August 1795, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:578; J W.G. Prescott to John G. Blount, 21 December 1795, Ibid., 2:624-5; John Wallace to John G. Blount, 14 April 1795, Ibid., 2:531.

[127] John Wallace to John G. Blount. 14 September 1793, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2.310; Stuart & Barr to John G. Blount, 5 January 1793, Ibid., 2:225.

[128] John Wallace bond and Account Bill, 12 June 1805, Carteret County Court Records, North Carolina Department of Archives & History.

[129] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 7 March 1795, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:511.

[130] Stick, *Outer Banks of North Carolina*, 78.

[131] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 26 August 1790, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:98.

[132] There was a reference to a tide-mill in an 1800 letter from a Boston merchant. but the manuscript was torn and only discussed features of the mill and its costs. (J. B. Borland to John G. Blount, 25 September 1800, Masterson, *Blount Papers*, 3:426.) Everard Hall to John G. Blount, 25 May 1816, Morgan. *Blount Papers*, 4:267-8; William Rodman to John G. Blount, n.d. 1811, East Carolina Manuscript Collection, William Blount Rodman papers.

[133] Dunbar, *Geography*, 32. Plan of Ocracoke Inlet [Cartographic Branch], 1821, RG 77, File H-9, NAII. A Chart of North Carolina Comprising the Capes Hatteras, Lookout, and Fear with the Harbours Ocracock, Beaufort and Smithville, [Cartographic Branch] 1826, RG 77, File H-39, NAII.

[134] John Wallace to John G Blount, 12 February 1792, Keith, *Blount Papers*. 2.182; John Wallace to John G. Blount, 16 April 1792, Ibid., 2:196; John Wallace to John G. Blount, 17 July 1793, Ibid., 2:288; John Wallace to John G. Blount, 7 November 1800, Masterson, *Blount Papers*, 3:444; John Wallace to John G. Blount, 20 November 1800, Ibid., 3:449-50.

[135] William N. Still, "The Shipbuilding Industry in Washington, North Carolina," in *Of Tar Heel Towns, Shipbuilders, Reconstructionists and Alliancemen*, ed. Joseph Steelman, (Greenville, NC: East Carolina University Publications, 1981), 28-31.

[136] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 12 February 1792, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:182; John Wallace to John G. Blount, 22 September 1792, Ibid., 2:210-1.

[137] Henry Tulcy to John G. Blount, 3 March 1796, Masterson. *Blount Papers*, 3:30; John Wallace to John G. Blount, 16 June 1796, Ibid., 3:66-67; John Wallace to John G. Blount, 9 August 1796, Ibid., 3:89.

[138] Still, "Shipbuilding Industry in Washington," 28.

[139] John Smith to John G. Blount, 8 November 1794, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:456.

[140] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 23 December 1795, Ibid., 2:628-9.

[141] John Wallace to John G. Blount. 17 July 1793, Ibid., 2:288.

[142] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 23 December 1795, Ibid., 2:628-9.

[143] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 20 November 1800, Masterson, *Blount Papers*, 3:449.

[144] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 29 June 1797, Ibid., 3 151.

[145] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 22 May 1800, Ibid., 3:382; John Wallace to John G. Blount, 20 November 1800, Ibid., 3:449; Grove Wright to John G. Blount, 22 July 1799, Ibid., 3:306; Keith, *Three North Carolina Brothers*, 130-132.

[146] Reuben Wallace Probate Inventory, 31 October 1804, Carteret County Estates Records, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina; John Wallace to John G. Blount, 20 November 1800, Masterson. *Blount Papers*, 3:449. The estates record list an inventory for the Schooner Shell Castle; however, it was not located in the box CR 019 508.1. If it could be located it would provide invaluable detail to the lightering operations.

[147] Keith, *Three North Carolina Brothers*, 133-4.

[148] Ibid., 137-140.

[149] Ibid.

[150] Ibid., 140-141.

[151] Ibid., 141-145.

[152] Abraham Ritter, *Philadelphia and her Merchants about Seventy Years Ago* (Philadelphia: Abraham Ritter, 1860), p 183.

[153] Keith, *Three North Carolina Brothers*, 169.

[154] Flahavan to John G. Blount, 2 May 1787, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 1:253.

[155] Keith, *Three North Carolina Brothers*, 152-3.

[156] Peter Schermerhorn to John G. Blount, 29 October 1792, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:215.

[157] Keith, *Three North Carolina Brothers*, 157-8.

[158] Ibid., 159-160.

[159] Ibid.

[160] Ibid., 185-192.

[161] Ibid., 105-205. Skipwith served as consul at Martinique in the French Windward islands..

[162] William Charles Lake to John G. & Thomas Blount, 5 July 1793, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:280-81.

[163] William Charles Lake to John G. & Thomas Blount, 15 August 1793, Ibid., 2:297-98; John Smith to John G. Blount, 5 November 1794, Ibid., 2:453-54.

[164] John G. Blount to William Charles Lake, 6 May 1796, Masterson, *Blount Papers*, 3:55.

[165] William Armistead to John Wallace, 25 November 1795, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:613-14.

[166] Thomas Smith to John G. Blount, 26 September 1800, Masterson, *Blount Papers*, 3:427.

[167] Keith, *Three North Carolina Brothers*, 214-15.

[168] Crittenden, *Commerce*, 109.

[169] Keith, *Three North Carolina Brothers*, 245-47.

[170] John G. Blount to William C. Lake, 26 January 1797, Masterson, *Blount Papers*, 3:129-130.

[171] Elkins and McKitrick, *Age of Federalism*, 645; Benjamin Coakley to John G. Blount, 1 January 1797, Masterson, *Blount Papers*, 3:123-24

[172] Alexander Hamilton to Peter Schermerhorn, 26 June 1797, Ibid., 3:150; Thomas Blount to John Haywood, 18 October 1797, Ibid., 3:171-2.

[173] Thomas Blount to John G. Blount, 11 January 1798, Ibid., 3:194-6; Thomas Blount to John G. Blount, 18 January 1798, Ibid., 3:196-8

[174] Additional information outside the scope of this research may be found in the French Spoliations Claims records at the National Archives. Thomas Blount to John G. Blount, 26 February 1798, Masterson, *Blount Papers*, 3:210-12; Grove Wright to John G. Blount, 22 July 1799, Ibid., 3:306-8; Alexander Hamilton to Peter Schermerhorn, 26 June 1797, Ibid., 3.150.

[175] John Scott to John G. Blount, 29 December 1789, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 1:524-25.

[176] George Nicolson to John G. Blount, 17 May 1790, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:56.

[177] Hugh Williamson to John G. Blount, 25 November 1792, Ibid., 2:218.

[178] Martin, *Description of Occacock*, 626-630.

[179] Tenche Coxe to William Keais, 20 January 1797, Lighthouse Letter, RG 26, Light House Letters 1792-1798, Volume 26, NAB, 365.

[180] William Keais to Tenche Coxe, 9 February 1797, RG 26, 17a, NC-31, Letters Received 1796-1803, Volume 2, NAB, 203; John G. Blount to Jonathon Price, 11 May 1797, Masterson, *Blount Papers*, 3:147.

[181] Christopher Deshon to John G. Blount, 26 August 1799, Ibid , 3 318.

[182] Bradford L. Rauschenberg, "'Success to the Tuley' et. Al via Liverpool", *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts*, May 1976, Volume II, Number 1., 1-26.

[183] Daniel Carthy to John G. Blount, 19 October 1793, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:323; Thomas Blount to John G. Blount, 6 November 1793, Ibid , 2:331.

[184] Daniel Carthy to John G Blount, 23 February 1794, Ibid., 2:366-7; Thomas Blount to John G. Blount, 27 March 1794, Ibid., 2:381-383.

[185] Daniel Carthy to John G. Blount, 23 February 1794, Ibid., 2:366-7.

[186] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 7 March 1795, Ibid., 2.511.

[187] William Blount to John G. Blount, 22 September 1795, Ibid., 2:595-96.

[188] J. Morse, *The American Gazetteer* (Third Edition, Revised & Corrected, 1810).

[189] *Wilmington Star*, 9 March 1878.

CHAPTER 3

NAVIGATION AND INTEREST

"It is to the carrying trade that nations owe their wealth "
Hugh Williamson

Ocracoke Inlet's shifting channels and bars contributed significantly to the risks incurred by vessels trading with North Carolina. As late as 1809, a contemporary "Notice to Mariners" refused to provide information on the inlet other than to state: "the bars create only a part of the danger in sailing into these ports; It is the vast bed of shoals that lies within the bars...that even the pilots who live on the spot find it difficult to carry a vessel in with out some accident."[1] Mercantile powers sought to lessen those risks by having legislation passed to fund aids to navigation. So important was the need to improve navigation that within two years of the colony's founding in 1713 that acts were passed authorizing beacons and channel markers to be established at Roanoke and Ocracoke Inlets In 1766, another act promoted the use of stakes to prevent "considerable injuries [that] have happened to diverse merchants who have sent their ships and vessels to Bath, Edenton and New Bern, by reason of the badness of the channels...." During the Confederation Period, the state levied fines of fifty pounds specie to be imposed on individuals who intentionally pulled down

beacons, stakes or other markers.[2] More legislation would be enacted and additional aids erected to protect shipping during the federal era.

From the1780s to the 1820s, the interests of John G. Blount and John Wallace, individually and collectively, can not be separated from the development of navigational aids and improvements at Ocracoke. The partners were deeply involved in promoting the use of navigational aids and in ensuring that any legislation that passed regarding Ocracoke inured to their benefit. Their interest stemmed not only from the desire to protect their vessels, but also from a desire to "turn a penny" of profit from the contracts to place and maintain those aids. From 1789 when North Carolina's legislature passed a bill to erect a lighthouse at the Inlet through to the attempts to improve navigation by dredging in the 1820s, Blount and Wallace sought to influence, and to profit from, all actions by the state and federal governments to promote "the safety of vessels bound over Ocacock Bar, and very much encourage foreigners as well as citizens of the United States to trade with this State."[3] Blount and Wallace used personal and political influence to gain control of contracts to stake channels with markers and buoys and to erect and maintain the inlet's lighthouse.

Navigational aids used at Ocracoke included channel marker stakes, buoys and daymarkers, lighthouses and lightboats, printed notices, and channel dredging operations. This chapter reviews the actions of Blount and Wallace to control and to profit from each aspect of navigational improvement.

Stakes

The simplest form of navigational aid was the channel stake. Local pilots determined the best channels and set out stakes to mark them and alert masters to key obstructions, such as the Southwest Royal Shoal and the Swash near Shell Castle, as well as to mark the channels leading up river to New Bern and Washington. Generally, the stakes were placed at the edges of the channels in three to five feet of water and stood well "except in heavy gales of wind."[4] The stakes played an important role in the safe navigation of Ocracoke's shoals as they marked the extremities of Beacon Island Shoal, the North Swash and the Bulkhead in Ship Channel. Martin's 1795 "Description of Occacock" used several stakes as key markers to guide vessels along the various channels. For example, his sailing directions for vessels headed into the South Swash to enter Wallace's Channel suggested giving "the stake a birth of about 40 yards to the east."[5] (See Figure 13)

Each year the government issued contracts to direct the placement and maintenance of the stakes. In 1789, the United States' Congress passed a bill that transferred responsibility for navigational aids to the Treasury Department; however, the bill failed to provide funding, which was not authorized until the following year.[6] In the summer of 1790, John Wallace, ever watchful for an

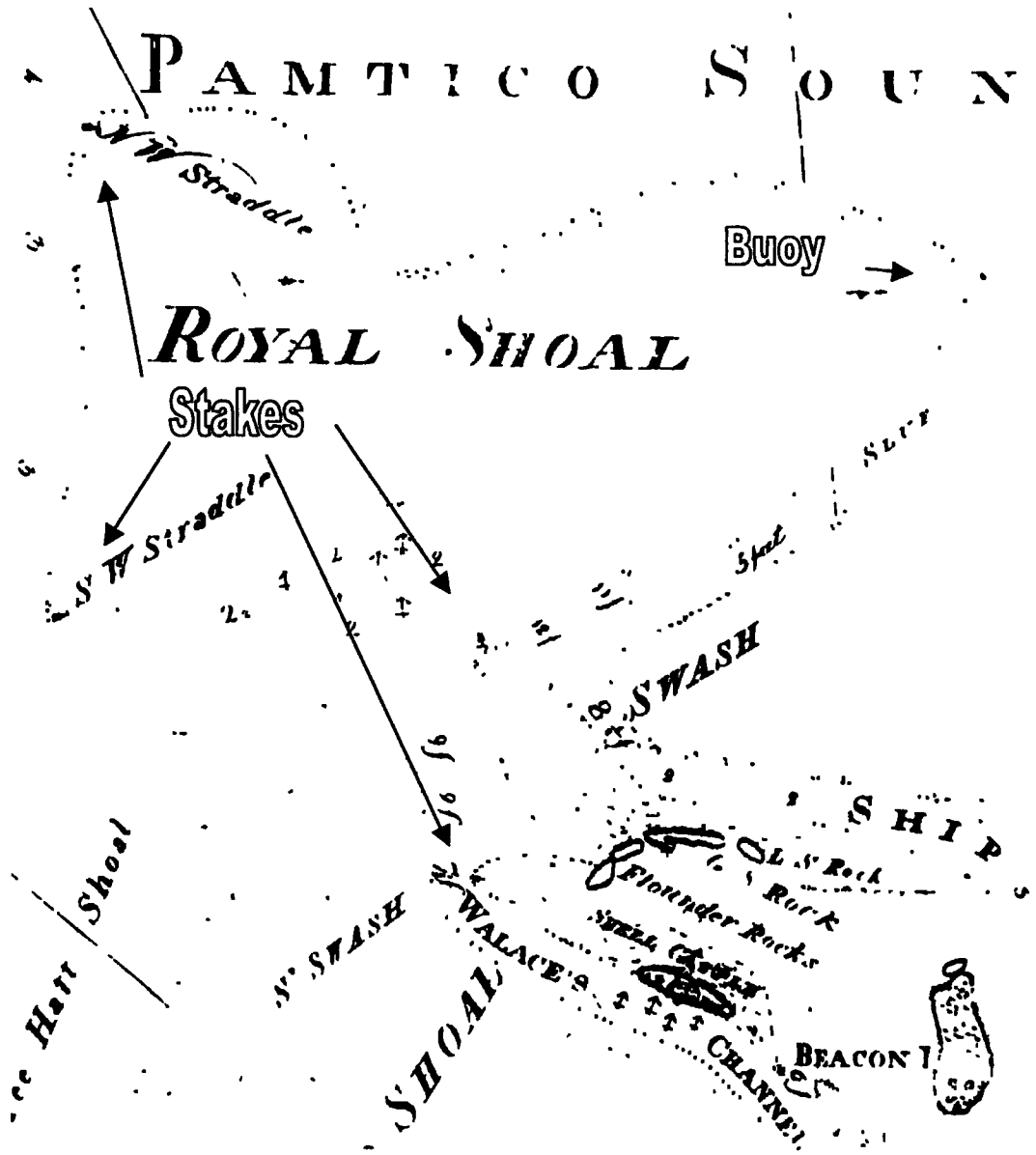


Figure 13. Detail of "Occacock from Actual Survey by J. Price 1795." Stakes were located at key points along shoals and channels

opportunity for profit, wanted to meet with his partner to discuss a new business opportunity "that we have not thought of" concerning the stakeage contracts.

Wallace had been told that the contract could be worth as much as $1,000 over ten years. He was anxious to get Blount's approval and involvement on the project because Congress had not acted on its new responsibility. Wallace thought that they could get the contract "very easey at the meeting of Congress."[7] Wallace then took it upon himself to stake the south swash that led from the Royal Shoal to Shell Castle and he planned to keep it maintained. It is probable that Wallace placed the stakes in order to increase the chances that he and his partner would be awarded the upcoming contract, although there is no direct mention in the record. At the least, Wallace's initiative would benefit the Blount/Wallace vessels sailing across the swash.[8]

Whether or not Wallace gained a competitive advantage from his actions is unknown; nevertheless, the partners received the contract for 1791. John G. Blount and Charles Cook received $225 to place stakes at the Swash, Royal Shoal, Portsmouth Channel, and the Pamlico, Pungo and Tar rivers for six months.[9] The collector for the port of Bath that served Washington, North Carolina, Nathan Keais reported to Alexander Hamilton that the contract rates were artificially high because the stakes had been allowed to fall down. He predicted that rates for the second year of the contracts should be lower as the first year included set-up fees as it had following the revolution.[10]

The new government's contracting procedures apparently created some problems at Ocracoke. Apparently, the government would only issue contracts after appropriations had been authorized. This led the local officials to delay the

start of subsequent contracts. In February 1792, Wallace had bid for the stake contract, but had been unable to get any information from Keais. By May, Keais reported that all the "stakes in and about Ocracock" were down, and he forwarded the performance bonds for new contracts to replace them with the request for a response "with all possible dispatch." Keais notified the Treasury Department in June that the contract should go Wallace and provided the bid amount. For some reason, however, the contract still had not been issued in September when Wallace implored his partner to "ask the collector about the staks, for Every Body is complaining, and I tell them that I exspect [sic] to have order to stick them Every days."[11] Evidently, Wallace, who always focused on maximizing profit while minimizing effort, would not perform work without a guarantee of payment.

The second year contract eventually went to John Wallace. He received $317 to maintain the stakes for another six months; however, this contract included not only the Royal Shoal Swash, Wallace's Channel, but also the stakes from Core Sound to Old Topsail.[12] The 1792 contract recorded the first official use of the name "Wallace's Channel" for the former Portsmouth Channel. Subsequent contracts would always list Wallace's Channel.

The "Every Body" who had complained to Wallace about the stakes being down carried their concerns to their congressman. Hugh Williamson was "attentive to the requests of our Pilots and Mariners" and intervened on their behalf with the Treasury Department. He "obtained a promise that Contracts for

keeping up the Stakes shall regularly be made early in the Season...." or "long enough before the old year expires."[13] His efforts seem to have been successful. Beginning in July 1793, stake contracts were awarded in July and August for the following year instead of coming at the mid-point of the contract year.[14]

During the 1790s, the Wallace family controlled the stakeage contracts at Ocracoke and the immediately adjacent waterways. From 1792 to 1801, only one Swash stake contract went to someone other than a Wallace. John Wallace received the contracts for 1792, 1793 and 1795. Wallace also received several contracts for the Core Sound and his partner usually received the contract for the Pamlico River. The other Wallaces who earned the other contracts included John Wallace's father and brothers. John Wallace's contract for 1793 paid him $433 to stake the Swash plus Core Sound, the Croatan areas and the Albemarle, and was the largest single stake contract awarded in North Carolina's waters from 1790 to 1805.[15]

The control of the early stake contracts by Wallace and his partner and the perceived high cost of the contracts led to concerns about collusion in the bidding process. The collector at Bath initially believed that the United States was paying more for the contracts than had been paid by the state prior to 1791. He prepared a table of rate comparisons, but he found that the rates were in fact similar. Nevertheless, he reported to the Treasury that the bids for the 1794 Swash contract had been more favorable while others were somewhat higher. He probably compared the forty-five pounds bid for the 1783 contract to the 1794

rate paid for the swash, which were close to each other after converting pounds to dollars. Keais attributed the differences not to any "natural causes, but it depends entirely on number of opponents." Keais also believed that the number of bidders was kept artificially low because of collusion among the bidders who would meet to divide the districts between them before submitting their bids. The collector considered requesting sealed bids in the future but was uncertain that event that step would help reduce the collusion.[16]

Stake contract costs peaked in 1796 and then declined from 1797 to 1805. The cost for keeping the stakes up at Ocracoke and the Swash was about $225 for 1792 to 1794 and rose slightly to $244 in 1795. The contract rate jumped to $350 in 1795 when David Wallace, Jr., and John Bragg received the work. The spike in rates for 1796 resulted from a new requirement in the contract that called for buoys to be shifted and graved quarterly to prevent worm damage. Rates fell seventy four percent over the next ten years to fifty-eight dollars. The rate decline probably resulted from greater competition and less control of the contracting procedure by Blount and Wallace.[17]

Buoys at Ocracoke

The stakes provided important information for the safety of navigation; however, experience quickly demonstrated that they were too moveable and easily blown down. As early as 1792, recommendations were made to replace

stakes with buoys at the most important and exposed locations. The most important interior channel marker was the "Straddle" stake that marked the South West Point of the Royal Shoal. The Straddle stake was placed in nine feet of water, but according to Williamson, it could not be "made to stand" because of the "considerable sea" there.

Williamson proposed replacing the stake with a "small boat with a beacon," and in March 1793, he sponsored a bill that was passed to authorize a "beacon or floating light at the Straddle."[18] The buoy design called for a cage to be placed on the mast in order to be "seen at a greater distance." Williamson notified John G. Blount that the buoy would be built in Philadelphia "where iron is cheaper and Men are in the habit of making them."[19]

The record, however, indicates that only the iron sinker and chain were constructed in Philadelphia, and the Straddle buoy was most probably constructed in Washington, North Carolina using the design of William Allibone, lighthouse superintendent for the Delaware River. John Young, shipwright for the Blounts, constructed two buoys for the Southwest Straddle in 1793. One of these two buoys was probably the one discussed by Williamson and authorized by the 1793 act.[20] A separate letter from Tench Coxe in December 1793 reported that the chain and sinker intended for the Royal Shoal Buoy in preparation at Washington had been shipped to Wilmington by mistake.[21]

Allibone designed a Spar Beacon for the Straddle that followed Williamson's initial proposal that the buoy mount a cage on the mast for greater

visibility. The Spar Beacon plans placed a cage on top of a sixty-foot mast with the capability of raising or lighting a lantern for nighttime visibility. The high mast with the cage also served as a day-marker. The Spar looked like a ship's mast with a cage and light mounted on top like a ship's main top. The base was a square box that would hold ballast and brace the mast. A stepladder provided access to the cage and light. Allibone estimated the cost of the spar Beacon at $123 including transportation to Ocracoke. (See Figure 14).

Allibone's itemized estimate included:

	Dollars
Spar made and transported	20
Frame & Braces with workmanship	20
Planking and Nails	24
Cage Completed	20
Lanthorn	30
Lamp	4
Ladder	5
	$123

WA[22]

Two years passed from Williamson's original recommendation and the placement of the Spar Beacon at Royal Shoal. The shipment of the chain and sinker in error to Wilmington delayed placement until September 1794 when the chain and sinker were delivered to Shell Castle by the revenue cutter. Another three-month delay followed before the buoy was in place on the Straddle. By 1795, floating beacons had replaced the stakes at both the Southwest and Northwest extremities of the Royal Shoal.[23] None of the records confirmed that

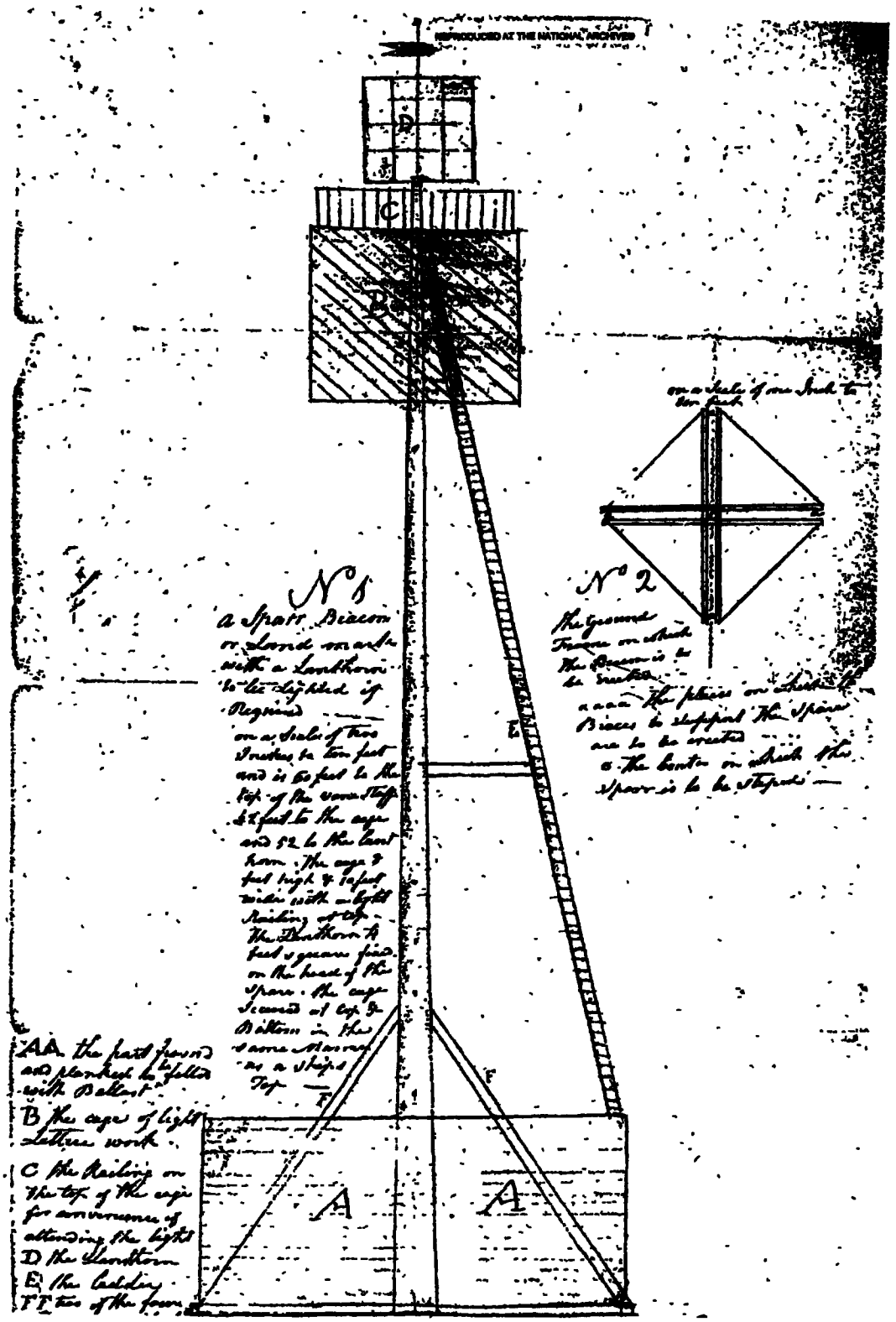


Figure 14. Draft estimate of a Spar Beacon at Ocracoke. (Source: William Allibone, Estimate of a Spar Beacon, Lighthouse Letters, Miscellaneous Correspondence, RG 26, NAB)

Allibone's design had been followed for the Southwest Royal Shoal Beacon; however, one document from 1807 reported several key features of a spar beacon placed at Bluff Shoal. Richard Tuck described a buoy that had sunk with its mast remaining above water and with the cage washed away. He also noted that he had recovered a portion of the deck and pump. These features were prominent in the design illustration and estimate by Allibone, and tend to confirm the use of his at his design. Tuck's letter also revealed that in some places as early as 1807, nun buoys were used. It is probable that the nun buoys were probably placed at less important junctions along the channels while the spar beacons were used as day-markers at more important places because of their added visibility.[24]

All the buoys placed around the Royal Shoal suffered from the same ill effects of weather and inattention as the stakes they replaced. In 1799, one buoy lay at Shell Castle "very much out of repair" while the Southwest Straddle Buoy had been lost. Two years later, a similar report blamed the loss of the Southwest Straddle buoy on an inability of its sinker and chain to hold the ground. The other buoy remained marooned and unrepaired at the Castle. By 1802, the buoy at the Castle was considered of little value and abandoned. Other buoys replaced the lost and discarded ones, but they fared no better.[25]

Complaints of poor buoy maintenance surfaced again in 1807. That September, Wallace had replaced the Straddle beacon with another and had sent his slaves after one of the nun buoys that had "drifted away and lodged at cedar

inlet." Another buoy was reported as sunk and unattended for some time. Wallace's neglect sparked "a general murmer [sic]." This time however, the complainers included John Wallace's half-brother, David Wallace, who was Captain of the Revenue Cutter *Mercury* and had published an announcement regarding the placement of the buoys and their bearings the previous May. He believed that if the "Governor" (John Wallace) did "not pay more attention...that he is confident some accidents will take place in consequence of the Buoys being out of place and the want of stakes also." Although instead of pressing charges directly, David Wallace made his complaints known to a clerk at the Castle who passed them on to John G. Blount. The Revenue Officer must have known that Governor Wallace feared and responded to directives from his partner. Wallace apparently received some input from his partner because within two weeks the swash and "the navigation in general" had been staked.[26]

Shortly after the stakes had been replaced, information surfaced that pointed to causes other than weather and neglect for the loss of the buoys—sabotage. John Wallace told John G. Blount that "pilots or some evil minded persons have caused them to leave the place where they were moored." Wallace conjectured that the underlying cause for the sabotage was that the buoys "made navigation so easy, that they have been to the pilots a continual eyesore." William Keais was inclined to agree and believed that no "fair play [had been] used with them" since there had no gale or wind. John Wallace had found four buoys on shore with one of them stove in. He also believed the chains had been

cut.[27] In the highly competitive arena of piloting, anything threatening to decrease demand would have been disliked and would tend to lend credence to Wallace's story. However, Wallace, a pilot himself, would also have benefited from the loss of the buoys through increased demand for his services, and given his poor performance in maintaining the stakes over time, it was not improbable that he was developing a story to redirect the blame away from himself. The buoys also faced another threat---that of wrecking and salvage. Keais reported that someone had burned a buoy that had parted its cable while being towed to Shell Castle and had run on shore. The culprits salvaged the iron from buoy. The salvage culprits most probably would have been those who also benefited from the beacons' sabotage.

The problems encountered in managing the erection and maintenance of navigation aids at Ocracoke foreshadowed problems to be overcome in the placement of a lighthouse at the Castle. Stories of collusion among bidders, use of political influence, lack of performance by contractors, vandalism and theft, and everyday operating issues caused by the weather would be repeated in the chronology of the lighthouse at Shell Castle; however, the scale would be greatly increased.

Shell Castle Beacon Site Selection

The Beacon at Shell Castle was the highest form of navigational aid used at Ocracoke Inlet. The light and landmark it provided not only increased the safety of vessels at the Inlet, but it also provided an opportunity for Blount and Wallace to turn another penny of profit through land sale, construction and operating contracts. The profit opportunities created by the light attracted the intense interest of John Wallace and his partner. However, along with the increased complexity of the navigation aid and the opportunity for profit came an increased competition for its location, construction, and maintenance. The Beacon's site selection, contract bidding, construction, and operations would be fraught with difficulty, competition, a ballet of political influence, bribery, theft, and neglect from 1789 to its destruction in 1818.

The race to determine a site for a lighthouse at Ocracoke began in 1789 with the passage of North Carolina Assembly bill that authorized a commission to acquire land to "erect a Light-house on Ocacock island." The Assembly believed that such an aid would "tend greatly to the safety of vessels bound over ocacock bar, and very much encourage foreigners as well as citizens of the United States to trade with this State." Funding for the land purchase and erection of the light would come from a duty levied on vessels larger than twenty tons entering Ocracoke's Bar. In November 1789, four residents of Ocracoke gave a deed of

gift of one acre for the construction of the light; however, they attached a covenant that required the lighthouse be built on the land within ten years.[28]

Three years after the North Carolina Assembly acquired land for the lighthouse, the United States Congress picked up the motion. In March 1792, Congress directed the Treasury Department to "inquire into, and report to Congress at their next Session, the expediency of erecting a Lighthouse on Ocracoke island or elsewhere, near the entrance of Ocracoke Inlet." Already the influence of the Blounts can be seen in the act passed by Congress. The phrase "or elsewhere, near the entrance of Ocracoke Inlet" must have been inserted into the legislation to provide Blount and Wallace an opportunity to gain attention for Shell Castle or one of the other islands owned by the partners especially since the State already held title to a potentially suitable location. The remaining history of the site selection process demonstrated the power of political influence in the appropriations process.[29]

Pursuant to the legislation, Tench Coxe, Commissioner of the Revenue, directed the Collector at Edenton in September 1792 to conduct a feasibility study on the site selection for the proposed lighthouse. Before the collector could reply, however, Dr. Hugh Williamson, a representative from North Carolina and Blount family confidant, provided Coxe with a detailed analysis of the Bar, its environs, a sketch of the area, and his preferences for the lighthouse location. "It is obvious that the Castle Shoal would be the most proper station for a light-house because a light in that place would be a good mark for vessels to come in by...," Williamson

declared. Unfortunately for his constituents, most notably the Blounts, Williamson had hedged his endorsement with a caveat indicating that the location was exposed, and "would be in much danger during a severe gale of wind," and that the operating costs might be more than a light located on the Ocracoke Banks. Nevertheless, Williamson discounted the value of the proposed site on Ocracoke that was about a mile from the extreme point of sand at the inlet's mouth. He claimed that no benefit could be had by the elevation, as there was no stability on the dunes that "alters its appearance every time the wind blows."[30]

John Daves, the Collector at Edenton, delayed his response because he professed "total ignorance of the situations on the Island and coast." He subsequently made inquiries from inhabitants at the Inlet and hired a Mr. Lowther to make an inspection of the island, and then Daves made his report in June 1793. He notified Coxe that he could only provide a "faint idea" because there had been no survey of the island. Despite his claimed lack of knowledge, Daves strongly recommended a spot on Ocracoke Island as the most proper place.

Daves supported his recommendation with detailed facts. He pointed out that the land at Ocracoke was the highest land in the area and nearest to the sea. It addition the spot was as near the Sound as any other. He argued also that vessels arriving to cross the Bar in either direction must "make that land." The soil was compared favorably to that at Bald Head Island on the Cape Fear below Wilmington where another lighthouse had already been built, and digging could be done without fear. Contrary to Williamson's description, Daves claimed that

the sand near the proposed site was stable and had neither shifted nor drifted for fifty years.

Daves also pointed out that materials could be landed conveniently as a creek, which was navigable to boats of two and one-half to three foot draft, led to near spot. Materials, such as oyster shells and lime, were available locally, and pine lumber could be found at Cedar Island. Brick and stone, however, were not available from the area, and Daves could make no report on possible local candidates to undertake the construction project.[31]

Coxe considered both inputs before making his report to Alexander Hamilton in January 1794. The Commissioner of the Revenue began his report with an apology for the slowness of his response: twenty-one months had passed since the Senate had requested a report at its next session. Coxe explained that he had requested the information, but that the "difficulty of procuring a competent inspector" combined with the "sickness and death of the Collector at Edenton" created the delay.[32]

The Commissioner of the Revenue took the liberty to expand his study to include the whole of the Outer Banks. He determined that a light on Cape Hatteras would benefit not only those reaching for North Carolina's Inlets, but also those trading with the West Indies and Florida, because of the "dangerous nature of navigation on that coast," instead of just the few merchants, masters, and pilots working at Ocracoke. Therefore, Coxe proposed erecting a "stone

lighthouse of the first rate" at Cape Hatteras and building a small wooden lighthouse or beacon on the land ceded by North Carolina at Ocracoke.

Coxe based his decision to place a beacon at Ocracoke as fulfilling the original desires of the North Carolina legislature and the "traders in the vicinity." In addition, he argued that the beacon would serve mariners reaching the Inlet in late afternoon and evening. Coxe's rationale for the Ocracoke Light's location apparently originated from Williamson's 1792 "Observations." Williamson had stated that vessels could not cross the bar at night "without great danger", but that the light would provide a guidepost throughout the night so the vessels could lay off the Inlet during the dark and then cross in the daylight with the tide.[33]

The small wooden lighthouse or beacon recommended by Coxe for Ocracoke carried a cost of $1,500 based on a detailed estimate. The proposed, larger Cape Hatteras Lighthouse "would probably cost twenty thousand dollars," according to Coxe. He had based his estimate on "former precedents and the enhanced rates of wages and materials."[34] The Ocracoke Beacon estimate called for a wooden frame pyramid that would be fifty feet high, starting with a twenty-foot wide base and narrowing to twelve feet wide at the top. The Treasury set the width of the pyramid top "as it will be of great use as sailing mark by day and the larger the column the further it may be visible." Fifteen thousand board feet of lumber were required to complete the beacon at an estimated cost of £93 19s 2p delivered at the Inlet. Estimates were provided for both an iron lantern covered with copper and a wooden one, but the quoted cost was for "one of wood" for

£110 and represented the second largest individual item cost for the beacon. The largest line items were for an estimated labor cost of £150 and a keeper's house with an oil tank for £150 that combined for fifty-two percent of the total cost of £559 9s 2p.[35]

The recommendation of Coxe that Hamilton forwarded to the Senate obviously displeased the Blounts and Wallace who immediately responded with increased lobbying efforts to change the site preference. Within a month, John G. Blount and John Wallace mobilized almost sixty pilots, masters, and owners of vessels trading in and out of Ocracoke to sign a petition to select the Castle for the Beacon site. Blount forwarded the petition to his brother Thomas in Philadelphia. Thomas Blount read the petition in the House of Representatives and forwarded a copy to the Secretary of the Treasury. Thomas Blount planned to meet personally with Hamilton "to urge every reason...in its favor." He added that at the same time he would "not forget to throw cold water on Hatteras."[36]

The pilots and mariners petition urged Congress to place the proposed beacon Shell Castle in preference to Ocracoke. They based their arguments on improved navigation safety and effectiveness, reduced costs, and a better ability to provide for future coastal defense. Richard Wade, the key signatory and fifty-six others argued that a light at Ocracoke could only inform mariners that they had reached Ocracoke whereas a light at the Castle would be "a good mark for vessels to come in over the bar, by night and by day." They also thought that Shell Castle's location provided better navigational aid to vessels trying to round

the Straddle at the Southwest point of Royal Shoal and at Bluff Shoal. Wade and the others charged also that materials could be landed at the Castle cheaper than at any other place. They spuriously argued that the Castle offered the only site at which to erect a fort for coastal defense. As a final broadside, they broadly charged that there was no advantage of building at Ocracoke.[37]

While awaiting a response from Hamilton, the Senate proceeded to pass a navigation improvement bill for erecting a lighthouse on Cape Hatteras and a lighted beacon at Ocracoke. Thomas Blount feared that Tench Coxe, to whom Hamilton referred the pilots' petition for review and comment, had been impressed by the earlier reports supporting Ocracoke. He doubted that he could get Coxe to change his opinion. Nevertheless, Thomas Blount kept up his efforts to support the Shell Castle interests and he succeeded in persuading the House of Representatives to pass its own bill moving "to strike out Ocracoke and insert Beacon Island."[38]

By the end of March 1794, Alexander Hamilton forwarded Coxe's unfavorable report on the pilots' petition to Congress. Coxe believed that no basis existed for preferring the Shell Castle site, but he wrote his reply in balanced bureaucratic double talk. Coxe's answer relied on the original report by the inspector who had focused solely on potential locations "on some part of the chain of sandbanks, or islands, which bound the ocean from Cape Hatteras to Cape Lookout." He pointedly countered the pilots' first claim that the light would

enable vessels to cross the bar at night stating: "the inspector has represented 'that no vessel could venture over the bar or swash *in the night* [italics original].'"

Next, in response to congressional pressure, Coxe acknowledged that he had received consideration of Shell Castle from a "principal informant." This was Hugh Williamson's report that he had sent to Hamilton in December 1792. However, Coxe chose to portray Williamson's input as supporting the Ocracoke location. He reported that Williamson had hedged his report by "favoring in the first instance, the interior island [Shell Castle], but, nevertheless ultimately preferring the site on Occacock because the island within was not then supposed to afford a safe foundation." After denigrating the island location, Coxe tossed the Castle interest a bone by admitting that there was "reason to believe that the light could be safely built at the Castle." He also dismissed the "greater facility of defense" preference for the Castle as inadvisable "if otherwise less conducive to the proper uses of a lighthouse—*the warning* and *the direction* of navigation." Then Coxe fired his biggest salvo, reminding the secretary that "in a matter so perfectly local" one should recall that the North Carolina Assembly had not contemplated any site other than Ocracoke. He continued the "locals know best" argument and pointed out that the inspector had interviewed "the pilots who reside on the spot on local points," but there was no reported mention of the Shell Castle site. Coxe concluded by presenting testimony of a disinterested subject matter expert. He had referred the question to William Allibone, superintendent of the Delaware Lighthouse establishment, who reportedly disagreed with the

Shell Castle location. Hamilton, in his forwarding cover letter, and Coxe in his report, both failed to slam the door completely by concluding with a bureaucratic statement. The secretary hedged his comments claiming that "the opportunities for the future investigation have not been such as to authorize a definitive judgment."[39]

Grasping for this slight opening, Thomas Blount vowed to "strive to serve" his constituents when the Bill was read in the house despite Hamilton and Coxe's negative report. True to his word, the industrious Blount had applied his political influence during the week following receipt of Hamilton's response, and he notified his brother that the senate had agreed to support "any alteration" Blount proposed. With his spirits high from his senate victory, Thomas Blount expressed, "So now I am not without hope of getting the Beacon placed near Shell Castle on some one of our islands."[40]

A sanguine Thomas Blount reported his success in service to his brother and the petitioners in May 1794. "He had passed" the bill for erecting a lighthouse on the headland of Cape Hatteras and a lighted beacon on Shell Castle Island, and he took "pleasure" to send a copy of the bill to John G. Blount to whom the baton was passed. Now John G. Blount had to work to have the North Carolina Assembly pass an act ceding the land at the Castle before work on the lights could begin.[41]

Land cession difficulties would delay the erection of the Shell Castle and Cape Hatteras lights for four years and show the limits of the political influence of

the Blount's in North Carolina's legislature. Coxe immediately reminded North Carolina's congressmen that the state assembly must cede the island before the United States government could proceed to build the lighthouses. North Carolina quickly authorized the cession of Beacon Island for use as a lighthouse and fortification along with four acres on Cape Hatteras. However, the State's Assembly inexplicably deferred action on the Shell Castle cession until December 1794.[42]

The Blounts' seeming inability to get action on the Shell Castle cession illustrated the limits to the Blount's political influence. Apparently, the Blounts had more influence with the Federal government in Philadelphia through his brother and good friend Dr. Williamson than in Raleigh. John G. Blount had been unable to get the State to cede Shell Castle instead of Beacon Island, and had asked his brother to sponsor a bill to replace Shell Castle with Beacon Island as he had done before when he replaced Ocracoke Island with Beacon Island. Thomas Blount agreed to his brother's request, but he found it awkward. He was uncertain whether or not John Gray wanted to "have it removed at all events, or only in the case the assembly should refuse to cede Shell Castle." If Blount had the same influence in Raleigh as in Philadelphia, then the cession bill should have been easily passed. John G. Blount's reliance on his brother's ability to control issues at Philadelphia clearly showed an inability to get satisfactory results on the local level.[43]

By early 1795, North Carolina finally ceded as much land on Shell Castle as would be purchased by the government for the purpose of erecting a lighted Beacon. The land cessions from North Carolina carried stipulations that contracts must be awarded within three years of the cession and that the land would revert back to the original owners if the government failed to maintain the lighted beacon.[44] The former stipulation would prove to be an important impediment and cause for considerable anxiety at the Treasury.

At Shell Castle, however, shortly after the State had ceded the land, John Wallace was contemplating what the cession would mean to the partners. As he always looked to "turn a penny of profit", he told his partner, "You have ceded part of the Rock for light house, do less [let us] make them pay to help us out." He added a plea for continued political influence through the reelection of Thomas Blount, hoping to have "one friend in Congress." At the same time, Wallace and Blount were involved in land speculation at Cape Hatteras in hopes of reselling the land to the government at a considerable profit. Wallace proved to have deceitful trait in his dealings with the inhabitants of the cape. He traveled to the cape to survey the land, and then engaged some one to act as a front for him to buy a parcel of land there. While he was at the cape, he downplayed his interest in land and took up Thomas Blount's role of throwing cold water on Hatteras. Wallace spread the story that "the light house will never be built as it may come more cheap" to be built elsewhere.[45]

The federal government could not take any action on the legislation to erect the lighthouse and beacon until it held the title free and clear of any encumbrances. In the summer of 1797, North Carolina's land cession expired and made the transfer of property null and void. Coxe informed Senators Martin and William Blount of the new problem and provided an update on his actions concerning the Beacon since 1794. He explained that he had commissioned an inspection of the ground, published advertisements requesting bids in 1794. He repeated those ads in 1795 and had posted the request for proposals at one hundred public offices. As of 20 July 1797, he reported that not one offer had been made for the erection of the Beacon. He urged the State to re-cede the land at Cape Hatteras and Shell Castle on the same terms.[46]

Coxe moved quickly in the fall of 1797 to secure clear title to the lands for the Lighthouse and Beacon. He believed he had an acceptable contract and needed to purchase the two sites and gain the cession from the North Carolina Assembly. Coxe directed Samuel Tredwell, the new collector at Edenton, to buy immediately two lots of land and he described the desired lot sizes. The Beacon lot he directed would not have to be larger than "a common inn with its stables and yard in one of our cities," but he then hedged and prophetically advised, "But the larger the better because it will be a precaution against fire in case of wooden building to place the keeper's house, oil vault, and Beacon house at a little distance from each other." The overall lot size he recommended would be one-half to one acre.[47]

Tredwell was also advised to be aware of land speculators and high purchase prices. Coxe reminded the Collector that some sites had been donated, such as the thirty acres at Seguin Island, Massachusetts, and some three hundred acres from a Pennsylvania family. However, Coxe expected some trouble in the purchase of the North Carolina sites as he wrote, "I mention confidentially that I am apprehensive there may be some disposition to exact by interested landholders or recent purchasers and therefore have said this much to prepare you."

John Wallace obviously would not have supported the donation of part of his "rock," and he had purchased land at the cape for resale and not donation. Therefore, were Wallace and Blount some of the "recent purchasers" against whom Tredwell was warned? Coxe's communications with Tredwell in November tend to confirm that suspicion at least for the Cape Hatteras site. The letters also contained some sarcasm couched in overly polite bureaucratic language. Coxe urged Tredwell to "get what you can at the Cape as any one of 960 will answer the purpose." He had expected Shell Castle's asking price to "be small as already hinted."[48]

Perhaps Coxe experienced some second thoughts about directing Tredwell to get just any tract of land and feared he might do the same for the beacon. Just four days after writing him about the lighthouse land purchase, Coxe sent very explicit instructions:

> You will find upon recurrence to the printed notification sent you that the lighted Beacon House near occacock inlet in Pamplico sound is expressly fixed to be on Shell Castle Island, which also conforms with the law of

> 30th May 1794 in your bound volumes. My letter of 27 September also expressly mentions Shell Castle Island, twice---My letter of 3rd Instant also expressly mentions Shell Castle Island, as you will perceive.[49]

Then, confusingly, Coxe stated that the money could only lawfully be spent on Beacon Island. Perhaps he suffered from the same confusion about the two sites as had the North Carolina Legislature and the Congress. The ill effects of that confusion continued to plague the erection of the lights because Coxe sent separate notices to the North Carolina Representatives and to North Carolina's Secretary of State urging them to recede the site.[50]

With a signed contract ready to be sent to the President, Coxe urgently needed to get title to the sites. He pushed Tredwell to use "whatever measures are necessary were and are to be adopted." He also refined his desires for the Beacon site. He wanted a 100 by 100-foot square plot or "still better to have 50 by 200 which would contain the same area and enable us to put the Beacon House, vault, and dwelling house at a distance." The latter recommendation took into account Coxe's understanding that Shell Castle shoal was a "rock of oister shells half a mile in length and 60 feet wide."

The Commissioner of the Revenue still hoped for a quick and inexpensive purchase as he "expected Messrs. Blount and Wallace will not hesitate to accommodate the public upon terms the most candid and reasonable as the Lighthouse will be of greatest use to them."[51] Negotiations between Blount and Tredwell must have come to an impasse and forced them to refer the question of

fair market value to arbitration. The two appointed James Sessions and William Ross to appraise the value of a 70 feet by 140 feet lot. Sessions and Ross evidently visited the site and assigned a $200 value to a lot on the east end of the Castle and a $300 value to one on the west end. Coxe had probably given up on receiving the land free as he had hoped in his September letter to Tredwell. Nevertheless he must have experienced somewhat of shock when Tredwell forwarded the deeds in December.[52]

Wallace finally received his desired payment for the cession of part of the "old Rock" on 29 November 1797. He and Blount sold a parcel of unimproved land at Shell Castle that measured 70 feet by 140 feet. The deed listed the lot as

> beginning at the easternmost end thereof and to run along the rock to the westward with Wallace's Channel, seventy feet then northward at right angles with the first line, 140 feet, then eastwardly parallel to the first line, seventy feet then to the beginning.[53]

If the Castle were only sixty feet wide, as Coxe believed, then the government purchased a lot of which the dry portion was only sixty feet by seventy feet. The partners received the appraised $200 for the small lot. The purchase price was less than the $300 the partners had estimated as the value for just twenty feet of waterfront at the Castle, but the amount was the appraised value for a lot on the eastern end of the Castle.[54]

Nevertheless, the price must have seemed exorbitant to Coxe. For a local comparison, Tredwell purchased four acres at Cape Hatteras for fifty dollars, and,

later David Wallace sold twenty acres for ten dollars per acre that included significant waterfront at Portsmouth. Although the Shell Castle cost appeared to be high, a review of other lighthouse site purchases revealed that while the cost was high it fell within the highest cost per acre recorded for lighthouse land purchases. A site at Lynde Point of just 116 Rods sold for $225.20, and the Bald Head Island Lighthouse site had been purchased for fifty dollars an acre for ten acres.[55]

Astute businessmen, Blount and Wallace negotiated a non-compete clause that was included as a covenant on their deed of sale for the Shell Castle property. In their quest to monopolize commerce at the inlet, the partners sought to limit competition. The deed covenant stipulated that "the United States shall not permit goods to be stored, a tavern to be kept, spirits to be retailed or merchandise to be carried." It further prohibited the use of the Beacon site as a base for piloting or lightering. The covenant covered most of the activities the partners carried out at the Castle: piloting, lightering, keeping a tavern and spirit shop, and merchandising.[56]

Wallace and Blount profited well from the sale of the Shell Castle land; however, they were foiled in their land speculation at the cape. The land purchased by Tredwell at Cape Hatteras, where Coxe felt one acre as good as any other, bordered on a tract of land bought by the partnership. Christian Sennett, Thomas Farrow, and Joseph Farrow sold the land that had been held in trust for four minor Sennett children. To have Tredwell buy the lot adjacent to their

property, coupled with having to absorb the loss of the land, purchase must have infuriated Wallace and Blount. Therefore, the partners would only have netted $190 less the cost of the Cape Hatteras property.[57]

In what may have been one of his last acts as commissioner of Revenue, Tench Coxe declared himself "highly pleased with the terms on which the sites for the Lighthouse and Beacon have been obtained." Coxe using subtle sarcasm gave Thomas Blount "much credit" for his "liberality" in selling land that he felt should have come for free. In December 1797, Coxe believed he had found the right contractor, and assured Blount that both buildings would be "erected quickly and in a manner to please."[58]

Hopes for a quick completion were squashed when President Adams rejected the proposed contract and William Miller, Coxe's successor, revisited the land cession issue. Somehow Coxe had not pressed the issue about the land cession documents and had proceeded with the land purchase and contract recommendations without the proper documentation. Yet in January 1798, Miller alerted the Secretary of the Treasury that the discrepancy between the land ceded by North Carolina and the authorized site for the Beacon remained unresolved and "must be corrected before that part of business can be progressed in."[59]

Oliver Wolcott, secretary of treasury, informed Thomas Blount that the land had not been properly transferred. Apparently the state of North Carolina had again ceded Beacon Island and not Shell Castle. Thomas Blount notified his brother that unless the error was corrected the beacon could not be built at either

location. The law would neither allow erection of the Beacon on Beacon Island unless the law were amended nor the building of it at Shell Castle unless the site were first ceded. Exasperated, Thomas Blount noted that "I have all along supposed that that island or a part of it had been ceded by North Carolina."[60]

Thomas Blount conducted research into the land cession matter following his meeting with Oliver Wolcott. The research revealed that no one had seen the act ceding Shell Castle. Thomas directed his brother to forward a copy of it immediately; although, he feared that so much time had passed since the original cession that it might have expired. If it had, Thomas Blount wanted his brother's opinion about the cession being renewed. Thomas Blount was anxious to settle the question because he believed that the construction would begin as soon as the title arrived in Philadelphia.[61]

The proper papers finally arrived in August 1798. More than four years had passed since the original act to erect the lighthouse and beacon had passed and six years since directions were sent to John Daves to inspect the sites. In those six years, much work was done to further the erection of the two lights. Plans were drafted for each light and steps taken to identify contractors capable of completing the difficult project.

Beacon Design

The Beacon at Shell Castle underwent several design variations before the specifications were published in the request for proposals in 1794. Hugh Williamson, who had provided so much information about the inlet, also gave a detailed recommendation for specifications for the beacon. William Allibone, designer of the spar beacon, adapted Williamson's preliminary input. Allibone prepared a draft plan in February 1794 that was revised and set forth in a formal estimate that was submitted to the Senate. (See Figure 15)*.

Williamson recommended that the Ocracoke Light be forty feet high excluding the lantern. He reasoned that such a light did not need additional height because "the object...is not to guard vessels against distant danger, nor as a distant mark by which they shall steer." Vessels of any size could easily approach the coast within a half-mile of the Outer Banks for ten leagues east and west of Ocracoke argued Williamson. Therefore, he pointed to the benefit derived from a beacon at Ocracoke that provided a reference point "by which vessels may be enabled to keep the proper stations, so as to be ready to enter whenever the tide shall serve in the morning." Williamson estimated that the beacon could be built of cedar that was locally available at a rough cost $1,000.[62]

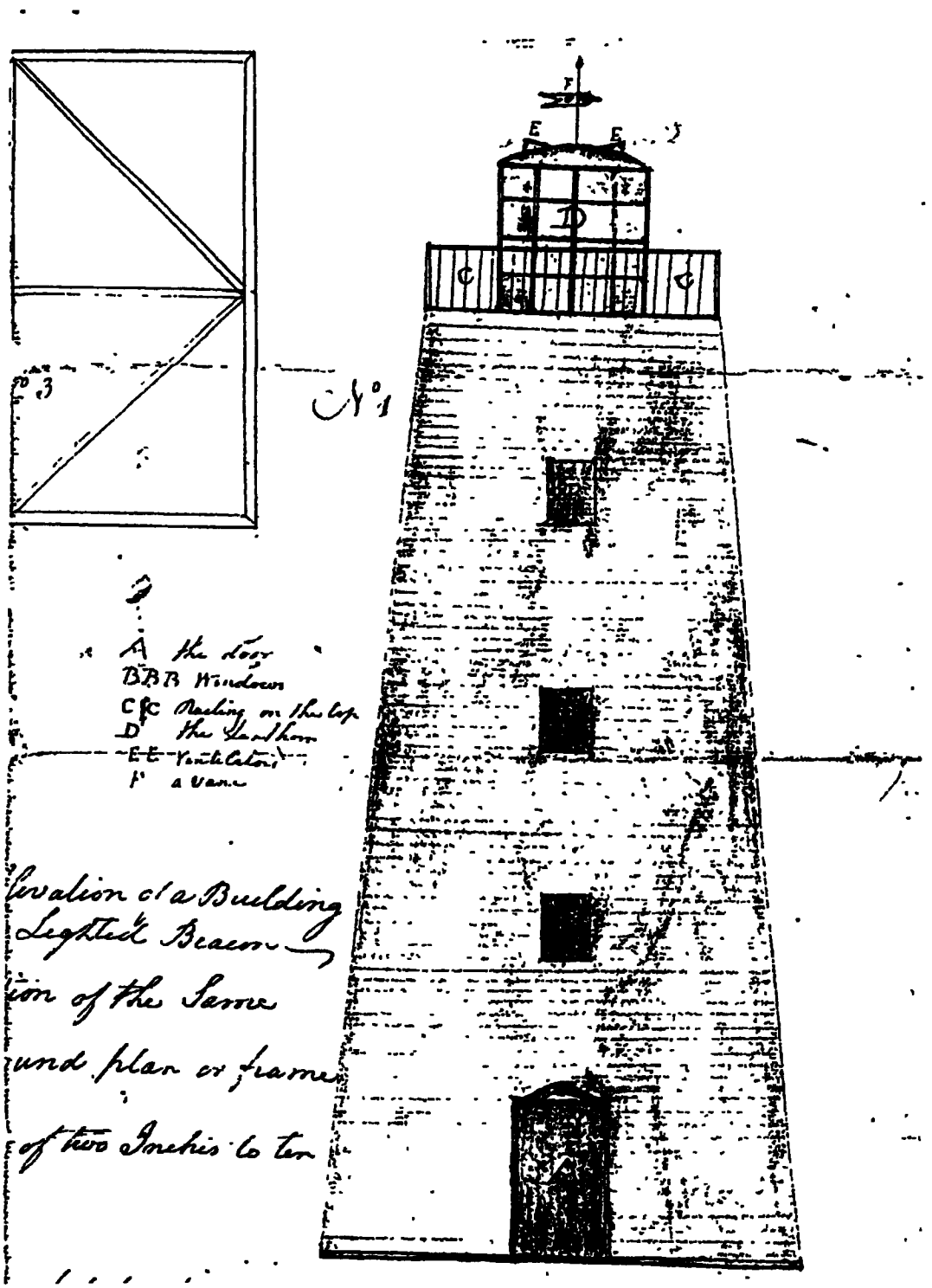


Figure 15. Elevation of Building a Lighted Beacon by William Allibone, 1794. (Source: Lighthouse Letters, Miscellaneous Correspondence, RG 26, NAB)

In early 1794, Allibone submitted a draft estimate and a formal estimate to the Treasury Department. The original draft request showed a beacon tower with a twenty-foot base that rose forty feet and narrowed to a width of twelve feet. The extreme width of the top was justified as being "necessary" and of "great use as a sailing mark by day and the larger the column the farther it may be visible." There were undoubtedly structural rational as well, such as tower stability and minimum size requirements for fitting the lantern apparatus with an allowance for the keeper to perform routine operations and maintenance. The Treasury Department revised Allibone's original plan and estimate. The beacon was increased in height by twenty-five percent to fifty feet and the estimated costs increased by £255. The cost increases included £150 for the keeper's dwelling house, which was not included in Allibone's estimate. The estimate for lighthouse specific items increased by a third with the bulk of the increase due to negative labor cost variances with proportional variances in material of approximately twenty-five percent that reflected the change in size between the two estimates.[63] (See Tables 3 and 4)

Table 3
Ocracoke Beacon Plan Dimensions

	Draft Estimate	Formal Estimate	Final Specification
Height	40	50	54.5
Base Diameter	20	20	23
Lantern Height	NA	5	6

Source: Lighthouse Letters, Miscellaneous Correspondence; Broadside, 7 March 1796, North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill.

The estimate draft plan differed considerably from the Request for Proposal Specification, the contract and the illustration on the Blount-Wallace pitchers. The difference between the draft plan and the bid specifications was the shape that originally called for a square or round shape but was changed to an octagonal pyramid. Most probably this change was made to ease the construction because wood planks could more readily be fitted to an octagonal shape rather than having to be fired and bent to a round design. The change in height and base width was directed by law after the Senate Committee led by Thomas Blount recommended an increase in size. Blount and others had the site moved to Shell Castle and they believed that the Castle's location of more than a mile from the Bar necessitated an increase in height to fifty-five feet and in base width

Table 4

Ocracoke Beacon Estimated Costs

	Draft Cost (£)	Percent of Total	Formal Cost (£)	Percent of Total
Wood*	93 19s 2p	16.8	77 15s	25.6
Cedar Framing	10	1.8	5	1.6
Nails, Spikes, Bolts	12 10s	2.2	10	3.3
Lamps & Chains	2 10s	0.5	2	0.7
Lantern Glass	7 10s	1.3	6 15	2.2
Window Glass	3	0.5	2 10	0.8
Workmanship	150	26.8	100	32.9
Painting (3 times)	20	3.6	20	6.6
Lantern, Iron	150	NA	120	39.5
Lantern, Wood	110	19.7	80	26.3
Keeper's House	150	26.8	NA	
Total	559 9s 2p	100	304 0s 0p	100

Source: NA, RG 26, Lighthouse Letters, Misc. Correspondence; Tench Coxe to Alexander Hamilton, 15 March 1794, *American State Papers*, Volume 14, 3rd Congress, 1st Session, No 21. reprinted in Cloud, *Ocracoke Lighthouse*.

to twenty-three feet. These dimensions were close to the bid specification requirements that called for a height fifty-four and one-half feet and twenty-three foot base diameter. The railing, lantern shape and ventilators and three windows, however, closely resemble the bid specifications and the shape of the Cape Hatteras light as seen in a Civil War drawing.[64] The lamp and lantern design was adapted from the design of General Benjamin Lincoln of Boston and was to be used for both the Cape Hatteras light and the Shell Castle beacon. Each would be modified to fit the importance of each light and the size of the lantern.

Beacon Contract Difficulties

The process of awarding the contract for the two lights at Cape Hatteras and Ocracoke was as difficult and clouded as that of obtaining the land cession. Blount and Wallace continued to apply political and financial influence to benefit their operations. The isolated nature of the Outer Banks would contribute to several years of delay as businessmen sought the best return on their investment. Others seeking to enhance their positions offered bribes and may have contributed to the removal of Tench Coxe from office. And then after a four-year process the contract would be awarded simultaneously with the resolution of the land cession.

The Treasury department directed wide publication and posting of the request for proposals to build the lighthouse at Cape Hatteras and the Beacon at Shell Castle. Beginning in the spring of 1795, a request for proposals was printed

in gazettes in Richmond, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and two local North Carolina gazettes. The bid request was printed for eight consecutive weeks in the New Bern Gazette for thirty dollars.[65]

No one responded to the bid requests despite the Treasury's having taken what Coxe called "much more than the usual pains." He ascribed the reasons to a "paucity of workmen, in skill and capital" for such work. Several months after receiving information from Coxe about the lack of bids, Thomas Blount responded with a detailed explanation as to why no bids had been proffered.

Blount expressed no surprise at the lack of bids from North Carolina and offered four reasons for the lack of response. First, Blount believed that North Carolinians received a good return on their investments in commerce and agriculture, and that no one had enough reserve capital "to tempt him into more arduous & less profitable enterprises." Second, according to Blount, the area lacked the resources to supply the required brick and stone and the "people of that country" were unfamiliar with the procurement of the stone and brick.

The lack of familiarity with building stone was one especially felt by the Blounts. They were interested presenting a bid, but did not have a preferred supplier of stone. Just weeks before Thomas Blount wrote his letter to Coxe, his brother had received a letter from a Georgetown supplier that confirmed the trouble the Blount's were having finding a stone supplier. John Mitchell forwarded a quote on building stone prices of "such as the foundation of the

capital Presidents house is laid with," and he later shipped a load of stone to the Blounts on speculation that it would meet their "approbation and expectations."[66]

Thomas Blount continued to list the reasons for no bids having surfaced from North Carolina. The third reason was the lack skilled artisans located in the area and the limited time to complete the building. He combined this issue with the problem that local contractors were unfamiliar with the costs and procedures for hiring masons and bricklayers from other regions. Finally, Blount blamed geographic and economic factors. Blount pointed out that the lighthouse sites were

> "almost as remote from the seaport towns of that state as from Philadelphia or New York...as the materials for building must be carried to it by water in vessels capable of going to sea. (Pamlico Sound through which they must pass being at times as boisterous as the ocean)."

In addition to the ease of transportation from the North, Blount believed the materials could be "furnished cheaper & better" in New York or Philadelphia.[67]

Beyond the regional factors limiting the bids, Blount blamed key items in the bid specifications. He claimed that the locals found two requirements to be "insuperable." Each site possessed one insuperable geologic issue. At Cape Hatteras, people felt the foundation, which was specified to be "sunk thirteen feet below the surface of the earth," could only be sunk eight or nine feet. The land on the Banks had no clay layer in the soil, and that the lighthouse foundation must be

placed on one of the low lying savannas under which one usually found water in less than ten feet.

In addition to the foundation objection, Blount predicted that the contractor would meet with considerable expense and difficulty in transporting materials from the sound to the site at the Cape. Blount dismally described moving all the material over a mile of water in flat bottomed boats, and once ashore, hauling it all three more miles across the island with "the way so sandy that oxen cannot be used because the sand would split their feet." This issue would become a central reason for rejecting a proposed bid in 1798.

The principal objection to Shell Castle's specifications also rested on its foundation requirements. The request for proposal called for the foundation to be sunk nine and one-half feet below the surface. Blount explained, however, that the Shell Castle site was a "solid rock or bed of oister shells and sand possessing the solidity of Rock" and it stood about a foot above water at normal high tide. Based on this, he felt the foundation could not be sunk at all, but that it would rest on the surface and should be built up to height of four to five feet, "which is as high as the tide at any time rises."

True to his pledge from February to "throw cold water on Hatteras," Blount informed Coxe that he did not know of anyone who would "undertake to build the House upon any plan." He added that he thought it probable that bidders could be found for the Shell Castle Beacon "if the plan was altered as suggested."

Thomas Blount was obviously thinking about his brother and Wallace and attempting to disguise his involvement.[68]

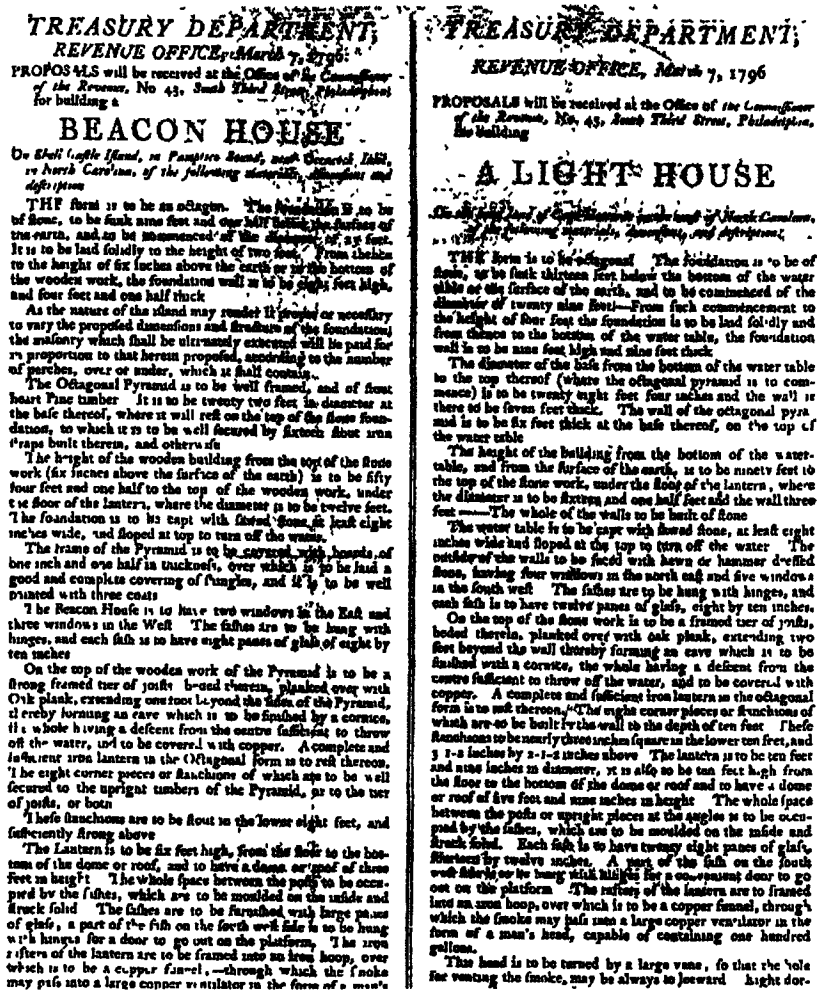
Coxe promptly responded to Blount's letter the next day with the efficiency of a seasoned bureaucrat. He told Blount that the lack of bids was not unexpected, although he had thought it would be due to workmen finding more lucrative and less arduous employment and not for reasons relative to the foundations of which he had not been aware. Coxe double talked through the issue of the foundation. First, he defended the Treasury's specification claiming that "the greatest care was taken to obtain information by actual inspection in the case of Hatteras." He then provided two examples in which the liberal minded department had made modifications to bid specifications. "Such modifications as necessity dictated, or obvious expediency recommended, have been hitherto cheerfully admitted, on a compromise of cost by the contractor and by the Treasury." In the instance at Shell Castle, Coxe considered this to be a case where change was dictated. He agreed to "adopt any modification" proposed by a qualified contractor who submitted a bid. He concluded by encouraging Thomas Blount to help obtain bids "in any form for either object."[69]

Coxe was anxious to erect the Lighthouse and Beacon, but as 1795 closed no bids had been received. No progress was recorded in Congress on the contracts. Thomas Blount reported the delay was caused by the bribery of Robert Randall and Charles Whitney. The two had been involved in pointing out the defects of North Carolina's workmen. The record provides no further information

on the nature of the bribery or its results. However, their actions could have prejudiced people against awarding either contract to a Carolinian.[70]

The Treasury Department re-advertised the request for proposals in 1796 with greater success. Broadsides were posted at each Lighthouse Superintendents' office and advertisements were published in Baltimore, Norfolk, New York, Boston, New London and North Carolina twice a week for eight weeks. (See Figure 16) Coxe specifically targeted North Carolina builders. He directed the local collectors to request bids from local contractors and he even sought referral assistance from the committee building the University of North Carolina.[71]

Again despite the Treasury's best efforts, no bids for Shell Castle emerged and only two for Cape Hatteras. One of the two bidders was John G. Blount. Apparently having resolved his stone supply problems, he bid for the Cape Contract and offered to erect the Cape Hatteras Lighthouse for $35,000. However, he proposed to start construction in 1797. This delay was probably based on the time required to obtain the stone from the Potomac supplier. The other competitor for the Cape Hatteras contract submitted a bid of £ 24,198 7s ($64,528.93 in Pennsylvania Money), but made several objections to the bid specifications for the well and foundation.



TREASURY DEPARTMENT;
REVENUE OFFICE, March 7, 1796.

PROPOSALS will be received at the Office of the Commissioner of the Revenue, No 45, South Third Street, Philadelphia, for building a

BEACON HOUSE

On Shell Castle Island, in Pamptico Sound, south Ocracock Inlet, in North Carolina, of the following materials, dimensions and description

THE form is to be an octagon. The foundation is to be of stone, to be sunk nine feet and one half below the surface of the earth, and to be commenced of the diameter of 35 feet. It is to be laid solidly to the height of two feet, from thence to the height of six inches above the earth or to the bottom of the wooden work, the foundation wall is to be eight feet high, and four feet and one half thick

As the nature of the island may render it proper or necessary to vary the proposed dimensions and structure of the foundation, the masonry which shall be ultimately executed will be paid for in proportion to that herein proposed, according to the number of perches, over or under, which it shall contain.

The Octagonal Pyramid is to be well framed, and of frost heart Pine timber It is to be twenty two feet in diameter at the base thereof, where it will rest on the top of the stone foundation, to which it is to be well secured by sixteen stout iron straps built therein, and otherwise

The height of the wooden building from the top of the stone work (six inches above the surface of the earth) is to be fifty four feet and one half to the top of the wooden work, under the floor of the lantern, where the diameter is to be twelve feet. The foundation is to be capt with hewed stone at least eight inches wide, and sloped at top to turn off the water.

The frame of the Pyramid is to be covered with boards of one inch and one half in thickness, over which is to be laid a good and complete covering of shingles, and it is to be well painted with three coats

The Beacon House is to have two windows in the East and three windows in the West The sashes are to be hung with hinges, and each sash is to have eight panes of glass of eight by ten inches

On the top of the wooden work of the Pyramid is to be a strong framed tier of joists broad ways, planked over with Oak plank, extending one foot beyond the sides of the Pyramid, thereby forming an eave which is to be finished by a cornice, the whole having a descent from the centre sufficient to throw off the water, and to be covered with copper. A complete and sufficient iron lantern in the Octagonal form is to rest thereon. The eight corner pieces or stanchions of which are to be well secured to the upright timbers of the Pyramid, or to the tier of joists, or both

These stanchions are to be stout in the lower eight feet, and sufficiently strong above

The Lantern is to be six feet high, from the sash to the bottom of the dome or roof, and to have a dome or roof of three feet in height The whole space between the posts to be occupied by the sashes, which are to be moulded on the inside and struck solid The sashes are to be furnished with large panes of glass, a part of the fifth on the south west side is to be hung with hinges for a door to go out on the platform, The iron rafters of the lantern are to be framed into an iron hoop, over which is to be a copper funnel, —through which the smoke may pass into a large copper ventilator in the form of a man's

TREASURY DEPARTMENT;
REVENUE OFFICE, March 7, 1796

PROPOSALS will be received at the Office of the Commissioner of the Revenue, No. 45, South Third Street, Philadelphia, for building

A LIGHT HOUSE

On the [illegible] Island, in Pamptico Sound, south Ocracock Inlet, in North Carolina, of the following materials, dimensions, and description;

THE form is to be octagonal The foundation is to be of stone, to be sunk thirteen feet below the bottom of the water table at the surface of the earth, and to be commenced of the diameter of twenty nine feet;—From such commencement to the height of four feet the foundation is to be laid solidly and from thence to the bottom of the water table, the foundation wall is to be nine feet high and nine feet thick

The diameter of the base from the bottom of the water table to the top thereof (where the octagonal pyramid is to commence) is to be twenty eight feet four inches and the wall is there to be seven feet thick. The wall of the octagonal pyramid is to be six feet thick at the base thereof, on the top of the water table

The height of the building from the bottom of the water-table, and from the surface of the earth, is to be ninety feet to the top of the stone work, under the floor of the lantern, where the diameter is to be fifteen and one half feet and the wall three feet ——The whole of the walls to be built of stone

The water table is to be capt with hewed stone, at least eight inches wide and sloped at the top to turn off the water The outside of the walls to be faced with hewn or hammer dressed stone, leaving four windows in the north east and five windows in the south west The sashes are to be hung with hinges, and each sash is to have twelve panes of glass, eight by ten inches.

On the top of the stone work is to be a framed tier of joists, bedded therein, planked over with oak plank, extending two feet beyond the wall thereby forming an eave which is to be finished with a cornice, the whole having a descent from the centre sufficient to throw off the water, and to be covered with copper. A complete and sufficient iron lantern in the octagonal form is to rest thereon. The eight corner pieces or stanchions of which are to be built in the wall to the depth of ten feet These stanchions to be nearly three inches square in the lower ten feet, and 3 1-2 inches by 2-1-2 inches above The lantern is to be ten feet and nine inches in diameter, it is also to be ten feet high from the floor to the bottom of the dome or roof and to have a dome or roof of five feet and nine inches in height The whole space between the posts or upright pieces at the angles is to be occupied by the sashes, which are to be moulded on the inside and struck solid. Each sash is to have twenty eight panes of glass, thirteen by twelve inches. A part of the sash on the south west side is to be hung with hinges for a convenient door to go out on the platform The rafters of the lantern are to framed into an iron hoop, over which is to be a copper funnel, through which the smoke may pass into a large copper ventilator in the form of a man's head, capable of containing one hundred gallons.

The head is to be turned by a large vane, so that the hole for venting the smoke, may be always to leeward Light dor-

Figure 16. Treasury Department Broadside, 7 March 1796, advertising a request for proposals for Shell Castle Beacon and the Cape Hatteras Lighthouse (Source: North Carolina Collection, (Cb 614.865,US8r), University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)

In his report forwarding the two Cape Hatteras bids to Alexander Hamilton, Coxe attached an explanation explaining the lack of bids and the quality of the existing bids. He blamed the "difficulty getting laborers" as the key problem. "Northern workmen have some just objection and some prejudices against the eastern part of North Carolina and therefore will be high in demand."[72]

The Treasury Department rejected both bids in September 1796. Mr. Hampton's bid exceeded the $44,000 authorized budget for the erection of both lights. In addition, Coxe had concerns about the reservations Hampton made regarding the well and foundation. The Blount bid was turned down because of the 1797 start date and several terms that did not meet the specifications.[73]

Efforts to find a contractor continued in 1797 with two new players offering bids and the Blounts withdrawing from contention. Coxe tirelessly pushed potential bidders to submit bids and revisited prior bidders when circumstances changed that might make it more favorable for the contractor. One New York bricklayer received a letter from Coxe who stressed the opportunity to make money on the project because of no better employment: "As the approaching summer has every appearance of being a dull and difficult one in the building line...the erecting of these buildings might be an object of importance and advantage...." One month later, Coxe urged John McComb, Jr., the bricklayer, to reconsider bidding as "freight is lower and money valuable."[74]

McComb succumbed to Coxe's entreaties and promises of profit and submitted bid to undertake the Cape Hatteras contract for $37,500. The high cost, in comparison to other work McComb had done for the Treasury, was due the difference "between going to a near and healthy situation like the East end of Long Island as he conceived and a sickly place like Hatteras."[75] The bid was forwarded for consideration; however, Coxe made another attempt to generate a competing bid that would be more favorable to the government.

Coxe turned to Henry Dearborn with whom he had been in discussion earlier that summer regarding the design of the Shell Castle Beacon. Coxe indicated that he considered Dearborn's "ideas on Shell Castle Island... correct," and notified him of the impending action on the Cape Hatteras contract. Dearborn was requested to submit a detailed bid as Coxe warned him that "it is possible an inconvenience to yourself and United States could arise from postponement."[76]

Subsequently Coxe forwarded a contract bid from Dearborn with an exuberant endorsement that recapped the difficulties of the past three years.

> This contract is so much more favorable than the three proposals which I have before communicated and so much delay and difficulty have arisen in obtaining so good a contract that I do not perceive any probability of advantage in further indeavors. And indeed considering those circumstances with the cost of such buildings in the Best Places thirty years ago, the advanced prices of provisions, materials, labor and workmanship, the large dimensions of the Hatteras lighthouse, and the opinions held by many of the unhealthiness of the climate near the great marshes---this contract is more advantageous to the United States than I have for a long time expected.[77]

Coxe's enthusiasm was understandable. Dearborn had offered to construct both the Hatteras Lighthouse and the Shell Castle Beacon for a total cost of $34,500. The favored bid was almost $10,000 less than the budget ceiling and less than the two other bids that had only offered to build the Hatteras lighthouse. He viewed the long process as close to moving forward to complete the congressional mandate. He immediately directed Samuel Tredwell to buy the land and notified the North Carolina Congressional delegation that a contract had been signed. Coxe described the prospective contractor as a person with " character and situation" and who had "with fidelity and judgment executed a similar contract."[78]

Unfortunately, the work on the Cape Hatteras and Shell Castle contract would be one of Coxe's last acts as Commissioner of Revenue. Oliver Wolcott had some problem with the development of the proposed contract and the entire bidding process. After he had received Coxe's endorsement of Dearborn's proposal, Wolcott requested copies of all correspondence between Coxe and Dearborn on the subject and the same between Coxe and a Philadelphia entrepreneur Robert Worrall.[79]

Coxe had been under attack by Secretary Oliver Wolcott since the spring of 1797. By December, Wolcott had gathered enough evidence to believe "there is sufficient reason for Mr. Coxe's dismission," and President Adams removed him from office.[80] No official reason was given for the dismissal; however, issues

related to the Dearborn contract and the bid from Mr. Worrall suggest that Mr. Coxe may have been benefiting from kickbacks or bribes.

Robert Worrall, a naïve Englishman living in Philadelphia, offered a bribe to Coxe in September 1797. Worrall had been meeting with Coxe throughout the summer and in the course of those conversations offered to split the estimated £1,400 profit with the commissioner. The meetings took place in Philadelphia, Burlington and Trenton to discuss and refine Worrall's plan and estimate for the contract. On one occasion, "Mr. Coxe said, 'Worrall, there must be five hundred pounds left in my hand when the work is finished and you must communicate it to me in writing.'" Based on the meeting, Worrall put the bribe on paper as directed in a letter dated 28 September. Worrall also reported that Coxe continued to meet with him and had led him to believe that the award of the contract to Worrall was imminent and that Worrall could be in Carolina as early as the fall of 1797 to order materials.[81]

Coxe reported the bribe offer to the secretary of the treasury and the president. He also obtained supporting evidence—the letter from Worrall—which he provided to Supreme Court Justice William Paterson for review. Justice Paterson believed that the federal court could use the common law to prosecute attempted bribery of a federal official because no statute existed under which to prosecute the offense. Worrall's case was heard in Pennsylvania Circuit Court in April 1798. The two presiding judges, Supreme Court Justice Samuel Chase and

District Court Judge Richard Peters, imposed a short prison term and a small fine on Worrall.[82]

The other proposal under review by Wolcott, Dearborn's bid, also probably contributed to Coxe's ouster. The bid, so highly praised by Coxe, had glaring deficiencies in several clauses that could have created significant cost overruns. In February 1798, President Adams rejected the contract because of "prominent objection" to several points appearing to "be wholly vague and uncertain and expressly refined to future discussion and arbitrament." Apparently, the clause in question required the government to pay for any additional material transportation costs above a distance of one mile from the landing at Cape Hatteras. William Miller had learned that the distance from the sound side landing to the Cape was two and one-half to three miles and he feared the additional public expense. He most probably had read Thomas Blount's 1796 letter warning of transportation problems at Hatteras. A second problem caused by "inexplicit terms" related to the Lighthouse foundation about which Miller wanted to get "more material information."[83] It seems odd that Coxe, the seasoned contract expert, would have missed these points, especially since he had a copy of the Cape Hatteras survey and had fully answered Blount about the foundation. Whether this was a mere oversight or a manner to allow for cost overruns that might end up in Coxe's "hand when the work is finished," is uncertain. Regardless, the two issues were part of the information Wolcott used to force Coxe from office.

Miller believed the vagueness of the two points could be refined; however, he informed the president of the existence of "an insurmountable objection against the proposed contract." Once more the land cession issue intervened to delay construction. The problem remained the variance between the congressional designation of Shell Castle as the site of the Beacon and the cession of Beacon Island by the North Carolina legislature. The deed for the Cape Hatteras site had been obtained by the 1797 cession by North Carolina.[84]

Thus, with the rejection of the Dearborn proposal, the Treasury Department reopened the bidding process for a fourth time. Letters were sent to all the previous applicants encouraging resubmission as "none of the proposals yet offered for that object have been approved."[85] William Miller personally notified Dearborn that the contract, so highly praised by his predecessor, had been disapproved. Despite the rejection of the proposal, Miller invited Dearborn to resubmit a bid proposal provided the terms "were rendered sufficiently explicit and determinate."[86] Miller took the additional step to forward a copy of the 1793 Cape Hatteras site review conducted by William Lowther to Dearborn for review. Miller hoped that given the "advantage of increased confidence, improvements might thereby be suggested and the error and imperfections of the former plan (if there are any) pointed out" by Dearborn in a second bid.[87]

Among those interested in bidding for the contracts were the hapless Worrall and the Blounts. Worrall offered himself as a contractor for the Cape Hatteras and Shell Castle projects. He explained to Miller how he had been led to

unintentionally "offend the law of the United States" with his kickback offer to Tench Coxe. Amazingly, after exculpating himself and restating his character, Worrall rebid for the contract by subtracting the amount of the bribe. "As I have stated the prophets [sic] of the two jobbs in my letter to Mr. Coxe at 1,400 pounds, offering him one half, there of I think it my duty to say that I will make an abatement of seven hundred pounds from my estimate."[88]

Thomas Blount visited Miller at his office in May and inquired obliquely whether or not separate bids on the Shell Castle Beacon would be entertained. Miller's reply makes it unclear whether Blount was seeking information for his brother or another potential bidder as he wrote, "When you honor'd me with a call the other day, you intimated that there was a likelihood of a proposition for erecting the Beacon on Shell Castle Island coming from some person in North Carolina." Miller encouraged the submission, as it would provide a point of comparison for the Treasury.[89]

The Blounts or the person for whom Thomas Blount was inquiring chose not to offer a bid. Only two bids were received excluding Worrall's bid that had been disqualified. John McComb, Jr. renewed his bid of $37,500 for the Cape Hatteras light only and Henry Dearborn resubmitted his bid for both sites. Dearborn, however, had increased his bid to $38,450 in order to cover the increased transportation cost at the cape and to accommodate changes in the foundation specifications.[90]

Once more, Dearborn's proposal contained too many loopholes that the Treasury feared would increase the overall cost. Miller informed Dearborn that the Treasury had been embarrassed by the latitude Dearborn had reserved for himself and that the contract could not be forwarded until it was more specific. According to Miller, the Treasury could only accept "explicit proposals the expense whereof to the United States can be ascertained and fixed." Dearborn's bid apparently contained a clause that would have allowed for cost increases if the Quasi-war forced changes in costs. Miller discounted the proposed clause and placed the risk on the contractor writing, "with respect to a war with France and the effect it may produce...you must be well qualified for judging, but in my opinion it will neither increase the rates of labour, materials or the freights of coasters." In order to limit the vagueness of Dearborn's proposal, Miller took the extraordinary step to provide Dearborn with a fill in the blank contract. The contract defined specific performance and specifications and provided blanks for Dearborn to enter the sum and period of payment.[91]

The contract returned by Dearborn contained several variances from the request for proposal specifications. Miller, as his predecessor, allowed the contractor to make revisions to foundation specifications at Shell Castle. Dearborn planned an octagonal form with a twenty-three-foot diameter and a stone foundation to be sunk five feet below the surface instead of the specified nine feet. The stone would be laid solid for two feet and rising from there to a height of six inches above earth. The foundation would be three and one-half feet

high and four and one-half feet thick. The specification called for lantern support stanchions to be "Stout," but Dearborn provided more detail. He called for two by two and one-half inch thick stanchions in the lower eight feet and two by two stanchions above the floor of the lantern. Dearborn also specified that the smallest diameter of the lantern would four feet six inches.[92]

The contract delineated the overall cost and specific payment for performance milestones. Dearborn was to receive $8,000 when he first purchased material. He would receive $6,000 when the first story beams of the Cape Hatteras Lighthouse were laid which would be followed by an additional $6,000 when the lantern was finished. Completion of the Shell Castle Beacon foundation would authorize release of $3,000 and another $3,000 when the Beacon's lantern was raised. Dearborn would receive a final payment of $10,450 when the work was complete and approved. Dearborn was required to post a surety bond of $56,000.[93]

President Adams approved the contract in October 1798 more than four years since Congress authorized the erection of the lights. The contracting process had been more arduous and costly than expected. There had been only four bidders on the contract and only one qualified contractor offered to build the Shell Castle Beacon. The process led to the conviction of one man for bribery and the establishment of legal precedent for the United States. It also was partially responsible for the removal from office of Tench Coxe.

In addition, the contract cost greatly exceeded the original estimate of $21,500 for both lights. Dearborn's contract specifically authorized $6,000 for construction of the Shell Castle Beacon plus a portion of a remaining $18,450. The $6,000 that can be directly linked to the Castle Beacon was four times Allibone's 1794 estimate. Nevertheless, the contract was awarded for $5,500 less than the congressional ceiling to a proven contractor. Therefore, as 1798 closed and with the contract secured and the bonds posted, it was hoped the lighthouses would be built quickly and be in place in 1799.

Beacon Construction

The account of Dearborn's execution of the Cape Hatteras Lighthouse and Shell Castle Beacon contract would not have been out of place in the pages of the *New York Times* or *Washington Post* in the 1980s when reports of government contractor delays, cost overruns, and shoddy performance were prevalent. Work that was expected to be completed within a year at the Castle and two years at Cape Hatteras would drag on for another four years and disputes over contract compliance would continue until decided by an arbitrator in 1824. The delays were caused by many of the elements Coxe had determined for the lack of bids: the unhealthiness of the area, weather, material transportation problems at the Cape, and a lack of skilled artisans.

In December 1798, however, both the government and the contractor were confident and anxious to get started with the building. Dearborn had ordered material in Boston for the upcoming work season in November and received his $8,000 advance for materials in December. Miller expected workmen to embark for the cape "as soon as the season will permit."[94]

Dearborn planned to build the Shell Castle Beacon first and at the same time to determine the obstacles to be overcome at Cape Hatteras. The cape light would be the focus of the second season's operations. Writing from Pittstown, Maine, in May 1799, Dearborn notified the Treasury Department that his preparations were in a "state of forwardness" and that he planned to set out for North Carolina with frames and material for the wooden beacon by the first part of June. He asked that a designated overseer meet him at Shell Castle "in order that the work may progress without loss of time." The overseer was assigned to point out the location of the sites for the beacon, the lighthouse and associated buildings and to inspect the contractor's work.[95]

Unfortunately, the caprice of the sea struck Dearborn's hopes to avoid "loss of time." An accident at sea damaged one of Dearborn's vessels forcing him into Boston for repairs and refitting. Miller initially believed that the accident would not cause any material delay; however, after three months had passed without word from either Dearborn or Tredwell, he became anxious. Miller wrote both men inquiring about the progress and estimated about when the building would be completed. Tredwell responded that the work was progressing

well, but his report contained no specifics. The reported progress, however, prompted Miller to release $2,000 to Dearborn.[96]

The Treasury Department estimate for expenditures in 1800 called for the completion of the work at Shell Castle and Cape Hatteras. The same report optimistically allocated funds for oil to light the lamps at the two lighthouses.[97] Dearborn and number of workmen hired to assist him sailed for Cape Hatteras in March 1800 to begin work for a second season. This year the focus was on the foundation of the Cape Hatteras light. Again, Mr. Tredwell was requested to be on hand as Dearborn was "determined to proceed with vigour this season." A strictly literal interpretation of Dearborn's statement would lead one to conclude that he was claiming to have used vigour in the previous season; however, the lack of data would tend not to support such a claim.[98]

Miller wanted Tredwell to monitor progress at the cape in order to provide periodic updates. However, Miller must have been uncertain as to the progress through March because he then directed Tredwell to submit a statement on what had been done up to that point. The record failed to provide that initial report from Tredwell; however, by May he was ready to inspect the bulk of materials to see that they were of "good quality and of the right kind."[99]

By mid-July all work on the lights ceased. Fever and expense had taken their toll. The work season was suspended because thirteen of the workmen and hands had been sick with fever and one had died. Mr. Dudley Hobart, Dearborn's partner and overseer, fearing for the safety of the remaining workers and the

health of the sick sent the work crew home to recover. At the same time, Dearborn was in Washington and personally applied for additional payment. He requested that $500 be made payable directly to him in Washington and an additional $2,000 on account at Edenton with Mr. Tredwell. This amount exceeded the amount authorized by Miller earlier that spring to be paid when the first story beams were in place at Cape Hatteras. The amount was forwarded to Dearborn and marked the first of several exceptions to the payment schedule. By the fall of 1800, $18,500, almost half of the total authorized, had been paid to Dearborn, and the work was behind schedule and over budget.[100]

Miller was still anxious to get a complete report on just what Dearborn had accomplished since 1799. Progress on the Shell Castle construction was nearly complete by October 1800 although not finished despite two seasons of effort. The Beacon had been erected and covered and would be complete as soon as the lantern, which was ready at Philadelphia, could be shipped and installed. The Lighthouse keeper's accommodation was also nearly complete. While at Cape Hatteras, the keeper's house and well were complete and the foundations had been laid and the first story beams raised.[101]

Sickness, delay and unexpected costs continued to plague the operations at the cape in 1800. Dearborn planned to make arrangement in the fall for completing the work the following summer; however, he needed "a reasonable supply of money." He requested $4-6,000 because "the difficulties which he has had and still has to surmount are so much greater than he calculated on." Despite

the fact that the contractor had not met the progress required to trigger payment advances, the Secretary of the Treasury granted an additional $4,000 advance. Still that was not enough. Dearborn sought an additional $1,500 in December 1800 that he proclaimed was "essentially necessary to enable him to complete the whole work at Cape Hatteras and Shell Castle" early in the ensuing summer. The Treasury acquiesced once more and advanced the funds as a reasonable accommodation to relieve Dearborn of his difficulties.[102]

The commissioner of revenue expressed concern for "the accommodation and safety" of the building of the Shell Castle Beacon and recommended surrounding the foundations with a small wharf. He directed Mr. Tredwell to consider plans to insure the safety of the buildings and to determine whether or not anyone "on the spot (Mr. Wallace) or neighborhood" would accept the contract and at what price.[103]

Another year would pass before action would be taken to secure the foundation at the Shell Castle Beacon. By the spring of 1801, Mr. Tredwell had forwarded a plan, which has since been lost, to Miller and he was to instruct General Dearborn's workers to attend to the project after they arrived at the Cape f\or the coming season.[104]

Miller then provided Dearborn with a contract addendum and sketch of the proposed foundation (See Figure 17) Dearborn consented to secure the foundation of the beacon and dwelling house. He proposed to run an

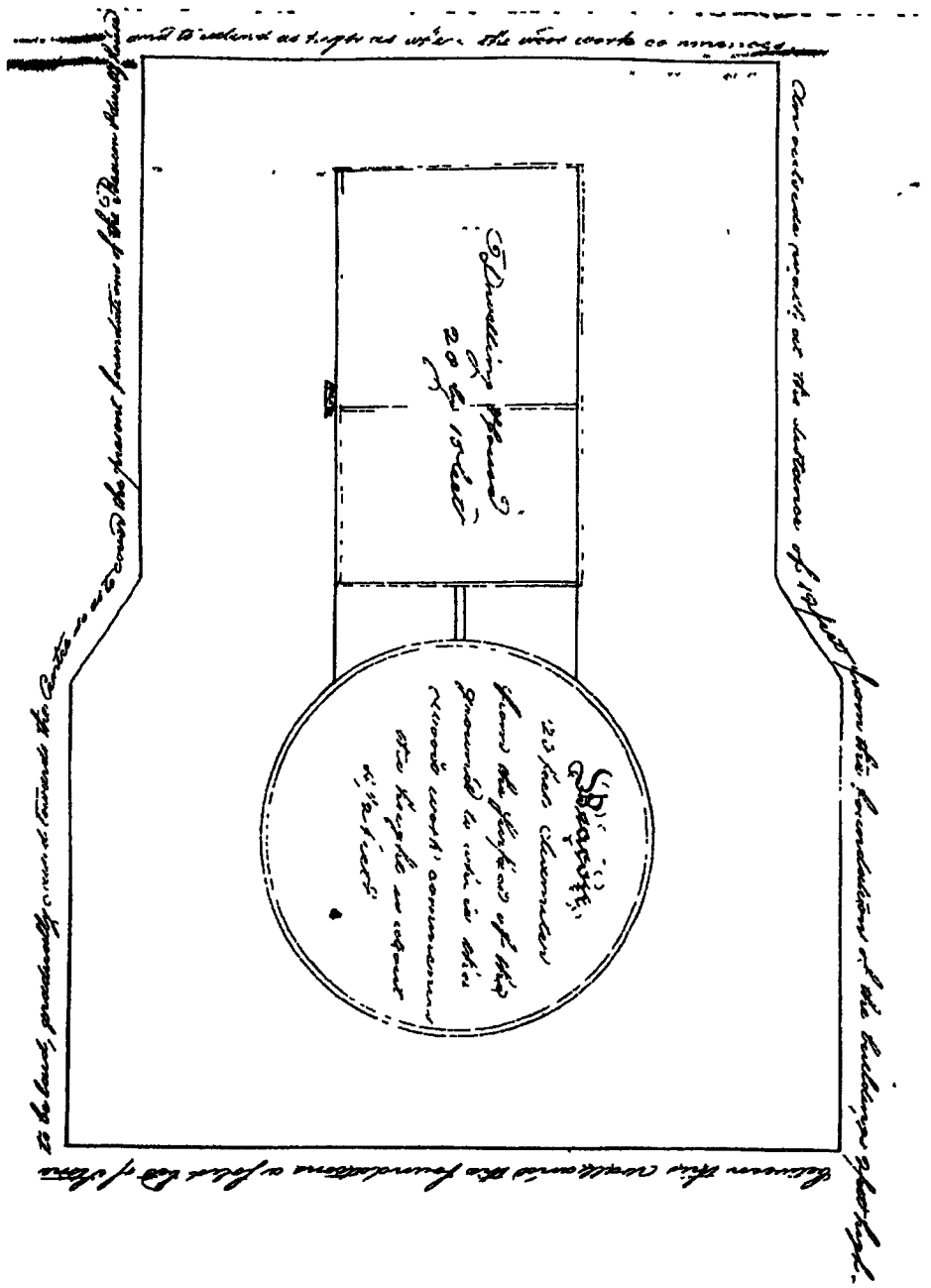


Figure 17. Plan for securing the foundations of Shell Castle Beacon. (Source: William Miller, Jr. to Henry Dearborn, 18 July 1801, Records of the Treasury Department, Deeds and Contracts, Volume 1, RG 26. NAB)

> outside wall at the distance of twelve feet from the foundation of the building, two feet high, between the wall and the foundation, solid bed of stone was to have been laid gradually rising towards the centre so as to cover the foundation and to extend as high as where the woodwork of the Beacon and Dwelling commences.[105]

Dearborn reviewed the sketch provided by Miller and returned it with several annotations and agreeing to accept the contract for an additional $1,200. He also promised to proceed immediately to complete the work at the beacon.[106]

Dearborn promised more than he delivered on several instances in the construction of the lights like Wallace had promised to complete the logging of the Castle. Thirteen months later when the work at Shell Castle should have been completed, Tredwell was directed to inspect the work at the Castle to confirm that the stone had been placed around the "foundation of the Beacon and Dwelling House" to prevent "injury from their exposed situation." Tredwell's report confirmed Miller's fear that not enough had been done to protect the buildings. Dearborn had placed 30-40 tons of stone, but Tredwell believed that at least another 100 tons would be required to meet the terms of the contract. Miller urged Dearborn to accelerate his actions to complete the terms of his contract and he hoped that the desire for payment would motivate Dearborn to finish the job.[107]

In addition to the unfinished stone work, the lantern remained unfinished at the Shell Castle Beacon. In June 1802, Dearborn's overseer Hobart was at Cape Hatteras where he was expecting arrival of the lanterns, which was all that

remained "to finish the whole business here and at Shell Castle Island." Hobart, suffering from the same overconfidence as Dearborn and Wallace, promised to have "both establishments ready for lighting by the middle of July."[108]

Neither the work on the foundation nor the raising of the lantern at Shell Castle met the self-imposed deadlines by Hobart and Dearborn. More than two years had passed since it had been reported that the Beacon was ready except for the lantern, and in October 1802, the lantern remained unlit. Keepers were in the process of being appointed. Oil for the lights had been ordered and shipped from Nantucket, although it had not yet been received at the Castle. In addition, cotton wicks for the lamps, brushes for cleaning and other equipment were being held for shipment until after the keepers had been appointed.[109]

An inspection in September 1802 gave the most complete description of the Beacon. The inspectors, Samuel Tredwell and James Hathaway, Sr., found that the lantern did not match the size of the top of the pyramid and had to be attached using eight upright timbers secured to the topmost joists and to those of the lower story. The upper joists were planked with cedar and formed an eave as directed by the contract. The ironwork was "finished and well executed" but the sheet iron around the lower part remained to be riveted. The copper work connecting the ventilator and the vanes had been completed and "two electrical conductors with points" attached. An iron railing formed a "convenient balcony around the lantern." In addition, wire was provided to create netting for "security

against fowl in the night." Mr. Hobart had made arrangements to place the glass in the lantern and to rivet the sheet iron.[110]

Inexplicably another nine to thirteen months would pass before light from the beacon shone over the inlet. Angered by the delay, local mariners began to protest. Miller had been told that the delay had "occasioned animadversions in the newspapers." He found the delay hard to believe because "as keepers were appointed and everything necessary was provided long since, I hope that the lights have been raised."[111] Raising of the lights still had not been done by June 1803.

By the end of October 1803, however, Tredwell reported "the lights raised at both places." Finally, fourteen years after the North Carolina assembly authorized a light at Ocracoke, nine years after Congress passed the law to establish the beacon, and five years after the contract was approved, the beacon was operating. "The beacon light was visible for some distance off the bar, as well as within Pamtico Sound and appeared to be very useful."[112]

At the same time that Miller was pressing for the raising of the lanterns, he was still pushing Dearborn to complete the work according to the contract specifications. In March 1803, he desperately pushed Dearborn to complete the work before the "sickly seasons sets in." Additionally, General Dearborn was directed to complete article of agreement by providing 200 tons of stone instead of 30-40 tons and to secure it "around the foundation of the Beacon and Keeper's house conformably to the plan which I transmitted to you some time ago."[113]

General Dearborn claiming unexpected costs and difficulties again requested additional money and time to complete the foundation work. Miller however was losing his patience with the contractor. Dearborn was supposed to have finished the work at his own expense even if it took more than the estimated 200 tons. Miller, not trusting Dearborn's compliance, also turned to local collector and inquired whether or not stone could be acquired and secured locally and if so how much more would be needed.[114]

Tredwell reported on the specific questions and then provided input on the work done by Dearborn and Hobart on the foundation. According to Tredwell, another 150 tons of stone were required to secure foundation in accordance with the contract. The local cost of procurement was estimated to be $3.50 per ton. Part of the Tredwell's report indicated that much of the stone had been stolen. While giving Dearborn's agent the benefit of the doubt by acknowledging that some 30-40 tons of stone had been supplied, he reported, "I do not however think that there was so much stone wanting to finish the work when General Dearborn's agent left it. Or in other words, I am of the opinion that some has been taken away from the eastern side of the foundation, probably to the quantity of 20-30 tons."

Tredwell's final report on the work at the beacon, which reported the missing stone, noted several minor items that had not been completed. Several windows in the dwelling house were broken. A framed cellar door was missing,

and the iron railings and wire needed painting. He also mentioned curiously that no stove was in place in the lantern at the Beacon.[115]

Work on the foundation at Shell Castle would remain the focus of a dispute between Dearborn and the Treasury Department for years to come. Toward the end of 1803, Dearborn, who had been appointed Secretary of War in the Jefferson Administration in 1801, appealed to the President for relief in terms of additional funds. Dearborn based his appeal on the extraordinary difficulties he faced in building the lighthouses at Cape Hatteras and Shell Castle. In response to a query from the president, Miller prepared a detailed report on the chronology of the construction effort and its current status. Miller aware of the powerful position held by Dearborn tried not to be critical of the Secretary; however, he advised that the savings to the contractor in laying the foundation and the early advances "more than counterbalance all the inconveniences which have been suggested...." Miller's review stated that a balance of $611.67 remained from the contract authorization of $39,650 (reflects the original $38,450 plus the $1,200 for the foundation addendum). He closed by tactfully reminding the President that if additional contractor allowances were desired then Congress must appropriate it.[116]

Three years after Miller submitted his report on the status of the Beacon foundation, it was still unclear whether or not the work had been completed. Secretary Gallatin asked Tredwell to provide the Treasury with an updated report. Tredwell referred the question to Mr. James Taylor, Collector at Ocracoke, since

he lived near the Beacon and Tredwell was 120 miles away. Unfortunately, no response from Taylor was recorded on the subject. No other record of the completion of the work has been found; however, Dearborn's claim remained active and in 1824 it was finally forwarded to an auditor for arbitration.[117]

The chronicle of the Beacon at Shell Castle and the Lighthouse at Cape Hatteras with the associated land cession delays, contracting difficulties, and construction delays, was an extraordinary one, but not one unheard of at the Treasury. The North Carolina Assembly also postponed cession of land at Cape Lookout. Beginning in 1804, the Secretary of the Treasury requested the transfer of the property; however, despite repeated requests, the cession was delayed several years. The high contract cost for the two lights was the most expensive issued by the Treasury until 1818. Also, the costs allocated to the Shell Castle Beacon, excluding the additional foundation stone cost, were only slightly higher than the $6,300 received by Dearborn to build the comparable wooden beacon at Seguin Island in 1795.[118] The issues faced by Dearborn in completing the contract and the subsequent payment dispute did not hurt his public contracting career. He would later build a lighthouse at Plumb Island and two beacons in Ipswich Harbor.[119]

The lack of clear reports from Tredwell and other inspectors and the time period from award of the contract to completion have created a controversy over the time of lighting the lights at Cape Hatteras and Shell Castle. Several authors have published differing dates. The foremost authority on the Outer Banks, David

Stick, initially claimed the Beacon was completed and lighted in 1798; however, in a later book, *North Carolina Lighthouses*, he offered a five year range of from 1798 to 1803 for the first lighting of the Beacon. Subsequent historians have used Stick's initial date or followed erroneous information from the 1935 *Light List Atlantic Coast*, which listed a lighthouse built on Ocracoke Island in 1798. F. Ross Holland, Jr., narrowed the date of lighting to between 28 June and 29 October 1803 based on Tredwell's reports to the Treasury.[120]

It would not be difficult to imagine the frustrations of mariners, pilots, and ship owners using Ocracoke Inlet that manifested itself in the newspapers in the spring of 1803. The wooden beacon had been in place since October 1800 and the lantern frame and supports were finished by September 1802. The contractor and probably all those in the area had expected to raise the lights by July 1802. The raising would be done finally at least one year later. By 29 October 1803, the Beacon marked the inlet at night for mariners. The mariners' frustrations concerning the light represented just another difficulty that they faced at Ocracoke. They had been maddened by the lack of stakes and buoys for most of the 1790s, and they had been promised a beacon for fourteen years. Even the lighting of the beacon, however, would not alleviate their continued frustrations with the navigation aids at Ocracoke and John Wallace. Poor maintenance of the light would plague the mariners until the light's destruction in 1818.

Shell Castle Beacon Operations

The light from the beacon at Shell Castle was lit intermittently during its 15 year existence. Frequently, no keeper was present to maintain the light and associated equipment and buildings, and often the appointed keeper balked at performing his role as required. In addition, the oil supply sometimes ran out and porpoise oil was used in its place. Experiments with the porpoise oil would produce an inferior flame and be disappointing. Another problem with the proper operations arose from the poor design of the lantern and the lack of routine maintenance it received from its designated keepers. As he tried to govern all potentially profitable enterprises at the Inlet, John Wallace hoped to "make them pay to help us out." Wallace attempted to gain a profit from operations at the Beacon including the Keeper's position and oil supply. Unfortunately, he also applied the same attentiveness to the beacon as he did to the stakes and buoys.

As early as 1793, shortly after the initial surveys were conducted for the Treasury, people were lobbying for the post as keeper at the lighthouse to be built at Ocracoke. John Wallace passed on the name of Adam Gaskins with a strong recommendation. He qualified his endorsement, however, with an eye toward his own profit. Wallace wrote that Gaskins did not desire the position if it were to cost Blount and his friend profit. He added, "For my part, I think if any man ought to have it, Gaskins is the man---without you [Blount] think we can make any money by it."[121] Gaskins was also supported by his congressman who had

recommended his nomination to Alexander Hamilton. Gaskins was described as "a suitable person for keeping the lighthouse. He lives near the place, is a representative of Carteret County in North Carolina Legislature and a man of unquestionable integrity." Tench Coxe also endorsed his nomination in 1794; however, he refused to forward Gaskins name until North Carolina ceded the ground at Ocracoke. [122]

No action on the nomination was taken until the lights were near completion in 1802. In August, William Miller sought nominations for the keepers' posts at Cape Hatteras and Shell Castle from Samuel Tredwell. He had already received an unofficial nomination from Dudley Hobart, Dearborn's overseer. The names of Thomas Farrow and John Mayo were recommended by Hobart. However, General Dearborn and the locals preferred the latter according to Hobart. Mayo had inquired whether or not the position went to the lowest bidder or was fixed sum. Hobart based his preference for Mayo because he was "a man of tolerable good education and proposes opening a school for the instruction of youth" if assigned as the keeper.[123]

The President appointed the keepers in October 1802. Adam Gaskins received the Cape Hatteras position with a salary of $333.33 per year. While John Mayo, the aspiring schoolmaster, received the Shell Castle Keepers slot with an annual salary of $250. The salary for Gaskins equaled that of other first-rate lights along the coast such as Cape Henry, Cape Fear, and Cape Henlopen.

Mayo's salary was at the high end of the salary range proposed by Miller in 1802 for the position of Beacon keeper.[124]

Surprisingly, John Mayo declined the appointment. The record is unclear as to why he turned down the job. Several reasons could have forced his decision. The salary could have been too low for the demands of the post. He could have had second thoughts about establishing a school on such a small, isolated location. Alternately, he could have faced some difficulty with John Wallace over his acceptance of the position.

Apparently, Wallace had been formerly recommended by Tredwell for the post, but for unknown reasons Mayo was first offered the position. Miller upon learning of Mayo's refusal renominated Wallace. His endorsement stated, "John Wallace, who lives on the spot, is proprietor of the island, ...I therefore think it proper to mention him as the most suitable character that now offers as Keeper of the Shell Castle Beacon." It is possible that Wallace pressured his clerk and friend to decline the position in order to open the post for himself. Whatever the reason for Mayo's decision, President Jefferson appointed Wallace as the Keeper in April 1803.[125]

Wallace accepted the position on the understanding that he would receive the same salary as the Cape Hatteras Keeper. Tredwell later claimed that he had specifically told Wallace the salary was $250. Wallace always looking to turn a profit submitted a claim for the full $333.33. The Secretary of the Treasury

acquiesced to Wallace's claim for past service, but emphatically asserted that the subsequent salary would revert to the lower approved salary.

Wallace refused to work for less than the higher salary. He shocked Tredwell by notifying him that he had stopped lighting the beacon. A dismayed Tredwell was forced to travel to the Castle to find a replacement. He secured the services of John Willard who kept the appointment for about a year. He was followed by Capt. James Taylor who probably assigned one of his family or slaves to maintain the light.[126]

Several years after the salary dispute with Wallace, Samuel Tredwell sought to equalize the salary of the Shell Castle Keeper with that of the Cape Hatteras keeper's salary. He argued that although the light itself was not equal to Hatteras in importance, the quality of life at the isolated Shell Castle site needed a greater inducement to attract a keeper. He pointed out that the Shell Castle Keeper had to bring all groceries, wood and water beyond what he could collect by boat and that the site had no ground where the keeper could plant a garden unlike the Cape Hatteras site. Unfortunately, the Treasury Department rejected his request.. Winslow Lewis made the same argument in 1816 following his inspection tour of lighthouses. He described the Beacon as being placed on "an oyster rock where water flows up to the sill of the house. He did not think "any man of respectability would take it for less than $350."[127]

Lewis was surprised to find a John Taylor living in the keeper's dwelling at Shell Castle. Apparently the previous keeper abandoned the post during the

War of 1812. Taylor's initiative coupled with the fact that he was willing to live at such a spot impressed Lewis who recommended Taylor be appointed keeper. Lewis reasoned that Taylor "appears to be a person well calculated for that purpose."[128]

Prior to Taylor's temporary appointment, Tredwell had found it difficult to identify someone willing to accept the position. In 1815, a Mr. Wilkins had been recommended to the post, but he either chose not to accept it or was unwilling to attend personally to the duties. It seems that James Taylor, who lived at Mt. Truxton on Portsmouth, had had one of his slaves attend to the light. By the post-war period the Treasury Department was directing that the Shell Castle keeper reside in the keeper's house and personally attend to the duties of the station.[129]

The need for the keeper to reside at the light and to personally attend to the duties stemmed from the first directions given by William Miller Jr. in 1803 on the Keeper's duties. Miller wanted Tredwell to direct the keepers to conduct routine maintenance and nightly service. He believed that "much of their utility will depend upon regular cleaning the lanterns, and keeping them lighted at all times of the night." It was certainly reasonable that the lights should be maintained at night to gain full effectiveness, and therefore, someone would need to be present to attend to them. That attention could most likely have come from the keeper who lived right there.[130]

Like the stake and buoys, the Shell Castle Beacon suffered from a lack of routine cleaning and attention. During his stay at Shell Castle in 1806, William

Tatham, one of the three commissioners conducting a survey of the North Carolina coast, inspected the beacon at Shell Castle and the lighthouse at Cape Hatteras. Tatham reported that the beacon was periodically breaking and "always smoaky." He placed the blame for the smoke on the "want of due attention to the ventilators" caused by the keeper's habit of leaving the trap door open in order to cool the lantern. Tatham complained that this posed a fire hazard because the stairs and flooring were "generally formed of rough planks and the framing temporary." The topside of the trap door was covered with copper to reduce the fire hazard; however, this pre-caution was useless when the door was left open.[131]

In order to improve the power of the light, Tatham recommended replacing the lantern with an argand lamp and reflectors, which he calculated would "find a favourable result in both safety and economy." His recommendation would receive no immediate action; however, Winslow Lewis would replace the lantern with his own adaptation of an argand lamp. Tatham additionally recommended frequent examination of the funnel to prevent soot build up and replacement of the access to the lantern area with either a removable ladder or one of iron. Both recommendations were designed to lessen the risk of fire.[132]

In high winds, the wooden structure of the Shell Castle beacon vibrated. Tatham recommended reinforcing the pyramid by placing radial framing secured with elliptic knees fastened with iron bolts "to secure the whole together." Tatham also identified another construction fault with the lantern. He considered

it too small, as he had also found the Cape Hatteras lantern. The problem was present at other lighthouses he had inspected such as at Old Point Comfort. According to Tatham, the smallness of the lanterns was "a very general evil" that resulted in the frequent breaking of window glass by the attendant. The excessive heat of the lamps caused the keeper to draw back from the extreme heat and in the process bang against the glass and break it.[133]

The beacon required repairs in 1809. That year, John Wallace had one of his clerks write directly to the Secretary of the Treasury to complain that the beacon was much out of repair. Wallace, against whom numerous complaints had been lodged for poor maintenance of the stakes and buoys, must have received great satisfaction from turning the tables on James Taylor. The Blount-Wallace faction disliked Taylor.[134] At least by the following summer, Tredwell had inspected all the lights along Outer Banks and recommended repairs and upgrades. At the beacon, two thousand shingles, sixty feet of planking and one cask of lime were needed. The lime was needed to re-mortar the underpinning of the keeper's dwelling. Tredwell also requested new wire for the netting around the lantern. In addition, the troubled stone work that had "been laid around the building is so loose on the North side as to be of but little or no protection."

Additional damage was reportedly done during a British raid on in the inlet in June or July 1813. The raiders damaged the lantern and left it inoperable. The Ocracoke Collector also decided against re-lighting the beacon in order to avoid providing aid to the Royal Navy vessels.[135] Another seven years would

pass before any record confirmed that the repairs had been completed. Issues involving the Shell Castle Beacon seemed to move in a neglected fashion. Gallatin did not approve of the repairs requested by Tredwell for two years. Lewis also noted that the beacon was "somewhat neglected for want of a keeper," and that the shingles still needed repair during his visit in 1816. In addition, he recommended that the beacon be painted. The shingles were finally replaced in June 1817.[136]

Light operations required oil to burn in the lamps. In 1802, the preferred oil was spermaceti whale oil. Oil for the lights came in two varieties: winter oil (pressed from head matter) at a cost of 97¢ per gallon and summer oil for 14¢ less. The commissioner of revenue wanted to try the use of porpoise oil in the Shell Castle and Cape lights "if the article is equal to spermaceti oil for the southern latitudes." Miller, aware that Wallace operated a porpoise oil fishery, inquired about the price of 500 gallons. If acceptable and reasonable, Miller directed Tredwell to purchase some for each light. However, uncertain of the availability or quality of porpoise oil, Miller shipped 1,000 gallons of oil in 30-50 gallon casks to the care of Wallace at Shell Castle in the winter of 1802-3.[137]

Wallace's porpoise fishery had operated since the inception of the Shell Castle operation in 1790. The volume of oil produced by Wallace was uncertain. In 1803, however, Wallace ordered thirty casks shipped to Cape Hatteras to be ready to receive oil. Therefore, the volume could be estimated to range between 900 to 1,500 gallons. The latter was probably closer to the volume produced

because William Tatham observed that the porpoise fishery could easily produce oil sufficient to supply the 1,533 gallons required by the Cape Hatteras light. Wallace was uncertain of gaining government contracts to purchase his inventory; therefore, in 1803, he had Grove Wright, master of a Blount-Wallace vessel, make inquiries into porpoise oil prices in New York and possible export contracts with merchants there.[138]

Initial trials of the porpoise oil failed to meet the standards of sperm whale oil. However, the Treasury Department was experiencing difficulty shipping oil from Nantucket or New Bedford to the southern ports to supply the lights with oil. Therefore, the Secretary of the Treasury was still interested in supplying the southern lighthouses with porpoise oil "such as your neighborhood produces. Tredwell was to determine the quantities and quality of porpoise available and the costs per gallon. Then he was to conduct an experiment at Cape Hatteras to determine the quality of the porpoise oil. As in 1802, Miller after waiting for and not receiving Tredwell's response, he went ahead and shipped another 800 gallons of winter spermaceti oil. He still instructed Tredwell to test the market in porpoise oil "from Mr. Wallace or another gentleman in the neighborhood who will be most moderate in his terms."[139]

Tredwell procured 158 gallons of porpoise oil for the experiment. The test at Cape Hatteras used mostly porpoise oil for four months and appeared to work well according to Tredwell. Following the successes of the experiment, Tredwell sought a price quote from Wallace for a contract to supply both lights. Wallace,

who had already pressed the Lighthouse Superintendent and the Secretary of the Treasury for the higher Keeper's salary, sought to maximize his profit on the porpoise fishery. He indicated he would commit to a written contract if he received the same price paid for spermaceti oil in Nantucket. It's unclear whether or not he received the contract.[140]

Apparently the lessons of the earlier porpoise oil trials had been forgotten by 1809 when Secretary Gallatin wanted to explore a proposal by Caleb Ballance to furnish porpoise oil. Gallatin wanted to know whether or not the oil would answer for either summer or winter whale oil. In addition, he wanted Tredwell to answer questions about Ballance's character in order to judge better Ballance's ability to "fulfill an engagement of this nature." The inquiries must have been initially favorable because another test was conducted in 1810. This test, however, proved "altogether unfavorable." Despite the poor test results, the lighthouse superintendent recommended emergency use of porpoise oil during the War of 1812. The British captured the vessel carrying the Cape Hatteras and Shell Castle oil shipment and supplies were running low. Tredwell, therefore, believed the porpoise oil could be used as a backup until whale oil could be brought through the blockade.[141]

Initial shipments of oil for the North Carolina lights were sent to Tredwell in Edenton. This action, however, involved unnecessary expense and delay. In 1802, some 300 gallons of whale oil planned for use at the Bald Head Island light was shipped from Nantucket to Edenton. The Revenue cutter *Diligence* carried

oil up the Sound piloted by David Wallace at a cost of twenty-five dollars. Subscquently, oil shipments were stored at Shell Castle. John Wallace was expected to distribute the oil as directed by Tredwell. Shipments of 1,500 gallons of oil would be stored at the Castle in 38-40 casks.[142]

Wallace's continued his old habit of inattention to orders by failing to ship oil as required. In 1810, Tredwell complained to the Secretary of the Treasury that he "was informed a few days ago by the keeper of the Cape light that he had not received the winter oil that was brought in from Charleston last winter and delivered to Mr. Wallace's at Shell Castle." The oil was never shipped as directed and when the Cape Hatteras light had nearly run out of oil, a boat had to be sent from the Cape Lookout Light at government expense to transport the oil. Tredwell believed that the Castle could still be used as an entrepôt if it were properly managed; however, he had no respect for Wallace. Tredwell commented that "the Castle would be an eligible situation to lodge the oil at was the distribution of it attended to---hereafter perhaps it may be." Tredwell's optimism was coldly based on the recent death of Wallace.[143]

Beacon Destroyed

Oil shipments, unfinished repairs and keeper appointments became moot issues in August 1818. Lightning struck the Shell Castle Beacon on Sunday, 16 August and reduced both the beacon and the adjacent keeper's house to ashes

There was some irony that fire destroyed the buildings because Coxe had preferred a larger lot so that the risk of fire would be lessened. Tatham also had warned of the fire risks of the stairs and unfinished planking.[144] One must wonder why the two electrical points attached to the ventilator failed to conduct the lightning strike down the beacon and harmlessly into the ground. Were they out of repair or had they ever been properly fitted to the lantern?

Tredwell with unusual promptness informed the Treasury of the destruction of the beacon and keeper's dwelling at Shell Castle on 27 August and of "the inconvenience that will flow from it." The commissioner of the revenue granted permission to erect a temporary light if the expense were reasonable. He also promised to request funding from Congress to rebuild the light if the estimate provided by Tredwell was accepted.[145] The Secretary of the Treasury asked the House of Representatives to include an amendment authorizing the rebuilding a stone or brick lighthouse and keepers dwelling at Shell Castle to a funding bill. The new light and house would cost an estimated $14,000. The proposal was held up in the Committee of Commerce and had not been acted on by December 1819.[146]

Shell Castle Light Vessel

In 1820, efforts to rebuild the light at Shell Castle ceased. Stephen Pleasonton had received information that claimed the "principal channel for ships

and vessels at Ocracoke Inlet had so changed its position since the destruction of the lighthouse there as to render it inexpedient to rebuild that house." Pleasonton proposed replacing the light, however, with a "floating light to be stationed in such a manner as to afford to navigation all the advantages of a lighthouse."[147]

In August, Pleasonton had contracted with William Doughty of Washington, DC, to build a forty-one ton light vessel for $6,400. Doughty was required to deliver the vessel at his risk to the inspector at Ocracoke no later than the 15th of December—barely four and one-half months away. Doughty and James Manney, the inspector at Port Ocracoke, were directed by the contract to select a disinterested person to review the work prior its acceptance and delivery. In case of a disagreement between the two, a third person was to be selected if needed.

The contract for the vessel specified that a purpose-built vessel be constructed and not be a sloop or schooner converted to serve as the light vessel. The specifications called for frames of locust and red cedar to be bolted with 5/8 inch iron bolts and frames of cherry or mulberry. The bottom and side planking were to be one and three-quarter-inch live oak with beams and deck planking of heart pine. Two wales of two and one-half inches were to be fitted to the hull. Fastenings included: three-quarter inch copper bolts for the keelson; composition spikes for the bottom and deck plank fasteners; three-quarter inch butt bolts for the ceiling; and three-quarter inch iron deck bolts. The trunk cabin was to be painted and fitted with lockers, shelves and a cupboard for four persons. In

addition, an oil room was to be built forward of the mast with two 200-gallon capacity cisterns, lined with sheet lead and covered with wood.

The vessel's mast was to be fitted amidships and be supported by two shrouds on each side and a five-inch rope "stays or guys running from the hounds to the stem and stern posts for the security of the lantern." A "camboose" capable of housing four people was to be placed either on deck or in the hold. Additionally, the vessel was to be fitted with two common pumps, a capstan or windlass, and a 900-pound anchor with sixty fathoms of chain cable. The vessel was to receive ten tons of pig iron ballast. The railing and stanchions were prescribed to form an open waist. The hull was to be coppered with twenty-ounce copper to within a foot of the gunwale and to be painted from the copper to above the gunwale one strake upon deck. Doughty was directed to provide a fourteen-foot ship's boat complete with oars.

The lantern specifications resembled those provided for the Shell Castle Beacon. The lantern was to be fashioned from copper of an octagonal form to fit on the mast. The lantern would be three feet in diameter and five feet high including the roof. Fitted in the lantern would be four lamps of the compass kind, eight inches in diameter with weights below to keep them steady and each adapted for burning three wicks. A good ventilator fitted with a vane made to "traverse upon a swivel" topped of the lantern.[148]

Unlike other Shell Castle contracts, Doughty remained on schedule and on budget. By November 1820, James Manney was notified that light vessel had

been built and was expected to depart Washington by 1 December in order to arrive at Ocracoke on 5 December. Manney also received orders to hire a "keeper or commander of this boat" and two seamen for the vessel and to station the boat "in such place near the entrance in the inlet as you shall think best."[149] However, William Doughty delayed the departure of the vessel from Washington until after 6 December. He had needed to procure sails, a small cable and an anchor in order to sail the vessel to Ocracoke Inlet. Manney was directed to inventory these items and purchase them from Doughty since they were not included in the original contract.[150]

The Shell Castle light vessel arrived at Ocracoke in December 1820 or January 1821 and became the first light vessel employed in North Carolina and possibly the first large tonnage light vessel on station in the United States.[#] The vessel was stationed east, northeast of Shell Castle in the Shell Castle Shoal Channel according to an 1821 survey chart of Shell Castle and Beacon Islands. Its position was several hundred feet north of Wallace's Channel, near the location of the former beacon. The Shell Castle Shoal Channel was described in 1795 as six-foot channel nearly one-half mile wide that ran between Shell Castle and Beacon Island shoals. The channel afforded shelter to lighters and boats.[151] (See Figure 18)

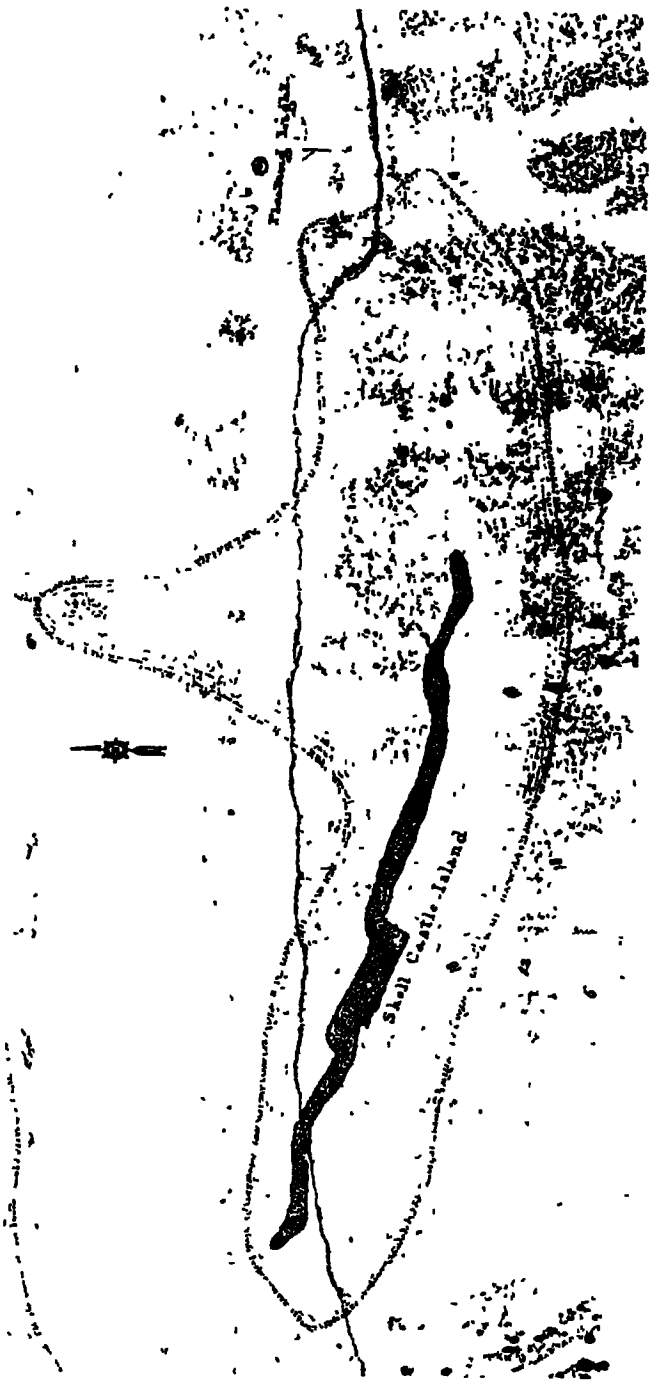


Figure 18 Shell Castle Floating Light Location from a detail section of the 1821 Survey Chart by Lt G Dutton (Source Lt G Dutton Survey of Ocracoke Inlet. Cartographic Branch. H-9. RG 77. NAII)

Captain Thaddeus Chadwick having been recommended by Manney as "a suitable person for keeper of the floating lights at Ocracock Inlet received the appointment in January 1821. He was granted a salary of $400. Chadwick requested an additional allowance for food, but Pleasonton rejected the request and responded that the "salary assigned...which is the highest allowed for services of this nature must cover every expense." The crew, however, who received merchant seaman's wages, were allowed a subsistence wage of six dollars per month.[152]

The floating light used the same type of oil provided for lighthouses. An initial shipment of 375 gallons each of strained and pressed summer and winter oil was ordered from J. Coffin of Nantucket. Coffin was to ship the oil in sixty-gallon iron bound casks with four wooden hoops. The order directed that the casks be marked "S" for strained summer oil and "W" for winter oil. In a more typical manner for the Shell Castle experience, the oil still had not arrived six month later. Manney was directed to procure oil locally until Coffin's shipment arrived.[153]

The light vessel proved to be a disappointment to the local mariners. The Ocracoke Customs Collector, Joshua Taylor reported that the light vessel was ineffective. Taylor claimed the experiment was causing and unnecessary expense as the vessel was "not adapted to these waters." Even in the best of weather, the light could "not be seen more than four or five miles." He recommended it use be discontinued and replaced with a light.[154]

Stung by this unexpected criticism of the light vessel, Pleasonton responded defensively. He reminded Taylor that he had recommended the light vessel because he had been informed the channel had shifted greatly to make the Beacon location of no use to vessels entering the inlet. He expressed surprise at the alleged ineffectiveness of the light vessel because those employed in the Chesapeake and off the Mississippi were working in the "most satisfactory manner." He did admit, however, that the floating lights were more expensive to maintain. Unwilling to give up on the usefulness of the light vessel, Pleasonton suggested moving the vessel to a "more advantageous position as recommended by pilots." He also replied that he wanted more information before he would recommend to the Secretary and to Congress that the lighthouse be rebuilt. Therefore, Pleasonton asked Taylor to provide a rough sketch of the main shipping channel, Shell Castle and the depths as determined by pilots.[155]

Ultimately, Taylor convinced Pleasonton of the need to remove the light. In the spring of 1822, Pleasonton forwarded a recommendation to the Chairman of the Commerce Committee that the light vessel be discontinued and the Shell Castle light rebuilt. The recommendation urged the transfer of the light vessel to Middle Bottom Shoals on the Potomac River, and proposed a fifty-five foot high stone lighthouse be built for an estimated $13,000.[156]

Despite the ineffectiveness of the Shell Castle light boat, Stephen Pleasonton remained committed to light vessels and pressed forward with a program to install them throughout the interior waters of North Carolina. By

1828, five light vessels had replaced floating beacons and four more were in position by 1836. At the Southwest Point of Royal Shoal where a floating beacon replaced stakes in 1794, a 140-ton light vessel took station there replacing a buoy in 1826. Eventually, by the end of the 1860s, screw pile lighthouses replaced the floating lights.[157]

Notice to Mariners

A lack of knowledge about the location and type of navigation aids used at Ocracoke limited the effectiveness of the aids and increased risk to shipping. To remedy this problem, the government sought to increase awareness about the changes to navigation aids there by advertising. *Notices to Mariners* of one form or another had been published for Ocracoke as early as 1714 when John Lawson published details of the Inlet and Bar. Since then numerous charts and other guides have been published to aid the maritime trade with North Carolina.[158]

The most complete and useful guide to Ocracoke Inlet was published privately by Francis X. Martin, an intimate of John G. Blount, in 1795. The *Description of Occacock Inlet* promised easy access to North Carolina's market by providing detailed sailing directions, which included landmarks, ranges, depths and courses, for each channel over the bar and into the interior waters. Blount used the brochure to market the Castle and North Carolina trade. In 1797, the government took notice of the brochure in its role to protect and promote

commerce. Tench Coxe considered using the information from the brochure in publication from the Treasury; however, no action was recorded at the time.[159]

The first government sponsored *Notice to Mariners* for Ocracoke Inlet was published in 1804 following the lighting of the Shell Castle Beacon and the Cape Hatteras Light. Samuel Tredwell, the superintendent of the Lighthouses in North Carolina, had been directed to publish news of the establishment of the lights in the newspapers along with the bearings of the Cape Light in November 1803. The following February Tredwell sent a notice to the *New Bern Gazette* that published notice that the lights of Cape Hatteras and at Shell Castle Island were "in operation." Tredwell described the beacon at Shell Castle as bearing "from the Bar W.N.W. distant nearly two leagues." The *Notice* directed vessels steering for Ocracoke to be aware of the Cape Hatteras light:

> The light at Cape Hatteras being upward of 100 feet above the level of the Sea, will be seen from a considerable distance without the outer shoals and to a vessel steering in for Occacock—W. by N., W.N.W., or even N.W. by W. the light on the cape will first show, and will continue to be seen till after the light appears within the Bar.

The *Notice* then issued a disclaimer. Recalling the warnings of Williamson and Coxe, the *Notice* warned masters "not to attempt to cross in the night." The bearings provided to the "Brown [Beacon] at Shell Castle Island" had been provided merely to alert a master arriving at the Inlet after dark of his location so that he could "take situation which may be most favourable for receiving a pilot

and crossing in the morning." David Wallace, Jr. printed notice of his having placed the buoys and their bearings in May 1807.[160]

Mariners could hardly have been expected to see all notices published in papers across the country and to have access to them while sailing. To alleviate this, a Newburyport publisher collected sailing notices for American ports and printed them in the *American Coast Pilot,* which was first published in 1796. Mariners would carry this volume with them for reference when reaching port. The second edition, published in 1798, contained a brief mention of Ocracoke Inlet describing the inlet with a 13-17 foot clearance. The 1804 edition contained the first mention of the Cape Hatteras lighthouse; however, no mention was made about the beacon at Shell Castle. According to the description, the cape lighthouse had been built in 1799 and was painted white.

It would not be until the publication of the sixth edition in 1809 that mariners could learn of the Shell Castle Beacon. That year Captain Lawrence Furlong included sailing instructions to the Inlet, information about the beacon, and a reprint of the Coles-Price *Chart of the Coast of North Carolina.* The information provided, however, was directly reprinted from Tredwell's 1804 *Notice*, including the typographical error that listed the "Brown [beacon]." He also declined "giving directions for sailing into the Ports of North Carolina" because of the shifting shoals and bars. (See Figure 19)

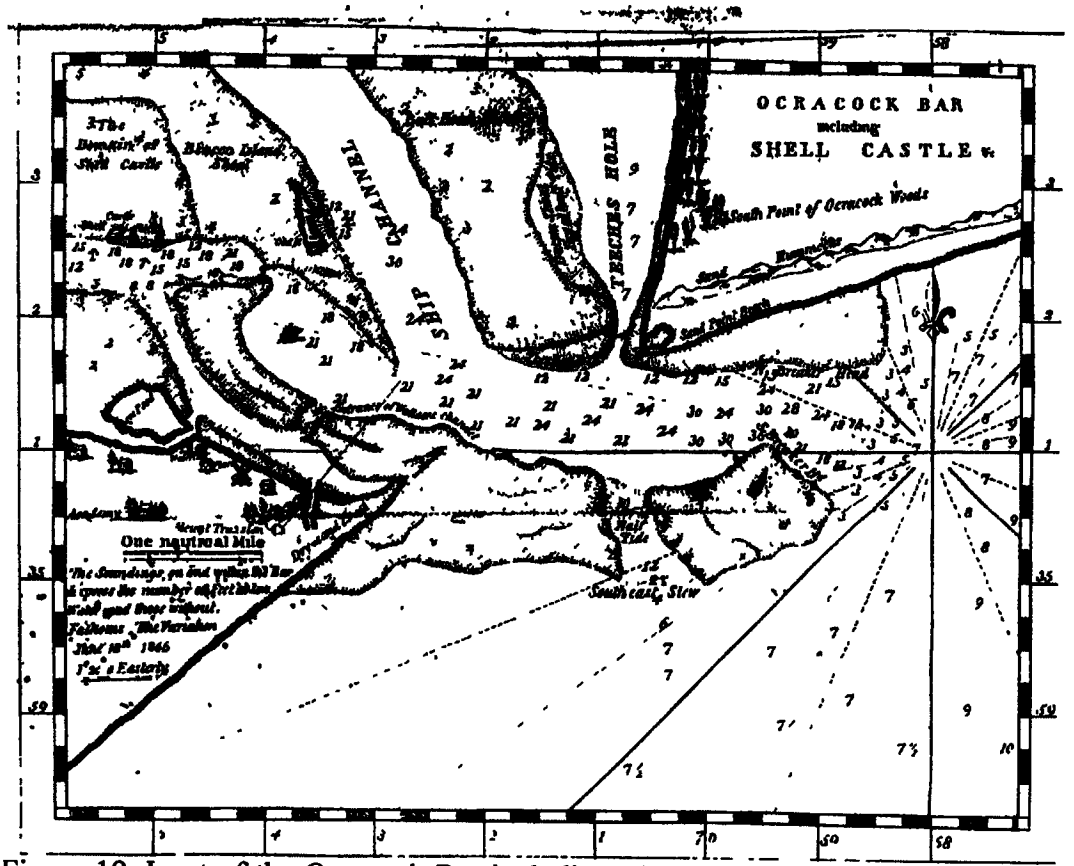


Figure 19. Inset of the Ocracock Bar including Shell Castle from the 1806 Coles and Price "Chart of North Carolina" as reprinted in Furlong's *American Coast Pilot*

Mariners had to use information from the *American Coast Pilot* with caution however. The guide often failed to include the latest information and some information was dangerously outdated. For example, the 1804 and 1806 editions failed to include the beacon at Shell Castle. The 1822 edition, however, still listed the beacon and failed to mention the light vessel.[161]

Part of the sailing instructions used by mariners included the use of navigational ranges. This procedure of using two landmarks viewed in alignment to provide a linear marker for navigating a channel has been used for thousands of years. Martin's *Description* used several ranges to alert pilots and masters to key points for entering the interior channels near Shell Castle. The guide used David Wallace's house on Portsmouth Island and the channel swash straddle stakes as a range to mark the crossing of the swash and the entrance to Wallace's Channel. Another range used Shell Castle aligned with the east end of Flounder Rock to gauge the best route across the Swash into Ship Channel.[162]

Swash Improvement & Dredging

Stakes, buoys, lights and notices to mariners did much to improve the navigation at Ocracoke and Shell Castle. Nevertheless there was a limit to their effectiveness. The navigation aids were passive devices that could do little to overcome natural changes to the channels at Ocracoke or to make it possible for larger vessels to operate via the inlet without the need for lightering. Only active

steps, such as dredging and other engineering efforts, could alter the channels and deepen the swash.

For more than 200 years, people have tried to control the channels at Ocracoke and along the Outer Banks. In the present day, the Army Corps of Engineers continues to dredge channels in order for the ferries operating from Cedar Island and Swan Quarter to enter Ocracoke's harbor. The current actions are the most recent steps in the history of dredging programs that date back to 1792.

From the beginning of operations at Shell Castle, John G. Blount recognized the limits and increased costs created by the shallowness of the Swash at Shell Castle. He and John Wallace understood the benefits that would come from deepening the Swash. In February 1792, John Wallace expressed his approval for a "scheme for digging the swash" proposed by his partner. Just what the nature of scheme was has not been identified, but it nevertheless confirmed that the swash created an obstacle that the partners wanted to remove.[163]

Blount and Wallace received support for their plans to deepen the Swash from their confidant and representative Hugh Williamson in 1793. He and other North Carolina congressmen lobbied for action to ratify an act to place duty on vessels for deepening the swash. Vessels entering the custom districts of Edenton, Washington, and New Bern would be liable to the duty. Their efforts apparently failed to gain sufficient support as no act was ever passed and no action taken during the 1790s.[164]

The aftermath of the War of 1812 ushered in an era of internal improvements that renewed interest in deepening Ocracoke's channels and pitted competing regions against each other. Prominent North Carolinians again turned their attention to Ocracoke Inlet and the need for improvements. In 1816, Archibald D. Murphey observed that the inlet had broadened and shallowed that created obstacles to waterborne trade, and he asserted that improvements were required to the Navigation of Ocracoke Inlet.[165]

At the same time demand for easier trade access to markets resulted in the creation of new stock companies, such as the Neuse River Navigation Company. Another group led by commissioners for improving the Navigation of the Albemarle was bitterly opposed by John G. Blount and Captain David Wallace, Jr, who were both deeply interested in Ocracoke and Shell Castle's commerce. They vowed to fight any action by the Albemarle group "tooth and nail."[166]

Canals to the north and south of Ocracoke opened routes that competed with the Blount interests. The Dismal Swamp Canal opened in 1805 after twelve years of construction and began to divert shipments from Ocracoke. The canal offered an all water route from Elizabeth City, North Carolina to Norfolk, Virginia. Although the canal traffic began slowly, by 1815 more than one million barrel staves and 500,000 shingles passed from the Albemarle Sound to Norfolk via the canal. To the south, the Clubfoot and Harlowe's Creek Canal provided an outlet to the sea for commerce from the Neuse River basin and New Bern that

avoided Ocracoke's dangers and delays. The opening of the Clubfoot canal in 1826 spurred the Ocracoke interests into greater action.[167]

In 1827, letters were circulated by members of the Committee to Improve the Swash to generate support for proposals to improve the navigation at Ocracoke. William Gaston and William A. Blount met on 14 December 1827 and agreed to form a stock company to the amount of $100,000, to order an engineering survey of the Swash and if upon examination to expend funds to improve the navigation. Blount, who was a state representative, foresaw a major obstacle in the deficit in the State Treasury.[168] The North Carolina Assembly authorized the incorporation of the Occacock Navigation Company at that time. The act granted authority to collect a toll from vessels using Ocracoke Inlet; however, the commissioners apparently took little action preferring to rely on federal assistance.[169]

Simultaneous with the state actions, John G. Blount lobbied Nathaniel Macon for help in Congress to improve the swash. Macon initially supported the program and believed the project would be an "incalculable" advantage to the state if it proved to be practical. He then observed that the state government should do the project because such improvements were not within the power of the federal government.[170]

Ultimately, Macon supported the project and in 1828, the House of Representatives passed a resolution authorizing research into and construction of a dredge to work at Ocracoke Inlet. The plan proposed dredging a ten-foot deep

channel, four hundred feet wide and maintained at a cost of $55,000. The War Department conducted a survey of the Inlet and recommended dredging Wallace's channel as the preferred channel for improvement. The report favored Wallace's Channel for several reasons: first, the channel paralleled sediment and current movement; second, the course was protected from prevailing winds, but allowed sailing vessels to steer a clear course both in and out of the inlet; and, finally, it was the more direct route.[171]

Congress appropriated $20,000 to purchase dredging machine to re-open the channels at Ocracoke. George Dutton designed a floating self-powered side-wheel dredge that was built in 1830. (See Figure 20) By 1837, the Army Corps of Engineers had worn out two dredges and had a third vessel in operation, but had made little progress. Nature thwarted the dredging efforts by filling in the winter what had been excavated in the prior summer. Between 1826 and 1837, dredging and jetty systems were employed and built at a cost of more than $133,750 to deepen the channels and to stabilize the inlet. Unfortunately, none of the efforts worked.[172]

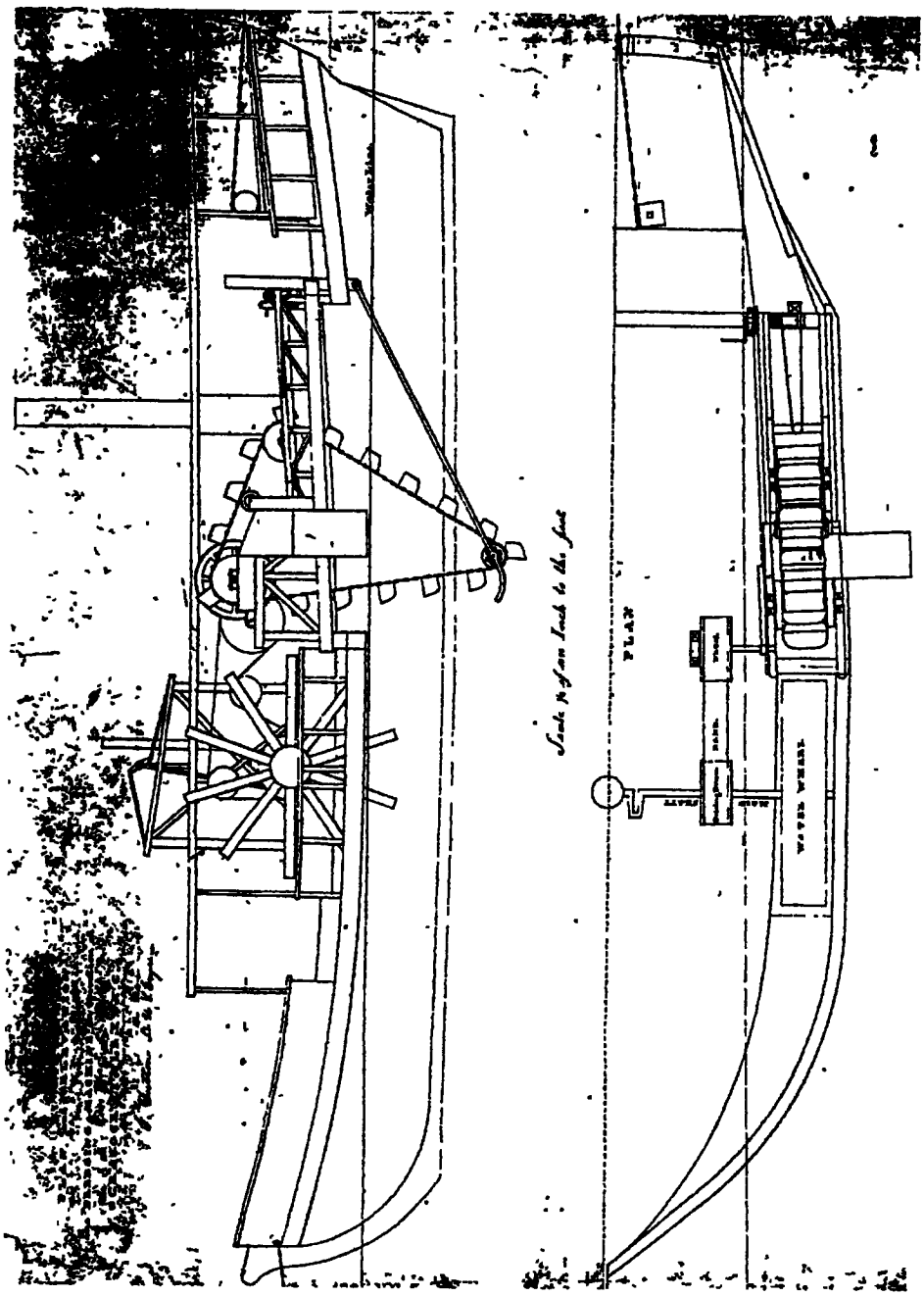


Figure 20 Plan for a Steam Dredge by Lt G Dutton for use at Ocracoke Inlet (Source Map of Ocracock Inlet and Plan & Elevation of Dredging Machine in Operation at Ocracock Inlet, Cartographic Branch, II-29, RG 77, NAII)

John Wallace and John G. Blount sought to control all aspects of commerce and navigation at Shell Castle even the force of nature. A powerful partnership, the two managed to control navigation stake contracts from 1791-1810. They supervised the placement and operation of the first spar buoys at the Southwest Point of Royal Shoal and other locations. Exerting their political influence, Wallace and Blount manipulated the sale of land and congressional activity to place the Ocracoke Beacon in the most beneficial location to their interests at the Castle. Somehow they even managed to convince the government to purchase lesser quality porpoise oil at the same price as the best whale oil. Their entrepreneurial capabilities were only limited by Wallace's inattention to business that caused considerable complaint by other merchants, mariners and officials. Even after Wallace's death in 1810, the Castle enterprise and John G. Blount remained central to the history of the Inlet and improvements to the navigation.

The character of John Wallace, who sought to "make them pay" at every opportunity, was the most influential figure at Ocracoke. He directed the largest, most complex business operation in the region, and generated a network of influence that brought support to his projects that was especially evident in the history of the navigation aids at Shell Castle and Ocracoke Inlet. If it is the people who make an enterprise successful, who was John Wallace and how did he interact with his society?

Endnotes

[1] Captain Lawrence Furlong, *American Coast Pilot* (Newburyport, MA: Edmund Blunt, 1809), 209.

[2] William Stuart Morgan, III, "The Commerce of a Southern Port; New Bern, North Carolina, 1783-1789," *American Neptune*, Volume XLIX, No. 2, Spring 1989, 77-90, 80; Walter Clark, ed., *The State Records of North Carolina*, 25 volumes, (Winston and Goldsboro: 1895-1906), Volume 23, 667.

[3] Martin, "Description of Occacock". 630.

[4] Hugh Williamson to Alexander Hamilton, 29 December 1792, Lighthouse Letters, Miscellaneous Correspondence, RG 26, NAB

[5] Martin, "Description of Occacock", 630.

[6] David Stick, *North Carolina Lighthouses* (Raleigh: NCDAH. 1992). 12-14.

[7] John Wallace to John G. Blount 26 August 1790, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:98.

[8] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 6 September 1790, Ibid., 106.

[9] Lighthouse Records, Deeds and Contracts. Volume 1. Ledger A, 6.

[10] Nathan Keais to Alexander Hamilton, 16 June 1791, Lighthouse Letters Received, Volume 17a, 64, RG 26. NAB.

[11] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 12 February 1792, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:182; Nathan Keais to Alexander Hamilton, 28 May 1792, Lighthouse Letters Received, Volume 17a, 93, RG 26, NAB; Nathan Keais to Alexander Hamilton, 29 June 1792, Lighthouse Deeds and Contracts, Volume 1, 13, RG 26, NAB; John Wallace to John G. Blount, 22 September 1792, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:210-11.

[12] Nathan Keais to Alexander Hamilton, 29 June 1792, Lighthouse Deeds and Contracts, Volume 1, 13, RG 26, NAB.

[13] Hugh Williamson to John G. Blount, 15 March 1793, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:246.

[14] Nathan Keais to Alexander Hamilton, 29 June 1792, Lighthouse Deeds and Contracts, Volume 1, 32-33, RG 26, NAB.

[15] Lighthouse Deed and Contracts, Volume 1, 6-144, RG 26, NAB.

[16] Using a currency exchange rate of $6 to £1, the rate requested by Green would have been $270---some $45 more than the 1794 contract.

Nathan Keais to Tench Coxe, 3 June 1793, Lighthouse Letters Received, 17a, 171, RG 26, NAB; Nathan Keais to Tench Coxe, 6 August 1793, Ibid., 182; James Green, Jr. to John G. Blount, Commissioner Port of Bath, 28 August 1783, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 1:113.

[17] In 1825, Thomas B. Wallace, John Wallace's son, received the contract for $225, almost the same rate his father received in 1795. (Light House Records, Deeds and Contracts, Volume 3.), John Daves, New Bern Collector to Tench Coxe, 31 July 1795 Lighthouse Letters Received, 17a, 249 171, RG 26, NAB.

[18] Hugh Williamson to Alexander Hamilton, 29 December 1792, Lighthouse Letters, Miscellaneous Correspondence, RG 26, NAB; Hugh Williamson to John G. Blount, 15 March 1793, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:246; Stick, *North Carolina Lighthouses*, 15.

[19] Hugh Williamson to John G. Blount, 15 March 1793, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:246.

[20] Receipt (no address), Lighthouse Letters Received, Volume 17a, 246, RG 26, NAB.

[21] Tench Coxe to George Hooper, Superintendent of Lighthouses, Wilmington, 2 December 1793, Light House Letters Sent Volume 1, 28, RG 26, NAB.

[22] William Allibone (no salutation), undated, Lighthouse Letters, Miscellaneous Correspondence, 17G, Box 1, RG 26, NAB.

[23] The Northwest Floating Beacon could have been the second buoy constructed by John Young in 1793.

Nathan Keais to Tench Coxe, 10 June 1795, Lighthouse Letters Received, 17a, Volume 1, 243, RG 26, NAB; Tench Coxe to Nathan Keais, 25 April 1794, Lighthouse Letters Sent, 1792-1798, Volume, 1, 54, RG 26, NAB; Martin, "Description of Occacock," 630.

[24] Richard Tuck to John G. Blount, 8 October 1807, Morgan, *Blount Papers*, 4:96-97.

[25] William Keais, Collector at Washington, to William Miller, 4 October 1799, Lighthouse Letters Received 1796-1803, 17a, 31, Volume 2, 59, RG 26, NAB; William Keais, Collector at Washington, to William Miller, 6 October 1801, Ibid., 317; William Keais, Collector at Washington, to William Miller, 14 October 1802, Ibid., 551.

[26] Richard Tuck to John G. Blount, 22 September 1807, Morgan, *Blount Papers*, 4:95-96; Richard Tuck to John G. Blount, Ibid., 4:96-97; Cloud, *Ocracoke Lighthouse*, 38.

[27] William Keais to A. Gallatin, 15 November 1807, National Archives, Record Group 26, Lighthouse Letters Received, 1804-1812, 17a, NC31, Volume 8, 373, RG 26, NAB.

[28] Stick, *North Carolina Lighthouses*, 12.

[29] Cloud, *Ocracoke Lighthouse*, 2.

[30] Hugh Williamson to Alexander Hamilton, 29 December 1792, Lighthouse Letters, Miscellaneous Correspondence, RG 26, NAB.

[31] John Daves, Collector at Edenton, to Tench Coxe, 23 June 1793, Lighthouse Letters Received, Volume A 1789-1795, RG 26, NAB.

[32] Nathan Keais died in 1795 and Thomas Blount nominated Keais son, William, to be his successor as custom collector at Bath. Tench Coxe to Alexander Hamilton, 27 January 1794, *American State Papers,* reprinted in Cloud, *Ocracoke Lighthouse, Appendix B.*

[33] Ibid.; Williamson to Hamilton, 29 December 1792, Lighthouse Letters, Miscellaneous Correspondence, RG 26, NAB.

[34] Estimate of the Cost of Building a Lighted Beacon, &c, *American State Papers*, Volume 14, 266, reprinted in Cloud, *Ocracoke Lighthouse, Appendix B.*

[35] Ibid.

[36] Thomas Blount to John G. Blount, 27 February 1794, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:369-71.

[37] The argument for placing the beacon at the Castle to aid vessels using the channels had originally been put forth by Dr. Williamson in his 1792 letter. Also, it was interesting that the pilots would argue for the Castle as site for a coastal fort when one would be built at Beacon Island on land sold by Blount and Wallace within two years.

Pilots petition, Entry 17G, NC 31, Box 1, RG 26, NAB.

[38] Thomas Blount to John G. Blount, 13 March 1794, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:375.

[39] Tench Coxe to Alexander Hamilton, 15 March 1794, *American State Papers*, Volume 14, 3rd Congress, 1st Session, No 21, reprinted in Cloud, *Ocracoke Lighthouse, Appendix B.*

[40] Thomas Blount to John G. Blount, 27 March 1794, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:381-3; Thomas Blount to John G. Blount, 3 April 1794, Ibid., 2:388.

[41] Thomas Blount to John G. Blount, 22 May 1794, Ibid., 2:394.

[42] Tench Coxe to N.C. Congressional Members, 7 June 1794, Lighthouse Letters Sent 1792-1798, Volume 1, 75, RG 26, NAB; Ibid., 220; B. Williams to Tench Coxe, 7 December 1794, Lighthouse Letters Sent 1792-1798, Volume 1, 235, RG 26, NAB.

[43] Thomas Blount to John G. Blount, 26 December 1794, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:470-71.

[44] General Assembly cession of Shell Castle, 7 February 1795, Lighthouse Deeds and Contracts, Volume 1, 221, RG 26, NAB.

[45] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 7 March 1795, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:511-12.

[46] Tench Coxe to Senator Martin and Senator Blount, 20 July 1787, Lighthouse Letters Sent 1792-1798, Volume 1, 460-62, RG 26, NAB; Francis Ross Holland, Jr., *Cape Hatteras Light Station, North Carolina* (Washington: National Park Service, 1968), 4.

[47] Tench Coxe to Samuel Tredwell, 27 September 1797, Lighthouse Letters Sent, 1792-1798, Volume 1, 490-92, RG 26, NAB.

[48] Tench Coxe to Samuel Tredwell, 3 November 1797, Ibid., 512.

[49] Tench Coxe to Samuel Tredwell, 7 November 1797, Ibid., 513.

[50] Tench Coxe to North Carolina Representatives, 2 October 1797, Ibid., 495; Tench Coxe to John Haywood, North Carolina Secretary of State, 2 October 1797, Ibid., 496.

[51] Tench Coxe to Samuel Tredwell, 7 November 1797, Ibid., 513-14.

[52] Tench Coxe to Samuel Tredwell, 6 December 1797, Ibid., 520-21.

[53] David Stick in *North Carolina Lighthouses* described the lot as only 40 feet by 140.

[54] Account Paper, November-December 1797, John Gray Blount Papers, NCDAH.

[55] Carteret County Record of Deeds, Book N & P, Carteret County Courthouse, Beaufort, North Carolina; Abstract Record, Record Group 26, Entry 61, Volume 1.

[56] The non-compete clause had precedent in a clause attached to the sale of the Bald Head Island site. The seller required that the state include a clause that prohibited anyone from keeping "cattle, hogs, and stock of any kind." In addition, no one except the seller was allowed to hunt on the island without permission (Stick, *North Carolina Lighthouses*, 11-12); Carteret County Deeds, Carteret County Courthouse, Book N, 205.

[57] Shell Castle was bought for £10 and sold for $200: Ibid., 190; National Archives, RG 26, Deeds and Contracts, 96-97.

[58] Thomas Blount to John G. Blount, 14 December 1797, Masterson, *Blount Papers*, 3:193-95.

[59] William Miller to Oliver Wolcott, Secretary of the Treasury, 31 January 1798, Lighthouse Letter Sent, 1798-1804, Volume 2, 4, RG 26, NAB.

[60] Thomas Blount to John G. Blount, 1 February 1798, Masterson, *Blount Papers*, 3:202.

[61] Footnotes in Masterson's *Blount Papers*, Volume 3, continued to perpetuate the confusion of Shell Castle with Beacon Island. Thomas Blount to John G. Blount, 10 March 1798, Masterson, *Blount Papers*, 3:214-16.

* The plan diagram of the proposed Ocracoke Lighthouse bears and uncanny similarity to the lighthouse built almost thirty years later Ocracoke. One looks like a copy of the other except for the number of windows and some minor variations on the lantern assembly.

[62] Hugh Williamson to Alexander Hamilton, 29 December 1792, Lighthouse Letters, Miscellaneous Correspondence, RG 26, NAB.

[63] Estimate for a Beacon on Ocracoke Inlet, n.d. February 1794, Lighthouse Letters, Miscellaneous Correspondence, Box 1, RG 26, NAB.

[64] Ibid.

[65] North Carolina Gazette, 23 May 1795 and 20 June 1795; John Daves, Customs Collector at New Bern, to Tench Coxe, 28 July 1795, Lighthouse Letters Received, Volume 1, 248-9, RG 26, NAB; Tench Coxe to Thomas Blount, 29 September 1795, Lighthouse Letters Sent, 98, RG 26, NAB.

[66] John Mitchell to John G. Blount, 3 December 1795, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:615; John & Joseph Mitchell to John G. Blount, 23 May 1796, Masterson, *Blount Papers*, 3:62-63.

[67] Thomas Blount to Tench Coxe, 18 December 1795, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:620-21.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Tench Coxe to Thomas Blount, 19 December 1795, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:622.

[70] Thomas Blount to John G. Blount, 31 December 1795, Ibid., 2:634-36.

[71] Tench Coxe to William Keais, 14 March 1796, Lighthouse Letters Sent, Vol. 1, 235, RG 26, NAB.

[72] Tench Coxe to Oliver Wolcott, 27 July 1796, Lighthouse Letters Sent, Vol. 1, 311, RG 26, NAB.

[73] Tench Coxe to John G. Blount, 28 September 1796, Ibid., 328.

[74] Tench Coxe to John McComb, Jr., 25 January 1797, Ibid., 357; Tench Coxe to John McComb, Jr., 21 February 1797, Ibid., 387.

[75] Tench Coxe to Oliver Wolcott. July 1797, Ibid., 406.

[76] Tench Coxe to Henry Dearborn, 24 August 1797, Ibid., 474; Tench Coxe to Henry Dearborn, 1 September 1797, Ibid., 476.

[77] Tench Coxe to Oliver Wolcott, Jr., 6 November 1797, Ibid., 512.

[78] Dearborn constructed a wooden beacon at Seguin Point in the Kennebec River, Maine in 1795-96. The beacon was 26 feet in diameter, 40 feet high with a top diameter of 15 feet, and was built at a cost of $6,300.

Ibid.; Tench Coxe to North Carolina Representatives, 2 October 1797, Lighthouse Letters Sent, 1797-1798, RG 26, NAB; Tench Coxe to Henry Dearborn, 31 August 1795, Lighthouse Deeds and Contracts, Volume 1, 43-46, RG 26, NAB; Doyle Sweeney to General Benjamin Lincoln, 31 October 1796, Lighthouse Letters Received, Volume 1, 334, RG 26, NAB.

[79] Oliver Wolcott, Jr. to Tench Coxe, 18 November 1797, Lighthouse Miscellaneous Correspondence, Box 1, RG 26, NAB.

[80] Jacob E. Cooke, *Tench Coxe and the Early Republic* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1978), 300-310; Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, eds., *Dictionary of American Biography,* Volume II, (New York: Charles Scribner & Sons, 1958), 488.

[81] Robert Worrall to William Miller, Jr., 14 March 1798, Lighthouse Letters, Miscellaneous Correspondence, Box 1, RG 26, NAB.

[82] Worrall almost escaped a sentence as the two judges disagreed on the central question of Common Law's precedence in the United States Law. In 1812, the Supreme Court would finally rule that federal courts did not have common law jurisdiction. Case Reference: U.S. v Worrall, 2 Dallas (U.S.) 384-396 (1798). Cooke, *Tench Coxe*, 294-5.

[83] William Miller to John Adams, 9 February 1798, Lighthouse Letters, Miscellaneous Correspondence, Box 1, RG 26, NAB.

[84] Ibid.

[85] William Miller to John McComb, 15 February 1798, NA, RG 26, Lighthouse Letters Sent, Volume 2, 7, RG 26, NAB; William Miller to Superintendents of Lighthouses—Circular, 15 February 1798, Ibid.

[86] William Miller to John Adams, 21 September 1798, Lighthouse Deeds and Contracts, Volume A, 76-77, RG 26, NAB.

[87] William Miller to Henry Dearborn, 28 March 1798, NA, RG 26, Lighthouse Letters Sent, Volume 2, 15, RG 26, NAB.

[88] Robert Worrall to William Miller, Jr., 14 March 1798, Lighthouse Letters, Miscellaneous Correspondence, RG 26, NAB.

[89] William Miller, Jr. to Thomas Blount, 5 May 1798, Lighthouse Letters Sent, Volume 2, 60, RG 26, NAB.

[90] William Miller Jr. to Oliver Wolcott, 11 September 1798, Lighthouse Letters Sent, Volume 2, 62, RG 26, NAB.

[91] William Miller, Jr. to Henry Dearborn, 6 August 1798, Ibid., 57.

[92] Henry Dearborn to William Miller, Jr., 21 August 1798, Lighthouse Deeds and Contracts, Volume A, 74, RG 26, NAB.

[93] Ibid.

[94] William Miller, Jr. to Samuel Tredwell, 5 December 1798, Lighthouse Letters Sent, Volume 2, 76, RG 26, NAB.

[95] William Miller, Jr. to Henry Dearborn, 28 May 1799, Lighthouse Letters Sent, Volume 2, 110, RG 26, NAB.

[96] William Miller, Jr. to Henry Dearborn, 31 August 1799, Ibid., 125; William Miller, Jr. to Samuel Tredwell, 31 August 1799, Ibid., 126; William Miller, Jr. to Oliver Wolcott, 12 October 1799, Ibid., 143; William Miller, Jr. to Samuel Tredwell, 9 December 1799, Ibid., 158.

[97] William Miller, Jr. to Oliver Wolcott, 25 November 1799, Lighthouse Letters Sent, Volume 2, 149, RG 26, NAB.

[98] William Miller, Jr. to Samuel Tredwell, 31 March 1800, Ibid.

[99] William Miller, Jr. to Samuel Tredwell, 26 May 1800, Ibid.

[100] William Miller, Jr. to Oliver Wolcott, 17 July 1800, Ibid.; William Miller, Jr. to Oliver Wolcott, 7 October 1800, Ibid.

[101] Ibid.

[102] Ibid.; William Miller, Jr. to Henry Dearborn, 8 October 1800, Lighthouse Letters Sent, Volume 2, 216, RG 26, NAB.; William Miller Jr. to Oliver Wolcott, 1 December 1800, Ibid., 260.

[103] William Miller, Jr. to Samuel Tredwell, 3 April 1800, Lighthouse Letters Sent, Volume 2, 166, RG 26, NAB.

[104] William Miller, Jr. to Samuel Tredwell, 11 February 1801, Ibid., 303.

[105] Report to the Secretary of the Treasury, 3 December 1803, Lighthouse Letters Sent, Volume 3, RG 26, NAB.

[106] William Miller, Jr. to Henry Dearborn, 17 July 1801, Lighthouse Letters Sent, Volume 2, RG 26, NAB.

[107] William Miller Jr. to Samuel Tredwell, 4 August 1802, Ibid.; William Miller, Jr. to Samuel Tredwell, 16 September 1802. Ibid.; William Miller, Jr. to Henry Dearborn, 16 September 1802, Ibid.

[108] Dudley B. Hobart to William Miller, Jr., 12 June 1802, Lighthouse Letters Received, 1796-1803, Volume 2, 463, RG 26, NAB.

[109] William Miller, Jr. to Samuel Tredwell, 16 September 1802, Ibid.; William Miller, Jr. to Samuel Tredwell, 3 November 1802, Lighthouse Letters Sent, Volume 3, , RG 26, NAB.

[110] Samuel Tredwell to William Miller, Jr., 4 September 1802, Lighthouse Letters Received, Volume 2, RG 26, NAB.

[111] William Miller, Jr. to Samuel Tredwell, 26 May 1803, Lighthouse Letters Sent, Volume 3, RG 26, NAB.

[112] William Miller, Jr. to Albert Gallatin, 30 November 1803, Ibid.

[113] William Miller, Jr. to Samuel Tredwell, 23 March 1803, Ibid.

[114] William Miller, Jr. to Samuel Tredwell, 26 May 1803, Ibid.

[115] Extract of a letter from Samuel Tredwell to the Commissioner of the Revenue, 29 October 1803, Lighthouse Letters Sent, Volume 3, RG 26, NAB.

[116] William Miller Jr. to Albert Gallatin, 3 December 1803, Ibid.

[117] Albert Gallatin to Samuel Tredwell, 18 November 1806, Ibid.; Albert Gallatin to Samuel Tredwell, 18 March 1807, Ibid.; Holland, *Cape Hatteras Light Station*, 13.

[118] Albert Gallatin to Francis Hawks, 12 October 1804, _____, 5 February 1805, _____, 16 April 1805; Albert Gallatin to Brian Hellen, 30 November 1810, NA, RG 26, Microfilm 175, Roll 2; Abstract Records, Entry 61, Volume 1, RG 26, NAB.

[119] Holland, *Cape Hatteras*, 13.

[120] Stick, *Outer Banks*, 78; Stick, *North Carolina Lighthouses*, 17; Cloud, *Ocracoke Lighthouse*, 3; Keith, *Three North Carolina Brothers*, 123; Holland, *America's Lighthouses: Their Illustrated History Since 1716* (Brattleboro, VT: Stephen Greene Press, 1972), 33.

[121] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 2 June 1793, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:268.

[122] Benjamin Williams to Alexander Hamilton, 8 May 1794, Lighthouse Letters Received, Volume 1, 209, RG 26, NAB; Tench Coxe to Benjamin Williams, 23 June 1794, Lighthouse Letters Sent, Volume 1, 77, RG 26, NAB.

[123] William Miller, Jr. to Samuel Tredwell, 4 August 1802, Ibid.; Dudley Hobart to William Miller, Jr., 12 June 1802, Lighthouse Letters Received, 1796-1803, Volume 2, 463, RG 26, NAB.

[124] William Miller, Jr. to Albert Gallatin, 14 September 1802, Ibid.; William Miller Jr. to Samuel Tredwell, 10 October 1802, Lighthouse Letters Sent, Volume 3, RG 26, NAB; Annual Allowance to Lighthouse Keepers, 13 October 1800, Lighthouse Letters Sent, Volume 2, RG 26, NAB.

[125] William Miller to Albert Gallatin, 23 March 1803, Lighthouse Letters Sent, Volume 3, RG 26, NAB; John Brown to Samuel Tredwell, 5 April 1803, Ibid.

[126] Holland erroneously identified John Mayo as John Mays. Holland, *Cape Hatteras*, 15.

[127] Winslow Lewis of Boston was contracted to inspect and overhaul the lamps and lighting apparati of the nation. Lewis had designed and patented a lantern that used the argand lamp, a parabolic reflector and lens. (Holland, *Cape Hatteras*, 21-22) Ibid., 15-16; Winslow Lewis to S. Smith, 16 September 1816, Lighthouse Letters, Miscellaneous Correspondence, Box 3, RG 26, NAB.

[128] Ibid.

[129] S. H. Smith to Samuel Tredwell, 14 August 1815, Lighthouse Letters Sent, Volume 4, RG 26, NAB.

[130] William Miller, Jr. to Samuel Tredwell, 30 November 1803, Lighthouse Letters Sent, Volume 3, RG 26, NAB.

[131] William Tatham to Albert Gallatin, January 1807, *The Separate Report of William Tatham, Report on the Survey of the Coast of North Carolina from Cape Fear to Cape Hatteras*, Coast Survey, Box 1, 43, RG 23, NAB.

[132] The argand lamp was invented by the Swiss Ami Argand in 1782 and used a "hollow circular wick that allowed for better airflow inside and over the wick and created a brighter more even flame." (Holland, *Cape Hatteras*, 21-22).

[133] Ibid., 51, 59.

[134] Albert Gallatin to Samuel Tredwell, 6 June 1809, Lighthouse Letters Sent, Volume 3, RG 26, NAB.

[135] Holland, *Cape Hatteras Light Station*, n. 15, 16.

[136] Samuel Tredwell to Albert Gallatin, 9 August 1810, Lighthouse Letters Received, Volume 2, RG 26, NAB; Albert Gallatin to Samuel Tredwell, 29 August 1812, Lighthouse Letters Sent, Volume 4, RG 26, NAB; S.H. Smith to Samuel Tredwell, 25 June 1816, Ibid.; Winslow Lewis to S. Smith, 3 July 1817Lighthouse Letters, Miscellaneous Correspondence, Box 3, RG 26, NAB.

[137] William Miller, Jr. to Samuel Tredwell, 10 October 1802, Lighthouse Letters Sent, Volume 3, RG 26, NAB; William Miller, Jr. to Samuel Tredwell, 3 November 1802, Ibid.

[138] William Tatham to Albert Gallatin, January 1807, *The Separate Report of William Tatham, Report on the Survey of the Coast of North Carolina from Cape Fear to Cape Hatteras*, RG 23, Coast Survey, Box 1, 45; John Wallace to John G. Blount, 10 January 1803, Morgan, *Blount Papers*, 4:5; Keith, *Three North Carolina Brothers*, 154.

[139] William Miller, Jr. to Albert Gallatin, 30 November 1803, Light house Letters Sent, Volume 3, RG 26, NAB; William Miller, Jr. to Samuel Tredwell, 30 November 1803, Ibid.

[140] Holland, *Cape Hatteras*, 17.

[141] Albert Gallatin to Samuel Tredwell, 17 June 1809, Lighthouse Letters Sent, Volume 3, RG 26, NAB; Holland, *Cape Hatteras*, 17-18.

[142] Samuel Tredwell to Albert Gallatin, n.d. 1802, Lighthouse Letters Received, Box 2, RG 26, NAB; Albert Gallatin to John Wallace, 10 February 1809, Lighthouse Letters Sent, Volume 3, RG 26, NAB; ; Albert Gallatin to John Wallace, 6 October 1809, Ibid., Volume 4.

[143] Samuel Tredwell to Albert Gallatin, 9 August 1810, Lighthouse Letters Received, Box 2, RG 26, NAB.

[144] *Cape Fear Recorder*, Wilmington, NC, 5 September 1818.

[145] S.H. Smith, Commissioner of the Revenue, to Samuel Tredwell, 2 September 1818, Lighthouse Letters Sent, Volume 5, RG 26, NAB.

[146] S.H. Smith to William Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury, 4 January 1819, Lighthouse Letters Sent, Volume 5, RG 26, NAB; S.H. Smith to William Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury, 21 December 1819, Ibid.

[147] Stephen Pleasonton to James Manney, 10 November 1820, Lighthouse Letters Sent, Microfilm M-178, Roll 4, RG 26, NAB.

[148] Shell Castle Light vessel Contract, Lighthouse Deeds and Contracts, Volume 3, 197-98, RG 26, NAB.

[149] Stephen Pleasonton to James Manney, 10 November 1820, Lighthouse Letters Sent, Microfilm 178 Roll 4, RG 26, NAB.

[150] S. Pleasonton to James Manney, 6 December 1820, Lighthouse Letters Sent, Volume 5, RG 26, NAB.

[#] Both David Stick and Holland list the first light vessel as a 71-ton vessel stationed at Willoughby Spit in 1820; however, some evidence points to a Brandywine Beacon Boat on the Delaware in 1792 or to the Shell Castle light Vessel as the first light vessels on station. In the case of the former, Joshua Humphreys noted that the Brandywine Beacon Boat was in a decayed state but reparable. If Beacon Boats were considered light vessels than this would be the first in use in the United States. On the other hand if the definition is for a larger light vessel, than some evidence indicates that the Shell Castle light may pre-date the Willoughby Spit vessel. The Willoughby spit boat was originally contracted for in 1819 with an expected delivery date in 1820; however, a subsequent letter reported that although the contract had been expected to be completed in March 1820, it was extended for valid reasons to the 1st of June 1821. Therefore, if the vessel referred to in Pleasonton's 30 November 1820 letter is the original Willoughby Spit vessel and not a replacement vessel, then the Shell Castle Light vessel becomes the first operational light vessel in the United States. (Joshua Humphreys to John Turner, n.d., Lighthouse Letters Received, Volume 1, 75, RG 26, NAB; Stick, *North Carolina Lighthouses*, 25; Holland, *America's Lighthouses*, 55; Samuel Smith to William Crawford, 21 December 1819, Lighthouse Letters Sent, Volume 5, 226, RG 26, NAB; S. Pleasonton to James Johnson, 30 November 1820, Ibid., 334)

[151] Martin, *Description of Occacock Inlet,* 629; George Dutton Survey of Ocracoke Inlet, RG 77, H-9, NAII.

[152] S. Pleasonton to William Crawford, 11 December 1820, Lighthouse Letters Sent, Volume 5, RG 26, NAB; S. Pleasonton to James Manney, 2 January 1821, Ibid.; S. Pleasonton to James Manney, 3 February 1821, Ibid.

[153] S. Pleasonton to Henry A. S. Dearborn, 3 January 1821, Ibid.; S. Pleasonton to Henry A. S. Dearborn, 20 June 1821, Ibid., 409.

[154] Joshua Taylor to H.H. Crawford, 8 June 1821, Microfilm M-178 Roll 38, RG 26, NAB.

[155] S. Pleasonton to Joshua Taylor, 30 June 1821, Ibid., 413.

[156] This light would be the Ocracoke Light which was built in 1823 by Noah Porter of Massachusetts for $11, 359.35 and has remained in operation ever since. See Cloud, *Ocracoke Lighthouse* or Stick, *North Carolina Lighthouses* for a history of the Ocracoke Light and its dimensions.

S. Pleasonton to Thomas Newton, 18 February 1822, Ibid.; S. Pleasonton to Thomas Newton, 19 March 1822, Ibid.

[157] Stick, *North Carolina Lighthouses*, 30-31, 60.

[158] France L. Hariss, ed., *Lawson's History of North Carolina* originally published in London in 1714, (Richmond, Va: Garrett and Massie, 1951), 65.

[159] Martin, *Description of Occacock Inlet*, 627-32; Tench Coxe to William Keais, 20 January 1797, Lighthouse Letters Sent, Volume 1, 365-66, RG 26, NAB.

[160] *New Bern Gazette*, 9 March 1804, Microfilm, East Carolina University Library; Cloud, *Ocracoke Lighthouse*, 38.

[161] Lawrence Furlong, *American Coast Pilot*, 209.

[162] Martin, *Description of Occacock Inlet*, 627-32.

[163] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 12 February 1792, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:181.

[164] Hugh Williamson to John G. Blount, 27 January 1793, Ibid., 2:232-33.

[165] Wilson Angley, *History of Ocracoke Inlet*, 33.

[166] William Shepard to Ebenezer Pettigrew, 1 Jul 1817, Sarah McCullough Lemmon, ed., *The Pettigrew Papers*, Volume 1, 1685-1818, (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1971), 572-73.

[167] Dunbar, *Historical Geography of the North Carolina Outer Banks*, 25; Ronald E. Shaw, *Canals for a Nation: The Canal Era in the United States, 1790-1860* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1990), 117.

[168] William Gaston to John G. Blount, 7 November 1827, Morgan, *Blount Papers*, 4:474-75; William A. Blount to John G. Blount, 15 December 1827, Ibid., 4:482.

[169] Angley, *History of Ocracoke Inlet*, 35.

[170] Nathaniel Macon to John G. Blount, 21 December 1827, Morgan, *Blount Papers*, 4:487.

[171] *Survey of the Swash*, 1-10, *American State Papers*,

[172] *Map of Ocracock Inlet and Plan & Elevation of Dredging Machine in Operation at Ocracoke Inlet*, File H-29, RG 77, NAII.

CHAPTER 4

SHELL CASTLE FAMILY AND SOCIAL INTERACTION

As on a rock of adamant we build
our mountain of hopes, spin our eternal schemes,
As we the fatal sisters would outspin,
And big with Life's futurities, expire.
Edward Young. *Night Thoughts*, Chapter 14

What are we to make of John Wallace? People are multi-dimensional. Therefore, the image of Wallace as an opportunistic capitalist provided by the review of Shell Castle enterprise and his actions must be refined by looking at where Wallace fit within his society and how the community he governed interacted with itself and with off-islanders. Wallace was a man of his time and place. His actions as they have been recorded portrayed a man who was "married" to his community and possessed the values of his time. John Wallace was also part of the greater American community in which people sought to improve their positions in society and to achieve the affluence and "gentility" of the upper tiers of society. The social historian Richard Bushman, in *Refinement of America* (1993), demonstrated how the people of middle Delaware in the eighteenth century sought to elevate their station in life and how their aspirations were reflected in their housing, material culture, intellectual activity, and religious

and social and political interactions. In addition he described how capitalism fueled unprecedented consumption as people invested their dearly obtained moneys in goods in order to reflect their raised social position and refinement.[1] In this chapter, and in chapters Five and Nine, analysis of the historic record and the material culture associated with Shell Castle in the historical and archaeological records result in an image of John Wallace as a man driven by personal interest to gain from his business activities and to use the influence and power generated by those activities to improve his position in the social hierarchy.

Therefore, who was John Wallace? What was the Shell Castle community? How did the two interact with each other and with people off-island? The study of John Wallace, his family, both nuclear and extended, the discrete life cycle of the Shell Castle community, and the social interactions of each are the focus of this chapter.

John Wallace and His Family

John Wallace was born in 1758 to a leading family of coastal Carteret County. Wallace's family descended from Robert Wallis who settled in York County, Virginia, in 1642. His son, also Robert Wallis, patented land on the Core Sound, Carteret County, in what would later become North Carolina in 1663.

Wallace's father was Joseph Wallace whom Blount had refused to hire for lightering in 1789. Joseph Wallace married Dinneh, and the couple had seven children: four boys, John, Joseph, Robert, Jacksephus, and three girls, Hannah, Sidney and Rebecca.[3] John Wallace also had several half-brothers from his father's earlier marriage. The brothers, David, Reuben, and William W. (Wise), all made their living as mariners, and lived on Portsmouth or the Core Banks. Wise Wallace died in 1800 and Reuben passed away in 1804.[4]

Little has been recorded of Wallace's early years. He first appears in John G. Blount's papers in the 1780s while in his early and mid-twenties. Like many young men he still carried the nickname of his youth, "Jack," which he used at least until 1790. These early references like so many of the records of John Wallace related to his work life and not his social or personal affairs.[5] He would later carry the honorific title of "governor."

In 1790, John Wallace was head of a household consisting of two white males over the age of sixteen and three slaves.[6] On 12 November 1791, two years after commencing the Shell Castle venture, John Wallace married Rebecca Hall, daughter of Simon and Phexily Hall. Wallace did not marry beneath his station because the Halls were from a similar place in society. In 1800, Simon Hall, a pilot, was the head of large household living on the Core Sound Banks between Cedar Inlet and Portsmouth. He and his wife were both over 45 in 1800 and had four boys, two girls and five slaves in the household. Rebecca who was not counted in their household was most certainly one of their older children.[7]

John Wallace and Rebecca appeared to be a typical couple of the late eighteenth century in America. Wallace was thirty-two or thirty-three years old and his bride was twenty years old at the time of their wedding. Wallace's age seems to point out that he had delayed marriage until he had established himself and was capable of providing for a wife and family. Most American women of the time married between age nineteen to twenty-three years old like Rebecca.[8] Like many couples, they began a family shortly after setting up their home together. Most Americans around the turn of the century began having children within the first year of marriage. However, for the Wallaces this event was delayed only slightly with the Wallace's first born arriving on 29 January 1793, just days more than fourteen months since their nuptials.

The Wallace family was of average size for its time in America with six children, but large for its community. From 1790 to 1840 the usual United States' household size averaged almost six children. Among the families living at Portsmouth and Ocracoke in 1800, however, the average household contained 5.4 people with 2.5 children under seventeen years old excluding slaves and other persons.[9]

The Wallaces by virtue of their larger family were at greater risk of losing a child to sickness because child mortality was common in the federal period. The riskiest time was the first year of life and the extended period from one year to maturity at twenty-one was also a period of high mortality. Overall, nearly one child out of four or five succumbed to childhood diseases. Of the Wallace's six

children only five lived to adulthood and the record contained several mentions of John Wallace's concern for his sick children. In the early spring of 1795, when John Wallace wrote, "Our little girl is very sick and I think will die," he referred to Patsey Wallace, one of the twins born around 1794. Five years later, Wallace reported that his firstborn son, Thomas Blount Wallace, had been sick but was "well on the way to recovery." At other times the entire family faced frightening illness. Influenza struck Eastern North Carolina in the fall of 1801. At Shell Castle, all members of the Wallace family were "some indisposed with cold, particularly Mrs. Wallace."[10] Simon Hall Wallace, their fifth child died in August 1818 of an unknown cause.

One aspect of John Wallace's move toward "refinement" manifested itself in the names of his children. Toward the end of the eighteenth century, many Americans began to move away from assigning Biblical names to their offspring and instead selected identities that "transcended the parents' circumstances," according to Bushman. John Wallace's generation received Biblical names, such as John, Reuben, and David. Wallace, however, who held his partner in great esteem, named three of his children after John G. Blount's relatives. He named Louisa Wallace after John G. Blount's sister, Louisa. With the birth of his first and second sons, Wallace adopted the practice of assigning middle names, which formerly had been limited to the gentry. Thomas Blount Wallace was obviously named after Blount's politician brother. Wallace honored his father-in-law by naming his second son, Simon Hall Wallace. In addition, Elisabeth who was

called Patsy, could very well have been named for Thomas Blount's first wife Patsy. However, the most aspirational name for a maritime family was that given to Wallace's youngest child Horatio, who was born probably after both the Battle of the Nile and Trafalgar.[11]

In the early nineteenth century, the term family included more than just the nuclear family. It also defined the domestic group of a community including apprentices and slaves. Wallace used this broader definition in 1800 when he wrote that "I am busiest I ever was in my life, 40-45 in the family."[12] Almost fifty people living on the small island made for an intimate group, but who comprised it beyond Wallace's immediate family?

In 1800, Shell Castle was listed as a separate community in the Federal Census. According to the census, Wallace lived there with his wife, Rebecca, their five children and fifteen slaves. Only one other couple resided there with them. John Mayo, who helped run the operation as a clerk manager, his wife and son. The Castle was a youthful, affluent community. Wallace and Mayo and their wives were in the prime of life between twenty-six and forty-five years old and all six children were less than eleven years old. Although the sample sizes are small, the Shell Castle community had three children per household under the age of eleven compared to 1.5 and 1.9 for Ocracoke and Portsmouth, respectively. The Castle's fifteen slaves represented 60 percent of the population, and because they were calculated and taxed as property, they indicated the affluence of the Castle community. In comparison, Ocracoke with twenty-two families had only one

more slave than the fifteen owned by Wallace, while at Portsmouth, slaves comprised just 35 percent of the population. The number of slaves as a percentage of the Portsmouth and Ocracoke population in 1800 had increased twenty percentage points since 1786 when only forty-two slaves were recorded in the census. Just over 50 percent of the households near Ocracoke owned at least one slave, and only five families owned more than five. Four of those five families were Wallaces.[13] (See Appendix B)

The Carteret County tax assessors charged John Wallace "with 651 acres land two houses under the value of one hundred dollars say 90 each the whole together valued to $10,898.50[;] also one dwelling house, one out house and 30 poles of land valued therewith to $270." Wallace and Blount tried to protest the assessed value to reduce taxes. The record failed to disclose the outcome of the protest; however, by 1803, Wallace's taxable value was listed as $400 with John G. Blount being assessed for 9,600 acres. Therefore, it appeared that the 1800 assessment assigned the ownership of the Shell Castle operations solely to Wallace, but that the assessor had corrected the tax listings by 1803. The 1803 assessment ranked Wallace as fourth richest on the Core Sound tax list with six slaves.[14]

The families of Wallace and Mayo, including the fifteen slaves, accounted for only twenty-five of the forty to forty-five people in the "family." The others were hired slaves, clerks and other assistants at the Castle. Several of the slaves were hired out by John G. Blount. Probably not all of them lived at the Castle

permanently, but rather they lived at Portsmouth or other nearby place and stayed as needed at the Castle.

Only a little information about others in Wallace's "family" has been found in the record. William Smith, who replaced the boy Wallace sent away in early 1792, had begun to work for Blount at the Castle by September 1792. Three years later he is reported to be a sailor on one of Blount's vessels bound for Cape Nicholas. Smith had reported that Wallace was frequently drunk and never kept any record of transactions at the store. It would be interesting to speculate that the frustrations of working with Wallace drove him to sea.[15] Another worker, however, began his career at sea before moving ashore in the 1790s. Nathaniel Pinkham served as master for Blount and part of the fishery operations crew from 1792 to 1800 before retiring from the sea to run the tavern at the Castle.[16] Others such as David Pidge and Peter Casso, Jr. were recorded as workers at the Castle only by the letters they sent to John Gray Blount. All three faded from the record after 1805.[17] The record, however, preserved more information about the other Shell Castle head of household, John Mayo.

Mayo had been an operative for the Blounts since at least 1794 when Thomas Blount mentions sending him specific instructions for the business. In 1799, Mayo was building a house on Shell Castle that was completed by May 1800. Mayo's house was offered to Blount as an office for his summer visit to Shell Castle. Mayo served as a deputy sheriff for Carteret County and took depositions as part of his job responsibilities. In addition, Dudley Hobart

recommended him for the Keeper's position and as a notary public. The lack of a notary public hurt masters who wrecked at the Inlet complained Hobart who added that no one else in the area was capable of the position. "Mr. Mayo would be as useful to the public generally as any other man in the same situation, and more so for the local interest," Hobart stated.[18]

Mayo was evidently well educated by Outer Banks standards. His letters were well written and he had received a strong recommendation from Hobart based on his being a "man of tolerable good education." Part of Hobart's recommendation included a comment on Mayo's desire to open a "School for the instruction of youth." Hobart dryly endorsed Mayo's plan stating: "If an institution of this kind is useful, certain I am that the inhabitants of this place have the greatest claims of any other people under heaven."[19] Mayo moved off of Shell Castle and opened his "Academy" sometime in the spring of 1805. He established his school in a two-story building on Portsmouth and not Shell Castle. The schoolmaster charged $2.50 per quarter for tuition and another five dollars per month for room, board, and washing. The Academy appeared prominently on Price and Cole's Map of 1808.[20]

Following his move to Portsmouth, Mayo began to prosper. For the tax years 1802 through 1805, Mayo had a tax worth of fifty dollars, which was considerably below the average tax values for those years that ranged from $87 to $123. By 1807, his value had doubled to one hundred dollars and he owned two slaves, and in 1815 he would have a tax worth of $925. Also in 1815, Mayo was

listed as a retailer of spirits; however, it was unclear whether or not he was still operating his academy.[21] In 1821, Joshua Taylor obtained an appointment for John Mayo and David Wallace, Jr, John Wallace's nephew, as customs inspectors and commanders of the two Revenue Cutters stationed at Ocracoke. Mayo and Wallace received a salary of forty dollars per month equal to that of the light vessel master, Thaddeus Chadwick.[22]

Mayo remained closely allied with the Wallaces despite his move off-island in 1805. In 1810, Mayo served as administrator for John Wallace's estate. In addition, he was the witness at each of Wallace children's marriages beginning with the wedding of Louisa Wallace to James Wallace in November 1810 through to Horatio Wallace's marriage to Nancy Wallace in August 1829. The Mayos stayed linked to the Wallace's after death as Elizabeth Mayo was buried in the Wallace family cemetery on Sheep Island, located south of Portsmouth along the Core Bank.[23]

Following Mayo's departure, other workers moved to the Castle. In 1805, Richard Tuck began working with Wallace. Tuck was accompanied by his wife Ellen. At times Ellen Tuck drafted business letters and signed them for her husband.[24] The other newcomer was Josiah Bradley who first appeared on the Castle around 1810. The census that year listed him as a head of household that included his wife and three children under ten years old. Bradley had been a resident at Portsmouth since 1806 when he first was noted on the tax records, but it appeared that he replaced Tuck and assisted John Wallace prior to the his death

resident at Portsmouth since 1806 when he first was noted on the tax records, but it appeared that he replaced Tuck and assisted John Wallace prior to the his death in 1810. Bradley remained at the Castle managing operations for Blount until 1813 or 1814. By 1815, Bradley owned land at Portsmouth and had dropped from the Castle's records.

In 1810, the year Wallace died, four families made Shell Castle their home. In addition to the Wallace clan and the Bradley's, Solomon M. Joseph and Edward Seduce lived there. The population consisted of nineteen white residents and twenty-two slaves. Rebecca Wallace reportedly owned fourteen slaves and Joseph owned seven with Seduce owning the remaining one.[25]

The Governor and His Word

As managing partner of the Castle operations, Wallace directed the clerks, apprentices, slaves and other "family" members in their daily activities. From that position Wallace sought to enter the refined society of professional and mercantile classes of the urban areas and the planters from eastern North Carolina who formed a cultural elite like those found in Charleston and Annapolis. The moniker he adopted or was given as the Castle manager set him apart from his peers at Portsmouth. In addition, his actions regarding money and debt demonstrated a strong desire to protect his good name and reputation among the society figures of the tidewater.[26]

was that of captain that was used for the pilots and masters. Wallace, who had been called Jack as late as 1790, was addressed as "Governor" more than as captain. The title accompanied the growth of the Shell Castle operations as it was first used in or 1793. Whether or not Wallace initiated its use or others applied the moniker as a way to describe the managing partner can not be determined. However, people at all levels of society used the term to refer to Wallace, including himself. The term "Gov'r" was used in the title frame of the illustration on the Liverpool-ware pitchers. Wallace's epitaph, perhaps the best measure of how he was esteemed, included both titles with the script letters inscribed, "Captain John Wallace, Governor of Shell Castle...."[27]

Most often those who were lower on the social scale or who worked for Wallace used "Governor" when referring to him. For example, Peter Casso, Jr., who clerked at the Castle, expressed his appreciation for Wallace's generosity in supplying two barrels of fish for Casso's wife by calling Governor Wallace, "his excellency." In a rare use of the honorific by a member of the social elite, Richard Dobbs Spaight referred to meeting with "Gov'r Wallace" to discuss conflicting land deals. Letters addressed to Wallace used the more common correspondence descriptor "Esquire" and not the term "governor," however. The former term was applied to many property holders of the time. Letters to John G. Blount, for example, addressed him as esquire also. The recipient's profession was frequently placed in the address as many letters noted Blount's profession as merchant below his name and "esquire."[28]

At the end of the eighteenth century, one's social standing and good name reflected not only an individual's position in society, but also how others, especially the aristocracy, viewed the individual. For merchants and entrepreneurs like the Blounts and Wallace good standing in the community at large depended greatly on the ability to meet financial obligations. Numerous examples of the concern each had with maintaining one's honor by paying debts appeared in the correspondence of the Blounts' and John Wallace.

John Wallace fully understood the importance of keeping his good name among the social elite and he refused to be threatened by those he considered below him in the social ladder over debt issues. In 1800, Wallace experienced a credit crisis similar to that experienced by the Blounts 1797-98. Wallace needed cash to provide provisions and pay to his hired hands that he claimed "takes all the money I can git hold of." Wallace's cash flow problems had begun at least as early as March 1800 when he refused to help a fellow ship captain who pleaded for a loan. Wallace referred the man to John G. Blount and explained that it "was not in his power to help him to five dollars."[29] His problems stemmed from disappointments in his ventures and at that time he had had "bad luck in getting money from all quarters." Wallace had hoped for money from a trading voyage to the West Indies. Unfortunately, however, the *Caleb*'s cargo had been damaged and the proceeds "fell greatly short of getting as much money" as he had expected.[30]

Wallace feared that his cash flow problems would disappoint his creditors and injure his good name. One creditor whom he particularly did not want to put off was Josiah Collins, a prominent merchant from Edenton. The Governor had promised to pay Collins $1,000 from the profits of the *Caleb*'s cargo; however, because of the damage, Wallace had only enough to pay $500. Concerned about his name, Wallace wrote to his partner to whom he was also sending some money and explained that "he had to pay what he could or be worse than my word, which I don't want to be with him...."[31] The credit crisis was so acute at the Castle that it forced Wallace to sell the *Caleb* just two weeks after he had missed his payment to Collins. He agreed to take $1,150 worth of corn and white oak hogshead staves and heading in barter for the vessel. Apparently, Wallace needed corn to provision his family at the Castle more than he needed cash to pay his other creditors.[32]

The poor financial situation continued into 1801 for Wallace. He had invested along with the Blounts in their speculative land deals in Western North Carolina and Tennessee. Unfortunately, he faced similar results, as he had to liquidate his holdings at losses to satisfy the immediate need for cash. His embarrassment must have been sharp to know that his situation had become a topic for casual correspondence. Peter Casso, Jr. mentioned in passing in a letter to Blount that "I am sorry the Governor has not succeeded in west speculation as he expected."[33]

Part of Wallace's troubles with creditors arose from his poor record keeping at the Castle. Although he was quick to record credits to his account; he was less precise in recording other transactions. Asked by Blount to make out an account for lumber sold for a Mr. Cameron, Wallace responded by providing a statement of settlement for the fish he had sold for Cameron. He was careful to ensure that the wharfage expenses were included and allocated to the Castle's account. A lack of records, however, forced him to be less precise in accounting for the lumber. An investigation by Wallace revealed that "there seems to be no one who knows how much plank was landed here." Wallace turned the responsibility for the lumber back to Cameron whom he had requested to provide a receipt for the lumber even though Wallace confessed that he believed none had been given. Wallace promised to remit the balance, if any remained, when Cameron called for it.

Cameron, undeterred by Wallace's gambit of demanding a receipt for the lumber, threatened to publish details of the issue in the paper and to sue for his funds. Unlike his fear of disappointing Collins, however, Wallace was not to be intimidated because of a mere delinquency by someone whom he considered a social inferior. He urged his partner to inform Cameron that Wallace accepted Cameron's right to publish his name "since the liberty of the Press is a common privilege." However, Wallace rested on his confidence that if their names were published that his character would be "esteemed the most truly honest and dignified."[34]

Wallace, his protestations of honesty and forthrightness notwithstanding, sometimes failed to pay his debts as desired by creditors. Facing another cash flow problem in 1806, Wallace defaulted on several debts and was found liable at court. He owed Hugh Jones £62 10s 1p and William Blackledge £268 10s.[35] At the same time that Wallace was defaulting on his debt to Collins, another merchant obtained a judgment against the Governor for £80-90, which he was willing to trade to John G. Blount for a cask of porter because he thought Blount could obtain payment more easily from Wallace.[36]

Blount acted as a buffer for Wallace several times throughout their partnership. People with claims against Wallace turned to the influence of John G. Blount to pressure Wallace to honor his commitments like David Wallace had done regarding the stakes and buoy contract. In 1796, Blount wrote more than once to his partner that he had "best attend getting that money" as several bills had been returned to Blount as overdue.[37] In another case, lawyers for the owners of the brig *Nuestra Señora del Carmine* appealed to John G. Blount to act as arbitrator to settle a dispute over salvage and storage charges at the Castle.

The vessel wrecked on the shoals of Wallace's Channel during a nor'easter in December 1804. Her cargo of hides, 24 casks of molasses and other salvaged gear were deposited at the Castle and sold in February. Wallace charged twenty-five cents per hide in storage and handling among other charges amounting to $857.50. The agents Taylor & Justice found this rate "so excessively high" that they filed for arbitration. Wallace named Pinkham, Mayo

and Pidge, three employees at Shell Castle. Isaac Taylor objected to so local a solution and they subsequently agreed to let Mr. John Devereaux of New Bern rule on the disagreement. Before depositions could be taken, however, Mr. Pinkham interfered with the process and the appeal was stopped.

Wallace again failed to keep track of the transactions at the Castle; however, this time it appeared to be willful and not oversight. He had salvaged 2,000 dry hides and 2,800 uncured hides that needed a lot of handling. At the time of sale in February, Wallace refused to produce a receipt for the cargo. Wallace claimed he was responsible only for goods he actually delivered, which allowed considerable room for losses to accrue in his favor.

The agents Taylor & Justice were willing to accept the losses in hides and the molasses, which had disappeared, regarding them as "not worth noticing" and "may be overlooked." However, they objected strongly to the charges on the hides, which equaled almost a third of the cargo's sales. Therefore, they turned to Blount because of his influence and position to rule on the dispute as a third party.[38]

Wallace's fear of indebtedness and its effects on his name was not unique. Both John G. Blount and Thomas Blount experienced deep financial distress in the late 1790s due to the loss of the *Tuley* and *Regulator* and their land speculations. Thomas Blount was embarrassed that he could cover only ten dollars of a twenty-three dollar debt with his only "ten dollars in the world." To another friend and creditor, Thomas Blount expressed that a severe liquidity

problem faced the brothers' enterprises and that they were not "capable of making, meet in due time the pecuniary demands upon them...." Blount felt both "wretchedness" and "mortification" at the thought of meeting his creditor.[39]

What other parts of John Wallace's personality can be determined from the record? What can the documents reveal to us about the society at the Castle? Little has been found to illuminate the relationship between Wallace and his family beyond what has been shown above. However, several incidents recorded in letters from the Castle have provided images of the Castle's society and help show that it faced issues similar to other communities.

Wallace was in poor health for some time prior to his death in 1810, and that prevented him from governing with the energy he once had. In the 1790s clerks reported that the Governor was drinking heavily, which continued until his death. The cash flow and credit problems of the 1800-1802 most likely marked the beginning of a downturn in fortunes at the Castle. Reports about the need for repairs to the buildings and problems with buoys and stakes cited in chapters two and three pointed to an inability of Wallace to maintain the Castle and its operations. Two incidents that occurred in 1805 and later confirmed the decline in the Governor's strong-handed rule over the island.

No community, even one as remote as Shell Castle, was isolated from human caprice and avarice. In the twenty-one years that the Governor operated the Castle only two incidents of thievery—other than Wallace's business actions—were recorded. The first took place in 1790 and involved only a small

sum. Wallace suspected his slave pilot Perry and another hired slave had stolen forty shillings, but he could not prove it.[40] The other more significant incident occurred in 1805 and originated from the same December gale that cast away the *Nuestra Señora del Carmine.*

On a Sunday in mid-January, John Mayo supervised the sale of the goods of the sloop *Jackall* at auction at Shell Castle. He collected the cash and receipts that he stored in the Castle's Office. Soon after candlelight, Mr. Mayo returned to his trunk, and after opening it found the money gone. He immediately began a search and found many strangers still at the Castle that night. The stolen money amounted to $259, consisting of sixteen American Eagles worth $160, $48 in silver and another $51 in bank bills.

Mayo assembled everyone in the Tavern, which was operated by Nathaniel Pinkham, where Mayo strip-searched several people. The searches revealed no clues and frustrations increased, pitting neighbor against neighbor. The tavern keeper Pinkham accused David Pidge, a clerk who worked for Blount and Wallace at the Castle. Pinkham's accusation were believed and Pidge became the "only object of suspicion." The tavern keeper declared that Pidge had robbed the office and that he should be arrested immediately and forced to repay Mayo. Despite his protests of innocence, Pidge was held in custody overnight.

Unlike Pinkham, the thoughtful Mayo was slow to rush to judgment and he was unwilling to convict Pidge without evidence. As day returned to the Castle, Mayo maintained control of the situation and sought to conduct a proper

investigation. He obtained a search warrant and proceeded to inspect almost "every chest and trunk" without success. Having followed legal procedures and being unable to hold the strangers and others at the Castle without violating their rights, Mayo feared the thief and money would escape.

He then turned to an alternate plan that sought to recover the bulk of the money while allowing amnesty and profit to the thief. Mayo posted an advertisement that requested "the persons who had taken the money to replace it again [and they] might keep all the silver and no questions will be asked." The money reappeared the next morning. The recalcitrant thief laid the bag of money on one of the seats in the piazza of the office where Mr. Pinkham found it.

In spite of the money's return. Pidge felt that he needed to clear his name and prove that he had not returned the money. He claimed that he had retired to bed about eight o'clock at night with Captain Voorhees and stayed there throughout the night. Another bedfellow supported Pidge's claim and he was cleared of suspicion.[41]

A cynical reading of Pidge's letter to John G. Blount from which the account was drawn points toward Pinkham as the culprit. He had zealously accused Pidge without evidence, and he found the money without anyone witnessing his discovery. In addition, if one reads suspiciously into Pidge' s later lines he refused to indict Pinkham, but he believed that the evidence made people "think more favourable" of Pidge and to shift the censure toward another quarter.[42]

Four months after the theft incident, Richard Tuck ordered bars, bolts and locks to secure the tavern. He reasoned that it was "absolutely necessary that the bar and store rooms for the tavern should be made places of safe deposit." He ordered three iron bars for the windows which were three feet one and one-half inch square; six window bolts, eight and one-quarter inch in length; six keys; six hasps; one iron latch for the kitchen; and two sliding bolts for the doors.[43]

The theft of such a large sum and the resulting need for locks and places of safe deposit demonstrated an increase in social turmoil at the island that could no longer be controlled by the domineering Wallace. The discord between people increased after 1805 to the point of requiring a partition of the Castle. Apparently the Castle had been partitioned in one way or another since Tuck's arrival in 1805. In 1810, Josiah Bradley moved the partition line to the "old place where it was in Tuck's time." Bradley's action opened a free passage for the Blount workers at the Castle from the Tavern over to the houses. The new location of the line, however, prevented Solomon Joseph from access to one of the houses that he used to catch water because "the cistern was out of order." Joseph, a renter at the Castle, was unhappy and threatened to write John G. Blount. Bradley wrote preemptively to Blount to request his advice, but he also informed Blount that Joseph's true objection was that Joseph had "one trumpery or other" in the house and he wanted to continue his use of them.[44]

Although Bradley's letter failed to give a good description of how the island was partitioned, it does help explain Blount's reluctance to expand his

investment in Shell Castle while Governor Wallace was still alive. The existence of the partition line and disputes over its placement indicated unrest at the Castle between the Wallace's and the other inhabitants. Another land use debate between the neighbors at the Castle would point to still more friction between the Wallaces and others. Perhaps good partition lines did not make good neighbors as well as good fences did.

In the spring following Joseph's dispute with Bradley, Joseph and his wife were caught up in another land-use debate with their neighbors. Just days after Mrs. Joseph had "been at the trouble of sowing seed" for the summer vegetable garden, Mrs. Wallace crossed the partition line and called on Mrs. Joseph. Mrs. Wallace told Joseph's wife that she could not keep the garden without paying rent because Mrs. Wallace was "poor woaman and had a large family to support." Mrs. Wallace argued that if she had the garden she could raise and sell the produce to help maintain her family.

Joseph sought refuge from the problem by appealing to his landlord for assistance. Joseph described Mrs. Wallace as an "avericious and over grasping woaman who is daily pleading distress and poverty." He felt that she wanted the rent and the land for the garden. Joseph argued that Mr. Wallace had granted him the use of the garden plot rent-free. He also pointed out that Mrs. Wallace had her own garden and should cultivate it instead of trying to "monopolys [the land], that other may humble to her for a few greens." Joseph was particularly angered that Mrs. Wallace watched Mrs. Joseph work in the garden for several days and

waited until the planting was done before mentioning anything to her about the rent. Joseph wanted Blount to intervene and to provide him with some relief. He wanted to "live in peace" for the few months remaining on his contract and he wanted to have "only one land lord," and to not be "under the controul & whims of any other person."[45]

Joseph's complaint about multiple landlords and Mrs. Wallace's action had been heard and seen before at the Castle. In the 1790s, other workers complained of having too many masters. Also, Mrs. Wallace's action was similar to her husband's when he had waited until he had the beacon keeper's position and then decided to stop lighting it unless he received the higher salary. Both illustrated the difficulty that some people had interacting with the Wallaces and how the Wallaces' actions were considered greedy and "avericious" by those outside of the family.

Slaves at the Castle

Not only clerks and renters experienced difficulty dealing with the Wallaces. Evidence also suggests that the slaves who made up a majority of the Shell Castle population in 1800 faced similarly hard usage. The fifteen slaves listed on the census were part of Wallace's "family." If the apprentices and clerks felt ill used by Wallace, how much worse it must have been for the slaves for whom there was no appeal to Mr. Blount for succor? The record preserved

several incidents that give voice to the relationship between John Wallace, his widow Rebecca and the negroes they owned or hired. Wallace clearly looked upon negro slaves as tools he owned to help him "turn a penny of profit." The slaves employed and owned by Wallace found both hard usage and conversely privileged contact and respect. The hands who provided the brute force labor to lighter vessels and draw wood from Cedar Island faced more of Wallace's wrath as master, while Perry, a respected pilot, and Peter, "an old and faithful servant," received better treatment.

The unemotional record captured some of Wallace's slave transactions and revealed insights into his attitude toward those whom he purchased. John Wallace bought a young girl named Kate from his father in 1782 for eight pounds.[46] The young Kate, the first recorded slave owned by the twenty-four year-old Wallace, would become the matriarch of the negro portion of the Castle family. Kate gave birth to at least five of the slaves owned by Wallace at his death. In 1796, Wallace sold a "certain negro by the name of Esther" to Nathaniel Pinkham for two hundred Spanish milled dollars. Wallace received the average price for Esther because the following year, Blount purchased three female negroes of similar age for two hundred dollars each.[47]

The most striking transactions, however, took place in 1805 revealing more about the propertied interest Wallace had in negroes. Wallace bought a woman named Chloe and a three-year-old child named Violet from William Mekings for two hundred and fifty dollars. The following month Wallace sold the

young girl to his father-in-law for half the purchase price for the pair. Given Wallace's strong drive for profit he refused to let sentiment outweigh economic gain. He probably felt like a Virginia plantation owner who believed that slave children were a "charge" and could be sold without loss. In fact, however, Wallace most probably profited from the transaction. For comparison, his partner had purchased several young girls in 1797 and paid only fifty and seventy dollars for two girls of similar age.[48]

Wallace's feelings for his slaves as recorded were strictly business. He ordered blankets for them in December 1797, and acknowledging the chill of that December, he requested that the blankets be sent by the first opportunity. At another time, Wallace's comment was coldly fiscal when he lost a slave to drowning in a gale. Wallace noted only that he'd just been offered 300 dollars for him the previous week.[49]

The most important slave transaction Wallace made, however, occurred in 1792 when he hired Perry from his father Joseph Wallace for twenty-two barrels of corn. Wallace hired Perry for the rest of his father's life. Not only did Wallace obtain a very favorable price, but also he received the services of a negro pilot who would provide a considerable cash flow over the years. The long-term hiring price amounted to a cash value for the corn ranging from fifty-five to one hundred and eight dollars that was considerably less than the $250-300 value that could have been assigned. Wallace had moved quickly without consulting his partner on the hiring in order to guarantee Perry's services for the Castle and to

deprive his competitors of him. Wallace later inherited Perry who was valued at $350 in the estate inventory.[50]

Slave watermen, like Perry and other slaves owned by Wallace or hired from Blount, were skilled at their professions and frequently respected for those abilities. They also were accorded stature based on their abilities as seamen rather than their positions as slaves. In addition, slave watermen often led autonomous lives as they carried goods from landing to landing or landing to port. Wallace appreciated the profits that the skills of Perry and others generated for the Castle. Perry acted as pilot for vessels in and out of Ocracoke Inlet; however, his master disliked sending him up country as pilot or as master of one of the Blount-Wallace vessels. The trips up river were longer, and Wallace would miss piloting opportunities at the Swash and Bar. On those occasions when Wallace sent Perry up country, as he did in April 1795 to pilot the Blount brig *Russell* whose master had refused to go without a pilot because he had lost two hands on the return passage, he demanded that Perry be returned as soon as possible.[51]

Perry's abilities were clearly prized by Wallace and Blount, but he was not unique among the Castle's negro watermen. In November 1794, the Blount sloop *Sally* ran aground in the entrance to the Delaware River while en route to Philadelphia. The vessel was almost abandoned by the captain and owners except for the exertions of an unnamed negro. The man worked tirelessly to wrest the sloop from the Delaware mud and ultimately got the vessel free and berthed in Philadelphia with minor damage. Thomas Blount commended the man:

> The Negroe is a clever fellow & for his industry & perserverance in opposition to the discouragements thrown in his way by Rascals who wished the Sloop to be [stuck] until the Spring that they might have an opportunity of buying her for about 1/8th of her value, & for his confidence in the honor of the owners of her---I have directed Mr. Barr to give him 20 dollars in addition to the £60 which he is entitled to by contract.[52]

Blount's references to the man have made it difficult to determine whether the man was a slave owned by the Blount's or a freeman from the Delaware area. Regardless of the man's status, however, the incident demonstrated the confidence and respect with which the Blounts held some negro watermen because of the value they added to the Blount's enterprises.

Watermen often took advantage of their greater autonomy and access to vessels to run away. Slave watermen possessed easy access to avenues of escape and often had a good knowledge of the area that gave them greater confidence in order to attempt an escape. Some of the watermen took advantage of the coasting and transatlantic craft to hire themselves out as free seamen. A study of runaways in colonial North Carolina found a disproportionate number of watermen among the runaway population. In the neighboring Chesapeake and in the Low Country of South Carolina where larger sample sizes were available, slave watermen made up 25 percent of the non-field slave runaways, but they comprised less than two percent of the plantation workers.[53]

Harsh treatment acted often as the catalyst that spurred Shell Castle watermen to take advantage of their position and exercise their judgment to flee. Wallace against whom the "young men" had complained of having "too many

masters" was a tough taskmaster. One slave named Dick ran away from the Castle in 1789. When he was apprehended, he complained of "very hard usage" by Wallace and another person at the Castle. John G. Blount's brother Jacob, who recovered Dick, reported that he had to bribe another slave with five pounds to betray the location of the fugitive Dick. Jacob Blount placed Dick in irons and threatened that the irons would never be removed. At another time, Wallace demanded that John G. Blount send down a group of runaway slaves in irons.[54] Access to boats and vessels tempted some slaves, especially hired ones, to runaway. Four slaves hired by Wallace from Core Sound stole a boat and attempted to runaway in the summer of 1793. Wallace immediately left in pursuit. He caught one of the runaways and recovered the boat before returning to the Castle. Wallace then sent Captain Pinkham to find the other three whom he expected would be recaptured within a week.[55]

At other times, events conspired to afford slave watermen opportunities to escape that left no alternative. In 1802, one of Blount's slaves piloted the schooner *Betsey* down and out over the Bar. Once outside the Bar, the *Betsey*'s master hailed a pilot boat to come alongside and take on the pilot. Unfortunately, the pilot boat "could not be prevailed on to come" because the wind had freshened and made it "impossible to land him in *Betsey*'s boat without endangering the lives of the crew and the loss of the vessel and cargo." The *Betsey* bore away due to the bad weather and carried the pilot up the coast to Alexandria. The master of

the vessel paid the pilot a seaman's wages from the time he left the Bar until the cargo was discharged in Alexandria.

Once in port, the slave pilot asked to return to North Carolina and the merchant who received the *Betsey* secured passage for him on a vessel bound for Washington, North Carolina. When the southbound vessel was ready to sail, the pilot refused to board it. He told Gilpin that he had "ship'd on board a vessel bound to the Northward." According to Gilpin, the pilot had always maintained he was a freeman and that Gilpin, who did not know otherwise, could not prevent him from going North. The pilot made his voyage to Boston and returned to Alexandria. Gilpin's father saw the pilot on the wharf after the return voyage, and asked if he intended to return to Carolina and the pilot told him that he planned to make another trip before going back.[56]

The odds for a successful escape appeared to have increased greatly once the runaways made it beyond the Bar and into open seas. The pilot's case demonstrated a good example of the ingenuity of slaves once at sea. Although the pilot's situation may have been helped by the weather, other Blount runaways also tried to board vessels sailing for northern ports. Thomas Blount reported that one of his slaves ran away from Tarboro and was thought to be headed to Washington with the intention of getting on board a vessel bound to Philadelphia. The man, named Adam, had traveled frequently from Tarboro to Washington "having been often there last winter in one of the boats" owned by Blount. Several of Blount's slaves made it beyond the Bar and north to Philadelphia in

1803. A local businessman there reported to Blount that he had "made every attempt to find out your runaway Negroes" but had not had any luck. Nevertheless, the businessman still held out "hopes if they are not left this place of finding them."[57]

Within the Castle family, none of the slaves owned by Wallace was noted to have runaway or attempted to run away. Even during times of crisis when it may have been easier to run away, there is no record of evidence of run away attempts by the Wallace slaves. During the War of 1812, for example, the British raided Portsmouth and Shell Castle, but none of the Wallace slaves took advantage of the opportunity to escape. Perry, who no doubt could have escaped to the British, chose not to for his own reasons. In fact, he served as pilot for the United States Navy at Ocracoke at one point in 1812; however, there was a dispute over payment for his services because the Navy issued a draft "order for his pay according to the usage of the Navy" instead of paying cash. This loyalty, if it could be called that, stands in contrast to the actions of several slave watermen in Virginia during the Revolution when slave watermen in the Chesapeake and Low Country provided "intelligence" and acted as pilots for the British.[58]

Wallace's death in 1810 may have seemed a blessing to the heavily worked slaves at Shell Castle. And it may have been to some; however, Wallace's death also meant a time of uncertainty and possible family instability. Many slave families faced problems caused by the death of masters with small

slave holdings and a large number of heirs. The heirs received slaves who were allocated to them or, in some instances, chosen by them and this frequently resulted in the disruption of slave families. In the Chesapeake, nine heirs inherited nineteen slaves from Thomas Thorpe's estate, and another planter bequeathed sixteen slaves to eight heirs. In addition, widows hired out slaves to provide funds that also served to separate slave families.[59]

The Wallace family slaves experienced both outcomes; however, they may have fared better than slaves from larger plantations with extended quarters and families. From 1810 to 1812, three to four slaves, including Perry and Peter, were hired out from Wallace's estate by John G. Blount to continue operating the entrepôt under Josiah Bradley's control. The hired slaves were fortunate to remain on Shell Castle, and therefore, with any family they might have had or known.[60] The separation of the Wallace slaves that was probably feared in 1810 finally occurred twelve years later with the death of Rebecca Wallace. The widow Wallace's will allocated eight slaves among four heirs with the forced separation of siblings. Four children identified as children of Caty and Cain were divided between three of Wallace's children. Caty and Angis remained together but were torn from their sisters who went to other masters.

The distribution of property in Rebecca Wallace's will was typical of small estates in its property allocation among the heirs; however, Rebecca Wallace demonstrated greater feeling than her husband had regarding the humanity of their slaves. This recognition made Rebecca Wallace's will atypical.

Testators sometimes recognized the humanity of slaves in wills. In only 10 percent of the wills examined by Thomas Morris in his study of slavery and the law, did masters acknowledge that slaves were human beings. Among those who noted the personality of their slaves, most rewarded faithfulness. However, even when acknowledging the personality of a faithful slave most owners ensured that the property rights of the heirs were protected. The majority allowed their faithful slaves to choose one of the testator's children with whom they would live.[61] Rebecca Wallace granted this privilege to Peter an "old and Faithful servant." She directed that he be valued by David Wallace and John Mayo to determine his fair market price and that he be "allotted to select from my children his master and mistress." She further instructed the chosen couple to "receive him. . .and treat him kindly and tenderly."[62]

Whether or not whites regarded slaves as property or as humans, the forced bondage created an animosity that frequently burst into violence on an individual level and sporadically into rebellion on a larger scale. The hard usage by Wallace complained of by the runaway Dick probably consisted of whipping or other means of coercion. The use of irons that Wallace ordered from Blount reinforced his tendency toward harsher methods of correction. Such "hard usage" by other masters on larger plantations could explode in large-scale insurrections. During the eighteenth century open rebellion by more than a handful of slaves occurred only once with the Stono revolt in 1739. However, because of the ever-present possibility of insurrection, slave-owning societies were ready to put

credence in rumors of revolt and panic spread quickly.[63] Fear of a slave insurrection swept eastern North Carolina and southeastern Virginia in June 1802. Fears of uprisings had been heightened following Gabriel's rebellion in Virginia just two years earlier when hundreds of slaves and free blacks conspired to rise up and take Richmond.

The North Carolina rebellion was believed to have been associated with gatherings of blacks at Baptist meetings where the plotting took place. The suspected rebellion was scheduled to occur when the Baptist association held its quarterly meeting.[64] Word of the rebellion spread throughout the Tidewater. Thomas Blount passed word to his brother that three negroes had been arrested and tried for insurrection and plotting to "murder the white people." According to the reports that Blount believed, the conspirators planned to kill all the white men and then to murder the women who had treated them the worst. In addition, each large slave-holding family harbored at least one slave involved in the conspiracy. Ultimately, fifteen slaves were convicted of involvement with the summer rebellion, and six or seven others were shot while attempting to escape while en route to Wilmington.[65]

Shell Castle As Refuge

The large slaveholders, fearing that their slaves were involved in the conspiracy, sought safe havens from the coming retribution. They looked to send

their wives and children to areas away from the unrest, and many turned to Shell Castle for a safe harbor. The unrest had so unsettled Jackey, Thomas Blount's wife, that she believed there was "no place of safety in this State but Shell Castle." To ease her mind and that of her friend Nancy Jones who was also "of an unequivical mind" to take refuge at the Castle, Thomas Blount made plans to join his brother and family at the Castle. Taking refuge, however, did not mean leaving one's property and conveniences behind. Thomas planned on meeting his brother at the wharf in Washington to embark for the Castle, but he also planned on setting up housekeeping in the style he had at home in Tarboro. He wanted his brother to inform him on "how much bacon, meal, flour, etc what articles of bedding, other furniture, and how many servants & whether male or female" he should bring with him.[66]

Like Thomas Blount, Richard Dobbs Spaight considered the Castle "a safer place." Spaight's wife was pregnant and due to "lie in in two or three weeks," but she was "extremely uneasy" about the conspiracy and wanted to get away. Spaight wanted to take refuge at the Castle, but he expressed concern about her safety given her condition and that he would not be able to rent or use a house with a sitting room and three bedrooms at the Bar. Additionally, he was concerned also about being "supplied with fresh meats, vegatables milk butter etc to live on."[67] Ultimately, no one took refuge from the slave conspiracy at Shell Castle. As the initial hysteria subsided, the difficulties of relocating became too much of an obstacle. Jackey Blount came to fear the "dangers of the sea" more

than her "fear of insurrection." Her fear of the voyage combined with the difficulties of moving the household motivated her to "decline the trip."[68]

Shell Castle served as a refuge not only from insurrection but also from the fever and ague. Promotional literature of 1795 described the islands surrounding Ocracoke Inlet as a "healthy spot" that was the "resort of many of the inhabitants of the main." Even then the North Carolina Outer Banks were recognized as a safe haven from the day to day stresses and diseases. In the summer months from July to October, the tidewater sections of North Carolina experienced the fever and ague of malaria. William Orr reported that general sickness at Washington, North Carolina in September 1800 with "the complaints mostly ague & fever, some few had the Bilious fever."[69] Medical experts believed vapors rising from swamps caused the disease, but no one knew the precise cause.

Nevertheless, people could recognize areas susceptible to outbreaks of malaria and they sought to avoid them if possible during those periods. Therefore, the pocosins of the North Carolina's tidewater like the new Federal City's swamps were to be avoided in the late summer. Many went to the piedmont as Richard Dobbs Spaight did when he took his family to Raleigh "under the apprehension that New Bern would again be afflicted with the yellow fever." Others who had access to ships and lodging at Ocracoke sought the even healthier atmosphere of the Outer Banks.[70]

Shell Castle served as refuge for the Blount family "in search of health" during the fever months. John G. Blount planned visits to the Castle each summer to "avoid if possible the fevers so frequent" at Washington. Like many businessmen who commute from summer homes in the Hamptons, Blount moved his family to the Castle then returned to Washington to conduct business for several weeks before returning to the Castle to ferry his family back. The summer vacations became a recurring event for the Blounts throughout the 1790s. Other families were invited to join the Blount's at Shell Castle. In 1794, Richard Dobbs Spaight turned down an invitation owing to the lateness of the season; however, he wished the Blounts a "pleasant time at the Castle."[71]

Not everyone looked forward to the vacation at the shore, however. Mary Blount dreaded the prospect of going to the Castle except as a forced curative. Writing in December 1796, Mary Blount, John's wife, noted that "a number of families" planned to avoid the bilious fevers in Washington "by leaving town this summer." She complained that she was to take her family to the Castle, "which is not very agreeable but anything for health." Exactly what Mrs. Blount found to dislike about the Castle is uncertain. An earlier letter from Wallace to his partner, however, indicated that Mrs. Blount was afraid of the boat trip to the Inlet. The Governor urged that Blount load the sloop *Beaver* with extra ballast to stabilize the vessel in order to avoid frightening Mrs. Blount during the transit. Mrs. Blount was not alone in her fear of sailing. Mrs. Richard Dobbs Spaight was afraid of going to the Castle also and that was part of her husband's

reasoning for declining the Blount invitation. Instead, the Spaights traveled overland from New Bern to Swansboro "to change the air."[72]

Blount's visits to the Castle were more than just an escape from the vapors. He inspected the operations at the Castle and renewed his friendship with Wallace. The Governor repeatedly expressed his hopes of seeing Blount and his family at the Castle in "Fig season." Wallace wanted Blount to visit first in the fall of 1790 when he wrote, "I'm very grand but wold be happy of your company...." The partners had "much business on hand" to review when Blount came to the Castle in September 1800. Wallace offered up a newly outfitted office or one of the other houses for their "writing and business."[73]

Wallace also looked forward to visiting his friend in Washington when he had the opportunity. He notified Blount that he and Mrs. Wallace planned to sail up river on a voyage to get provisions for the upcoming winter of 1800-1801. For Wallace, the visit was more than just a provisioning trip. He expressed his desire to visit with John Gray Blount and his brother: "When I am at your place I would be very happy if your brother T. Blount could be there, as I very much want us all to be together."[74] The business partnership and the social interactions between Wallace and the Blounts represented only two areas of their relationship. Another element of their relationship that was important to the Shell Castle operations was politics.

All Politics Are Local

Political affiliation at Shell Castle and in Eastern North Carolina was based on "interest" more than party affiliation that emerged in the 1790s. North Carolina was a republican stronghold and many issues of national importance fell along party lines. In state politics, however, local ties overcame party affiliation regarding issues of local interest. John Wallace with his partnership with the Blounts became a "Tar River patriot" who supported the interests of the Tar River and Pamlico Sound basin. In the 1780s, North Carolina divided politically on the basis of geography and economics rather than along partisan lines of Federalist or Republican. The radicals were comprised of backcountry farmers who opposed the Federal constitution. To the east, the conservatives representing tidewater interests favored ratification because of the advantages it offered the planters and merchants.

The citizens of Carteret County elected John Wallace and John Fulford to the North Carolina Assembly in September 1789. The two also represented Carteret County at the North Carolina Constitutional Convention held in November 1789 in Fayetteville, North Carolina. Wallace joined with John G. Blount and Hugh Williamson and 190 others voting in favor of statehood and ratification of the constitution on 16 November 1789. Wallace's participation appeared to have been limited as he was not appointed to any key committee unlike his partner.[75]

The Blounts and Wallace were moderate federalists who turned to support Jefferson's platforms after 1794. Hugh Williamson, like the other conservative leaders came from the extreme northeastern part of the state. The political fights that divided the state were land valuations, creation of new counties, revisions to the state constitution and redistricting. The eastern republicans joined eastern federalists against the two parties in the west on these more local issues.[76]

Regional rivalries formed around the river basins in eastern North Carolina that were centered in the large cities of each basin. Thomas Blount and eleven others filed a protest against the Mecklenburg bill that established a redistricting of state electoral districts in January 1793. The protest specifically argued that the people immediately interested in the commerce of the port of Washington were being deprived of their right of suffrage because their district included the people of the Roanoke River basin and that the Tar River people could not elect someone to protect their interests. He argued that the interest of the Washington area was "so materially different from that of the people of Roanoke that the man who is in all respects a fit representative of the one. . . must be very unfit to represent the other."[77]

At Shell Castle, these rivalries manifested themselves in personal attacks. Richard Tuck, who disliked James Taylor wanted him removed as the Customs Collector at Ocracoke. In justifying his recommendation, Tuck launched a diatribe against people from New Bern and the Neuse River area. He claimed that Taylor was "governed by the New Bern interest," and was "an injury to this

place—a material one to Shell Castle." Tuck feared having another New Bern person as collector if he succeeded in having Taylor removed. "New Bern principles impart a New Bern standard by which everything is to be determined here." Although Tuck was unclear about the specific injuries caused by Taylor, he clearly demonstrated the regional animosities and lack of representation Blount had protested at the legislature.[78]

In order to protect his interests and prevent the "New Bern interest" and others from being elected, Wallace actively campaigned for his candidate. In North Carolina's first congressional election, Wallace placed his influence behind "Old Hugh" Williamson. During the campaign, complaints had been voiced about Williamson, but Wallace had not been able to confirm the exact nature of the concerns. Wallace set out to find out and then to "tell the people better." Wallace believed that his endorsement of Williamson would ensure his election in Carteret County. Candidates also appealed to Wallace for campaign support. Richard Dobbs Spaight, a republican, sought Wallace's support for his interest for the July election in 1798. Wallace's efforts worked again as Spaight was elected.[79] The weather defeated Wallace's political efforts in 1800, however. The November election at Portsmouth was cancelled because of bad weather. Wallace reported that "the wind blew so hard that [election] day that we could not get on shore." The Ocracoke returns, however, would not have made any difference in the election according to Wallace who thought that only ten people could vote and that they "would have been equally divided."[80]

In addition to political involvement, John Wallace participated directly in self-government of Carteret County. He served as county representative in 1789 and again in 1795. Also, in the late 1790s, Wallace was appointed magistrate in 1798 and he was appointed collector of taxables from 1799 to 1804.[81]

Wallace received considerable benefits from his political support. His "interest" turned a more than a penny of profit from 1790 to 1810. He received numerous government contracts and appointments for the navigation contracts and beacon contracts. In addition to the monetary benefits, Wallace gained access to and recognition from the leading figures of North Carolina society. Wallace's political actions were consistent with his other actions that moved him to control events within his community and make the most profit possible from them.

John Wallace was more than an ambitious political operative. The Governor was a man of his place and time who sought to improve his position in society by any means available to him. Like thousands of other Americans of the early republic, Wallace was a caring family man and harsh patriarch of his community. He worried about a sick child while counting only the property lost when a slave drowned. His governance of the Castle created fierce loyalty and just as strong dislike. John Mayo became a lifelong supporter and ally of the Wallace family, but William Smith chose the vagaries of the sea over the harshness of the Governor. Wallace created close family and business relationships with the leading tidewater families. He eagerly shared "fig season" with his partner and friend John G. Blount and his family. He also jealously

guarded his "honest and dignified" name and feared being worse than his word to those whom he saw as his equals or superiors, but dared others to challenge him.

He created an affluent maritime community that was younger and more dynamic than its surrounding communities. The Shell Castle enterprise he built became the most valuable development at Ocracoke. The thriving entrepôt faced all the social issues that other areas encountered around 1800. Large sums of money created the opportunity for crime with theft and the need to secure the valuables at the Castle. In addition, the Castle community participated in the slavery issue with the Wallace's buying and selling slaves periodically. The Governor looked upon them merely as tools to create wealth, while his wife had a close relationship with the oldest slave Peter, who was an "old and Faithful servant." Like many families, the castle community faced division and strife that ultimately resulted in the partition of the castle into separated camps.

From the historic record that includes letters, tax records, deeds, and court records, we have been able to weave some texture into the fabric of John Wallace's life and his Shell Castle that demonstrate his desire to increase his wealth and to improve his position in society. The actions of Wallace and the evidence strongly support Bushman's hypothesis, in *Refinement of America*, that the middle class sought to improve their place in society through their interactions, intellectual activity and material culture. Details obtained from the letters of Wallace and others and the textual record provides only one thread woven in the pattern. Additional threads that enhance the texture and add color

can be found in the study of the material culture of the Wallace family and the Shell Castle community.

Endnotes

[1] Richard L. Bushman, *The Refinement of America Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), xi-xix.

[2] Letter from Robert W. Parker, Blount Wallace Pitcher folio, File 77.193.1, NCDAH.

[3] Will of Joseph Wallace, May 1805, Carteret County Estate Record CR 019 801.1, NCDAH.

[4] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 7 November 1800, Masterson, *Blount Papers*, 3:444-45; Carteret County Estates Records, CR 019 508.1, NCDAH.

[5] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 6 September 1790, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:106-7.

[6] S.N D. North. Director, Department of Commerce & Labor, Bureau of the Census, *Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States taken in the year 1790- North Carolina* (Washington. D.C.: Government Printing Office. 1908), 178.

[7] Letter from Robert W. Parker, Blount Wallace Pitcher folio, File 77.193.1, NCDAH; North Carolina Census, 1800.

[8] John Larkin, *The Reshaping of Everyday Life, 1790-1840* (New York: Harper Press, 1988), 63-64

[9] Ibid., 11; Letter from Robert W. Parker, Blount Wallace Pitcher folio, File 77.193.1 NCDAH; North Carolina Census, 1800; William Johnson and Dorothy Parker, *1800 North Carolina Census Carteret County* (Tullahoma, TN: Johnson & Parker, 1976), 2-5.

[10] Simon Hall Wallace, the fifth Wallace child and second son, left behind one slave named Cain, aged eighteen years old. who was valued at $500, one trunk, one gun, a powder horn and shot bag.

John Wallace to John G. Blount, 7 March 1795, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2.511-12; John Wallace to John G. Blount, 14 June 1800, Masterson, *Blount Papers*. 3:391-92; Peter Casso, Jr. to John G Blount, 4 November 1801, Ibid., 3:486; Simon Hall Wallace Will, Carteret County Estates 1744-1957, North Carolina Department of Archives and History.

[11] Horatio Wallace was still a minor in 1822, which would make his birthday sometime after 1801, but probably after 1805 and the Battle of Trafalgar. Bushman, *Refinement of America*, 296-97; Note 185, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:125.

[12] Larkin, *Shaping of Everyday Life*, 9; John Wallace to John G. Blount, 30 June 1800, Masterson, *Blount Papers*, 3:392-93.

[13] Johnson and Parker, *1800 North Carolina Census Carteret County*, 2-5; North Carolina Census, 1784-1787, 17.

[14] Spyers Singleton to John G. Blount, 27 February 1800, Masterson, *Blount Papers*, 3:344; Carteret County List of Taxables, NCDAH, pages 1-484.

[15] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 22 September 1792, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:210-11; William Smith to John G. Blount, 13 October 1792, Ibid., 2:213.

[16] Pinkham owned land and slaves in Carteret County near Chadwicks Creek. He headed a family of six in addition to six slaves. Pinkham was elected to the North Carolina Assembly in 1798 and 1799 and to the Senate in 1805-1807.

[17] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 14 August 1793, Ibid., 2:296; David Pidge to John G. Blount, 30 November 1805, Morgan, *Blount Papers*, 4:52-53.

[18] It is interesting to note that Hobart didn't consider Wallace an appropriate candidate to be a notary public. Five years earlier F. Martin listed Wallace as a notary public. John Mayo to John G. Blount, 4 June 1799, Masterson, *Blount Papers*, 3:297-98; John Wallace to John G. Blount, 30 June 1800, Ibid., 392-93; John Mayo to John G. Blount, 16 December 1802, Ibid., 3:564; Dudley Hobart to William Miller, Jr., 12 June 1802, Lighthouse Letters Received, 1796-1803, Volume 2, RG 26, NAB.

[19] Ibid.

[20] David Pidge to John G. Blount, 19 January 1805, Morgan, *Blount Papers*, 4:52; Richard Tuck to John G. Blount, 20 April 1805, Ibid., 4:60; John Mayo to John G. Blount, 9 July 1805, Ibid.. 4:69

[21] Average tax values were calculated excluding the holdings of John G. Blount. Blount's tax value of $9,600 considerably raised the average tax value. For example, in 1802, the first year records are available, the individual tax average was $123.56 and there was no listing for Blount. In 1803, however, Blount's tax worth raised the average to $221. The average excluding Blount in 1803 was $87.(1802 Assessed Value-$7661.50, N:62; 1803 Assessed Value-$15,720, N:71)

Carteret County List of Taxables, NCDAH, pages 1-484.

[22] William Crawford to Joshua Taylor, 7 June 1821, NA, RG 26, Secretary of the Treasury Letters Sent to Customs Collector, Microfilm M-175, Roll 38. NAB, Washington DC.

[23] Carteret County Marriage Bonds, Carteret County Courthouse, Beaufort, NC; Ben Salter, *Portsmouth Island Short Stories and History* (Ben Salter, 1972), 22-23.

[24] Richard Tuck to John G. Blount, 28 January 1806, Morgan, *Blount Papers*, 4:78.

[25] *1810 Census Population Schedules*, Population Schedules of the Third Census of the United States, 1810. Microfilm Roll 39, North Carolina, Volume 2, National Archives, General Services Administration.

[26] Gilpatrick, *Jeffersonian Democracy*, 15.

[27] Cox Coart to John G. Blount, 25 July 1793, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:290-91; Marjorie Selby, *Hyde County History* (Swan Quarter, NC: Hyde County Historical Society, 1976), 9.

[28] Peter Casso, Jr. to John G. Blount, 4 November 1801, Masterson, *Blount Papers*, 3:486-87; Richard Dobbs Spaight to John G Blount, 26 August 1794, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:426-27;

[29] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 24 March 1800, Masterson, *Blount Papers*, 3:351.

[30] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 14 June 1800, Ibid., 3:391.

[31] Ibid.

[32] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 30 June 1800, Ibid., 3:392.

[33] Peter Casso, Jr. to John G. Blount, 4 November 1801, Ibid., 3:486.

[34] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 29 June 1797, Ibid., 3:151.

[35]Carteret County Court Minutes, November Court 1806, Volume 6, 1083, NCDAH.

[36] Thomas Blount to John G. Blount, 5 June 1800, Ibid., 3:388-9.

[37] John G. Blount to John Wallace, 17 November 1796, Ibid., 3:113.

[38] Taylor and Justice to John G. Blount, 26 February 1805, Morgan, *Blount Papers*, 4:57.

[39] Thomas Blount to John Hayward, 18 October 1797, Masterson, *Blount Papers*, 3:171-72; Keith, *Three North Carolina Brothers*, 102

[40] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 26 August 1790, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:97.

[41] David Pidge to John G. Blount, 19 January 1805, Morgan, *Blount Papers*, 4:52-53.

[42] Ibid.,

[43] Both Pidge and Pinkham disappeared from the Blount records following the theft. Were they fired or knew that it was better to seek other employment?

Richard Tuck to John G. Blount, 20 April 1805, Ibid., 4:60-61.

[44] Josiah Bradley to John G. Blount. 30 November 1810, Ibid., 4:136.

[45] Solomon Joseph to John G. Blount, 7 March 1811, Ibid., 4:143.

[46] Carteret County Court House, Record of Deeds, Book O, 11.

[47] Ibid., Book N, 199; John G Blount Notebook, 10 May 1797, Masterson, *Blount Papers*, 577-78.

[48] Ibid.; Philip D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint Black Culture in the Eighteenth Century Chesapeake & Low Country* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 514.

[49] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 26 April 1795, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:536-37; John Wallace to John G. Blount, 2 December 1797, Masterson, *Blount Papers*, 3:191-92.

[50] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 12 February 1792, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:181; John Wallace's Estate Record, Probate Records, Carteret County Court Records, NCDAH.

[51] Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 338; John Wallace to John G. Blount, 14 April 1795, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:531.

[52] Thomas Blount to John G. Blount, 21 December 1794, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:466-470; David Allison to John G Blount, 5 November 1794, Ibid.. 2:452.

[53] Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 340-2; Marvin L. Michael Kay and Lorin L. Cary, *Slavery in North Carolina, 1748-1775* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 126-127.

[54] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 7 August 1795, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:578; Jacob Blount to John G. Blount. Keith, *Blount Papers*, 1:480.

[55] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 17 July 1793, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:288.

[56] John Gilpin to John G. Blount, 18 August 1802, Masterson, *Blount Papers*, 3:532-33.

[57] Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 341-42; Thomas Blount to John G. Blount, 5 June 1800, Ibid., 3:388-89; William Shannon to John G. Blount, 31 January 1803, Morgan, *Blount Papers*, 4:8

[58] Master Anselm C. Cushman to John G. Blount, 17 December 1812, John G. Blount Papers, NCDAH; Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 341-42.

[59] Ibid., 512-13.

[60] John Wallace Estate, Carteret County Estate Records, NCDAH, Raleigh, North Carolina.

[61] Thomas D. Morris, *Southern Slavery and the Law 1619-1860* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 99-101.

[62] Rebecca Wallace Will, 1824, Carteret County Wills, NCDAH, Raleigh, North Carolina.

[63] Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 386, 471.

[64] Ibid., 650.

[65] For an excellent account of the slave conspiracy, see Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina*, 510-513.

Keith, *Three North Carolina Brothers*, 96-97.

[66] Thomas Blount to John G. Blount, 28 June 1802, Masterson, *Blount Papers*, 3:516-17.

[67] Spaight was wounded in a duel with John Stanly, his political rival in August 1802 and died on 6 September 1802. (Richard Dobbs Spaight Biographical Information, Biographical Dictionary of the United States Congress, 1774-Present, Online version on 14 October 1999, at http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay) Richard Dobbs Spaight, 1 July 1802, Ibid., 3:517-19.

[68] Thomas Blount to John G. Blount, 24 July 1802, Ibid., 3:526.

[69] William Orr to John G. Blount, 4 September 1800, Masterson, *Blount Papers*, 3:422.

[70] Martin, "Description of Occacock," 625; Keith, *Three North Carolina Brothers*, 53; Stephen E. Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage, Meriwether Lewis, Thomas Jefferson, and the Opening of the American West* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996), 112-13; Richard Dobbs Spaight to John G. Blount, 11 October 1800, Masterson, *Blount Papers*, 3:434.

[71] John G. Blount to John Sommerville, 11 July 1797, Ibid., 3:153; John G. Blount to Ephraim Elsbray, 25 July 1797, Ibid., 3:157; John G. Blount to Hugh Williamson, 17 August 1797, Ibid., 3:163; William Orr to John G. Blount, 4 September 1800, Ibid., 3:420; Richard Dobbs Spaight to John G. Blount, 26 August 1794, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:426-27; John Wallace to John G. Blount, 14 August 1793, Ibid., 2:296-97.

[72] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 14 August 1793, ibid.; Richard Dobbs Spaight to John G. Blount, 26 August 1794, Ibid., 2:426-27; Mary Blount to [Susanah Harvey], ca. 7 December 1796, Masterson, *Blount Papers*, 3:117-18.

[73] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 6 September 1790, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:107; John Wallace to John G. Blount, 14 August 1793, Ibid., 2:296-97; John Wallace to John G. Blount, 22 May 1800, Masterson, *Blount Papers*, 3:382-83.

[74] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 7 November 1800. Ibid., 3:444; John Wallace to John G. Blount, 20 November 1800, Ibid., 3:448-89.

[75] *Gazette of North Carolina*, 24 September 1789, 3 December 1789.

[76] Gilpatrick, *Jeffersonian*, 20-22, 152-3; Keith, *Three North Carolina Brothers*, 15, 445.

[77] Protest of Thomas Blount with Reply of Eleven members of Legislature, 1 January 1793, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:643-645.

[78] Tuck accused Taylor of malfeasance and fraud and reported his suspicions to the Secretary of the Treasury. Eventually, Taylor was removed for improper record keeping and extreme cost overruns in the construction of a new revenue cutter. Richard Tuck to John G. Blount, 2 December 1807, Morgan, *Blount Papers*, 4:99-100.

[79] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 6 September 1790, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:106; Richard Dobbs Spaight to John G Blount, 26 June 1798, Masterson, *Blount Papers*, 3:240.

[80] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 7 November 1800, Masterson, *Blount Papers*, 3:444.

[81] Rebecca Sanders, editor, *Carteret County Court Minutes, 1789-1795*, Volume 5, 843; Ibid., Volume 6, 919; John L. Cheyney, Jr., ed., *North Carolina Government, 1585-1979, A Narrative & Statistical History* (Raleigh, N.C.: North Carolina Department of Secretary of State, 1981), 238; *North Carolina Journal*, 7 September 1795.

CHAPTER 5

SHELL CASTLE MATERIAL CULTURE

"You must know, friend Sancho," replied Don Quixote, "that it has been the constant practice of knights-errant, in former ages, to make their squires governors of the islands.. "

Miguel Cervantes, *Don Quixote*

Strands of yarn have been spun from the raw wool of Wallace's life and combed from the pages of Wallace's letters and textual documents that wove the fabric of Wallace and his Shell Castle operations. Other threads of different colors, however, begin to show a texture and pattern to Wallace's life and his place within society. The probate inventory of Wallace's estate, along with information from Wallace's letters and the transfer print ceramic pitchers provide the embroidery from which an image of Wallace begins to appear. The material culture associated with Wallace and Shell Castle found in the historic record reinforces the hypothesis that John Wallace desired to be included among the upper tier of society and to set Shell Castle and the Wallace's apart from their neighbors at the inlet. Perhaps even to rule as "governor of the islands."

Possession of a china teacup, or a silver spoon, or ownership of more china, nevertheless, did not by the act of custody make one a gentleman. The refinement of all parts of a person's life toward more refined elements, however, did put one on the path toward gentility, according to Bushman. If a commoner

owned a silver spoon and a tea cup, but he still lived in a single cell, dimly lit cottage with no other outward signs of refinement, then he was still a commoner. On the other hand, if a person took steps to refine all aspects of his life by transforming his environment to demonstrate gentility, then presumably he was on the way to changing himself.[1]

In the Federal period from 1790 to 1820, ship owners and merchants benefited from the profits created by the export driven economy of the Mid-Atlantic Tidewater. With freight earnings averaging more than $20 million annually from 1793 to 1802, seaport cities flourished. Merchants increased wharves and warehouses and invested huge sums in new residences.[2] Wallace, like other maritime entrepreneurs in the Federal period, not only built new warehouses and a residence, but he also created the community on which it rested. He built Shell Castle and chose to decorate it to show himself to be "a Great man." Analysis of the buildings, furniture, ceramics and books owned by Wallace confirms his aspirations to greater wealth and social status.

For more than a century after the founding of cities in North Carolina and throughout the south, the houses of the everyday person varied little. The well-off yeoman farmer continued to use a standard double cell house with the single cell house and its two story and story and a half variants continued in use well into the 1800s for the less well-off. These houses tended to be small with less than 600 square feet of space, unpainted exteriors, unfinished interiors and small windows. For example, in Kent County, Delaware, only eleven percent of orphans' parents,

the recorded sample in probate records, lived in parlor and hall style dwellings from 1760 to 1830. To the south in Virginia's Halifax County in 1785, 80 percent of the dwellings were small buildings of less than 400 square feet.[3] In contrast, large refined mansions marked the arrival of "gentility and polite society" in Eastern North Carolina from the end of the eighteenth and into the first half of the nineteenth century. Thus, Wallace was asserting his claim for entrance into genteel society when he wrote to his friend and partner John G. Blount, claiming that "you will know I am a great man by my fine house."[4]

Evidence for Wallace's "fine house" has been found on the Liverpool-ware transfer print pitchers and from the letters of John Wallace and others who visited the Castle. (See Figure 21) The Wallace dwelling was one of the four buildings shown on the left of the transfer print where the artist depicted a cluster of buildings west of the warehouse. The most prominent of the four buildings lies adjacent to the warehouse. The story and a half dwelling consisted of clapboard sides with a shingle roof. Two doorways were visible in the southern side of the building. One appeared to be the main entrance and the other opened onto an area enclosed with a picket fence. Above the fenced area, beams extended from the eaves of the building and formed a stoop roof over the enclosure. Two other buildings appear to be somewhat smaller than the main dwelling and a third building, smaller than the other two, may have been the kitchen out building.

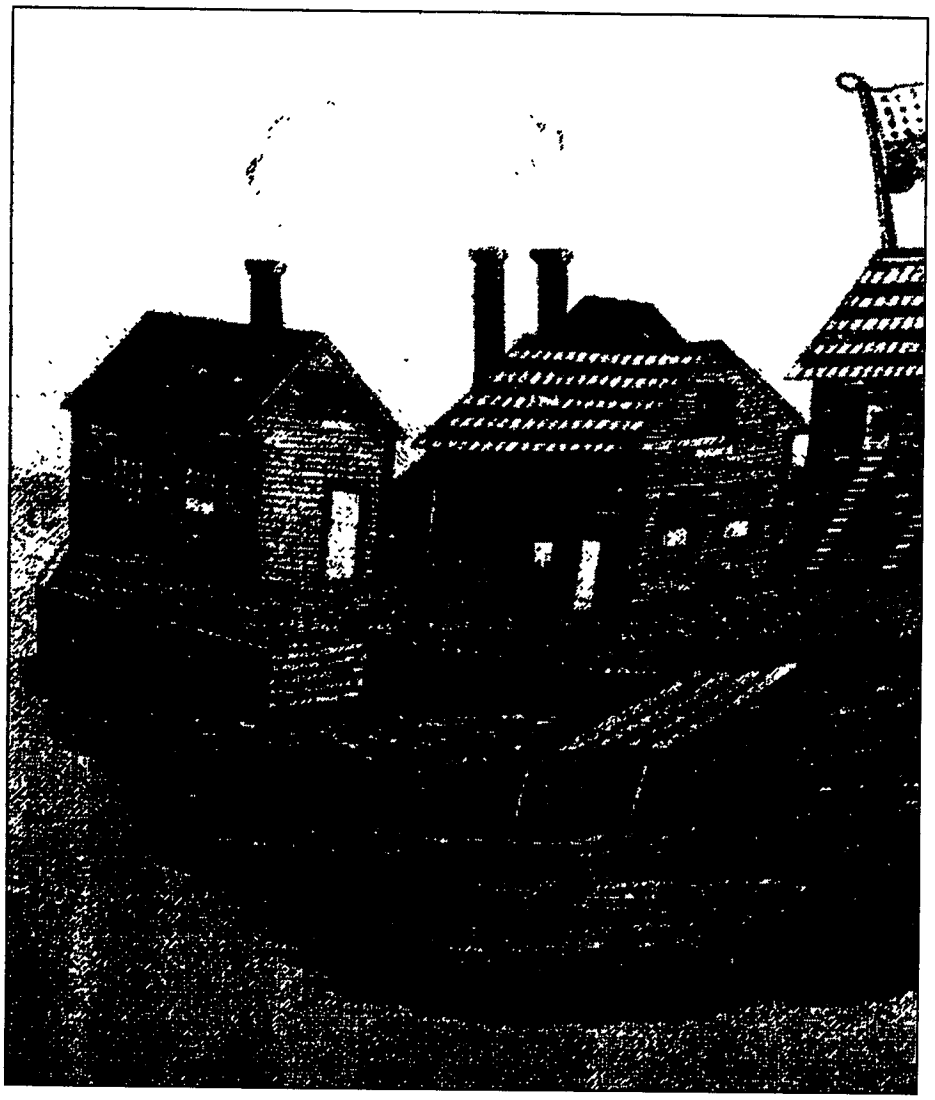


Figure 21. View of the left side of the Blount-Wallace Pitcher. (Source: NCDAH. Photograph by the author.)

Clapboard construction like that shown on the illustration had developed as a common form in the Southern Tidewater and differed from the log construction found in other areas. Wallace's dwelling house was also similar to

Clapboard construction like that shown on the illustration had developed as a common form in the Southern Tidewater and differed from the log construction found in other areas. Wallace's dwelling house was also similar to that of his partner's home in Washington that was also a story and a half clapboard building with a side door and glass windows and a brick chimney.[5] In addition, the Shell Castle buildings as depicted were similar in construction to houses of David Wallace, Sr., and David Wallace, Jr., shown in the 1806 Price-Cole's Chart of Ocracoke Harbor. In 1810, one North Carolina observer wrote, "There are many good houses, well constructed with brick chimneys and glass lights." He also noted that no stone or brick buildings in the grand style of Virginia plantations existed yet. To the observer, brick and glass were measures of a "good" house and Wallace's dwelling house had both. The illustration also showed that the large windows were open and hung in the sash form that became popular in the eighteenth century.[6]

Several features of Wallace's "fine house" indicated an adaptive architecture designed for its location. In the Middle Atlantic States end chimneys were typical, and, according to Deetz, such placement was designed to allow heat dissipation by exposing three sides of the chimney to outside. This could be a definite benefit in the tidewater area during the summer months.[7] Another element of adaptive architecture at Shell Castle was the piazza attached to Wallace's dwelling house.

The piazza developed for comfort and became very fashionable in South and North Carolina in the 1780s and 1790s. Their popularity stemmed from the belief that the sea breeze was hygienic and people wanted dwelling areas exposed to the breeze.[8] Firsthand reports and newspaper accounts pointed to their widespread use and benefits. William Attmore, a Philadelphia visitor to New Bern in 1787 noted that "there are to many of the houses balconies or piazzas in front and sometimes back of the house." He also attributed the presence of piazzas to their convenience "on account of the great summer heats here."[9] An advertisement announcing the sale of a tavern in Edenton, in 1794, described a building similar in size to the Shell Castle dwelling "with two good rooms above and two below and a piazzi the full length above and below."[10]

Wallace's piazza demonstrated a unique adaptation to the exposed location of the castle. Instead of a permanent roof covering the piazza that was at risk of being blown away by a heavy gale, Wallace used only permanent beams on which he could hang a canvas covering. Thus, he could reduce the risk of damage and loss and with ample supply of sailcloth he could hoist a cover when he wanted the cool of the shade. Wallace seemed to understand the functional and social importance of the piazza. He clearly expressed pride in his addition by writing his partner that the office was "much better fitted...with a good piaza [sic]."[11]

In the same letter, Wallace extolled the improvements he had made at the Castle that would make John G. Blount's visit more comfortable and productive.

Wallace claimed that the office "was much better fitted than when you were down before," and that "a good kitchen" would serve for all their cooking.[12] Wallace's claims of improvements expressed his need to be seen as part of the gentry. It was important to him that his partner, and perhaps more importantly, Mrs. Blount, be entertained in style which would demonstrate his arrival at middle class respectability.[13] Wallace's kitchen was probably one of the out buildings shown on the transfer print and separated from the main dwelling house like on many of large plantations in the Albemarle basin. This was also a practical adaptation to reduce the risk of fire, to keep the heat of the kitchen from the main house, and to limit noise and odor. In addition, it put some distance between the occupants of the main house and the insects and vermin that were attracted to the foodstuffs stored in the kitchen.[14]

Wallace's good kitchen possessed a varied assortment of cookware. The probate inventory of the Wallace kitchen in 1810 listed some 50-70 utensils. (See Table 5) Among other Albemarle coastal estate inventories, cookware varied greatly and included cast and forged iron, bell metal, bronze, copper, and brass utensils. One inventory listed just "4 iron pots and two frying pans," while another counted more than 150 items of kitchen goods.[15] Wallace's utensils included iron, tin, and bell metal pots and kettles and were similar to goods shipped by Mrs. Susannah Harvey Blount, widow of Jacob Blount.[16] The similarity of goods points to Wallace having achieved a level of respectability in comparison to the Blounts.

Other material culture items discovered in Wallace's probate inventory reinforce the assertion that Wallace aspired to a more gentile level of society. From the Revolution to the Jacksonian era, the number of households that contained items associated with gentile or refined living increased dramatically. For example, nearly half of the households in 1800 possessed tea equipment. Tea consumption was a metaphor of refined behavior and offered the lower classes a way to participate in the culture of respectability.[17]

Table 5

Wallace Cooking Utensils

3 Pots	2 kettles broken	2 Dutch Ovens
1 Large kettle	2 bread trays	3 Iron Pot Trammels
2 Iron Tea Kettles	One Bellows	3 Pr. Pot Hooks
1 Tin Tea Kettle	Hand Mill	1 Stand & Casters
1 Tin Coffee Pot	2-3 dozen Ch. Bottles	2 Fat Pots
1 Bell mettle kettle	1 Milk Piggin	4 Butter Pots
1 Spider broken	1 Tin Kitchen	

Source: John Wallace Probate Inventory and Sale, 28 November 1810 and 26 June 1811, Carteret County Estate Records, NCDAH.

Part of the tea culture involved using the highest quality equipment possible. People preferred the more expensive china to other ceramics because of the esthetics that it placed the household among the elite. The upper class clearly understood the relative value of different ceramics. James Glasgow, a Raleigh merchant, sent John G. Blount eighty shillings to purchase a tea set of twelve cups and saucers, a teapot and two small bowls. He specifically requested "china if to be had if not queen's china or any kind to be had." By the mid-1790s, queensware shipments appear to have become so common that one merchant who inspected a shipment by the *Tuley,* described the popular items as a "crate of crockery (say Queen's ware). . . ."[18]

The china and queensware items found in the inventory illustrate the importance that the Wallace's assigned to the consumption of tea. Wallace owned one china teapot, twelve teacups and saucers, one china slop bowl, and ten china cups and saucers. In addition, the family possessed two queensware teapots and two queensware sugar dishes. The forty-seven pieces of china and fifteen queensware items represented 50 percent of the ceramics owned by Wallace in 1810. Wallace augmented the china tea service with a flowered tea canister and some silver. He also owned eight silver tablespoons, six silver teaspoons, and a pair of silver sugar tongs. Wallace's brother Rueben owned the same number of spoons but significantly fewer fine ceramic items. In addition, the Wallace family

could set places for twelve for breakfast with its dozen breakfast knives and forks and half again as many for dinner with sixteen knives and forks.[19]

One unusual probate inventory listing was the large number of earthenware plates. Wallace owned forty-eight earthenware plates that represented almost forty percent of the vessels listed. The large number, however, was probably indicative of the tavern operated at Shell Castle and the number of people in the "family." In 1800, the number of people living and working at the Castle was noted at more than forty with just over one plate per person.

Beyond the tea equipment, perhaps the possession most indicative of Wallace's refinement was the Liverpool-type transfer print pitcher. "Liverpool-type" has come to describe creamware and pearlware ceramics with a print applied via a transfer process. The Liverpool-type transfer print ceramics were produced mainly from 1790 to 1825. Americans purchased and ordered objects that reflected their own view of the national and individual successes of the emerging nation and the buyers' places within that society. This reflected an "Americanization" of a cultural activity that originated with English consumers in the mid-1700s who had pottery makers inscribe delft with ship names and wishes for success. As early as 1779, Josiah Wedgwood produced a transfer printed cream ware plate with a naval motif. Early transfer print wares for the American market have been traced to New England; however, a number of specific cases

have been linked to Philadelphia, Wilmington, Baltimore, and the Albemarle Sound area of North Carolina.[20]

In a unique concentration of transfer print ware, three prominent Edenton merchants and John Gray Blount possessed Liverpool-type transfer print jugs of the swelling form that dated to 1795-1800 in addition to the two owned by Wallace. Josiah Collins and John Little owned two of the more typical jugs. These two jugs were stock products that could be ordered without special instructions other than the inscription. The jug possessed by William Blair, who was related to Blount by marriage, bears a stylized print of the Edenton Courthouse that had to be provided by the purchaser. John Gray Blount ordered and received a swelling type jug marked "Wedgwood" that carried John G. Blount's monogram as well as an inscription, "Success to the Tuley." The *Tuley* jug was probably produced in 1795 or 1796, but was unlikely to have been produced after 1797 when the vessel was seized by a French privateer.[21]

Wallace could have easily known of these special items, especially the *Tuley* jug, and most certainly would have understood the ordering process. Wallace's motive, therefore, in placing a special order for the Shell Castle jugs, which required the commissioning of a drawing of the island and special orders for application, must have been to seek elevation into the highest levels of society by emulating the purchases of his partner and other members of the upper class. They would then recognize him as a "great man."

Most Federal period households owned at least one of each of the key furnishing elements: one table, one bedstead, one or two chairs and some ceramics. Upper class households were noted for more conspicuous consumption. Their homes housed a wide variety of mahogany furnishings, silver plate, sideboards, decorative items and other display oriented furnishings. The middle and lower class, while aspiring to possess the same goods, moderated their purchases based on their pocket books. Decorative furnishings, such as looking glass, presentation furniture, bed linens, and other quality wood items could be found in a majority of homes of the upper half of society in one sampling of estate inventories in Kent County, Delaware from 1750 to 1840. The percentages owned, however, increased over time.[22]

The Wallace's owned a number of quality mahogany furnishings for both entertaining and personal comfort that placed them in the upper tier of refined society. The Wallace home was appointed with a bureau, a sideboard, two inlaid dining tables, and two inlaid card tables—all of mahogany. In addition, a maple folding table, a maple desk and a pine table found a home at Shell Castle. The most valuable items were the sideboard and bureau that were valued at twenty-eight and twenty-one dollars, respectively, in the probate record. One interesting piece, given Wallace's penchant for liquor, was a mahogany liquor case with twelve flint glass bottles. In addition to the large pieces, the Shell Castle estate possessed six Windsor armchairs, twelve Windsor chairs, eight "old Windsor" chairs, and three everyday flag bottom chairs.

Although North Carolina had a number of skilled cabinetmakers, the number had declined in the Federal period as trade with the Middle Atlantic States increased. The Tidewater craftsmen found it hard to compete with the flood of production from Philadelphia and later New York where the high volume furniture makers were "mass-producing" furniture in the Windsor style.[23] In 1803, Wallace ordered a number of Windsor chairs for the tavern from New York and planned to barter for them with rum.[24]

The origins of other pieces can not be determined based on the current record; however, tidewater craftsmen most probably produced several items, such as the bottle case. Wallace would have had access to and, perhaps, an affinity for furniture produced by one of the more than 150 artisans during the "golden age" of tidewater cabinet making. In particular, one family Wallace would have dealt with was the Rombaughs of Edenton. The Rombaughs augmented their cabinet trade by producing blocks for vessels, which would have been known by the maritime 'Governor' of Shell Castle.[25]

Cellarets or "gin Cases" like Wallace's bottle case began appearing in the larger numbers by the second half of the eighteenth century. These bottle cases were more common to the south where strong drink was preferred and especially concentrated in southeastern Virginia and northeastern North Carolina. They have almost never found to have a provenience associated with other parts of America or Britain. Cellarets were made to house square Dutch gin bottles. Made in two parts, the cellarets consisted of "partitioned box fitted on a frame."

Three existing bottle cases have been traced to the Albemarle basin and Gates County. Wallace had ample access to that area and could well have received his cellaret from there.[26]

Among Wallace's furnishings, the beds and associated curtains, sheets, quilts, counterpanes, pillowcases and blankets made up the most valuable line items in the inventory. Wallace owned two mahogany tester beds that were valued at $25 and $40.50. The latter was outfitted with bed curtains, two sheets, two pillowcases, one bolster, one white counterpane, two blankets and a patch work quilt. At the auction of Wallace's estate, his widow Rebecca purchased bed and bedding sets for each of the five children, still at home, and she purchased a red cedar bedstead along with two other beds. James Wallace, husband to the Wallace's eldest child, Louisa, purchased the less valuable mahogany tester bed.

Other possessions also reflected Wallace's attempts to display the marks of gentle society. Wallace owned one large gilt looking glass and one small oval one. One carpet and one homespun carpet decorated the home. The inventory also found eleven pictures, one chart of the State of North Carolina, probably by Cole and Price, two glass flowerpots, two large and three small pitchers around the Wallace house. All these items marked a household as being in the top tiers of society according to material culture experts.[27]

In addition, Wallace displayed a likeness of George Washington that set him farther apart from his neighbors. Likenesses of Washington in portrait, ceramics and fabrics were common throughout the Northern States. A Russian

traveler in 1811-13 noted that "Every American considers it his sacred duty to have a likeness of Washington in his home just as we have images of God's saints." Often the portrait was the best and only decoration. With frames costing as much as four to seven dollars, possession of them was found only among the decorations of the middle and upper class homes. Despite their frequency in the North, however, they were rare in the South. Wallace's attachment to Washington was even more unusual because he had more than one image of Washington. The Liverpool transfer-ware pitcher owned by the Wallace family also carried a print of "Washington in Glory" that commemorated his funeral.[28]

The probate inventory also listed an old franklin stove. These stoves were still expensive by 1800 and widely used by those who could afford them. The heated air stoves like Franklin's served aesthetic as well as functional uses. The heated air allowed people to move away from the gaping maw of the hearth and experience a more comfortable social exchange from throughout the parlor.[29] Interestingly, the likeness of Washington, the chart of the state of North Carolina and the Franklin stove are the only items listed in the inventory conducted in November 1810 that were omitted from the auction of Wallace's estate in June 1811.

Books came to mark a respectable household perhaps rivaling parlors where much of the furnishings were on display as symbols of refinement. According to Bushman books "placed and defined their owners." John Wallace possessed a reasonable collection of books whose titles further defined him and

his family. The probate inventory listed forty-three volumes of printed works whose topics broadly covered religion, medicine, business, and literature.[30]

Wallace's library was probably slightly larger than the everyday household's book collection, but it was significantly smaller than those of some members of the ruling elite. In the North Carolina of the early Republic, most Carolinians could neither afford nor need many books. Most were content to own a family Bible and record some business dealings in print. Wallace's half-brother Reuben only owned eleven books; one-quarter of the number possessed by John Wallace. At the other end of the spectrum, however, several planters had library holdings of more than one thousand volumes.[31] Regardless of its size in comparison with other libraries, Wallace's library illustrated the importance of self-reliance and self-improvement. The volumes provide brush strokes to paint an intellectual portrait of the Wallace household at the time of his death in 1810. Wallace desired to improve himself. He wanted to be able to conduct his own business, and to heal his family physically and spiritually.

Wallace's library contained eight books of professional or self-help titles. As a mariner with significant trade in Philadelphia, it was not unusual to find a copy of *Navigation Unveiled* by Edward Hauxley, a pre-Bowditch navigation guide, and a *Philadelphia Directory*. The *Directory* served as the end of the eighteenth century "Yellow Pages." Philadelphia directories were first published in 1785 and then printed almost annually beginning in 1791 by various compilers. Wallace's copy could have been one of these that listed the "names, trades and

residence of the inhabitants of the city." Wallace also learned about maritime insurance from the chapters found in Sir James Allen Park's *A System of Marine Insurance*, printed in Philadelphia in 1789. The most valuable single volume, by price, was *Acts of Assembly* or the *Laws of North Carolina* that was auctioned for three dollars. Wallace needed to understand the laws of the state not only because of his maritime and mercantile activities, but also because he served as magistrate and notary public. Several reference books were also listed: an old spelling book, a pocket dictionary, remnants of a second dictionary, and a book on parliamentary discourse.[32]

Professional books obviously served a utilitarian purpose in a region where one had to depend on one's own resources. The remote location of Shell Castle and the Outer Banks forced the inhabitants to be self-reliant in many ways. A lack of skilled physicians extended throughout the South during the period, and even if one could be found the cost was often prohibitive. One Blount family physician charged $4.50 for a house call but only one dollar if in town. Therefore, like many others who lived outside the radius of a short horse ride, Wallace did not have access to medical help even if he could afford it. Plantation gentlemen and "Bankers" relied on their own skills and learning to provide medical care to their immediate family and slaves.[33]

Libraries throughout North Carolina included medical books to assist in providing self-care on the plantation. Wallace was not unusual for having William Duchan's *Domestic Medicine* in his collection of forty odd books

because often even smaller libraries contained at least one medical book. Wallace probably selected this volume because of its availability and relevance. In August 1795, a newspaper ad published in the *North Carolina Journal* announced, "Just arrived from Philadelphia, William Buchan's *Domestic Medicine* or a treatise on the prevention and cure of diseases by Regimen and simple medicines with an appendix containing a Dispensary for the use of private practitioners." The book focused on pediatric cures, which during a period of high infant mortality increased its usefulness. Wallace probably felt an acute need for such a book as his daughter Patsy had been close to death earlier that year.[34]

Wallace's self-reliance extended to caring for his family's spiritual, as well as physical, well being. The absence of clergy and lack of access to an organized church probably forced Wallace to rely on printed sermons and books of ethical advice for the spiritual guidance of his clan. Family readings of sermons had to suffice until a clergyman called at the Outer Banks. Charles Pettigrew, an Episcopal minister from Edenton, provided itinerant clerical services at Ocracoke in the 1780s. On one passage through the inlet, he went ashore to minister while the brig took on goods from her lighter. Clerical visits benefited the Bankers according to Pettigrew because they were often "ready freighted with children to baptize—and I hope I shall be able to give them a lecture...to gratify them in that particular."[35]

Books on religion and moral teaching made up more than half of the books Wallace owned. He possessed one large family Bible with plates, one

hymnal, one testament, and one volume of the Psalms of David in verse. These books formed the core of Wallace's religion, but they provided no indication to the religious denomination that Wallace followed. Other holdings, however, did provide clues into the religious leanings of head of the Wallace clan. The most important author, based on the quantity of titles held, was the New Jersey Presbyterian minister Alexander C. Macwhorter. The probate inventory listed two separate two-volume sets of Macwhorter's Sermons in addition to seven odd volumes. Wallace's readings of Macwhorter focused on "the most important principles" of religion. Wallace also read a text of sermons by Devereux Jarratt, who was the rector of an episcopal parish in Bath, Virginia. The author's title proclaimed that the sermons were "adapted to the plainest capacities and suited to the family and closet." Jarratt's sermons probably meant more to the Wallace family than the eleven volumes of MacWhorter's sermons because it was the one religious book other than the generic ones retained by Wallace's widow Rebecca.[36]

In addition to Jarratt and Macwhorter, Wallace sought guidance from other Anglican and Presbyterian sources. He turned to Charles Daubeny's *Guide to the Church* that included a useful postscript to those members who attended other places of worship. A second Presbyterian publication, *Candid Reasons for Renouncing the Principles of Anti-paedo Baptism* by Peter Edwards found its way into Wallace's library after 1795. Daubeny's *Guide* provided important information for Wallace who had no fixed church in which to worship. Edwards'

Candid Reasons would have helped Wallace and his family understand the religious strife that swept through eastern North Carolina in the 1790s. The strife was caused by reassertion of authority by the Episcopal Church against the growing influence of the Baptist "New Lights" and the Methodists who taught "Fire and Brimstone." Much of the popularity of the "New Lights" and Methodists came in the wake of itinerant preachers who passed through the region. Many people had turned from infant baptism and yet still considered themselves to be Episcopalian or Presbyterian.[37] Wallace's library reflected the issues of the time and yet reinforced the effort to seek out God and religion on a personal level.

Wallace also sought to better himself and his family through other books that were considered morality books. A new-world classic, John Fox's *Acts and Monuments*, more commonly known as *The Book of the Martyrs* found a place in Wallace's home even though it was originally published in 1563.[38] Fox's *Martyrs* was just one of several books on moral precepts that Wallace owned. Other morality books included *Almost Christian, Origin of Soul, Sublime and Beauties of Scripture, Elements of Morality*, and *The Saints Rest.*

The library also included several books on poetry, fiction and proper behavior. People often read to improve their mental culture, and by 1800, books had long held a special "place in refined households." Courtesy books that would become a staple of the nineteenth century printing industry were already in Wallace's library by 1800. One text, *The Beauties of History* by William Dodd

was a courtesy book designed to help young people understand the rules of refined society. According to the book's extended title, Wallace had selected a book that presented "pictures of virtue and vice, drawn from examples of men eminent for their virtues or infamous for their vices" that were "selected for the instruction and entertainment of youth." It was probably the former that gave instruction and the latter that provided the entertainment.[39]

For his own entertainment, Wallace could be found reading poetry and literature. He owned a copy of a *Poetical Miscellany*, another book of poetry, one text entitled *Persian Letters*, and Edward Young's *Night Thoughts*. One contemporary book, published in 1793 as *The Poetical Miscellany*, contained a wide collection from Goldsmith, Pope, Parnel, Addison and others. Young's *Night-Thoughts*, subtitled *The Complaint or Night-thoughts on life, death and immortality,* focused on didactic poetry. Wallace and his family must have read these to improve their mental culture and own enjoyment.[40]

One wonders what "night thoughts" Wallace may have had as he neared death in 1810. Could he see the embroidered stitches of refinement that gave a pattern to the raw cloth of the life and family he had woven? Wallace had created his environment and sought to be known as a "great man" known for his "fine house." The buildings and furnishings at the Castle reflected the latest in fashion and refinement from the piazza to the "gin case." He lived at the leading edge of society and pursued the refinement of his environment, himself, and his family. He had designed and produced an unusual jug that reflected his personal taste and

position in society with the "North view of Govern'r Wallace's Shell Castle" at a time when the style was still unusual. He relied heavily on self-help religion books and professional references. His family could read the latest in poetry and personal courtesy books. He succeeded in proving himself a Great man, but what would be his legacy and family position after his death?

Endnotes

[1] Bushman, *Refinement of America*, 184-85.

[2] James A. Henretta and Gregory H. Nobles. *Evolution & Revolution in American Society, 1600-1820* (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath & Co.,1987), 221-224.

[3] Bushman, *Refinement,* 110-11.

[4] Ibid., 241; John Wallace to John G. Blount, 6 September 1790, Keith, *Blount Papers*, Vol. 2, 106.

[5] Fred B. Kniffen, "Folk Housing: Key to Diffusion," *Common Places Readings American Vernacular Architecture*, edited by Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach, (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1986), 18-19; Photo plate of John Gray Blount's Home, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:295.

[6] Cary Carson, Norman F. Barka, William Kelso, Garry W. Stone and Dell Upton, "Impermanent Architecture in the Southern American Colonies," in *Material Life in America, 1600-1800*, edited by Robert Blair St. George, (Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 1988), 118; Bushman, *Refinement of America*, 124.

[7] James Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten, The Archaeology of Early American Life* (New York: Anchor Books Doubleday, 1977), 100-101.

[8] John E. Crowley, "Inventing Comfort: The Piazza." in *American Material Culture-The Shape of the Field*, edited by Ann Smart Martin and J. Ritchie Garrison, (Winterthur, DE: Henry F. Du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1997), 279-84.

[9] Thomas T. Waterman and Frances B. Johnson, *The Early Architecture of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1941), 41.

[10] B.E. Taylor, ed., *A Taste of the Past Early Foodways of the Albemarle Region, 1585-1830* (Elizabeth City: Museum of the Albemarle, 1991), 39.

[11] John Wallace to John Gray Blount, 22 May 1800, Masterson, *Blount* Papers, 3:382-83.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Lorena Walsh, "Consumer Behavior, Diet and the Standard of Living," in *American Economic Growth and Standards of Living before the Civil War*, Edited by Robert E. Gallman and John Wallis, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 226.

[14] Taylor, *A Taste of the Past*, 56.

[15] Ibid., 56.

[16] Alexander Miller to John G. Blount, 10 January 1802, Masterson, *Blount Papers*, 3:490-492.

[17] Bushman, *Refinement of America*, 229; Walsh, "Consumer Behavior," 239.

[18] James Glasgow to John G. Blount, n.d. 1790, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:162; Benjamin Atkinson to Benjamin Blackledge, 7 December 1796, Masterson, *Blount Papers*, 3:116-17.

[19] Estate Records for John and Reuben Wallace, Carteret County Estate Records, NCDAH.

[20] Christina H. Nelson, "Transfer-Printed Creamware and Pearlware for the American Market," *Winterthur Portfolio*, Volume 15, Number 2, Summer 1980, 93-94, 115; Bradford L. Rauschenberg, "Success to the Tuley et al via Liverpool," *Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts*, May 1976, Volume II, Number 1, 1-15.

[21] Ibid., 10-16.

[22] Masterson, *Blount Papers*, 3:222-3; Bushman, *Refinement of America*, 228-29.

[23] John Bivins, Jr., *Furniture of Coastal North Carolina, 1700-1820* (Winston-Salem, NC: Museum of the Early Southern Decorative Arts, 1988), 57.

[24] Keith, *Three North Carolina Brothers*, 118.

[25] Bivins, *Furniture of Coastal North Carolina*, 57.

[26] John Bivins, Jr., and Forsyth Alexander, *The Regional Arts of the Early South* (Winston-Salem, NC: Museum of the Early Southern Decorative Arts, 1991), 38; Ronald Hurst and Jonathan Prown, *Southern Furniture, 1680-1830, The Williamsburg Collection* (Williamsburg, VA: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1997), 529-534.

[27] The two large pitchers were probably the Liverpool Transfer print pitchers. Bushman, *Refinement of America*, 229; John Wallace, Estate Records, NCDAH.

[28] Noble E. Cunningham, Jr., "Political Dimensions of Everyday Life in the Early Republic," in *Everyday Life in the Early Republic*, edited by Catherine E. Hutchins, (Winterthur, DE: Henry F. Du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1994), 17-20 (3-34); Bivins and Alexander, *Regional Arts of the Early South*, 159.

[29] Bushman, *Refinement of America*, 124.

[30] Ibid., 280.

[31] John R. Barden, "David Stone and the Fruits of Enlightenment in North Carolina," in B.E. Taylor, ed., *A Taste of the Past· Early Foodways of the Albemarle Region, 1585-1830* (Elizabeth City: Museum of the Albemarle, 1991), 4-5. (4-24) (hereafter, *Enlightenment*); Reuben Wallace, Estate Records, NCDAH.

[32] John Wallace, Estate Records, NCDAH.

[33] Keith, *Three North Carolina Brothers*, 51-52; Barden, *Enlightenment*, 12.

[34] Ibid.; Halifax *North Carolina Journal*, 3 August 1795; John Wallace to John G. Blount, 7 March 1795, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:511-12.

[35] Charles Pettigrew to Mary B. Pettigrew, 24 January 1785, Sarah McCullough Lemon, editor, *The Pettigrew Papers, 1685-1818*, Vol. 1, (Raleigh, NC: State Department of Archives and History, 1971), 38.

[36] Alexander Macwhorter lived from 1734 to 1897 and served as pastor at the First Presbyterian Church of Newark, New Jersey. He published sermons on topical issues such as Washington's Funeral and the Fourth of July. Alexander Macwhorter, *A Series of Sermons upon the Most Important Principles of Our Holy Religion* (Newark, NJ: Printed by Pennington and Gould, 1803); Devereux Jarratt's *Sermons on Various and Important Subjects, in Practical Divinity* was printed by Johnston and Justice in Philadelphia in 1793 and reprinted in Raleigh by William Glendenning in 1805. Both editions would have been easily available to Wallace. John Wallace, Estate Records, NCDAH.

[37] Keith, *Three North Carolina Brothers*, 35; Solomon Halling to Charles Pettigrew, 19 April 1796, Lemon, *Pettigrew Papers*, 184; Nathan Blount to Charles Pettigrew, 23 January 1800, Ibid., 277.

[38] The book listed in the probate record as *Almost Christian* was probably a reprint of a collection of sermons by Mead Matthew that had been originally published in the 17th Century as the *Almost Christian discovered, or the False professor tried and cast* which went through multiple editions in America. John Mack Faragher, *The Encyclopedia of Colonial and Revolutionary America* (New York: Facts on File, 1990), 18.

[39] Bushman, *Refinement of America*, 280; WilliamDodd, *Beauties of history: or Pictures of Virtue and Vice: Drawn from examples of men eminent for their virtues or infamous for their vices: Selected for the instruction and entertainment of Youth* (Boston: Joseph Bumstead, 1791)

[40] *The Poetical Miscellany* (Newburyport, MA: George Jerry Osborne, Guttemberg's Head, 1793); Edward Young, *The Complaint or Night-thoughts on life, death, and immortality* (New York, NY: John Tiebout for N. Bell, 1796).

CHAPTER 6

POST-WALLACE SHELL CASTLE 1810-1850

"What, though we wade in wealth, or soar in flame,
Earth's highest station ends in, "here he lies!"
Edward Young, *Night Thoughts*, Chapter 70.

Wallace's Death

Wallace's night-thoughts must have turned toward life, death and immortality in the summer heat of 1810. The founder of a "fine" maritime entrepôt, "governor" of a prosperous community, father to six children, and owner of nine slaves, John Wallace, who had been unable to take care of the business for quite some time, died on 22 July 1810. Without his powerful personality, what would become of Shell Castle and his own family? Wallace's death removed the operating partner who had guided the enterprise with an iron hand, but the ebb and flood of market forces, geologic change, and international events would continue to determine the future of the Shell Castle entrepôt just as they had during its ascendancy.

John Wallace was buried in a private cemetery on the western end of Portsmouth Island in an area known as Sheep Island. Wallace's tombstone was as grand as his rule over the island had been.

His family placed over his grave a massive stone slab on which a mason carved in script his epitaph:

Here is deposited the remains
Of
Captain John Wallace
Governor of Shell Castle
Who departed this life
July 22, 1810
Age 52 years and 6 months
Shell Castle mournes; Your pride is in the dust
Your boast, your glories in the dreary grave.
Your sun is set ne'er to illume again
This sweet asylum from th' Atlantic wave.
He's here beneath this monumental stone
This awful gloom amid the silent dead.
Thy founder lies whose sainted soul we laid
To heaven's high mansion has its journey sped.
Mourn charity, benevolence be wail
Kind hospitality his lot deplore.
And own with one unanimous acclaim
Misfortune's sons will view his like no more.[1]

Aware that John Wallace's health was failing, John G. Blount wrote a moving letter offering to dissolve their entangled partnership. Writing just eleven days before Wallace died and opening with a delicately worded proposal that since the two partners were "both advanced in years and have each a Family for which we ought to make some arrangements," Blount stated that he had "for some time had it in contemplation" to settle their partnership. Blount proposed dividing Shell Castle in half and allowing Wallace to chose his preferred half. The division would be drawn along a line stretching "across the Castle from the east-end of the old or large ware house straight with the end of house." Blount

acknowledged that this division placed a greater value on the west-end by some $1,000; however. Blount agreed to let Wallace have it because Wallace's house was on that half.

Blount also recommended that the partners appoint a third party to appraise all other land and property, to divide it into two parcels, and to settle the partnership's accounts. The proposal acknowledged that it would be difficult obtain a clear accounting on much of the business Blount and Wallace had transacted at the Castle due to the commingling of Wallace's personal accounts with the Shell Castle business. Blount, who was aware of Wallace's poor record keeping based on his prior experience, supposed that Wallace had not maintained an account of the House (partnership) which had from time to time been supplied from joint property, and that settling those accounts would be difficult. The Washington partner asked Wallace to accept the flat division and not to quibble over individual claims. For example, Wallace had claim to past annual wages and Blount had money due "for negro hire." Blount wanted his partner to draw up a list of joint property, to make a deed to half of the "Castle and Rock," and to appoint third party to execute the dissolution of the enterprise. However, Blount was uncertain as to how Wallace would react to the proposal, and, therefore, closed his letter with hopes that it would be received in "same frindly disposition in which it is offerd."[2]

Wallace neither acknowledged nor took action on Blount's letter. The

record holds no indications as to whether or not this stemmed from a disagreement over the proposed terms, an inability to execute them because of sickness, or just a continuation of John Wallace's lack of attention to paperwork. Given his past actions, however, any one of the explanations would be plausible. One argument in favor of the inattention explanation can be found in Wallace's inattention to other important matters. On that Sunday in July when Wallace's "sun had set," he left his family unprepared by neglecting to record a last will and testament. He failed to heed his partner's advice that "each have a family for which we ought to make some arrangement."[3]

Wallace's death left his widow Rebecca with six minor children and no support other than income from livestock and Negro hire. The 1810 census listed Rebecca Wallace as the head of household with fourteen slaves, one daughter between seventeen and twenty-six years old, two boys and two girls between eleven and sixteen years old and one boy younger than ten years old. She took steps to place her children as favorably as possible. Mrs. Wallace quickly married her eldest daughter, Louisa, to Capt. James Wallace, a son of John Wallace's half brother, David Wallace. Capt James Wallace was a man of some means and family charity. With the Wallace estate intestate, Mrs. Wallace could offer no dowry with the marriage of Louisa. Despite this, James Wallace married Louisa on 28 November 1810, and the next year he spent $94 25 to purchase 15 percent of the Wallace estate. Capt. Wallace purchased the largest block of goods other

than Mrs. Wallace. Most of his acquisitions were personal items probably associated with Louisa and books that included most of the professional maritime titles from the library.[4]

As soon as Thomas Blount Wallace, the eldest male, was old enough, he was entered into an apprenticeship arranged by Mrs. Wallace. She contracted with Lewis Leroy, a Washington, North Carolina, merchant, to train her son in the business of trade. The choice of Leroy instead of John G. Blount provokes speculation about the continued relationship of the Blounts with the Wallaces. The original relationship had been between the two principals, and there is some record that Mrs. Blount was not friendly with the Wallaces. In addition, there was probably some difficulties arising from the settlement of the Wallace estate and the partnership, which could have additionally strained ties between the two families.[5]

In spite of any difficulties between Mrs. Wallace and John G. Blount, operations continued at the Castle overseen by clerks hired by John G. Blount. Josiah Bradley, who had been living on the island for several years by 1810, Solomon M. Joseph, and Edward Seduce headed households at the Castle in addition to the Wallace family. The four households made up the nineteen white inhabitants and twenty-two slaves. All were involved in the day to day operations of the maritime enterprise.[6]

Post-Wallace Investment Plans

Wallace's death not only created problems for the continued operation of the partnership, but also offered the opportunity to develop the Castle as a larger entrepôt. Over the years, John G. Blount had considered recommendations to develop the site by laying out lots and selling them to men of capital from the North. Throughout the first decade of 1800s and throughout the embargo, Blount hesitated to invest significant sums of capital. According to William Tatham, the major obstacle preventing the investment was Blount's partner, John Wallace. Just six days after Wallace died, Tatham observed with no remorse for his former host that "the Governor's death removes the objections you [Blount] formerly stated to improvements at Shell Castle."

Tatham perceived an opportunity for his own gain and wanted to encourage Blount to invite him to invest in a project to expand Shell Castle. He told Blount in one sentence that he "need not tell" him how to run the business; however, without pausing for the ink to dry, in the next line Tatham launched into a detailed three point development proposal for Blount's edification. Tatham managed to tell Blount what he already knew about the Castle's potential and to insult his former survey team member, Jonathan Price. Tatham called for a "more complete survey of the premises than Price, or *any surveyor in the common way* is capable of making." [emphasis added] His second and third points demanded the

creation of a development "design" or business plan and then the implementation of that plan in a systematic and progressive manner in order to manage capital expenses and to limit the risk.[7]

Blount remained unwilling to invest heavily even with the support of Tatham. Blount's hesistancy, however, did not deter others who saw continued expansion opportunities at the Castle from proposing great schemes. In 1811, William Rodman, who had married John G. Blount's daughter and was working in his father-in-law's mercantile business, visited the bar to supervise activities at the Castle. While there he conferred with "young Capt. Wallace," the husband to Louisa, about reforming the partnership.[8] A partnership between the next generation of the Wallace and Blount families would have many parallels with the original partnership. Both Rodman and James Wallace were about the same age as the original partners were when the venture began. The backgrounds and strengths that each brought to the enterprise were also similar the original partners. This time, however, the partnership would require an initial capital investment by each principal, and unlike his father-in-law, Rodman would act as an on-site partner.

Rodman proposed restarting the mercantile concern by forming a partnership between Rodman, James Wallace and John G. Blount with each investing $7,500 in capital. In addition, Rodman proposed bringing in one of Blount's sons, either John or William into the business. Rodman, like Tatham,

expressed his wish that the new joint venture might finally be capable of "rendering the property very valuable." This belief indicated either that the Shell Castle venture had under performed for the past twenty years despite its high purchase offers and tax values or that young Rodman held very great expectations for his business plan. Nevertheless, the continued interest in business opportunities at the Castle demonstrated the persevering belief that more profits could be reaped that justified additional capital outlay.

The business plan for the Castle called first for setting up a ship chandlery and grocery. Rodman proposed taking over the house occupied by Joseph Bradley and using that as the new store. He would accomplish this as soon as possible. It was unclear whether the old store had ceased functioning and needed to be reopened or just renovated. Subsequently, Rodman planned to "clear away all the old fences and some of the old buildings" in order to make as much space as possible available for the storage of naval stores, lumber and other items. Then in the spring of 1812, the Rodman plan called for constructing along the "made" ground "a stone wall at or near the low water mark, and filling up to it with sand or shells." Once complete, a pier would be extended into the channel to enable "large vessels to discharge and take in at it." The capital improves also included the erection of a large brick warehouse for fireproof storage. Rodman believed that the warehouse "might be placed on the Rock next the made ground by simply building a stone wall foundation and permitting the water to flow under it."

The business proposal rested on the premise that the Castle would become "a place of deposit for the produce of the upper Country" from which "all the other business would follow." To insure merchants chose to use the Castle as an entrepôt, Rodman advocated using the storage operations as 'loss leader by "putting the storage [rates] low, charging a moderate commission for shipping, etc." In addition, Shell Castle's operations would be expanded to include a cooperage and a sail loft. Finally, Rodman considered adding a tavern that he thought would be "absolutely necessary" to the success of the plan. The tavern could be built on one of the nearby rocks with sufficient depth for ship's boats to come alongside. He believed that the rental income from the Tavern would create a strong positive cash flow.

Recognizing some of the difficulties his father-in-law had with Wallace over the years and the trouble the Bradleys encountered with Mrs. Blount over the garden, Rodman recommended that the new enterprise own the entire Castle. He proposed that the company obtain a capital lease on the remaining half of the rock from Mrs. Wallace and Wallace' heirs until a purchase could be made upon the maturity of Thomas Blount Wallace in 1817. Although Rodman began his proposal with a caveat that he would demur to John G. Blount's desires, he seems to have been unaware that his entire proposal was based on the same factors that had made the enterprise possible and successful in the 1790s. Although this can plausibly be attributed to the conceit of youth to do a job better, the reinvention of

Shell Castle could also indicate just how far the enterprise had declined in Wallace's last years.[9]

Rodman's proposal was the latest in a series of proposals to survey the island and sell lots. William Blount had proposed a similar plan in 1795 and Tatham had raised the topic when Wallace died.[10] He wanted to survey the island and divide it into lots Then a "proportion of them as would be thought best" would be sold at intervals during the next eight to ten years. The sale of lots would create a "handsome revenue" flow and increase the value of land still held by the operation. Although anxious to initiate his plan immediately, Rodman planned to delay any action until the spring of 1812. He believed that he needed to give his new bride time to adjust to the change of plans: he had originally been planning to undertake another position within the Blount operations. Also, the delay afforded a one of the Wallaces---either James or Thomas Blount--- the opportunity to move out the house Rodman planned to take over.

John Gray Blount's opinion about Rodman's proposal is unclear. Nevertheless, no work had begun on the project and no evidence suggests that Rodman and Wallace had entered into a new partnership prior to the start of the war with Britain. No evidence has been found that shows support for the plan. In addition, the coming of spring in 1812 brought fears of war with Great Britain. On 18 June 1812, Congress declared war and people began to fear for the safety of the Castle and its property. By July, one observer reported that all trade was

"completely stopped at present" at Ocracoke and that five gunboats were occasionally stationed at the Bar. With trade interrupted by the war, Rodman's plan for the redevelopment of the Castle was set aside.[11]

Shell Castle and the War of 1812

Despite the fears of the Outer Banks residents, the British took no action at Ocracoke until May 1813. The British Navy's actions would justify the locals' fear for their life and property, which included vessels, livestock and slaves. On Friday, 21 May, the British schooner *Venus*, formerly the *Highflyer* of Baltimore, anchored off the bar and signaled for a pilot. Pretending to be an American vessel, the *Venus* allowed a pilot boat with four hands to come alongside. Only after the pilot crew was aboard the *Venus* did the British reveal their true colors. The British captain demanded to be piloted over the Bar. The pilots protested that there was not enough water to safely cross the bar. The British, unacquainted with the area, accepted this protestation and changed their plans.

Quickly, they manned the pilot boat with a raiding party and the four pilots and set out for the harbor. The British hoped to enter the harbor and burn "the Castle and the cutter." As they neared the bar, the raiding party hailed a second pilot boat that had responded to the pilot signal that was still flying aboard the *Venus*. The officer in charge of the raid ordered the second pilot boat to

proceed to the schooner to take on a few casks as the vessels was in need of water. The pilots in the second boat saw through the ruse, however. Seeing a number of armed men and "observing the silence of their brother pilots", the second group of pilots "supposed that all was not right." The second pilot boat "proceeded no further towards the schooner than to get out of the mark of their muskets." Once out of range they turned to the shore and rushed to spread the alarm. The British seeing that they had lost the element of surprise abandoned their raid attempt and returned to the schooner. They discharged the pilots with a vow to return.

Following that raid, John G. Blount wrote directly to William Hawkins. North Carolina's governor to complain about the lack of military preparedness at the Castle. He observed that during the raid the revenue cutter was unmanned and unprepared to provide resistance. In addition, he believed that the Inlet was defenseless because the two gunboats stationed there had been removed. Blount thought that one infantry militia company, stationed at the Inlet and assigned to a "Brave and enterprising Captain" who knew the inlet, would "afford more security to all the northen part of North Carolina as well as the numerous vessels arriving now daily there..." then all the troops garrisoned across the state. He feared for the "safety of vessels and property at Occacock" if the government did not return the gunboats or build a fort on Beacon Island.[12]

Reports of the unpreparedness of the military to defend the inlet were apparently true. Another writer reported that the British returned two days later

and captured a New Bern sloop that had just cleared the Bar. The British vessel was reportedly inside the Bar. Captain Wallace, the revenue cutter's captain and his family along with several Portsmouth families escaped to New Bern. People complained about the lack of defense at the Inlet and pointed out that at Shell Castle "our canon lays rusting on the wharf without carriages."[13]

The British achieved greater success in a return visit in July. A force consisting of a ship of the line, four frigates, two brigs, and two schooners along with nineteen barges and some 2,000 men arrived off Ocracoke on 12 July. They attacked on the morning tide and seized a privateer brig and letter of marque schooner lying in the channel. On shore, they ransacked homes at Portsmouth and took two hundred cattle, four hundred sheep and sixteen-hundred fowl. The British reportedly paid for the sheep, but well below fair value. They took Mr. Thomas Singleton, the customs collector, prisoner and held him aboard ship for two days. According to newspaper reports, no violence was recorded except to Richard Casey who was "shot by a musket ball through the body" in the breast while attempting to escape Portsmouth with his family. The revenue cutter under Capt. David Wallace made a daring escape from pursuing British Barges that gave up the chase after the *Mercury* cleared the swash.[14] It was also during this probably that the Shell Castle Beacon was damaged. The British apparently destroyed the lantern, but left the pyramid intact. Lighthouse operations were suspended for the remainder of they war because Singleton feared that a lit

beacon would help guide the British barges over the bar.[15]

The British looting of Portsmouth prompted calls for action to complete the fort at Ocracoke. Governor William Hawkins responded with apologies for delays in erecting a fort at Beacon Island and promised to go to Ocracoke himself to inspect the area, like modern politicians following a disaster. Work done at the fort on Beacon Island and the lack of the beacon light, however, never protected Portsmouth as it was raided again in September. The British proclaimed a blockade of the port and kept the brig *Conflict*, schooner *Parrs*, and tender *Two Brothers*, patrolling off the Inlet into the fall of 1813.[16]

The cannon, reportedly rusting on the wharf earlier in the summer, were never moved to the Fort at Beacon Island. Two years after the war they were reportedly lying at Shell Castle where "every flood tide covers them." The collector reported that the carriages were rotting and the canon rusting. Reasons for the disuse of canon have not been discovered although it was possible that the British spiked the canon during the July raid when the British reportedly damaged the light at Shell Castle. This argument was supported by a report from the Civil War following the capture of Fort Ocracoke on Beacon Island that described guns being damaged by having their cascabels knocked off and "leaving them in salt water on the beach."[17]

After a summer of attempted and executed raids by the British, residents at Shell Castle continually feared for the safety of their property. Josiah Bradley

worried that "this place is in a horrid situation, liable to be insultin pilaged [sic] and in fact burnt out by an unprincipal villain." Also, Bradley was concerned about the security of the slaves working at the Castle. The slaves worked at the Castle throughout the war. Bradley informed John G. Blount that although he did not believe any of the Shell Castle Negroes would run away "except it was by some inducements." Nevertheless, he assured his supervisor that he would "keep them out of their reach." At the first sign of danger, Bradley planned to "send them away in the lighters (the sloop is without injury)."[18]

Ultimately, the British blockade brought trade to a standstill along the Atlantic coast from Florida to New York, but the people of North Carolina's Outer Banks fared better than their Virginia neighbors. At Hampton, Virginia, the British force attacked and after brushing aside the local militia, they proceeded to commit "every horror." They were taking revenge for a botched assault on Craney Island that resulted in hundred of casualties. According to one authority, however, the British usually paid for the provisions they took in areas where they found no resistance. Collaborators profited well from their association with the British. At Ocracoke, the lack of smoke from burning homes and the lack of damage to the lighthouse testifies to a degree of accommodation reached between an almost defenseless populace and the British Navy. For example, in September 1813, a party from the schooner *Parrs* came ashore at Portsmouth and announced that the "Port and all of the South were in a state of Blockade." However, they

were prevented from returning to their vessel due to rough seas. Having come ashore under a flag of truce, the four officers and nine crewmen applied for "protection until to-morrow" and they spent the night at the house of David Wallace.[19]

In spite of instances of civility in war, the British demonstrated traces of war's brutal nature when they found their goals thwarted. That same month, a British Schooner, probably the *Parrs*, called out a pilot boat. When the boat pulled alongside the British seized the boat and took one of the crewmen prisoner. The British forced the other three crew members over the side into the water near the breakers. When the prisoner refused to guide the British over the Bar, they shoved him over as well. Josiah Bradley considered this act as "inhuman as shooting men in the water for they know [sic] not whether the men could swim or not."[20]

Post-War Development and Decline

Work at the Castle continued throughout the war, and evidently John G Blount furthered the plans to develop the site. During the spring and summer of 1814, he conducted a correspondence with John Devereaux DeLacy, a New York merchant and agent of Livingston and Fulton. DeLacy, who had been contracted by Robert Fulton to oversee the construction of steam vessels for use in the

southern waterways, sought to establish a number of enterprises with John G. Blount's advice and assistance. The New York merchant wanted Blount to find land for a salt works, to identify a brig for purchase to carry goods to New York, and to help DeLacy become a commission merchant with goods from North Carolina. In addition, the two discussed the development of Shell Castle along the lines of Rodman's and Tatham's proposals.[21]

DeLacy and Blount had agreed to sell shares in the development of Shell Castle. According to the proposal, five shares would be authorized and valued at $8,000 each. Mr. DeLacy planned to invest in one share and a Thomas Addes Emmet had committed to a second share. A third share was reserved for a Mr. Bowden who was scheduled to meet with John G. Blount in Washington, North Carolina to discuss joining the group for a third share. Apparently the sale of the Castle appeared to be imminent because Mr. DeLacy requested that Blount delay the sale until he had met with Mr. Bowden. More than a month later, DeLacy, having not heard from Mr. Bowden, committed to purchase the Castle on his "own acc^{t}." He pledged to pay one installment upon title clearance and the "residue at such times as we shall agree on." The agreement was subject to DeLacy obtaining a mortgage and John G. Blount putting the "Houses wharfs Side in good order." DeLacy sought an immediate answer as he planned to have a prominent merchant move to the island to manage the business and he hoped that "the Castle will yet flourish. . . ."[22]

No contract was ever executed to sell lots and develop the Castle. Perhaps Blount thought he could get more for the property or title problems related to Wallace's estate prevented the sale. Other factors affecting the sale could have been the death of Robert Fulton in early 1815 that would have removed Mr. DeLacy's reason for coming to North Carolina and from whom DeLacy expected to receive $9,000. Whatever the reason, Shell Castle began its decline and disappearance from the record as the nation recovered from the War of 1812. In 1815, the Castle was reported to have been twenty-five acres in size and valued at $8,000 for taxes, which represented one-third of the tax value of the Ocracoke and Portsmouth District. Over the next forty years the island would be reduced to one-half acre and a value of only ten dollars.[23] In addition, the shifting of the channel and the need to dredge the swash hastened its loss of value and importance. An additional blow was dealt to the Castle when the lighthouse burned down in 1818.

The Wallace family continued to make a living at the Castle until some time around 1820 One week before lightning struck the lighthouse Simon Hall Wallace died. He left one gun, a powder horn and shot bag in addition to one slave named Cain who was valued at $500. After Simon's death, Rebecca Wallace was removed from the Castle and went to live at Portsmouth. Around the same time, the Wallace family stopped receiving money from the Castle partnership operations.[24]

Mrs. Wallace passed away on 22 November 1822 She was buried in the Wallace family cemetery on Sheep Island. She was fifty-one years old. Her children inscribed a tombstone with "In memory of Mrs. Rebecca Wallace, She left this world with shining hope for a better, Leaving three daughters and two sons bereaved by her death." Her children paid $81.24 for the stone, brick and mason work to place the tombstone and a new fence around the graveyard.[25] In somewhat of a mystery, Rebecca Wallace's will was dated 20 December 1822. In it she divided her slaves among four of her children. Thomas B. Wallace received Perry, the pilot, and a slave girl. Her eldest daughter Louisa received a slave woman named Hannah, and Betsy (Elizabeth), wife of Wallace Whitehurst, was given Caty and Angis. Another slave named Sarah was placed in trust with Capt. James Wallace for the third daughter, Patsy. Rebecca Wallace specifically directed that her friends David Wallace and John Mayo place a value on her "old and faithful servant" Peter and allow him to chose his own master or mistress from the children. Peter was valued at $112.50 at auction in April 1824 and he selected Capt. James and Louisa Wallace as his master and mistress. Surprisingly, the youngest child Horatio Wallace, a minor, received only the mahogany bedstead, its associated bedding and a pair of sugar tongs.

Rebecca Wallace directed that her children share evenly in the remainder of her estate that was valued at more than $1,200. At auction another slave woman, Hetty and her child were sold to Wallace Whitehurst for $345. One

interesting entry recorded the sale of five shares of State Bank Stock to John C. Wallace for $527. Three beds were listed as the most valuable items other than the slaves and bank stock and their values ranged from $13.50 to $21.50. A set of spoons sold for ten dollars. Missing from the auction inventory were the Liverpool ware transfer print pitchers, Washington's likeness, and other valuable personal items [26]

In 1829, nearly twenty years after the death of John Wallace, John G. Blount finally settled the partnership he had tried to dissolve in 1810. Blount and the heirs of John Wallace divided the slaves owned by the partnership and settled accumulated accounts. Thomas B. Blount paid Patsy Wallace and her husband, William H. Wallace, $300 for their share of the Wallace inheritance. He also bought the shares controlled by his brother Horatio and Elizabeth. Louisa Wallace kept her share. Thomas B. Wallace bought two of the Shell Castle slaves, Alice and Joe for five shillings. John G. Blount received three slaves, Chloe, Phillis and a young girl for the same amount. Blount also agreed to split the payment on any remaining claims against the partnership for taxes due or Negro hire since Mrs. Wallace's removal from the island.[27]

Blount paid Thomas B. Wallace $420 on 12 January 1830 to "close all concerns of said Blount & Wallace." With the distribution of the property, Blount retained clear title to the West End of Shell Castle Louisa and Thomas B. Wallace split ownership of the land received from the partnership. Louisa

received one-fifth share and Thomas the remaining four-fifths. The Shell Castle parcel was described as ten acres "beginning at the stake put down on the Castle and runs across the same North 23 East and South 23 West to the Channel on Both sides the same then with the Channel round the island." The two also received: Rimes Rock, New Rock, Long Dry Rock, two hundred fifty acres on Cedar Island, fifteen acres at Casey's Point, twenty-five acres on Core Banks, two acres near the Haulover on Portsmouth and fifteen acres on Wainright's Island.[28] Thomas Blount Wallace retained title to the Wallace portion of Shell Castle. By 1836, he had relocated to Alabama and his heirs were last mentioned as owning the land in 1848 after which no mention is made of the Wallace parcel on Shell Castle.

No other mention of the Castle outside of the tax records could be found until 1836. In January that year a smallpox outbreak occurred among sailors at the Marine Hospital on Portsmouth. Fearing for their own safety, the locals forced the collector and physician to quarantine the sailors. They procured "an old house, built on a Shell Rock, two miles or more from any inhabitants" to use as a smallpox ward. The doctor saw to the removal of ten seamen to the Castle, but then he refused to visit them. Four of the sailors eventually died.[29]

In May 1838, S. Brown, the Collector at Portsmouth, brokered the sale of Blount's end of Shell Castle to a Mr. James Wyman. He offered $500 for that parcel and added an impending doom warning to his offer by cautioning that the

land may lose value if the commerce shifted to Core Sound "as contemplated in Col. Kearny's report or in event of the inlet's filling up." Wyman appears to have purchased or gained the use of Beacon Island at the same time. He planned to establish a manufactory of staves at Beacon Island and use "the Castle as a residence for his workmen." The choice of Beacon Island as the place for the factory instead of Shell Castle must have been a rational business decision that was made because it was closer to the main ship routes while small boats could still negotiate the shoals between Beacon Island and Shell Castle to ferry workmen back and forth.[30] Some delay seems to have effected the start of his operations at Shell Castle and Beacon Island because there was no change to the value of the property for several years. However, by 1844 the value of Beacon Island jumped to $1,000. In addition, an 1851 chart shows a building on the island that a note calls a store. This would indicate capital improvements at Beacon Island that could be consistent with a stave factory.[31]

With the shift of commercial activity from Shell Castle to Beacon Island and the Ship channel, the Castle continued its decline that began with the death of John Wallace in 1810. The shifting tides of Ocracoke had moved commerce from its wharves and the shifting currents had begun to fill in its channel that further restricted its trading opportunities. However, the most dramatic change took place in 1846. The hurricane that opened Hatteras Inlet wiped out Shell Castle. Prior to the storm, the Castle was listed as having twenty-five acres and a value of

$700. In the next valuation only one-half acre of land was listed with a value of ten dollars.[32]

The post-Wallace history of Shell Castle points to the importance of "interest" balanced against world and natural events. Unlike the Castle's initial period of growth when the interests of both Wallace and John G. Blount moved to create a successful entrepôt out of the Old Rock, the lack of a powerful local figure to direct the development of the business and to insure its success prevented additional investment. Whatever the exact reason for the lack of investment the decision showed that rational businessmen, like Blount, Rodman, and even DeLacy, must not have believed that the heavy investment of capital to rebuild the Castle would generate a sufficient return when balanced against other opportunities. The decision, however, was obviously influenced by the War of 1812. The War of 1812 made any commercial venture at the coast extremely risky and delayed consideration of Rodman's development proposal. Following the war changes to the environment and the rise of cheaper, faster avenues of delivering goods that included canals and steamboats lessened the attractiveness of Shell Castle's business plan. At the Inlet, the lighthouse had burned down and the channels had shifted the flow of commerce away from the Castle. Without heavy government subsidies to dredge the swash at Shell Castle, Wallace's Channel no longer provided an economically viable route for goods. All of these reasons prevented additional investment after 1810 and resulted in the movement

of assets off the island by the Wallaces and ultimately in the sale of property by the Blount heirs.

Wallace's Legacy

Following Wallace's death, however, Shell Castle and the legacy of John Wallace continued in various ways. Wallace's name continued to be remembered and honored. Several vessels bore either his name or that of Shell Castle. A forty-two foot, twenty-six ton schooner carried Wallace's name and was found in several records as the *Governor Wallace* and *John Wallace* The small vessel, built in Hyde County, North Carolina with a sixteen foot beam and four foot draft, served as a lighter as Shell Castle. Another schooner, the *Shell Castle*, continued the legacy following the War of 1812. Built in Carteret County in 1815, the *Shell Castle* was a joint venture of representing the Shell Castle community. Larger than the *Governor Wallace*, the *Shell Castle* had a fifty-four foot length, a sixteen foot beam and a draft of five feet and was registered at forty-one tons. The principal owners listed on its enrollment were Rebecca Wallace, Joseph Bradley, and Archibald Wade. The young Thomas B. Wallace served as master. If this were more than an honorary position, then he must have been quite precocious as he was still younger than twenty years old.[33] In addition, places names related to Wallace and his community continued to be found on charts and documents for

the next two hundred years.

John Wallace and his Shell Castle provide one example of the life cycle of commerce along the coast of the new nation. Many people in America saw the "peddler's principle to turn a penny at every opportunity," and turned their personal interests to achieving prosperity and to elevating themselves to new levels of society and gentility. The history of Shell Castle mirrored the rise and fall of America maritime commerce during the Federal period. Its fall in the post-War of 1812 period also matched the movement of business away from the Atlantic coast and into the interior. John Wallace sought wealth through his hard work and then invested his profits in material items to demonstrate his arrival in higher tiers of society. He considered himself a "great man" because of his "fine house." Wallace and Shell Castle proved to be a person and place of his time. Although like many other Americans of his time and place in many ways, no one like John Wallace ever lived at Ocracoke again. Thus, he fulfilled the last line of his epitaph, "Misfortune's sons will view his like no more."

The historical portion of this thesis established the existence of a discrete maritime community on the Shell Castle site and provided the basis of hypotheses to be tested in on-site archaeological investigations of Shell Castle. Questions raised include: 1) was the site only occupied from 1789 to 1820s with limited use in the second quarter of the nineteenth century?; 2)Can archaeological data confirm the details in the Liverpool ware transfer print pitcher?; 3) Was the

lighthouse site a separate island?

Endnotes

[1] The location of the Wallace family cemetery at Portsmouth Island appears to indicate that the Wallaces harbored fears about the permanence of the establishment at Shell Castle. William Tatham to John G. Blount, 28 July 1810, Morgan, *Blount Papers*, 4:129; Cloud, *Portsmouth*, 32.

[2] John G. Blount to John Wallace, 11 July 1810, Morgan, *Blount Papers*, 4:127.

[3] Ibid.

[4] The fourteen slaves listed probably counted four slaves owned by John G. Blount, but who were living at the Castle on hire. John Wallace's estate settlement in 1812 listed only ten slaves. John Wallace Estate Records, NCDAH; *Carteret County Marriage Bonds* (typed by the Genealogical Society of Utah, 1939) NCDAH, 183; 1810 Population Schedules, *Population Schedules of the Third Census of the United States, 1810* Microfilm Roll 39, North Carolina. Volume 2, National Archives, General Services Administration.

[5] Cloud, *Portsmouth*, 33.

[6] 1810 Population Schedules, *Population Schedules of the Third Census of the United States, 1810* Microfilm Roll 39, North Carolina, Volume 2, National Archives, General Services Administration.

[7] William Tatham to John G. Blount, 28 July 1810, Morgan, *Blount Papers*, 4:129.

[8] William Rodman to John G. Blount, 21 August 1811, William Blount Rodman Papers, Collection 329, East Carolina Manuscripts Collection, Joyner Library, East Carolina University, Greenville, NC; hereafter, Rodman Papers.

[9] William Rodman to John G. Blount, n.d 1811, Rodman Papers.

[10] William Blount to John G. Blount. 22 September 1795, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:595-97.

[11] Thomas Trotter to Ebenezer Pettigrew, 8 July 1812, Lemon, *Pettigrew Papers*, 1:447.

[12] John G. Blount to William Hawkins, 25 May 1813, Morgan, *Blount Papers*, 4:196-198.

[13] Thomas Trotter to Ebenezer Pettigrew, 1 Jun 1813, Lemon, *Pettigrew Papers*, 1:454.

[14] *Federal Republican*, 17 and 31 July 1813.

[15] Holland, *Cape Hatteras Light Station*, note 16-17.

[16] The *Conflict* carried 14 guns, 28 men and boys; the *Parrs* carried 16 guns with 30 men and *the Two Brothers* had seven men and small arms. Ibid., 18 September and 30 October 1813

[17] Thomas S. Singleton to William H. Crawford, 19 April 1816, Lighthouse Letters Received, Record Group 56, Microfilm 175, Roll 38, NAB; Report of Lt. James Y Maxwell, 18 September 1861, War of the Rebellion.

[18] Perry, the slave pilot, worked for the United States Navy at some point in 1812 when he was to have received a pilot's wages. Perry was listed as Perry Wallace according to a letter from Navy Master Ansell C. Cushman. (Ansell C. Cushman to John G. Blount, 17 December 1812, John G. Blount Papers, NCDAH) The sloop mentioned by Bradley was the *Governor Wallace*. Joseph Bradley to John G. Blount, 26 September 1813, Morgan, *Blount Papers*, 4:215-16.

[19] *Federal Republican*, 18 September 1813; Donald R. Hickey, *The War of 1812 A Forgotten Conflict* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990). 154.

[20] This act may have been partly in retaliation for the shooting of British sailors in the water at Craney Island, Virginia on 22 June 1813 when the British attack failed. Joseph Bradley to John G. Blount, 26 September 1813, Morgan, *Blount Papers*, 4:215-16.

[21] Robert Fulton wanted to establish an iron works boat building company as an extension of his steam boat empire. The plan called for using the artisans from North Carolina to construct the vessels and to build the irons works to provide the steam engines. John D. DeLacy to John G. Blount, 22 May 1814, Ibid., 4:230-2; DeLacy to Blount, 23 May 1814, Ibid , 4:232-4; DeLacy to Blount, 14 June 1814, Ibid., 4:237.

[22] John D. DeLacy to John G. Blount, 21 July 1814, Ibid., 4 237-8.

[23] Carteret County List of Taxables, 1815 and 1855, NCDAH.

[24] Carteret County Estate Records, 1744-1957, NCDAH; Shell Castle Accounts & Records, Morgan, *Blount Papers*, 4:511-13.

[25] Ben B. Salter, *Portsmouth Island, Short Stories and History*, 22.

[26] The State Bank of North Carolina was chartered in 1810 and provided a good investment opportunity for the areas it served. Will of Rebecca Wallace, 20 December 1822, Estate Records, Carteret County, NCDAH.

[27] Horatio Wallace died in December 1831 and his brother Thomas B. Wallace administered his estate. According to the estate record, Horatio followed his name and was pursuing a career at sea. Other than two slaves the only items listed were a Hadley quadrant, some charts and a few navigation books. (Carteret County Estates Records, 1744-1957, NCDAH) Carteret County Deeds, Book V, 11, NCDAH.

[28] One version of the deed agreement lists the Wallace end of Shell Castle extending eastward to the "land ceded to the U.S. for the lighted beacon." This strongly indicates that the beacon was on land attached to the Castle or under so little water as to be considered the same strand. Ibid , 7; Agreement between John Gray Blount and the Heirs of John Wallace, 12 January 1830, Morgan, *Blount Papers*, 4:517.

[29] Stick, *Outer Banks*, 88; Cloud, *Portsmouth*, 11-12.

[30] Wyman's offer was 1/80th the value placed on developing the Castle in 1814 and its tax value was $400 for the west end and $300 for the Wallace portion. Carteret County Deeds, District 3, 1841-1845; S. Brown to Patsey Blount, 29 May 1838, John Gray Blount Papers, NCDAH.

[31] Carteret County Taxables, District 3, 1841-1845, NCDAH; A Sketch Showing a Proposed Site for a Lighthouse on Beacon Island, File 865-1851, RG 77, NAII.

[32] Carteret County Taxables, District 3, 1841-1845, NCDAH.

[33] By 1817, Bradley and Wade must have purchased the Wallace portion of the vessel as Mrs. Wallace was not listed as owner and Wade had replaced Thomas B. Wallace as master. Joseph Bradley to John G. Blount, 26 September 1813, Morgan, *Blount Papers*, 4:216; William N. Still and Richard Stephenson, "North Carolina Ship Chronology," Maritime History Library, East Carolina University, Greenville, North Carolina; Vessel Enrollments, Ocracoke District, RG 41, NAB.

CHAPTER 7

RESEARCH METHODS

In order to avoid the contradictory findings of the blind men who encountered the elephant where each had his own interpretation of what he had found based on his own experience, the study of Shell Castle required the use of a multidisciplinary approach. The incorporation of such an approach drawing on multiple disciplines enabled the examination of the events and individuals and allowed findings to be made about Wallace and the Shell Castle site that could not be done using only one set of data.[1] History, according to Fernand Braudel, is a house of many mansions; thus, the Shell Castle project relied on historical research, archaeology, historical geography, economic analysis, and material culture.[2] Analysis of the historical record revealed written records of the community, its history, economics, relationships, and estate records. Archaeological investigations supplemented and complemented the historical record's information with data relating to the physical layout of the island and the lighthouse site, the finding of artifact assemblages, the economic status of the inhabitants, and perhaps define the period of occupation. The discipline of historical geography would provide information related to why the site was selected and what physical elements determined the choice and period of occupation. While the study of the material culture associated with Shell Castle would place the people of that community within the greater community of

America during the Federal Period. Each discipline provided its own perspective and resulted in its own image, but when combined together with other images then a photomosaic of the whole image could be constructed. For example, the historic record indicated the size of Shell Castle and presented an illustration of it on the Liverpool ware transfer print pitcher: the use of archaeology can confirm or reject that historical evidence. Thus, a more complete image of this discrete maritime community may be compiled where the sum is greater than its individual parts.

Historical Research

The first phase of the Shell Castle project began with historical research. Prior to any archaeological fieldwork, a detailed historical examination was required to locate and identify information necessary to understand the site and it inhabitants. Sources of historical information were located primarily in North Carolina, but also included significant material in the National Archives in Washington, D.C. Initial research led secondary sources that contained overviews of Shell Castle and its place in the historic record and identified primary sources.

The secondary sources produced brief information about Shell Castle, John Wallace and the Beacon Although invaluable as a starting point and referral to other sources, these contained limited information, some of which would additional research would prove to be either incomplete or incorrect. The primary

popular historian for the Outer Banks is David Stick. His research and writings about North Carolina's coast have been unmatched. His general work, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina, 1584-1958*, provided the best and most readable history of the larger area throughout the period since 1584. A second work, *North Carolina Lighthouses*, focused on the development of aids to navigation along the Outer Banks and contained specific information on Shell Castle's Beacon and later light vessel. The data related to the John Wallace and the operations at the site covered only three to six pages and left many details to be discovered through additional research. Nevertheless, the information and bibliographic details enabled additional information to be uncovered.[3]

Another author historian proved to be the most important source for information about the Ocracoke and Portsmouth communities. Ellen Fulcher Cloud, a native of O'kocker, has written numerous local history books. In addition to being an author, Ms. Cloud was President of the Ocracoke Preservation Society and the foremost local historian. *Ocracoke Lighthouse* and *Portsmouth, The way it was*, provided key information about the history of the lighthouses and the genealogy of the Wallace family. However, of more immediate interest was the oral history she provided along with leads to charts, and original documents related to the overall maritime history of the Inlet. For example, she produced an 1808 deed that used the sternpost of shipwrecked schooner *Mount Vernon* as a landmark southwest of Shell Castle.[4] Also, Ms.

Cloud provided introductions to key figures in the community who supported the fieldwork projects.

Beyond these popular sources, several people have focused on different periods and aspects of the Ocracoke Inlet history in their scholarly research. However, like the blind men, they described only the period or area of interest and made only passing mention of the Castle and its operations. Samuel W. Newell's *A Maritime History of Ocracoke Inlet, 1584-1783*, and Kenneth E. Burke's *History of Portsmouth*, both provided clear information about the area, but neither covered the period or the place in detail. Two geographic works were important in providing information about the geography of the Outer Banks. Gary S. Dunbar's *Historical Geography of the North Carolina Outer Banks* yielded considerable information about the changing nature of the Outer Banks and Ocracoke Inlet, and H. Roy Merrens' *Colonial North Carolina in the Eighteenth Century* demonstrated the importance of geography on economic decisions in North Carolina commerce.[5]

The most important secondary source for information on the Beacon at Shell Castle was found in F. Ross Holland's *Cape Hatteras Light Station, North Carolina* Again, the focus of Holland's work was not Shell Castle, but because the contract for erecting the Beacon was combined with the work on the Cape Hatteras Light, he included considerable details about the contract, the construction effort and the contractor. Holland noted that the information on

Shell Castle's beacon was not "considered to be definitive" and that "considerably more information exists...in the National Archives and elsewhere."[6]

Research conducted "elsewhere" included several places in North Carolina. Beginning at East Carolina University's Joyner Library and Maritime History Library, research into the edited John Gray Blount papers, published in four volumes, produced the most information related to the relationship between John Gray Blount and John Wallace and the operations of the Shell Castle entrepôt. In addition, the microfilm newspaper collection of early North Carolina newspapers, such as the *Gazette of North Carolina, North Carolina Journal,* and *New Bern Gazette*, added significant details about the political and maritime history of North Carolina. Research into the East Carolina University Manuscript Collection housed at Joyner Library, revealed the letters of William Rodman and his proposals to develop Shell Castle. Following leads provided by Stick's writings, research was carried out at the Outer Banks History Center in Manteo, North Carolina. The Center is the repository for Stick's extensive research material and it contains considerable information about the coastal islands including copies of original documents from the National Archives. In addition, much unpublished material on the Outer Banks could be found there, such as Wilson Angley's "A History of Ocracoke Inlet and the Adjacent Areas."[7]

The bulk of research, however, was carried out at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and the North Carolina Division of Archives of History. The North Carolina Collection houses an extensive collection of primary and

secondary works about North Carolina, the Outer Banks and Ocracoke Inlet. Several original documents were located there. For example, research found copies of the broadside published by the Treasury department to solicit bids for the Cape Hatteras Lighthouse and the Shell Castle Beacon (See Figure 15) and "A Description of Occacock Inlet." Additionally, the collection contained microfilm copies of United States Census materials and North Carolina newspapers. Cursory research was conducted at the Southern Historical Collection that is housed in Wilson Library along with the North Carolina Collection; however, no materials were discovered of importance to the Shell Castle project.

The State Archives at the North Carolina Division of Archives and History, located in Raleigh, produced the most data about Shell Castle and the Wallace family. Principal among the important historic document collections was the John Gray Blount Papers. This collection of more than 10,000 letters, notes, contracts, and other papers covers the correspondence and business activities of the Blount family from 1764 to 1833. Although much has been published in the four volumes of the *John Gray Blount Papers*, significant unpublished data resides in this collection. Other information relevant to the Wallace family and the Shell Castle operations was contained in governmental record sources including Carteret County Estate Records, Tax Lists, Marriage Bonds, Books of Deeds and Contracts, County Court records, and additional census records.

The primary source for information related to the aids to navigation at Ocracoke and associated contracts was located at the National Archives in

Washington, D.C. Specifically, key information related to correspondence, deeds and contracts of the early Lighthouse Service and Customs Offices was located primarily in Coast Guard Records (Record Group 26) and the General Records of the Department of the Treasury (Record Group 56). Additional information was also found in the Coast and Geodetic Survey file records (Record Group 23). Many of the charts were located at the Cartographic Branch of the National Archives-College Park Annex in the files of the Office of the Chief of Engineers (Record Group 77).

Another avenue of research led to Wilmington, North Carolina and the Regional Office of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and the North Carolina Underwater Archaeology Unit. The Corps of Engineers provided information on late nineteenth century and later charts and engineering work in Ocracoke Inlet, but little of direct importance to the historical record of Shell Castle. Aerial photographs obtained from the Corps, however, afforded a good overview of Wallace's Channel and assisted in the archaeological fieldwork. The files of the North Carolina Underwater Archaeology Unit, located at Kure Beach, contained a few references to Shell Castle from transcriptions of maritime related articles in North Carolina newspapers. Much more extensive was the data related to wrecks at the Inlet and Ocracoke. No archaeological files existed for Shell Castle; however, the Director of the Underwater Archaeology Unit had conducted site visit in the past ten years, but found no visible cultural remains other than ballast stones.

Material Culture research was conducted at the State Archives in North Carolina and at the Winterthur Library in Delaware. Information about and photographs of the Liverpool ware transfer print pitchers associated with John Wallace and John Gray Blount were obtained at both locations. The North Carolina Department of Archives and History holds two of the four existing Shell Castle Pitchers and Winterthur holds a third. Accession files at both locations provided important details about the prints and shapes of the pitchers.

With much of the initial historical research completed at the above facilities, work turned to preparations for the archaeological investigations. Historical research would continue, however, once the fieldwork was completed.

Archaeological Fieldwork

The archaeological survey and mapping of Shell Castle fulfilled four research objectives: 1) to define the site boundaries of Shell Castle community; 2) to locate, examine and map terrestrial and submerged cultural resources at Shell Castle, including ballast debris field, building and wharf foundations, and artifacts; 3) to locate and examine the remains of the Shell Castle Beacon; 4) to locate and examine submerged cultural resources in Wallace's Channel adjacent to Shell Castle. This site survey was a Phase I non-destructive project in which researchers collected data only and did not disturb cultural remains or fauna.

Prior to conducting fieldwork, significant effort was expended developing a coalition of organizations to support the project. The project involved a coalition of researchers from East Carolina University, the North Carolina Underwater Archaeology Unit, and the International Institute of Maritime Research. These organizations provided personnel and equipment to conduct the project. Funding was provided by a generous grant from the International Institute of Maritime Research. In addition, support was provided by the National Park Service, which donated pier facilities and lodging for the researchers. Other local support came from the Ocracoke Preservation Society, the United States Coast Guard and the National Audubon Society.

The National Audubon Society has become the current owner of most of the islands owned by Wallace and Blount. The Society operates a bird sanctuary on the islands of Shell Castle, Beacon Island, Royal Shoal, Wainrights Island and others. The Society was concerned about the impact of research on the endangered Foresters Terns that nested on Shell Castle because the planned research period overlapped the beginning of the nesting season. However, the Society granted research permission provided researchers limited their on island time to fifteen to twenty minute intervals and avoided the period of twelve to two o'clock in order to allow the nesting pairs to remain on their nests.

Preliminary fieldwork involved a reconnaissance by boat of Shell Castle and Beacon Island to ascertain the site topography in comparison with current and historic charts and the Liverpool ware transfer print illustration. In addition, the

site visit provided important information about safe mooring sites, the location of survey datum markers, and a general orientation to Ocracoke Inlet navigation. Initial examination revealed exposed wooden beams and numerous foundation stones at Shell Castle, in addition to the ballast stone debris, submerged in the tidal zone of the island. This evidence of habitation would provide the starting point for detailed archaeological examination and mapping. Photographs of the site were taken to identify the target areas and shared with the research team to prepare them for the site work.

The project's main focus was the western end of the Shell Castle Shoals located on the North side of Wallace's Channel approximately two miles Northwest of Portsmouth. The research was conducted in two stages in May 1995 and April/May 1996. During Stage One, three vessels were used to ferry researchers from Silver Lake at Ocracoke to Wallace's Channel and Shell Castle. Two of the vessels were twenty-three foot privateers from East Carolina and the North Carolina Underwater Archaeology Unit and the third vessel was a twenty-five foot Parker. The smaller vessels served as primary diving platforms while the larger vessel was used only for remote sensing. Prior to departing for the site, researchers mounted a Global Positioning Satellite repeater station on the southwest corner of the U.S. Coast Guard Station.

The National Park Service and the United States Coast Guard provided an escort to the site for research vessels on the first transits. Ocracoke's channels remained as changing and dangerous during the research as they were in 1800,

and the escort enabled researchers safe access to the site as the channel stake markers had not yet been reset by the local fishermen following the winter. Nevertheless, research vessels ran aground on sandy shoals on follow-up visits without any damage to the vessels, equipment or researchers.

The diving platform vessels carried all the required equipment such as scuba tanks, dive gear, buoys, first aid kit, cameras, and surveying equipment. Once on site and anchored off the Southwest of Shell Castle, divers hoisted diving safety flags and conducted exploratory dives. Initial dives were designed to allow divers to gauge the impact of the tidal current running, visibility and to identify any submerged cultural remains for investigation. Tides at Ocracoke were diurnal and tidal currents reached a peak speed of two knots, which restricted safe diving time periods. Therefore, diving and mapping operations were planned to coincide with low tide and slack water.

Divers initially wore full wet suits with coveralls for protection, scuba equipment, dive knives, compasses, and underwater lights. Divers also choose to wear the heaviest booties or footwear available to protect their feet against the oyster shells encrusting the area around Shell Castle. The only injury experienced during research operations was a lacerated arch caused when a shell penetrated a diver's boot.

The initial orientation dives revealed a maximum visibility of two to four feet in areas of greater depth. In addition, visibility was inversely proportional to depth and distance from the shoreline at Shell Castle. The water was normally

clear on windless and waveless days; however, Southwesterly winds of fifteen to twenty-three knots generated one to two feet waves and churned up sediment along the shore. Tidal currents and wind disturbed sediments and created visibility of less than a foot in areas along the shoreline in depths of less than three feet. However, suspended sediments in deeper area approaching Wallace's Channel remained near the bottom and visibility was from two to four feet from the surface to within one to two feet of the bottom. Dives took place in depths from zero along the shoreline to eighteen feet in Wallace's Channel.

The exploratory dives revealed ballast stone and foundation works extending from Shell Castle into an inundated oyster bed on the east end, into three feet of water on the southern side, and into three to five feet of water on the west end. The divers also experienced considerable difficulty working in the shallow water in full dive gear because the full scuba tanks increased in weight and acted like a sea anchor each time a wave rolled into it.

The location of identified research areas and challenging conditions required changes in diving equipment. The project was equipped to use surface supply air instead of full scuba tanks. The shallowness of the main research area, however, made this impractical. Several divers chose to use pony tanks connected to their Buoyancy Control Devices (BCD) instead of standard scuba tanks. Others, however, chose to discard the BCD and tanks altogether in favor of snorkels.

Once divers were oriented to the site, the dive platform was relocated to the southeast side of Shell Castle and moored to the twin poles, and a site, consisting of a dry spit of shell was selected for a datum. The location was 122 feet east of the Shell Castle. This datum site was selected because it was the closest point to the main island at which a transit and Electronic Distance Measurer (EDM) could be set up without disturbing the nesting terns. The on-site restrictions placed by the Audubon Society meant that we would be unable to set up the transit and EDM on the island or run a baseline over it.

Researchers drove a four-foot fiberglass pole into the shell to mark the Datum site. Next, a back sight pole was placed 327.25 feet along a grid line at angle 0° and sighted in line with Ocracoke Lighthouse. The pole was marked with an orange buoy because it lay almost submerged at high tide. Two datum poles were placed in shallow water on the southern side of the island to enable mapping by triangulation of detailed features. Again, these poles were placed off-island to lessen our impact on the terns. Archaeologists then recorded transit readings for the perimeter of the island and water depth contour lines feet at one-foot intervals from one to five feet. These distance and angle measurements provided the data required to draft a map of the island and the underwater topography. Once gross features, such as the island perimeter, and visible landmarks, like the mooring poles, researchers recorded key coordinate aspects of the finer feature with the transit and EDM.

Detail surveys were then conducted of the exposed stone and wood foundations identified by the divers' investigation. Archaeologists worked in shallow water sketching on underwater slates and measuring key features, most of which extended from the shoreline to depths of two to three feet depending on the state of the tide. Archaeologists worked in pairs and began with exposed features on the east end of the island and then moved west segment by segment with two teams working on adjoining features. Hand fanning was used to uncover submerged features in order to determine their extent, detail and intersections. Features on the island above the tide line were recorded during the warmest part of the day in fifteen to twenty-five minute surveys with one-hour intervals in between subsequent visits. This facilitated mapping while disturbing the nests as little as possible and were conducted at peak temperatures so that the eggs would remain warm when exposed.

Divers also conducted searches moving from the island out into the channel along parallel lines at fifty-foot increments out into the channel for a distance of 150 feet. They moved perpendicular to the axis of the island and found that the contours fell away sharply after the five-foot mark and formed a channel about 80-120 feet off shore with a depth up to eighteen feet. No evidence of construction remains were found beyond a depth of three feet; however, a few artifacts were encountered including a green bottle glass bottom and pieces of modern debris.

During Stage One, two days were spent conducting a remote sensing survey using side-scan sonar and a proton magnetometer to provide complementary information. On the first day of remote sensing, the twenty-five foot Parker towed the side-scan sonar at a depth of one meter and a layback of two meters. The instrument used was a Klein 521 operating at a frequency of 500kHz. Beginning 100 feet from the shore of Shell Castle, the archaeologists ran transects running generally East-West at 25-foot intervals along a search area that extended from five hundred feet east of Shell Castle to two thousand feet to the west. The search area covered a 4,000-foot by 300-foot area that began in the southwest at 2874200,502750 and in the northwest at 2878100,503500 (NC State Plane Coordinate System). Boat tenders marked suspected cultural artifacts with weighted orange buoys. Divers operating from the second Privateer then investigated the targets. The next day, archaeologists conducted the magnetometer survey using the same lanes and repeated the buoy marking and investigation procedures. Researchers used a Geometrics EG&G 866 proton precession magnetometer with the sensor mounted off the vessels starboard quarter on a ten-foot pole about two feet above the water.

The side scan sonar survey identified several potential areas of cultural remains that were marked by buoys placed by boat tenders. Divers from the North Carolina Archaeological Unit undertook the arduous task of reconnaissance dives in Wallace's Channel where they were exposed to the full force of the tidal current. Only one of the sites was determined to be a probable candidate for the

Beacon site and required additional research. Unfortunately, the side scan sonar printer did not work correctly and prevented the generation of clear images of the contacts. Archaeologists returned in Stage Two and remapped the area using the side scan sonar and reinvestigated the potential Beacon site.

Archaeologists also conducted surface examination of the site, including the shallow shoal North of Shell Castle and the islands east of Shell Castle. Numerous surface scatter artifacts were examined, logged and returned to their original locations. In order to facilitate recording, the site was divided into a eight-section grid whose main axis ran along the 0°-180° line from the EDM. The EDM and the two datum poles then provided the points dividing the site into eight sections. The artifacts were then recorded by section even though these artifacts could not be associated with specific site features because of their location on the disturbed surface.

On the North side of Shell Castle, researchers waded into the one-foot deep water conducting sweep searches out for a distance of two hundred feet. The shoal area on the north side was covered by thick, soft sediment. Researchers found limited evidence of cultural remains within twenty to fifty feet of the shoreline, but nothing beyond that area. The terrestrial investigation of the area east of the datum site sought evidence of the Shell Castle Beacon location. The survey revealed isolated surface scatter artifacts in the area around the datum and east for several hundred feet. However, the survey extended as far as the grass-

covered island located one kilometer east of Shell Castle, but found no cultural remains.

With little late nineteenth or twentieth century historical information related to Shell Castle, researchers chose to explore local oral histories to gain an understanding of this period of Shell Castle's past. Although no direct insight on the site during the Wallace-era could be obtained from these informants, they offered important information related to the condition of the site in recent history and to artifacts recovered from the site. Ms. Cloud provided information about Shell Castle and Portsmouth history. Several of those interviewed reported spending time on the island collecting artifacts and remembered details about duck hunting blinds built on the site. Several informants shared their finds with researchers who observed that artifacts shown were late nineteenth and early twentieth century ceramics and glass.

Adverse weather conditions and equipment failures hindered research during Stage One. Two of the five research days were cancelled due to high winds and small craft warnings on the Sound. This reduced the detail and amount of mapping that was accomplished. In addition the global positioning satellite system failed to provide accurate data on the site location, and the side scan sonar system was unable to print an output of the survey area. The lack of adequate positioning data and a clear printout of sonar images made it impossible for researchers to assign either a position or description to the submerged cultural remains found by the side scan sonar survey. These factors limited the amount of

information gathered during Stage One and necessitated the return to the site for Stage Two in order to obtain accurate positioning data, clear images of the remains, and additional detail of the Shell Castle cultural remains.

The coalition of researchers was reassembled in April 1996 and returned to the site for Stage Two. The National Audubon Society relaxed slightly the on-island time restrictions because the survey was being conducted earlier in the season. The research team returned to Shell Castle using the two privateers and a twenty-one foot pontoon boat as a diving platform that had been acquired by East Carolina University's Maritime History program.[8]

Researchers sought the following objectives in 1996: 1) to obtain GPS measurements of the original site datum and key features on Shell Castle; 2) to measure and map additional details of the features documented in 1995; and 3) to conduct the side scan sonar of the channel area. Reaching the site, archaeologists returned to the spit of shell where the fiberglass pole had been driven to mark the datum. However, they could not locate it even after an extensive search and digging in the shells where it was suspected to be. The pole had disappeared either due to physical change to the landscape that resulted in shells covering it or due to its removal by someone---although the latter was thought to be unlikely. The former was more probable because many of the foundation beams that had been visible the prior year had been covered by sediment. Without the original datum, researchers could not verify many of the prior year's measurements.

Therefore, archaeologists established a new datum located on Shell Castle at N 35° 05.845", W 76° 04.336" (3884381.609N, 402246.879 UTM) with a back sight to the Ocracoke Lighthouse at angle 0°. The GPS position was obtained using a hand held GPS system. The back sight pole from 1995 was located at 0° 0" at a distance of 644.43 feet. Many of the key features were re-measured using the transit and EDM. Pairs of archaeologists verified measurements taken in 1995, mapped and sketched additional details of features, and obtained wood samples for analysis. In addition, one team measured the distance from the shoreline to the raised area of vegetation located on Shell Castle.

Archaeologists re-scanned the 1995 survey area using the Klein side scan sonar. This time the equipment produced readable images on the paper output. Archaeologists relocated the same evidence of submerged cultural remains and conducted extensive exploratory dives to determine the extent and characteristics of those remains.

Endnotes

[1] Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten*, 32;

[2] Fernand Braudel, *A History of Civilizations* Translated by Richard Mayne, (New York: Penguin Press, 1993), xxxviii.

[3] Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina, 1584-1958*, 78-87; Stick, *North Carolina Lighthouses*, 9-24.

[4] Deed granted by David Wallace, Sr., to David Wallace, Jr., Carteret County Deeds, Book P, 307, NCDAH.

[5] Samuel W. Newell, "A Maritime History of Ocracoke Inlet, 1584-1783," Master's thesis, East Carolina University, 1987; Kenneth E. Burke, "History of Portsmouth, N.C.," 1976 reprint of Master's Thesis, University of Richmond, 1958.

[6] Holland, *Cape Hatteras Light Station*, i.

[7] Wilson Angley, "A History of Ocracoke Inlet and the Adjacent Areas," Research Branch, NCDAH. Photocopy.

[8] The pontoon boat proved to be too fragile for the heavy chop of Ocracoke Inlet and the Sound when winds exceeded fifteen knots and waves were one foot or greater.

CHAPTER 8

INVESTIGATION RESULTS

"No man is an island entire of itself
every man is a piece of a continent."
John Donne

The field survey of Shell Castle and Wallace's Channel confirmed the location of the site on Shell Castle Island and a site in Wallace's Channel. The surface reconnaissance and mapping of Shell Castle detected a number of artifacts, features, and structural remains. The remote sensing survey and diver investigation identified an extensive stone pile located in Wallace's Channel. In addition, research into the material culture of Shell Castle brought attention to four Liverpool ware transfer print pitchers associated with John Wallace and his Castle. The Shell Castle site was multi-component and contained historic artifacts from non-aboriginal Americans The Wallace Channel site produced only cut stone components. The Shell Castle site area contained features and artifacts spanning 400 feet; however, due to cultural and natural transforms, the artifactual evidence at Shell Castle covered an area more than 700 feet in length. Features included large quantities of ballast stone throughout the site, sea walls, planking, wooden and stone structure foundation, and several ill-defined features, such as brick scatter and unique soil concentration areas

One objective of the fieldwork survey was to determine the boundaries of the Shell Castle site. The surface site survey found the length of the area, as

defined by cribbed sea wall and ballast stones, to be 110 yards; however, a field of ballast stone was found that continued to the west wall for another thirty to forty yards beyond the more clearly defined sea. (See the Site Plan, Figure 22). Ballast stones covered the entire site with heavier concentrations in suspected sea wall areas. The ballast extended in a straight, three-feet wide, line, from the shore to the northwest for forty-nine feet. and then widened to nine feet for another ten feet where it formed a corner with a six-feet wide line of ballast stone running south for forty-seven feet. At the western corner, the definition of the ballast stone edge became poorly defined but spread to the west.

The site's features were located within the three hundred and thirty foot by one hundred and twenty-foot area although surface scatter artifacts were distributed throughout the site area and eastward for another four hundred yards. The features were aligned roughly along the axis of the present day shoreline on the southern edge of Shell Castle, and aligned along a magnetic axis of approximately northwest to southeast. Features located above the mean high tide line were more likely to be buried by stone, shell and sand. The Shell Castle site rises from the sound with a central area covered by sand and dune grasses having the greatest relief on the north and western areas of the island. The southern side of the island demonstrated by its lack of vegetation and sediment and sand covering features a larger area affected by environmental processes, such as tidal currents and storm energy.

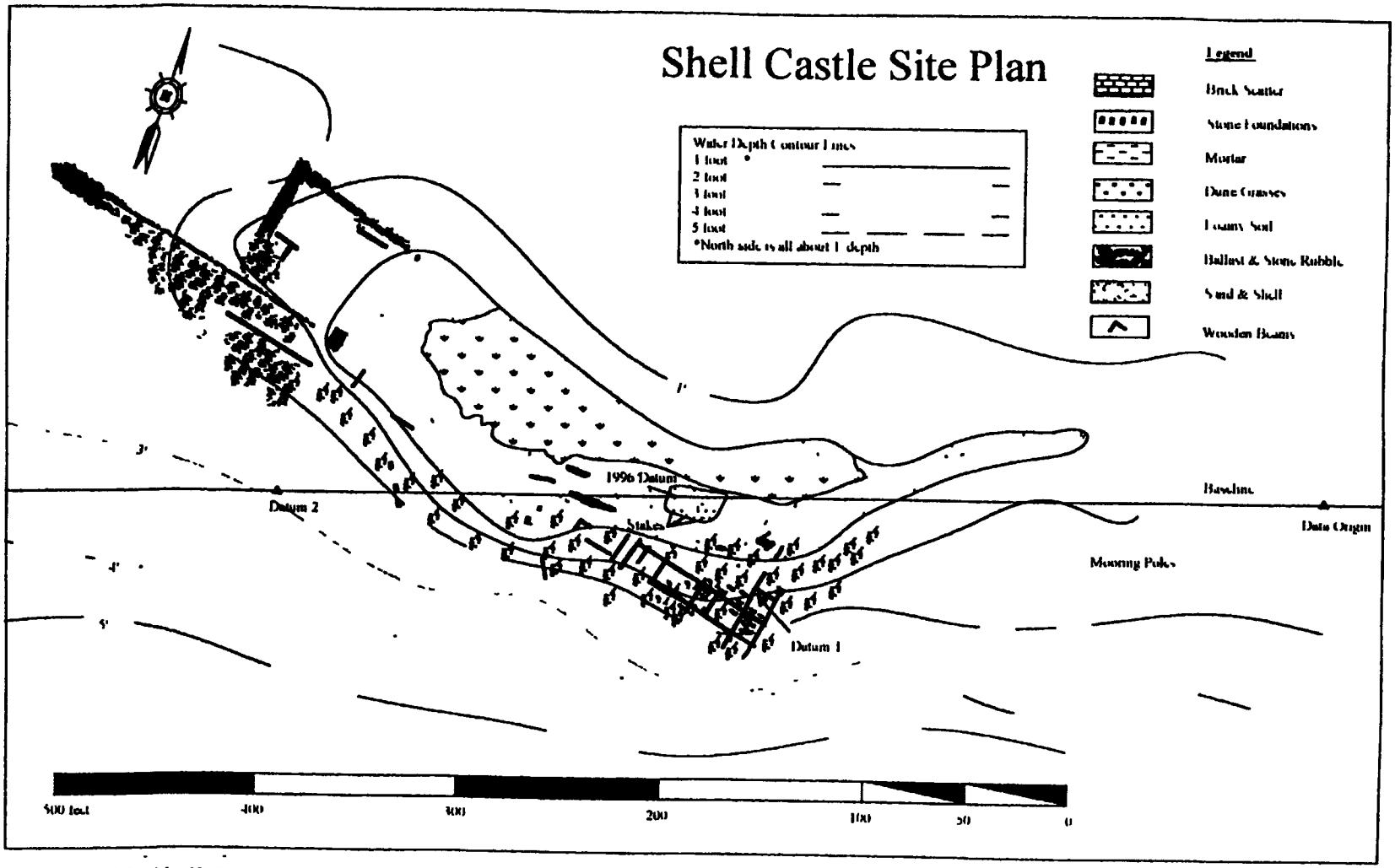


Figure 22. Shell Castle Site Plan.

Structural features consisted of wooden beams for wharf and/or sea wall construction, wharf or deck planking, building foundations of wood and stone along with brick and stone work and soil concentrations. The largest structure was the crib work of the sea wall that Wallace had "logged up" that formed the east and western borders of Shell Castle. The Southeastern presumed sea wall feature was made of wooden beams laid out in stretcher and header design creating interconnected irregular rectangles. (See Figure 23) The eastern most section of the sea wall extended south fifty-five feet into the water from the shore where it intersected with a perpendicular section that ran 105 feet northwest to the shoreline. Sand, shells and stones covered the wooden beams that continued along both axes onto Shell Castle as the beams approached the shoreline. The ground cover and the limitations of a surface reconnaissance prevented additional recording of the covered beams. The beams were logs that had been rough-hewn square timbers ranging in width from eight inches to two feet. The joints were notched to fit one timber in an overlap with its perpendicular and fastened with one and one-half to two-inch trunnels. The beams formed rectangles of varying sizes with the largest being twenty feet long by ten feet nine inches wide and the smallest measuring only three feet six inches long ten feet nine inches.

At the western end of Shell Castle several other features included wooden beam structures similar to the southeastern site. The longest single beam feature recorded was a forty-nine foot by sixteen-inch beam that was submerged under

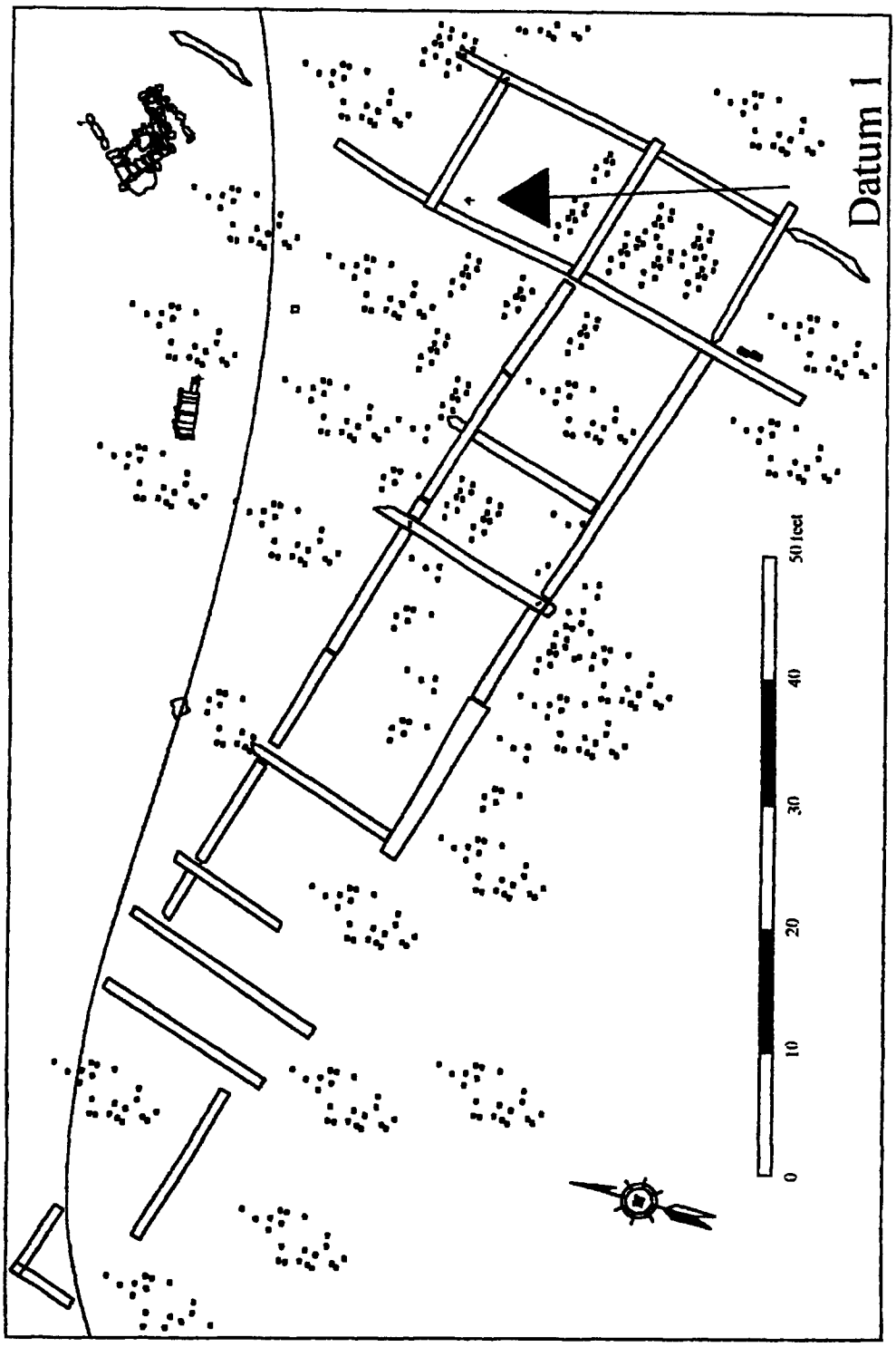


Figure 23. Crib Wharf Foundation, Southeastern Feature

one to two feet of water. This beam lay along the same axis and in-line with the beams of the southeastern site. Several smaller isolated beams were also recorded along the same axis between the long beam and the southeastern concentration. The western most sea wall beam structure was located adjacent to the inside of the line of ballast stones that defined the western edge of Shell Castle. Two perpendicular beams intersected forming an offset T shape. The beams were both sixteen inches wide. One beam, measuring twelve feet and ten inches, lay at roughly a ninety- degree angle to the stone wall and was parallel to the long beam. The intersecting beam on this feature was eight feet and nine inches long. (See Figure 24) Another wooden beam that measured sixteen inches by sixteen feet was located near the northern edge of the ballast stone wall and lay roughly parallel to the wall.

Located in the tidal zone at the southern edge of Shell Castle, archaeologists surveyed a feature of a wooden runner covered with planking. (See Figure 25) This feature had been identified in the March 1995 site visit, but was covered by sand and stone during the May 1995 investigations. The site formation processes had uncovered the feature by the April 1996 field survey and enabled its documentation. The feature consisted of a six-inch wide runner to which six planking boards had been nailed. The planking ranged in width from four to ten inches. The planking was laid perpendicular to the runner and measured fifteen to sixteen inches long before it disappeared under stone and

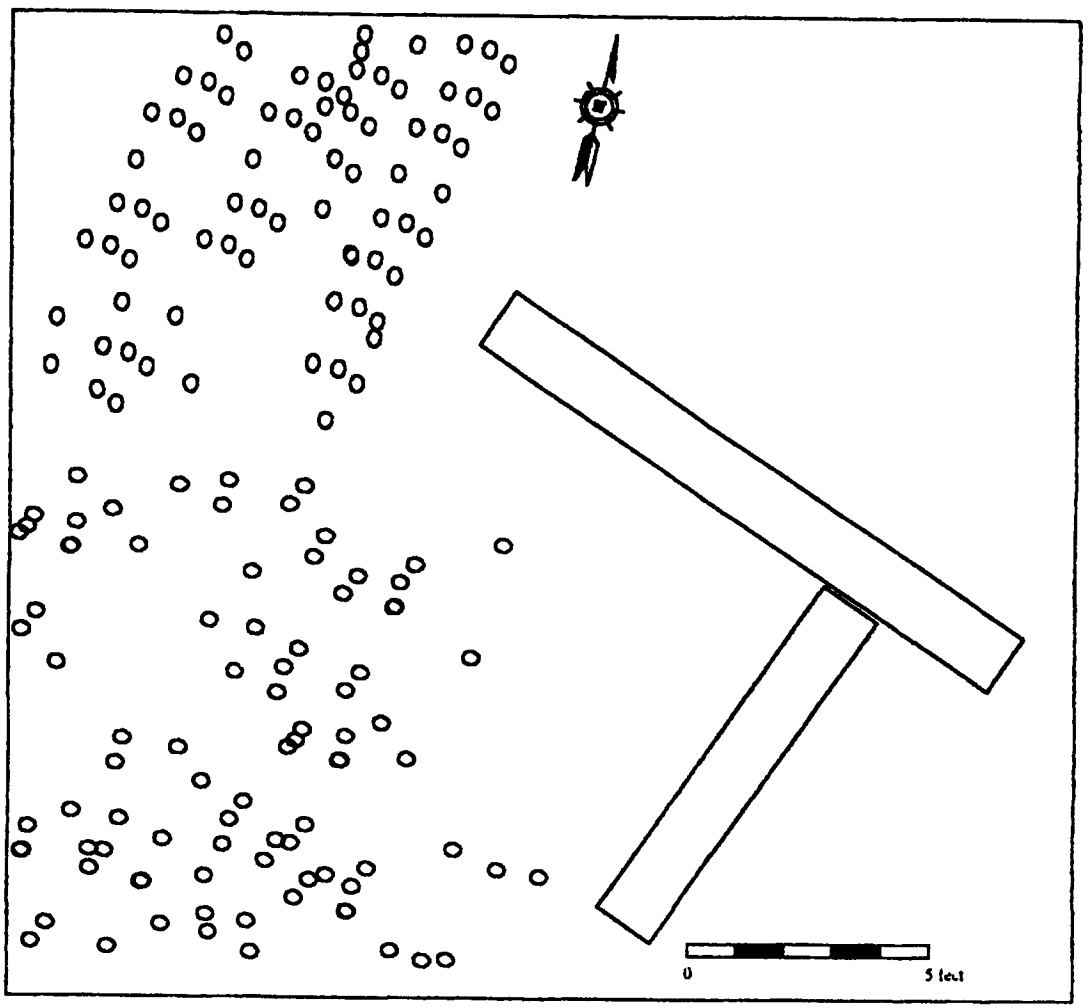


Figure 24 Crib Wall Foundation Beams, Westend Feature

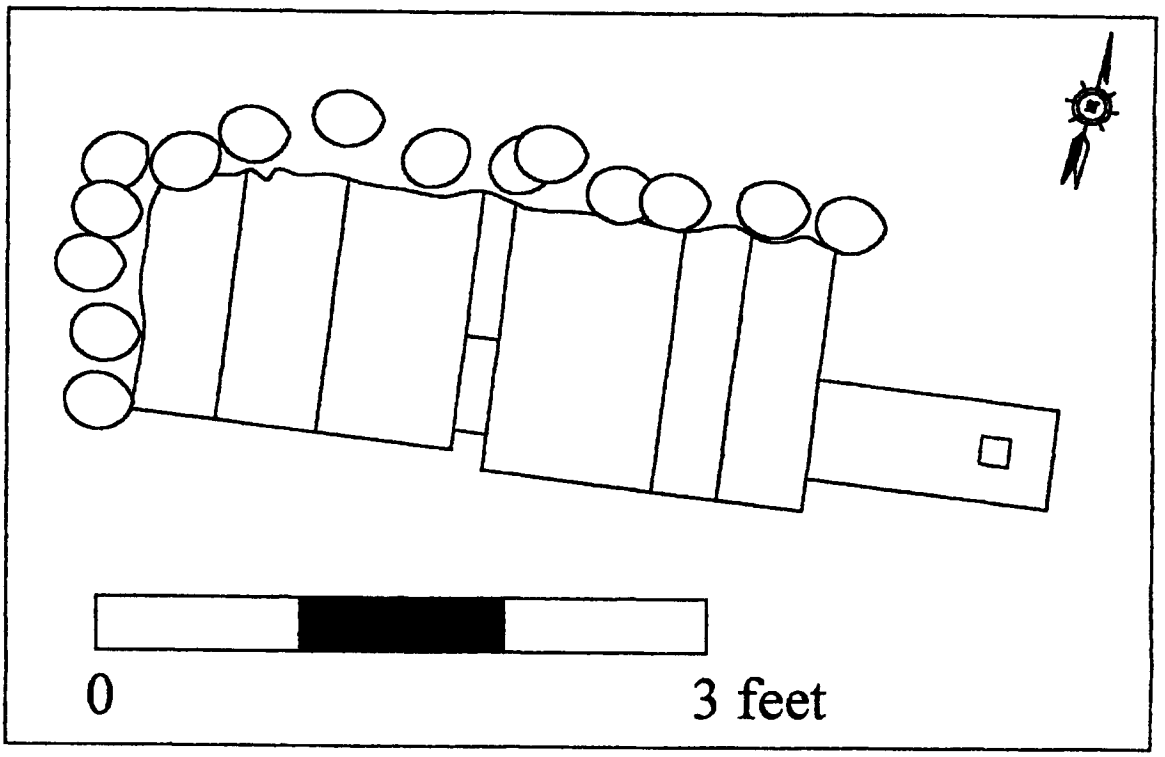


Figure 25 Deck Planking and Runner.

sand. Seven wood samples, representing at least one example of each type of wood feature, were taken and submitted for analysis.

Building foundations of stone and mixed concentrations of stone, brick and mortar were recorded at four locations on the site. The more complex concentration was stone, brick and mortar feature that formed an L-shape, as recorded. Rough stones ranging in size from two inches by seven inches to one foot eight inches by one foot three inches were grouped with straight edges forming an L that measured nine feet eight inches by five feet four inches. The thickness of the base of the L was two feet ten inches. Interspersed among the stones were brick fragments that filled gaps between stones. In one area, approximately two feet by three feet in size, mortar was laid to hold the stones in place. In relation to the alignment of the sea wall beams extending from the southeastern area, the base of the stone and mortar feature was aligned approximately thirty degrees from parallel. (See Figure 26)

Unlike the L-shaped stone and mortar feature, the other large stone concentration was constructed of larger stones and arranged to form a rectangle. The feature measured six feet, four inches on the southern and northern sides and ten feet on the remaining sides. The perimeter stones were significantly larger

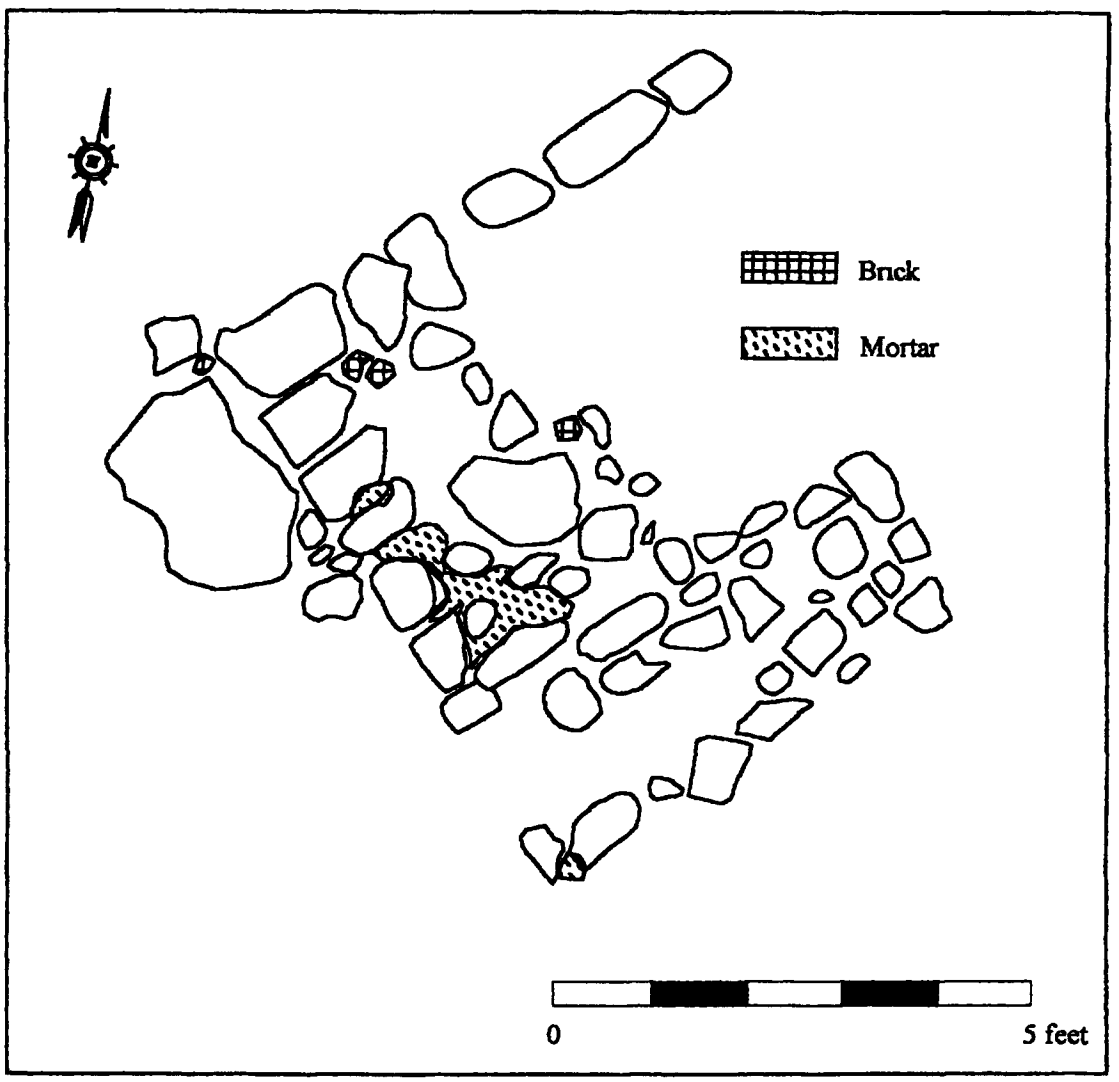


Figure 26. Southeastern Stone and Mortar Feature Drawn by Chris Kirby and Mark Wilde-Ramsing

than the interior stones and had been arranged to form a straight line along the outer edge. One small area of mortar and stone fragments that measured four inches by five inches was located on the east side on the interior side of the perimeter stones. The southern side of this feature was aligned to roughly parallel the forty-nine foot beam. (See Figure 27)

Another stone feature was located in the surf along the south side of the site. Three large foundation stones formed a line twenty-five feet long. The stones were roughly rectangular of one to one and one-half feet wide and two feet long, and they were arranged with the long side in line with the line of stones. The line formed by the three stones was forty-five degrees from parallel with the line formed by the large sea wall beam. A second set of foundation stones was located on the northern side of the site extending from the shoreline into the water along the line of the ballast stone forming the site boundary Five large, roughly rectangular stones formed a line ten feet seven inches long and several other stones continued along the line to extend it to twenty-seven feet. The line of stones was set at the interior edge of ballast stone line and parallel to the single foundation beam described above.

Other features that were identified included three areas of brick scatter and an area of loamy soil. The brick scatter was located on the island near the western end of the sea wall foundation beams and the scatter areas paralleled the sea wall. The larger scatter area was twenty-five feet long by two to four feet with no regular shape to the area. One whole brick was measured six by three and

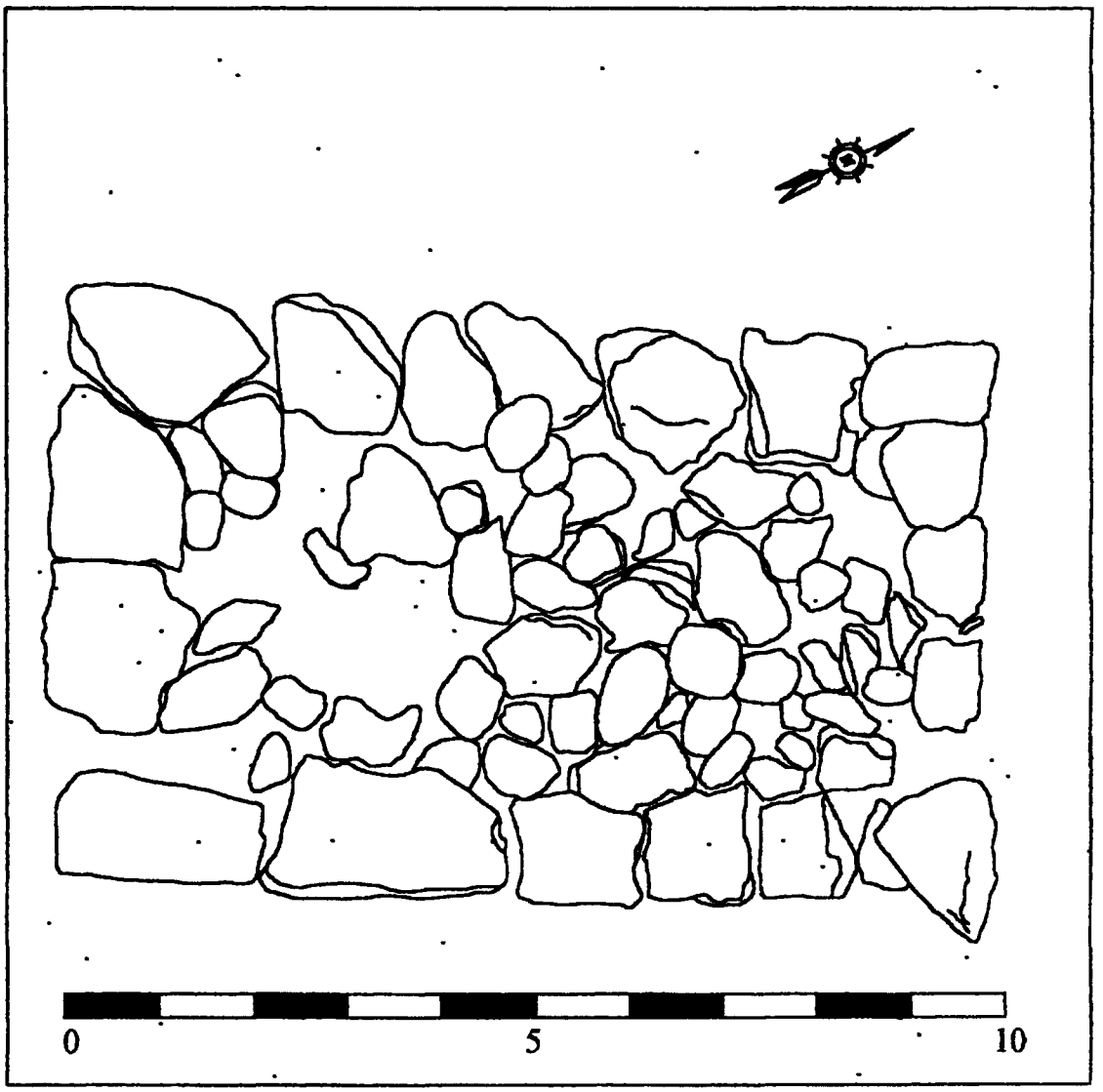


Figure 27. Western End Stone and Mortar Feature
Drawn by Mark Wilde-Ramsing

one-half by two inches; however, most of the scatter area consisted mainly of brick fragments among the shell and sand. The brick scatter did not appear to be associated with building foundations according to the surface survey, however, additional sub-surface research would be required to confirm whether or not they were associated with buildings or with the cisterns that were built at Shell Castle.

Another feature, consisting of a thirty by twenty-foot area, located on the site twenty-five feet west of the eastern stone foundation feature, was a area of loamy soil unlike any area on the island. The soil formed a layer on top of the common sand and shell that was from a couple of inches to approximately six inches to one-foot thick. In this area were three stakes. The stakes formed a line that ran generally from East to West, but the line it formed was some twenty degrees from parallel with the sea wall foundation line. No vegetation was present in the soil area at the time of investigation unlike the area along the ridge of the island where dune grasses were abundant.

Remote Sensing Results

The remote sensing surveys using the side scan sonar and the magnetometer produced different results. The magnetic survey results were not as clear as had been hoped. Researchers were aware of several shipwrecks in the Wallace's Channel area, including the Revenue Cutter *Diligence* that sank with its cannon in an 1806 hurricane.[1] The magnetometer measures the earth's magnetic

field and any distortions in that field caused by ferrous objects such as anchors, iron fittings and cannons. It was hoped that the magnetometer would detect and delincate the location of wreckage material. Magnetometers have proven useful in detecting wreck sites in other North Carolina waters, such as the *Queen Ann's Revenge* that was found near Beaufort Inlet.

Analysis of the remote sensing data from Shell Castle Island revealed seven anomalies in the survey area (See Figure 28). Four of the targets, SC-01, SC-02, SC-03, and SC-04, contained signature characteristics suggestive of modern debris. Though another target. SC-05, contained signature characteristics suggestive of modern debris its location at the very edge of the survey area may indicate part of a much larger and/or more complex anomaly. The final two targets, SC-06 and SC-07, appear to be spatially associated. Clusters of low intensity anomalies should be considered potentially significant as they may represent collapsed wooden structures or vessel remains containing little or no surviving ferrous material. Each of these targets are discussed individually and illustrated below.

Target Designation	**Northing**	**Easting**
SC-01	502959	2874312

Priority: Low

Target SC-01 was located on lane 4. The signature had a maximum intensity of 18 gammas and was detected for a maximum duration of 45 feet. The contoured signature revealed a simple positive monopolar anomaly that covered

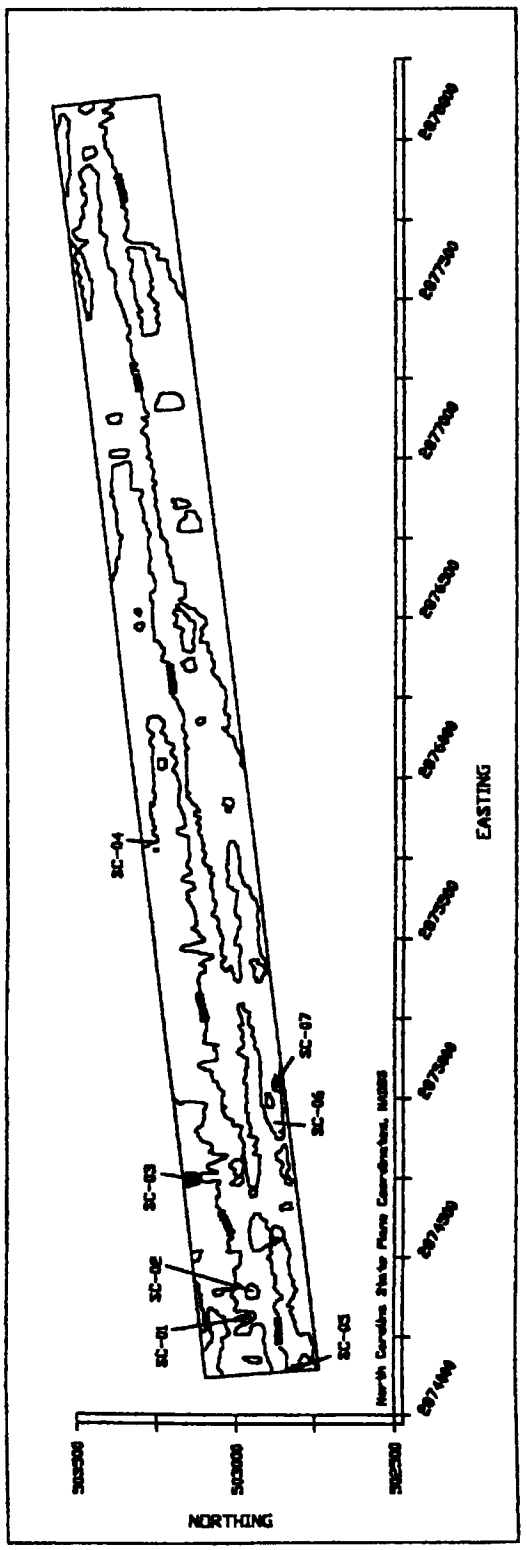


Figure 28. Magnetometer survey results depicting magnetic anomally contour lines and suspected targets.

an area of approximately 1,600 square feet. No sonar signature was associated with the material generating the magnetic signature. Analysis of the signature characteristics suggests a single object of low ferrous mass distributed over a small sized area. Such low intensity, short duration signatures are commonly associated with isolated point sources such as small modern anchors, pipes, or other small debris. No additional investigation is recommended.

Target Designation	**Northing**	**Easting**
SC-02	502946	2874384

Priority: Low

Target SC-02 was located on lane 3. The signature had a maximum intensity of 11 gammas and was detected for a maximum duration of 102 feet. The contoured signature revealed a simple positive monopolar anomaly covering an area of approximately 2,025 square feet. No sonar signature was associated with the material generating the magnetic signature. Analysis of the signature characteristics suggests a object or cluster of objects of low ferrous mass distributed over a small sized area. Such low intensity, short duration signatures are commonly associated with isolated point sources such as small modern anchors, pipes, or other small debris. No additional investigation is recommended.

Target Designation	**Northing**	**Easting**
SC-03	503160	2874742

Priority: Low

Target SC-03 was located on lane 6. The signature had a maximum intensity of 42 gammas and was detected for a maximum duration of 45 feet. The contoured signature revealed a sharp positive monopolar anomaly which covered an area of approximately 1,600 square feet. No sonar signature was associated with the material generating the magnetic signature. Analysis of the signature characteristics indicated an object of low ferrous mass distributed over a small sized area. Such sharp, low intensity, short duration signatures are commonly associated with isolated point sources such as small modern anchors, pipes, or other small debris in which the sensor passed directly over one of the object's magnetic poles. No additional investigation is recommended.

Target Designation	**Northing**	**Easting**
SC-04	503271	2875789

Priority: Low

Target SC-04 was located on lane 9. The signature had a maximum intensity of 11 gammas and was detected for a maximum duration of 100 feet. The contoured signature revealed a dipolar anomaly that covered an area of approximately 500 square feet. No sonar signature was associated with the material generating the magnetic signature. Analysis of the signature characteristics indicated an object or cluster of objects of low ferrous mass distributed over a moderate sized area. Similar low intensity, short duration signatures are commonly associated with isolated point sources such as small

modern anchors, pipes, or other small debris. No additional investigation is recommended.

Target Designation	Northing	Easting
SC-05	502807	2874144

Priority: Moderate

Target SC-05 was located on lane 23. The signature had a maximum intensity of 29 gammas and was detected for a maximum duration of 60 feet. The contoured signature revealed a sharp positive monopolar anomaly which covered an area of approximately 1,600 square feet. No sonar signature was associated with the material generating the magnetic signature. Analysis of the signature characteristics suggests a single object of low ferrous mass distributed over a small sized area. Such sharp, low intensity, short duration signatures are commonly associated with isolated point sources such as small modern anchors, pipes, or other small debris in which the sensor passed directly over one of the object's magnetic poles. However, as this object lies on the very edge of the survey area it may represent a small part of a larger or even more complex signature. Additional investigation of the object is recommended.

Target Designation	Northing	Easting
SC-06	502882	2874924

Priority: Moderate

Target SC-06 was located on lane 24. The signature had a maximum intensity of 14 gammas and was detected for a maximum duration of 203 feet.

The contour signature revealed a dipolar anomaly that covered an area of approximately 6,200 square feet. No sonar signature was associated with the material generating the magnetic signature. Analysis of the signature characteristics indicated an object or cluster of objects of low ferrous mass distributed over a moderate sized area. Similar low intensity, moderate duration signatures have been observed in association with articulated wooden structures such as collapsed buildings or iron-fastened, wooden-hulled wrecks with little or no additional surviving ferrous material. The close proximity of Target SC-07 may indicate a spatial association. Additional investigation of the object is recommended.

Target Designation	**Northing**	**Easting**
SC-07	502876	2875038

Priority: Moderate

Target SC-07 was located on lane 25. The signature had a maximum intensity of 10 gammas and was detected for a maximum duration of 75 feet. The contoured signature revealed a simple positive monopolar anomaly that covered an area of approximately 600 square feet. No sonar signature was associated with the material generating the magnetic signature. Analysis of the signature characteristics indicated an object of low ferrous mass distributed over a small sized area. Similar low intensity, short duration signatures are commonly associated with isolated point sources such as small modern anchors, pipes, or other small debris. However, a possible spatial association with Target SC-06

may indicate that the anomaly is part of a more complex cluster of objects. Additional investigation of the object is recommended

The side scan sonar survey produced much clearer results. The instrument creates a continuous "snapshot" of the channel floor using sound instead of light. The Klein sonar system used in conjunction with differential Global Positioning System automatically accounts for vessel speed and distance to the sea floor to produce a printout that represents an accurate plan view. With this view, the size and shape of objects can be measured. The side scan sonar record produced an accurate depiction of the sea floor along Wallace's channel and detected two significant features. The first was the pile remains of a channel beacon that had been cut off ten feet from the water's surface.

The other contact proved to be more impressive. A jumble of stones was found arising from the sandy sea floor and formed the suspected Shell Castle Beacon site. Appearing clearly on four of the six transects, the site appeared to be pile of stone in a debris field approximately 100 feet by eighty feet. The site was located at 35° 05.813'N, 76° 04.092'W (3884285.054, 402630.739 UTM), and was approximately 1,200 feet from the eastern end of Shell Castle. Subsequent diver's investigation revealed that the pile consisted of quarried stone that measured sixty feet by eighty feet and rose twelve feet from the channel bottom. (See Figure 29) Divers' examinations of the site could not determine that the stone was articulated. The stones varied in shape and size, but many had clearly defined sides that had been cut to form different shapes such as rectangles or

Figure 29. Side Scan Survey plot depicting stone debris field identified as the dark mass and light shadow marked by buoy.

trapezoidal forms. No other diagnostic materials were identified in the one dive period spent at the site. Neither the ballast stone nor the quarried stone were associated with the Outer Banks area and therefore, had to have been brought to the site.

Material Culture Results

Research into the material culture associated with Shell Castle was conducted both on site and at archives of the North Carolina Division of Archives & History and Henry Francis duPont Winterthur Museum Archaeologists recorded 138 artifacts at Shell Castle. (See Appendix B for the Artifact Catalog) Ceramic sherds accounted for sixty-nine percent (N=97) of the artifacts encountered. Pearlware and creamware fragments, including transfer print and hand-painted shell edge in blue and in green, accounted for nearly one-third of the ceramics noted on the site, and common redware made up almost seventeen percent. Ten percent of the assemblage was annular pearlware that was popular from 1795-1815.[2] Porcelain and delft represented just two percent of the assemblage. (See Table 6)

Archaeologists were able to study the assemblage with some certainty because almost sixty percent of the samples were diagnostic pieces, that is rims or feet. Several types of pearlware and creamware pieces were found including hand-painted and transfer printed shell and feather edge forms. (See Table 7).

Table 6

Shell Castle Ceramic Sherd Types by Section Location

Grid Section	Section A-1		Section A-2		Section B-2		Section C-1		Section C-2		Section Z-1		Section Z-2		Total	
Ceramic Type	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Porcelain		-		-		-		-		-	1	4 8		-	1	1 0
Creamware		-	4	18 2		-		-	2	25 0	6	28 6	1	6 3	13	13 4
Pearlware	7	36 8		-	2	28 6	2	50 0	2	25 0	4	19 0	4	25 0	21	21 6
Stoneware	7	36 8	1	4 5		-		-		-		-		-	8	8 2
White Salt Glazed		-	1	4 5	1	14 3		-		-		-		-	2	2 1
Brown		-	1	4 5		-		-		-	1	4 8	1	6 3	3	3 1
merican Blue & Gray		-	1	4 5		-		-		-	1	4 8		-	2	2 1
Fulham		-	2	9 1		-		-		-		-		-	2	2 1
Nottingham		-	1	4 5		-		-		-		-		-	1	1 0
Grey Albany		-		-		-		-		-		-	1	6 3	1	1 0
Red bodied		-	1	4 5		-		-		-		-		-	1	1 0
Barley Pattern		-		-	1	14 3		-		-		-		-	1	1 0
Redware	3	15 8	3	13 6		-	1	25 0	1	12 5	4	19 0	7	43 8	19	19 6
Copper Redware			1	4 5		-		-		-		-		-	1	1 0
Astbury	2	10 5	2	9 1		-		-	1	12 5	1	4 8		-	6	6 2
Annular ware		-	1	4 5	2	28 6	1	25 0	1	12 5	1	4 8	1	6 3	7	7 2
Whiteware		-	3	13 6		-		-	1	12 5	2	9 5	1	6 3	7	7 2
Delft/Majolica		-		-	1	14 3		-		-		-		-	1	1 0
Total	19	100 0	22	100 0	7	100 0	4	100 0	8	100 0	21	100 0	16	100 0	97	100 0
% of Total	19 6%		22 7%		7 2%		4 1%		8 2%		21 6%		16 5%			

Note No artifacts were located in Section B-1 which covered the north side of Shell Castle and extended into the shoal area with deep sediment and little wave action to uncover artifacts

Table 7

Ceramic Sherd Types By Pattern

		Ceramic Type							
Pattern		Creamware		Pearlware		Stoneware		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Shell Edge									
Handpainted	Blue			1	5.9			1	4.3
	Green			1	5.9			1	4.3
Transfer Print	Blue			4	23.5			4	17.4
	Green	2	40.0	1	5.9			3	13.0
Feather Edge									
Transfer Print	Blue			2	11.8			2	8 7
	Green								
Royal		1	20.0					1	4.3
Barley						1	100	1	4.3
Feather & Floral				1	5.9			1	4.3
Chinese				2	11.8			2	8.7
Annular		2	40.0	5	29.4			7	30.4
Total		5	100	17	100	1	100	23	100
% of Total Types		21.74		73.91		4.35			

Source: Appendix B Shell Castle Artifact Catalog

One plate rim was a "Barley" pattern stoneware plate sherd. It measured 2 1/8 inches across the outer rim edge by 1 7/8. (See Figure 30) The "Barley" pattern sherd appears remarkably similar to a "Barley" pattern plate fragment that belonged to Royal Governor Gabriel Johnson's house on the Chowan River and was exhibited in "A Taste of the Past," a museum exhibit on Albemarle Region foodways. Another exhibit object, which was identified as an "English creamware plate, royal pattern, ca. 1770, excavated from an Albemarle site," matched closely with a royal pattern dish rim found at Shell Castle and exactly the illustrated example of the "Barley" pattern provided by Hume.[3] The Shell Castle royal pattern sherd measured 3 1/8 inches along the rim and 1 3/8 inches deep A second royal pattern rim creamware sherd was slightly larger at 3 1/2 inches across the rim by 1 1/4 inch across the raised surface of the plate edge and possessed the curved shape of a deep plate. The plain rim in the royal pattern was generally associated with the 1790s and early 1800s according to Hume.[4] (See Figures 31 and 32)

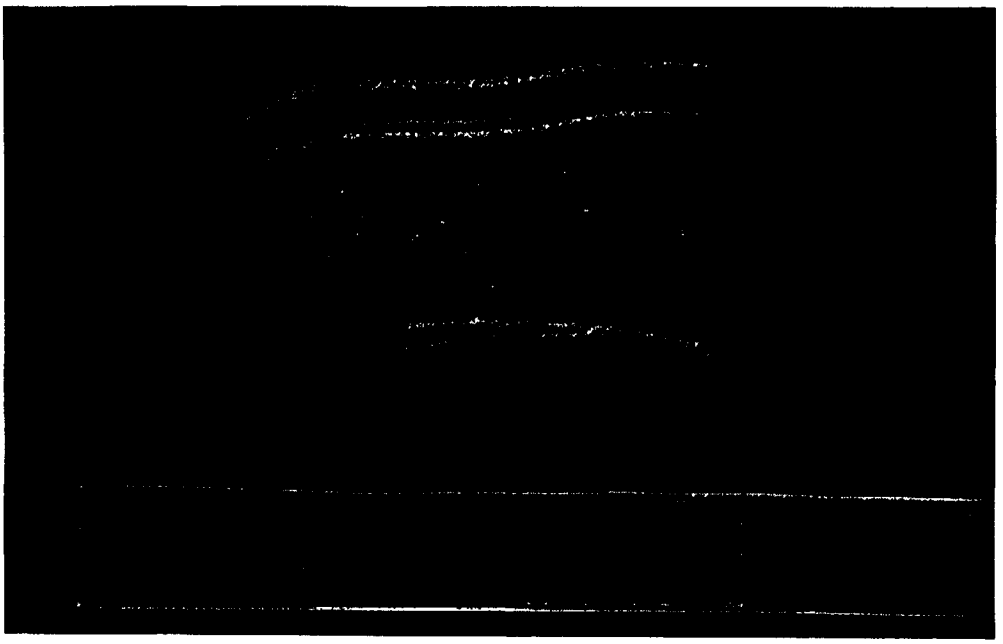


Figure 30. Barley Pattern Sherd.

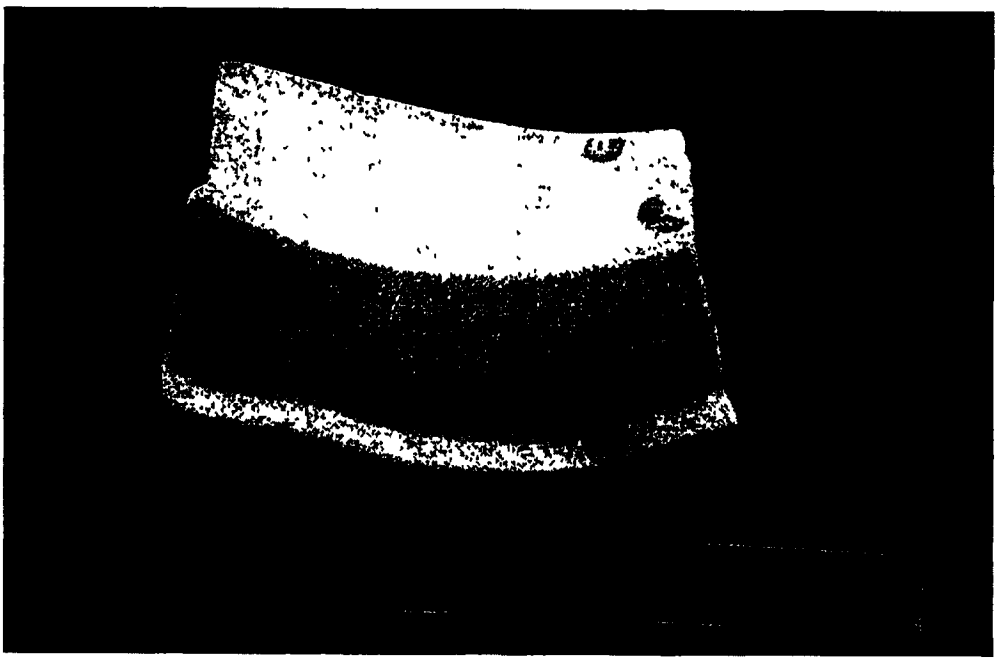


Figure 31. Royal Pattern Creamware.

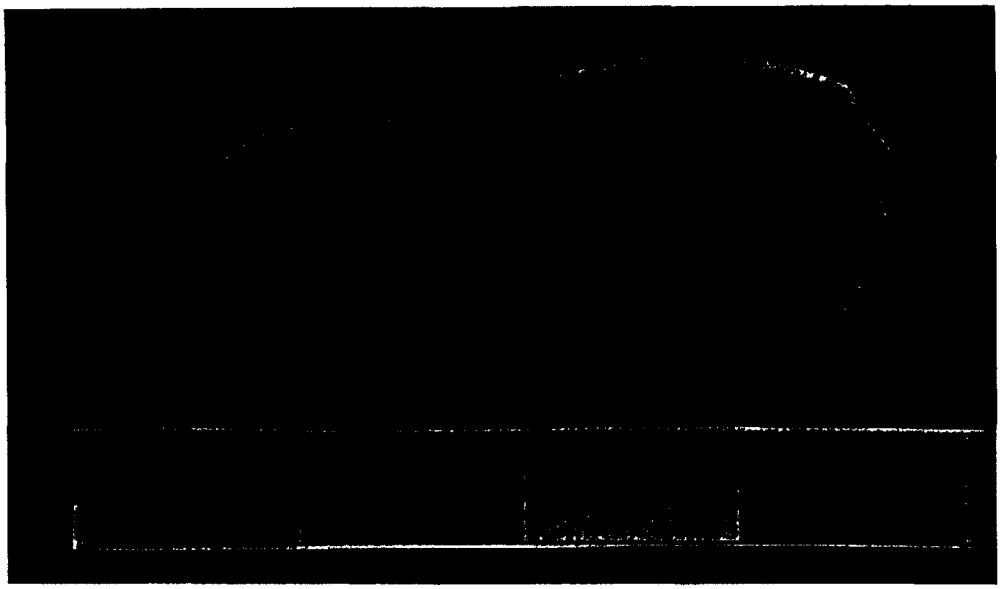


Figure 32. Creamware Plain Rim Royal Pattern.

The best-preserved artifact of the pearlware annular type vessel was a large rim fragment from a bowl. Measuring roughly three inches by two inches, the sherd was marked on the convex outer surface with a 1/4-inch mocha colored band near the rim and then below that alternating bands of continuous dark brown lines and dashed brown lines. (See Figure 33) The sherd probably came from a bowl with a six-inch diameter. A second annular ware rim sherd, smaller and of lesser quality, produced a probable bowl diameter of five inches. (See Figure 33) It had the same color and style of banded striations; however, they were cut deeper into the surface of the vessel and with greater variation in thickness and alignment.

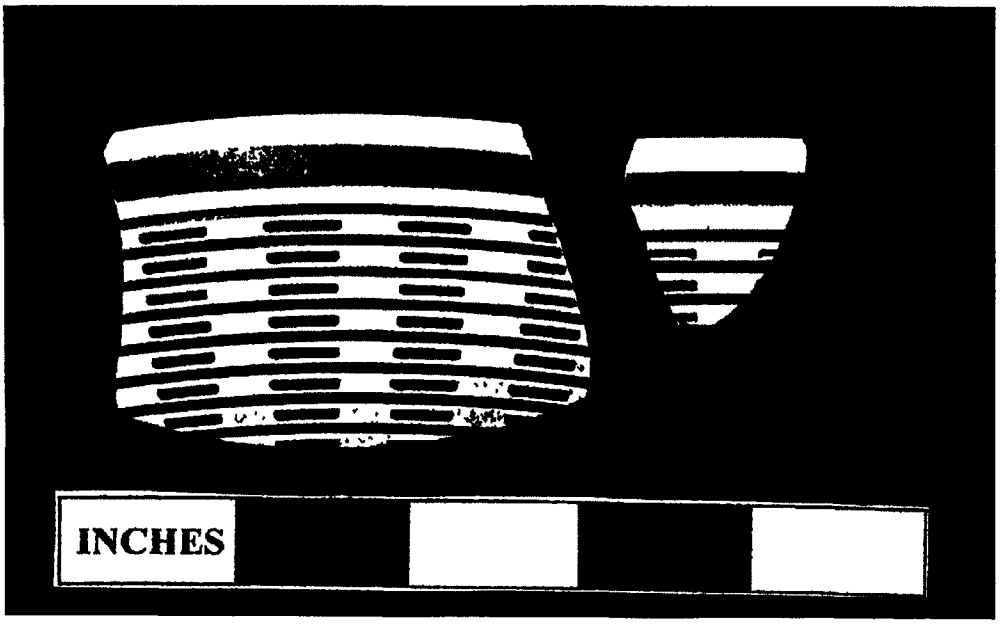


Figure 33. Annular Ware Bowl Rims.

A different style mocha colored annular ware mug base fragment was also recorded. (See Figure 34) The sherd was made of hard paste clay with cream color. The interior face was glazed with a cream color glaze. On the outside the base glaze was a mocha color with horizontal bands of cream and dark brown. There was a one-inch band of vertical groves, each one-eighth of an inch thick, which began five-eighths of inch from the bottom edge. The mug would have had a diameter of approximately five inches.

The glass artifacts examined included twelve green glass fragments, which included a bottleneck fragment, a square, hand-blown base, and round bottle base. Other glass artifacts noted included a plate glass fragment, a clear glass tumbler base, and one piece each of azure and clear glass. In addition, one fragment of a

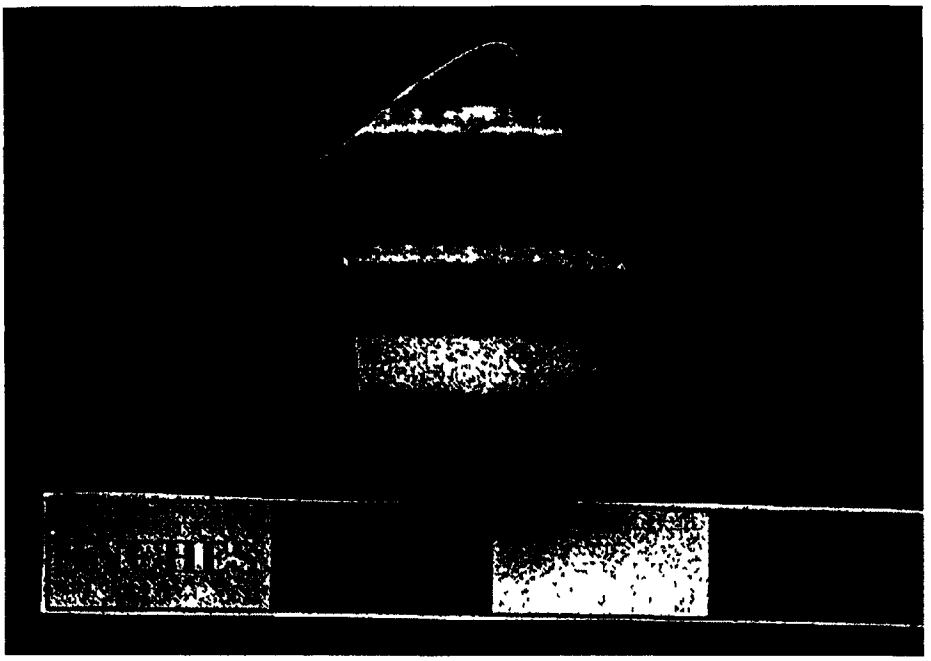


Figure 34. Mocha Annular Ware Mug Base.

pipe stem was located with a hole diameter of 4/64th of an inch that indicated a possible time period of the second half of the eighteenth century.[5] (See Figure 35)

Fourteen of the artifacts were identified as metal concretions and four were whole bricks or fragments. The metal artifacts were in a deteriorated condition with significant accretions of iron oxide. One metal object proved to be a square cut copper nail that was logged in Appendix B as B-2.8. The nail was three millimeters in diameter and about two and one-half inches long before heading and peening. A unique diamond shaped rove was still attached to the

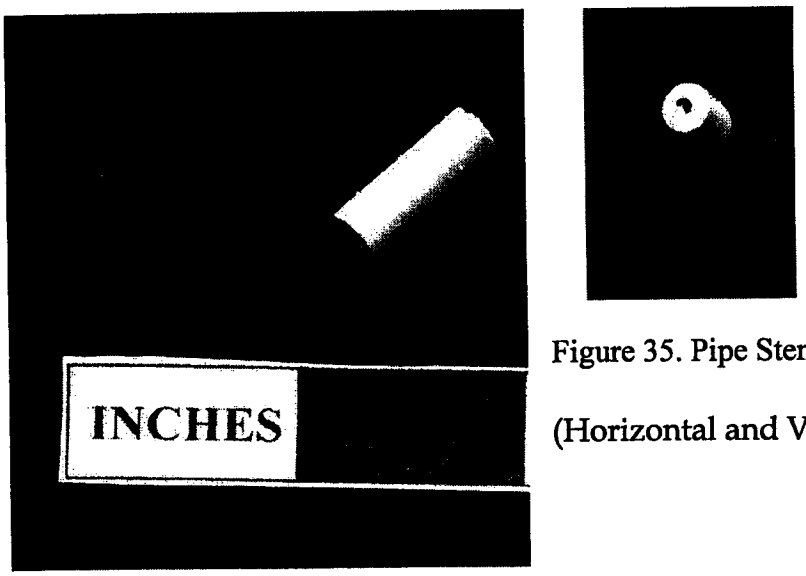


Figure 35. Pipe Stem Fragment.

(Horizontal and Vertical Views)

shank of the nail. The deteriorated condition of the nail prevented determination as to whether or not the nail was cut or cast. The whole brick measured six by three and one-half by two inches. In addition, two flint fragments were documented. Both evidenced signs of working as chip marks were visible; however, the shapes did not indicate use as gunflints. (See Figure 36) The sherds and other artifacts recorded represent only a portion of the potential collection from Shell Castle. Those included in Appendix B were the loose, surface scattered sherds: others undoubtedly remain beneath the surface of the island.

During the Second Stage, archaeologists obtained seven wood samples from beam foundations, planks and trunnels for subsequent laboratory analysis. Unfortunately the wood samples were extremely degraded and lacked many of the necessary elements for speciation. All of the samples were softwoods, and most

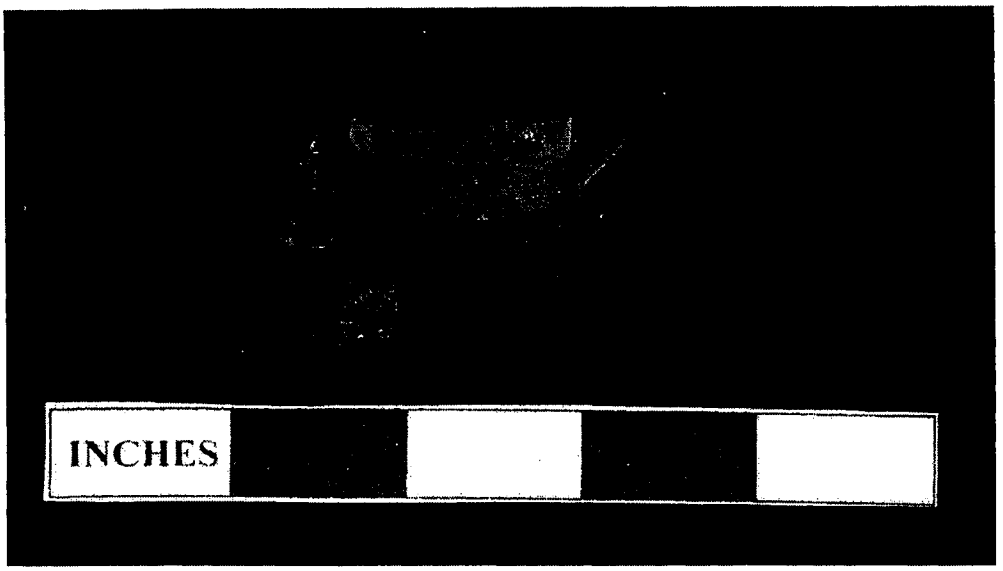


Figure 36. Flint Fragment.

were resinous, which helped narrow possible species. Planking Board Runner (SC-001W), Planking Post (SC-002W), trunnel (SC-004W) from the first intersection offshore from the southeastern end of the island, Crib Wall Beams (SC-005W) and (SC-006W), appeared to be the same species, probably pine. Sample (SC-005W) had more structure available, allowing a sample determination of hard pine, Pinus spp., (lodgepole, ponderosa, or southern yellow pine). The crib wall beam runner (SC-007W) was also resinous but possessed a slightly different cellular structure from the preceding samples and was classified to one of the pines: Pinus spp.; Spruces, Picea spp.; or larch, larix spp. The Planking Board (SC-003W) sample proved to be the only non-resinous sample. It was found to be of the cedar, Thuja spp., of fir, Abies spp., genera. Most softwoods such as these were commonly used in building construction, ship

construction, and use in pilings. The proximity of Cedar Island and historic records noting the island as the source for these wood types helps narrow the species type to southern yellow pines and cedar.[6]

Non-Archaeological Material Culture

Material culture associated with Shell Castle was found in both archaeological and historical contexts. The archaeological results have been addressed and much of the material culture from the historical sources has been discussed as well. However, one set of artifacts was not uncovered during the site visit, but were found in the Archives of the North Carolina Division of Archives and History and at the Winterthur museum. The most important pieces of material culture related to Shell Castle were the Liverpool-ware transfer-print creamware pitchers with the "North View of Gov^{r} Wallace's Shell Castle".

The main illustration on these vessels provided the only visual evidence of the buildings at Shell Castle other than the overly stylized buildings found on several charts about the Castle, and the side illustrations offered important information on the *terminus post quem* date of the pitchers. All four pitchers varied slightly in size and decoration. (See Table 8) The Blount family pitcher has a larger diameter and width. The Wallace and Winterthur pitchers were narrower. and consequently the stock illustration on the left side overlapped the Shell Castle illustration obscuring the left side of the Castle's illustration. Bradford

Rauschenberg, who authored "Success to the Tuley et al" an article on Liverpool ware transfer print ceramics in the North Carolina Albemarle Sound area, hypothesized that the Shell Castle print was applied last over the flanking stock prints. The Winterthur pitcher, however, clearly shows the print of "Emblem of America" and not the edge of the Castle print, which means the former illustration was applied last.[7]

Table 8

SHELL CASTLE TRANSFER PRINT PITCHERS

PITCHER	HEIGHT (IN.)	WIDTH (IN)	DIAMETER (IN.)	RIGHT ILLUS	LEFT ILLUS
WALLACE 77.193.1	11.2	10	8.5	Ship under sail	Peace & Independence
BLOUNT 33.12.51	13	12.9	10.3	Ship under sail	Peace & Independence
WINTERTHUR 67.0024	13.25			Washington in Glory	Emblem of America
TELFAIR ACADEMY*	11.125				

Source: N.C D.A.H., Winterthur Museum, Rauschenberg, "Success to the Tuley,"
* No additional information was available on this artifact.

The historical, archaeological and material culture investigations of Shell Castle and its associated material produced ample data for analysis and interpretation. The field investigations produced dimensions of the Shell Castle

site and sea wall, stone and wood features. In addition, the artifact assemblage with its high percentage of diagnostic sherds enabled researchers to interpret the typology and date of the ceramic materials. The remote sensing survey and underwater archaeology succeeded in identifying a second site associated with Shell Castle and the likely location of the Shell Castle Beacon. Analysis of these sites, features and material culture when coupled with the geographic, historic, and economic analysis of the Shell Castle site and the Blount-Wallace enterprise, enabled the researchers to interpret that data to create a detailed image of the discrete maritime community that was Shell Castle.

Endnotes

[1] In the September storm, both the *Diligence* and the *Governor Williams* sank. The *Diligence* was reported to have gone down one-mile southwest of Shell Castle and the *Governor Williams* was lost 200 yards from Taylor's landing at Portsmouth. William Tatham to Albert Gallatin, 9 October 1806, Treasury Department, Miscellaneous Letters Received, RG 26, NAB.

[2] Ivor Noel Hume, *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America* (New York: Vintage Press, 1991), 132.

[3] B.E. Taylor, ed., *A Taste of the Past Early Foodways of the Albemarle Region, 1585-1830* (Elizabeth City. Museum of the Albemarle, 1991), 9, 67; Hume, *Guide to Artifacts*, 116.

[4] Ibid., 126.

[5] Ibid., 197.

[6] Amy Mitchell, Shell Castle Wood Identification Report, letter to the author, 6 February 1999.

[7] Rauschenberg, "Success to the Tuley" et al via Liverpool," 20.

CHAPTER 9

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATIONS

"What though the mast be now blown overboard
The Cable broke, the holding anchor lost
And half our sailors swallowed in the Flood?
Yet lives our pilot "
Henry VI, Part 3, Act V, Scene iv

Shell Castle Island

The thesis that John Wallace and the Shell Castle enterprise occurred as the result of the "interest" of Wallace and John G. Blount in conjunction with geographic, economic, political, technological and societal factors, has been illuminated through the application of multiple discipline analysis—History's "many mansions." In addition, the material culture analysis has shown that John Wallace sought to elevate himself and his family into higher social levels through "refinement". The rational business interests of the partners to "turn a penny of profit" led them to build a maritime entrepôt on an oyster rock because of the timeless business rationale: location, location, location. The cartographic and economic analysis demonstrated that the distribution center established by Wallace and Blount clearly used the physical nature of the site, the prevailing winds in the age of sail, the depths of the channels and the inlets to achieve a

comparative advantage versus competing shipping traders. Historic research revealed the maritime operations conducted at Shell Castle and chronicled the saga of the navigational improvements used to support trade through Ocracoke Inlet from the 1790s to 1830. Relying on the discipline of material culture, additional clarity was given to the image of John Wallace who rose from pilot to self-proclaimed governor and "pride" of Shell Castle. Each discipline with its different focus wove its own thread into the cloth sampler of John Wallace and defined an important man and his place within the community and the Nation.

Terrestrial and underwater archaeology enabled researchers and to reach back into the period to construct a physical image of place and gather data for interpreting the cultural and behavioral patterns of the Shell Castle community. Underwater archaeology was employed to confirm information provided in Wallace's letters to John G. Blount concerning the dimensions of the Castle and the buildings erected there. Analysis of the ceramic sherd assemblage offered insights into the community. In addition, researchers wanted to understand how accurately the illustration of the Castle on the Liverpool ware pitchers captured reality. This chapter further analyzes and interprets the results of the Shell Castle site project and its significance.

Investigators wanted to determine: the size of Shell Castle; the type and the extent of construction features on the site; the location of the Shell Castle Beacon; the identification of any material culture in the Wallace's Channel that may have been connected to the Shell Castle enterprise; and, the time period of its

occupation. The archaeological investigations at Shell Castle revealed two distinct sites along with multiple features and an assemblage of material culture, obtained from the field and historic archives. Comparing these findings with the historic record and the transfer print pitcher illustration provided the most complete image of Shell Castle to date.

In June 1800, Wallace finished constructing the sea wall at Shell Castle. He stated that the work "just makes the Castle one hundred yards in length." The 1795 "Description of Occacock Inlet" added that the Castle was only twenty yards wide, but that the sand islet was one-half mile long. Thus, the historic record described the work at Shell Castle as one hundred by twenty yards.[1] The archaeological fieldwork measured the distance from the beam foundations on the Southeast corner to the ballast stone wall line in the west end to be ninety-two yards, slightly smaller than reported by Wallace. However, the ballast stone wall extension on the west end continued for another thirty-five yards. The slight difference between reported and measured lengths was probably attributable either to measurement error by Wallace or by the researchers who could not find the farthest foundation beam under the rocks and sand. Regardless, the closeness of the findings confirmed Wallace's claim of making the Castle "just one hundred yards." The area of the ballast wall extending to the west could have been added later when William Rodman mentioned the "end of that where the salt works are." The salt works must have been constructed after Wallace's 1800 note about Shell

Castle's size. This date is also confirmed by the absence of any works outside the "made ground" in the illustration on the Shell Castle pitchers.

The Shell Castle pitcher illustration showed details of the sea wall on the east and western sides of the Castle. The illustration depicted a "crib wharf" feature surrounding both ends of the Castle as indicated in Wallace's June 1800 letter. The sea wall was shown with squared timbers fitted closely together and notched together horizontally at the intersection of headers and stretchers. The illustration also showed six to seven timbers thick above water and rose up from the water level to a height of four to five feet. Behind the wall, the area was filled with soil and rock. (See Figure 37) According to Andrea Heintzelman-Muego, an authority on historic wharf design, the close fitted timbers would keep sand and soil fill from escaping through the timber framework. In addition, crib wharves could be constructed along a line of individual cribs or joined together in a network of cribs. The sea wall of crib wharf design at Shell Castle was a contemporary design. Research has found similar wharves at Bath and Swansboro, North Carolina, at Northern harbors in Boston and New York, and the mid-Atlantic harbor of Alexandria, and these dated from the second quarter to the end of the eighteenth century.[2]

Fieldwork confirmed the use of crib wharfing to create the sea wall. Although the feature found on the southeastern section of Shell Castle exhibited only the top layer of logs, the tight joinery at intersections and the close alignment of the timbers to the illustration pointed to crib wharfing. In addition, the size of

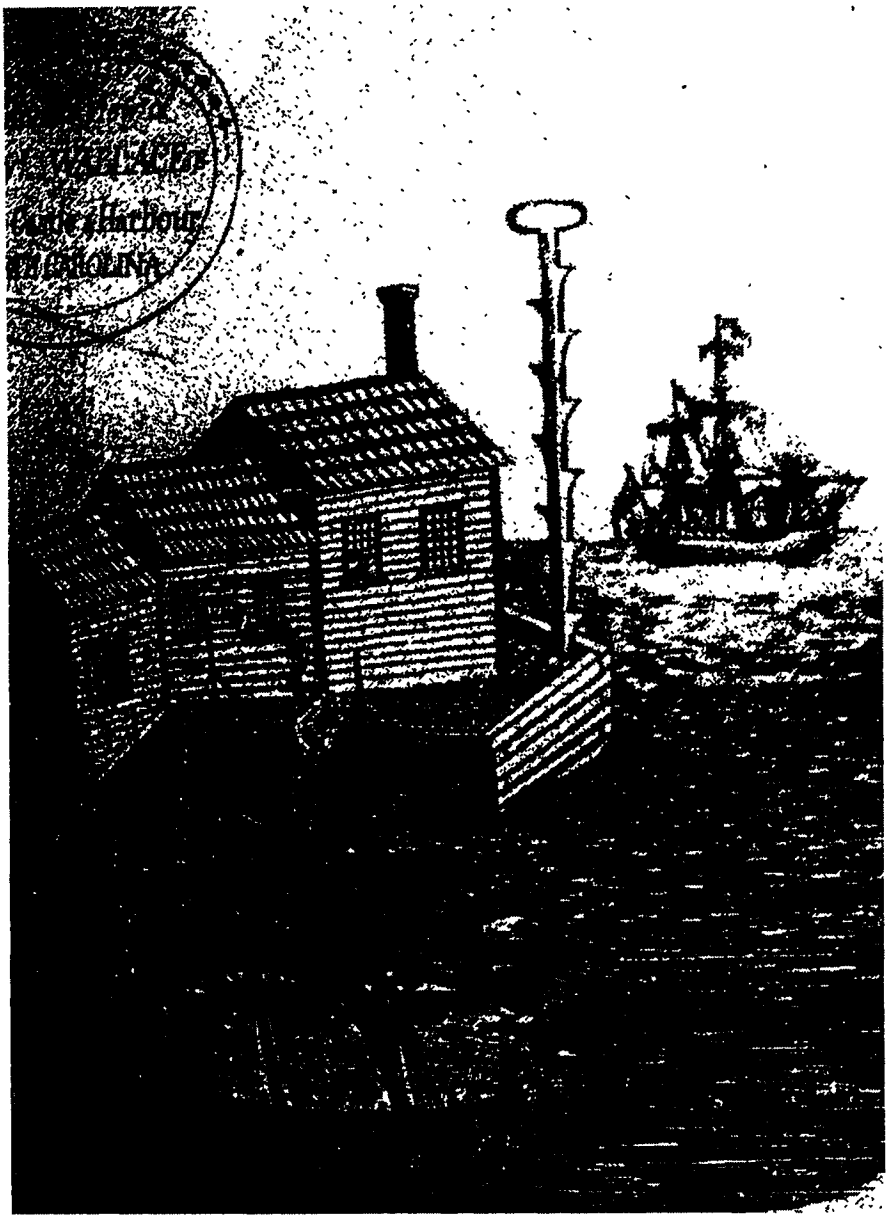


Figure 37. Detail of the Eastend of Shell Castle and the Crib Wharf Construction from the Shell Castle Transfer Print Illustration. (Source: NCDAH).

the ballast fill and shell would have needed the tight crib wharf design instead of the open cobb wharf in order to prevent wave and tidal action from eroding the fill from within the wharf structures. (See Figure 38) The exposed and mapped section of the sea wall may not be the outermost sections because several timbers continued offshore and on shore but were covered by ballast stone and sand. The crib sections in the southeastern feature could demonstrate that the larger more uniform sections formed the southeastern corner depicted in the illustration. The smaller, more varied crib sections could have extended under the pier and house as shown in the illustration. Alternatively, the change from smaller sections to larger could indicate different periods of construction and that the larger sections represent a later addition in keeping with Wallace's comments about completing the work in 1800. The long beam feature studied on the southwest area of the site was probably the remaining topmost log of the channel side section of the western crib wall.

Analysis of the wood indicated that the foundation log beams were of a resinous wood indicative of soft pines such as yellow or white pine. These pines would have been easily felled on Cedar Island and floated to the site as indicated by Wallace in his progress reports to his partner. Other timber framed wharves in the north also used pine timbers; however, farther south, the preferred timbers were palmetto logs because they were more resistant to worms.[3]

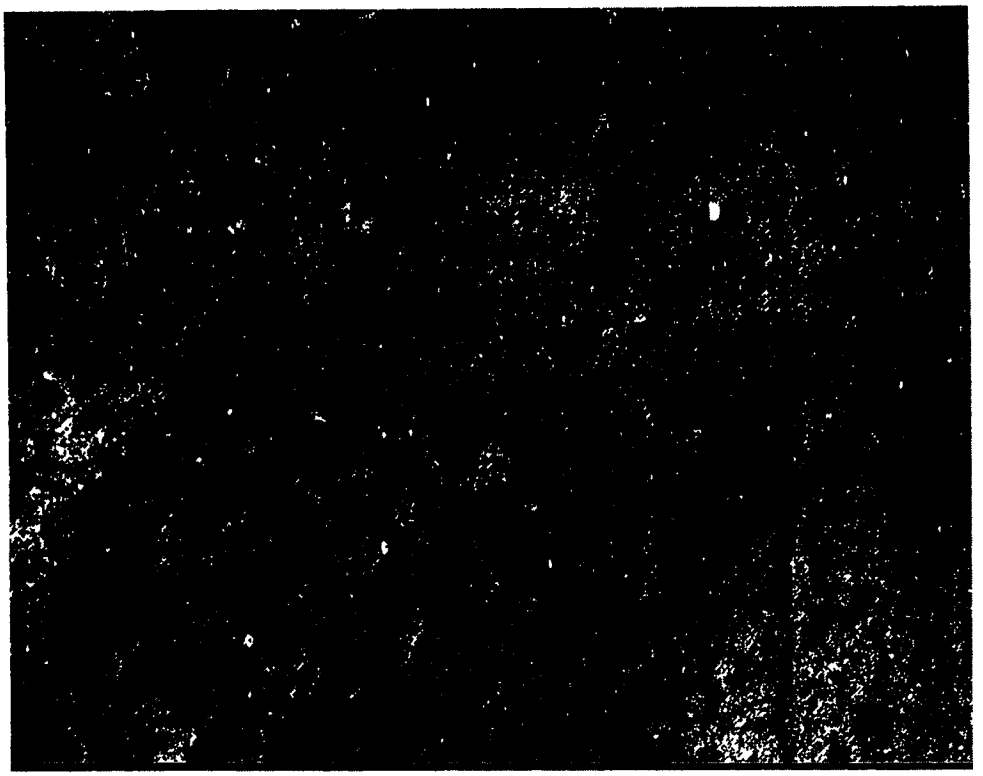


Figure 38. Beam Intersection among Southeastern Section of Cribbing.

The wooden planking feature examined was found near the illustrated location of the pier area. The planking from this feature was found to be a non-resinous wood resembling those of the cedar or fir family. Therefore, it was probable that it was a section of cedar deck planking that one could find on a pier. Given the predominately maritime uses of cedar woods and the growing use of pine later in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it was probable that this feature was part of the Castle's pier area or a walkway. (See Figure 39) Additional research including excavation to determine the extent of the planking and its anchor locations would provide more clues about its form and function.

Figure 39. Plank Boards, probably cedar or fir, on the southern shoreline.

The stone foundation features on Shell Castle remained more enigmatic than the sea wall and planking. The orientation of the features in relation to the sea wall foundations gave some indication that they were chimney foundations. The southeastern stone feature was aligned thirty degrees from parallel with the southern axis of the sea wall. This orientation and its location near the eastern edge of the sea wall could match the orientation of the chimney at the eastern end of the three buildings if perspective of the illustration were correct. In addition, the mortar and brick found in the feature also supported this hypothesis.

The other stone feature, larger and better defined than the first stone feature, could have been a foundation for the chimney or possibly the foundation of the piazza. As above, the orientation of the foundation area being perpendicular

to the long sea wall beam matched the orientation of the chimney to Wallace's dwelling house and the sea wall as depicted in the illustration. (See Figure 40) Wallace had claimed that his fireplace used six-foot pieces of wood to make two lengths for his hearth. The six-foot by ten-foot dimensions could easily have formed an internal fireplace size to accommodate Wallace's firewood.[4] Its location, however, could also correspond to the area on the south side of the dwelling house where Wallace added a piazza. Additional research to determine the foundation of the dwelling house would confirm which of these hypotheses, if either, were correct.

Figure 40. Western Stone and Mortar Feature oriented perpendicular to foundation beams.

Overall, the archaeological findings, although limited, answered many of the research questions. The size of the developed area of Shell Castle was confirmed and the general pattern of the sea wall, buildings, and planking appeared to match well the patterns shown in the pitcher illustration. However, the findings of the surface reconnaissance and the divers investigations provided only preliminary answers that could be refined or rejected by additional research findings. Other questions were also answered by the research findings.

Shell Castle Beacon

The location of the Shell Castle Beacon, which was the focus of Stage Two of the remote sensing survey and the underwater investigations, was tentatively confirmed. Researchers used the pitcher illustration to generate the working hypothesis that the beacon was located on an island east of Shell Castle. Given the evidence that from thirty to two hundred tons of stone were used to erect the foundation of the beacon, it was also hypothesized that evidence of the beacon location would include large quantities of fitted stones. Surface survey of the islands east of Shell Castle failed to provide evidence of habitation or development. This finding eliminated the current island areas from consideration, but did not negate the working hypothesis. Researchers then used the Klein side-

scan sonar to investigate the channel adjacent to Shell Castle and located the large stone feature.

Could this feature represent the original Beacon location? Underwater investigations revealed that the site, which measured roughly sixty feet by eighty feet, consisted of a jumble of cut stone. This finding was consistent with the work Henry Dearborn had done to build the beacon and to reinforce the base to protect it from wind and waves. However, the investigations did not find that any of the stones fitted together. In addition, researchers did not find any other physical evidence, such as wood or metal artifacts, or evidence of fire or lightning that destroyed the beacon and dwelling house. This lack of articulation and other evidence caused researchers to question whether this was the original beacon location or the site of a channel obstruction.

The Shell Castle Beacon disappeared from the charts after the 1808 chart of Shell Castle. Lightning destroyed the beacon in 1818, and the next chart, produced in 1821, showed only evidence of construction on the western portion of Shell Castle. In the 1808 chart and the 1806 Coles and Price Chart, however, the lighthouse was distinctly shown as an island to the east of Shell Castle and on the northern side of Wallace's Channel. In addition, although later charts did not record a beacon location, the 1821 survey and subsequent charts showed no obstructions in Wallace's channel. A lack of evidence of obstructions, however, did not prove that the stone deposit was not placed there to form an obstruction.

The possibility remained that either Confederate or Federal forces at Ocracoke during the Civil War dumped the stone to block shipping through the channel.

Using stone to create an obstruction by depositing it in one place in a deep broad channel, however, would not achieve the goal of closing the channel to shipping. Two pilots argued against sinking the vessels at the inlet or in the channels because the volume of water passing through the inlet would quickly divert the channel around the sunken vessels and become ineffective. A better place to dump the stone would have been at a natural choke point, such as the swash, and that was apparently the conclusion that the Union Navy came to in 1861. Acting on orders from Navy Secretary Gideon Welles, the Union Navy gathered vessels to sink as obstructions to Outer Banks Inlets. Ultimately, the Navy connected three schooners with chain, loaded them with stone and sank them in nine feet of water at the Swash on Wallace's Channel in November 1861.[5]

The site formation process probably contributed to the jumble of stone detected by archaeologists. In addition to the powerful affect of storms and hurricanes, the site was probably altered by the actions of locals who pilfered stone for their own uses. Samuel Tredwell reported in 1803 that as much as twenty to thirty tons of stone had been "taken away" from the foundation.[6] It was highly probably that "unofficial recycling" of the stone by Outer Banks wreckers continued in the years following the destruction of the Beacon. It was also possible that some beacon stone was used to load the schooners used to close the

swash. These actions certainly would have reduced the amount of stone, contributed to its dis-articulation, and possibly removed it from being a potential nuisance to navigation.

Therefore, with no charted evidence of obstructions and no evidence of official actions placing obstructions east of Shell Castle, then the location of the Shell Castle Beacon was an island as shown in early charts and most probably located where the stone now exists. Additional investigation of the site and a more detailed survey of the island east of Shell Castle could confirm this finding by locating additional artifacts at the submerged stone site and by the lack of evidence on the island.

Material Culture Findings

Material culture analysis of the Shell Castle site focused on the probate inventory, the ceramic surface scatter assemblage and the Liverpool ware transfer print pitchers. The study of the these artifacts could reveal data related to the time period that the maritime community of Shell Castle operated and confirm the hypothesis that John Wallace sought to improve his position in society and to reflect his position through his possessions. The analysis and interpretations blended the findings of historical and archaeological research on Shell Castle and material culture study of probate record, the archaeological record, and material culture museums.

Shell Castle Transfer Print Pitchers

The central artifacts related to Shell Castle were the Liverpool ware transfer print pitchers. Containing the only illustration of the Castle on a large enough scale to provide reliable detail on the construction of buildings, the pitchers could provide significant data about the maritime community. However, before blindly accepting the artist's rendering as correct, researchers must first verify the date of the illustration and its accuracy. It was possible that artistic license allowed the artist to invent or to alter the scale of any part or all of the illustration. The use of the archaeological findings, the data from the historic record and the material culture analysis of Rauschenberg on the Shell Castle pitchers, however, enabled investigators to determine the accuracy and time period of the illustration with a greater degree of certainty. In addition, a more certain date for the pitchers could support the hypothesis that Wallace was an "early adopter" and purchased items to demonstrate his place in higher society.

What date then can be ascribed to the Shell Castle pitchers? The baluster shape of the extant pitcher was believed to date from 1805 to 1815. However, the Shell Castle jugs most certainly pre-date that period. John Wallace died in 1810 and certainly would have been alive when these jugs were ordered and produced. The Winterthur jug bears the illustration of "Washington in Glory," a commemorative to Washington's death in December 1799, and the print of a female figure holding an American flag, two small Native Americans at left and

columns with portraits at right. This print was a variation on the "Emblem of America," which was first printed in January 1799. Therefore, the Winterthur jug alone must have been produced no earlier than January 1800.

The illustration could have been produced at an earlier date, however. What aspects of the artist's depiction supported a circa 1800 drafting period? A comparison of the illustration with historic documents revealed mostly agreement between the sources and the illustration's details, but it also revealed some troubling discrepancies in key details. The illustration clearly showed the completed buildings and the crib work seawalls capping both ends of the island. John Wallace had informed his partner at the end of June 1800 that the log work was complete.[7] In addition, the illustration depicted a completed beacon and keeper's dwelling house. According to William Miller writing in October 1800, the beacon had been "erected and covered and maybe completed as soon as the lantern" was raised. The illustration showed that the beacon's construction was in compliance with the bid specifications except for the placement of the lantern on the top of the wooden pyramid.[8]

The artist depicted a hexagonal or octagonal beacon tower formed of wood planking with a keeper's dwelling house adjacent to it and both were situated on an irregularly shaped plot of land surrounded by water. The location of the keeper's dwelling and the indication of a small pier on the southwest section of the beacon's island conformed to bid specifications and subsequent letters from inspectors. On the west side of the beacon pyramid, however, was

shown one window and not the three called for in the bid and contract specifications. The most important discrepancy, however, between the illustration and the contract requirements was the depiction of the lantern atop the beacon. Instead of showing a platform on which to erect the lantern with a dome and an iron railing, the pitcher illustration showed wooden planks laid up to the top with a multi-paned window on the eastern side. The illustration also differed from the description of the Shell Castle Beacon's lantern by William Tatham who inspected the light's operations in 1806.[9] The platform and lantern that Tatham described closely matched the contract requirements. In addition to differing from the contract and subsequent documentation, the illustration shows a dramatic lack of knowledge about lighthouse operations by the artist. With a window only emitting light toward the Inlet, the beacon would have been completely ineffective for vessels approaching from the West and the Sounds. More importantly perhaps, the fire hazard to a wooden beacon from an enclosed lantern would have been enormous and completely unsafe.

Therefore, the illustration of the beacon's top and lantern must have been drawn prior to the raising of the light and perhaps even before the erection of the beacon itself. The lantern for the Shell Castle Beacon was raised during the summer of 1802. If the other aspects of the illustration are accepted as being representational of reality at that point in time at the Castle, then the illustration was probably penned between June 1800 and July 1802 and the jug produced shortly thereafter. The partnership had on-going correspondence with firms in

Liverpool which could have placed the order and shipped the pitchers to Shell Castle.[10] Whether or not the illustration was sketched at that time, the evidence would indicate that the production date of the one Winterthur jug was as early as 1800 but not before in order to enable the application of the "Washington in Glory" and "Emblem of America" side illustrations.

Rauschenberg's research, however, uncovered a 1797 letter from John Wallace to his partner that would make the date of the illustration and the other pitchers even earlier. In a postscript to his letter, Wallace mentioned "a small pitcher with the map of Shell Castle on it," that made it seem that his partner was unaware of the enclosed gift.[11] If this note referred to one of the four existing Shell Castle jugs, then the use of the baluster style and the date of the illustration must be moved up several years. In addition, it would require a reassessment of the accuracy of the Shell Castle illustration and argue for multiple orders for production of the pitchers.

What evidence would support the claim for this earlier date indicated by Wallace's note? If drawn at an earlier date, then the artist would have had to produce his own interpretation of the Shell Castle Beacon. In 1797, no contract had yet been signed to build the beacon. If the beacon were subject to artistic license, then what else must be discounted? According to other documents, the buildings at Shell Castle had all been constructed before November 1797, but the sea wall was not completed before the summer of 1800. The warehouse was completed in 1793, and the company store had been completed as late as April

1797 when Wallace sent John G. Blount the dimensions of the store.[12] Perhaps the work on the sea wall in 1800 was done to upgrade the works depicted in the illustration from an earlier date.

Rauschenberg hypothecated that the drawing could have been done as early as 1795 since it showed the buildings and the lighthouse. He had erroneously accepted that the Beacon was erected in 1794. He supported his argument with evidence that either Jonathan Price, who drew the map of Shell Castle for the 1795 "Description of Occacock," or John Strother could have drafted the illustration around that time. In late 1796 or early 1797, Price and Strother surveyed the coast of North Carolina to produce a "Chart of the Sea Coast" that was printed in 1798. It was more likely that Price was the unsigned artist of the illustration. In May 1797, John G. Blount wrote to Price and not to Strother to press for the completion of the seacoast chart as Blount wanted to purchase twenty copies to send to Europe.[13] In addition, Strother had spent most of the prior year either in Philadelphia or western North Carolina and probably would have been unavailable to draft the illustration.

Other elements of the illustration provided clues to the date of its drafting. Three of the jugs, including the Winterthur jug, displayed a large American flag with sixteen stars flying over the Castle. (See Figure 41) Theoretically, the number of stars could provide a timeframe of the illustrations drafting. Rauschenberg, however, discounted the importance of stars shown in the flags. He cited that "artistic license influenced the number and placement of stars

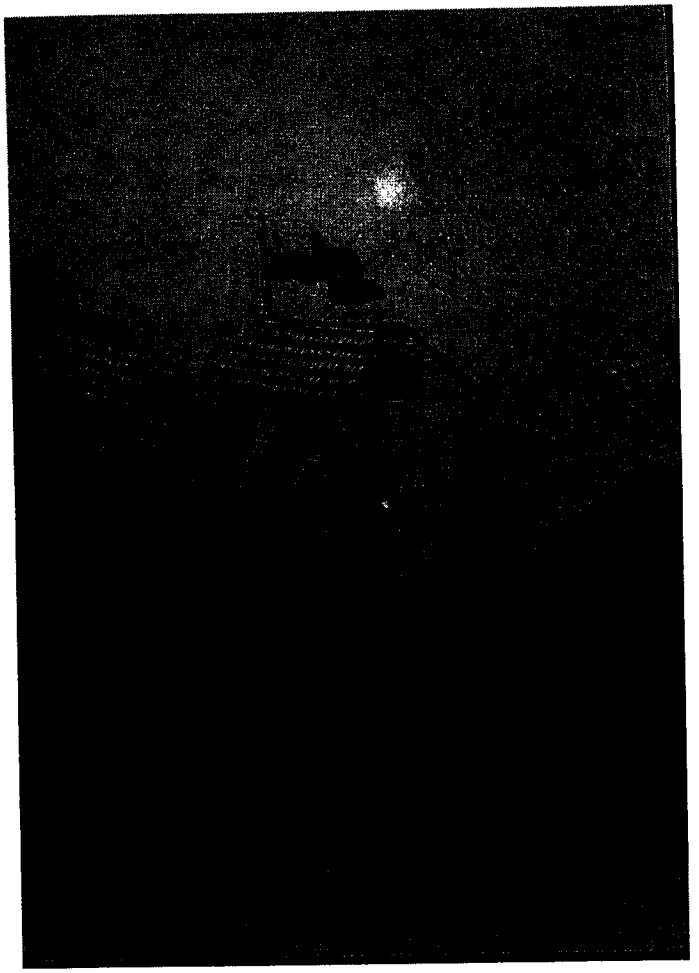


Figure 41. Flag Detail Section of the Shell Castle Illustration on the Blount-Wallace Liverpool Ware Transfer print pitcher. (Source:NCDAH)

regardless of how many states were in the Union."[14] While this argument might have been applied to the general consumer, it was unlikely that it would apply to the Shell Castle partners who were well informed about and proud of the Flag. Thomas Blount had notified John G. Blount in January 1794 that Congress had passed a law changing the flag from 13 stripes and stars to fifteen.[15] In addition, Blount, in particular, had reason to update the number of stars from fifteen to

sixteen, if he had ordered the jug after June 1796 because his brother, William, was a senator from the sixteenth state, Tennessee.

Blount also had ordered a transfer print pitcher with the illustration of the Brig *Tuley* on it that carried fifteen stars on its ensign. Rauschenberg believed this was an earlier order and production. The *Success to the Tuley* pitcher was a swelling type which pre-dated the baluster shape, and it was probably ordered on one of the earlier visits of the *Tuley* to Liverpool in 1795 or 1796.[16] If the Blount pitcher reflected the correct flag, then it would be reasonable that Wallace would have insured that the illustration of his domain reflected the correct number of stars. If this were correct, then the Shell Castle illustration could have been drafted anytime between June 1796 and August 1803. Although this period spanned both the possible early order and later order dates, it narrowed the possible time period prior to the completion of the company store on Shell Castle in April 1797, and placed the probable origin of the illustration to a date between summer 1796 and spring 1797.

If the 1797 note from Wallace to Blount referred to one of the extant Shell Castle pitchers, and as has been shown, it could not refer to the Winterthur pitcher, then the four pitchers must have been produced at different times. Therefore, Wallace must have placed more than one order because the Winterthur vessel could not have been produced at the same time as the others. The possible date of the earlier order would advance the date of the baluster type form in America from 1805-1815 to 1796 to 1802.

Regardless of whether Wallace placed his order in 1797 or in 1800, the evidence of such a unusual polychrome enamel pearlware vessel associated with John Wallace confirmed the hypothesis that Wallace adopted new styles early and sought to demonstrate his rise from squire to governor of the islands. The Shell Castle jugs were the newest products available from one of the more popular producers of transfer prints, Herculaneum Pottery of Liverpool, which began operations in 1796.[17] Also, Rauschenberg documented a unique concentration of transfer print ware owned by three prominent Edenton gentlemen discussed above in Chapter Five. Josiah Collins, John Little and William Blair owned jugs dated from 1795 to 1800. Blair was a lawyer who was married to Mary Blount. If, as it can be argued, that these vessels reflected social standing like that associated with china tea services, then Wallace would have been a "great man" who was equal to the best in North Carolina society alongside the Blounts and Josiah Collins.

By being among the first to purchase and then to share the knowledge of that purchase by giving the pitcher as a gift to his partner, Wallace was buying his way into genteel culture. He had not inherited his place in the aristocracy, but he could work his way to it and reinvest his earned capital in consumption that acquired equivalent power. The Shell Castle pitcher's socio-technic function represented the cultivated pinnacle of cultural consumerism in the eighteenth century like the television would in the 1950s. The purchaser received more than just the pitcher when he bought it. He received power because of the extrinsic associations that others in society attached to the item as it redounded to its

owner. According to Bushman, it was through this pattern of emulation by means of purchase and imitation that people like Wallace staked a claim to the culture and power of the aristocracy. Moreover the emulation was found in all elements of the aspirant's life. Wallace built his "fine house," protected his name from libel, served in minor elected posts, owned a library filled with instructive and uplifting volumes, and boasted of his improvements at the Castle—All in his quest to be "governor of the islands."[18]

Wallace's Possessions

The probate record and the artifact assemblage reinforced the finding that Wallace maintained a pattern of consumption and use that reinforced his desire to be affiliated with the upper tiers of society. Wallace's probate inventory, conducted by his friend John Mayo, recorded three types of ceramics: china, queensware and earthenware. (See Table 9) Although the definitions of exactly what Mayo meant by each term remains uncertain, in general Americans of the early nineteenth century called porcelain wares imported from China by its country of origin, "china."[19] The queensware Mayo listed probably included creamware and pearlware of all types, but earthenware was used as a catch all for the remaining items and to distinguish between courseware and porcelain.

Table 9

Wallace's Probate Inventory Ceramic Vessels By Type

	Ceramic Type							
	China		Queensware*		Earthenware		Total	
Vessel Type	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Cups	10	21 3					10	8 2
Saucers	10	21 3					10	8 2
Tea Cups	12	25 5					12	9 8
Tea Saucers	12	25 5					12	9 8
Bowls	2	4 3	2	13 3		0 0	4	3 3
Plates					48	80 0	48	39 3
Dishes			2	13 3	8	13 3	10	8 2
Tea Pot	1	2 1	2	13 3		0 0	3	2 5
Mug			8	53 3		0 0	8	6 6
Tureens					2		2	1 6
Pans					2		2	1 6
Pitcher			1	6 7		0 0	1	0 8
Total	47	100	15	100	60	100	122	100
	% of Total	38 5		12 3		49 2		100

Source John Wallace Estate Record, Carteret County Estate Record NCDAH
Note * Includes Pearlware and Creamware

Queensware was so common that in 1796 one North Carolinian complained that "a crate of crockery (say Queens ware)" was missing from an invoice.[20]

The distribution of ceramics within Wallace's household inventory was unusual in type and form. The china owned by Wallace made up almost forty percent of the ceramic probate inventory. The china pieces appeared to be associated with tea drinking because the listing only included cups, teacups, saucers, slop bowls and a teapot. There were no china plates, dishes, or serving vessels. At the other end of the ceramic ware spectrum, earthenware plates, dishes, tureens and pans comprised 50 percent of the utensils listed. The earthenware included forty-eight dishes. Surprisingly, the inventory listed only fifteen items of the most popular ceramic of the late eighteenth century, queensware. In addition, the probate inventory failed to list any closed stools or chamber pots. However, this was not without precedent in the Ocracoke communities. His half-brother Reuben's probate inventory also recorded no chamber pots.[21]

The bi-polar nature of the Wallace inventory with its extremes of china and earthenware could point out the Wallace's desire to portray the image of having arrived at society's upper tiers while still living among the common people. For example, in 1810, the Wallaces could set a tea service for ten to twelve while entertaining the Blounts and others calling at the Castle. However, once the guests had left, the family could set only a much more modest place

setting for the meal with only two queensware dishes and earthenware for the rest of the place settings.

The probate inventory listing of ceramics contrasted with the surface scatter assemblage found at Shell Castle. The sherds examined in the surface scatter consisted mainly of earthenware and queensware, as Mayo listed classified the items that included both creamware and pearlware. (See Table 6 in chapter eight) The different earthenware sherd types added up to 50 percent of the sherds examined and the queensware, including annular wares, accounted for 42 percent. The earthenware vessels also accounted for almost 50 percent of the probate inventory items. "China", however, so important in the inventory, appeared only once in the sherd assemblage. There was less deviation between sample groups when the type of vessel was examined. Plates and dishes occurred most often in both the probate inventory and the sherd assemblage, representing 47 and 44 percent, respectively. (See Tables 9 and 10)

Obviously the difference between the two sample sets reflected the extreme variation in what was broken and discarded over the period of occupation versus that which survived and was recorded at one point in time in the household. The high percentage of "china" in the probate inventory was a function of its value and limited use that would have resulted in less breakage and discarding. Conversely, the everyday use of earthenware and queensware would have presented more opportunities to be broken and discarded.[22]

Table 10

Diagnostic Ceramic Sherds By Vessel Type

		Ceramic Type													
		Creamware*		Pearlware*		Stoneware		Redware		Astbury		Whiteware		Total	
Vessel Type		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Cup	Lip	1		1										2	
	Body	1		1										2	
	Foot	1		1										2	
	Sub-total	3	16 7	3	13 6		-		-		-		-	6	12 0
Bowl	Rim			4										4	
	Body	3		3								2		8	
	Foot	2												2	
	Sub-total	5	27 8	7	31 8		-		-		-		-	14	28 0
Plate	Rim	5		8		1								14	
	Body	4		2										6	
	Foot			2										2	
	Sub-total	9	50 0	12	54 5	1	20 0		-		-		-	22	44 0
Mug	Rim														
	Body					1								1	
	Foot					1								1	
	Sub-total	0	-	0	-	2	40 0		-		-		-	2	4 0
Pitcher	Handle							1		2				3	
Bottle						2								2	
Chamber Pot	Rim	1	5 6		-		-		-		-		-	1	2 0
Total		18	100	22	100	5	100	1	100	2	100	2	100	50	100
	% of Total		36 0		44 0		10 0		2 0		4 0		4 0		100

Note * Includes Annular ware sherds

In addition, the sherd assemblage reflected the debitage of the entire Shell Castle community and the limited amount of sherds on the surface; whereas, the probate inventory recorded only the possessions of John Wallace.

Several theories provide possible reasons for the sample differences beyond random breakage and sample errors. For example, since the inventory was taken at one point in time, the lack of queensware goods could have been the result of short run of bad luck when many plates and bowls of that style were destroyed and there had not been time to replace them. It was also possible that the inventory failed to record items in the slave quarters or allocated to the tavern. Another, more plausible, theory, however, posited that the widow Rebecca could not afford to replace the everyday queensware items when they broke, and that she had not been able to replace them for some time. Evidence of the Wallace's penury has been found in the historic record in the growing number of debt cases he lost in the decade before his death. John Wallace's sickness and inability to take care of business for some time before his death would have reduced the family's purchasing power. Also, just four months after the inventory was taken, a neighbor described Mrs. Wallace as an "avericious, and over grasping woaman [sic], who is daily pleading distress and poverty."[23] Perhaps there was something behind her protestations that had led the family to hold on dearly to the expensive china and to resort to using earthenware as their everyday kitchenware. These actions could have led to an under-representation of china in the sherd assemblage and a more normal distribution of the other types of ceramics.

Additionally, the use of Shell Castle as a maritime entrepôt, tavern and ships store probably resulted in an increased frequency in the coarser utilitarian vessels used for storage, processing and serving of food. The ceramic sherd assemblage at Shell Castle contained almost 22 percent stoneware and 27 percent coarse wares. These percentages ranged from two to seven times the percentages found on slave and planter sites in coastal Georgia from a comparable time.[24]

The examination of three Kings Bay plantations by William Adams and Sarah Boling demonstrated that there was little quantitative correlation between vessel ware type and economic status, but that the time period of occupation was an important variable. They also found that greater variety of vessel form could be indicative of higher economic position. The seven sites studied contained a high percentage of creamware and pearlware vessels, ranging from 70 to 93 percent, significantly more than the 42 percent of queensware sherds at Shell Castle. Porcelain, whiteware and delft/majolica samples varied from zero to six point two percent in the Kings Bay assemblage. At Shell Castle, however, the three rare vessel wares contributed to just under ten percent with the whiteware representing seven percent. The use of the Shell Castle site between 1830 and 1846 probably accounted for the whiteware artifacts.

The number of vessel forms at Shell Castle ranged from seven in the archaeological sample to twelve in the probate inventory. In both sample groups, no differentiation was made in form size. The most frequently occurring form was the plate that was identified in 44 percent of the surface scatter and represented 39

percent of the probate inventory. In comparison, plates represented from 23 to 40 percent of the Kings Bay site's forms. Bowls of all types accounted for 28 percent of the identifiable ceramics at Shell Castle, but were only listed four times in the probate inventory, representing three percent. The lack of queensware bowls in the probate inventory could indicate that the annular ware bowls found at the site were not counted as part of the household inventory because they belonged to other households or the slaves. In the first half of the nineteenth century, this type of bowl became associated with slave cabins while the owner's kitchens possessed more transfer-printed plates. At Kings Bay, small and large bowls contributed to 15 to 35 percent of the vessel forms with the larger percentages being found in the context of the slave cabins.[25]

The unique context of Shell Castle as a maritime community that contained slaves situated on such a small area presented significant comparison problems with separate slave and planter sites from another coastal region. In addition, the type of sampling methods differed between the Shell Castle project and the Kings Bay sites. Nevertheless, the similarity in occupation periods provided a basis for broad comparisons. Shell Castle appeared to be more egalitarian in the archaeological sample with an even distribution between coarse wares, stonewares, and creamware and pearlware. However, the probate inventory with its high percentage of china reflected the Wallace's desire to adopt the forms of genteel culture.

The ceramic assemblage analysis also provided a tentative occupation period for Shell Castle. The ceramic sherds analyzed spanned a range of median production time from 1733 to 1860. Six Astbury ware sherds were found that date to the second quarter of the eighteenth century. Also among the early ceramics were two sherds attributed to Fulham brown salt-glazed stoneware that, according to Hume, date from 1690 to 1775. The other early ceramic was a rim sherd of "Barley" pattern stoneware that dated from around 1745. Based on these early production samples, a tentative *terminus post quem* of the second quarter of the eighteenth century could be applied. At the other end of the timeline, brown stoneware sherds placed *a terminus ante quem* around 1860. Additional analysis was needed to narrow the time period provided by the ceramic assemblage in order to more closely match the time period of occupation from the historic record.

The historic record documented that no settlement existed on the site until 1789 and that it ended around 1846. The median date for the period of documented occupation then would be 1818. The median date for the ceramic assemblage was 1797 [(1860-1733)/2], but this calculation, as well as the former one, failed to account for statistical weighting of the sample. Therefore, Stanley South's mean ceramic date (MCD) method was applied to the artifacts recorded in the artifact catalogue.[26] (See Table 11) The Mean Ceramic Date for Shell Castle's ceramic artifacts was determined to be 1802. Recalling that the period of greatest number of people living at Shell Castle fell between 1789 and 1817 with only

sporadic occupations by significantly fewer people between 1817 and 1846, then this date also approximates the median date of occupation of 1803 (1789+1817/2).

Table 11
Mean Ceramic Date Summary

Section	Sample Number	Year Sum	MCD for Section
A-1	19	34,139	1797
A-2	21	37,667	1794
B-1			
B-2	6	10,699	1783
C-1	4	7,186	1797
C-2	8	14,386	1798
Z-1	21	37,956	1807
Z-2	16	29,131	1821
Total	95	171,164	1802

Source Sample and year sum data extracted from Appendix A

The MCD of 1802 confirmed the main period of occupation at Shell Castle. Interestingly, the MCD of 1802 reinforced the belief that the Shell Castle community and the Wallace's adopted new styles of ceramics quickly. Assuming that there existed a normal delay between the acceptance of new styles and the eventual discarding of a vessel because of breakage, then one would expect to find an earlier MCD. This would be because the sample would include fewer examples of the more recent styles. Therefore in order for the more recent artifacts to be included in the sample, then the Wallaces must have acquired them early in their product life cycles to allow time for their usage, breakage and

deposit. Otherwise one would expect to find an earlier mean ceramic date based on the greater sample weighting of earlier wares. The purchase of the Liverpool ware transfer print pitchers and the annular and feather edge transfer print pearlware vessels demonstrated that Wallace was capable of adopting new styles very early.

Recommendations for Future Work

This study of John Wallace and his Shell Castle has just, literally, fanned the surface. The findings above are not meant to be an exhaustive study, but rather a primer on a Federal period maritime community that might provide useful information and stimulate additional research. The Federal period of North Carolina's maritime communities have been neglected as people have focused on the early colonial or civil war periods. Additional archival and archaeological research should be undertaken and most certainly would amplify and revise the findings listed here. In addition, the historic research on Shell Castle has identified numerous shipwrecks and inundated sites that were associated with the major players and events of John Wallace's life and the Castle still to be located.

Archival research is never complete. The North Carolina Archives, the Southern Historical Collection, and the East Carolina University Manuscript Collection still house numerous holdings that have yet to be thoroughly researched. Somewhere within the North Carolina archives rests an inventory of

the Schooner *Shell Castle* that John Wallace purchased in 1804, but it has been misplaced from the probate inventory listings. Also, research into the activities of slave pilots during the period would yield important information about an under studied segment of North Carolina's maritime culture. The post-1820 activity at Shell Castle, including the Wyman stave manufacturing enterprise would be another interesting avenue of subsequent study. Follow on research into the fate of the Shell Castle Floating light would be useful to illuminate the use of early floating beacons and to determine whether or not the vessel could be located and documented.

Additional surface and underwater archaeology investigations at Shell Castle should be done to validate or reject the hypotheses explored in this thesis. Additional surface survey would provide additional data on the site's features and identify additional features for subsurface testing. Research would determine details of building orientations and dimensions. Analysis of the ballast rock, soil and wood could answer additional questions. Underwater archaeology would explore the western end of Shell Castle searching for more information about the salt works as well as investigate the targets SC-007, SC-006, and SC-005 identified during the magnetometer survey.

In addition, Shell Castle should be nominated to the National Register of Historic Places. It should also be thoroughly investigated in order to preserve and protect its material culture from the casual collector and the inexorable deterioration caused by the dynamic environment to which it is exposed and

which changes the site from tide to tide and storm to storm. (See Figure 42)

Figure 42. Shell Castle seen from the Southeast.

Several questions remain about the exact location of the Shell Castle Beacon, and subsequent research could positively confirm its location at the rock pile in the Channel. Intensive surface terrestrial survey to detect evidence of the beacon or other buildings at the eastern end of Shell Castle would be recommended. Concurrent underwater investigations of the stone pile to reveal artifacts, such as wood, lightning altered material, or metal associated with the lantern, could also provide data to confirm definitively the beacon's location.

Ocracoke Inlet and its interior channels represent a target rich environment for early American maritime heritage. Detailed information about the loss of several vessels was revealed in researching Shell Castle. Two revenue cutters, the *Governor Williams* and the *Diligence* sank on 26 September 1806 in a hurricane

that swept over the Inlet. Little is known about these vessels and their construction characteristics, which makes it important to locate and document them. The *Governor Williams* foundered just two hundred yards from Capt. James Taylor's pier at Portsmouth and the *Diligence* sank one- mile southwest of Shell Castle not far from the wreck of the *Mt. Vernon.*[27] The stern post of the *Mt. Vernon* was listed as a landmark on an 1808 land deed and it appeared on later charts just over mile southwest of the Castle.[28]

Conclusion

With so much yet to be done, what can be said about this work? The study of maritime community of Shell Castle and its leading persons has been one of what economist François Simiand called "'l'histoire événmentielle, the history of events: a surface disturbance, the waves stirred up by the powerful movement of tides.'"[29] Perhaps this was more literally true with this study than with any other history. Shell Castle was a surface disturbance that broached the waters of Ocracoke, stood briefly like a Pharos, then submerged. John Wallace and Shell Castle were carried to the surface by powerful geographic and economic tides. Other currents of the changing culture and society at the end of the age of enlightenment then helped shape John Wallace and his "family."

Adapting Fernand Braudel's structure used in his *History of Civilizations*, this study has sought to use multiple disciplines to develop the history of a unique

maritime community. All communities depend upon and can be defined by geography, economy, society and psychology. Each section applied different tools, such as archival research, archaeological instruments and techniques, to blow away the dust, to fan away the silt, and to scrape off encrustations revealing separate insights into the people and the place. Our discussion of Shell Castle's community began with its place, the land, water, its contours, and natural economic advantages. Next followed a study of maritime entrepôt and the economic fluctuations that helped create and then led to the abandonment of the partnership and Shell Castle. Wallace then reinvested the surpluses produced by the partnership at flood tide in "emblems of capitalism and wealth." The items he purchased and valued and his interactions with people became the focus of the material culture study of the Castle society. Wallace's worldview, which Braudel would have termed "mentality" or "Awareness," directed his actions to improve his person and place in order to move from squire to governor of the islands.[30]

Each section's study has shown the people and events of Shell Castle's history to be the surface ripples caused by more powerful tides running below the surface. Shell Castle could not have been built on that oyster rock without the convergence of sands, winds and technology during the last half of the eighteenth century. Also, without the global economy and Yankee entrepreneurial explosion of the Federal Period, John Wallace may have remained one of the several pilots struggling to make a living at Portsmouth. The psychological influences of

interest and refinement carried to Ocracoke in the minds of each person and in the cargoes in each ship's hold also influenced Wallace and his society.

Today, those forces continue but they are no longer in coincidence to create the same effects. Shell Castle appears as only a small note on navigational charts and guidebooks to tourist destinations along the Outer Banks. A recent search of the World Wide Web on the internet yielded fifty-three hits on the term Shell Castle that included a historic plantation in Halifax County, North Carolina, lighthouse references, and numerous repeat "hits" of a science fiction web site. Therefore, John Wallace's Shell Castle remains part of our society reaching across time and space to remind us of a person who was a "great man," flawed and imperfect, but seeking refinement and elevation.

This thesis has been a dialectic of a brief period at Ocracoke and by extension a study of the society at Shell Castle and its place within the greater societies of the Inlet, North Carolina and the United States. Thus it has been a study of the past taken in multiple snapshots from the points of view of various disciplines. Arranged and ordered such that a close up of one image showed details of that one moment and subject, but the hundreds of images looked at from a distance created a photo-mosaic of the whole of Shell Castle Island and its governor. Perhaps this image may provide a foundation upon which others may build.

Endnotes

[1] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 14 June 1800, Masterson, *Blount Papers*, 3:391; Jonathan Price, "A Description of Occacock Inlet," 5.

[2] Andrea Heintzelman-Muego, "Construction Material and Design of 19th Century and Earlier Wharves: An Urban Archaeological Concern.," Paper presented at the Annual Society of Historic Archeology and Council for Underwater Archeology Conference, January 1983, 18-19.

[3] Ibid., 27-38; Benjamin Smith to John G. Blount, 8 September 1802, Masterson, *Blount Papers*, 3:538.

[4] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 7 November 1800, Masterson, *Blount Papers*, 3:444.

[5] The brief Confederate defense of Ocracoke Inlet also failed to use the stone as an obstruction. The North Carolina Ship *Beaufort* repeatedly used Wallace's Channel in the summer of 1861 and the hasty and disorderly evacuation of troops from Fort Morgan on Beacon Island left only four Negroes and one soldier to destroy the defense---too few to dump such a quantity of stone. Fred M. Mallison, *The Civil War on the Outer Banks A history of the Late Rebellion Along the Coast of North Carolina from Carteret to Currituck* (Jefferson, NC: Macfarland Press, 1998), 37-57.

[6] Samuel Tredwell to the Commissioner of the Revenue, 29 October 1803, Light House Letters Received, Volume 3, NA.

[7] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 30 June 1800, Masterson, *Blount Papers*, 3:392.

[8] William Miller, Jr. to Secretary of the Treasury, 7 October 1800, Lighthouse Letters Received, Volume 2, NA, RG 26.

[9] Original Report of William Tatham on the Survey of the Coast of North Carolina from Cape Fear to Cape Hatteras, 1806, January 1807, Coast Survey, RG 23, NAB.

[10] William Charles Lake to John G. Blount, 14 July 1800, Masterson, *Blount Papers*, 3:407.

[11] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 26 November 1797, John G. Blount Papers, NCDAH.

[12] John Wallace to John G. Blount, 8 April 1797, Masterson, *Blount Papers*, 3:139.

[13] John G. Blount to Jonathan Price, 11 May 1797, Ibid., 3:147.

[14] Rauschenberg, "Success to the *Tuley*," 20.

[15] Thomas Blount to John G. Blount, 16 January 1794, Keith, *Blount Papers*, 2:346.

[16] Rauschenberg, "Success to the Tuley," 15-16.

[17] Nelson, "Transfer Printed Creamware and Pearlware for the American Market," 94.

[18] Bushman, *Refinement of America*, 409-10.

[19] Rodris Roth, "Tea Drinking in 18th-Century America," In *Material Life in America, 1600-1860*, edited by Robert B. St. George, (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988), 452.

[20] Benjamin Atkinson to Benjamin Blackledge, 7 December 1796, Masterson, *Blount Papers*, 3:116-17.

[21] Reuben Wallace Estate Record, Carteret County Estate Records, NCDAH. Jeff Larkin noted that many nineteenth century inventories did not mention existing chamber pots and chose instead to include them in under the generic "earthenware" category. (Larkin, *Reshaping of Everyday Life*, 160-161).

[22] George L. Miller, "Classification and Economic Scaling of 19th Century Ceramics," In *Material Life in America, 1600-1860*, edited by Robert B. St. George, (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988), 50-51.

[23] Solomon Joseph to John G. Blount, 7 March 1811, Morgan, *Blount Papers*, 4:143.

[24] William H. Adams and Sarah J. Boling, "Status and Ceramics for Planters and Slaves on Three Georgia Coastal Plantations," In *Material Life in America, 1600-1860*, edited by Robert B. St. George, (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988), 64-66.

[25] Ibid., 71, 83-84.

[26] Judith A. Bense, *Archaeology of the Southeastern United States* (San Diego, CA: Academic Press. 1994), 293-94.

[27] William Tatham to Albert Gallatin, 9 October 1806, Coast Survey, NA, RG 23, Box 1, Washington, DC.

[28] Deed granted by David Wallace, Sr., to David Wallace, Jr., Carteret County Deeds, Book P, 307, NCDAH.

[29] Fernand Braudel, *On History*, trans. Sarah Mathews, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 3.

[30] Fernand Braudel, *A History of Civilizations*, 1-23.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Unpublished Material

Blount, John Gray, Papers. North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, N.C.

Carteret County Court Minutes, Volumes 5 & 6. North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, N.C.

Carteret County Deeds, Book L & N. Carteret County Court House, Beaufort, N.C.

Carteret County Marriage Bonds, Typed by the Genealogical Society of Utah, 1939. North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, N.C.

Henderson deposition, Henderson v. Taylor, Carteret County Court Records. North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, N.C.

North Carolina Land Entries, 1778-1803, Carteret County. Carteret County Court House, Beaufort, N.C.

Rodman, William Blount, Papers. East Carolina University Manuscript Collection, East Carolina University, Greenville, N.C.

William Tatham to Messrs. Thomas Cole and Jonathan Price, 10 April 1806, Record Group 26, NC-31, 17G. National Archives Building, Washington, D.C.

William Tatham to Albert Gallatin, January 1807, *The Separate Report of William Tatham, Report on the Survey of the Coast of North Carolina from Cape Fear to Cape Hatteras*, RG 23, Coast Survey, Box 1, 43. National Archives Building, Washington, D.C.

Hugh Williamson, N.C. Representative, to Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, 29 December 1792, "Observations on Cape Hatteras Shoals & Ocacoke Bar," Williamson to Hamilton; Miscellaneous Correspondence Received; Light House Letters; Records of the U.S. Coast Guard, Record Group 26. National Archives Building, Washington. DC.

Survey of Ocracoke Inlet, 20th Congress, 2nd Session, Document no 37. Letter from the Secretary of War transmitting a report in relation to the Improvement of the Navigation of Ocracoke Inlet. Louis Round Wilson Library, North Carolina Collection.

Survey-Swash in Pamlico, 20th Congress, 1st Session, House of Representatives, Document No. 69, (Washington: Gales & Seaton, 1828)

1810 Population Schedules, *Population Schedules of the Third Census of the United States, 1810*, Microfilm Roll 39, North Carolina, Volume 2, National Archives, General Services Administration.

Maps & Surveys

Bache, Hartman. *Survey Showing the Obstructions to the Navigation at Ocracoke Inlet.* [Cartographic Record]; File H-15; Record Group 77. National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

Chart of Ocracoke Inlet-Wallace's Channel [Cartographic Record]; File H-229; Record Group 77. National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

Plan of Ocracoke Harbor 1808. [Cartographic Record]; File H-3; Record Group 77. National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

Shell Castle/Ocracoke 1821. [Cartographic Record]; File H-9; Record Group 77. National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

Newspapers

Cape Fear Recorder, (Wilmington, N.C.), 1818. Microfilm, East Carolina University, Greenville, N.C.

Gazette of North Carolina, (Edenton, N.C.), 1789. Microfilm, East Carolina University, Greenville, N.C.

New Bern Gazette, (New Bern, N.C.), 1804. Microfilm, East Carolina University, Greenville, N.C.

North Carolina Journal, (Halifax, N.C.) 1795. Microfilm, North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, N.C.

Wilmington Star, (Wilmington, N.C.) 1878. Microfilm, East Carolina University, Greenville, N.C.

Published Material

Biographical Dictionary of the United States Congress, 1774-Present. Online version on 14 October 1999, at http://bioguide.congress. gov/scripts/biodisplay.

Adams, William H. and Sarah J. Boling. "Status and Ceramics for Planters and Slaves on Three Georgia Coastal Plantations." In *Material Life in America, 1600-1860*, edited by Robert B. St. George, 59-86. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988.

American State Papers, Vol. 14, 4th Congress, 1st Session, Document No. 29. edited by Walter Lowrie and Matthew St. Clair Clarke. Washington, D.C.: Gales & Seaton, 1832.

Alexander, John and James Lazell, *Ribbon of Sand; The Amazing Convergence of the Ocean and the Outer Banks* Chapel Hill, N.C.: Algonquin Books of Chapel Hill, 1992.

Ambrose, Stephen E. *Undaunted Courage, Meriwether Lewis, Thomas Jefferson, and the Opening of the American West.* New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996.

Angley, Wilson. "A History of Ocracoke Inlet and Adjacent Areas". Unpublished manuscript, Research Branch, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, June 6, 1984.

Barden, John R. "David Stone and the Fruits of Enlightenment in North Carolina." In *A Taste of the Past: Early Foodways of the Albemarle Region, 1585-1830*, edited by B.E. Taylor. Elizabeth City: Museum of the Albemarle, 1991.

Brian J. L. Berry. *Theories of Urban Location: An Introductory Essay.* Washington, DC: Association of American Geographers, 1968.

Bense, Judith A. *Archaeology of the Southeastern United States.* San Diego, CA: Academic Press, 1994.

Berry, Brian J. L., Edgar C. Conkling and D. Michael. *The Geography of Economic Systems.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1976.

Bivins, Jr., John. *Furniture of Coastal North Carolina, 1700-1820.* Winston-Salem, N.C.: Museum of the Early Southern Decorative Arts, 1988.

Bivins, Jr., John, and Forsyth Alexander. *The Regional Arts of the Early South.* Winston-Salem, N.C.: Museum of the Early Southern Decorative Arts, 1991.

Blunt, Joseph. *Merchant's and Shipmaster's Assistant.* New York: E.M. Blunt, 1822.

Braudel, Fernand. *A History of Civilizations.* Translated by Richard Mayne, New York: Penguin Press, 1993.

_____, *On History*, trans. Sarah Mathews, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980.

Burke, Kenneth E. "History of Portsmouth, N.C." 1976 reprint of Master's thesis, University of Richmond, 1958.

Bushman, Richard L. *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities.* New York: Vintage Books, 1993.

Carson, Cary, and Norman F. Barka, William Kelso, Garry W. Stone and Dell Upton. "Impermanent Architecture in the Southern American Colonies." In *Material Life in America, 1600-1800*, edited by Robert Blair St. George. Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 1988.

Cheyney, Jr., John L., ed. *North Carolina Government, 1585-1979, A Narrative & Statistical History.* Raleigh, N.C.: North Carolina Department of Secretary of State, 1981.

Clark, Walter ed. *The State Records of North Carolina.* 25 vols. Winston and Goldsboro, N.C., 1895-1906.

Cloud, Ellen Fulcher. *Ocracoke Lighthouse: Island History, Volume 1.* Spartanburg, S.C.: Live Oak Publications & Reprint Publishers, 1993.

_____. *Portsmouth The Way It Was*, Havelock, N.C.: Live Oak Publications & The Print Shop, 1996.

Cooke, Jacob E. *Tench Coxe and the Early Republic.* Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1978.

Crittenden, Charles C. *The Commerce of North Carolina, 1763-1789* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936.

Crowley, John E. "Inventing Comfort: The Piazza." In *American Material Culture-The Shape of the Field*, edited by Ann Smart Martin and J. Ritchie Garrison. Winterthur, DE: Henry F. Du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1997.

Cunningham, Jr., Noble E. "Political Dimensions of Everyday Life in the Early Republic." In *Everyday Life in the Early Republic*, edited by Catherine E. Hutchins. Winterthur, DE: Henry F. Du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1994.

Deetz, James. *In Small Things Forgotten, The Archaeology of Early American Life*. New York: Anchor Books Doubleday, 1977.

Dunbar, Gary S. *Historical Geography of the North Carolina Outer Banks*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1958.

Eliason, William A., Lt. Eng., to Col. Chas. Gratiot, Chief of Engineers, 24 December 1828. *American State Papers*. Document No. 37. edited by Walter Lowrie and Matthew St. Clair Clarke. Washington, D.C.: Gales & Seaton, 1832.

Elkins, Stanley and Eric McKitrick. *The Age of Federalism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Faragher, John Mack. *The Encyclopedia of Colonial and Revolutionary America*. New York: Facts on File, 1990.

Fisher, John J. "Geomorphic Expression of Former Inlets Along the Outer Banks of North Carolina". M.A. Thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1962.

Furlong, Captain Lawrence. *American Coast Pilot*, Newburyport, MA: Edmund Blunt, 1809.

Gilpatrick, Delbert H. *Jeffersonian Democracy in North Carolina, 1789-1816*. New York: Octagon Books, Inc., 1967.

Gove, Philip B. ed. *Webster's Third International Dictionary*. Springfield, MA: Merriam-Webster, 1993.

Heintzelman-Muego, Andrea. "Construction Material and Design of 19th Century and Earlier Wharves: An Urban Archaeological Concern." Paper presented at the Annual Society of Historic Archeology and Council for Underwater Archeology Conference. January 1983.

Henretta, James A. and Gregory H. Nobles. *Evolution & Revolution in American Society, 1600-1820*. Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath & Co.,1987.

Hickey, Donald R. *The War of 1812: A Forgotten Conflict*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990.

Holland, Francis Ross, Jr. *America's Lighthouses: Their Illustrated History Since 1716.* Brattleboro, VT: Stephen Greene Press, 1972.

_____. *Cape Hatteras Light Station, North Carolina.* Washington: National Park Service, 1968.

Hume, Ivor Noel. *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America.* New York: Vintage Press, 1991.

Hurst, Ronald and Jonathan Prown. *Southern Furniture, 1680-1830, The Williamsburg Collection.* Williamsburg, VA: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1997.

Johnson, Allen and Dumas Malone, eds. *Dictionary of American Biography.* Volume II, New York: Charles Scribner & Sons, 1958.

Kay, Marvin L. Michael and Lorin L. Cary, *Slavery in North Carolina, 1748-1775.* Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1995.

Keith, Alice Barnwell, ed. *The John Gray Blount Papers.* Vol. 1, 1777-1789, Raleigh: North Carolina Division of Archives and History, 1959.

_____, ed. *The John Gray Blount Papers.* Vol. 2, 1790-1795, Raleigh: North Carolina Division of Archives and History, 1959.

_____. *Three North Carolina Blount Brothers in Business and Politics, 1783-1812.* Master's Thesis, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, 1940.

Kniffen, Fred B. "Folk Housing: Key to Diffusion." In Common Places: Readings American Vernacular Architecture, edited by Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1986.

Larkin, John. *The Reshaping of Everyday Life, 1790-1840.* New York: Harper Press, 1988.

Lawson, John. *Lawson's History of North Carolina.* edited by Frances L. Harriss. Richmond,VA: Garrett & Massie, 1951.

Lemmon, Sarah McCullough, ed., *The Pettigrew Papers,* Volume 1, 1685-1818. Raleigh: State Division of Archives and History, 1971.

Macwhorter, Alexander. *A Series of Sermons upon the Most Important Principles of Our Holy Religion.* Newark, NJ: Printed by Pennington and Gould, 1803.

Mallison, Fred M. *The Civil War on the Outer Banks: A history of the Late Rebellion Along the Coast of North Carolina from Carteret to Currituck.* Jefferson, NC: MacFarland Press, 1998.

Martin, Francois X. "A Description of Occacock Inlet". New Bern: Francois X. Martin, 1795. Reprint edition, D. L. Corbitt, ed. *The North Carolina Historical Review.* 3 (October 1926).

Masterson, William H., ed. *The John Gray Blount Papers.* Vol. 3, 1796-1802, Raleigh, N.C.: North Carolina Division of Archives and History, 1965.

Merrens, Harry R. *Colonial North Carolina in the Eighteenth Century.* Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1964.

Miller, George L. "Classification and Economic Scaling of 19th Century Ceramics." In *Material Life in America, 1600-1860*, edited by Robert B. St. George. 37-58. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988.

Morgan, David T., ed. *The John Gray Blount Papers.* Vol. 4., 1803-1829, Raleigh: North Carolina Division of Archives and History, 1982.

Morgan, Philip D. *Slave Counterpoint· Black Culture in the Eighteenth Century Chesapeake & Low Country.* Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Morgan, William Stuart, III. "The Commerce of a Southern Port; New Bern, North Carolina, 1783-1789." *American Neptune*, 49 (Spring 1989): 77-90.

Morris, Thomas D. *Southern Slavery and the Law. 1619-1860.* Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.

Morse, J. *The American Gazetteer.* Third Edition, Revised & Corrected, 1810.

Nelson, Christina H. "Transfer-Printed Creamware and Pearlware for the American Market." *Winterthur Portfolio* 15 (Summer 1980): 87-115.

Newell, Samuel W. "A Maritime History of Ocracoke Inlet, 1584-1783." Master's thesis, East Carolina University, 1987.

North, Douglas C. *The Economic Growth of the United States, 1790-1860.* New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1966.

North, S.N.D., Director, Department of Commerce & Labor, Bureau of the Census. *Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States taken in the year 1790- North Carolina.* Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1908.

Powell, William S. *North Carolina Through Four Centuries.* Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1989.

Pusateri, C. Joseph. *A History of American Business.* Arlington Heights, Ill.: Harlan Davidson, 1984.

Rauschenberg, Bradford L. "'Success to the Tuley' et al via Liverpool." *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts,* (May 1976) 2:1-26.

Ritter, Abraham. *Philadelphia and her Merchants about Seventy Years Ago.* Philadelphia: Abraham Ritter, 1860.

Rodman, Lida Tunstall, ed. "The Journal of a Tour to North Carolina by William Attmore, 1787." *James Sprunt Historical Publications.* 17:5-46.

Roth, Rodris. "Tea Drinking in 18th-Century America." In *Material Life in America, 1600-1860,* edited by Robert B. St. George, 439-462. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988.

Salter, Ben. *Portsmouth Island· Short Stories and History.* Ben Salter, 1972.

Selby, Marjorie. *Hyde County History.* Swan Quarter, NC: Hyde County Historical Society, 1976.

Shaw, Ronald E. *Canals for a Nation: The Canal Era in the United States, 1790-1860.* Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1990.

Shepherd, James F. and Gary M. Walton. *Shipping, Maritime Trade and the Economic Development of Colonial North America.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972.

_____. "Economic Change After the Revolution: Pre- and Post-War comparisons of Maritime Shipping and Trade," in *Explorations in Economic History.* 13 (1976).

Smith, Adam. *Wealth of Nations,* edited by Andrew Skinner. New York: Penguin Books, 1977, originally published in 1777.

Smith, Walter B. and Arthur H. Cole. *Fluctuations in American Business, 1790-1860.* New York: Russell & Russell, 1935.

Stick, David. *The Outer Banks of North Carolina.* Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1958.

_____. *North Carolina Lighthouses.* Raleigh: North Carolina Division of Archives and History, 1992.

Still, William N. "The Shipbuilding Industry in Washington, North Carolina," in *Of Tar Heel Towns, Shipbuilders, Reconstructionists and Alliancemen.* Edited by Joseph Steelman. Greenville, NC: East Carolina University Publications, 1981. 27-50.

Taylor, B. E., ed., *A Taste of the Past: Early Foodways of the Albemarle Region, 1585-1830.* Elizabeth City, N.C.: Museum of the Albemarle, 1991.

Walsh, Lorena. "Consumer Behavior, Diet and the Standard of Living." In *American Economic Growth and Standards of Living before the Civil War*, edited by Robert E. Gallman and John Wallis. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Waterman, Thomas T. and Frances B. Johnson. *The Early Architecture of North Carolina.* Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1941.

Watson, Alan D. "Pilotage and Pilots in Colonial North Carolina: The Case of Ocracoke Inlet," *Tributaries.* 3 (October 1993).

Williamson, Hugh. *History of North Carolina.* Philadelphia, 1812, reprinted in Spartanburg, SC, 1972.

APPENDIX A

SHELL CASTLE PORTSMOUTH OCRACOKE
1800 NORTH CAROLINA CENSUS

Area		Male 0-10	10-16	16-26	26-45	45 +	sub-total
Core Banks Part 1							
Cedar Isl to Ocracoke		15	2	10	6	4	37
Percent of Sex		40 5%	5 4%	27 0%	16 2%	10 8%	
Percent of Area		15 5%	2 1%	10 3%	6 2%	4 1%	38 1%
Percent of Total Age		37 5%	11 8%	32 3%	26 1%	33 3%	30 1%
Percent of Total		3 9%	0 5%	2 6%	1 6%	1 0%	9 6%
total families	14						
Average hshld size		1 1	0 1	0 7	0 4	0 3	2 6
Core Banks Part 2							
Cedar Isl to Ocracoke		7	6	8	4	4	29
Percent of Sex		24 1%	20 7%	27 6%	13 8%	13 8%	100 0%
Percent of Area		5 6%	4 8%	6 5%	3 2%	3 2%	23 4%
Percent of Total Age / Sex		17 5%	35 3%	25 8%	17 4%	33 3%	23 6%
Percent of Total		1 8%	1 6%	2 1%	1 0%	1 0%	7 5%
total families	11						
Average hshld		0 6	0 5	0 7	0 4	0 4	2 6
Core Banks Total							
Cedar Isl to Ocracoke		22	8	18	10	8	66
Percent of Sex		33 3%	12 1%	27 3%	15 2%	12 1%	100 0%
Percent of Area		10 0%	3 6%	8 1%	4 5%	3 6%	29 9%
Percent of Total Age		55 0%	47 1%	58 1%	43 5%	66 7%	53 7%
Percent of Total		5 7%	2 1%	4 7%	2 6%	2 1%	17 1%
total families	25						
Average hshld		0 9	0 3	0 7	0 4	0 3	2 6
Core Banks							
Cedar Isl to Ocracoke		15	9	13	11	4	52
Percent of Sex		28 8%	17 3%	25 0%	21 2%	7 7%	100 0%
Percent of Area		10 8%	6 5%	9 4%	7 9%	2 9%	37 4%
Percent of Total Age		37 5%	52 9%	41 9%	47 8%	33 3%	42 3%
Percent of Total		3 9%	2 3%	3 4%	2 9%	1 0%	13 5%
total families	22						
Average hshld		0 7	0 4	0 6	0 5	0 2	2 4
Shell Castle		3	0	0	2	0	5
Percent of Sex		60 0%	0 0%	0 0%	40 0%	0 0%	100 0%
Percent of Area		12 0%	0 0%	0 0%	8 0%	0 0%	20 0%
Percent of Total Age		7 5%	0 0%	0 0%	8 7%	0 0%	4 1%
Percent of Total		0 8%	0 0%	0 0%	0 5%	0 0%	1 3%
total families	2						
Average hshld		1 5	0 0	0 0	1 0	0 0	2 5
Ocracoke Inlet Area							
Cedar Isl to Ocracoke		40	17	31	23	12	123
Percent of Sex		32 5%	13 8%	25 2%	18 7%	9 8%	100 0%
Percent of Area							
Percent of Total Age							
Percent of Total		10 4%	4 4%	8 1%	6 0%	3 1%	31 9%
total families	49						
Average hshld		0 8	0 3	0 6	0 5	0 2	2 5

Source William Johnson & Dorothy Potter, *1800 North Carolina Census Carteret County*, Tullahoma Tenn 1976

APPENDIX A

SHELL CASTLE PORTSMOUTH OCRACOKE
1800 NORTH CAROLINA CENSUS

Area	Female 10-16	16-26	26-45	45 +	sub-total	Other	Slave	Total
Core Banks Part 1								
Cedar Isl to Ocracoke	8	9	5	3	40	0	20	97
Percent of Sex	20 0%	22 5%	12 5%	7 5%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%
Percent of Area	8 2%	9 3%	5 2%	3 1%	41 2%	0 0%	20 6%	100 0%
Percent of Total Age	30 8%	22 5%	26 3%	23 1%	28 0%	0 0%	18 3%	25 2%
Percent of Total	2 1%	2 3%	1 3%	0 8%	10 4%	0 0%	5 2%	25 2%
total families 14								
Average hshld size	0 6	0 6	0 4	0 2	2 9	0 0	1 4	6 9
Core Banks Part 2								
Cedar Isl to Ocracoke	3	13	7	3	36	1	58	124
Percent of Sex	10 3%	44 8%	24 1%	10 3%	100 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%
Percent of Area	2 4%	10 5%	5 6%	2 4%	29 0%	0 8%	46 8%	100 0%
Percent of Total Age / Sex	11 5%	32 5%	36 8%	23 1%	25 2%	10 0%	53 2%	32 2%
Percent of Total	0 8%	3 4%	1 8%	0 8%	9 4%	0 3%	15 1%	32 2%
total families 11								
Average hshld	0 3	1 2	0 6	0 3	3 3	0 1	5 3	11 3
Core Banks Total								
Cedar Isl to Ocracoke	11	22	12	6	76	1	78	221
Percent of Sex	16 7%	33 3%	18 2%	9 1%	100 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%
Percent of Area	5 0%	10 0%	5 4%	2 7%	34 4%	0 5%	35 3%	100 0%
Percent of Total Age	42 3%	55 0%	63 2%	46 2%	53 1%	10 0%	71 6%	57 4%
Percent of Total	2 9%	5 7%	3 1%	1 6%	19 7%	0 3%	20 3%	57 4%
total families 25								
Average hshld	0 4	0 9	0 5	0 2	3 0	0 0	3 1	8 8
Core Banks								
Cedar Isl to Ocracoke	15	18	5	7	62	9	16	139
Percent of Sex	28 8%	34 6%	9 6%	13 5%	100 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%
Percent of Area	10 8%	12 9%	3 6%	5 0%	44 6%	6 5%	11 5%	100 0%
Percent of Total Age	57 7%	45 0%	26 3%	53 8%	43 4%	90 0%	14 7%	36 1%
Percent of Total	3 9%	4 7%	1 3%	1 8%	16 1%	2 3%	4 2%	36 1%
total families 22								
Average hshld	0 7	0 8	0 2	0 3	2 8	0 4	0 7	6 3
Shell Castle	0	0	2	0	5	0	15	25
Percent of Sex	0 0%	0 0%	40 0%	0 0%	100 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%
Percent of Area	0 0%	0 0%	8 0%	0 0%	20 0%	0 0%	60 0%	100 0%
Percent of Total Age	0 0%	0 0%	10 5%	0 0%	3 5%	0 0%	13 8%	6 5%
Percent of Total	0 0%	0 0%	0 5%	0 0%	1 3%	0 0%	3 9%	6 5%
total families 2								
Average hshld	0 0	0 0	1 0	0 0	2 5	0 0	7 5	12 5
Ocracoke Inlet Area								
Cedar Isl to Ocracoke	26	40	19	13	143	10	109	385
Percent of Sex	21 1%	32 5%	15 4%	10 6%	100 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%
Percent of Area	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%
Percent of Total Age	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%
Percent of Total	6 8%	10 4%	4 9%	3 4%	37 1%	2 6%	28 3%	100 0%
total families 49								
Average hshld	0 5	0 8	0 4	0 3	2 9	0 2	2 2	7 9

Source William Johnson & Dorothy Potter, *1800 North Carolina Census Carteret County*, Tullahoma, Tenn , 1976

APPENDIX B

ARTIFACT CATALOG

SECTION A-1

Catalog Number	Description	Vessel Type	Feature	Date Assigned
A-1 1	Creamware	Plate	Foot	1795
A-1 2	Pearlware, transfer print	Cup	Lip	1814
A-1 3	Redware/Lead glazed (black)	Pitcher	Handle	1825
A-1 4	Creamware, unglazed	Plate	Foot	1795
A-1 51	Glass, Green		Fragment	
A-1 52	Glass, Green	Bottle	Base	
A-1 53	Creamware	Plate	Foot	1795
A-1 54	Creamware	Plate	Rim	1795
A-1 55	Creamware		Fragment	1795
A-1 56	Creamware		Fragment	1795
A-1 57	Creamware Shell edge, transfer print	Plate	Rim	1775
A-1 58	Pearlware, Shell edge, transfer print	Plate	Rim	1815
A-1 59	Pearlware, transfer print	Body	Fragment	1790
A-1 511	Pearlware	Plate	Rim	1800
A-1 522	Pearlware		Fragment	1799
A-1 533	Pearlware, Shell edge, Hand painted	Plate	Rim	1815
A-1 544	Pearlware, transfer print Green, Feather & Floral	Plate	Rim	1810
A-1 555	Astbury, corrugated	Body	Fragment	1738
A-1 566	Astbury	Body	Fragment	1738
A-1 577	Redware/Lead glazed interior		Fragment	1825
A-1 588	Redware	Base	Fragment	1825

Sample Size 19 34.139

Section Mean Ceramic Date 1797

APPENDIX B

ARTIFACT CATALOG

SECTION A-2

Catalog Numb	Description	Vessel Type	Feature	Date Assigned
A-2 1	Glass, Plate		Fragment	
A-2 11	Astbury	Pitcher	Handle	1738
A-2 12	Pearlware Annular	Body	Fragment	1808
A-2 13	Astbury Corrugated	Body	Fragment	1738
A-2 14	Combined Slipware	Body	Fragment	1733
A-2 15	Stoneware Red bodied	Body	Fragment	1769
A-2 16	Stoneware, Fulham Brown Salt glazed	Body	Fragment	1733
A-2 17	Creamware		Foot Fragm	1795
A-2 18	Creamware	Body	Fragment	1795
A-2 2	Whiteware	Plate	Rim	1825
A-2 31	Whiteware	Cup/mug	Fragment	1825
A-2 32	Whiteware	Body	Fragment	1825
A-2 33	Unknown, Yellow Glaze		Fragment	
A-2 4	Redware Black Lead Glaze	Body	Fragment	1825
A-2 5	Iron	Latch	Fragment	
A-2 61	Brick		Fragment	
A-2 62	Brick		Fragment	
A-2 63	Redware		Fragment	
A-2 7	Glass Clear	Tumbler	Base	
A-2 81	Creamware	Body	Fragment	1795
A-2 82	Creamware	Body	Fragment	1795
A-2 91	Redware, Copper Lustre		Fragment	1815
A-2 92	Stoneware White Slip-dipped Salt glaze	Mug Body	Fragment	1750
A-2 93	Stoneware American Blue & Gray	Body	Fragment	1838
A-2 94	Stoneware Nottingham	Body	Fragment	1755
A-2 95	Stoneware Brown	Bottle	Fragment	1860
A-2 96	Redware, Exterior-Lead Glaze, Interior-	Body	Fragment	1825
A-2 97	Redware Exterior-Lead Glaze, Interior- C	Body	Fragment	1825
A-2 98	Iron	Nail Head		
Sample Size 21				37 667
			Section Mean Ceramic	1794

APPENDIX B

ARTIFACT CATALOG

SECTION B-2

Catalog Num	Description	Type	Feature	Date Assigned
B-2 1	Iron	Bar		
B-2 2	Brick		Complete	
B-2 3	Brick		Complete	
B-2 4	Wood			
B-2 51	Glass Green	Bottle	Base	
B-2 52	Glass Green	Bottle	Neck Fragm	
B-2 6	Glass Gre Square Handblown	Bottle	Base	
B-2 71	Earthenware Tile	Corner	Fragment	
B-2 72	Glass Green	Body	Fragment	
B-2 73	Glass Green	Body	Fragment	
B-2 74	Glass Green	Body	Fragment	
B-2 8	Brass (?)	Tack Head	Fragment	
B-2 91	Glass Green Light	Body	Fragment	
B-2 92	Pearlware Annular	Plate	Rim	1808
B-2 11	Pearlware	Body	Rim	1800
B-2 12	Pearlware Shell edge Handpainted B	Plate	Rim	1788
B-2 13	Pearlware Annular Ext Ribbing Int	Bowl	Fragment	1808
B-2 14	Stoneware Barley Pattern	Plate	Rim	1745
B-2 21	Iron	Spike	Fragment	
B-2 22	Iron	Spike	Fragment	
B-2 23	Iron	Spike	Fragment	
B-2 24	Iron	Spike	Fragment	
B-2 25	Iron	Nail Clen	Fragment	
B-2 31	Lead Sheet		Fragment	
B-2 32	Brass Plate			
B-2 33	Brass	Nail	Rolled & Pe	
B-2 41	Stoneware White Salt glazed	Mug	Base	1750
Sample Size 6				10 699
		Section Mean Ceramic		1783

APPENDIX B

ARTIFACT CATALOG

SECTION C-1

Catalog Num	Description	Type	Feature	Date Assigned
C-1 11	Pearlware, Feather edge, transfer pri	Plate	Rim	1815
C-1 12	Pearlware, Feather edge, transfer pri	Plate	Rim	1815
C-1 21	Glass, Green	Bottle	Fragment	
C-1 22	Buckley/Agate Ware	Bowl	Rim	1748
C-1 3	Pearlware Annular	Cup	Handle	1808
Sample Size 4				7.186
		Section Mean Ceramic		1797

SECTION C-2

Catalog Num	Description	Type	Feature	Date Assigned
C-2 1	Creamware	Plate	Fragment	1795
C-2 21	Pearlware, Annular	Bowl	Rim	1808
C-2 22	Astbury	Pitcher	Handle	1738
C-2 23	Creamware	Cup/Bowl	Rim	1795
C-2 31	Iron	Spike	Fragment	
C-2 32	Redware Lead glazed Black		Fragment	1825
C-2 4	Whiteware		Fragment	1825
C-2 251	Pearlware	Body	Fragment	1800
C-2 52	Pearlware	Body	Fragment	1800
Sample Size 8				14.386
		Section Mean Ceramic		1798

APPENDIX B

ARTIFACT CATALOG

SECTION Z-1

Catalog Numb	Description	Vessel Type	Feature	Date Assigned
Z-1 1	Pipe Stem		Fragment	
Z-1 2	Glass, Green	Bottle	Fragment	
Z-1 3	Pearlware, Shell edge, Transfer print,	Plate	Rim	1814
Z-1 41	Glass, Azure		Fragment	
Z-1 42	Redware, Lead glazed		Fragment	1825
Z-1 43	Flint		Fragment	
Z-1 44	Whiteware		Fragment	1825
Z-1 45	Whiteware		Fragment	1825
Z-1 46	Pearlware	Plate	Fragment	1800
Z-1 47	Pearlware	Plate	Fragment	1800
Z-1 48	Creamware	Plate	Foot	1795
Z-1 49	Creamware	Plate	Rim	1795
Z-1 40	Creamware	Body	Fragment	1795
Z-1 411	Stoneware, Brown	Bottle	Fragment	1860
Z-1 51	Pearlware	Body	Fragment	1800
Z-1 52	Creamware	Body	Fragment	1795
Z-1 53	Creamware, Shell edge, transfer print,	Plate	Rim	1775
Z-1 54	Porcelain, Chinese, Hard paste	Body	Fragment	1808
Z-1 6	Creamware	Chamber P	Rim	1795
Z-1 7	Creamware, Annular	Bowl	Base	1798
Z-1 8	Redware Ext Lead glaze Int Manga	Body	Fragment	1825
Z-1 9	Redware	Body	Fragment	1825
Z-1 11	Astbury	Body	Fragment	1738
Z-1 12	Stoneware American Blue & Gray	Body	Fragment	1838
Z-1 121	Redware	Body	Fragment	1825
Sample Size 21				37 956
			Section Mean Ceramic D	1807

APPENDIX B

ARTIFACT CATALOG

SECTION Z-2

Catalog Num	Description	Vessel Type	Feature	Date Assigned
Z-2 1	Pearlware. Transfer print, Blue	Plate	Foot	1814
Z-2 2	Creamware. Royal Pattern	Plate	Rim	1793
Z-2 3	Stoneware. Brown. Salt glazed	Body	Fragment	1860
Z-2 41	Iron	Spike	Fragment	
Z-2 42	Iron	Spike	Fragment	
Z-2 5	Pearlware. Transfer print. Blue	Body	Fragment	1814
Z-2 6	Redware, Lead glazed	Body	Fragment	1825
Z-2 71	Whiteware	Body	Fragment	1825
Z-2 72	Pearlware	Body	Fragment	1800
Z-2 73	Pearlware, Transfer print. Blue	Plate	Foot	1814
Z-2 8	Redware		Base	1825
Z-2 91	Creamware. Annular	Bowl	Rim	1798
Z-2 92	Redware. Lead glazed	Body	Fragment	1825
Z-2 93	Redware	Body	Fragment	1825
Z-2 11	Glass. Green. Incised	Bottle	Lip	
Z-2 12	Flint		Fragment	
Z-2 13	Stoneware Grey bodied, Int Alba	Body	Fragment	1838
Z-2 21	Redware	Body	Fragment	1825
Z-2 31	Glass, Green	Bottle	Fragment	
Z-2 411	Glass, Clear		Fragment	
Z-2 51	Redware. Lead glazed		Rim	1825
Z-2 52	Redware		Rim	1825
Sample Size 16				29.131
		Section Mean Ceramic		1821